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Part VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF PAL,
A VILLAGE IN GOA

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FOREWORD

The Census of India has a long tradition of undertaking and promoting investigations on diverse aspects of the socio-economic life of the country. During 1961 Census on the initiative of my illustrious predecessor, Shri A. Mitra, a study of more than 500 villages was taken up. The socio-economic survey of three villages and one small town in the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu under the guidance of Dr. B. K. Roy Burman was undertaken as a part of this project. These studies would provide for the first time an integrated picture of community life in this part of the country which had remained cut off from the rest of the nation for a long time. S/Shri A. S. Ramamurthy, C. G. Jadhav and Dr. Roy Burman deserve to be complimented for this useful report on village Pal in Goa District.

NEW DELHI
August 21, 1969

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR,
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

As adjunct of 1961 Census, socio-economic surveys of above 500 villages had been undertaken in different parts of India by the Census Organization. In most of the States, these surveys had been conducted by the Superintendents of Census Operations, with the technical advice of the Social Studies & Handicrafts Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India. In view of the fact that technical personnel to carry on such surveys were not available in the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Goa, Daman & Diu, socio-economic surveys of villages in this Union Territory was undertaken under my direct supervision. I visited the district of Goa alongwith the team of investigators. Three villages Pal, Taleigaon and Verna and one small town, Ponda, were taken up for survey. The survey of Pal was done by S/Shri A. S. Ramamurthy and C. G. Jadhav. On the basis of the data collected in the field, the drafts on different chapters were also prepared by them. These were at a fairly good level and I had to do only minor corrections. In the presentation and interpretation of the data, however, I provided the necessary guidance. The sketches furnished in the report were drawn by the investigators in the field. These were redrawn for publication by Shri S. Krishna Pillai, Draftsman in the Office of the Registrar General, India. The tabulation of the data was done by Shri J. P. Khosla. I am grateful to all my colleagues who were associated with the project.

I avail of this opportunity to express my thanks to Shri Jose C. Almeida, Superintendent of Census Operations, Goa, Daman and Diu for the assistance rendered by him in connection with the study. I am also grateful to Shri A. Mitra, the then Registrar General, India who encouraged me to take up the project. Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, Registrar General, India who has given his unfailing support to the Social Studies under the aegis of the Census, deserves all my gratitude.

B. K. ROY BURMAN,
Deputy Registrar General












VILLAGE PAL

(NOTIONAL MAP)

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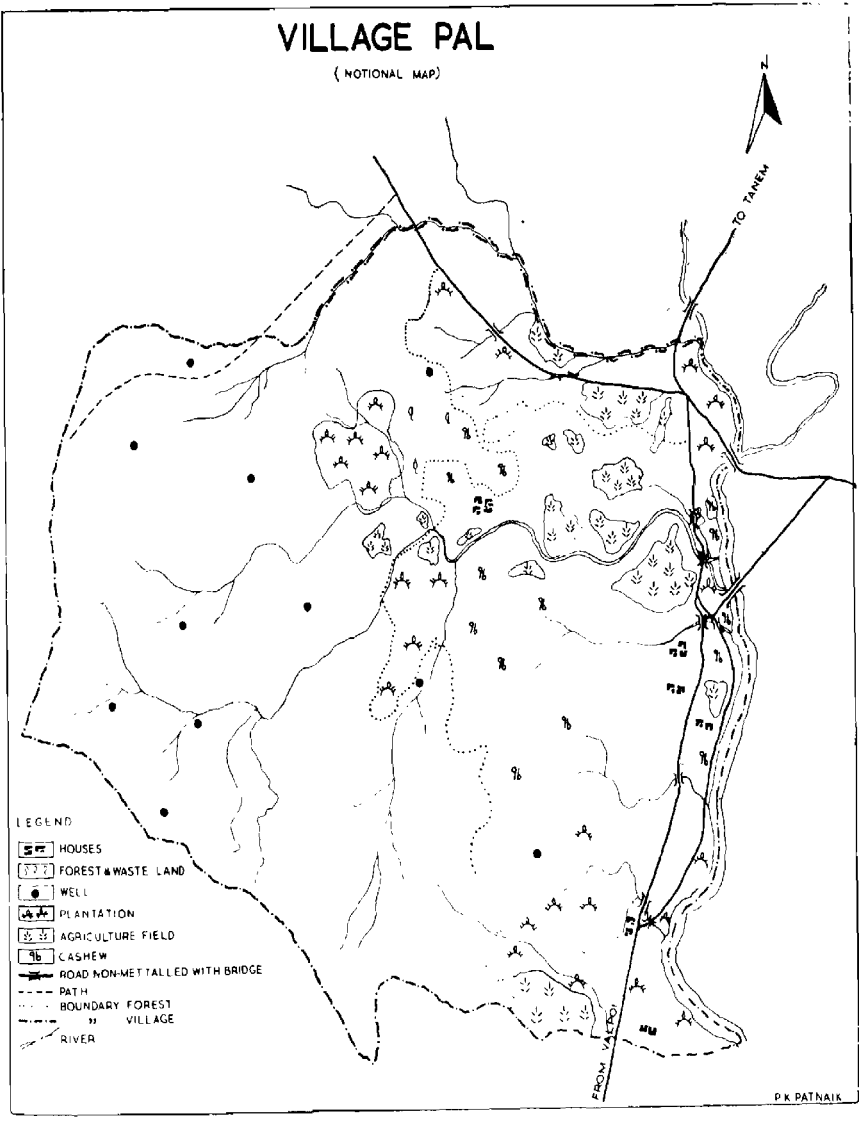
TO TANDEM

LEGEND

-  HOUSES
-  FOREST & WASTE LAND
-  WELL
-  PLANTATION
-  AGRICULTURE FIELD
-  CASHEW
-  ROAD NON-METALLED WITH BRIDGE
-  PATH
-  BOUNDARY FOREST
-  VILLAGE
-  RIVER

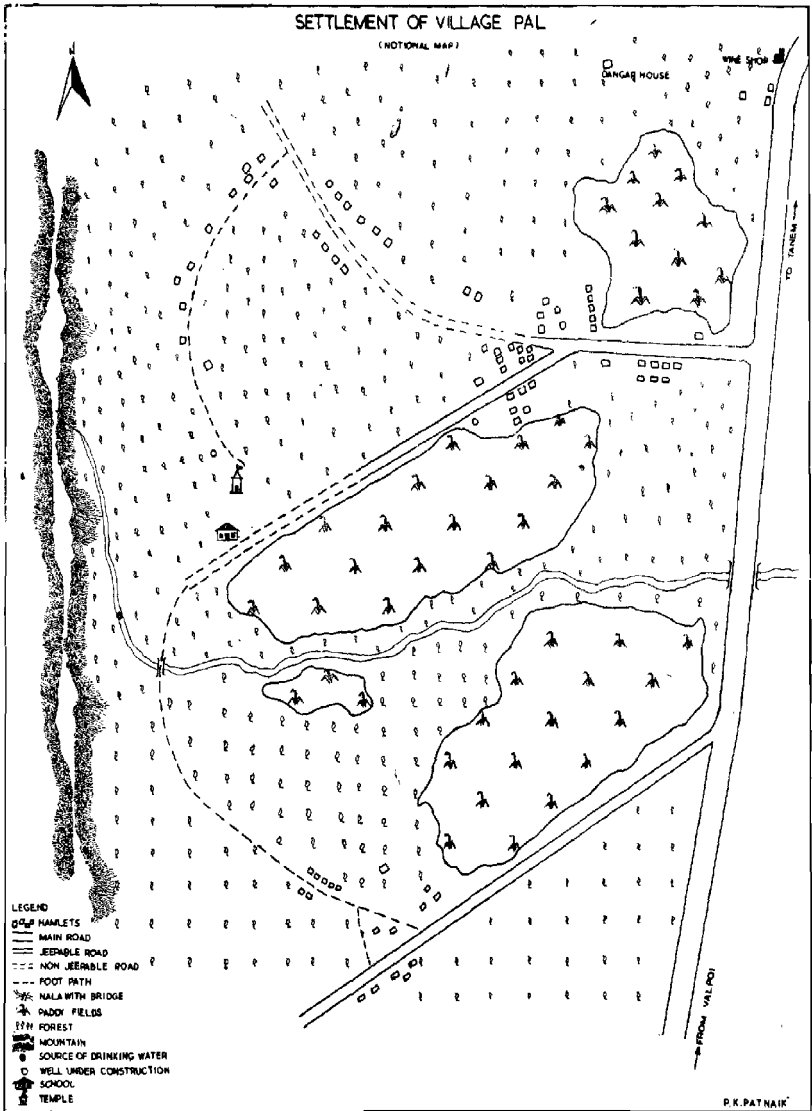
FROM VALERO

P. K. PATNAIK



SETTLEMENT OF VILLAGE PAL

(NOTIONAL MAP)



LEGEND

- HAMLETS
- MAIN ROAD
- BENDABLE ROAD
- - - - - NON-BENDABLE ROAD
- - - - - FOOT PATH
- MOUNTAIN WITH BRIDGE
- RAZDY FIELDS
- FOREST
- MOUNTAIN
- SOURCE OF DRINKING WATER
- WELL UNDER CONSTRUCTION
- SCHOOL
- TEMPLE

P. K. PATNAIK

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Setting

The Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu is divided into three distinct parts. The territory of Goa extends north to south for nearly 104.60 kms. along the west coast of India to the south of the State of Maharashtra. Daman is situated on the eastern side of the Gulf of Cambay. Diu is a tiny island off the south coast of Saurashtra. These three form parts of the Union Territory. The Island of Anjadiv, situated south-west of Goa, forms administratively a part of the territory of Goa.

The island of Goa is situated at the centre of the Territory, 320 kms. to the south of Bombay. It is located between parallel 15° 47' 59" and 14° 53' 57" of latitude north and between the meridians 73° 40' 54" and 74° 20' 11" of longitude east of Greenwich. Its altitude can be described as irregular with a clearly defined decline from the Western Ghats to the sea coast. No altitudes exceed 1,610 metres above sea level. On its western side is the Arabian Sea, eastern the Sahyadri ranges, northern the State of Maharashtra and southern the State of Mysore. Its maximum width is about 59.54 kms. west to east.

The maximum temperature in Goa is 36.7° C (98°F.) and the minimum 14.4°C. (58°F.) with the average being 26.1°C. (79°F.) to 26.7°C. (80°F.) The average rainfall is from 305 cms. to 356 cms.

The soil is composed, mainly of laterite, viticlar and porous argilliferous rock.

The Union Territory consists of 3,705.63 sq. kms. with a total population of 626,667 consisting of 302,534 males and 324,133 females distributed over 134,463 households. Of this area, Goa has 3,610.06 sq. kms., the remaining 95.57 sq. kms. being of Daman and Diu. The population of Goa is 589,997 consisting of 285,625 males and 304,372 females distributed over 126,335 households.

Goa's area is divided into eleven *concelhos* (*talukas*)—Barddez, Bicholim, Canacona, Goa, Mormugao, Pernem, Ponda, Quepem, Salsete, Sanguem and Satari. The three biggest *concelhos* are those in the eastern region (Canacona, Sanguem and Satari) which separates Goa from the rest of the Union Territory and have a greater area covered by forests as well

as a considerable land utilisable for cultivation (fallow land).

One of the ancient gateways of India, Goa has a long history. Through its open and hospitable portals had passed many a prince and a potentate, merchant and mendicant, saint and soldier. Each one had carried away with him more of Goa than he had brought into it from the outside world. The interplay of cultures brought to Goa from across the Arabian Sea in the west has left an indelible mark on the various aspects of Goa through passage of time.

The island of Goa is also known as 'Tiswadi', which means a district comprising thirty villages. The ancient Aryans who came down settled on the banks of the Gomati and the Aghanashini, the two main rivers, now known as the Mandovi and the Zuari, respectively.

The term Goa appears to have been derived from Govarashtra, the ancient appellation of the southern Konkan and one of the seven divisions of Parashurama Kshetra, which Professor Wilson surmises to be identical with Goparashtra, *i.e.*, 'the district of cowherds or of nomadic tribes' mentioned in the Mahabharata. This conjecture seems to be correct, for the word Goparashtra has the same signification as Gopakapuri or Gopakapattana, which with the aid of several inscriptions has been identified with Goa. A reference to the city of 'Kouba' made in Ptolemy's geography is also believed to pertain to Goa.

Suta-Samhita speaks of Govapuri (Odlem Goem) as being situated in a kshetra of 7 *yojanas*, *i.e.*, 140 kms. in circumference. It is also possible that the Govarashtra, one of the seven divisions of ancient Konkan (Saptakonkana) mentioned in the Mahabharata refers to Goa.

The island, with the remaining territory of Goa, has from ancient times been known to the Hindus by the more familiar name of Gomant. This name appears in the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa, the Skanda and other Puranas, and is associated, in the orthodox Hindu mind, with many a divine and heroic deed. According to a legend of the Sahyadri Khand, Parashurama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, shot an

arrow from the heights of Sahyadri Ghats into the sea, which receded from the shock and laid bare the fertile region of the Konkan. He reclaimed the whole of Shurparaka—the land of the coastal strip between the sea and the mountain ranges from the Gulf of Cambay in the north to Rameshwar in the south, from the sea, which includes Goa.

Culturally and historically, the Goa region has played an important part throughout the period of known history. Its recorded history dates back to the period of the great Mauryan emperors of India, in the 3rd century before the Christian era. The frontiers of the emperor Ashoka extended upto Kanara district which is borne out by the edicts of Ashoka found in this area.

Certain inscriptions corroborate that Goa, being an important entrepot even in the first two millenia before Christ, had attracted the Egyptians and Phoenicians through commerce. Later, Goa passed under the sway of the Kadambas of Banavasi whose first king, Trilochana Kadamba, is believed to have flourished about 119-20 A.D.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, Goa was being ruled by the Shilaharas under the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas of Malked. From the 11th century onwards, they were followed by the Kadambas again and the Vijayanagar and the Bahamani kings, the last-mentioned invading Goa in 1470. In 1498, the Bahamani kingdom broke up and old Goa became the capital of King Adil Shah of Bijapur. In 1510, Goa fell to the Portuguese when Afonso de Albuquerque captured the city. It remained under Portuguese colonial rule for 450 years and finally on December 19, 1961, it was liberated.

The expansion of Goa started by the middle of the 16th century—Tissuary (Isle of Goa), Bardez, Salsete and Mormugao were united into what is known as the Old Conquests and formed Goa proper. The New Conquests (Pernem, Satari, Bicholim, Ponda, Quepem, Sanguem, Canacona) were added later and Goa as we see it today was completed in 1778, when the Bhonsales ceded the *concelho* of Pernem.

Satari *concelho* is the second biggest *concelho* in Goa, next only to Sanguem. The *concelho* is 440 sq. kms.¹ in area and its total population of 26,136 consisting of 13,280 males and 12,856 females is distributed over 5,421 households.

The word Satari seems to be originated from the belief that there were seventy villages in this *con-*

celho. These villages had their main temple of goddess Sateri Maya at village Parye.

Hidden in the lap of Sahyadri, Satari is the most backward *concelhos* of Goa. It is full of mountains and valleys. The Portuguese had won it in 1739 from the Bhonsales of Savantwadi. Till the liberation of Goa, Satari has witnessed small and big freedom uprisings. In this connection special mention must be made of an attempt in 1852 under the stewardship of Dipu or Dipaji Rane which was quelled with difficulty after an obstinate and protracted resistance. This is a golden chapter in the history of Goa. Similarly, the participation of Satari people under the leadership of Dada Rane and Yeshwant Rane in Goa's freedom struggle is praiseworthy.

It is said that formerly Pernem, Bicholim and Satari belonged to the Bhonsales of Savantwadi and Ponda and Panjim to Sondekaras. At that time Satari was inhabited by a community called Dhavda who were stone-workers. Some call this community Heber and give blacksmithy as their occupation. The Dhavdas used to kill the collectors of land revenue who used to come from Savantwadi State. To bring them under control, the State sent an emissary Satroji Rana to Satari. He went to Satari with a select band of people who accompanied him in the garb of jugglers and gymnasts. This troupe entertained the Dhavdas wherever it went in Satari. The Dhavdas liked their feats very much. The Rana and his men studied the Dhavda habits carefully. One day he kept a special performance at Parye village for the Dhavda elders and leaders. He arranged a lavish party claiming it to be a farewell performance party on the eve of the departure from Satari and served plenty of wine and food to the Dhavdas. The State army was given advance information of this day and accordingly when they attacked the drunken Dhavdas while the acrobatic feats were being performed, the Dhavdas could not offer any resistance. All Dhavdas were massacred. Because of this success, the Rana was made a 'Sardar' and was given 'inami' land. These Ranas have now become Ranés and call themselves Marathas though originally they were Rajputs from Udaipur.

Those who give the name Hebers to the original inhabitants state that they were not willing to admit the rule of Marathas of Savantwadi. When action was taken against them those who surrendered came to be known as Sattarkar or those belonging to one of the seventy villages.

Ninety years after Portuguese rule started, the Portuguese learnt about these events. Two feuding

¹Some authors mention it to be 512.84 sq. kms.

Ranas sought their intervention in settling disputes. The Ranas gave the Portuguese their lands for management in exchange of which the Portuguese promised to pay an annual sum of Rs. 24,000. This amount was later on reduced to Rs. 3,000. The descendants of Ranas are now found in Sanquelim (3 families), Querim (one family), Kumbhar Khan (2 families) including that of Dipaji Rane who fought against the Portuguese) and Advoi (one family—that of Dada Rane who led the 1852 rebellion against the Portuguese).

In 1881 the District of Goa was formed. Among other concelhos, it consisted of Sanquelim Concelho which embodied the provinces of Bicholim and Satari. In 1897, the Provincial Order dated the 30th October, 1897 divided the Concelho of Sanquelim into two, of which one was named as Concelho of Sanquelim with an only province (Bicholim) and the other was known as Concelho of Satari formed of a province of the same name.

Satari Concelho, situated on the western slopes of Sahyadri, is full of mountains and valleys and is rich in forest wealth. Its area is 518.13 sq. kms. The concelho has the rich natural beauty of the Western Ghats and the boon of mineral wealth. Manganese is found in great quantity. Similarly, because of good rains, the coconut and betelnut plantations are a speciality of this area. Cashew nuts, jack fruits and bananas are also available in plenty. The only river worthy of mention in this area is the Mahodai river. This area which is full of natural beauty and mineral wealth was stripped of its greenery and vegetation in 1882 and 1903 by locust storms but the people did the impossible by making it into a paradise by braving these natural calamities.

If we take into account the percentage of inhabitants having agriculture as their main occupation to the total population of each concelho, we find that Satari with 43% leads the rest. The index of the concentration of the agricultural population in the area occupied by paddy fields shows that Satari has the highest agricultural population density in the area with paddy fields per hectare, being 6.975 as compared to 2.058 for Quepem which is the lowest.

The physiological density, which is the number of inhabitants per Unit of the productive soil (total area cultivated and that which can be cultivated), is the second lowest for Satari, being 0.533 per hectare as compared to 0.393 per hectare for Sanguem and 8.058 per hectare which is the highest for Mormugao. For Goa as a whole it is 1.806 per hectare.

The agrarian density which shows the number of persons engaged in agriculture (excluding forestry and fishing) per unit of cultivated land (land effectively cultivated excluding fallow land and forests) and which is an index of the incidence of the agricultural population on the arable area is third lowest for Satari, being 0.982, next only to Sanguem which has 0.640 and Bicholim which has 0.794. The highest for Canacona is 1.499. For Goa as a whole it is 1.101.

In Satari concelho, except 1,720 houses with 8,542 persons (4,258 males and 4,284 females) which belong to urban area consisting solely of Valpoi town, all the rest belong to the rural area of the concelho.

Because of their continuous dependence on outside rulers and because of the then prevailing political conditions, the people here, barring a few exceptions, have remained illiterate and poor. The people are rooted to the centuries old ancient customs and traditions.

The community development programme was introduced in Satari on November 14, 1962, the birthday of Pandit Nehru. The block was opened by the Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu. The block consists of the entire concelho and has 91 villages—big and small—with a total population of 26,167. Four of these villages are deserted. The percentage of literacy is hardly 10%. There is a municipality and seven gram panchayats for these 91 villages. The concelho's area is 128,200 acres out of which 54% is forest. Out of the total cultivable land, more than 50% is culturable fallow.

The land utilization pattern as given in the Report of the Goa Land Reforms Commission 1964, is as follows:—

	Area in hectares	Percentage to total area
Fallow land	13,370-3246	26-071
Paddy	1,609-4806	3-137
Inferior millets (mainly Klusky)	3,586-3706	6-995
Coconut	397-5856	0-775
Betelnut	327-2688	0-639
Cashew nut	4,982-0687	9-714
Sugarcane	11-5179	0-023
Fruit trees, flower gardens and vegetables	513-2223	1-001
Bamboo	3-8075	0-007
Forest	24,252-3703	47-290
Total area available for cultivation	49,054-0079	95-652
Area available for cultivation ²	2,229-9821	4-348
Total	51283-9900	100-00

² Includes fishyard, saltpans, public lands, tanks and ponds, uncultivable land and barren land, rivers and nullas, roads and streets, village and isolated houses and railway tracks.

According to old Portuguese land records there were 85 villages in Satari out of which 68 were surveyed and 17 unsurveyed. The 68 surveyed villages which were surveyed between 1908 and 1961 had the following land utilization pattern:—

	Area in hectares
<i>Government land :</i> Cultivated . . .	631-5576
Uncultivated . . .	5,580-8900
Uncultivable . . . (rivers, roads, etc.)	1,100-7678
Forest . . .	7,688-7915
Total . . .	15,002-0069
<i>Corporation land :</i> Village Community . . .	58-9620
Temple . . .	4-2673
Mosque . . .	0-0344
Total . . .	63-2637
<i>Land, of other private properties and holdings :</i>	19,965-4166
Grand Total . . .	35,030-6872

The concelho consists of seven gram panchayats or freguesia since 1964. It is proposed to have three more gram panchayats. The list of villages falling in each freguesia is as follows:—

1. *Freguesia de Valpoi* (Population 9,619).

1 Advoi	14 Maus
2 Ambedém	15 Nagargao
3 Assolém	16 Nagvém
4 Bombedém	17 Naneli
5 Carambolim-Bramã	18 Nanuz
6 Codqui	19 Pale
7 Compodém	20 Rívém
8 Cudcém	21 Santodém
9 Cumarcoonda	22 Sanvorcém
10 Dabém	23 Tandém
11 Davém	24 Volguém
12 Edorém	25 Veluz
13 Massordém	26 Zormeni

2. *Freguesia de Onda* (Population 5,142)

1 Buínpal	5 Podocém
2 Codiém	6 Ponocém
3 Morlém	7 Porjém.
4. Onda	8 Salali

9 Signém	11. Vaguriém.
10 Sonus	

3. *Freguesia de Querim* (Population 5,987)

i Anjuném.	9 Onda
2 Choraundém	10 Maulinguém.
3 Churchirem	11 Ponsuli
4 Golauli	12 Quelaudém.
5 Gonteli	13 Querim
6 Gululém	14 Revona
7 Iuren-Buzurucó	15 Siroli
8 Iuren-Curdo	

4. *Freguesia de Cotorém* (Population 3,348)

1 Ambeli	8 Malpona
2 Birondém	9 Melauli
3 Conquiram	10 Murmunon
4 Cotorém	11 Padeli
5 Damocém	12 Poicul
6 Govaném	13 Vantém.
7 Guleli	14 Xelopo-Curdo

5. *Freguesia de Codal* (Population 1,008)

1 Ambeacho-Goval	7 Sonal
2 Codal	8 Surla
3 Derodém	9 Ustém
4 Maloli	10 Xelopo-Buzurucó
5 Nanorem	11 Zadani
6 Satrém.	

6. *Freguesia de Caranzol* (Population 1,089)

1 Assodém.	7 Cumtoli
2 Bondir	8 Pendral
3 Carambolim-Buzurucó	9 Senvordém.
4 Caranzol	10 Siranguli
5 Cazreachi Dat	11 Sircodém.
6 Codvol	

7. *Freguesia de Gangem* (Population 428)

1 Gangem

8. *Freguesia de Pissurlem* (Population 1,172)

1 Pissurlem

*Office of the Director, Land Survey Department, Panjim. Goa.

That Satari is the most backward area of Goa can be seen from the fact that there are a number of villages where the weaker sections of the population form 50% and above, of the total population. Out of 87 villages at the time of starting the block, 78 (90%) belong to this category.

The following table shows the details:-

TABLE 1

Distribution of villages according to percentage of weaker sections (Satari Concelho)

Sl. No.	Percentage of weaker sections	Number of villages
1	1 to 10	1
2	11 to 20	2
3	21 to 30	2
4	31 to 40	2
5	41 to 50	2
6	51 to 60	4
7	61 to 70	5
8	71 to 80	10
9	81 to 90	10
10	91 to 100	49
		Total 87

The names of the important castes and tribes in the concelho and their numerical strength are as follows:—Mahar (527), Chambar (126), Sattarkar Kunbi (2303), Gaonkar Kunbi (14720), Yalip Gavada Kunbi (2147), Dhangar (523), others (6255).

If the distribution of the population of the concelho by industrial categories are considered, the following break up is found, agriculture (17493), agricultural labour (5080), dairy and forest products (326), small and village industries (937), trade (798), transport (206), service (1369), rentier, pensioner & domestic (392).

There is a small municipal area, Valpoi, within the concelho. It has a population of 8601, out of which more than 6,000 are in the primary sector and the rest are in the secondary and tertiary sectors of economy.

It is in the context of this general setting of the Union Territory, the concelho, and the town in the concelho, that the socio-economic complex of the village under study is proposed to be examined.

The Village

Situated in the midst of the Sahyadri range, Village Pal (Portuguese Pale) falls within the jurisdiction of Valpoi Municipality in Satari concelho of Goa. The Municipality of Valpoi has, besides Valpoi town, which is the headquarters of the concelho, twenty-six villages under its jurisdiction. Valpoi was never on the map of Goa in old days. It is said that the name 'Valpoi' is derived from the phrase in Marathi वहालापले कडे meaning 'across the stream'. The present area of Valpoi was formerly surrounded by streams and rivulets from all sides. There was Velus river in the north-east coming from Golauli and Mahadai in the south-east. To its south-west was Mhaus river coming from Zormem meeting Mahadai together with Velus.

This village was selected because of its location in the interior of Satari concelho. A synchronic study of five different types of villages was taken up, as an exploratory project for gaining insight about the social and economic processes in Goa. Pal was selected because of its backwardness and because of the preponderance of Kunbi community in it. This community like many others in Goa is in a backward state.

Location with reference to important centres of administration, commerce and industry or culture.

The village is situated in one of the most backward areas of Goa as far as economic development is concerned. Satari concelho borders Savantwadi Taluka of Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra State and Khanapur Taluka of Belgaum District of Mysore State. It is full of mountains and forests. Roughly speaking, more than 56% of the area is under forest. The concelho for some time was under a Military Governor because of the frequent uprisings by the Ranas.

The village rests in the northern part of the concelho. It is surrounded by Naneli in the east (3.2 kms.), Wagheri mountain in the west where people believe there is Vandevta or Goddess of Forest, Taném in the north (1 km.) and Valpoi in the south (8.5 kms.). Village Davém falls to its south-east (3.2 kms.) and village Compordém to its south-west (4.0 kms.). Velsa river in which people wash their clothes and from which at Taném small canals have been taken to irrigate paddy fields, flows from north of the village originating from Surla ghat bordering Khanapur Taluka of Belgaum District of Mysore State in the south and meeting Mahadai river at Sanvordém 9.6 kms. away. There are two streams in

the village which are seasonal. They are Dhavu in the village and Vahali on the outskirts of the village near the approach road. They become active only in monsoon.

Panaji, the capital of Goa, is 60 kms. away to north-west of Pal. Valpoi, the concelho as well as municipal headquarters, is 8.5 kms. to south. It is also a market place where a weekly market is held on every Tuesday. The nearest post and telegraph office and the nearest sub-treasury office are at Valpoi. The judicial court is at Bicholim, 22.5 kms. away. The sea-coast is at Kalangut, 51 kms. away from where and from the capital of the Union Territory, the Christians bring fish for sale at Valpoi on weekly market day.

Physical aspects—Flora and Fauna

The village experiences an annual rainfall of 100". The fauna consists of tigers, deer, wild boars, barking deer, spotted deer and wild rabbits. The flora is varied. The main timber species in the area are Jambha (*Xylia dolabriformis*), Mathi (*Terminalia lementosa*), Kinjal (*Terminalia paniculata*), Shisam (*Dalbergia latifolia*), Nana (*Lagertraemia parviflora*), Heddi (*Adina cardifolia*), Asson (*Pterocarpus maxsupium*), Goltig (*Terminalia belarica*), Dhaman (*Grenia latifolia*), Khalam (*Sliphegyene*), Shivan (*Gmelina arborea*), Moi (*Odina wodesii*), Sisossa (*Albizia lebbelle*). Besides these timber species there are a number of other trees found in the vast forest of the concelho. These are *Calaphthem tomentosum*, *Cedrella tone*, *Dichopsis elliptica*, *Aitanthes exulsa*, *Michalie chamaea*, *Censosium strictum*, *Artucarpus hirsula*, *Elocarpus obliquus*, *Polyalthie fragrans*, *Ahotonic scholoris*, *Strychnos nuxvomica* (kajra), *Autocephalus cedambe*, *Mimusnos clangi*, *Eugenia specias*, *Cinnamamum specius*, *Atreodophue semicarpustalia*, *Socequatatum tomentosum*, *Linocera malbarica*, *Bambax malbarica*, *Mangifera indica* (mango), *Machilus macarantha* and *Sterculia alato*. As no enumeration of trees has been made so far, it is very difficult to even estimate the number of trees of various kinds. Their nature of use also cannot be explained as only some are timber species while others are of ordinary type.

Size

The village has an area of 798.21 hectares. A major portion of this is waste land because of the mountainous terrain.

Number of households

There are 86 households in the village with a total population of 442, mostly consisting of Kunbis

who number 393 (79 households). Among the Kunbis, the Gaonkars are in majority with a population of 188 (35 households), followed by Sattarkars with an approximate population of 107 (18 households), Jogeshwarkars with a population of 93 (23 households) and Brahmanekar with a population of 8 (2 households). There are roughly 40 Dhangars (5 households), 5 Vaishyas (2 households), 4 Naiks (1 household). The Chambhar, Mahars and Suthars-cum-Lohars (Mesta) who serve the villagers live in the adjacent Taném village. The Paritin (washerwoman) comes from Veluz village, 4.83 kms. away and the Nhavis (barbers) from a great distance. One Nhavi comes from Onda and another from Sanquelim Brahmins from Taném or Valpoi serve the villagers when a religious ceremony is to be performed or on such occasions as marriage, birth or death. The Mahars serve the villagers by performing the duties of messengers and drummers and musicians at religious and social functions. The Mesta (Suthars-cum-Lohars) make agricultural implements for the villagers and the Chambhar makes footwear.

Residential pattern

Since the Dhangars live outside the village settlement with one household a furlong away from the village and the remaining four households on the Wagheri mountain and since the Naik, a Kunbi and one of the Vaishya families live on the road to Taném outside the village, the main residential cluster of the village is inhabited only by Kunbis and just one family of Vaishya. The Kunbis are scattered over the three hamlets of the village—the Rastyavaril wada (hamlet near the road), Deulwada (hamlet near the temple) and kajryachi temb. The Rastyavaril wada has 32 households including both the Vaishya households and one each Dhangar and Naik household. A Vaishya, a Dhangar, a Naik and a Kunbi household are situated on way to Taném but are counted in this hamlet. The Deulwada and kajryachi temb hamlets have 30 and 20 households respectively. Kajryachi temb is situated a furlong away to the south of the other two hamlets. Four Dhangar households live on Wagheri mountain.

Rastyavaril wada which is approximately 0.6071 hectares ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acres) in size has 13 Gaonkar Kunbi, 10 Sattarkar Kunbi, 3 Jogeshwarkar Kunbi, 2 each Brahmanekar Kunbi and Vaishya and one each Dhangar and Naik households. Deulwada which is 0.5058 hectares ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acres) in size has 22 Gaonkar Kunbi, 7 Sattarkar and one Jogeshwarkar Kunbi households. Kajryachi temb which is 0.6071 hectares ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acres) in size has 19 Jogeshwarkar Kunbi and one Sattarkar Kunbi households.

House-types

The houses in the village are built irregularly, sometimes leaving a little space for footpath by the side of each house. Each house is rectangular in shape and consists of one room and a front verandah. The two-sided roof of the house is thatched but sometimes laid with country tiles. The walls are made of mud and no lime is used for construction. The floor is smeared with cowdung. There is only one door in front and no windows. Very few houses have a window. No latrine or bath is attached to the house. Every house has a courtyard in which there is the sacred *Tulsi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) plant.

The Vaishya and Naik houses are also like this. In Vaishya houses there is a separate improvised room for kitchen.

The Mahar houses are all thatched roofed and mud-walled with no courtyard.

The Dhangar houses are the biggest because of the livestock they possess. These are separate rooms for sleeping and cooking and separate enclosures for livestock.

Communication

The village is situated on the Valpoi-Taném road which is a non-metalled kuccha road. Since 1962 a bus runs between these two places twice every day. People generally walk down to Valpoi every Tuesday which is Valpoi's weekly market day. The nearest post and telegraph office is at Valpoi and the nearest rail head at Margaon, 56.32 kms. away.

Important public places including places of worship

The only important public place in the village is the temple of Sateri Maya in which is also housed a primary school run by the Community Development Block. The temple is on a flat ground between two hamlets on one side and the third on the other. In the temple, four copper *kalas* (pitchers) are kept in a wooden stand. These are representing Sateri Maya, Kelmi Maya, Jogeshwari Maya and Brahmani Maya. There is a temple committee consisting of one representative each of Sattarkar, Jogeshwarkar and Brahmanekar Kunbis which takes a lead in celebrating *Shimga* (Holi) festival and performs worship every day. The membership of this committee is restricted only to Gaonkars, that is, those who are original residents of the village. Its tenure is for two years. After two years other original inhabitants of the village get a chance.

The primary school at the time of the survey was in the front verandah of the village temple. A separate building for the same was being constructed by the Community Development Block. It was facing the temple. The school has been started in 1963 by the Block and gives instruction upto fourth standard. The medium of instruction is Marathi. There are two teachers—one a Maratha and another a Chambhar. They work under the Block though they are paid by the Territory's Education Department. The school works from 8 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. for 1st and 3rd standards and 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. for 2nd and 4th standards. Education is free and no mid-day meals are given.

There is no crematorium in the village. The dead bodies are burnt outside the village across the road leading to Taném.

There is no monument in the village. But at the foothills of the Wagheri mountain some distance away from the village is a gravestone of a Portuguese officer who was murdered by terrorists during the long struggle for Goa's independence.

Sources of water

The Kunbis of Deulwada and Rastyavarilwada drink water from a well near the temple and those of kajaryache temb from another well near the hamlet. Some families even go to a stream near the village which has dirty water and use it for drinking purposes.

The Vaishya family living in the village takes water from the well near the temple while the Vaishya family living on way to Taném takes it from a well near their house from which the Naik also takes water.

The Dhangars have wells or streams near their houses. In fact they raise their huts only near such surroundings.

The Mahars of Taném take water from the lower end of the river and, at the time of survey, were digging a well near their hamlet.

In Pal, a new well was being dug by voluntary labour near the temple for purposes of getting drinking water. For washing the clothes, the people go to the stream near the village.

Welfare and administrative institutions

There are no welfare or administrative institutions in the village. There is, however, a gram sevak who

resides in Taném and has, among other villages, Pal under his control. He is an employee of the community development block. Besides him, there is a Fauzdar or unofficial village headman who is the acknowledged leader of the village. He was holding the post of Fauzdar during the Portuguese regime and continues to be known by that name even today. His duty is to notify people about any Government programme, calling villager's attention to and canvassing among them about projects needing people's participation.

There is a voluntary panch which settles disputes among villagers. The persons constituting this panch are known as Janate ज्ञानते or knowledgeable persons. People generally obey the panch since membership is by rotation and every house has a chance to be represented on the panch in course of time. The panch members at the time of the survey were Sarvashri Punaji Sablo Savant, Ramchandra Vasu Gaonkar, Jaydeo Nargo Savant, Yeshwant Sopri Ayekar and Gopal Shabha Gaonkar.

History of settlement of different sections of the population of the village

The village is inhabited by Kunbis, Dhangars and Vaishyas. There is one household of Naik. The Kunbis are in absolute majority. None is able to tell wherefrom their ancestors had come to the vil-

lage. All the families have been living in the village since generations.

The ancestors of twelve Kunbi households had migrated from outside, long time ago. Among these are seven Paryekars, two each Ayekars and Kharpalkars and one Shiddekar. Only one Vaishya family came last year and another 12 years back for economic reasons. Four Kunbi households emigrated from this village for economic reasons twelve years ago. It is not known as to which place they have gone.

The Dhangars seldom lead a settled life. One Dhangar household is, however, living in the village for the last ten years. It had come from Signém (4.02 kms. away) where it had gone from Compar-dém (4.02 kms. away from Signém). It was in Signém for two to three years before coming to Pal. Other Dhangar household on Wagheri hill have settled for more than a generation.

Legend, if any, concerning the village or any object or any section of the population of the village

The people of the village including some elders were unable to tell any legend concerning the village or any object or any section of the population of the village. Even the elders were not able to say anything about the antiquity of the village.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

As has been pointed out earlier, the Kunbis are in majority in the village. Others inhabiting the village are Dhangars, Vaishyas and Naiks. Out of the 86 households, there are 78 Kunbi, 5 Dhangar, 2 Vaishya and one Naik households.

A. KUNBI

The term Kunbi according to some authors is derived from the Sanskrit *krishi* meaning cultivation.¹ According to R.E. Enthoven², the word Kunbi is commonly derived from 'Kulambi' or 'Kutumbika' and means husbandman in Marathi, 'Kanbi' being its Gujarati equivalent. It also seems possible that the word comes from the Dravidian 'kul' now meaning a labourer, but apparently formerly a husbandman, tillage being the chief form of labour. The Gujarati Kanbi, United Provinces Kurmi, Deccan Kunbi or Kulambi and South Canara Kulwadi are all descriptive names of the husbandmen class. The words denote a status and not a caste. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī derives the word Kunbi or Kanbi from the Sanskrit *Kutumbin* meaning one possessing a family or a house. Enthoven³ quotes him, "From ancient times the title *Kutumbin* has been prefixed to the names of cultivators. This practice still obtains in parts of the North-West Provinces where the peasant proprietors are addressed as Grihasthas or householders. As cattle-breeding, not cultivation, was the original, and it still is the characteristic, calling of many North Indian Gujars, those of the tribe who settled down to cultivation came to be specially known as *Kutumbin* or householders. Similarly Deccan surnames show that many tribes of wandering cattle-owners settled as householders and are known as Kunbis". In Khandesh, even the Vanjaras who have now settled down call themselves Kunbis. In most parts of India they are also known by the name Kumbhi or Kurmi.⁴ Edgar Thurston⁵ points out Kunbi as a Bombay cultivating caste and makes it a sub-division of Marathis, generally agriculturists.

The Kunbis of Goa call themselves Kudwali (a corrupt form of Kulwadi)⁶ which means a cultivator. As Enthoven says it is a term applied to all cultivators in the Konkan whether Marathas, Bhandaris etc. Thurston mentions a similar name 'Kuluvadi' as the caste name used among themselves⁷ by the Kudubis of South Canara and states that 'Kuluvadi' is a synonym of 'Kudubi'⁸.

In Maharashtra, the line of demarcation between Marathas and Kunbis or Kulwadis is taken to be very thin as inter-marriages between girls of well-to-do Kunbi families and the lower sections of Marathas are not uncommon. Kunbis prefer the designation Maratha to that of Kunbi, as more honourable. As Enthoven points out, the two communities are differentiated rather by wealth and social status than by any hard and fast caste distinction. Whereas among Marathas *pardah* is observed and widows do not remarry, the Kunbis do not observe *pardah* and their widows remarry. Some Kunbis claim to be Kshatriyas but appear to be a local tribe from the survival of totemism in the form of *devaks* still prevailing among them. What he has stated of Savantwadi State regarding the local cultivators calling themselves Maratha but who are called Kunbis in the Deccan is equally true of Goa where the Kunbis try to associate themselves with Marathas. Some call themselves June Marathe जुने मराठे (old Marathas) and others Nave Marathe नवे मराठे (new Marathas). The Sattarkar Kunbis claim the former nomenclature and call all other Kunbis by the latter name.

Sub-divisions

Excluding the Gujarat Kanbis, Enthoven⁹ divides Kunbis into five broad territorial groups—Maratha Kunbis, Konkani Kunbis, Khandeshi Kunbis, Talheri Kunbis of Thana and Kale Kunbis of Kanara (whose ancestors were from Goa).

¹P.J. Mead and G. Laird Macgregor: Bombay: Census of India, 1911, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 278.

²R.E. Enthoven: The Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Bombay, 1922, Vol. II, p. 284.

³Ibid.

⁴M.A. Sherring: Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, p. 187.

⁵Edgar Thurston: Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Madras, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 118.

⁶The Kunbis appear to pronounce some words by reversing the letters. Besides Kudwali for Kulwadi, another such word is Shigma for Shimga which means the Holi festival.

⁷Op. cit. p. 99.

⁸Op. cit. 4p. 118.

⁹Op. cit.

Thurston¹⁰ divides Kudubis into Ārē, Goa, Jogi, Kodyāl and Kariya. The Goa Kudubis say that they emigrated to South Kanara owing to the oppression from which they suffered.

Other known sub-divisions among the Kunbis of Goa are Gaonkar Kunbi, Sattarkar Kunbi, Maratha Kunbi, Yalip Kunbi and Gavda Kunbi.

The term 'Gaonkar' is applied to anyone—Kunbi, Vaishya or even Brahmin—and is always used with reference to a particular village. A Kunbi, Vaishya or Brahmin residing in and belonging to village Pal is known as Gaonkar in his village but if he goes to some other village he will be known as Palkar. Similarly, a resident of village Parye will be known as Gaonkar in that village but will be called Paryekar in other villages. The Gaonkars, in short, are the original residents of a village and by virtue of their being Gaonkars have the right to manage the religious institutions like temples in the village. They alone can perform the rituals in front of the village deities. They enjoy no such rights if they settle in other villages. Similarly, outsiders settling down in their village do not have these rights as they are not Gaonkars of that village but of their own.

Sattarkar Kunbi are those who have settled in Satari Concelho, though this explanation is seldom given by the Kunbis of Satari.¹¹ Sometimes it is said by some Kunbis that Sattarkars are inferior to Gaonkars. In this statement 'Sattarkar' is used for anyone who does not belong to the village of the persons making the statement. Certain others opine that both Sattarkars and Gaonkars are the same in Satari concelho. It appears that Sattarkar Kunbi is one of the major sub-divisions of Kunbi. All Kunbis in Satari concelho who call themselves Gaonkars are either Sattarkar or Gavda Kunbis. In the northern part of Satari where the villages are inhabited by Sattarkar Kunbis, they are Sattarkars. In the southern, where the villages are inhabited by Gavdas, the Gaonkars are mostly Gavda Kunbis though it is not uncommon to find villages having both Gavda and Sattarkar Kunbis who are Gaonkars.

Gavda Kunbis are either Hindus or Christians. Most of the Gavdas who work in manganese mines of Bicholim concelho are Christians while the Hindu Gavdas are agriculturists.

Many Sattarkar Kunbis call themselves Maratha Kunbis or simply Marathas.

It is said that Yalip Kunbis are not found in Satari.

Some Kunbis do not make the distinction as referred to earlier. In order to raise their social status they say that there are only two types among them—old Marathas and new Marathas. Such Kunbis refuse to call themselves Kunbis. Sattarkars call themselves old Marathas and treat others as new Marathas. These two types do not intermarry. Certain others call themselves just Marathas without making the distinction of old and new.

Besides these distinctions, there are distinctions based on the deities they worship. Thus the Kunbis are divided into clans or *Kuls*, each of which has special gods and goddesses whose shrines are in villages, which are the headquarters of the clans. Those who worship Sateri Maya are Sattarkar Kunbi, those who worship Jogeshwari Maya are Jogeshwarkar Kunbi, those who worship Brahmani Maya are Brahmanekar Kunbi and those who worship Kelmi Maya are Kelmekar Kunbi. In fact, all these sub-divisions worship all the deities. In every Kunbi village there is a Sateri Maya temple in which four copper *Kalas* (pitchers) are kept, representing each of the four deities mentioned. For worship, the first honour is of Sateri Maya, followed by Kelmi Maya, Jogeshwari Maya and Brahmani Maya.

There are two opinions about Brahmanekar Kunbis. Some believe that they are those who worship Brahmani Maya of Compordém village and others are of the opinion that they are the descendants of those Kunbis who helped some Brahmins in old days in rescuing the Brahma image from the Portuguese religious persecutionists and in bringing it to safety and installing it at a place called Carambolim—Bramā in Satari.

It is, therefore, very difficult to state anything authoritatively and categorically about the sub-divisions of Kunbi. The only common knowledge is that persons of the same clan and family deity cannot intermarry.

Appearance

The Kunbis are dark and middle-sized. They have prominent cheek bones and thick lips. They are thin and rickety. Some among men keep moustache. Others are clean-shaven. They do not shave the head. The Kunbi women are also slender and dark.

¹⁰Op. cit., p. 99.

¹¹Enthoven also thinks that they are a division of Konkani Kunbis who belong to Satari which he calls "a village in Goa", and who marry and eat with the Goa Sattarkars. He goes on to say that they have no stock-names, surnames or badges. Op. cit. p. 322.

Kinship Terminology

The following list gives some of the terms used by the Kunbis in describing their kins:—

Mother	<i>Aāvai</i>	(आवई)
Father	<i>Bāp</i>	(बाप)
Brother	<i>Bhāv</i>	(भाव)
Sister	<i>Bahin</i>	(बहीण)
Son	<i>Chedo</i>	(चेडो)
Daughter	<i>Chedu</i>	(चेडू)
		Also used for small boy.
Father's Father	<i>Aājā</i>	(आजा)
Mother's father	<i>Aājā</i>	(आजा)
Father's mother	<i>Bā</i>	(बा)
Mother's mother	<i>Bā</i>	(बा)
Father's brother	<i>Aāppā</i>	(आप्पा)
Father's brother's wife	<i>Kāki</i>	(काकी)
Father's sister	<i>Kākā</i>	(काका)
Father's sister's husband	<i>Māmā</i>	(मामा)
Mother's brother	<i>Mavla or Mama</i>	(मावला OR मामा)
Mother's brother's wife	<i>Māmi</i>	(सामी)
Mother's sister	<i>Māvashī</i>	(मावशी)
Mother's sister's husband	<i>Māvashā</i>	(मावशा)
Brother's wife	<i>Vanhi</i>	(वन्ही)
Brother's son	<i>Putanyo</i>	(पुतण्यो)
Brother's daughter	<i>Putani</i>	(पुतणी)
Sister's son	<i>Bhācho</i>	(भाचो)
Sister's daughter	<i>Bhāchī</i>	(भाचो)
Husband's sister	<i>Vanjī</i>	(वन्जी)
Wife's sister's husband	<i>Sādu</i>	(साडू)
Wife's father	<i>Māv</i>	(माव)
Wife's mother	<i>Sāsu</i>	(सामु)
Husband's father	<i>Māv</i>	(माव)
Husband's mother	<i>Sāsu</i>	(सामु)

If the name of one's father is given to his son, the person calls his son by the term *Jhila* (झिला) as he is not supposed to call him by his own father's name.

House-types

The Kunbis are spread all over the village. Their houses in the village are built irregularly, sometimes leaving some space for footpath by the side of the house. They always live in a cluster unlike the Dhan-gars who live isolated and scattered. Their villages are not necessarily in the plains but in valleys and sometimes on mountainous terrains. In the village settlement no distinction is made for any Kunbi sub-groups.

Each house is rectangular in shape and consists of one room and a front verandah. The two-sided roof is thatched but sometimes laid with country tiles. The walls are made of mud and no lime is used for construction. The floor is smeared with cowdung. There is only one door in front and no windows. Very few houses have a window. No latrine or bath is attached to the house. Every house has a courtyard in the front where there is the sacred **Tulsi vrindavan** [place where **Tulsi** (*Ocimum sanctum*) is grown]. The courtyard is also utilised for drying eatables. The main house is always situated on a plinth of three feet or more made of stone or mud. The verandah is used as sitting room. In a little economically better off family, there are two rooms—one for sleeping and another for cooking. But such cases are few. Again, rarely does one come across a house with a window or with tile-roof. Since only a handful keep cattle, there is no separate cattle-shed. The fowls², if any, are kept below baskets or are allowed to rest on planks fixed on the walls where the belongings of the family are kept. Hygienic conditions of the house or of its surroundings are far from satisfactory.

Dress

The dress of the Kunbis is very simple. Since most of them are poor they cannot afford to wear fine clothes. No matter whether he is a Sattarkar or Gavda or any other caste, the male will dress in a **pancha** (पंचा) a piece of cloth passed between two legs like a **langoti** (लंगोटी) or wrapped round the waist. The upper portion is seldom covered though some use an armless or half-sleeve jacket. Some youngsters and those who have experienced town-life wear vests or shirts and shorts. All wear a shirt only when they go to the weekly market place to purchase the necessities. They do not wear any headgear but sometimes wrap a piece of cloth or towel round the head as a protection from sun. In cold or wet weather they wrap themselves with a **chadar** (चादर) or **ghonghadi** (घोंघडी) a coarse blanket. They go bare-footed. A few among younger generation wear chappals. The children are generally naked. School-going children or boys above six wear **langoti** or shorts.

The bridegroom wears a full-sleeve coat known as **angarakha** (अंगरखा) waist cloth or loin cloth or **dhoti** (धोती) a turban or **mundase** (मुंडासे) and takes a cloth over his shoulders.

Married women or widows wear six to seven yards saree known as **kapad** (कापड) literally a cloth and a **choli** (चोली) or blouse though it is not uncommon to find many of them discarding the latter apparel probably because of the heat as the climate

²It is interesting to note here that some of the Gavda Kunbis of Satari who are Hindus do not even touch fowls and pigs let alone eating them.

is tropical. The women do not wear any undergarment. Unmarried girls wear petticoat or a small piece of saree only on the lower portion and a blouse. They do not cover their breasts with saree till they are married. Girls below five generally go naked.

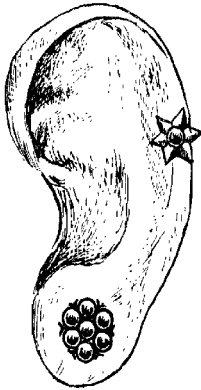
The bride is dressed in green saree and green blouse as this colour is supposed to be an auspicious colour.

There is no special dress for those Kunbis who are religious functionaries like the members of the temple committee. There is no variation in dress between one sub-division and another.

Ornaments

The Kunbi males do not wear any ornaments.

The females wear earrings of brass or gold yedi and nose ring known as **nath** (नथ) also made of either brass or gold. A black bead necklace is worn as the sacred thread or **mangalsutra** (मंगलसूत्र). Women also wear glass bangles. Unmarried girls seldom have any ornaments except thin brass or gold rings round their nose and ears and glass bangles.



YEDI

The bride always wears the **nath** and green bangles at the time of marriage.

Personal decoration

Tattooing is not common though some women do it on the forehead. Married women apply vermilion **mark** on the centre of the forehead as a sign of marital status or **saubhagya** (सौभाग्य). The mark is always round and big.

Material culture

The Kunbis use earthen, brass and copper utensils for their domestic use. Poor families have only earthen utensils. **Degchi** (डेगची) **top** (टोप) **madaka** (मडका) and ladders are utilised for cooking and pitchers for carrying and storing water. Some families who are comparatively better off economically use brass **degchi** and **top** and copper or brass **madaka**. Otherwise normally the utensils are earthen. The ladles and spoons are wooden. Prosperous families have brass or aluminium ones. The Kunbis hardly possess any furniture. A chair or two may be found in the house of a well-to-do family. Sometimes a cot can also be seen though generally all sleep on the floor.

The implements needed for economic pursuits are sickle, plough, axe, etc. Only those who possess some land own these or some of these implements. Others possess only a sickle. The wood for the implements is brought from the jungle whereas the iron or steel is obtained from different sources. It is alleged that sometimes it is obtained even by pilferage of railway materials.

The traditional weights and measures used by the Kunbis are as follows:—

1 <i>pad</i>	· (पड)	== 3/4 kg.
2 <i>pad</i>	· (,,)	= 1 <i>pāyali</i> पायली = 1½ kg.
4 <i>pad</i>	· (//)	= 1 <i>Kudo</i> (कुडो) = 3 kg.
20 <i>Kudo</i>	· (कुडो)	= 1 <i>Khandi</i> (खंडी) = 60 kg.
<i>Ubhi khandi</i>	· (उभी खंडी)	= 90 to 110 kg.
<i>Kapiv khandi</i>	· (कापीव खंडी)	= 60 kg.

The nomenclatures for the common weights and measures are as follows:—

233 gms.	· ¼ seer— <i>Pāvsher</i>	(पावशेर)
466 gms.	· ½ seer— <i>Aāvā</i>	(आटवा)
933 gms.	· 1 seer— <i>Sher</i>	(शेर)
1.866 kgs.	· 2 seers— <i>Pad</i>	(पड)
3.732 kgs.	· 4 seers— <i>Pāyali</i>	(पायली)
37.320 kgs.	· 40 seers— <i>Kudav</i>	(कुडव)

Small distance is measured in **vit** (वीत) which is the distance from the tip of one's thumb to the tip of the last finger of the same palm when both are stretched horizontally and **hat** (हात) (arm). Two **vit** are equal to one 'hat'.

Food and drink

Rice and hill millet known as **nāchani** (नाचणी) are the staple diet of the Kunbis. The daily diet of a

Kunbi family is bread made out of the flour of hill millet, rice and dry fish. Rice is eaten boiled and its water **pench** (पेंच) is also consumed. Hill millet is also eaten by mixing its flour in butter milk and cooking it. This is called **ambli** (अंबलि). There is no regularity in eating rice and hill-millet. If they get one, they can do without the other. But dry fish is a 'must' in Kunbi diet. The commonest dry fish is **bangda** (बांगडा) (mackerel). The Kunbi, the expression goes, cannot take a morsel without the **bangda** or in its absence any other fish. Every week a family needs dry fish worth at least 25 paise to Rs. 2 depending on its economic condition and size. As jackfruits are in abundance, they also form a very important part of the diet, though not necessarily of daily diet. Raw jackfruit is sometimes eaten as a vegetable with rice and hill millet. Ripe one is eaten as a fruit. Many times when other food is not available, the Kunbis sustain themselves only on ripened jackfruits. The Kunbis eat the flesh of goats, sheep, hare, deer, wild hogs and fowls.

Some Kunbi males take wine occasionally while others only on festive occasions like **Shimga**.

Kunbi men and women are fond of tobacco and arecanut as other inhabitants of Satari. The ladies eat betel leaf and arecanut a number of times everyday. Men also eat these but not as much as the women do. They are fond of chewing tobacco and smoking **bidis** (बिडी) (indigenous cigarettes). Every week along with the daily necessities are brought these habitual articles from the market. The **bidis**, however, are made from the leaves of **shami** (शमी) (*prosopis spicigora*) or other trees by keeping tobacco on the leaves and rolling them. The younger generation purchases 'bidis'.

Health and sanitation

The Kunbis generally are not neat and clean. They do not take bath regularly. They go to the nearby forest for easing themselves as their houses do not have latrines and bathrooms attached to them. They do not keep their houses clean.

They indulge in such unhygienic habits as spitting wherever they are sitting, blowing their nose and wiping the unclean hands to the head or clothes, not washing their clothes etc. Some of their habits like the last mentioned can partly be attributed to poverty which necessitates them to wear the same garment day in and day out. As tobacco chewing and betel leaf eating is almost a universal habit with them, their teeth are stained with red and brown coating. Very few Kunbis clean their teeth daily.

The common ailments among them are high fever, skin trouble, tooth ache, head-ache, dysentery etc. They seldom go to a doctor for curing these ailments. They apply some leaves to the affected part or take household cures. They also seek the help of **gādhī** (गाड्डी) or local medicineman who chants a few verses and instructs to sacrifice a fowl or a goat or do some other things to propitiate the angered spirits.

Language

The Kunbis speak corrupt Marathi which is blended with Konkani. They speak in a nasal accent. Their Marathi is not so clean and clear as that of the Dhangers.

The common names among men are Datto, Tulyo, Yeso, Rama, Viso, Shiva and Hargo and among women Sita, Savitri, Bhagu, Salu, Janaki and Sakhu.

The Kunbis do not speak any other language. They do not understand Hindi.

The names of the days in a week are as under:--

Sunday	-- <i>Aitwar</i>	(ऐतवार)
Monday	-- <i>Somwār</i>	(सोमवार)
Tuesday	-- <i>Mangalwār</i>	(मंगलवार)
Wednesday	-- <i>Budhwār</i>	(बुधवार)
Thursday	-- <i>Brūhastār</i>	(बृहस्तार)
Friday	-- <i>Shukrawār</i>	(शुक्रवार)
Saturday	-- <i>Shanīwār</i>	(शनिवार)

The twelve months of a year are called the same way as the Marathi months. These are:—

<i>Chaitra</i>	(चैत्र)
<i>Vaishākh</i>	(वैशाख)
<i>Jyeshtha</i>	(ज्येष्ठ)
<i>Aishādh</i>	(आषाढ)
<i>Shrāvan</i>	(श्रावण)
<i>Bhādrapad</i>	(भाद्रपद)
<i>Ashwin</i>	(अश्विन)
<i>Kārtik</i>	(कार्तिक)
<i>Mārgashīrshā</i>	(मार्गशीर्ष)
<i>Pauṣh</i>	(पौष)
<i>Māgh</i>	(माघ)
	(फाल्गुन)

There are only two seasons for the Kunbis **gim** (गिम) or summer and **Pausala** (पाऊसाला) or monsoon. The new year's day, which is the first day of the month of Chaitra, is known as **sansar padwa** (संसार पाडवा).

Occupation

Kunbis, as a class, are agriculturists. Enthoven has classified them as landholders and husbandmen with some higher families being land proprietors, **deshmukhs** and **patils** in the Deccan. Some are owner-cultivators, others tenants and a number of them agricultural labourers. As a class they are poor and are in debt. They are assisted in their work by women and children. Those who do not possess land used to get land from the Forest Department till 1965. This method of cultivating land is known as **kumeri** or shifting cultivation. Details of **kumeri** are given in the chapter on Economy. Some of the **Gavda** Kunbis—both Hindu and Christian—males and females, who are in villages which are in the vicinity of mines in Bicholim Concelho work as mine labourers earning Rs. 4 or more per day.

In Satari, the continuous rebellious activities of the **Ranes** was one of the main reasons for military rule there and the consequent neglect of the region's economy. The Kunbis have suffered a lot because of these factors.

Life Cycle

Birth.—For the first pregnancy, the woman's good longings (डोहाले) are satisfied and a longing dinner (डोहाले जेवण) is held in either fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy. She is garlanded on this occasion and a **puja** is performed. A few married women who have never become widow (सुवायीण) are invited to dine with her. The number varies according to one's financial position. The first confinement is usually at her parents' place. She is brought to her parents' place in the seventh or eighth month. Due to hard times now, it is not compulsory for the expectant mother to go to her parents' place for the first delivery. It can as well be at her husband's place.

The delivery is attended by an elderly lady of the house or village. If she is a professional, unqualified but experienced midwife, she is known as **vanzin** (वंजिन). It is she who cuts the umbilical cord with a safety razor blade or razor, puts it along with the placenta in an earthen pitcher and buries it outside the house near the place from where used water flows. She buries the pitcher in such a way that the water flows over the place where it is buried. She gives hot water bath to the baby and the mother

after rubbing them with turmeric and oil. She is paid in grains and sometimes in cash by the family whom she serves. The birth of a boy is always heralded as a joyous event while that of a girl is not done likewise. The woman is fed on rice-water or rice paste mixed with sugar and **Ova zigusticum** (जॉवा) for four days. She is given chicken soup intermittently. Beneath the cot of the woman small fire of coal is kept.

Goddess **Satvai** or Mother Sixth is worshipped by barren women and by laying-in-women on the fifth or sixth day after the child is born. Her image is an armless bust, according to Enthoven.

On the twelfth day when the name-giving ceremony is performed, the child is dressed in new clothes. The Brahmin priest is called. He suggests the name according to the position of stars and tells his fortune by referring the year's almanac. The child is placed on a cradle which is rocked by the assembled ladies who also sing songs. Paternal aunt or any other near relative whispers the name in the child's ears. If it is not possible to hold the ceremony on the twelfth day, it is held after a month.

The woman cooks for herself for a month as she is considered polluted.

Lactation continues till the next child is born or till two to three years. Forced abortion is not prevalent.

While describing the customs among the **Maratha** Kunbis, Enthoven quotes the **Bombay Gazetteer**, V. XVIII and states that the boy is branded as a cowherd at the age of ten or twelve either on the right or left hand or on both hands by burning the pounded pellets of hare's dung set in four or five places about the boy's wrist. This system is also prevalent among the Kunbis in Goa though instead of the hare's dung, cotton is used.

When a girl attains puberty, she is supposed to be fit to bear children. In old days when child marriages were prevalent the puberty rites were known as **garbhadhāranā** (गर्भधारणा). After the course, when the girl would take bath, the husband used to take her with him at his place. Now as there are no child marriages the girl attaining puberty is asked to sit aside and is not allowed to work or touch anything in the house for three days. No separate room is reserved for her. The Brahmin is called to do some 'puja'.

The segregation of sex is the responsibility of the mother but even otherwise as the children grow up,

they do not sleep together or play together. Boys' games are also different from the girls' games. Pre-marital free mixing and pre-marital sex relation is prohibited by convention.

Marriage.—Kunbi girls are married either before or after puberty at the age of 14 or 15 and boys at the age of 20 and above. Child marriages are no longer prevalent. The kunbi marriage is fixed by the boy's father going to the girl's father and requesting, the latter for the hand of the girl. An elderly person or friend or relation is always with him. The girl's father asks for some time, consults his friends and relations and refuses or gives his consent accordingly. The **dej** (देज) or bride price is settled by bargain. Normally, cash ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 200, rice and/or hill millet ranging from two to ten maunds and sarees for the female relations of the bride, head-gears for her male relations and other articles like cattle depending on one's capacity are given as the bride price. If the proposal is accepted, coconut and sugar is distributed to the neighbours. The expenses are in the proportion of 2:1 respectively for the families of the bridegroom and the bride. Betel leaves and arecanuts are also distributed. The betrothal ceremony is known as **sākharpudā** (साखरपुढा) and is marked by distribution of **khirapat** (खिरापत) or a mixture of coconut and sugar. The Brahmin then fixes the **muhurta** (मुहूर्त) or the auspicious time and date of marriage. The Brahmin can be a Deshastha or Karhada Brahmin.

On the day of the marriage, the groom has a haircut. The couple is given a bath separately in their respective houses and are rubbed with turmeric powder. They wear a new dress, the bridegroom wearing a full-sleeve jacket, a dhoti and a headgear and the bride wearing a green saree and a green blouse. A chaplet of flowers or tinsel is tied to their brows. Their foreheads are marked with vermilion paste over which a few grains of rice are stuck. Then the groom's party goes to the bride's house accompanied by music played by the Mahars. There the couple stands near the earthen altar or **bahule** (बाहुले) set up before, facing each other with a screen stretched between them. This screen is a piece of cloth known as **antarpat** (अंतरपाट) held in order that the couple may not see each other. After the exchange of garlands, their hands are joined and the screen removed. All through the ceremony, from the time the couple stands opposite each other till their hands are joined, auspicious octaves or lucky verses known as **mangalāshtake** (मंगलाष्टके) are recited by the Brahmin, at the end of each couplet of which coloured rice or millet given to all in the assembly before the start of the verses, is thrown over the heads of the couple when the priest says **shubha mangal sāvadhan** (शुभ मंगल सावधान). Later on presents or āher (आहेर) are given,

Kanyadan (कन्यादान) or girl-giving is another ceremony performed by the bride's father after the marriage. During this ceremony he gives her copper utensils.

A feast is held in which sweets are served. After the marriage the couple goes to the temple in the village to invoke the blessings of the deity. The Brahmin charges Rs. 20 for performing the marriage ceremony.

Sattarkar, Jogeshwarkar and Brahmanekar Kunbis do not intermarry. According to Enthoven, among Sattarkars of Kanara persons who have the same family goddess are held to belong to one clan between the members of which marriages are forbidden. A Kunbi can marry mother's brother's daughter but cannot marry father's sister's daughter or mother's sister's daughter. A Kunbi does not marry elder brother's wife after elder brother's death or his wife's sister after wife's death. But the latter marriage is permissible if the in-laws agree. Two brothers do not marry two sisters. Neither polygamy nor polyandry is prevalent.

Marriage between members of the community belonging to brother villages is forbidden since these villages have the same deity. The restriction is for Kunbis and for other communities residing in the villages. Pal's brother villages or fraternal villages are Taném, Iurem-Buzuruco, Iurem-Curdo, Choraudem, Gululém and Rivém. The main gods of all these brother villages are in Taném. They are **Kolgiro** (कोल्गिरो) and **Mandalgiro** (मंडलगिरो). In Taném there are no images of these gods but only two **pāshān** (पाशाण) or stones are kept and they are considered sacred.

Divorce is allowed but is considered as death of the party divorced. Divorced women can marry again. Legal separation is seldom found. Widow marriage is not prevalent though it is allowed. Generally widowers marry widows. The widows, however, are not allowed to participate in religious functions.

Death.—The Kunbis believe that a man dies when god wills that he should die. They burn their dead. According to Enthoven, the Sattarkars of Kanara either burn or bury their dead, mourning three days and then cleaning themselves by drinking water brought from the house of the priest. On every new moon crows are fed to please the family spirits. Among the Kunbis of Goa, children who are infants upto the age of four to six years, pregnant women and persons having no relations are buried. The cremation ground is always outside the village. Both while burning and burying the body is kept facing south.

The body is first bathed in hot water. It is then tied to a ladder-like bier made of two poles. It is covered with a new cloth after which it is tied by a cord to make sure that it is secure on the bier. Four persons carry the body to the cremation ground preceded by the son of the deceased carrying an earthen firepot on a triangular frame fastened to a sling. All this is done only by the members of the community to which the deceased belonged. The strings are untied only after the body is placed down. The cloth is then removed and the body is laid on the pyre. The son sets fire to the pyre. The bereaved family does not cook on that day. Food is supplied by relations and friends. The ashes are immersed in river. Pollution continues for the relatives of the deceased for twelve days.

On the twelfth day people attending funeral go to the deceased's house for lunch. They are not told to come. The Brahmin performs puja on that day also. The barber is called to shave the head of the son/sons of the deceased. The Brahmin charges more for death than other ceremonies. He charges upto Rs. 50 for death ceremonies.

In order to give salvation to the dead, three months or more after the death, depending on economic conditions, a ritual known as **ḍank** (ḍांक काढ़णे) is performed. This is especially in case of the death of a child, mother of a newly-born child or a widow. The **gādhi** (गाढी) or local magician comes and prepares out of earth a symbolic image of god. A fowl is sacrificed. Relatives and friends are called. At this ceremony, the dead man is supposed to come and talk about his unsatisfied wishes and unfulfilled ambitions and his debts and credits etc. The **gādhi** ascertains whether the deceased is likely to turn out a good or bad spirit.

Religion

All the Kunbis are Hindus except some of the Gavada Kunbis who are Christians. The Kunbis worship Ganesh, Mahadeo and Hanuman among the principal Hindu deities and Sateri Maya, Kelmī Maya, Jogeshwari Maya and Brahmani Maya which are the local deities. Talking about the Sattarkars of Kanara district of Mysore, Enthoven states that their family goddesses are 'Shaktis' or powers called Ramanimaya, Savitrimaya, Kelvaimaya and Nayakimaya. The Supreme Being is called Dev and Sateri Maya is the Dev for the Kunbis. They believe in incantations, witchcrafts, ghosts and evil spirits as well as an evil eye and also believe that if a man does good deeds, he goes to Heaven and his soul attains salvation. They have faith in omens and superstitions. No images are kept in the house. According to Enthoven, however, the Sattarkars

of Kanara keep images of family gods. In some houses, a few calendars displaying images of gods or framed photographs of images which are purchased from the market are hung on the walls. No daily ritual performance is held. They worship **Tulsi** (*Ocimum sanctum*) plant. There are magicians called '**gādhi**' among them who are called during illness for cures. They are also consulted for omens and for driving away evil spirits. They make a living by appeasing or casting out angry spirits. If on the death of someone in a family, the '**gādhi**' asks the family to leave the village or house, since the death, is a bad omen, the family does it to propitiate the evil spirits. If the '**gādhi**' asks for a fowl or goat to be sacrificed, the family does that as well. Many a time he is instrumental in creating feuds and enmity between different parties or families. He tells one that a particular bad event or omen is due to its neighbour's evil eye, to overcome which he calls for the sacrifice of a bird or an animal and asks for some cash. The neighbour, if he also goes to the **gādhi**, is told the same thing and money is extracted from him as well. In this manner sometimes the **gādhi** lives on the money given by the fending parties.

The spiritual teacher of Sattarkars of Kanara, according to Enthoven, is the head of the Smart monastery at Shringeri in Mysore. They pay him tithes and receive from him flowers offered to the god of the shrine or **prasād**, through his representative the **paru-patyagar**, who makes yearly tours and settles social disputes. Their priests are Karhada Brahmans.

The normally quiet and listless Kunbis become very active and exuberant when they celebrate Shimga or Holi festival. Besides this festival they observe the leading Hindu holidays and celebrate the Hindu New Year's Day (first day of the month of **Chaitra**) which they call **Sansār pādwa**, **Ganesh Chaturthi**, **Dusserah** and 'Tulsi' marriage.

Leisure and recreation.—The Kunbis spend their leisure time in gossiping and smoking. If there is a town nearby, they go there. Since most of them are illiterate there is no question of reading. They are not interested in games. Children sometimes play 'hu-tu-tu' (**kabaddi**). This is more so when there is a school in the village and the teacher teaches these games to the children. The females also do not play any games.

Intra-community relationship.—Among the subdivisions of Kunbis the relation with one another is very cordial. Special privileges regarding honour for religious and other community performances are enjoyed by Gaonkars or original residents of the village.

There is no marriage between persons belonging to one sub-division with those of another.

In day-to-day life there is no friction or tension.

Inter-community relationship.—The Kunbis are considered inferior by Brahmins who do not take food at their hands. The Kunbis themselves eat at the hands of Brahmins, Marathas and Vaishyas. They do not do so at the hands of Dhangars, Mahars, Chambhars, Nhavis, Parits and Suthars, as they consider themselves to be superior to all these castes. They, however, sometimes drink buttermilk at a Dhangar's place. Mahars and Chambhars have no entry in the temple though the Mahars always accompany as musicians in performance of any rituals like puja, marriage, birth and other ceremonies. The Suthars make the agricultural and other implements for the Kunbis while the Chambhars make the foot-wear. Inter-marriage among all these castes is never done.

Community organisation

There is no caste panchayat among the Kunbis nor is there a headman. They have some *jānate* (जानते) or knowledgeable persons, who settle disputes by giving only advice. This is a voluntary group. Generally old men are considered as *jānate*. Only sometimes a smart young man who is bold enough to place the grievances of the community or village in public is considered *Jānatā*. The membership is rotating and each house gets a chance to be on the voluntary group.

For managing the religious affairs of the village, the Kunbis have a committee to look after the performances. The membership of this committee is rotating among the Gaonkars or original residents of the village and each such house in the village gets its turn to be represented on the committee.

Social Welfare

A Roman Catholic mission working in Satari with headquarters at Valpoi distributes free wheat flour every fortnight to the villagers—Kunbi and others. The State Social Welfare Advisory Board has a programme of running a *bālwādi* in adjacent areas but very few Kunbis partake in this. There is no other welfare agency working for the Kunbis.

B. DHANGAR

The word Dhangar is derived from the Sanskrit word *dhenu* meaning a cow or more probably from *dhan*¹³ meaning wealth, a term commonly applied to flocks of sheep and goats. According to Colonel

Dalton it is derived from *dang* or *dhang* meaning a hill, making the Dhangar a hillman. He observes, "The Khurukh or Oraons of Chota Nagpur best known in many parts of India as Dhangar, a word that from its apparent derivation (*dang* or *dhang*, "a hill") may mean any hillman, but amongst several tribes of the southern tributary Mahals the terms Dhangar and Dhangarin mean the youth of the two sexes both in highland and lowland villages, and it cannot be considered the national designation of any particular tribe". Dr. J. Wilson derives it from the Sanskrit *dhanukāra* meaning dealer in cows. Enthoven¹⁴ thinks the word Dhangar to be non-Aryan and opines that Wilson's *dhanukar* is foreign to Sanskrit literature, and is not to be met with even in lexicons. Among the Mal Pahariyas, observes Risely, the men of fighting age are called Dhangar or Dhangariya. The Mal Pahariyas are cognates of the Oraons, the typical Dhangar labourers of Chota Nagpur, so that on this showing the word may well be nothing more than the Oraon for an adult. Since the Dhangars of Chota Nagpur work as labourers and receive the major portion of their wages in *dhan* (unhusked rice), they are called Dhangars. In Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh they are regarded as a sub-division of the Kanwar, who are the largest sections of the aboriginal population next to the Gonds, and have there taken to wearing the Brahmanical thread. In Sambalpur they are said to be emigrants from Chota Nagpur, and in Sarangarh they act as weavers and village watchmen. M. St. Martin very doubtfully connects them with the Tank Rajputs, the Tangana of the Mahabharata and the Tanganoi or Ganganoi of Ptolemy. H. M. Elliot, writing in the "Races of the North West Provinces of India" believes that Dhangar was a Kol word meaning day labourers. The Madras Census Report, 1901, has reported Dhangar or Donizar as "a Marathi caste of shepherds and cattle breeders." In Satara District of Maharashtra they are also known as Galdas.

Enthoven¹⁵ has, however, little doubt that they are a pre-Aryan race. Their totemism as displayed by the totem trees which they worship at the time of marriage is an indication of their aboriginal descent; and the same conclusion is indicated by the fact that they are of a very dark complexion, strong and generally coarse-featured. He continues, "Among the people who are to be avoided at sacrifices offered to the gods and 'manes', shepherds and keepers of buffaloes are mentioned by Manu (III. 616). Thus according to Manu, Dhangars, some of whom rear sheep and some buffaloes, are a despised race". Enthoven

¹³ Cf. the two meanings of the word 'stock' in English. *R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal: The Tribes and Caste of the Central Provinces of India*, London, 1916, V. II, p. 480.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, V. I, p. 311.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, V. I, p. 312.

considers Dhangars all over India to be the same in spite of some of them following different occupations than others and some being ranked higher in social status and some lower. He justifies this forcefully when he says, "Instances are not wanting of tribes being broken up each into a number of sub-castes as they spread over a large area following various professions and occupying different social positions in different districts. Again, the very fact there is no such Sanskrit word as Dhangar, or other word corresponding to it in sound, seems to show that originally Dhangar was a tribal, and not a functional, name. The Dhangars or Dhāngars, whether in Northern or Southern India, may, therefore, reasonably be considered to belong to the same race."

After studying the Dhangars of Satari, one is apt to believe that the word is derived from the Sanskrit **dhenu** meaning a cow. The Dhangars of Goa, as their counterparts in the adjacent States of Maharashtra and Mysore, are a nomadic tribe, quiet and innocent, who wander from place to place with their flocks and herds but who are different from the tribe of the same name in Northern India. In Kanara, Mysore State, they keep a special breed of cows and buffaloes known as Dhangar mhasis and Dhangar gais which are the largest cattle there.¹⁶ Many of Shivaji's infantry were Satara Dhangars. The founder of the Holkar family of Malwa sprang from this race. Their religion, manners and language are to a great extent like those of the Kunbi but the temples at which they worship are mere piles of large unknown stones. In fact, what M. A. Sherring has stated about the Dhangars of Berar being "sheep farmers and manufacturers of blankets" and being "different from the Dhangars of Northern India" holds true of the Dhangars of Western India.

Being chiefly a pastoral tribe, the frequency of the movement of the Dhangars from one place to another depends mainly on the availability of the grazing facilities for their cattle. The period of their settlement many varies from two years to ten years, on the grazing conditions. Instances are not wanting where the Dhangars have settled for nearly a generation in a particular place because of the abundance of pastures. For instance, there are a few Dhangar families who have settled on the Wagheri mountain in Satari for a generation or so. One Dhangar family in Pal is living there for the last ten years.

When on the move, the Dhangars do not necessarily move in a bunch. A lone family can also

change its habitat if it finds the pastoral conditions unsatisfactory. Sometimes two or more families living in an area and not necessarily related to one another, also move together and settle in a new place.

Origin

According to Russell and Hiralal,¹⁷ it is said that the first sheep and goats came out of an ant-hill. They began to damage the crops whereupon the cultivators prayed to Mahadev to rescue them from this pest. He, therefore, created the first Dhangar to tend the flocks. The Dhangars consequently revere an ant-hill and never remove one from their fields. They worship it on the Diwali day with offerings of rice, flowers and part of the ear of a goat. When tending and driving sheep and goats they ejaculate 'Har, Har', which is a name of Mahadeo.

Regarding their origin Enthoven¹⁸ has mentioned a number of traditions. The Jativiveka asserts that they are descended from a Shudra father and a Mahishya woman; the Mahishya, again, is said to be the offspring of a Kshatriya and a Vaishya mother. According to old tradition, they were created from the dust of Shiva's body. Another tradition alleges that their original ancestor was the sage Tapa. A third tradition asserts that while Khandoba was once strolling in a forest, he met their progenitor, whom he struck dumb with awe by the display of his miraculous powers. From that time the Dhangar with his relatives began to worship Khandoba with implicit devotion, and offered his daughter Banai to the god, who accepted her as his wife. Khandoba, being thus propitiated, conferred upon him the boon that he and his descendants would earn a good living by rearing and tending sheep.

Divisions

The Dhangars of Goa are not aware of any divisions among them. In the Deccan and Konkan, the term lost its original tribal significance and came to denote, in addition to Dhangar proper, a heterogeneous group of distinct races following the profession of shepherds. The Asal Dhangars or Maratha Dhangars seem to represent the original Dhangars. Another sub-division is Hatkar which is in large number in Berar. They claim to be Barge Dhangars or shepherds with spears. But these two are distinct sub-castes in some districts. Ahirs are also considered as a sub-division of Dhangars. Khilaris among the Dhangars are still nomads.

¹⁶. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XV, Part I. 1883, quoted by Edgar Thurston in *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, Vol. II, p. 167.

¹⁷. R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hiralal: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, London, 1916, Vol. II, p. 480.

¹⁸. R. E. Enthoven: *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 311.

Enthoven¹⁹ gives the following endogamous divisions of Dhangers:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Ahir | 13. Khilari or Tulari |
| 2. Asal or Maratha | 14. Khutekar or Khue |
| 3. Banaji | 15. Kuktekar |
| 4. Barge, Bande or Methkari | 16. Lad |
| 5. Dange | 17. Mendhe |
| 6. Gadage | 18. Mhaske |
| 7. Gavli | 19. Sangar |
| 8. Ghogattunya | 20. Shegar |
| 9. Hatkar or Zende, etc. | 21. Shilota |
| 10. Hoikar | 22. Utegar |
| 11. Kangar | 23. Musalman |
| 12. Khikii | |

Most of the above divisions have a sub-division known as Kadu or bastard, to which the illegitimate or excommunicated members of the division are relegated.

The names of exogamous divisions of Dhangers are identical with their surnames.

Russell and Hiralal²⁰ mention the following sub-castes of Dhangers: Varadi or Barade, belonging to Berar; Kanore or Kanade, of Kanura; Jhade or those belonging to the Bhandara, Balaghat and Chhindwara Districts, called the Jhadi or hill country; Ladse, found in Hyderabad; Gadri from gadar, a sheep, a division probably consisting of northerners, as the name for the cognate caste of shepherds in Hindustan is Galaria; Telange, belonging to the Telugu country; Marathe, of the Maratha country; Mahurai from Mahur in Hyderabad and one or two others. Eleven sub-castes in all are reported. For the purpose of marriage a number of exogamous groups or septs exist which may be classified according to their nomenclature as titular and totemistic, many having also the names of other castes. The sept names show that the caste is a functional one of very mixed composition, partly recruited from members of other castes who have taken to sheep-tending and generally from the non-Aryan tribes.

Appearance

The Dhangers are dark, strong, sturdy and rugged as they have to bear exposure to all weathers. They are of medium height.

House-types

In any village their settlement is different and away from the rest of the households. This is because they need more space to accommodate their cattle and also because of the availability of grazing facilities on the outskirts of a village. They generally live near tracts of waste land where grazing is available.

The house of a Dhangar is different from the house of a Kunbi or Mahar or any other caste person, in size and in manner of construction. In front as well as on both the sides of the house excepting the back side, there are big compounds fenced by wooden logs for keeping cattle. Sheep are kept in open and goats in roofed folds. The house has in front a very big courtyard of 25' × 25' size for protecting the cattle from tigers and for drying hill-millet, chillies or grass. Exactly opposite and inside the compound, there is a grass store on a raised platform of nearly 10' to 12'. The first room which has an open frontage with no doors or windows rests on three big poles with beams over them. The size of the room is 39' length, 16' width and nearly 10' height. The walls on both the sides are of bamboo strips. Inside the room in one corner there is a small cattle-shed for newly-born and young calves. The big front room itself is a cattle-shed for winter and rainy season. In order to prevent the cattle from entering the kitchen which is immediately behind the first room wooden poles are kept horizontally upto a height of four feet. Besides the kitchen there are two other rooms, one used for sleeping and another as a store. In the store the walls are painted with some designs and decorations and the images of god Pāndurang. The roof is a thatched one with two sides. In contrast, the Kunbi house is a single-room house with thatched roof on majority houses and tiles on a few.

Dress

The dress of a Dhangar male is a *langoti* (लंगोटी) made of thin cloth called *pancha* (पंचा) a cotton jacket of half sleeves and a headgear of thin long cloth. A Dhangar boy also dresses like this. The younger generation has started using vests instead of jackets. The bridegroom dresses in a jacket, dhoti, headgear and a piece of cloth over his shoulder.

A Dhangar married girl wears a knee-high saree known as *kāpad* (कापड) of six to seven yards and a blouse known as *choli* (चोली). The unmarried girl wears a small saree known as *pudiya* (पुडिया) or pelticoat and a blouse. The upper part of the body is not covered by the saree if the girl is unmarried. The Dhangar women, do not wear undergarments. The bride wears a saree and blouse.

Ornaments

The males have earrings made of brass, lead or mixed alloys and known as *mudiya* (मुदिया) and wristlet or wristlets also made of the same material known as *kada* (काढ). There may be either one *kada* in one hand or two *kadas*, one in each hand.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 313.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 480-481.

Personal decoration

Dhangar males do not indulge in any kind of personal decoration. Their females, however, tattoo hands, forehead, etc.

Material culture

The Dhangars do not possess any furniture. Their cooking utensils are all earthen ones. Copper drinking water *lotas* (लोटा) are common.

Among the implements, the Dhangars always carry a stick and a sickle or *koyati* (कोयती) hanging from their waist. As Russell and Hiralal²¹ say, "Like English shepherds they carry sticks or staffs and have dogs to assist in driving the flocks, and they sometimes hunt hares with their dogs". Other implements which they possess are an axe or *pāl* (पाल) and a chopper or *vilā* (विला). These are needed to cut the wood for fuel and tender branches with leaves and delicate stems for the cattle, especially for the newly-born calves to provide them with cushions.

Diet

The daily diet of a Dhangar family is rice or bread made out of hill millet flour (two cakes at a time for adults) or *ambil* (अंबिल) a liquid paste of hill millet flour and buttermilk, and dry fish. *Ambil* is made by mixing hill millet flour and buttermilk and boiling and cooking the same for an hour or so. It is eaten cold except when a man is very hungry when it is consumed hot. Milk is also consumed. All Dhangars eat betel leaf, betel nut and tobacco. This is common habit with both males and females. They eat three times a day.

Health and sanitation

The Dhangars are healthy. If they get some injury or ailment they take herbal cure.

The houses of Dhangars are clean and the surroundings are good because they always settle in an open expanse where there is enough grazing ground for their cattle. There is no filth or water-clogging in the vicinity of a Dhangar house. Even the cattle dung is collected at a place and cakes are made out of them to be utilised as fuel.

They are never afraid of tigers. They say it is the other way round!

Language

The Dhangars talk Marathi. It has some element of Konkani in it as far as Dhangars of Goa are concerned. Their accent resembles that of the people belonging to Western Ghats. Their Marathi is comparatively clearer and cleaner than the Marathi used by some of the Kunbis. Their pronunciation of words is also very clear.

The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 1883 has also given Marathi as their mothertongue though in the Kanara district, it is stated that they can speak Kanarese.

Occupation

The traditional occupation of the Dhangars is to tend sheep and goats though the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 1883 states that "many of Shivaji's infantry were Satara Dhangars". Enthoven writes, "A large number of Shivaji's most trusted Mavalis or Maratha footmen were west-Poona Dhangars, and many of the bravest Maratha leaders, among whom the Holkars are the most distinguished, are of this tribe". They breed cattle and sell them for slaughter etc., and also their products such as milk and butter. Sometimes, besides cows and buffaloes, they own sheep and goats as well, in which case some of them weave blankets. Unless there are a number of cattle, the Dhangars do not depend on sale of milk products for their livelihood.

The products they sell are milk and butter. Milk is also consumed by the family. When sold, the customers belong to nearby villages. Milk is sold daily and butter after every week or fortnight. The adjoining villages or towns with weekly markets form a good field for sale of butter which is usually purchased by well-to-do families like Brahmin, Maratha or Vaishya. The Dhangars go themselves to the market and sell butter. Some Muslim traders purchase from them and resell the same at Panaji for Rs. 7 per kg. or more. The Dhangars generally sell it for Rs. 5 per kg., the price varying from Rs. 4 per kg. to Rs. 6 per kg. Milk is sold at 50 paise for 933 gms. (a seer), the local measure being a glass which is available for 12 paise. After liberation of Goa, the price of milk has gone up: otherwise it used to be much below the current price. The price of the butter depends on the need of the Dhangar family. If it is in dire necessity it is sold at a lower price (Rs. 4.50 per kg.) than it would in normal circumstances. It is carried to the market in a packet made of green

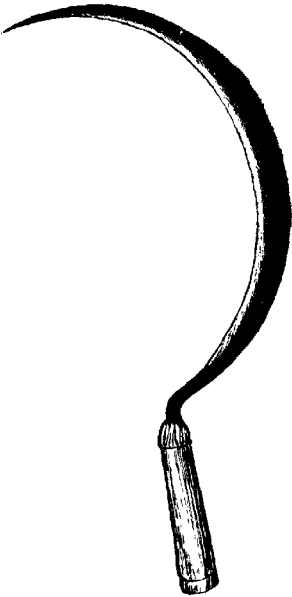
²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 484.



MIDIYA



PAL



KOYATI



VILA

leaves. At a time, a Dhangar family owning twenty heads of cattle (all milch cattle) is able to produce 4 kg. of butter. The Dhangars of Pal have Valpoi (8.5 kms.), Sankalim (25 kms.) and Mhapsa (45 kms.) as their main markets where they sell butter. It is also sold at the nearby Taném village. After liberation the price of butter has gone up. Formerly it was sold at Rs. 3 per kg. to Rs. 4 per kg.

The Dhangars when they face monetary stringency sometimes sell their cattle as well. The current price of a cow (calf) is Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 and of a buffalo (calf) Rs. 200 to Rs. 250.

The subsidiary occupation of the Dhangars is agriculture. When a Dhangar settles at a particular place, he chooses a flat land nearby so that besides having enough space for cattle, he may also have a patch of land for cultivation. The only crop they take is 'nachani' or hill millet. If there is a good crop they get Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 per annum. If it is average, they get Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 per annum. Needless to say, this is not enough to sustain the family throughout the year. It is always supplemented by borrowing from the grocers in the nearby market places. They also do some kitchen-gardening as it is not possible for them to go to markets regularly because of the distance of their habitat from the market place. As already stated, the only implements they possess are an axe, a chopper and a sickle.

Because of their unsettled life, poverty and limited resources, it is not uncommon to find many Dhangar families in debt.

Life Cycle

Birth.—In the seventh or eighth month of a woman's first conception, her parents take her to their house. Now-a-days even this is not compulsory as she may be staying in another *concelho* or Taluka or even State in which case it is not so easy or economical to bring her. In such cases there is a mutual understanding between her parents and her husband's parents that her delivery may be done at the latter's place. A puja of the expectant mother is performed in seventh or eighth month by decorating her with flowers.

The delivery is done by the elderly ladies at home or of neighbourhood or by a professional untrained but experienced lady in the village known as *vanzin* (वंजिन). She cuts the umbilical cord by a knife, razor, shaving blade or any other sharp instrument she

can lay hands on. The umbilical cord and the placenta are kept in an earthen pitcher and after applying turmeric and vermilion to the pitcher, it is buried outside the house at such a place where some water can be made to pass over them. After delivery both the mother and the baby are given bath. The parturient is fed on rice paste, chicken soup etc., for the first fortnight or month in order that she may recover her energy. Though the soup is not given every day, it is at least given twice a week. The period of pollution varies from sixteen days to one month. Enthoven has given this period to be twelve days in case of Dhangars of Sholapur and ten days in case of those belonging to Ahmednagar and has stated that for five weeks she is not allowed to cook or to enter the cook-room.

On the fifth day after the birth the goddess *Panchvi* is worshipped. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the twelfth day. Any name which is fancied by the parents is given to the child. The Brahmin is called only when he is readily available.

When a girl attains puberty, no ritual is performed if she happens to be unmarried. But this is seldom the case among Dhangars who still practise child marriages. Previously, when after marriage the girl used to remain with her parents, her attainment of maturity was then a signal for her being able to bear children. The husband used to be informed about this and he used to go to her to take her to his place after her bath subsequent to the completion of the period of pollution. Now also when the girl happens to be with her husband, a ritual is performed by calling a Brahmin. For a period of three days she is not allowed to touch anything or do household duties.

Segregation of sex starts as the children grow up. They do not sleep or play together. The mother looks to this aspect. Pre-marital free mixing or sex-relation is prohibited.

Marriage.—Girls are married before the age of puberty, boys between fourteen and twenty-five but even they are sometimes married before the age of fourteen.

It is always the boy's father who takes the initiative. He goes to the girl's father, alone or accompanied by a relative or friend, to seek his daughter in marriage for his son. The bride's father asks for some time to consider the proposal after which he consults his friends, relations and other elders of the community before giving a final reply by going to the

boy's house. If the proposal is accepted, the bride price is bargained and if it is settled, sugar or some sweets are distributed to people who gather to mark the occasion. The bride price always includes sarees for the bride, her mother, her father's brother's wife and other relations and headgears for her father, father's brother, brother and other relations. The Brahmin is then consulted for suitable auspicious day of marriage and the *muhurta* (auspicious time) is fixed. The bridegroom does not see his bride till after the marriage is solemnised.

'Muhurta' is very important in Dhangar's marriage. Mondays, Fridays and days of religious fairs or 'jattras' are always preferred. Saturdays and Sundays are avoided. In central India Dhangar weddings are celebrated in the rains upto September because many wandering Dhangars come home during the rainy season. On the fixed day, the bridegroom's party arrives in the bride's village. In Central India, on his way to the bride's house the bridegroom must be covered with a black blanket. There sometimes the wedding is held at the bridegroom's house and the bride comes to it. This is done because very frequently there are in the bridegroom's family widows who have remarried or women who have been kept by men of higher castes or been guilty of adultery and the bride's female relatives refuse to wash the feet of such women; thus resulting in quarrels. Turmeric is applied to the bride and the groom in the morning if the marriage is in the evening or in the evening if the marriage is next day morning. The marriage is solemnised by a Brahmin according to Hindu rites. Unlike Mahars in whose marriage the Brahmin sits under a tree outside the Maharwada and gives instructions, the Brahmin personally sings the auspicious octaves to mark the marriage as the Dhangars are not considered untouchables. While singing these marriage verses the gathering throws rice or wheat grains over the heads of the bridal pair. There is also a sacrificial fire, *hom* (होम) before which oaths are taken and garlands exchanged. The bridegroom takes an oath to protect the bride and the bride swears life long obedience and fidelity. In some areas of Maharashtra the Dhare (धारे) ceremony is common. A feast of rice, split pulses and sweets is held. The expenses of this vegetarian meals are borne in proportion of 2:1 by the families of the bride and bridegroom respectively. The next feast that follows is non-vegetarian (meat), the expenses of which are entirely borne by the groom's family. The newly married girl is not taken out of the house for five days after marriage. On the sixth day she is taken out to see the river or stream near the village. Formerly, when child marriages were more in vogue (of

course, even now the children are married when they are four to five years old), the girl used to remain with her parents even after the marriage and used to go to her husband's place only after attaining puberty. Now because of certain cases of some Dhangar boys refusing to accept the girls, whom they married when they were children, as their wives either because of their dislike for them due to change in expectations after attaining maturity or because of their love for someone other than their child bride, the caste panchayat of the Dhangars has ruled that the girl who gets married, no matter how small she may be, should be taken by her husband to his house immediately after marriage.

Marriage with mother's sister's daughter is not permitted. Mother's brother's daughter is, however, preferred. A Dhangar may also marry his father's sister's daughter. Levirate is not permitted. Sororate is allowed if the father or the girl has no objection. Marriage is prohibited within the sub-division covered by one surname. It is also prohibited with those bearing other surnames worshipping the same totem. Two sisters can also be married by two brothers. A girl and boy may be married into the same family. According to Russell and Hiralal¹² in the then Central Provinces, occasionally the husband does service for his wife in his father-in-law's house. They narrate an interesting custom of Dhangar marriage in Wardha where the heights of a prospective bride and bridegroom are measured with a piece of string and the match considered suitable if the husband is taller than the wife, whether he be older or not. Polygamy is permitted though seldom practised. Widow remarriage and divorce are permitted. According to Enthoven a widow cannot marry a member with her deceased husband's or her father's surname. Her marriage with the son of her paternal or maternal aunt is also prohibited. Money is paid to the first husband's relations, without whose consent the marriage cannot take place. In some places, the consent of the headman of the caste is also required. The remarriage of a widow is generally celebrated on one night in the dark fortnight. It is reported that in parts of Central India a considerable price is paid for a widow, and it is often more expensive to marry one than a virgin. A Brahmin and the *malguzar* (village proprietor) should be present at the ceremony. Polyandry is forbidden. Legal separation is seldom found.

Death.—The Dhangars believe that when God wills, a man dies. They bury their dead. Since they live, at times, very far away from the villages, it is difficult to collect even four persons to carry the dead body for cremation. The Brahmin is called

only if he is living nearby. Otherwise they themselves do the cremation without any official conducting the rituals. Pollution and mourning lasts for twelve days only for the relatives of the deceased. The Dhangars do not call the barber to shave of the head of the deceased's son. Those who attend funeral also attend the twelfth day feast without invitation. This procedure is also adopted because it is very difficult to go to far off places to invite these persons again for the feast. Hence this understanding.

Stones are placed on the place where the dead is buried. According to Enthoven some families build a mud tomb over the grave and set stones on it.

Inheritance

The Dhangars follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Religion

The Dhangars are Hindus. They worship Pandurang or Vithoba, the main deity being at Pandharpur in Maharashtra. They also worship Khandoba, Maruti (Hanuman) and Satvai. The Supreme Being is Dev. Being nomads, they do not have time to go to temple. For any prayer a Dhangar just folds his hands and prays in his mind. No images are kept in the house. Only walls of the inner room in the hut are decorated with the image of Pandurang. They believe that if a man does good deeds in his life, he goes to Heaven and his soul attains salvation. It is interesting to note here that even among the North Indian Dhangars, the worship of the god of cattle is common. They keep big stones, *pashan* (पाशण) symbolising gods and worship them. Ancestor worship is also common. They believe in sorcery and witchcraft.

The Brahmins perform all the religious functions in Dhangar households. In case they are not available, the elders do the same.

When a Dhangar leaves one abode and goes to another, he has to satisfy some conventions. Before he leaves, he consults some elders in his community regarding a suitable place. As the Dhangar is always more concerned with feeding his cattle and providing adequate grazing facilities to them, the elders direct him to such a place. He then goes to the local temple and tells that if he gets a suitable place he will offer certain things like goat to God. This act to seek God's blessings for future well-being is known as *gārhāne ghāne* (गाहणे घानणे). No Dhangar leaves his house without clearing his promised ritual offerings like goat sacrifice etc. After he leaves, his old

house is either used by others who need a shelter or else people take away the logs and wood for fuel.

Leisure and recreation

The Dhangars are hardly free on any day to enjoy leisure. The boys take cattle for grazing and the girls look after the children. There are no games of repute which they play.

Intra-community relationship

Since the Dhangars seldom live in clusters, they hardly come in contact with fellow Dhangars unless there is some social function like marriage. Among themselves there is brotherly relationship.

Inter-community relationship

The social position of Dhangars is below that of Kunbis, but in point of language, house, dress and food they differ little from Kunbis. In some areas they rank themselves with Marathas. The Dhangars are considered inferior by the Kunbis who do not take food at their hands. Some Kunbis even eat freshly baked hill-millet bread in Dhangar's house but this is only when they are very hungry and are en route to some place. The Vaishyas (Vanis) also consider themselves superior to Dhangars. They do not take anything at their hands. The Dhangars, in turn, consider themselves superior to Chambhars, Mahars and Parits and do not touch them or eat with them. Inter-marriage among all these communities is totally ruled out.

Community organisation

There is no organised community panchayat among the Dhangars since it is not possible to have it because they live scattered. But in case of disputes, the Dhangars residing in the vicinity are called to settle the same. Normally the decision is binding.

Social Welfare

Even though there may be an agency doing social welfare, the Dhangars are not covered because they hardly have time to attend the bāl-wādi or other classes. Women also never participate in women's welfare programme. Other reason for the non-participation of Dhangars is the distance at which they stay from the village. This compels them to abstain from the different welfare activities.

The Dhangars are illiterate and as a rule, find it difficult to send their children to school for three

reasons—(a) because some children are needed at home to take care of infants; (b) because some children are needed to take cattle for grazing; and (c) because the distance between the village school and the Dhangar habitat is always very great. For example, four out of five Dhangar families of Pal live on the Wagheri mountain, Goa's highest mountain, two miles away from the village school.

C. VAISHYA

The Vaishya or Vani is the trading and money-lending community in Goa. They are divided into various sub-divisions according to their sect, territory or occupation.

They are medium-sized and lean in appearance. They are fair-skinned and have adopted urban way of life.

Their houses are simple and like other houses in the surrounding in which they stay. But unlike in Kunbi houses, there is always a separate kitchen. The surroundings are clean. They too keep a Tulsi plant in the front courtyard.

The Vaishya males dress themselves in dhoti and shirt, the orthodox putting on a jacket over the shirt and taking an **uparne** (उपारणे) or shoulder cloth and wearing a cap as headgear and females in saree, blouse and petticoat. Boys wear shirt and knickers and girls frock or blouse and petticoat. In short, their dress is sophisticated.

The ornaments of females are sophisticated and have an urban touch. Besides bangles and necklace, the females wear earrings also. They apply vermilion mark on the forehead and married women wear the sacred black bead necklace called 'mangalsutra'.

Tattooing is seldom seen among them. As a sign of marriage, the females must put on a round vermilion mark on their forehead.

They use brass utensils and possess such furniture as tables and chairs. Some well-to-do Vanis possess cots also.

They eat rice, hill-millet, pulses and vegetables. Among the Vanis of Satari dry fish is a 'must'. They also eat goat and wild hog. Some drink liquor.

Because of their comparatively better economic position their health is stronger than that of Kunbis.

They also keep their houses neat, clean and sophisticatedly decorated.

The Vanis of Goa speak both Konkani and Marathi with equal ease. Many of them are educated in English and Hindi also.

Their main occupation is business. They trade in a variety of articles. One Vani of Pal is going from village to village to sell dry fish. Some of them in Goa own big departmental stores. Many have entered private and Government service.

In case of marriage, it is always the bride's father who goes to the groom's father with the proposal. If the two families have the same deity, the marriage cannot take place. Each family has to take the consent in the form of offering from its respective deity before accepting the proposal. This is a very interesting aspect of the negotiation. When a family goes to the temple of its deity, the priest keeps some flower petals on the different parts of the deity. The priest tells the significance of the petals falling from different parts after some time. If the petals from the head falls, it is known as the **prasad** from the head (मस्तकावरील प्रसाद) if from the moustache (मिणीवरचा प्रसाद) **prasad** from the moustache, if from the right hand (उजवा) if from the left (डावा) and so on. The horoscopes of the boy and the girl are also seen. There is no bride price. The custom of dowry prevails. It depends on the capacity of the girl's father to give and the qualities (qualifications, position, etc.) of the boy. The girl is seen both by the groom's parents and the groom. If they do not like the girl, the boy while leaving the girl's place keeps a packet of sugar or sweets on the table signifying that his family is no longer interested in the proposal. But if he approves of the girl, he gives a gold ring, saree and blouse piece to the girl.

As in case of fixing the marriage, so also in case of fixing the auspicious time of marriage, the parents of both the boy and the girl go to the family deity of the boy for 'prasad'.

On the first day of marriage some rituals are performed. Ten to twelve married women do pounding and grinding of turmeric which is applied to the couple next day. On the third night marriage is solemnised. There is a dinner **hom** and **punya vachan** (पूण वाचन) or reading of auspicious literature.

Widow remarriage and divorce are not prevalent.

In case of death, it is believed that when God wills, a man dies. Only caste people assist in preparing the body for cremation and carrying it to the

cremation ground. The Brahmin performs **puja** by chanting some **mantras**. Only the relations of the deceased observe mourning and pollution for twelve days. On the twelfth day also the Brahmin performs some rituals. A barber is called on that day to shave the deceased's son's head. A feast is arranged. The ashes are immersed in river. They believe that if a man does good deeds in his lifetime he attains Heaven and his soul salvation.

The main deity of the Vanis is the Mahaluxmi at Tuljapur though they worship Mangesh, Shanta Durga and other deities in Goa. The priests are Brahmins. In every house there is a Tulsi brindavan in the courtyard. Their main religious festivals are Laxmipujan during Diwali since they are traders and businessmen and Ganesh Chaturthi which is celebrated for 1½ days only.

Leisure time is spent in gossiping. In cities they have taken to urban ways of recreation.

The Vaishyas are considered superior by the Kunbis and Dhangars. They do not eat at the hands of the latter.

Their children do participate in social welfare programmes as they are sophisticated in outlook and live in the village proper.

D. OTHER COMMUNITIES

A cursory inquiry was made about Mahar, Chambar and Mesta households of Tanem who serve villagers of Pal. Some of the salient features of each of these communities are given below.

(i) Mahar

Mahars, or Mhars, a caste or more properly speaking constellation of castes are found throughout Maharashtra, Goa and some parts of Mysore. The term connotes more a status than a caste, being the broken residue of many former aboriginal tribes owning the country, of which they were dispossessed by successive waves of Aryan and post-Aryan invaders. Thus they became "hewers of wood" if not "drawers of water" for the new overlords, and perform menial services, such as crop guarding, scavenging and the carrying of messages for the village community to this day.

According to Hindu tradition, Mahars were originally 'nishachars' (night rovers) whom the God

Brahma turned to men lest they should eat his whole creation. According to others, it is derived from the Sanskrit word **mritahari** which is given as the name of the lowest caste, in the Markandeya puran (Chapter 35, Verse 36). In verse 28 of the same puran they are also called Mritaharins. This name they are said to have earned by their occupation of removing carcasses of dead animals.

Syed Siraj Ul Hasan²² states that they have probably given their name to Maharashtra, which is derived by some as 'Maharashtra' or the country of Mahars. Several legends are current regarding their origin. Quoting Bombay Gazetteer Enthoven²⁴ states that some claim they are one of the four cow-born castes. When the cow asked her sons how they would treat her when she died, the first three answered that they would worship her as a goddess, but the fourth said he would bear her inside of him as she had borne him. The horror-struck brothers called him 'mahahar' (great eater) which was abbreviated into Mahar. Enthoven quotes another tradition from the Bombay Gazetteer. Once when Parvati was bathing, her touch turned some drops of blood on a **hel** leaf (Aegle marmelos) into a handsome babe. When Mahadeo saw the child, he named him Mahamuni. One day the child crawled out of the house, and, seeing a dead cow, began to eat it. Mahadev was horrified and cursed the child, saying that he would live outside villages, that his food would be carcasses, that nobody would have anything to do with him, would look at him or would allow his shadow to fall on anything pure. Parvati begged Mahadev to have pity on him, and he agreed that people would employ him to supply mourners with wood and dried cowdung cakes to burn the dead. As the child's appetite was great, he turned his name into Mahahari or the great eater. Enthoven thinks that these stories are mere puns on the word Mahar. Some state that the Mahars were born of the left eye of the moon (Soma) and, therefore, one of their divisions has come to be called Somavanshi.

The synonyms by which they are known are as follows:—

1 Antyaja	9 Kathivale
2 Atishudra	10 Mhetre
3 Bhumiputra or Dharnicheput	11 Mirasi
4 Bhuyal	12 Parvari
5 Chokhamela	13 Taral
6 Dhed	14 Thorlegharache
7 Domb	15 Veskar
8 Hulsava	

²²Syed Siraj Ul Hasan : The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, Bombay, 1920, Vol. I, p. 421.

²⁴Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 402.

Divisions.—Enthoven²² gives the following endogamous divisions of Mahars:—

1	Abre	
2	Andvan or Andhon	28 Jhade
3	Anantkulya	29 Jogti
4	Autkamble	30 Junnare
5	Balhi	31 Kabule
6	Balkamble	32 Kadvan, Kudvan or Kadu
7	Barke	33 Kamble
8	Bavan or Bavane	34 Kasare
9	Bavcha	35 Kharse
10	Bavise	36 Kochara, Khosara or Kosare
11	Bel, Bele or Bliia	37 Ladvan or Ladhan
12	Ben	38 Mathkamble
13	Bole	39 Murla
14	Bunkar	40 Nirale
15	Chelkar	41 Pan or Panya
16	Daule	42 Pradhan
17	Dhed	43 Pular
18	Dharmik	44 Rati
19	Dom or Domb	45 Saladi or Salade
20	Gardi	46 Silvan
21	Gavasai or Gavase	47 Sirsalkar
22	Ghadshi	48 Soma or Somavanshi
23	Ghatkamble	49 Somkamble
24	Godvan or Gondvan	50 Sonkamble
25	Gopal	51 Sonabalkamble
26	Hedshi	52 Sutad
27	Holar or Huvale	53 Tilvan

Of these divisions the Somavanshis, who claim descent from Soma or the moon, are most numerous and are the social superiors of the rest. Members of the same divisions living in different districts do not intermarry unless some former connection can be traced between them.

In Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh there are Mahars Winkers also called Bamaniya Mahars who are weavers by profession and Mahar Jangam who are an offshoot from the Mahar Winkers. The section names of the caste in some parts of Andhra Pradesh are not totemistic but are either territorial or refer to some act on the part of their founders.

The Mahars have numerous surnames which are exogamous. Each exogamous section originally owned and worshipped a **devak** or totem closely corresponding to the **bali** of the Kanarese tribes. The object represented by the **devak** is worshipped, protect-

ed from injury by the section owning the **devak**, and brought into prominence at the time of the marriage ceremony. Members of families with a common **devak** cannot marry.

In many cases the **devak** has become obsolete and has been replaced by a composite totem or **panchalvi** composed of the leaves of five trees, which are similarly worshipped and play a prominent part in the marriage ceremony.

Appearance.—The Mahars of the Deccan are generally tall, strong, muscular and dark with regular features and low unintelligent foreheads. Those in the Southern Maratha country and in Goa are darker than Kunbis, with gaunt cheeks, irregular features, a dreamy expression and flat noses.

They are honest, trustworthy, reliable and hard-working.

House-types.—The Mahars live outside the village in a separate cluster. Their locality or hamlet is known as Maharwada. Their houses are closely built. The Mahar houses are low one-room structures, with two-sloped thatched roofs and low door. The door is either just an opening or is made of bamboo strips, sometimes plastered with mud. There is no window or courtyard. The surroundings are very dirty. It is not at all uncommon to see, in fact it is a sign to recognise a Mahar house, intestines of dead animals hanging on a string fixed outside the house or kept for drying on the roof for consumption later on.

Dress.—The Mahar dress is simple. The men dress in a loin cloth or waist cloth and wrap a cloth around the torso. The younger generation wear half pants and shirts or vests. The women wear sarees upto the knees without any undergarment and a choli or blouse. Children upto the age of four or five generally go naked.

Ornaments.—The Mahar males do not wear any ornament. The females put on cheap bead necklaces or earrings. Bangles are conspicuous by their absence. There is no other leg or arm ornament. Poverty forbids them from possessing any.

Personal decoration.—Some Mahar women have tattoo marks on their hands and forehead. The married among them do not necessarily put on a vermilion mark on the forehead.

Material culture.—The Mahars, due to their poverty, hardly have any significant objects in their

²²*Op. cit.*, p. 405.

houses. The cooking utensils are earthen and rarely does one come across brass or copper utensils in the house. They also do not possess any furniture. They, however, possess knives—big and small—for practising their craft of basketry. For purposes of storing grain they manufacture their own baskets.

Food and drink.—The staple food of the Mahars is hill millet, fish and rice. They eat the leavings of the higher castes and when cattle, sheep or fowls die they feast on their carcasses eating strips of the flesh roasted over a fire, often with nothing else, but sometimes washed down by liquor. They also eat the flesh of buffaloes, horses, deer, crocodiles, field rats and fish. They, however, do not eat pork.

Health and sanitation.—As has been already stated, the Mahars live in very unhygienic surroundings. Their health is normal though poverty has taken a great toll of their former strength and vitality. They cannot feed themselves properly. Since they live on the outskirts of the village they drink water of the nearby stream which too is fraught with obvious danger to health.

The Mahars as a class are not neat and clean. They do not take bath regularly. They go to the open fields for easing themselves. Their habits of spitting and making the surroundings dirty by other acts are injurious to their health. The common ailments they suffer from are high fever, skin trouble, head ache, dysentery etc. The cures are indigenous.

Language.—The Mahars speak Marathi though not so chaste as the Dhangars. The Mahars of Goa use numerous Konkani words in their language.

The common names among men are Rama, Bhingo, Laxman, Hargo, Krishna, Narayan, Shamba, Chudgo, Anant and Pandurang and those among women are Laxmi, Yashuda, Satyawati and Vimal.

Occupation.—The Mahars are hereditary village servants and are considered authorities in all boundary matters. Traditionally their duties consisted of escorting Government treasure, acting as guides and messengers to public officers, calling land holders to pay the land assessment at the village office, watching boundaries and the village office, repairing the village office and village gate or **gaonkusu** and sweep the village roads. With most of them enjoying a small Government payment, partly in cash and partly in land. The chief source of their income is the yearly grain allowance or **baluta**. They say that they used to have fifty-two dues but now the number is greatly reduced.

To the villagers their duties consisted of cutting firewood, carrying letters, sweeping and cleaning the yards in front of their houses, carrying cowdung cakes to the burning ground and digging graves. The Mahars of a village either divide these duties among them or serve the villages by rotation. In Goa they serve their adjacent villages by rotation. Each village has three to four Mahar families attached to it. In Goa they are messengers and drum-beaters or musicians. During all religious performances they are asked to play the music by other caste Hindus. For their service every household of the village contributes two bags of grain to be distributed among the Mahar families serving it.

The Mahars have a monopoly of the dead village animals, of the shrouds used in carrying the village dead and of the copper coins which in the name of the dead are thrown to one side at the resting place. During British Rule, they were largely employed by Europeans as domestic servants and chauffeurs. As Enthoven* says, "Mahars make excellent railway gang labourers and have gained almost a monopoly of the unskilled railway labour market in some districts."

Many Mahars are engaged as day labourers. Some are in the Indian armed forces where there is a separate Mahar Regiment.

Mahars also practise bamboo-work. They plait bamboo mats, baskets and fans. They prepare cradles and sell them for Rs. 5 each. They also prepare sheets of bamboo strips. These sheets are 15' long and 3½' high and are sold for Rs. 2.50 paise per sheet. They prepare **Kanagis** (कानगी) or baskets for storing rice which are sold for Rs. 4 each. **Hadgya** (हाडग्या) or big baskets used for the same purpose which are also sold for the same price, **Butti** (बुट्टी) or small baskets which are sold for 75 paise each and winnowing fans which are sold for 50 paise each. For practising this craft they use both big and small knives.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth.—Like other communities among the Mahars also the first delivery is at the woman's parent's place. The delivery is done by a professional village **dai** called **Vanzin** who also cuts the umbilical cord. The cord and the placenta is kept in an earthen pitcher along with rice, flowers etc. and is then buried at the place where the woman delivers the baby. Water is channelised to pass over this place. The pollution is for eleven days. Enthoven gives this period as twelve days. On the sixth day goddess **Satvai** is worshipped. For one month the parturient is given a daily bath. She is fed on sweet rice paste and coconut water. On the sixteenth day she is fed on meat. Name-giving ceremony takes place on the twelfth day.

*Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 417.

Pre-marital sex relations are looked down upon. Among the more helpless portions of the caste it is tolerated.

Marriage.—Marriage is infant as well as adult, girls being sometimes married even when only a month old and sometimes after the age of sixteen. The cause of such late marriages is in most cases want of money. In some areas it is customary to dedicate girls to Khandoba and such are subsequently called Murlis.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father, who, in some cases, has to pay a sum of money to the girl's father. Accompanied by four or five persons he goes to the girl's father who asks for some time to consider the proposal. After it is accepted, the bride price is fixed. When betrothal is announced, sugar is distributed and a saree given to the bride. The usual bride price is a cash payment of Rs. 100 and seven sarees. The Brahmin finds the auspicious time of the marriage and at the appointed time sits under a tree outside the Maharwada chanting the *mantras*. Among some Mahars, a Mahar *gosavi* conducts the marriage. The auspicious songs are sung by those among Mahars who know them. The sacred grains of rice are then thrown over the bride and the bridegroom. Mahar marriage is a four-day function. On the first day is the Mahar feast called *mathav jevan* (माठव जेवन) when both the parties sit for a common dinner, the expenses being borne by both. On the second day is the application of turmeric to the couple. On the third day is the marriage and on the fourth day *partavani* (परतावणी) or send off to bride. After the marriage the couple goes to the goddess Kelmi Maya in the hamlet to invoke Her blessings.

Marriages are generally prohibited within three degrees of relationship. A Mahar cannot marry his father's sister's or mother's sister's daughter. He may marry his mother's brother's daughter. In some places marriages with a sister's daughter is allowed. Marriage with a wife's sister is allowed, both during the wife's lifetime and after her death. Two brothers are allowed to marry two sisters.

Polygyny is allowed and practised but polyandry is unknown. Divorce is allowed. Widow marriage is permitted.

Death.—The dead are generally buried. A few who have the means burn. In Goa the dead are buried. The body is carried on a bamboo bier to the burial ground.

Mourning period is for twelve days. For the first three days neighbours bring meals for the bereaved family.

Inheritance.—The Mahars follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The property is divided equally among all male issues.

Religion.—The Mahars profess Hinduism. They are both Shaivites and Vaishnavites. They worship all Hindu deities: Chokhamela was a great saint among them. The Mahars of Maharashtra worship Dnyanoba, Khandoba, Vithoba, Mhasoba, Mari Aai, Satvai and other deities.

They believe in sorcery, witchcraft and sooth saying and attribute all diseases to the working of evil spirits. Ancestor worship is also common.

Usually Brahmans take no part in the religious and ceremonial observances of the caste and either the head of the household officiates as priest or a professional Mahar mendicant, a Jangam or a Joshi is called in.

They actively participate in *Shimga* (Holi) festivities. They celebrate it a day prior to the villagers *Shimga* as they have to play for them from next day. They also celebrate Ganesh Chaturthi and all other Hindu holidays.

Leisure and recreation.—Lack of resources forbids the Mahars in participating in any recreational activity. They spend their time gossiping.

Intra-community relationship.—Among themselves their relations are cordial. They serve the different surrounding villages in turn by a mutual understanding among themselves.

Inter-community relationship.—The Mahar is an indispensable factor of village life. For murder, robbery, burglary or boundary dispute he is the first man appealed to. He is, so to say, the incarnation of the traditions and history of his village and holds worst lands in the village on hereditary tenure.

The Mahars stand almost at the bottom of the Hindu caste system. They claim to be superior to Parits, Mochis, Bhangis and Mangs and do not eat from their hands.

The Mahars are treated as *untouchables* by all. Even the Chambhars consider themselves superior to Mahars as they consider the latter to be very dirty. They do not eat at their hands.

The Mahars are not allowed entry into the temple by convention. They also do not try to enter it in spite of Goa's liberation. They are not served tea in the restaurants, in the villages in common utensils. Their cups, as those of Chambhars, are separate and are kept outside the restaurant. In other parts of India, however, this social disability is fast waning. What Mead and Macgregor²⁷ said in 1911 is more true today. "Their social position is improving *pari passu* with the industrial development of the country, and the village servant of yesterday drives a motor-car for his private master today amidst the plaudits of the social reformer and the groans of the conservative Brahman who still considers that a Mahar's duty is to be an efficient Mahar and wait for his reward in a future stage of existence."

(ii) Mesta

Mesta or Sutar or Suthars are spread all over the country under different names. Mesta or Mistri means foreman and Sutar or Suthar means carpenter. The word Sutar or Suthar is derived from the Sanskrit 'Sutradhar' meaning a holder of string, referring to the strings used either in joining planks or in planing and measuring.

The Suthars of Western India have the following divisions:—

- 1 Ahir
- 2 Badig
- 3 Deshi
- 4 Gujar
- 5 Konkani, Thavi or Vadve
- 6 Marwari
- 7 Mevada
- 8 Panchal
- 9 Pancholi
- 10 Vaishya

In Satari concelho of Goa some give their surnames as 'Chari' which word appears to be derived from Malayalam 'achari' (आचार्य) or Tamil 'achari'.

In appearance they are tall and sturdy and of fair complexion.

They live in comparatively spacious houses. Their houses have windows and are built on plinth. They live in the midst of other communities in the heart of the village. They dress in clean and simple clothes. The males wear dhoti or pants and shirts. The females wear saree and blouse.

The Mesta women wear ear, nose and neck ornaments and bangles. Males generally do not wear any ornament.

The females seldom do tattooing as a personal decoration though they apply vermilion mark on their forehead.

The Mesta keep brass and copper utensils, crockery and glass tumblers in their houses. Some even have chairs and tables. The implements they possess are all those needed to practise carpentry and blacksmithy.

They eat rice and hill millet. Well-to-do families eat wheat also. They are vegetarians.

They are healthy and strong. The sanitary conditions around their houses are satisfactory. They are clean and take regular bath.

They speak Marathi mixed with Konkani. The common names among males are Bomdo, Demgo, Mahadeo, Govind, Dayanand, Vithal, Ramchandra, Gopal, Vinayak and Gajanan and among females Parvati, Leela, Laxmi and Annapurna.

The Mesta are hereditary carpenters and make and mend carts, ploughs and other agricultural implements. For the services they render to the villagers, they are paid in grains by them. The Mesta of Taném do the job of blacksmiths also. There are two households who serve the villagers of Pal. They manufacture *ghuta* (घुटा) to level the soil and sell it for Rs. 2 per piece, *pal* (पाल) with wooden handle and iron blade to cut wood which they sell for Rs. 5 per piece, *Koyati* (कोयती) or sickle which is sold for Rs. 1.50 paise a piece, date (दाणे) to level the soil equally sold for Rs. 4 a piece and *nangar* (नांगर) or plough which is sold for Rs. 5 a piece. Every household in the village gives them four seers of hill millet per annum. If the crop fails, they get less.

The first delivery is always at parents' place. After delivery, bath is given and the parturient is fed on ghee and non-vegetarian food. The pollution after delivery lasts for one month.

Among the Mesta, *munj bandhan* (मुंज बंधन) or sacred thread ceremony is compulsory for a boy of 8 or 9. A sum of Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 is spent on it. The expenditure incurred on this is sometimes more than on marriage. Feast is also a necessary part of the sacred thread ceremony.

²⁷P. J. Mead and G. Laird Macgregor: Bombay: Census of India, 1911, Vol. II, Bombay, Part I, Report, p. 287.

The marriage ceremony is the same as in other caste Hindus. There is a custom of paying bride price. Usually it is Rs. 200 plus clothes and ornaments.

The Mesta burn their dead. Pregnant women are buried. The expenses for the cremation of a pregnant woman are generally between Rs. 500 to Rs. 800. This is because of the belief that the pregnant woman is an unsatisfied soul. She becomes ghost and troubles anyone at night by holding the person in her grip. A fowl is generally sacrificed as a ritual.

Their main deity is at Pansule village. They also worship Sateri Maya. Every night they place a lamp near the sacred **tulsi** plant in front of their courtyard.

The Mesta have so much work to do that they hardly have time for recreation. They generally spend leisure time in gossiping.

Both the households are very cordial with each other.

They are having very cordial relationship with other communities.

(iii) Chambhar

Chambhars are found all over the country under different names. The name Chambhar is widely prevalent among them in the Deccan, Konkan and Karnataka. In Kanara they are known as Chamgars and in the Karnatak Samgars. All these names, besides being the names of the caste, also signify a worker in leather.

Enthoven has given a number of traditions about their origin, though the Chambhars in Satari are not aware of any one of these. One tradition represents them as having descended from Harali, a devotee and page of the God Shiva. Another tradition alleges their origin from the sage Markanda. They took to making shoes of leather on command from God Shiva.

Maratha Chambhars have the following endogamous divisions:—

- 1 Ahir
- 2 Chevli
- 3 Dabhoti
- 4 Ghati
- 5 Harali
- 6 Konkani

There are no exogamous divisions of the caste, except families, members of which have the same surname. Marriage is prohibited within the sub-division concerned by one surname. It is also prohibited with those worshipping the same **devak**.

The Chambhars appear to be strong and muscular and are dark in complexion.

They live on the outskirts of the village like Mahars in low one-room structures with only a door and no window. The surroundings are generally unclean.

The males dress in a dhoti and a shirt or jacket. The younger generation wears shirts and half pants or trousers. The females wear saree and blouse and the girls blouse and petticoat. Children below five generally go naked.

The Chambhar males do not wear any ornament. The females wear cheap bead necklaces and bangles of glass.

Some Chambhar females have tattoo marks on their hands and forehead.

Because of their poverty, the Chambhars possess only earthen utensils and no furniture. Some among them possess a few brass utensils. For carrying on their profession they possess iron implements for mending and repairing shoes etc.

They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, fowls, hare and deer. They drink liquor.

The Chambhars are generally unclean. They drink water from the nearby streams which is impure or a separate well. The surroundings are unhygienic.

They speak Marathi though their language is not as clean as that of the Dhangars. The Chambhars of Goa use a few Konkani words in their speech. Common names among males are Mukund, Harishchandra, Rama and Govind and among females Rukmini, Tara-mati, Savitri, etc.

The main and traditional occupation of the caste is that of making shoes but some of them cut and dye skins and make bridles, whips, sandals, ropes and waterbags. Some are day labourers.

After delivery, the period of pollution is for three months. Both the mother and child are given a hot water bath after delivery. The umbilical cord is thrown near a river and the placenta buried outside the house. Sexual license, before marriage is not allowed.

Among the Chambhars marriage is generally infant but if the parents are poor, adult marriages take place. The boy's father approaches the girl's father and takes initiative for marriage negotiations. The boy's father goes once again after the girl's father had given his thought to the proposal. If the proposal is accepted, betrothal takes place at the time of which bananas, sweet balls and coconut are distributed to friends, relations and neighbours. Bride price is paid.

The marriage is solemnised by Brahmin. The essential and binding portion thereof is an oath on the part of the bridegroom to be ever faithful to his wife and protect and support her till death; and on the part of the bride, an oath of fidelity and obedience to her husband. After these oaths, their garments are tied into a knot. On the day of the marriage the girl's father gives a feast which is followed by a feast from the boy's father.

A man cannot marry into the families related to him on the father's side. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. Two sisters can also be married by two brothers.

Polygyny is permitted. Polyandry is unknown. Widow remarriage is permitted, and so also divorce.

The Chambhars of Goa bury their dead though in other parts of the country they either burn or bury. The mourning period is for twelve days. On the thirteenth day those who attend funeral are feasted.

The Chambhars follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

They are Hindus and employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. The main deity of the Chambhars of Goa is Banyadeo of Banda in Savantwadi. They observe all Hindu holidays.

Lack of resources compel them to spend their leisure time in gossiping or doing nothing.

There is no panchayat among the Chambhars as there is only one household in Taném village. They are socially inferior to Kunbis and other castes. When they visit a tea shop, they take tea in a separate glass kept in a corner of the shop's courtyard. The Chambhars consider the Mahars inferior to them, and the latter *vice versa*. Both do not eat at each other's hands.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMY

A. ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Land including forest, agricultural land and other land

The village is situated in the midst of forest. As mentioned earlier 54% of the area of Satari Concelho is under forest. This leaves out little land for agricultural purposes. Pal is situated in the midst of forest.

The last survey and settlement operation was carried out in 1942. The following figures give an idea of the land utilization pattern in the village:

	Area in hectares	Percentage to total areas
I Food Crops		
Paddy	14.52	} 7.31
Hill millet	43.88	
II Horticultural Crops		
Coconut	0.77	} 4.24
Cashew	18.41	
Other fruits	14.58	
III Land put to non-agricultural use		
Houses & structures	0.37	} 0.47
Fish ponds	0.25	
Roads	3.09	
IV Rivers, streams, nallas and tanks		
Rivers and streams	5.09	} 2.14
Nallas	11.97	
Tanks	0.03	
V Waste or barren land		
Uncultivable waste	676.87	} 85.84
Cultivable waste	0.10	
Barren land	8.27	
Total	798.21	100.00

The above figures show that out of 798.21 hectares of total area of the village, 685.24 or 85.84% is

cultivable waste or barren land. This may sound exaggerated to some but since the village rests in the midst of thick forest, this area is not so much a total waste. If adequate steps are taken, much of it can be developed into agricultural land. What needs to be done is clearing of the jungle and levelling of land.

The area under food crops and the area under horticultural crops form 7.31% and 4.24% respectively of the total area of the village. In absolute figures while 58.40 hectares of land is under food crops 33.76 hectares of land is under horticulture.

The food crops grown are paddy on 14.52 hectares and hill millet (nachani) on 43.88 hectares of land. Both these are the staple food of the people. Coconut, cashew, jack fruit, banana and mango are the main horticultural crops. The jack fruits and coconuts are seldom sold. They are mostly consumed at home.

Rivers, streams, nallas and tanks cover 17.09 hectares of land constituting 2.14% of the total area.

Land put to non-agricultural use is hardly 3.72 hectares or 0.47% of the total area.

Livestock and other resources

There is hardly any livestock worth the name at Pal. Since people do not have much land to cultivate, they do not possess cattle. Hardly two or three families own cattle as they have some land to cultivate.

No other livestock is owned by the villagers.

The Community Development Block has supplied poultry to a few villagers for poultry farming but they do not take much interest in this activity also.

B. FACTORS INFLUENCING ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

Land reforms

The villagers have never done systematic cultivation of land. They used to depend on shifting cultivation termed as **kumeri**. Under this system the Forest

Department used to clear out all 'C' class forest land and give it to a particular village or group of villages for cultivation at a nominal rate. The villagers in turn used to contribute their share and give the same to the Forest Department.

The land reforms have hardly affected this area because most of the land is either owned by some persons of the village or outsiders. Many a times the Portuguese used to issue oral orders. Records in such cases are not available. Thus it is difficult to settle land disputes. In a number of cases the villages are still unsurveyed.

Land improvement

The persons who own land in the village do not make any improvement in it. However, the Community Development Block has initiated programmes for land improvement as almost 50% of the cultivable land at Satari is lying fallow. The Block gives demonstrations in tractor farming also.

Industrialisation and trends of urbanisation

In a thickly forested area like Satari Concelho, it is no wonder if one misses the development of any industry. Not only does Pal have no industry but even its Concelho headquarters, Valpoi, which is a municipal town, lacks it. The resources available there are not adequate for any industrial development. The absence of any industry necessarily results in the village and the Concelho keeping its rural pattern. In the nearby Concelho of Bicholim, however, there are many iron and manganese mines giving employment to the Kunbis.

Urbanisation has not set in Satari Concelho still. Its headquarters, Valpoi, also resembles a village with very few amenities. The trend towards urbanisation will get a fillip only by way of industrialisation.

Improvement of communication

The village is on the Valpoi-Taném road. This is a Kutcha road. No improvement has been carried out so far in the communication. The post and telegraph offices are located in Valpoi.

Expansion of marketing facility

The marketing facilities are available only at Valpoi. Nothing has been done so far to facilitate marketing because there is hardly any produce to market. People live a hand to mouth existence and purchase all their requirements on every Tuesday when there is a weekly 'hat' at Valpoi.

Sources of finance

Since agricultural activity is at its low ebb in the village and there is no alternative means of livelihood, the question of source of finance is not important. Those who are tenants take the money from their landowners to tide over difficulties. There is no moneylender in the village.

After the coming into existence of the Community Development Block, the Block has started giving financial help to the cultivators by way of loans for purchasing bullocks etc. But since cultivators with economic holdings are negligible in number, this facility has hardly been of any use to the villagers of Pal.

C. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND NATURE OF CHANGES

Livelihood classes

Except a Naik who sells liquor, a Vaishya who sells provisions, another Vaishya who is supported by one of his relatives not living in the village and five Dhangers who lead a pastoral life, all others who belong to Kunbi caste have agricultural labour as their main source of livelihood. Since most of the Kunbis have either no land of their own or have very un-economic holdings or have lands of others to cultivate as lessees or tenants, they work as agricultural labourers for three to four months in a year. Many others who depended on 'kumeri' or shifting cultivation so far will now have to do this kind of labour for the major part of the year.

The type of work they do is woodcutting, digging soil, etc. in the plantations of Brahmins and Marathas in nearby villages. The wages for woodcutting are between Rs. 2 and Rs. 2.50 paise for males. Those who take woodcutting work of a specific type in pairs and on piece-rate basis earn Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per day. The females undertake the activities of weeding of grass and other unwanted growths which are injurious to plants (संगण काढणे OR तन काढणे) transferring soil from one place to another, dumping it around banana and pine-apple groves (माली भरणे) etc. Their wages vary from Re. 1 to Rs. 1.25 paise per day. The same rate is given for those females who are required to lift a bunch of logs and arrange the same at a particular place.

Some Kunbis who have jack fruit trees and cashew trees sell the products at Valpoi or Sankalim. The cashew seeds are sold at the rate of Rs. 2 per 100 and juice of cashew fruit is sold to local distillers for Re. 1 per gallon.

Changes in the size of the population in different livelihood classes with reference to 1951 Census figures

The figures relating to livelihood classes are not available for the village separately in the last Census.

Since Goa was under Portuguese occupation in 1951, statistics of that period were not recorded by the then rulers. The only figures available are for the Concelho as a whole for Valpoi town for the year 1960. However, since Pal is under Valpoi municipality of Satari Concelho, the following analysis may be revealing.

The workers form 50.6% of the population of Satari, there being 13,235 workers out of the population of 26,136 persons. The sex distribution reveals that among males 7,577 (57%) out of 13,280 are workers while among females 5,638 (48.3%) out of 12,856 are workers. Forty-three per cent of the total population of the Concelho depend on agriculture as their main source of livelihood.

Out of 13,235 workers, 9,654 (73%) are cultivators, 1,568 (12%) are agricultural labourers, 1,077 (8.1%) are engaged in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities, 274 (2.1%) are in manufacturing industries including those of household, 46 (0.3%)—all males—are in construction, 133 (1%)—all males except 2 who are females—are in trade and commerce, 150 (1%) are in transport, storage and communications and 333 (2.5%) are in other services.

The females are employed mostly as cultivators and agricultural labourers, 44% of the former and 63% of the latter being females. Twenty-one per cent of those employed in manufacturing industries and 19% of those employed in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities are females. In transport, storage and communications 17% of the total working force are females. The corresponding figure for trade and commerce is hardly 1%. In construction the females are conspicuous by their absence.

It is of some interest to note the livelihood classes of the population of the area under the jurisdiction of Valpoi municipality. The village under study is also included in this area.

A statement giving the figures is furnished below:—

TABLE 2
Livelihood classes in Valpoi town by sex

Sl. No.	Livelihood classes	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5
1	Cultivators . . .	1,667	1,352	3,091 (75%)
2	Agricultural Labourers .	181	350	531 (13.1%)

TABLE 2—*Concl'd.*

1	2	3	4	5
3	Mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantation & allied activities	82	14	96 (2.3%)
4	Manufacturing industries including those of household	82	8	90 (2%)
5	Construction	26	..	26 (1%)
6	Trade and Commerce	67	..	67 (1.6%)
7	Transport, storage and communications	32	15	47 (1%)
8	Other services	129	33	162 (4%)
	Total	2,266	1,772	4,038 (100.00%)

NOTE :—Figure in brackets indicate percentages to total.

Out of 8,542 persons in Valpoi town, 4,038 (47%) are workers. If the males and the females are considered separately, it is found that they form 53% of the total male population, 2,266 out of 4,258 being workers while among females they form 41% of the total female population, 1,772 out of 4,284 being workers. Out of 4,038 workers 2,266 (56%) are males and 1,772 (44%) are females.

The females are found more in cultivation and agricultural labour, 44% and 66% of the persons engaged in these occupation being females. Thirty-two per cent of those employed in transport, 20% of those in other services, 14% of those in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantation and allied activities and 9% of those in manufacturing industries including household industry sector, are females. In Valpoi town no female is engaged in construction and trade and commerce.

Working force at Pal

During the present survey, it was found that out of 214 persons, 102 (48%) are workers and 112 (52%) are non-workers.

Among workers, 60 (59%) are males and 52 (41%) are females. Out of 108 males, 60 (55.5%) are workers and 48 (44.5%) are non-workers. Out of 86 females, 42 (40%) are workers and 64 (60%) are non-workers.

The age-distribution of the workers shows that it ranges from 10-14 to 60 and above in case of males and 10-14 to 55-59 in case of females.

Among the male workers, out of 60, 21 (35%) each belong to age-groups 20-34 and 35-54, 8 (13.3%) belong to age-group 15-19, 5 (8.3%) belong to age-group 60 and above, 3 (5%) belong to age-group 55-59 and 2 (3.3%) belong to age-group 10-14. Among the female workers, out of 42, 18 (43%) belong to the age-group 20-34, 17 (41%) belong to age-group to 35-44, 5 (12%) belong to age-group 15-19 and 1 (2%) each belongs to age-groups 10-14 and 55-59.

Among the non-workers, 48 (43%) are males and 64 (57%) are females. Out of 48 males, 33 (69%) belong to age-group 0-9, 12 (25%) belong to age-group 10-14 and 3 (6%) belong to age-group 60 and above. Out of 64 females, 45 (70%) belong to age-group 0-9, 8 (13%) belong to age-group 10-14, 7 (11%) belong to age-group 60 and above, 2 (3%) belong to age-group 20-24 group and 1 (1.5%) each belongs to age-groups to 35-54 and 55-59.

Among non-workers, out of 23, 12 (52%) are males and 11 (48%) are females. Out of 12 male non-workers, 7 (58%) belong to age-group 0-9 and 5 (42%) to age-group 10-14. Out of 11 female non-workers, 5 (46%) belong to age-group 35-54, 3 (27%) belong to age-group 0-9, 2 (18%) belong to age-group 15-19 and 1 (9%) belong to age-group 20-34.

The 120 workers of Pal are found in many castes. Thirty-three (32%) are Jogeshwarkar Kunbi, 27 (27%) are Gaonkar Kunbi, 25 (25%) are Sattarkar Kunbi, 9 (9%) are Dhangar, 5 (5%) are Brahmanekar Kunbi, 2 (2%) are Naik and 1 (1%) is Vaishya.

Among 60 male workers, 2 (3%) belong to age-group 0-14, 53 (88%) belong to age-group 15-59 and 5 (9%) belong to age-group 60 and above. The male workers aged 0-14 are found only in Dhangar (1) and Gaonkar Kunbi (1) households. The male workers aged 60 and above are found only among Gaonkar, Sattarkar and Jogeshwarkar Kunbi households.

There is only one Dhangar female aged 0-14 age-group who is working.

The sex-wise break-up of the workers in each caste reveals that there are more male workers than female workers in all castes excepting the Naik. The variation is from 100% male workers in Vaishya caste to 63% (21 out of 33) of male workers in Jogeshwarkar Kunbi, 60% (16 out of 27 and 3 out of 5) each respectively in Gaonkar and Brahmanekar Kunbis, 55.5% (5 out of 9) in Dhangar and 52% (13 out of 25) in Sattarkar Kunbi castes. The Naiks have an equal share (50%) of workers both among males and females.

Non-workers

Out of 112 non-workers at Pal, 48 (43%) are males and 64 (57%) females. Forty-five out of 48 (93%) male non-workers and 53 out of 64 (83%) of female non-workers belong to 0-14 age-group. From among these only 17 out of 45 (38%) males and 11 out of 53 (20%) females are students. Students are not found in any other age-group. Household duty accounts for only one female each in the age-groups 15-54 and 25-59. Twenty-eight out of 45 (62%) males and 42 out of 53 (80%) females of 0-14 age-group are having no activity. This is also the case with one female each of the age-groups 15-24 and 25-59. All the 3 males and 7 females aged 60 and above, are too old to carry on any work.

Ownership of economic resources including land and trends of change

The ownership of agricultural land in Satari concelho is the follows:—

	Area in hectares	% to total
Government (mainly forests)	24527.0085	50
Village communities	58.9620	0.1
Hindu temples	1471.6205	3
Private	22996.4239	46.9
Total are available for cultivation	49054.0169	100.0

Source.—Report of the Goa Land Reforms Commission.

There are only two comunidades in Satari—Ganagem and Pissurlem—out of a total 225 in Goa. These, however, come under the jurisdiction of Bicholim Concelho.

There are two types of land held by the residents of Pal. One type known as Definitive consists of land purchased from Government on payment of Rs. 15 with right of transfer. The other, known as Provision, is one taken from Government on payment of Rs. 5 without right of transfer.

The land of Pal given on Definitive terms is held by 3 persons of Tanem (46.3452.14 hectares), one of Pal (30.3433.22 hectares) and one of Valpoi town (41.1670.88 hectares). The total land held on this count is 117.8556.24 hectares.

There is thus hardly any subsidiary occupation. Some persons on the Goa-Maharashtra and Goa-My-sore border of Satari were engaged in smuggling during Portuguese times. They used to get quite a handsome sum for doing the risky job of smuggling. For such a minor job as placing a bundle of prohibited articles across the Indian border less than a furlong away from any place, they used to get a sum of ten rupees as payment, and that too in advance. Once they had earned sufficient amount to manage for weeks and months, they would just sit and consume their earnings. They used to spend on luxury goods and liquors. This easy-going life in the past has made them idlers. They, therefore, never bothered to take up a decent occupation till now. Now with the liberation of Goa, they find it difficult to lead an easy life as in past. Since many of them do not possess any land or any academic qualifications they are either unemployed or underemployed. It is not uncommon to find people who, for want of a job or means of

livelihood, subsist on jack fruits or some edible roots day in and day out.

The traditional occupation of the Kunbis who are in majority in this village is agriculture including agricultural labour. This occupation is followed by all Kunbi households. The Vaishyas have trade or commerce as their traditional occupation which only one of them follows, the other Vaishya household being subsisting on help from its relations.

The only Naik household follows both agriculture and sale of liquor as its occupation.

The people in general are apathetic to change. They do not want to strain themselves as can be seen from the method they follow for cultivation.

The following table shows the distribution of workers according to caste and primary occupation:—

TABLE 4

Distribution of workers according to caste and primary occupations

Sr. No.	Primary Occupation	No. of workers who belong to caste and are of sex															
		Dhangar		Brahmanekar Kunbi		Gaonkar Kunbi		Jogeshwarkar Kunbi		Sattarkar Kunbi		Naik		Vaishya			
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
1	Selling milk	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Labourer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
3	Agricultural labourer	..	..	3	2	..	..	3	2	10	10	..	..	..	..
4	Cultivation	..	..	..	..	16	11	18	10	2	2	1	1	..	..
5	Trader	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
	Total	5	4	3	2	16	11	21	12	13	12	1	1	1	..		

Out of 102 workers, 61 (60%) are cultivating fields either of their own or of others as tenants and 30 (30%) are agricultural labourers doing such sundry jobs as weeding, cleaning and removing soil from one place to another. There are 9 Dhangar workers who tend cattle and sell milk. There is only one Sattarkar Kunbi who is an ordinary labourer and one Vaishya who is a trader. Out of 61 persons who are practising agriculture, 27 (44%) are Gaonkar Kunbis, 28 (44%) are Jogeshwarkar Kunbis 4 (7%) are Sattarkar Kunbis and 2 (5%) are Naiks. Among the 30

agricultural labourers, 20 (68%) are Sattarkar Kunbis and 5 (16%) each Jogeshwarkar and Brahmanekar Kunbis.

It is significant to note that the only Vaishya is a trader, all Dhangars are selling milk, all Gaonkar Kunbis are cultivators and all Brahmanekar Kunbis are agricultural labourers. Among Sattarkar Kunbis 20 out of 25 (80%) are agricultural labourers, 4 (16%) are cultivators and 1 (4%) is labourer. Among Jogeshwarkar Kunbis, 28 out of 33 (85%) are cultivators and 5 (15%) are agricultural labourers.

TABLE 5

Distribution of households with reference to number of subsidiary occupations

Number of subsidiary occupations	No. of households
1	2
Nil	11
1	28
2	1
3	Nil
Total	40

The statement shows that out of 40 households at Pal 11 (28%) have no subsidiary occupation, 28 (70%) have one subsidiary occupation and one (2%) have two subsidiary occupations. Among the 28 households having one subsidiary occupation each 11 are Gaonkar Kunbi, 1 of Jogeshwarkar Kunbi, 5 are Sattarkar Kunbi and one each is Dhangar, Naik and Vaishya.

Association of Subsidiary occupations with primary occupation

A statement indicating the association of subsidiary occupations with primary occupations is furnished below:—

TABLE 6

Distribution of households by association of subsidiary occupation with primary occupation

Sr. No.	Primary occupation	Number of households	No. of hhs. returning subsidiary as occupation				
			Cultivation	Agricultural labour	Government service & contractor	Liquor shop	Nil
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Sale of milk	2*	2	1	..	..	..
2	Labourer	1	1	..	..	..	..
3	Agricultural (Cultivation)	24	..	19	1	1	3
4	Agricultural labourer	10	4	..	..	..	6
5	Trade	1	1	..	..	..	..
6	Nil	2	..	..	..	..	2

*In one household there are 2 subsidiary occupations.

The table shows that out of 24 households having agriculture (cultivation) as primary occupation, 19 have agricultural labour as subsidiary, one has service and contract of house construction occupation and another has sale of liquor as subsidiary occupations. The household having Government service and contract of house construction as subsidiary occupation belongs to a Gaonkar Kunbi caste and that having sale of liquor as subsidiary occupation to belongs to Naik caste. Out of 10 households engaged primarily in agricultural labour, 4 cultivate land also. The Vai-

shya household engaged in trade also cultivates land as a subsidiary occupation. While both the Dhangar households besides rearing cattle and selling milk practise agriculture, one among them follows agricultural labour as a subsidiary occupation. A Vaishya and a Gaonkar Kunbi household have no occupation at all because of the absence of any earning member in them.

If subsidiary occupation is considered as base, the association of primary occupation with each subsidiary occupation is as follows:—

TABLE 7

Distribution of households by association of primary occupation with subsidiary occupation

Sr. No.	Subsidiary occupation	No. of households	No. of hhs. returning primary occupation					
			Sale of milk	Labour	Agricultural labour	Cultivation	Trade	Nil
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Agriculture (Cultivation)	8	2*	1	4	..	1	..
2	Agricultural labour	20	1*	..	..	19	..	..
3	Government service and contractor	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
4	Liquor shop	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
5	Nil	11	..	..	6	3	..	2

*In one household there are 2 subsidiary occupations.

Thus, if subsidiary occupation is taken in account, we find that out of 8 households doing cultivation as a subsidiary occupation, 2 sell milk, one each is labourer and a trader and four are agricultural labourers.

Out of the 20 households following agricultural labour as a subsidiary occupation, 19 are primarily cultivators and 2 living on charity or support from sale of milk. The household having Government service (headman) and contract work as subsidiary occupations is primarily engaged in cultivation. The household having a liquor shop as a subsidiary means of livelihood has agriculture as its main occupation. Eleven households—six of agricultural labourers, 3 of cultivators and 2 living on charity or support from others do not have any subsidiary means of livelihood.

Agriculture

Agriculture forms the backbone of the economy of Pal. As pointed out earlier, out of 798.21 hectares of land in the village 92.16 hectares are either under food crops or horticultural crops.

(a) *Farming practices*.—The farming practices have not changed from the traditional pattern. In the adjoining village of Tanem a farmer has adopted on a small plot of land the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. At Pal none has ventured to do so in spite of the free guidance from the Community Development Block because the owners of land are mostly outsiders and also because the holdings are too small.

Only one crop of hill millet and two of paddy are taken in a year and these too depend on monsoon. The method of cultivation of hill millet has also not changed and no improved techniques have been followed. There is a unique method followed by many persons in growing hill millet. This, more or less, tantamounts to shifting cultivation. In this method the land is first cleared of all shrubs and bushes by slash and burn method. Then the garbage is cleared and hill millet is broadcasted by hand over the cleared area after the first shower of the monsoon. The land is neither levelled nor ploughed. No manures or fertilisers are added. Even the seeds used are ordinary. After rains the crop comes up. This is cut by a sickle. Thus the villagers put in minimum effort in getting the crops of hill millet.

Since adequate and intensive cultivation is not done the produce also is not much and is hardly sufficient to sustain the family. If improved farming practices are followed, the production would definitely increase.

In the prevailing conditions, it is very difficult to expect quick adoption of improved farming practices in cultivating. Poverty and uneconomic size of

holdings also retard the progress. The yield of paddy per acre in the entire conchelo is very small, the average being 4 maunds per acre. Only four households among those studied have adopted either improved seeds such as Patani No. 6, Panvel No. 61 and Bhadas No. 79 in case of paddy or organic manure such as super phosphate, ammonium sulphate etc. Two have taken the seeds from the co-operative society at Tanem and two others have taken organic manure from the same source. All have found the results of adopting these improved farming practices satisfactory. Besides paddy, the Block supplies improved groundnut seed of Kopargaon No. 1 variety, improved varieties of sugarcane such as C.O. 470 and C.O. 775 obtained from the Sugarcane Research Centre, Kolhapur and improved ginger and turmeric seeds. The Block also demonstrates the use of green manure and of compost pits.

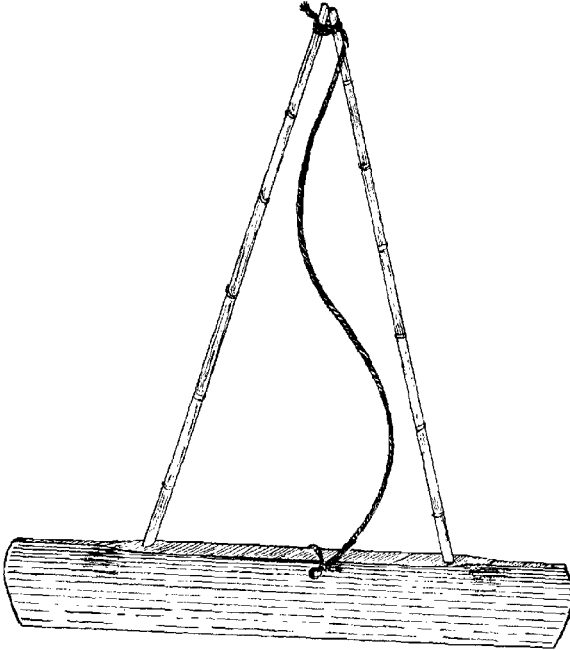
It is to be noted here that there is no irrigated land in the village as the village is situated at a small height and as there is no river or rivulet flowing by its side. Lack of irrigation facility services as a constrain against the adoption of improved agricultural practices.

(b) *Nature of produce*.—Only food crops and horticultural crops are grown. Among the food crops paddy accounts for 14.52 hectares and hill millet 43.88 hectares. These are the staple food crops of the villagers. Among the horticultural crops, cashew accounts for 18.41 hectares, coconut 0.77 hectares and other fruits 14.58 hectares.

As can be seen, the area under paddy is very little. This is because most of the area is under forest. Cashew is the main crop of this area. The mountainous terrain of Satari is ideally suited to this crop and it yields a good return. The crop has assumed international importance because of its demand in foreign countries. A plan programme has been undertaken by the Satari Block for the development of this crop. In many villages seed farm nurseries for cashew seedlings have been opened. Demonstrations for grafting trees are also organised.

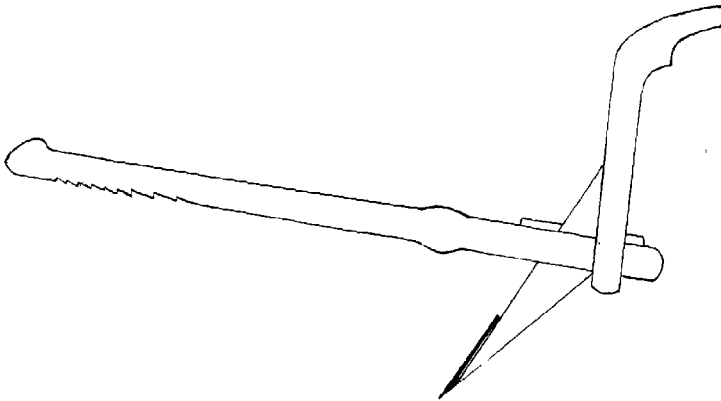
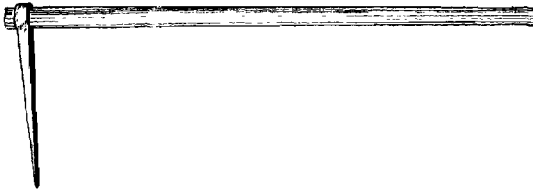
(c) *Tools and equipment*.—The tools and equipment needed for cultivation in this village are the plough, the driller, the sickle, the spade, the yoke, etc. Since few people cultivate owned or tenancy land, the tools and equipment needed for farming are also possessed by few. The plough, for example, is possessed by an insignificant number. Pairs of bullocks are owned by three persons only. Other implements are also owned by very few persons as most of them do not need them for want of land. Some borrow these from those who possess them. Everyone, however, possesses a sickle needed to cut the shrubs and bushes whether in the land one cultivates or in other's land.

40



6
LEVELLER

7
PICK AXE



8
PLOUGH

The implements possessed, by the workers for wood-cutting are *raake* or *kutkad* (कूड़ाड) saw or *karvat* (करवट) chisel or *tasari* (तासरी) a piece of wooden plank or stick known as *phali* (फली) as a measure. Sometimes bare hands are used for measuring the length, white rope or *dori* (दोरी) not very thick, and a piece of *charcoal* (कोलसा) for marking the measurements.

The Block has given a set of improved implements to each gramsevak. This set consists of an iron plough, sprayer for spraying insecticides on the seeds, a Japanese *Kolpi* (को लपी) or sickle, a paddy husking machine, a dust gun, a knife used for grafting, etc.

(d) *Technique*.—The technique of cultivation of paddy is age-old but that of hill millet is worthy of special mention because of its peculiar characteristic.

The Kumeri or shifting cultivation followed in case of hill millet by the Kunbis of Pal and nearby areas of Satari concelho moves on a strictly-laid pattern. The Forest Department decides to clear 'C' class forest land and gives it for cultivation to the village as a whole or a group of villages at a nominal charge for just one year.

The village or the group of villages accordingly takes the same by contributing the charge to be paid and decides the persons who will get the land and the amount of land to be given to each. Each one then onwards is on his own and cultivates as much as he and his family together can. The cultivation does not need any special efforts on the part of the villagers. After the trees are cut by the people, they set fire to the fields to burn all the undesirable weeds, grass, bushes, inferior species of trees etc. The trees that survive the fire are felled and auctioned as timber and poles. In 1964 trees worth Rs. 90,000 were auctioned. The next step is to clean the fields of the refuse and garbage. Hill millet is then thrown by hand in the fields. One *kudo* (कडो) or approximately 8 kes. of hill millet can yield a crop of 40 *kudes* or 320 kes. approximately. In one acre if $1\frac{1}{2}$ kg. or $1\frac{1}{4}$ kg. of hill millet is sown, the return will be approximately 20 kes. The crop is harvested after monsoon months. The land is never ploughed. No manures or fertilisers are ever used.

The only supervisory job is to keep a watch over the fields when the crop is standing to protect it from stray cattle and wild boars. This is done by men only. They stay at night in the fields in the

watch huts known as *mala* or *jhonpedi* (माला or ज्ञोपडी). Sometimes they take their night meals also in these huts. The harvesting is done by means of a sickle which is the only implement possessed by every household.

The Kunbis who are engaged in this type of work are considered to be lazy, lethargic and inactive. This is indeed very strange as agriculture is their principal source of livelihood. Unlike agriculturists in other parts of the country, they take life leisurely and start ploughing the land only after monsoon showers. This is because the land gets soft and it becomes then easy to plough the fields with the minimum of effort. They do not keep the farms ready for sowing duly ploughed, before monsoon. The reasons for this attitude may be the practise of *kumeri* and their involvement during Portuguese regime in smuggling.

(e) *Organisation of man-power*.—Ploughing is done only by able-bodied men. The families doing it depend only on family labour and very seldom on reciprocity. Weeding is done by both males and females of all age-groups. Generally all the grown up members of the family participate in it, but it is not uncommon to get assistance from neighbours or other villagers on the basis of reciprocal service. Reaping is done by adult males and females and at this stage outsiders' help is essential. This the people get on reciprocal basis. Besides these major agricultural operations, other miscellaneous agricultural jobs are done by both males and females on reciprocal aid from persons other than family members.

(f) *Source of finance*.—The institution of money-lender is absent in the village. The villagers take money from the traders of Valnoi to whom they not only sell their produce, if any, but from whom they take their daily necessities and provisions as well. The Community Development Block also gives loans for many agricultural purposes but very few people have so far taken advantage of this facility.

(g) *Nature of expenditure in connection with the various operations*.—It is very difficult to calculate the expenditure in connection with the various operations as all the operations are generally carried on by the members of the family who occasionally take help from neighbours and other villagers on reciprocal basis.

(h) *Utilisation of produce*.—The produce is utilised mostly for domestic consumption. It is seldom sold but sometimes bartered especially against the services of Mahars, Mesta, Chambhar, Dhobi, Nhavi, etc.

(i) *Marketing of produce.*—People who sell their produce do it at Valpoi, which is the nearest market place. It is generally sold to the traders there who supply grocery requirements to them. Fruits, cashew-nuts, coconuts etc., are sold to the traders of Valpoi or even Sankalim by carrying them as head loads or in buses.

(j) *Time of different activities connected with agriculture.*—The agricultural activities are spread throughout the year. The ploughing starts in monsoon in June after the first rain. Sowing is done at the end of June and beginning of July and reaping in September. This Calendar is followed for both paddy and hill millet. The second paddy crop is taken in winter. In the month of September (Kartika), the preparation of field starts on Ganesh Chaturthi day followed by ploughing. Sowing is done in November-December. The crop is reaped in March.

(k) *Ownership of land.*—Out of the 40 households surveyed at Pal, 13 (32.5%) have no land to cultivate either of their own or of others, either legal or illegal. These include one Gaonkar Kunbi, one Vaishya, two Brahmanekar Kunbis, two Jogeshwarkar Kunbis and seven Sattarkar Kunbis. Even among those who cultivate land, two Dhangars and two Jogeshwarkar Kunbis have illegal possession of land as they cultivate small patches of land by the side of their respective homes or on the outskirts of the village. One Sattarkar and one Naik have leased in land. If these cases are also excluded, only seventeen (42.5%) of the forty surveyed households possess land of their own, which, however, is not sufficient to make both ends meet. Among the households who do not possess land, the Gaonkar Kunbi has given all his land to the village for construction of a well and building a school since he is very old and all alone.

The total acreage of land including homestead land varies from 0.0081 hectare (0.02 acre) in case of Brahmanekar Kunbis to 0.1214 hectare (0.30 acre) in case of Dhangars, 0.2064 hectare, (0.51 acre) in case of Vaishyas, 0.4087 hectare (1.01 acres) in case of Naik, 0.4411 hectare (1.09 acres) in case of Sattarkar Kunbis, 6.02 hectare (14.89 acres) in case of Gaonkar Kunbis and 7.5 to 7.6 hectares (18.65 to 18.90 acres) in case of Jogeshwarkar Kunbis.

The homestead land varies from 0.00405 hectare (0.01 acres) in case of Vaishyas and Naiks to 0.0081 hectare (0.02 acre) in case of Brahmanekar Kunbis, 0.0243 hectare (0.06 acre) in case of Dhangars, 0.0364 hectare (0.09 acre) in case of Sattarkars, 0.05666 hectare (0.14 acre) in case of Gaonkars and 0.060705 hectare (0.15 acre) in case of Jogeshwarkars.

Uncultivated land under non-agricultural use is held by Sattarkars 0.2024 hectare or (0.50 acres), Gaonkars 1.01175 hectare or (2.5 acres) and Jogeshwarkar Kunbis 2.4 hectares (6.0 acres) and fallow land 0.4047 hectare or (1.0 acre) by a Gaonkar Kunbi. Three acres of land under current fallow are held by one Jogeshwarkar Kunbi.

Cultivated land to the extent of 4.55 hectares (11.25 acres) is held by Gaonkars, 3.84 to 3.94 hectares (9.50 to 9.75 acres) by Jogeshwarkars, 0.4047 hectare (1.0 acre) by Naiks, 0.2024 hectare (0.50 acre) by Sattarkars and Vaishyas and 0.097 hectare (0.24 acre) by Dhangars.

Cultivated land held per household engaged in cultivation comes to 0.356 hectare (0.88 acre) to 0.360 hectare (0.89 acre) in Pal, the maximum being held by Jogeshwarkars with 0.4249 to 0.4371 hectares (1.05 to 1.08 acres) followed by Naiks with 0.4047 hectare (1.00 acre), Gaonkars with 0.3764 hectare (0.93 acre), Sattarkars and Vaishyas with 0.2024 hectare (0.50 acre) each and Dhanags with 0.0486 hectare (0.12 acre). The Brahmanekar Kunbis do not cultivate any land.

No household surveyed in Taném or Veluz cultivated any land.

All this only shows land possessed or occupied. Some have no right on it and cultivate it illegally. A few hold it jointly with relations and others and a few others have taken it on lease.

Two Dhangar households, for example, have taken together 0.0243 hectare (0.06 acre) of homestead land on rent but they together cultivate 0.097 hectare (0.24 acre) land illegally. The rest own their homestead land except a Vaishya who stays in a house owned by his son-in-law. Households possessing uncultivated land under non-agricultural use, fallow land and current fallow land own the same. Two Jogeshwarkar Kunbis cultivating 0.4047 to 0.6071 hectare (1 to 1½ acres) of land also do it illegally. One Naik and one Sattarkar Kunbi have taken it on lease. All others possessing cultivated land own it as well.

(l) *Size of holding.*—The average size of holding in Satari concelho is 0.4 hectare. In the village under study, most of the persons owning land own very little of it. This problem can be considered in four ways. If all land including homestead land is taken into account, it is found that out of 39 households*, 29 (74%) together own 3.1769 to 3.2781 hec-

tares (7.85 to 8.10 acres or 22%) of land out of a total of 14,7594 to 14,8606 hectares (36.47 to 36.72 acres). Thus each household holds less than one acre of land. Six (15%) out of 39 own 0.4047 to 1.1736 hectares (1 to 2.9 acres) of land. Together their combined area comes to 3,873 hectares or 9.57 acres (26%). Only 3 (8%) households hold between 1.2 to 2,388 hectares (3 to 5.9 acres) of land together totalling 4,4679 hectares or 11.04 acres (30%) and one household (3%) owns between 2,4282 to 4,4112 hectares (6 to 10.9 acres) of land totalling 3,2416 hectares or 8.01 acres (22%). The minimum acreage owned is 0.0405 hectare or 0.1 acre and the maximum is 3,2416 hectares or 8.01 acres.

The picture is not different if homestead land is excluded from calculation. In that case only 27 out of 39 households possess land other than homestead land and 12 persons have only homestead land. These 27 persons together own 14,5652 to 14,6663 hectares (35.99 to 36.24 acres); out of them 17 (63%) households own less than 0.4047 hectare or one acre land 6 (22%) households own 0.4047 to 1.1736 hectares (1 to 2.9 acres), 3 (11%), households own 1,2141 to 2,388 hectares (3 to 5.9 acres) and only 1 (4%) household owns between 2,4282 to 4,4112 hectares (6 to 10.9 acres) of land.

This also shows that 63% households together hold 21% of land (3.03 to 3.13 hectares or 7.49 to 7.74 acres), 22% hold 26% (3.84 hectares or 9.50 acres) land, 11% hold 31%, 4.45 hectares or 11.00 acres land while the remaining 22% (3,2376 hectares or 8.00 acres) are held by 4% of the households.

This information about the size of holdings can be further sieved by taking into account cultivable land. If such land is taken into account (which obviously will include cultivated land, fallow land, land under current fallow and culturable waste land) it is found that only 26 persons own 11.73 to 11.83 hectares (28.99 to 29.24 acres) of such land, 16 (62%) of whom owning less than 0.4047 hectare (one acre) each, together 2.83 to 2.93 hectares or 6.99 to 7.24 acres (24%) of land, 7 (27%) owning between 0.4047 to 1.17363 hectares or 1 to 2.9 acres each, together hold 4.45 hectares or 11.00 acres (38%) of land and 3 (11%) owning between 1.21 to 2.39 hectares or 3 to 5.9 acres each, together also hold 4.45 hectares or 11.00 acres (38%) of land.

The actual position or reality of agriculture can, however, be gauged by the amount of land cultivated. If this is taken into account, only 26 persons own such land together holding 9.30 to 9,405 hectares

(22.99 to 23.24 acres) of land, out of which 3,638 to 3,739 hectares or 8.99 to 9.24 acres (39%) are owned by 19 (73%) households, each possessing less than 0.4047 hectare (one acre) of cultivated land, 3,2376 hectares or 8.00 acres (35%) by 5 (19%) households, each possessing between 0.4046 to 1.1736 hectares (1 to 2.9 acres) of land while only 2 (8%) households together cultivate 2,4282 hectares or 6.00 acres (26%) of land, each one being in the size-group of 1,2141 to 2,3880 hectares (3 to 5.9 acres).

Only one household has kept the land fallow ever since it has got its possession because of lack of finance.

It is thus found that the economic condition of the farmers is far from satisfactory as more than 73% of households own less than one acre of cultivated land, and as the meagre land under their command is not always cultivated intensively.

(m) *Number of plots.*—The cultivated land is possessed by 26 households out of which 20 own it, 4 have occupied it illegally and 2 have taken it on lease from others—one from an agriculturist and another from a trader. The lands involved in these three categories are 8,3975 hectares (20.75 acres), 0,31162 to 0,40065 hectare (0.77 to 0.99 acres), and 0,60705 hectare (1.50 acres) respectively. In all these cases, each of the households concerned is having only one plot of small category. The twenty households owning 8,3975 hectares (20.75 acres) of land have it divided into 26 plots. The average size of the plot, therefore, comes to 0,32376 hectare (0.80 acre) in case of households owning land, 0,30352 hectare (0.75 acre) in case of households possessing leased in land and varies between 0,7285 to 0,10118 hectare (0.18 to 0.25 acre) in case of those possessing land illegally.

If ownership according to number of plots is considered, 21 (80%) households out of 26 possess only one plot, 4 (15%) possess 2 plots while only one (5%) possesses 3 plots.

Among the households possessing leased in land, one has it from an agriculturist living within a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ km. and another from a trader living 25 kms. away. The household which has leased in land from an agriculturist has possessed the same for quite some time. The head of the household informed that it has been with him since his childhood. The household having leased in land from the trader failed to give any information about the time when lease was taken and on what terms and conditions.

*One is landless out of 40 households.

(n) *Land revenue*.—Out of 27 households owning any type of land, 20 (73%) are not paying any rent, 1 (5%) could not tell how much rent it was paying; the remaining 6 (22%) pay between Rs. 1.34 paise to Rs. 7.50 paise per annum. Of the 20 households not paying rent, 4 households indicated the reason for the same. Out of these 5 households, 4 are not paying any rent, because they are leaving the lands under illegal occupation; the remaining one does not pay any rent because the land under its occupation is only waste land.

Among the six households who pay the rent, one owning 3.2376 hectares (8.00 acres) pays Rs. 1.34 paise, another owning 0.2024 hectare (0.50 acre) pays Rs. 1.50. Two more households each owning 0.2024 hectare (0.50 acre) pay Rs. 1.90 paise each. One household owning 1.6188 hectares (4.00 acres) pays Rs. 2.14 paise while another with the same amount of land pays Rs. 7.50 paise.

Forestry.—As has already been mentioned, 50% of the area of the village is under forest. Satari Concelho as a whole is known for its rich forest land. The timber species found have already been listed. People are allowed to take only headload of firewood from the forest. No hunting—organised or otherwise—takes place. Sometimes, however, poaching is done.

The Portuguese had classified the forests on a rough but not scientific basis in three classes—'A' class, 'B' class and 'C' class. 'A' class forest was on the steep hill slopes and was protected forest. 'B' class consisted of better quality or valuable timber species and 'C' class consisted of pole crop and bushes. 'C' class was third grade or degraded forest from which lands used to be given to people for *kumeri* before planting new trees. These lands used to be given to villages in the neighbouring areas at a nominal fee of Rs. 25 per hectare. Previous to granting this concession by the Portuguese, the Kunbis never cared to take permission and used to do *kumeri* stealthily, evading Government rules and regulations. Later on licenses used to be issued to a group of villages to take charge of lands meant for *kumeri*. In spite of this concession, illicit *kumeri* was prevalent. The fee used to be levied after considering the approximate value of the crop that the land would yield. The villagers used to distribute the land to those among themselves, who were prepared to cultivate the same. The amount of land given to each family depended on its ability to cultivate it as a single unit. The fee used to be collected from the beneficiaries in the proportion of land given and paid to the Forest Department by depositing the sum in the Government Treas-

ury. It was alleged by some villagers (Kunbis) that this fee could be reduced if the Forest officials were led well with fowl etc. at the time of deciding the fee.

Many a times they used to leave their village and go to far off places to do *kumeri* where they would work and stay for four months. The Portuguese also sometimes used to take villagers under compulsion to far off places for clearing 'C' class forests. In case of refusal, they used to be imprisoned but paid some amount as compensation for losing the daily wages.

A decade or more before liberation the Portuguese had banned *kumeri*. Instead they allowed to clear 'C' class forests. After liberation *kumeri* continued only for a year after which it was banned as it led to exposure of soil which led to soil erosion.

In 1963 the Conservator of Forests prepared a plan for protection of forests. It covered more than 2,000 acres of land in Satari Concelho. In the same year only very limited land was given for *kumeri*. After the crop was cut, it was proposed to plant cashew trees in that land. In 1964, 486 hectares were given for *kumeri* in Satari. The trees that were felled in 1964 were auctioned by the Government for Rs. 1,00,000. In 1965 *kumeri* was totally banned.

In Satari people have not paid the *kumeri* fees for the last two years of its existence because of political agitation against the ban on *kumeri*. The agitation was organised by the Praja Socialist Party under the stewardship of one of its leaders, Sri Peter Alvares. Meetings were held and 'morchas' were organised to Panaji. This agitation was restricted to Satari only as the problem of *kumeri* was peculiar to and more acute in Satari. The problem arose and continued to exist because of the Military rule in Satari where nobody cared for improvement and none took interest in the welfare of the community. Another factor responsible for this problem was the hilly terrain of the Concelho. The forests cover roughly 100 sq. miles or 40% of the total area of the Concelho.

Kumeri has created an administrative problem. The Agriculture Department used to take crop-cutting estimates in January. Till that time the Kunbis used to consume at least one fourth of the crop. During the last harvesting, the estimates were wrong because the crop which was ready in October-November and was consumed by the people gradually, whereas the estimates were made only in January. This resulted in the estimates being much lower than the actual crop grown.

As an alternative to **kumeri**, the Government has decided to distribute plain lands to the people in 1965 for cultivation. But many are of the view that such piecemeal efforts will be of no avail as they will touch only a fringe of the problem and reach only a microscopic section of the landless population. According to them to solve the problem permanently, an extensive programme of soil conservation, bunding and terracing is necessary. For this the Forest Department, the Agriculture Department and the Community Development Block should work in co-ordination to solve the problem of land hunger. Even to plant cashew and other trees as a measure against deforestation, the land requires to be cleared first. The people should be paid daily wages to weed out the unwanted bushes and trees even in 'C' class forests and asked to plant new trees which should be supplied by the Block. This programme of agri-silvi plantation is being undertaken by the Government. In 1965 it is proposed to bring 202.35 hectares (500 acres) in 17 villages under this scheme. This programme is for hill slopes and not plains lands. Extra plantation of eucalyptus and other trees has also been undertaken since 1965. In and around Pal, teak and eucalyptus trees have been planted in 45 hectares. Even in such lands people are still given the concession to cultivate hill millet before planting new trees. That this forestry-cum-agriculture programme is expected to benefit the people in the long run.

There is a forest co-operative society at Valpoi; but it is not functioning properly. The society has only nominal capital. People are not co-operating. There is none to look after the society in the capacity of secretary. There is lack of both leadership and funds. The Forest Department wanted to give daily wages to the members of co-operative society for doing work in forest; but the people did not come forward to utilise this opportunity.

Animal husbandry

Non-availability of land for cultivation, absence of subsidiary means of livelihood, abundance of rainfall and existence of dense forest should normally encourage animal husbandry. But such is not the case in Goa in general and Pal in particular. According to a survey conducted in 1961 before the Satari Community Development Block was started, there were then 11,813 cattle in Satari.

The villagers have not much taken to animal husbandry. Some Kunbis have cows and bullocks but these are not kept as a source of livelihood. The only community which leads a pastoral life, which incidentally is their traditional way of life, is the Dhangar who have plenty of bovine and goats.

They subsist on sale of milk and milk products like ghee and on raising a crop of hill millet on a patch of land around the place where they reside. There are five such families at Pal; one lives almost on the outskirts of the residential locality and the other four on the Wagneri hill. Their selection of residential site is determined by their need of abundant grazing facilities for their cattle. They leave the cattle for grazing in the nearby jungle.

The Dhangars do not have to use any tools and equipment for animal husbandry as such except a **koyati** or sickle to cut some tender branches and delicate stems for giving cushioning effect to newly-born calves. The milk is collected in earthen or brass pichers.

Besides the traders to whom they sell their produce, the Dhangars borrow money from fellow Dhangars also.

Apart from milk which is sold at 50 paise a seer in nearby villages, butter is the main product which the Dhangars sell at Valpoi, Sankalim (25 kms. away) for Rs. 6 per kg. The weekly market at Sankalim on every Monday is bigger than that at Valpoi. Butter-milk is consumed at home.

The Dhangars generally travel on foot or by bus and sell directly to consumers. It is not uncommon to find some consumers reselling butter to others at an exorbitant price.

Details of expenditure in general or on specific animals in particular is very difficult to calculate as grazing is free.

The cattle are taken for grazing by the children as the adults are busy collecting firewood, selling the dairy products and doing sundry jobs.

On 15-8-1963 a modern veterinary hospital was opened at Valpoi. Every gram panchayat has also been given a first aid box to treat ordinary cattle diseases.

Poultry farming

For poultry development, better birds are supplied by the Block at half the price, loans are given and Ideal Poultry Farming and Bird Supply Centre has been opened at Ondha.

Fishing

Fishing as a means of livelihood is absent. There is a river near Taném where only children sometimes

indulge in fishing as a pastime. The Kunbis, Dhangars and other villagers enjoy dry fish more than fresh ones as the latter are comparatively costly and not easily available. Children, however, take their chance in small pools and nallas during monsoon. No ceremonial fishing takes place on any occasion. The dry fish is purchased at Valpoi during the weekly market day.

Hunting

No hunting—organised or otherwise—takes place. There is no ceremonial hunting also. People are disinterested in any type of physical labour. Sometimes, however, a few enthusiastic ones indulge in poaching. Wild boars are the worst affected in this. Sometimes deer are also a prey.

Village industries

The village has persons engaged in three operations only—agriculture, animal husbandry and trade. There is no cottage industry in the village.

The only craftsmen—Mesta—who serve the villagers reside at Taném. They make the tools and implements for the villagers who give wood and iron and make payment in kind to the Mesta for the services. Normally every household gives grain of Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per month to the Mesta family serving it. When asked how the raw materials were obtained, one person replied that wood was taken from the jungle and iron was stolen from the rail joints, the other accessories, were the discarded materials of the railways.

The Mahars residing at Taném supply baskets to the village of Pal. They prepare cradles, sheets, baskets—big and small—and winnowing fans out of bamboo. The raw materials are purchased in the market. The tools used are knives—big and small. One bamboo costs between 75 paise to Rs. 1.25 paise out of which four winnowing fans or $\frac{1}{2}$ basket (big) can be manufactured. Cradle is sold for Rs. 5, a sheet which is 15' long and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' high for Rs. 2.50; big basket for storing grain is sold for Rs. 4, small basket is sold for 75 paise and winnowing fan is sold for 50 paise.

The Block is taking steps to encourage cottage industries. Training classes, financial help to the needy, establishment of industrial co-operative societies and demonstrations of the latest technique in each industry are some of the programmes of the Block. The Block is running a carpentry and blacksmithy classes, a pottery class and a woman's tailoring class.

Commerce

Two households in the village are engaged in trade and commerce. One is a fish trader and another a liquor vendor. The trader, who is Vaishya by caste, packs his articles, mostly dried fish on horse back and carries the same to different villages for sale. He generally sells his commodities on cash payment. Except during the monsoon he makes his round of the villages throughout the year.

The Naik liquor vendor sells liquor against cash payment in his shop. The liquor is made out of cashew fruits through indigenous process. No foreign liquor is available in the village. This Naik household has more contact with Taném than with Pal as the house is nearer the former village than the latter.

Other occupations

Some people leave either on doles or succor from relatives. A Gaonkar Kunbi household consisting of just one male leaves on doles as the person is old and alone and has given all his land to the village for constructing a building for the village school. A Vaishya household consisting of an old couple is supported by the couple's son-in-law.

Indebtedness

Very few people responded to the inquiry about indebtedness. There is every reason to believe that with such meagre earnings as the residents of Pal receive, a majority of them must certainly be involved in debt. Most of them have no land to cultivate. Therefore, the extent of credit they get is also very limited. There is no moneylender in the village, but the traders who supply the daily requirements, sometimes advance cash amounts in addition to giving the articles on credit.

The conditions of the Dhangars are as much unsatisfactory as those of the Kunbis. Because of their unsettled life, poverty and limited resources it is not uncommon to find many Dhangar families in debt. In an average year a sum of Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 is borrowed in cash or kind from the grocer to meet the very necessities of life. The interest paid varies from 25% to 50% per annum. The repayment is either in cash or kind.

Sometimes animals are also mortgaged by the Dhangars. Certain other times the creditor gives the mortgaged cattle or some of his own cattle to the family in debt for safe custody and rearing. If the creditor is near the Dhangar's village, the Dhangar

visits him everyday to deliver the milk obtained from his (creditor's) cattle. If the creditor lives far away the Dhangar family consumes the milk or else sells it. Sometimes the creditor pays a sum of Rs. 10 to Rs. 25 per annum to the Dhangar as fees for taking care of his cattle. When a Dhangar decides to leave a place for good, he hands over the cattle belonging to the creditor to him. If he has not cleared his debt, the creditor may demand a cow or a buffalo as surety. But normally a Dhangar is noted for his honesty and no matter wherever he goes, he makes it a point to regularly pay the instalments of his loan. It is because of their honesty that they are given the loans by the grocers without any hesitation.

The survey reveals that only 11 out of 40 or 27.5% of the households studied are in debt. Four of these have taken loans from the co-operative society at Taném; one of them has taken loan from a private source also. Only one household has taken loan from a relative. All the remaining six have taken it from private sources—either from traders or moneylenders or co-farmers. One Dhangar household has taken loan from four private persons. Two other households have taken loans from three private individuals while two more have taken loan from two persons each. One of these last two happens to be a relative in case of one debtor and co-operative society in case of another. Five households have taken loans from only one source—two from co-operative society and three from private individuals.

The purpose for which the loans are taken also varies. All the four households taking loans from co-operative society have taken them for agricultural purposes—one for general improvement, another for better seeds and two for manure. Two households taking loans for house repairs/construction have taken them from private sources. Six households taking loans from private sources have taken them for meeting their daily needs.

For his son's marriage, a Dhangar has taken loans from three private individuals. He had also taken from another private source to meet his daily needs. Another household has taken loan from private source for the marriage of the head of the household.

The rate of interest varies from nil to 7½% per annum and sometimes is as high as 50% per annum. The co-operative society charges 7½% per annum. One household who has taken loan from a relation and four who have taken loan from private individuals have taken them interest-free. Five households have taken loans at the rate of 50% per annum and two at the rate of 25% per annum.

None of the debtors had to give any security for taking loan. Four have categorically stated that they had to give their thumb impression while one disclosed that he had to sign a paper, he knew not what type.

All these loans have been taken between 1954 and 1964 though in one case the year is not specified and in two cases the debt has come down from the past generation. All the latter three cases have been loans from private individuals. The co-operative society has given loans in 1963 to one and in 1964 to three households.

Most of the loans have been taken in 1964. One household each has taken loan in 1954, 1957, 1960, 1961 and 1963.

In 1965 only one household repaid outstanding debt of Rs. 140. No other household paid back any outstanding loan in any year.

Co-operative Society

Though not situated within the village under study, in the adjoining village Taném there is a multi-purpose co-operative society known as 'Tanem Group Vivid Karyakari Sahakari Seva Sanstha, Maryadit'. It started on 16-7-1963 by the Community Development Block, Satari and covered 12 villages including Pal. The villages under its jurisdiction are Pal, Hivare Budruk, Hivare Khurd, Charavane, Surle, Golai, Riye, Dongali, Shelao, Shingre, Naneli and Tanem. All these are under the jurisdiction of the same Gram Sevak as well. Any resident of these villages, irrespective of whether he owns any land or not can become a member of the society. The activities of the society are (i) supply of daily necessities like rice etc., (ii) supply of short term loans for agricultural purposes at 7½% interest, (iii) supply of manure, (iv) supply of ground-nut seed, (v) supply of rice-seed, (vi) purchase of paddy, husking the same and selling the same. In the last activity the members do not give full co-operation.

Out of 383 members of the society 100 do not possess any land. Of the total members, 58 are from Pal, 6 of whom have been given crop loans in June 1964 ranging from Rs. 75 to Rs. 100. Only one of these has repaid it.

The society on 28-2-1965 had a share capital of Rs. 2,795. Each share is of Rs. 5. There is a membership fee of Re. 1 and no upper limit on possessing the shares. The society's reserve fund on 28-2-1965 was Rs. 382.

The affairs of the society are managed by a Secretary and a management committee of 7 persons.

As the society distributes rice (after purchasing and husking paddy) even Mahars and Dhangars have become members.

The society has been given the following loans by the Government:—

	Rs.
Loan from Agriculture Department in June 1964 terms of manure.	1,164.36
Loan from Goa State Cooperative Bank June 1964	1,515.00
Share capital loan by Government . 1963	2,000.00
Loan from Goa State Cooperative Bank ..	2,537.00
Loan from Syndicate Bank for 9 months 1964 to be repaid by 31-3-65.	511.00
Loan from Goa State Cooperative Bank .. at 5% per annum rate of interest (yearly loan).	4,070.00

The balance sheet of the society as on 28-2-1965 was as follows:—

	Rs.		Rs.
Share capital	2,795.00	Cash	4,267.02
Government shares	2,000.00	Syndicate Bank Account.	511.00
Reserve Fund	382.00	Goa State Cooperative Bank Account.	112.00
Agricultural Department loan.	1,164.36	Dead Stock	107.60
Bank loan	6,115.00	Bank Shares	500.00
Salaries of staff	300.00	Membership loan.	8,871.25
Valpoi Multipurpose Co-operative Society.	1,890.00	Goods in stock.	1,120.00
Gift to cooperative society	45.00		
Duster aid	47.50		
Savings difference	10.00		
Profit 30-6-1964	434.23		
Current profit	305.78		
Total	15,488.87		15,488.87

The profit and loss account of the society is as follows:—

	Income Rs.	Expenditure Rs.	
Balance	8.30	Travel	91.50
Interest	7.79	Miscellaneous	54.80
Gross profit from transactions.	769.88	Salaries	300.00
		Audit fee	33.89
Total	785.97	480.19	
		Net profit	305.78
			785.97

Income and Expenditure

Out of 40 households, four have not reported any income. These figures include two, who could not estimate their income, one was living on doles and the remaining one was too old and sick and was supported by his son-in-law. Out of 36 households, 27 live on cultivation and two have livestock as the source of their livelihood. Of the total households 33 do agricultural labour also and get wages. One lives both on service and profession besides cultivation.

Out of 27 households deriving income from cultivation, 5 derive between 51% to 75%, 16 derive 25% to 50% and 6 derive less than 25% of total income from this source. The Dhangars living on income from livestock get between 51% to 75% of their income from this source. Thirty-three households also live by earning wages from agricultural labour, 14 of them derive above 75% of their total income, 10 between 51% to 75% and between 25% to 50% of their income from this source. The household living on cultivation, profession and service earns from each of the latter two sources less than 25% of the total income, the remaining 50% and above is earned from cultivation.

Only 37 households have reported the expenditure. Out of these, one household spends above 75%, 31 spend between 51% to 75% and 5 between 25% and 50% on cereals. 36 households indicated expenditure on non-cereals. Out of them 3 spent 26% to 75% and 33 spent less than 25% on this item.

2 households have incurred some expenses on house rent and repair. But the same would not exceed 25% of the total expenditure of the households concerned.

Thirty-six out of the 37 households spent less than 25% on clothing. One household stated to have 25% to 50% on this item.

On travelling, recreation and education, expenses have been incurred by 34, 30 and 1 household respectively. In each case however, the expenditure is less than 25% of the total expenditure of the household concerned.

On rent and land revenue, expenses have been incurred by 3 and 1 household respectively. But in each case, the expenditure is less than 25% of the total expenditure of the household concerned.

Other miscellaneous services account for less than 25% of expenditure in case of 34 households, between 25% to 50% of expenditure in case of 2 households.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Demographic details of Satari

Since the beginning of the present century, till 1930, there was downward trend in the number of households in Satari concelho; since 1930 however there has been an upward trend. There have been both downward and upward shifts in the numerical shifts of the population. But these two trends did not always coincide. For instance during 1921-31, there was a slight decrease in the number of households, but the numerical strength of the population slightly went up during the same period. On the other hand, there was slight increase in the number of households during 1940-50, but the population registered a decrease during the same period.

A statement giving the number of households and the numerical strength of the population as registered during each census, is furnished below:—

TABLE 8

Variation of households and population in Satari in different Censuses

Census year	Households		Population	
	Number	Variation	Number of persons	Percentage variation
1	2	3	4	5
1900	4,553	—	19,621	—
1910	4,146	—407	17,982	—8.35
1921	4,090	—56	17,313	—3.72
1931	3,995	—95	17,837	+3.03
1940	4,511	+516	21,678	+21.53
1950	4,728	+217	20,514	—5.37
1960	5,421	+693	26,136	+27.41

The increase in population was highest during 1931-1940 as compared to other concelhos of Goa and its decline was lowest during 1940-1950.

The density of population in Satari has also registered frequent ups and downs as can be seen from the following statement:—

TABLE 9

Density of population in Satari in different Censuses

Census year	Number of persons per sq. km.
	1	2
1900	38
1910	35
1921	34
1931	35
1940	42
1950	40
1960	51

Here it is to be noted that Satari has uniformly registered the second lowest density, among all the concelhos of Goa during all the censuses during the present century. The lowest density has been uniformly registered by Sanguem concelho.

A statement giving the number of females per 1000 males during different censuses is furnished below:—

TABLE 10

Sex ratio in Satari in different Censuses

Census year	Sex ratio
1	2
1900	908
1910	924
1921	928
1931	906
1940	946
1950	1000
1960	968

The statement shows a low sex ratio in all the years except 1950. This seems to be rather interesting, in the context of the fact that sex ratio in Goa as a whole has always been more than 1000.

The social and cultural life of the village Pal are proposed to be considered in the light of the foregoing demographic pattern for the Union Territory as a whole.

Age and Sex

The study of 40 households in Pal revealed that there are 108 males (50.4% of total population) and 106 females (49.6% of total population) in the village.

The distribution of population by age and sex is indicated in the statement below:—

TABLE 11

Distribution of population by age and sex

Age-group	Male	Female	Total
0-4	18	19	37
5-9	15	26	41
10-14	14	9	23
15-19	8	5	13
20-24	5	7	12
25-29	7	7	14
30-34	9	6	15
35-39	6	8	14
40-44	7	2	9
45-49	5	3	8
50-54	3	5	8
55-59	3	2	5
60-64	5	3	8
65-69	1	..	1
70 & above	2	4	6
Total	108	106	214

The table reveals that the maximum number of persons is found in 5-9 age-group. The maximum males are in 0-4 age-group and maximum females in 5-9 age-group.

On application of Sundberg's formula, the population of Pal appears to be very much progressive as the proportion in the age-group 0-14 (101) is more than twice in the age-group 50 and above (28). The persons in the age-group 0-14 (101) form 47% of the total population, those in 15-59 (85) form 40% and those in 50 and above (28) 13%.

Caste and Sex Ratio

A statement giving the distribution of male and female population by caste is furnished below:—

TABLE 12

Distribution of population by caste and sex

Caste	No. of households	Population		
		Persons	Male	Female
Dhangar	2	17	9	8
Sattarkar Kunbi	9	55	26	29
Gaonkar Kunbi	13	59	30	29
Jogeshwarkar Kunbi	11	64	36	28
Brahmnekar Kunbi	2	10	4	6
Vaishya	2	5	2	3
Naik	1	4	1	3
Total	40	214	108	106

The statement shows that there are only three communities, namely, Sattarkar Kunbi, Gaonkar Kunbi and Jogeshwarkar Kunbi which have viable size of population at the village level for consideration of the sex ratio separately. For one thousand males, there are 1,115 females among Sattarkar Kunbi, 966 females among Gaonkar Kunbi and 777 females among Jogeshwarkar Kunbi. The rather low sex ratio among the Jogeshwarkar Kunbis is noteworthy. It, however, is likely to be a phenomenon of normal biological oscillation. No probe was made in this matter in the field.

Mother Tongue

Before the mother tongue data of the village are considered separately, it is to be noted that Satari concelho is predominantly inhabited by Konkani speaking persons. During 1961 Census, they constituted 89% of the total population. Numerically, the next two important languages are Marathi and Urdu being spoken by 6% and 5% respectively of the total population. At Pal, however, a different picture obtains. Out of the 214 persons covered by the survey, 104, 74 and 36 returned Konkani, Marathi and Marathi-Konkani languages respectively as their mother tongues. It is thus found that persons claiming Marathi to be their mother tongue are in much larger proportion in this village than in the concelho as a whole. In fact, it appears that the difference between Marathi and Konkani is not a very sharp one. During the investigations many persons reported that they were not sure whether their language

was Marathi or Konkani. This uncertainty is reflected even in their reporting of mother tongue. Some of them have returned their mother tongue to be Marathi-Konkani. It seems that there has been a thorough inter-mixture of languages in this area with a good deal of mutual borrowing of words. Many villagers further opined that the influence of Marathi language is on the increase. Most of the officials working in the interior including the Gram Sevaks are from Maharashtra. In official matters, therefore, Marathi is more frequently being used. It seems that a change is in motion not only in the language habit of the people but also in the semantic aspects of the language.

Education

A table indicating the distribution of the population by age-group and educational standard is furnished below:—

TABLE 13

Distribution of population by Age-group and Education

Age-group	Illiterate		Literate without standard		Primary	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-4	18	19	..	..	..	..
5-9	8	16	..	..	7	10
10-14	4	7	..	..	10	2
15-19	7	5	..	..	1	..
20-24	3	6	..	..	2	1
25-29	4	7	2	..	1	..
30-34	9	6	..	..	..	..
35-39	5	8	..	..	1	..
40-44	7	2	..	..	..	..
45-49	5	3	..	..	..	..
50-54	3	5	..	..	..	..
55-59	3	2	..	..	..	..
60-64	4	3	..	..	1	..
65-69	1	..	..	..	..	..
70+	2	4	..	..	..	..
Total	83	93	2	..	23	13

The statement shows that the percentage of literacy in the village is 18% of the total population. Out

of them 2 are literates without standard and 36 have studied upto primary level. There is none in the village who has obtained higher education. If considered by age-group, it was found that in the age-groups above 14, there are only two age-groups namely, 20-24 and 25-29 where there are 3 educated persons. In none of the other age-groups, there is more than one educated person. The age-groups with one educated person each are 15-19, 35-39 and 60-64. Compared to the age-groups above 14, in the age-group 10-14, an educational explosion seems to have taken place. Out of 23 persons in this age-group, 12 are educated. In the age-group 5-9 also the trend seems to have been maintained. Out of 41 persons in this age-group 17 are educated. These data reveal a recent trend towards rapid spread of education in the village. If the males and females are considered separately, it seems that it is only very recently that the girls are coming forward for education. Out of 38 educated persons only 13 are females; the rest are males. But, in the age-group 5-9, out of the 17 educated persons 10 are females and 7 are males. For the earlier age-group 10-14 on the other hand, there were 10 males and 2 females. It seems that during five years, the females have not only caught up with the males, but have tended to go ahead. It is, however, to be seen whether this new trend could be a persistent one or not.

Distribution of Population by Caste and Educational Level

A statement giving the distribution of the population by caste and level of education is furnished below:—

TABLE 14

Distribution of population by caste, sex and education

Caste	Illiterate		Literate without standard		Primary		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Dhangar	9	8	..	..	..	..	9	8
Sattarkar Kunbi	15	27	1	..	10	2	26	29
Gaonkar Kunbi	25	22	1	..	4	7	30	29
Jogeshwarkar Kunbi	30	25	..	..	6	3	36	28
Brahmanekar Kunbi	3	6	..	..	1	..	4	6
Vaishya	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	3
Naik	1	3	..	..	..	..	1	3
Total	83	93	2	..	23	13	108	106

The statement shows that among the Dhangars and Naiks, cent per cent illiteracy prevails. On the other hand among the Vaishyas there is cent per cent literacy if the males are considered separately. If the males and females are considered together the percentage of literacy among the Vaishyas is 60. The highest literacy in the village is found among them. Among the different groups of Kunbis, the per-

tages of literacy vary from 10% among the Brahmanekar Kunbis to 24% among the Sattarkar Kunbis.

Marital Status

A statement giving the distribution of the population by age, sex and marital status is furnished below:—

TABLE 15

Distribution of population by age, sex and marital status

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced/ Separated		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
0—9	32	44	1	1	..	..	..	..	33	45
10—14	14	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	9
15—19	8	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	8	5
20—24	4	..	1	6	..	..	..	1	5	7
25—29	3	..	4	7	..	..	..	..	7	7
30—34 . . . . .	..	..	9	6	..	..	..	..	9	6
35—39 . . . . .	..	..	6	8	..	..	..	..	6	8
40—44 . . . . .	..	..	7	2	..	..	..	..	7	2
45—49 . . . . .	..	..	4	3	1	..	..	..	5	3
50—54 . . . . .	..	..	3	4	..	1	..	..	3	5
55—59 . . . . .	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	3	2
60—64 . . . . .	..	..	4	1	1	2	..	..	5	3
65—69 . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
70 & above . . . . .	..	..	1	..	1	4	..	..	2	4
Total	61	53	44	45	3	7	..	1	108	106

The statement shows that 57% of the males and 50% of the females are unmarried. Among the ever-married males and females 3% and 7% respectively are widows. There is also a solitary case of a divorced or separated female in this village. If considered by age-group, it is found that the highest age-group where

any unmarried male is found is 25-29. In case of females it is 10-14. The lowest age-group where any married male is found is 20-24. In case of females, it is 15-19. In the age-group where the majority of the males are found to be ever-married is 25-29. It appears that it is about the age of 25 that the majority

of the males get married. In case of the females, not only that in the age-group 15-19, the ever-married females are most found but also all the females in this age-group are married.

Age at marriage

The following table shows the age at marriage during different periods:—

TABLE 16

Distribution of population by age at marriage and time of marriage

Time of marriage	Number of marriages where age at marriage was													
	Below 10 yrs.		10-14 yrs.		15-19 yrs.		20-24 yrs.		25-29 yrs.		Not known		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Within 5 years	1	1	..	1	..	5	1	1	5	..	..	..	7	8
5—9 years	..	..	..	2	1	3	1	..	2	..	..	..	4	5
10—14 years	..	1	..	..	1	7	5	1	3	..	..	..	9	9
15—19 years	..	..	..	2	1	2	1	..	2	..	..	..	4	4
20—24 years	..	..	..	2	1	4	2	..	3	..	..	..	6	6
25—39 years	..	1	1	4	..	4	6	..	3	..	..	..	10	9
40 years and earlier	..	4	1	5	2	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	7	11
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total	1	7	2	16	6	27	18	2	20	..	..	1	47	53

The minimum and maximum age-groups of marriage of males are below 10 years and between 25-29 years and those of females are below 10 years and between 20-24 years.

Out of 8 marriages that have taken place when the persons were below 10 years of age, only one is that of a male, which has taken place within 5 years. The remaining 7 are of females—one each having taken place within the last 5 years, 10-14 years and 25-39 years ago and four having taken place 40 years ago or earlier. Out of 18 marriages when the age of male or female was between 10-14 years, only 2 have been of males, one having taken place 25-39 years ago and the other 40 years ago or earlier. The remaining 16 marriages have been those of females, one having taken place within 5 years, 2 each having taken place between 5-9, 15-19 and 20-24 years ago, 4, having taken place 25-39 years ago and 5, having taken place 40 years ago or earlier. This shows a marked shift from the old practice of child marriages. Such marriages have almost disappeared in case of males while in case of females also they are on the decline. The most common age-groups for marriage in case of males are 20-24 and 25-29 and for females 10-14 and 15-19. Out of the 47 males, 20 (43%) and 18 (30%) were married when aged 25-29 and 20-24

respectively. Out of 52 females 27 (52%) and 16 (30%) were married aged 15-19 and 10-14 respectively.

The minimum average age at marriage for males at Pal is 6 years and for females 4 years. The average age at marriage for males is 27 and for females 21 years. The median age derived by $n + \frac{1}{2}$ where 'n' stands for the number of different average ages comes to 22.25 or 22½ in case of males and 13.48 or 13½ in case of females.

Caste-wise scrutiny reveals that the minimum average age at marriage for both males and females is found among Dhangars of Pal while the maximum for both the sexes is found among the Kunbis. The range of marriage age of males, varies from 6 to 22 among Dhangars, 19 to 26 among Sattarkar, and Jogeshwarkars, 20 to 25 among Gaonkars, 25 to 27 among Brahmanekars and 24 to 25 among Vaishyas. In case of Naiks information is available in respect of only one individual who was married at the age of 24. In case of females, the range of marriage age varies from 4 to 10 years among Dhangars, 9½ to 19 among Sattarkars, 13½ to 21 among Gaonkars, 10 to 16½ among Jogeshwarkars, 14 to 19 among Brahmanekars,

and 15 to 19 among Vaishyas. Information is available only in respect of one Naik female, who was married at the age of 14.

If the period of marriage is considered, it can be seen that within the last 5 years the average age at marriage of males varied from 6 years to 27 years and of females from 4 to 21 years. Both the minimum and maximum age at marriage fall in this group.

Marriage payment

There is no household which has received marriage payment during the marriage of a boy or which has given payment during the marriage of a girl. There are, however, five households—2 each of Dhangars and Sattarkars and one of Jogeshwarkars—which have given marriage payment during the marriage of boy within the last ten years, and one Dhangar household which has received the same during the marriage of girl during the same period.

Immigration and emigration

Only two Vaishya households migrated to the village during the present generation. One who did during 1950-60 came from Valpoi. It consists of an old couple who found the standard of living at Valpoi very competitive. The other migrated round about 1961, from Tanem, shortly after his marriage, to establish a separate house. The parents of the head of this household are still at Tanem.

Four Kunbis have migrated between 1951-60 to unknown places for economic betterment.

TRENDS OF CHANGES IN THE FAMILY STRUCTURE, INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIP AND INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

Composition of household

A statement giving the composition of households, with reference to the relationship, that the various members bear to the respective heads of the households, among the different castes, at Pal is furnished below:—

TABLE 17

Nature of Composition of Households with reference to relation to head of the household

Relation	Dhangar	Sattarkar Kunbi	Gaonkar Kunbi	Jogeshwar- kar Kunbi	Brahm- nekar Kunbi	Vaishya	Naik	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Self (male) only	—	—	1	—	—	—	..	1
Self and wife . . . . .	..	—	..	—	..	1	..	1
Self and wife with unmarried children . . . . .	..	6	10	7	..	1	1	25
Self and wife with married & unmarried sons and unmarried daughters and daughter-in-law	1	—	—	1	—	..	..	2
Self and wife with unmarried sons and unmarried daughters with one of the parents . . . . .	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Self, mother and unmarried son . . . . .	—	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Self and wife with married and unmarried both sons and daughters	1	..	..	—	..	..	..	1
Self and wife with married son and daughter-in-law	—	1	—	1	—	..	..	2
Self and wife with unmarried daughters and one of the parents	—	..	1	—	..	..	..	1
Self and wife with one of the parents . . . . .	—	..	..	—	1	..	..	1
Self and wife with unmarried sons and one of the parents	—	..	1	—	..	..	..	1
Self and wife with unmarried children, married brother, brother's wife and one of the parents	—	1	—	—	..	..	..	1
Self and wife with unmarried children and unmarried brother . . . . .	—	..	..	—	1	..	..	1
Total	2	9	13	11	2	2	1	40

The statement shows that there is only one single member household where a male belonging to Gaonkar Kunbi caste lives a solitary life. There are 25 nuclear households without adhesion; 6 nuclear households with adhesion; 2 extended households of linear type; one extended household of complex linear type where married son and married daughter with parents live. The last-named household belongs to Dhangar caste among whom child marriage still prevails. The married son is aged 7 and the married daughter is aged 8. They live with their respective parents. There are two broken nuclear households. In one of these, the head of the household lives with his son and in the other, the head of the household lives with his son and mother.

Size of Household with reference to the number of members

A statement giving the distribution of the households with reference to the number of members is furnished below:

TABLE 18

Distribution of households by number of members

Size of the family	Number of households
1	1
2	2
3	5
4	4
5	10
6	8
7	6
8	2
9	1
10	..
11	..
12	..
13	1

The statement shows that an average household contains 5 members. The median is 4.5 and the mode is 5.

Distribution of household by age and sex of the members

The statement giving the distribution of households by age and sex of the members is furnished below: -

TABLE 19

Distribution of Households by Age and Sex of the members

No. of h.h. with adult & Minor male & female	No. of h.h. with adult male & female	No. of h.h. with adult males only	No. of h.h. with adult females only	No. of h.h. with adult male & minor male	Total
35	3	1	..	1	40

The statement shows that there is only one single member household where a solitary male lives. There is one household with one adult male, adult female and a minor male. There are three households with one adult male and one minor male and female each. There are 3 households with one adult male and adult female each. There are 35 households with adult and minor males and females.

Leisure and recreation among different sections of the population and trends of changes

Leisure-time activities, specially of recreational type, are conspicuous by their absence. In Pal out of 102 persons who are earners, 76 (74%) have no leisure-time activity. The only activities reported are going to Taném for gossiping or drinking or whiling away time, gossiping at home or reading books. Eleven out of 102 (11%) earners go to Taném village for unspecified purpose, 8 (8%) for gossiping and 1 (1%) for reading books while 6 (6%) stay at home gossiping.

Out of 76 earners having no leisure time activity, 25 (33%) belong to 35-49 age-group, 18 (24%) to 25-34 age-group, 17 (22%) to 15-24 age-group, 8 (11%) to 50-59 age-group, 5 (6%) to 60 and above age-group and 3 (4%) to 0-14 age-group. Out of 11 earners going to Taném for unspecified purpose, 4 (36%) each belong to 15-24 and 25-34 age-groups, 2 (18%) to 35-49 age-group and 1 (10%) to 50-59 age-group. Eight persons go to Taném specifically for gossiping—6 (75%) belonging to 25-34 age-group and 1 (12.5%) each to 15-24 and 35-49 age-groups. The person who goes to Taném for reading books is of 25-34 age-group. Out of 6 persons staying at home for

gossiping, 3 (50%) belong to 35-49 age-groups, 2 (33%) to 50-59 age-group and 1 (17%) to 15-24 age-group.

If occupations and castes are considered, it is found that 3 out of 8 (37%) of the Dhangars who are cowherds go to Taném for whiling away their leisure time while 5 (63%) do nothing. The person employed as labourer, a Sattarkar Kunbi, stays at home doing nothing. Three out of 30 (10%) agricultural labourers—all Sattarkar Kunbis—go to Taném for no specific purpose, while 4 (13%)—2 Jogeshwarkar, 1 Sattarkar and 1 Brahmanekar Kunbi—go for gossiping. Twenty-three (77%) do not have any leisure time activity. Among those engaged in agriculture, out of 61 persons, 47 (77%) have no leisure time activity, 6 (10%)—3 Gaonkars and 3 Jogeshwarkars stay at home gossiping, 4 (6.5%)—2 Jogeshwarkars and 2 Gaonkars—go to Taném for the same purpose, 3 (5%)—one Gaonkar and 2 Jogeshwarkars—go to Taném for no specific purpose and 1 (1.5%) Jogeshwarkar goes to Taném for reading books. The only trader, a Vaishya, goes to Taném for no specific purpose.

Besides these hobbies, festivals are occasions for recreation. Holi is one such occasion. Once a year in the month of January, on the fourth day after the new moon, *kala jatra* is held at Pal, Taném and nearby villages when a professional drama group comes and entertains audiences. It shifts from one place to another after a stay of eight days. During that time a small bazar also crops up in these villages. The drama party is generally housed in the village temple. It consists of 10 to 12 people. It is given Rs. 70 to Rs. 150 depending on its reputation and is fed also. Fowls are also killed to feed them.

Religious institutions in the village

As already stated there is a Sateri¹ Maya temple in the village ever since the village was inhabited. Nobody could tell its antiquity. The temple is a simple structure with a front courtyard where till recently the primary school used to be conducted. There are bells hanging from the ceiling of the courtyard. In a closed room which has a grill door four copper pitchers are kept—each representing a different goddess. The main pitcher which is bigger than the others is one representing Sateri Maya. Other three represent Kelmi Maya, Jogeshwari Maya and Brahmani Maya. Besides these pitchers which are kept in a bordered *chaupāi* (चौपाल) or *pat* (पट) or four-legged wooden swing-like platform, there are long wooden clubs at the

top of which are carved faces of Lord Hanuman, Lord Ganesh, Dwarpal, Sharda etc. each separately on different clubs. These masks-like clubs have been made by a carpenter of Saleli (12 miles away) 28 years ago. There are brass lamps—both big (9" in height) and small—and a small brass tray or plate for keeping ritual objects like turmeric, red ochre or vermilion, flowers, camphor, incense etc.

The temple is managed by a temple committee consisting of three persons—one each representing Sattarkar, Jogeshwarkar and Brahmanekar Kunbis. The membership of this committee is by rotation but it is restricted only to Gaonkars, that is, those who are original residents of the village. The term is for two years. Thus every original resident household gets a chance to have its representative on the temple committee. The worship in the temple is performed every day by one of the members of the committee. The daily religious performance which is done in the morning without eating anything needs water, sugar and coconut for offering *naivedya* (नैवेद्य) flowers, camphor, incense sticks and wicks for lighting. The committee takes the lead in celebrating *Shigma* (Holi) festival.

The committee derives its finance from all the villagers who voluntarily give cash and kind for the management of affairs of the temple. The committee's scope is restricted only to Pal.

In the dwelling house it is found that very few people in Pal, no matter to what caste they belong to, keep images or idols of gods and goddesses in the house as objects of worship. Almost every house, however, has the sacred *Talsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) in the front courtyard. This plant is worshipped by ladies every day by pouring water in it after bath. Except in case of one Jogeshwarkar Kunbi in all houses there is this plant. Even in Taném among Mahars, Mesta and Chambhar the plant is found. The Paritin of Velus has also the plant in her house.

All the villagers believe in ghosts and evil spirits as well as evil eye. They have faiths in omens and superstitions. They have among them *gadhi* (गढी) or local witch doctor or medicine man or magician whose services are requisitioned during illness. The *gadhi* is also consulted for omens. Some interesting features of this institution are already mentioned earlier.

¹Some authors believe that the word Sateri is a corrupt form of the word Shanta Durea, a principal deity in Goa. Cf.

सर्ततवाडी त्या प्रांतातील गावची देवस्थाने व ग्रामव्यवस्था, "श्री विविध ज्ञानविस्तार," पुस्तक १८, अंक ४, एप्रिल १८८६, पाने ७३ ते ७३।

When a new house is built, the Kunbi calls a Brahmin at the time of house-warming ceremony which is done only after the Brahmin had given an auspicious date or **muhurta** (मुहूर्त). On the day of the house warming, the Brahmin performs a puja. Five types of grains are kept in an earthen pitcher for performing puja. Coconut is offered as an offering and its kernel distributed as **prasad** (प्रसाद). Five Brahmins are given uncooked food or **shida** (शिदा) and the owner visits a temple to invoke the blessings of the Almighty. The house-warming ceremony is known as **vastushanti** (वास्तुशांती).

Community festivals in the village and trends of changes in the religious beliefs and practices among different sections of the population

Community festivals are not uncommon in the village. By far the biggest community festival celebrated by the people is **Shigma** (Holi). This is done on a grand scale by the villagers.

The Shigma celebrations start on the full-moon day of the month of Phalgun. The members of the temple committee accompanied by some children and others go to Parye, a village where the main Sateri Maya temple exists. They erect a pole there and bring another to their village. In old days the Holi pole used to be erected on the previous night but due to an accident when a boy was killed by falling in the pit where the pole is erected, it is no longer erected at night but during day time on the full-moon day. The pole is decorated by garland of leaves wrapped all over and is erected near the village temple. The Brahmin performs the puja at 12.00 noon on this day. Before the pole is erected the villagers invoke the blessings of Almighty. This is known as **garhane ghalne** (गारहाणे घालणे). They pray that let this annual festival be joyous and happy and let it pass peacefully. The pit they dig is five feet deep. After applying vermilion and turmeric, flowers and coconut are offered to the pole. The pole is generally 60 ft. high with two bamboos kept on either side of it for support while erecting the pole. These are 75 ft. high.

On the first day there is a tug-of-war competition but instead of a rope a long cane or bamboo is used for this. At night at a public place in the village, the four copper pitchers representing the four deities—Sateri Maya, Kelmi Maya, Jogeshwari Maya and Brahmani Maya are brought and they are worshipped. The children play a game of thieves. They blacken their faces, wrap leaves around their waist and with wooden swords in hand go to every house in the village shouting **hargaiā, ha-ha-ha-hargaiā** (हरगजा, ह-ह-ह-हरगजा), brandishing the wooden swords and danc-

ing all the way. While playing this game, they are not supposed to climb a tree or a high place. At every house they visit, their puja is performed and people offer coconuts, fowls, etc. to them. The Mahars accompany them as musicians and play music.

On the second day in the afternoon the villagers take out other plays known as **rombat** (रोंबट) or **khel** (खेल). The **rombat** may consist of performing acrobatic feats, playing sticks called **tiparya** (टिपया) or weaving **gof** (गोफ) or performing short musical skits of dramas. Generally all these are enacted by boys. The children wear fancy dress and assume the garb of anyone to have some fun. They are offered money and eatables and coconut. The elderly people who accompany them dance. Some houses offer wine which is consumed by these elderly people. At night there is **arati** (आरती) and bhajan in which the villagers participate.

On the third day also the **rombat** continues in the same way as described above. Following are the first few lines of two **rombat** songs:—

Song I

हया वाटेनें कृष्णदेव गेला ।
त्याच्या हातांत मोत्याचा झेला ॥
माणे पुढे गणुवा गवरीचा बाला ।
त्याच्या हातांत मोत्याचा झेला ॥
नागला सुरंगिच्या बाला ।
त्याच्या हातांत मोत्य चा झेला ॥

Song II

रामा लक्ष्मणा, रामा लक्ष्मणा
सीता ती, सीता ती
चालली निराधानी वनी
त्यांनी तुंफा बांधली
गुंफे काडली चिरामोरा

On the fourth day, the children taking out **rombat** in the village visit nearby villages while children from nearby villages come to the village. In the evening the **karavalya** (करवल्या) or bridesmaids move in the villages. It is said that this custom is after the custom of offering **Sati** in ancient times. Every village has a fixed number of **karavalya** probably indicating the number of women who have burnt themselves after their husband's passing away. Male children generally dress like females for this purpose. Every **Karavali** has to fast throughout the day. They go to every house in the village, singing songs while they are worshipped. Many women who promised the previous year to offer something on fulfillment of their wishes, pay the offerings to **Karavalya**. This is known

as **navasfed** (नवसफेड). The boys who dress like **Karavalya** are 10 to 12 years old. Many people do the offering or **navasfed** in a public place or public platform known as **chavhāī** (चव्हाटी).

The **Karavalya** first visit the houses of four Gaonkars who enjoy the status of the most respected and original settlers of village. These Gaonkars perform the puja of these **karavalya**. After visiting the houses of the Gaonkars mentioned, the **Karavalya** visit other Gaonkars and the other communities and residents of the village.

On the fifth day, the **karavalya** continue their round of visits to the villagers. In the evening they go back to the public place and dance to the accompaniment of some music. Villagers take the **karavalya** on their shoulders and dance. Then they all go to the village temple. There they ask for the Almighty's blessings for next year and promise the offering if their wishes are granted. This is known as **garhane ghalne** (गरहाने घालणे). The **karavalya** then remove their ornaments and change their dress. The decorations and 'ornaments' are thrown in fire.

After every two years on the sixth day there is horse play or **ghodyacha khel** (घोड्याचा खेळ) in some villages, e.g., Tanem. This is among the brother or fraternal villages. Each village has the right to a fixed number of horses. Some have four, others three, still others two while some have only one. The number of horses are the same as the number of **karavalya** permitted to a village, thereby signifying some relationship with the number of women who committed **satis** in that village.

The persons who play this game take the mask of a wooden horse and cover their waist with the indigenous cane or bamboo umbrella known as **irala** (इरल) which is actually made to protect agriculturists from rains. Over this is worn a petticoat to cover it. A headgear known as **patka** (पटका) is worn. In the left hand they hold the reins and coconut and in the right hand a sword. All these decorations are done in the village temple. After offerings or **garhane** the horses dance around the **Holi post** and go to Mandalgiri god (represented by a stone) in the chief (by virtue of being the eldest) among fraternal villages where this play takes place. There also they dance. They then go to the village boundary to receive horses of fraternal villages. Here too the order of hierarchy is fixed. At the time of entry of the horses of each village, coconuts are exchanged by that village and the chief village. After the reception of the horses from all fraternal villages they all stand in a line and a dance is performed. In this dance the horses move forward and backward brandishing the swords.

The horses are significant or symbolic of the god Mandalgiri who is supposed to ride a horse. After the dance, they go to the **Holi post**, remove their decorations and throw them in Holi fire. This burning includes the burning of the umbrella (इरल) also as it is not supposed to be used again. The "horses" then take bath and go to temple. After this, the goats and fowls are offered to god for granting of a wish and a community dinner is organised.

On the seventh day of **Holi**, children and the Mahars throw some garbage and dust in every house which is removed by the ladies of the house by sweeping the floor. Thereafter, **rangoli** (रंगोलो) or floor decorations are made. Everyone takes bath and then alone food is cooked.

Exactly one month after the **Holi**, on the full moon day, the **Holi** pole is broken and used as bridge on nullas and streams but is seldom burnt. The steam remains as it is till next **Holi** when is also taken out for burning.

Besides **Holi**, among the brother villages, other ritual bonds are established when any puja or drama is performed.

During **Holi**, a Vandevta fair is held in the jungle near the village every year. The legend is that once God Mhasyo's wife gave her child to a Kunbi and asked him to take care of it till she returns in the morning after participating in the **Holi** dance. This happened on four consecutive days and the Kunbi got frightened as he became thinner and thinner day by day because he thought her to be some ghost or so. When his brother knew about this, he told him not to worry and at the fixed time replaced his frightened brother. As usual the lady came and handed over the child. The brother was bold. He accepted the child and after the lady's departure threw it in fire. When she came in the morning and demanded the child, he pointed out to the fire and told her that it was in it. The lady got furious but in her anger gave a boon instead of a curse as she was upset. Another version is that she suspected that if she curses, nobody will respect her and come to her place. By wishing ill she would not get her child back. So she wished well. She said "हेणे कुडो, पिको घाल बंद" meaning "sow a little and reap a bumper crop". It is said that the land around this area even though it is forest land, can produce a very good crop if it is brought under cultivation.

The villagers also attend a fair at Shirgaon, 30 miles away every year on the new moon day of the month of Chaitra. The fair is held in honour of Laylaon Maya Goddess. People observe fast for five days

during this fair. If a person who is fasting feels thirsty, he has to take bath before and after drinking water. Same is the practice followed if he feels like taking tea. He has not to take his meals in the morning or night but only in the afternoon and evening. For taking meals also one has to sit on both the legs, bend down to take the morsels in mouth, wash hands aside so that water or food does not fall on one's person. If it falls, that particular part is burnt. For five days one has to prepare one's own food. There is also a twenty-feet big fire known as **homkund** (होमकुंड). One of the ritual is throwing a jasmine bud or garland in fire. It is said that the entire fire may burn out but the flower or garland will remain unburned. On this day all over the trees at a distance, light is seen once on one tree, then on another, and so on. The belief is that on this day the goddess Sahibin (साहिबीण) got back her lost brother.

Those who fast are known as **dhon** (धोण). A woman who is in her monthly course does not go out during this time. Those women who know of this and yet go out during their period suffer a lot. Nothing happens to those who go out unknowingly or unintentionally.

Other festivals celebrated are not on community basis but individual basis. They are New Year's day known as **Sansar padwa** (संसार पाडवा), Ganesh chaturthi, **dusserah** and the marriage of goddess Tulsi.

New year's day is celebrated by calling the Brahmin priest to know the prospects of the coming year. This is done by the village as a whole. On Ganesh Chaturthi, an image of Lord Ganesh is brought home and worshipped for 1½ to 5 days depending on one's economic position to perform puja and offer **prasad** (प्रसाद) every day and also depending on the way God has showered His blessings on the family during the previous year. At the end of the stipulated period, the image is immersed individually in the river.

The marriage of Tulsi plant with Lord Krishna is conducted by a Brahmin.

On Dusserah the leaves of **Shami** tree (*Propolis spigera*) are offered by younger persons to elders.

Village organisation

The village is one of the 26 villages of Valpoi municipality. There is therefore, no village panchayat. Till 1947 there was Military Governor in Satari. During the military rule there was Junta Administrative consisting of the Military Governor, 2 members and Secretary and Treasurer. In 1947 when civil

administration was introduced with an Administrator as the head, a municipal commission was also created with 2 members. But in 1956 this was converted into municipality with 4 members (all nominated) and the Administrator as the chairman. After liberation, the same set-up continues with the only difference that now the Mamlatdar has replaced the Administrator as chairman and the 4 members are elected and not nominated as in previous days. The present members are one each from Bhironde Valpoi, Khadki and Nanuz. The election of members is held after every four years. The Secretary to Mamlatdar is also the Secretary to municipality.

The municipality covers an area of 440 kms. and a population of 9,619. The maximum distance of a village under its jurisdiction is 12.7 kms. in case of Rivem village and the minimum 1.50 kms. in case of Massordem.

The municipality builds new roads and repairs old ones linking its headquarters to the villages under its jurisdiction. This is the only work it does for the villages. For Valpoi town it undertakes the work of lighting the roads. It gives permission to construct houses and has also undertaken the work of supplying water in Valpoi from Dhawe where there is a reservoir. It has no sanitation programme.

In 1962 the municipality spent a sum of Rs. 53,150 and in 1963 Rs. 56,580. In 1964-65 the municipality received Rs. 20,000 as grant from Government but could not spend the whole amount. In 1965-66 it received only Rs. 10,000.

The municipality meets every Tuesday which is a weekly market day at Valpoi.

The village has for its own affairs a voluntary panchayat. Members of this panchayat are elected by common consent every alternate year. This way every family in the village gets a chance to have its member on the panchayat in a few years time. This panch settles village disputes and helps in organising the **shramdan** or voluntary labour or any other community work which involves common interest and which needs people's participation like digging wells or rendering help in laying tiles on school building etc. Generally, the panch members are respected and their orders are obeyed as every family is certain to have its turn on the panchayat when it too can have a hand in passing such orders. Till 1964 when **kumeri** land was given by Forest Department for cultivation to villagers at a nominal price, the panch used to distribute this land to the interested families.

Since most of the villagers are agriculturists earning hardly enough to make both ends meet, there is no tension based on occupation or income. The village has three hamlets but there is no inter-hamlet tension or rivalry even though one hamlet—Kajaryache temb—is predominantly inhabited by Jogeshwarkar Kunbis. All hamlets coordinate and co-operate in doing any community work such as celebration of Dusserah or Holi or construction of school or digging of well or such other public work. Even if such tensions exist between one hamlet and another or one group or sub-caste of Kunbi and another, the stay in the village of the study team was too short to feel it and the people too suspicious and fearful to exhibit it or give vent to it. However, it is certainly true that the original inhabitants of the village who call themselves Gaonkars consider themselves superior to other Kunbis of the village and enjoy certain privileges also such as being members of the temple committee by virtue of their being original settlers. They also consider themselves to be the highest caste. Besides the right to perform puja by becoming members of the temple committee, the Gaonkars get first honour in any function organised in the village. The different sub-castes of Kunbis do not intermarry among outsiders but in other activities they help each other.

The Kunbis and Vaishyas do not accept food or water from Dhangars, Mahars and Chambhars but they drink buttermilk at the Dhangars. The Mahars and Chambhars are not allowed to enter temple by convention. The Brahmins do not eat with either of these castes but officiate in case of social occasions like birth, marriage and death. Nhavi and Parit are also considered low in status and the Kunbis, Brahmins, Dhangars and Vaishyas do not accept water or food at their hands.

Relation among different organisations

The voluntary panchayat does not have any relation with the Valpoi municipality which has this village under its jurisdiction. The Community Development Block, however, consults the panchayat in initiating its programmes in the village through the Gram Sevak. The Gram Sevak knows the members of panch well and respects them as they normally prove influential in rallying the public opinion and co-operation round the programmes of the Block.

Voluntary organisations

There are no voluntary organisations besides the temple committee and the voluntary panchayat. No club or library exists in the village. The villagers are apathetic to games. They are interested in gossiping or just sitting idle. Illiteracy among a majority of

them is an hindrance to the introduction of library also.

The C.D. Block started a youth club or 'Tarun Mandal' on 26-1-1963 in Taném with 50 members. A volleyball and a net were purchased but since none or very few were prepared to pay the nominal contribution of 12 paise per month, the club became defunct.

Only one person among the households surveyed is a member of a voluntary association called Gaonkar committee. He is a Gaonkar Kunbi of 50 years old and illiterate. He is also the Fouzdar of the village.

None of the surveyed households of Taném and Veluz has a member on any voluntary organisation.

Reform measures introduced by various agencies

Before liberation no reforms were undertaken by the Portuguese Government. After liberation the same set up as in adjacent Indian States was adopted with a Mamlatdar heading a Taluka or concelho and each Taluka having a Community Development Block under a Block Development Officer. It is only after this set-up came into being that such measures as family planning etc. were introduced by the Government. Family planning has not made any headway in the village because people are not yet aware of its benefit. They are always afraid of any outsider coming in the village. Whenever the jeep of family planning staff or other organisation enters the village, women and children scream and shut themselves in their huts. The males slip out of the village or go into hiding as all are suspicious of the visitors.

The system of dowry does not exist in the village. The village being predominantly a Kunbi village, bride price is paid at the time of marriage of males. This age-old convention is still observed and the Government has not yet interfered with it.

Untouchability also presents a problem though the village itself has no untouchables. The Mahars who serve the villagers as drummers and messengers live in Taném. Though normally there is no intercourse between the Mahars and other castes, at the time of Holi, however, they mix freely with other castes of the village in participating in the Holi revelry. During these days of celebrations nobody treats them as untouchables though they do not enter the temple. At Taném they live on the outskirts of the village a little away from the heart of the village.

A very interesting aspect of the social life of Mahars when a Brahmin sits outside Maharwada to solemnise a Mahar marriage has already been stated. None takes food or water at the hands of Mahars and Chambhars. These two castes also do not do likewise among themselves. There is yet a lot to do regarding the practice of removal of untouchability. The villages in Satari are so remote that even if measures are taken to check the practice of untouchability, it is very difficult to implement them or keep a close watch and supervision.

Other important aspects of social and cultural life

Inquiries regarding a number of interesting aspects of social and cultural life were carried out. The results are analysed as they reveal the extent of awareness about a number of problems among the villagers.

Kins staying outside

Most of the households are closely knit families. Only one Jogeshwarkar Kunbi and one Sattarkar Kunbi have a son aged 20 who is illiterate and a brother aged 18 who has studied upto third standard respectively staying outside. The kin of the Jogeshwarkar is living outside Pal for the last one year and is working as a D.D.T. Sprayer in Panaji while the kin of the Sattarkar is living outside Goa for the last one year and is in military service somewhere in northern India. The Jogeshwarkar living outside is unmarried while the Sattarkar living outside is married and has left his family in the village with his brother. In both cases neither the households send any remittance to or receive any from their kins staying outside. During the last 3 years the son of the Jogeshwarkar Kunbi visited the village once every month while the brother of the Sattarkar Kunbi visited the village just once so far.

Visit to places outside Goa

The villagers seldom have gone out of Valpoi municipal limits. Only five males have visited places outside Goa—all having visited these places in Mysore State. Whereas two each have visited Khanapur in Belgaum District of Mysore State and Belgaum city, one has not stated the actual place. Of these five persons, one is a Vaishya, one Dhangar, two Gaonkars and one Jogeshwarkar Kunbi. The last three are cultivators, the Dhangar a cowherd and the Vaishya trader. The Vaishya, a Gaonkar Kunbi and the Dhangar are 21-40 years age while another Gaonkar and the Jogeshwarkar are of 41 years and above.

None of the surveyed families from Taném and Veluz has visited any place outside Goa.

Source of finance for capital expenditure

As very few people have land, capital expenditure incurred by the households is very low. Only four families have spent on land development. Among these one has also spent on construction and improvement of building and other structure.

Only among four households spending money on land development has taken it from C.D. Block. The remaining three have taken loan from Co-operative Society. The household spending money on house construction and repairs has taken it from a private individual.

No household from Taném and Veluz has taken loan from any source to finance capital expenditure.

Sale and purchase of valuable assets

Stark poverty forbids almost all the villagers to possess any valuable asset. Purchase of such assets is totally ruled out in the existing circumstances. Since their poverty is not of recent making there is nothing left out to be sold. Hence the information about sale from only one Dhangar who sold a calf for Rs. 50 to someone living outside village and following agriculture as his main occupation.

No surveyed household from Taném or Veluz has sold or purchased any valuable asset.

Ranking of communities in order of social status

Thirty-three out of forty households have ranked Kunbis, 31 of them giving them the first ranking, one second and one has been undecided about the rank. Vaishya has been ranked by 12 households, 8 giving them second position, one third, one fifth and 2 have not given any ranking. Seven households each have ranked Sattarkar, Jogeshwarkar and Brahmanekar Kunbis. Two have given first ranking to Sattarkar and 5 second ranking. Three have given second ranking to Jogeshwarkar and 4 third. Brahmanekar Kunbis have been ranked third by 3 households and fourth by 4 households. Five households have ranked Gaonkar, all giving them first ranking. Two have ranked Dhangars, both giving second rank. Mahar and Chambhar together have been ranked third by only one household. One only has ranked Naiks, giving them fourth rank.

Ranking of occupations

Agriculture is ranked first by 39 out of 40 households while one has expressed his inability to rank occupations. Almost all persons have not given any

ranking to other occupations. The households mentioning cowherd and trade as occupations have ranked them second and the one mentioning agricultural labour has ranked both agriculture and agricultural labour as first. Selling milk (cowherd) is ranked third by the household mentioning it while cobbler and odd jobs done by Mahars fourth by the household ranking it. The household ranking trade has not given any rank to that occupation.

As agriculture is ranked first by almost all households the reasons given for low ranking for other occupations are that agricultural labourers are dirty and trade, selling milk, cobbler and Mahar's jobs are traditionally considered lower than agriculture. Households ranking cowherds and trade have not given any reason for their ranking.

Social disabilities

According to 37 out of 40 households the Mahars and Chambhars do not suffer from any social disability. Only three households have stated the disabilities. One household has stated that these communities are considered low castes and other castes do not take food or water at their hands. Another has corroborated this view and added that besides this they do not enter temple as they consider themselves low. One household has stated that in other villages they are considered low caste.

The enquiries were made in the adjoining village Taném where two households stated that the Mahars and Chambhars are not allowed to eat with others. These households with 3 others also stated that the temple entry is not given to Mahars and Chambhars because they are considered low caste. One household also opined that these are considered low castes and other castes do not take food at their hands. One household merely stated that they are low castes.

Awareness about the traditional occupation and social disabilities suffered by Mahars, Chambhars, Bhangis and Mangs:

A question to judge the awareness of people regarding the traditional occupation of Mahars, Chambhars, Bhangis and Mangs failed to evoke interesting replies. Out of 40 households 21 have stated that traditionally Mahars act as drum beaters and messengers, and 7 have stated that they act as messengers and musicians. According to 4 they do miscellaneous work and according to 3 others they do miscellaneous work together with drum beating. Two households each have linked cane/bamboo and other miscellaneous work and cane/bamboo and acting as messengers and drum beaters as their traditional occupation. One household has talked of them as drummers and

musicians. Thus it is found that 34 out of 40 are aware that the Mahars are musicians or drum beaters and 30 are aware of the fact that they act as messengers. Here it is to be noted that even though there is no Mahar household in Pal, Mahars of Taném serve the village.

All the 40 households are aware of the Chambhars making foot-wear which is their traditional occupation. This is also because of the fact that even though there is no Chambhar in Pal, Chambhar of Taném serves them.

None except one is aware of the traditional occupation of Bhangis. Most of them have never heard of that community. The only household knowing it owes its knowledge to one of its member's activities with freedom fighters during Goa's struggle for independence. The ignorance about Mangs is complete.

As regards the social disabilities suffered by these communities in Goa, most of the households are ignorant of the same as very few people have gone out of the village or out of the Concelho. Twenty-one out of 40 do not know about the disabilities of Mahars and Chambhars, 39 about Bhangis and all the 40 about Mangs. Fifteen households have stated that the Mahars and Chambhars are not allowed to enter the temple, 4 have stated that they are treated as untouchables, 3 that they are looked down upon as a low community while one has stated that others do not eat with them or take food from their hands. In case of Bhangis the lone informant who has heard about it states that it is treated as a low community.

All the households, however, are ignorant about the social disabilities suffered by these communities in the neighbouring States.

Awareness of traditional occupation and peculiarities of dress, dialect and social organisation of tribal communities

All the 40 households are aware of the traditional occupation of Dhangars and Kunbis which are the two 'tribal' communities in Satari. Thirty-eight out of 40 households, have stated that the Gavda Kunbis are agriculturists while two have pleaded their ignorance. All the 40 are ignorant about Sidhis and 39 out of 40 are ignorant about Yalip Kunbis though one has given agriculture as the latter's traditional occupation.

None is aware of the peculiarities of dress, dialect and social organisation of these tribal communities in Goa. Three households each have categorically denied any peculiarity as far as Sattarkar and Gaonkar Kunbis are concerned while one each has denied the same for Yalip and Gavda Kunbis and Sidhis.

The remaining have stated that they do not know about any peculiarity. All have expressed this opinion about the Dhangars.

As far as the peculiarities of dress, dialect and social organisation of these tribal communities in neighbouring states are concerned, all are ignorant of the same.

Seven most respected and influential persons in the village.

No distinction is observed between respected and influential persons in the village. In all 13 persons have been named. Since Pal has connection with Taném, five persons belong to Taném and 8 to Pal. The names of Taném residents—Sarvashri Baburao Desai, Bhima Desai, Yaso Gaonkar and Bawa Karwat and Pada Pavna—are given by only one Dhangar who also has named another Dhangar—Dhule Humana—belonging to Pal but living on Wagheri hill. Most of the households, however, are aware of the influential and respected persons belonging to Pal and their particulars. Shri Datto Tuliyo Gaonkar who is a Fauzdar is known by all as he always acts as the spokesman of the village. The rest are known by all except two households. These persons are Sarvashri Punaji Sablo Savant, Mahadeo Govind, Ramchandra Vasu Gaonkar, Jaydeo Nargo Savant, Yeshwant Sobri Ayetkar and Gopal Shabha Gaonkar.

If ranking is considered, the first rank is given by 2 households to the Fauzdar and by 38 to Punaji Sablo Savant, a comparatively well-to-do farmer of Pal. The second rank is given by 38 households to Mahadeo Govind and by one to Baburao Desai, a very influential resident of Taném. The third rank is given to Bhima Desai, another resident of Taném by one household and to the Fauzdar by 38 households. Yaso Gaonkar gets fourth ranking from one while Ramchandra Yaso Gaonkar gets the same from 38 households. Jaydeo Nargo Savant is ranked fifth by 38 households while Bawa Kharwat is ranked in similar capacity by only one household. The sixth ranking goes to Pada Pavna from one household and to Yeshwant Shabha Ayetkar from 38 households. Seventh or the last rank goes to Dhule Humana from one and to Gopal Shabha Gaonkar from 38 households.

The awareness of the particulars of these influential and respected persons shows that the ages of Sarvashri Bhima Desai, Yaso Gaonkar, Bawa Kharwat, Pada Pavna, Dhule Humana, Ramchandra Vasu Gaonkar, Yeshwant Saba Ayetkar and Gopal Shabha Gaonkar are not known by the persons ranking them. Baburao Desai and Mahadeo Govind are 35 years old each, and Punaji Sablo Savant, Datto Tuliyo Gaon-

kar and Jaydeo Nargo Savant 40 years old. All are aware that all these persons are males and belong to Hindu religion. All are also aware of the caste of all though the person naming the two Desais have given their caste also as Desai which, however, is not true as they are Marathas. There are 3 Dhangars besides these 2 Marathas and 8 Kunbis. Except for the Desais whose mother-tongue is given as Marathi, all have stated that others have Konkani as their mother-tongue. Except for the Desais again and Yaso Gaonkar whose educational qualifications were not known to the person naming them, the rest have been stated as illiterate. In occupation, except for the Dhangars who are cowherds, all have named the rest as agriculturists.

Only one person has named the office held by Datto Tuliyo Gaonkar as Fauzdar. The rest have called him and Mahadeo Govind, as well as the Desais and Yaso Gaonkar as leaders. The Dhangars are respected because they are elderly. Punaji Sablo Savant has attained the position because he is both a leader and panch while Ramchandra Yaso Gaonkar, Jaydeo Nargo Savant, Yeshwant Saba Ayetkar and Gopal Shabha Gaonkar because they are all Panchs.

All influential persons in Pal have attained the present position because it is customary to elect panchs from time to time with the consultation of all villagers. The Dhangars are there because they have seen more of life while the Desais and Yaso Gaonkar have respect of all.

Awareness of historical and contemporary personalities:—

A question regarding the knowledge about such distinguished personalities of both historic and modern times like Ashok, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Shivaji, Albuquerque, Ram Mohan Roy, Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Kennedy, Salazar and Radhakrishnan was put to all. None except one had heard about any of these personalities. One Hindu Jogeshwarkar Kunbi who had worked for Goa's freedom had heard the names of all except Ashok, Ram Mohan Roy and Radhakrishnan. Another person had only heard the names of Shivaji, Gandhi, Nehru, Akbar and Aurangzeb.

Changes due to liberation

Questioned about the changes brought by liberation in the village, in the concelho and in Goa as a whole, 20 replied that there has been no change in the village. 13 pleaded ignorance about it if there be any while 37 did likewise for concelho and Goa as a whole. Only 3 have talked of changes at all the three

levels. One has stated that at all levels there is no dictatorship now, people are happy because they are now, free and there is no torture of people as in previous days. Another has stated that at all levels there is no dictatorship now. The third one stated that now there is no dictatorship and heavy taxes in the village, in *concelho* and in Goa as a whole. One person has opined about the village that previously Rs. 2 were to be paid to Government for cultivation of Government land. Now no such payment is to be given. The absence of dictatorship at village level is also talked of by three other persons.

The Fauzdar told that in 1954 a forest officer, who was Portuguese, was killed by someone near Pal when he was proceeding towards Wagheri hill. In this connection many residents were questioned and he along with four others were imprisoned. In the prison they were mercilessly beaten so that they may admit about the killing. But as none was aware of the culprit, there was nothing to admit. The Fauzdar and three of them—Ram Yeso Ayekar, Sakharam Zipro Goankar and Futko Tano Gaonkar—were imprisoned for 3 months whereas the remaining one, Yeso Supryo Gaonkar was imprisoned for 6 months. One of these victims of Portuguese oppression, Futko Tano Gaonkar, died some years ago while others have lost their previous health.

Social Welfare

The Goa State Social Welfare Advisory Board has a Project Implementing Committee in Satari with headquarters at Valpoi. The Committee has a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and ten members. The official representatives are the Mamlatdar, B.D.O. and Health Officer. The B.D.O. is also the treasurer. The P.I.C. has 8 centres one each at Nanuz, Bhironde, Nagargaon, Pisurle, Taném, Keri, Van and Sonale. The last one is proposed to be shifted to Nanuz. Every centre has a medicine chest. Pal comes under Taném centre where the P.I.C. runs under a Gram Sevika a balwadi since 1964 attended by 40 children—15 boys and 25 girls, the average daily attendance being 25 to 30. The children of Maratha, Naik, Gaonkar Kunbi and Mahar households attend the balwadi. The classes are held between 8-30 A.M. to 12-00 noon. The snacks or mid-day meals given to children include milk, chocolates, biscuits, grams, wheat 'khir' or 'usal' or a vegetable. The children are also given toys to play.

The Gram Sevika besides running the balwadi conducts Mahila Mandal between 2-30 P.M. to 5-00 P.M. Four to five girls attend this Mandal where stitching and embroidery is also done by them. No adult literacy classes are conducted. The girls come to stitch their clothes in the afternoon as they were

taught this craft by the craft instructor of P.I.C. who previously conducted a three-months class.

The Dhangar families do not send their children nor do Pal villagers as they feel that they live far away. The Dhangars give another reason also, viz., that their children have to cross a river before reaching the class.

The Gram Sevika attends monthly meetings at Valpoi. The Mukhya Sevika visits the balwadi once in a week or fortnight.

The Mukhya Sevika visits one centre daily during the Balwadi hours, i.e., 8-30 A.M. to 12-30 P.M. She also sees the working of the craft class or Mahila Mandal from 2-30 P.M. to 5-00 P.M. The Craft Instructor stays in one centre for 3 months and trains some women in tailoring and then goes to another centre.

Both the posts of Dai are vacant. No girls are forthcoming even though there is a training centre for Dais at Bicholim.

The Catholic Charities Trust of India supply wheat and corn meal and the U.S. Government supplied milk powder to the P.I.C.

Except in Nanuz, everywhere else accommodation is a problem. The trainees can be taught bamboo-work by paying a stipend to them to enable them to have a subsidiary source of livelihood.

The P.I.C. is active on cultural front as well. It organised a girls' and women's competition in 1964 at Keri. The events were very interesting, e.g., lighting maximum candles with one match stick, weeding out stones from grains, playing musical chair, writing beautiful hand in signature etc. For Muslims there was a competition of making maximum and better quality wicks. A moon-light dinner was organised at Nagargaon. At Van, 'phugadi' (an indigenous game for girls and women) competition was held.

Crime

The village comes under the Taném Police outpost which has one Head constable and two constables. The villages under their jurisdiction are the same as in Gram Sevak circle. There were 2 other villages also—Karamale Brahma and Zarme—but they have been removed from its jurisdiction because of greater distance.

At a time 2 persons visit the village/villages on the beat. In case the visit villages are situated far away, they make a night halt.

Crimes are rare in these parts. In the last 5 months not a single crime was reported.

CHAPTER V

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION*

The village Pal has been studied in the context of ecological and historical settings as follows:—

(a) It is situated in Satari concelho of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. Hidden in the lap of Sahyadri, Satari is the most backward concelho of Goa. It is full of mountains and valleys and is rich in forest wealth. Manganese is found in great quantity and because of good rains, coconut and betelnut plantations also have luxuriant growth. Cashew nut, jack fruit and banana also are available in plenty.

(b) The region has played an important role throughout the period of known history. The Portuguese had won it in 1739 from the Bhonslaes of Sawantwadi, but till the final liberation of Goa in 1961, Satari had witnessed a number of uprisings for freedom.

(c) Satari, with 43% of the population engaged in agriculture, leads all the concelhos in the proportion of working force in this industrial category.

On the other hand, the physiological density of the concelho, measured in terms of the number of inhabitants, per unit of productive soil (total area cultivated and that which can be cultivated) is the second lowest in Goa district. It is 0.533 per hectare as compared to 0.393 per hectare of Sanguem, where the physiological density is the lowest and 8.058 per hectare at Mormugao, where it is the highest. In Goa district as a whole it is 1.806 per hectare.

These figures seem to suggest the following:—

- (i) Low level of agricultural production compared to the other concelhos of Goa, and/or
- (ii) Low volume of symbiotic relation of agriculture and other sectors of economy, resulting in the predominance of subsistence economy, with comparatively unimportant role of cash nexus.

During the present rapid survey, it was not possible to go into the question, beyond the primary level of appraisal of the various possible answers.

(d) The population of the concelho is overwhelmingly rural. Out of total population of 26136, only 8542 persons live in a town Valpoi, at a distance of 8.5 km. from the village under study.

In this town again more than 6000 persons are dependent on the primary sector; only the rest are dependent on the secondary sector. It is thus obvious that this town by itself is incapable of generating a distinct way of life, which can influence, the social structure of the surrounding region. At best it can serve as a transmission centre coordinating and crystallising the world views, attitudes and aspirations at the local level and interpreting, reformulating and furnelling the common heritages of modern man at the global level.

(e) The important castes and tribes of the concelho are Gaonkar Kunbi (14720), Sattarkar kunbi (2303), Yalip Gavada Kunbi (2147), Mahar (527), Dhangar (523) and others.

The proliferation of the subcastes of the Kunbis in the concelho is significant. This proliferation is the outcome of one of the two processes—(i) fission and (ii) fusion.

In case it is through fission, the following questions of social dynamics arise; (i) What are the factors contributing to the fission? (ii) In what areas of community life, the nexus provided by the common name Kunbi, continues to be operative even after the fission? (iii) Why the communities have not completely fallen apart after fission, and why have they maintained a connecting link in the form of a common name? (iv) Has the fission led to the process of formation of a hierarchical dispensation? or (v) Does it reflect a segmental structure without generating a system of subordination and superordination?

In case it is through fusion, the questions involved are: (i) What is the nature of the inducement for the unrelated sections of population to come together? (ii) What is the mechanism by which they have been able to overcome their traditional social boundary maintaining process? (iii) What is the nature of sanction which gives stability to the new pattern of relationship?

Without detailed ethno-sociological studies of the Kunbis and the sub-castes of the Kunbis of the region it is not possible to answer the questions. But even then in a general way it can be stated that in case of the emergence of the different subcastes through a process of fission, it is the vision of a Kunbi moral order or the ethos of a Kunbi way of life which has served as a matrix, to keep up at least a facade of the

*The responsibility for this chapter entirely belongs to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman.

old structure; on the other hand if the process is that of fusion, it is some sort of opportunism, some sort of strategic consideration, in the context of a shifting power and prestige structure, which has been subverting the traditional moral order. In other words, in case of fusion, the central principle of social organisation has been political rather than moral.

The relevance of this dichotomy for the analysis of the social processes at the village level will be brought out later.

The fact that castes engaged in specialised occupations, like Dhangars (in animal husbandry) or Mahars (in menial service/basketry, ritual music etc.) constitute only 1% each, of the total population of the *concelho* is also noteworthy.

In this historical and ecological context, the salient features of the village community under study, and the implications of the same, would be examined in a broad sweep.

Far and near in time

The fact that Goa continued as a tiny relic of the colonial era, when India was swept by the tide of liberation struggle and even after India attained freedom, meant that it had to be quarantined against the modernisation processes, or else the colonial rule would have been blown away by explosion from within.

It seems that time was frozen here. The proliferation of subcastes without functional differentiation, low index of social democracy as marked by the near monopoly control of a particular subcaste over the common affairs of the village, low social mobilisation, as reflected in the absence of educated elite and skilled manpower on the one hand and prevalence of extravagant expenditure on ritual occasions on the other, seem to mark a stagnant social order.

In terms of physical time, the village was in the womb of the 20th century at the time of the survey; but in terms of social time it was still to arrive in the 20th century. Symbolically it is represented by the fact that whenever the jeep of family planning organisation entered the village the women and the children screamed and shut themselves in their huts. But even then it has not remained completely free from the wind of change of the modern era. It is reflected in their aspiration for higher standard of living, positive orientation towards improved agricultural techniques, public health measures and education. Not that the achievements in these fields are in any way significant; but even then the signs of a new beginning are there.

Near but far in space

The village is situated close to the town Valpoi; it is within the jurisdiction of the same Municipality. But in terms of the land use pattern, availability of civic amenities, occupation structure, occupational and physical mobility, it hardly gives any indication of urban proximity. 85.84% of the land of the village is barren waste; 2.14% is under river, nullah and tank; 0.47% is put to non-agricultural use and the rest is under agricultural use. There is hardly any regular road inside the village. A non-metalled kachha road, Valpoi-Tanem road touches the village. Since 1962 a bus is plying on this road twice a day, certainly in physical space the village has come nearer the town to some extent. But what about social space? In terms of the same the way of life that goes with urbanisation remains far away. A symbol of this is the village primary school. It is the only educational institution of the village; but it does not have a separate building or structure of its own. It is located in the verandah of the Sateri Maya temple. Thus the secular education is taking place under the benign guise of the ancient deities. But perhaps the ancient deities by themselves may not be the most important fact of life here; what is more important is the domination of the custodians of the ancient deities. The Gaonkar Kunbis constitute 56% of the population of the village; but they have the monopoly control over the affairs of the temples. It does not require much effort to imagine that in the context of this pattern of domination, the mingling of religious and secular institutions will reinforce the traditional structure. When it is kept in view that in this village, the Mahars are not allowed entrance inside the temple, the enormity of this incongruous modernisation becomes further obvious.

Civic amenities are practically absent, though the village is served by the Municipality. The people draw water for drinking purposes, either from private wells or from the nearby streams and rivers; medical and other facilities are available only in the town. It seems that a single municipal administration has not been able to ensure village-urban continuum. Perhaps what prevails here is one way suction, camouflaged by pittance of services. But as during the rapid survey this aspect of the question was not examined in more detail, it would be hazardous to advance further comment.

As regards occupational mobility, only three or four persons have gone over to urban oriented service sector; none has taken to non-household industry. The physical mobility is also extremely limited; only five males have visited places outside Goa.

When all these aspects of backwardness are put together, the synthetic image that emerges out, is not

that of arrested growth, but of arrested death. And paradoxically, death has been arrested here, because in the colonial era, nothing else lived. The economy of the entire territory had ceased to grow; there was an artificial affluence based on drainage of mineral resources and black money earned through smuggling of goods brought from outside, to the rest of India. The debasement of easy money killed entrepreneurial spirit for venturing into industrial enterprises or institutional changes for higher level of social mobilisation. In this kingdom of death, pulsation of life would have been an anathema. It is no wonder that the village Pal lived by falling in line with death. But it seems that death in Goa was not euthanasia. Like phoenix the spirit of freedom rose from the ashes again and again. The same happened in Satari concelho also. The same might have happened even at Pal. In 1954, a Portuguese forest officer, was killed by someone near the village when he was proceeding towards Wagherj hills. As the culprits could not be apprehended, the village headman and three others were put to jail for 3 to 6 months. It is not clear whether, the motivation was really altruistic urge for national freedom or some local issue. But the fact that in spite of severe oppression by the Portuguese

authorities, the villagers did not name the culprits, seems to suggest that the villagers were not oblivious of the higher social dimensions, though the means adopted by them was questionable.

Stagnation as a moral order

Earlier a brief mention has been made of the possible implication of the proliferation of the Kunbi subcastes, in terms of the primary focus of social organisation. Without prejudice to the final conclusion (which has not been attempted here) certain important features of the cultural life of the people may be mentioned here. It has been found in the village that, but for certain differences in the material equipment, as required by the occupational differences, there is a broad similarity in the dress, housetype, food habits and rituals connected with crucial events of life not only among the different subcastes of the Kunbis, but also among the other castes. It seems that the sanction for bringing in this uniformity was more moral than political or legal. And moral sanction in a backward society, unrelated to the iconoclasm of forward looking free individuals, always works for stagnation—a satisfaction of inertia.

ANNEXURE I

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK, SATARI

Agriculture

The Satori Community Development Block was started in November, 1962, comprising all the villages of Satori Concelho and the Valpoi town. Ever since its inception the Block has taken a number of steps, particularly for the benefit of the cultivators.

The Block has distributed 22,901 tons of seeds, 83,097 tons of fertilisers and 3949 kgs. of chemical pesticides to the farmers. It distributed 7 iron ploughs and 8 sprays/dusters. To propagate improved techniques of cultivation it has given 224 demonstrations in case of paddy, 44 in case of groundnut and 561 in case of other crops. One thousand six hundred and ninety seven compost pits have been dug and 1,504 filled in. To develop horticulture, 445,526 fruit trees have been planted bringing the area under fruits to 142,6568 hectares (4,352½ acres). The area brought under vegetables is 91,8669 hectares (227 acres) and that under Japanese method of paddy cultivation 118,3748 hectares (292½ acres). For purposes of irrigation 24 oil engines have been supplied.

Animal husbandry

The Block has started one veterinary dispensary and treated 1,794 animals, castrated 28 and vaccinated 2,215. It also started 17 poultry centres, vaccinated 2,759 birds, supplied 3,671 birds and 5,776 eggs.

Land reclamation and irrigation

A total of 1830,66045 hectares (4523½ acres) of area has been reclaimed. Two agricultural colonies have been started. Eight irrigation wells have been either constructed or repaired. Approximately 4,856 hectares (12 acres) of new area has been brought under irrigation making the total area under irrigation 100.16 hectares (247½ acres). A sum of Rs. 10,200 has been disbursed as agricultural loans.

Health and sanitation

One primary health centre, 2 new dispensaries and one maternity ward have been started, 14 rural latrines and 5 drinking water wells have been constructed and 9 wells repaired.

Education

Four school buildings have been constructed and 70 new schools started. Educational equipment has

been supplied to 74 schools and 1500 free books and slates etc. have been supplied to students.

Social Education

Thirteen rural libraries have been started. Eighty-four literacy classes have been opened and 463 adults trained. There are now 343 adults under training. Twenty-one youth clubs, 36 Bhajan Mandals and 8 farmers' unions have been started. Five village leaders training camps were held for training 122 leaders. Seventeen Mahila Mandals have been started with a total membership of 402. Twelve Balwadis have been started which are attended by 294 children. Two hundred and ninety cultural programmes were held.

Rural arts, crafts and industries

Two carpentry and smithy and one pottery training centres and 5 tailoring classes have been started. These centres and classes have so far trained 165 trainees. Twelve artisans have also been trained. For bee-keeping 65 beehives have been distributed.

Communications

Forty-eight kaccha roads and 77 culverts have been constructed.

Co-operation

In all so far 12 co-operative service societies, two industrial co-operative societies, one joint farming co-operative society and 2 other co-operative societies have been started.

The activities of Satori Community Development Block can also be found in Pal. In 1964-65 the targets and achievements of the Block for Pal have been as follows:—

1 Agriculture	Target	Actual
1 Supply of improved Seeds . . .	130 kg.	15 kg.
2 Supply of chemical fertilisers . . .	400 kg.	200 kg.
3 Digging of compost pits (10' x 6' x 3')	10 pits	63 pits
4 Use of green manure	16.188 hectares (40 acres)	--

ANNEXURE I—*Concl'd.*

	Target	Actual		Target	Actual
5 Adoption of improved methods of cultivation (like Japanese method of paddy cultivation)	10 plots	0.2024 hectare ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre)	(b) Supply of hatching eggs	24	12
			2 Castration of bulls	5	..
			3 Loans for purchase of bullocks . . . . .	..	Rs. 970
6 Horticultural development			4 Animal vaccinated . . . . .	..	5
(a) Supply of coconut seedlings . . . . .	..	25	5 Poultry vaccinated . . . . .	..	12
(b) Supply of mango grafts	15	17	V <i>Health and Sanitation</i>		
(c) Supply of lemon grafts	10	1	1 Sanitary wells constructed . . . . .	..	2
(d) Supply of cashew . . . . .	..	1,000	2 Medicine boxes supplied . . . . .	..	1
(e) Introduction of cashew plant . . . . .	..	10.1175 hectares (25 acres)	3 Children vaccinated against small pox . . . . .	..	26
7 Vegetable cultivation	0.8094 hectare (2 acres)	0.8094 hectare (2 acres)	VI <i>Education</i>		
8 Supply of implements	2	..	1 New schools started . . . . .	..	1
9 Afforestation	100	..	2 School building constructed with rooms . . . . .	..	1 (with 2 rooms)
10 Plant protection pesticides	110 kg.	..	VII <i>Social education</i>		
II <i>Minor irrigation</i>	..	..	1 Adult literacy class . . . . .	..	1
III <i>Area reclaimed</i>			2 Bhajan mandal . . . . .	..	1
Area reclaimed . . . . .	..	26	VIII <i>Communication</i>		
IV <i>Animal husbandry</i>			Roads constructed . . . . .	..	3
1 Poultry development			IX <i>Co-operation</i>		
(a) Supply of cocks and hens	6	10	Service co-operative started . . . . .	..	1

ANNEXURE II
EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONTOUR OF A VILLAGE IN GOA

Village Schedule

1. Name of village :
2. (a) Situation (longitude and latitude)
- (b) Location characteristics

Coastal/Hill/Others

3. Tenural characteristics:
 - (a) Comunidad
 - (b) Other than comunidad
4. Particulars of

Name	Distance	Since when in existence	Influence on economic and social life of village	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

- (a) Concelho HQ
- (b) Post Office
- (c) Telegraph Office
- (d) Other important administrative unit
- (e) Rail head
- (f) Bus route
- (g) Nearest village
- (h) Nearest town

5. Particulars of

Name	Distance	Significance in economic life of the village	Remarks
1	2	3	4

- River
- Estuary
- Hill
- Sea-coast

6. Physical feature:
 - (a) Altitude
 - (b) Annual variation of rainfall and temperature
7. Communication and transport:
 - (a) With outside
 - (b) Inside the village
8. Size of village

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

9. Particulars about residential pattern

Name of locality in cluster of houses	Size of area the	Situation with reference to main road	Since when in existence	Community	No. of households	Physical characteristics	Myth, legend or history connected	Remarks including other details
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. Important public places

Name of the place	Location with reference to main road	Brief description	Connected history	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

11. Flora and fauna

Local name	English equivalent	Scientific name	Appr. number	Nature of use	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

12. Distribution of population by ethnic groups

Name of the ethnic group	Religion	No. of households	Population			Since when living in the village	Remarks
			Persons	Males	Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

16. Particulars about religious institutions

Name	Situation	Religion/ sect/ caste with which associated	Since when in exist- ence & connect- ed history	Office bearers and employees					Remunera- tion	Management and control (Particulars of commit- tee, superior body etc.)
				Name	Religion	Caste	Name of office	Nature of activity		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

16. Particulars about religious institutions—*contd.*

Name	Objects of worship		Name	Other ritual objects		Nature of performance	Daily religious performance		Time of performance
	Material and description by size, shape and form	How and where from obtained		Material and description by size, shape and form	How and where from obtained		Place of performance		
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	

16. Particulars about religious institutions—*contd.*

Performer	Participants			Religious performance on special occasion				Participants			
	Caste	Appr. No.		Occasion	Nature of per- formance	Place of performance	Time of performance	Performer	Caste	Appr. No.	
		Male	Female							Male	Female
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

16. Particulars about religious institutions—*contd.*

Nature of activity	Other activities		Source of finance	Annual income	Annual expenditure	Remarks
	Place and time	Performer				
33	34	35	36	37	38	39

ANNEXURE II--*contd.*

17. Particulars of markets most commonly visited

Name of market	Distance from village	Transport	Commodities taken to the market	Commodities purchased from the market	General note
1	2	3	4	5	6

18. Particulars about fairs and community festivals held in the village or commonly visited by villagers

Name of fair or festival	Place & distance	Legend if any	When held	How old	Size of gathering	Commodities transacted	Recreational activities	Religious activities	Cultural & social activities	General note
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

19. Particulars of political, cultural, social and other types of voluntary organisations functioning in the village

Name and address of the organisation	When established	When established in village	Objective	Head office	Area of operation	Office in the village	Nature of work	Impact on social, cultural and economic life of the people	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

20. Particulars about *comunidad*

- I. Name of *comunidad*
- II. Location of office
- III. Area of operation
- IV. Since when in existence.

ANNEXURE II--contd.

V. Membership of comunidad.

Category	1900 Number of		1930 Number of		1960 Number of		1965 Number of		Remarks
	Households	Janas	Households	Janas	Households	Janas	Households	Janas	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10

Hindu

Caste 1

Caste 2

Christian

Caste 1

Caste 2

Others

VI. Particulars of Accoes (share).

Category of persons	No. of persons with Accoes in				Value of Accoes in				Remarks
	1900	1930	1960	At present	1900	1930	1960	At present	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10

Hindu

Caste 1

Caste 2

Christian

Caste 1

Caste 2

Others

VII. Particulars of Govt. supervision over the affairs of comunidad.

Designation of the head of office	Nature of activity	Details of rules framed	General note	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
At State level				
At Concelho level				
At Village level				

ANNEXURE II—contd.

VIII. Particulars of members Junta Administrative or managing Committee for internal management and control.

Name of members	Office in the comunidad held	Age	Sex	Religion	Sect	Caste	Educa-tion	Occupation	No. of Janas in HH	No. of Accoes	Since when holding office	How attained office	Re-marks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

IX. Note on functioning of Junta Administrative during 1965

Particulars of each meeting held	Where held	Subject for discussion	Decision arrived at	General note	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

X. Employees of comunidad.

Name	Age	Sex	Religion		Caste	Educa-tion	Occupation	Since when under employment by comunidad	Remuneration			Description of the work	Remarks
			Sex						Cash	Kind	Other		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

XI. Extent of land owned by comunidad.

	1900	1930	1960	1964	In case of change in extent of land reason and process of change
1	2	3	4	5	

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

XII. Land use pattern.

	1950	1960	1964	In case of variation reason thereof
	1	2	3	4

Under cultivation

Current fallow

Fallow

Grazing

Forest

Homestead

Others

XIII. Other assets.

Nature of assets	Description	Value in			
		1900	1930	1960	1964
1	2	3	4	5	6

XIV. Liabilities.

Nature of liability	Value in			
	1900	1930	1960	1964
1	2	3	4	5

ANNEXURE II—contd.

XV. Agencies of use of land.

Method	1900		1930		1960		1964		Remarks
	No. of units	Average cultivation	No. of units	Average cultivation	No. of units	Average cultivation	No. of units	Average cultivation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Collective farming

Cultivation by individual members on payment of rent.

Cultivation by lessees who have taken on lease by

- (a) Auction
- (b) Negotiation

Others

XVI. Terms and conditions under which, land is used by various agencies.

(a) Collective farming

- (1) Who prepares the programme and how
- (2) (i) Who takes charge of day-to-day activity.
(ii) How much executive power he has.
- (3) How the cost for the various operations are checked :
- (4) Details of itemwise expenditure for various operations.
- (5) Details of other expenditure.
- (6) Distribution of loss or profit among
 - (i) members
 - (ii) holders of Accoes (shares)
 - (iii) others

(b) Cultivation by private members.

- (1) Distribution of households with reference to size group of comunidad land under occupation of cultivation.

Size-group

No. of households

Less than 1 acre

1—3 acres

4—6 acres

7—9 acres

10—12 acres

13—14 acres

15 & above

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

- (2) Since when the households are cultivating separately.
- (3) Payment by the households to comunidad per acre of land.
- (c) Cultivation by lessees.
- (1) Name of lessee
 - (2) Since when taking lease
 - (3) When the last lease was taken
 - (4) Acreage of land taken on lease
 - (5) Amount of payment for the lease
 - (6) Procedure of taking lease
 - (7) Other particulars of the lease

- XVII. Details of expenditure by items.
- XVIII. Details of income by items.
- XIX. Development and humanitarian activities undertaken by Comunidad.
- XX. Other aspects of Comunidad.
21. Particulars of the Co-operative Society serving the village.

Type of society	Name	Area of operation	Where situated	Since when in existence	Qualifications for membership	No. of members from the village	Share capital	Working capital	Aid/grant/loan from Govt.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

21. Particulars of the Co-operative Society serving the village—*Concl.*

Nature of operation	Commodity	Particulars of trade			General note on change in nature and extent of trade	Remarks
		Value of all commodities				
		10 yrs. back	5 yrs. back	At present		
11	12	13	14	15	16	17

ANNEXURE II—contd.

22. Particulars of village shops

Name, religion & caste of shopkeeper	When was the shop established	Extent of business		Nature of transaction (cash, advance, barter etc.)	Side business if any (money lending, contract etc.)	General note	Remarks
		Name of commodities	Appro. annual transaction				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

23. Particulars regarding emigration from the village.

Religion and caste	No. of households emigrated				Places where migrated	Reason for migration	No. of cases in which part of family stayed back in the village	Remarks
	Before 1950	1951-1960	1961 & afterwards	After				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

24. Particulars regarding immigration into the village.

Religion & caste	No. of households immigrated			Places from where immigrated	Reason for immigration	No. of cases in which part of the family stayed back in the old place	Remarks
	Before 1950	During 1950-60	After 1961				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

25. Particulars of persons belonging to the village who stay outside in connection with business, service, etc.

Name	Religion & sect	Caste	Age	Sex	Academic qualification	Occupation	Present address	Since when living outside	Whether family lives with him or in the village	Whether has property in the village	How frequently visits the village	Influence over the affairs of the village	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

ANNEXURE II—contd.

26. Particulars of persons belonging to the village who are studying outside.

Name of head of household	How related to the household	Religion	Caste	Age	Sex	Since when studying outside	Place where studying	Nature & standard of education received	How financed	Whether staying in hostel/ with relation or otherwise	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

27. Particulars of persons in the village who have passed Matriculation or equivalent examination.

Name of head of household	Name of person	How related to head of household	Religion	Age	Sex	Educational Standard	Year of attaining the standard	Present occupation	Present address	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

28. Break up of the population according to industrial classification/ occupation group according to latest census.

29. Association of religion and caste with various occupations in the village.

Name of Occupation	Total number of persons engaged		Number of persons engaged in the occupation who are Hindus and belong to						Number of persons engaged in the occupation who are Christians & belong to						No. of persons who are in other religions and belong to						Remarks
	Male	Female	Caste 1		Caste 2		Caste 3		Caste 1		Caste 2		Caste 3		Caste 1		Caste 2		Caste 3		
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
			4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

Particulars of persons connected with various crafts.

Name of craft	Name of head of household	Religion	Caste	Total number of members in the household					No. of persons in the household engaged in the craft as							
				Adult		Minor		Total	Main source of livelihood				Subsidiary means of livelihood			
				M	F	M	F		Adult	Minor	Adult	Minor	Adult	Minor		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

30. Particulars of persons connected with various crafts—*contd.*

No. of hired labourers				Name of main source of livelihood of the household	Names of subsidiary sources of livelihood for the household	Whether the household produces for		
Adult		Minor				Own consumption	Sale of barter in village	Sale outside
M	F	M	F					
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26

30. Particulars of persons connected with various crafts—*contd.*

Approximate annual output	Raw materials required per unit & source of supply & terms & conditions of supply	Value of maximum quantity of raw material stored in the household at a time	Tools & implements & value of the same	Labour Charges	Amount of capital required
27	28	29	30	31	32

30. Particulars of persons connected with various crafts—*concl.*

Problem of marketing & transport including role of middle men, co-op, etc.	Annual loss or profit	Myth, legend or history connected with origin & development of the craft	Myths & legends connected with techniques tools, designs etc.	Other aspects
33	34	35	36	37

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

31. Particulars of fishing.

(a) Facilities for pisciculture

(b) No. of households by caste and religion engaged in fishing.

Religion	Caste	No. of households engaged in fishing		No. of households having fishing as		Remarks
		For consumption	For sale	Main source of livelihood	Subsidiary means of livelihood	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(c) Nature of right or concession engaged by the various households in respect of the areas where fishing is done.

(d) Rearing practices.

(e) Tools and equipments

(f) Organisation of work group.

(g) Utilisation of produce.

(h) Marketing.

(i) Time and season for various activities connected with fishing.

(j) Expenditure connected with various operations & problems of finance.

(k) Other problems.

32. Particulars of collection of forest produce.

(a) Type of forest.

(b) Particulars of establishments by religion and caste engaged in collection of forests produce.

Type of forest produce	No. of households engaged in collection as		Season of collection	Hours of collection	Transport	Remarks
	Main source of livelihood	Subsidiary means of livelihood				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(c) Nature of right or concession enjoyed in the forest and in utilisation of forest product.

(d) Organisation of work groups.

(e) Tools and equipments connected with the work.

(f) Marketing.

(g) Restrictions in the movement and sale of minor forest produce.

(h) Expenditure & finance.

(i) Other aspects.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

33. Particulars of hunting.

(a) Number of households having hunting as main source of livelihood.

(b) Particulars of persons who hunt in the forest occasionally.

Name	Religion	Caste	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Since when does hunting	Tools & implements used	Type of animals hunted	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

34. Particulars of agriculture.

(a) Crop and land.

Name of crop	Extent of land under cultivation		Yield per acre
	Irrigated	Unirrigated	

(b) Calendar of agricultural activities.

(c) Tools and equipments.

(d) Farming practices.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

(e) Organisation of manpower with reference to each religion and caste as follows.

Name of religion and caste	Ploughing					Weeding				
	Sex & agewise division of labour	Depend on family labour only	Depend on hired labour of religion and caste	Depend on reciprocal aid	Others	Sex & agewise division of labour	Depend on family labour only	Depend on hired labour of religion and caste	Depend on reciprocal aid	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

(e) Organisation of manpower with reference to each religion and caste as follows—*concl.*

Sex & agewise division of labour	Reaping				Others	Other operations				
	Depend on family labour only	Depend on hired labour of religion and caste	Depend on reciprocal aid	Others		Sex and agewise division of labour	Depend on family labour only	Depend on hired labour of religion and caste	Depend on reciprocal aid	Others
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	

(f) Expenditure per acre in connection with various operations.

(g) Income per acre.

(i) Gross.

(ii) Net.

(h) Utilisation of produce.

(i) Storage of produce.

(j) Marketing of produce.

(k) Other problems.

(In case of shifting cultivation)

(i) Nature of terrain over which shifting cultivation practised.

(ii) Method of preparation of land.

(iii) Period of cultivation at a stretch and period of lapse.

(iv) Ownership of land by family or by community and other details as in Agricultural Schedule of Nagaland.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

35. Practices connected with animal husbandry including poultry rearing.

(a) Particulars of establishments engaged in animal husbandry.

Religion/ caste	No. of households engaged in animal husbandry as		No. of households engaged in animal husbandry as main source of livelihood having subsidiary source and livelihood		No. of households engaged in animal husbandry as subsidiary means of livelihood having main source of livelihood		Remark
	Main source of livelihood	Subsidiary source of live- lihood	Occupation 1	Occupation 2	Occupation 1	Occupation 2	

(b) Particulars of grazing facilities and also problems faced by different households.

(c) Particulars of feeding practices in various households.

(d) Particulars of tools and equipments used by various households in connection with animal husbandry.

(e) Particulars of utilisation of produce of animal husbandry.

(f) Problem of marketing.

(g) Details of expenditure.

Item of expenditure	Amount per									Remarks
	Cow	Bull	Bullock	He-buffalo	She-buffalo	Sheep	Goat	Fowl	Others	

(h) Details of income.

Item of income	Amount per									Remarks
	Cow	Bull	Bullock	He-buffalo	She-buffalo	Sheep	Goat	Fowl	Others	

(i) Other particulars connected with animal husbandry.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

36. Particulars of other non-agricultural occupations

(a) Persons engaged in the occupation.

Name of occupation	Name of head of household	Religion	Caste	Age	Sex	Education	Experience	Place of work	Distance of work	Average remuneration
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

(a) Persons engaged in the occupation—*concl'd.*

Name of main source of livelihood in the household	Names of subsidiary sources of livelihood in the household	Remarks
12	13	14

(b) Problems of the occupation

Nature of occupation	Place of work	Total No. of persons engaged in the occupation	Availability of requisite skill	Volume of work	Other details
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37. (a) Names of various hamlets, localities or recognised clusters in the village in terms of certain physical or social characteristics.

(b) Dominant characteristic of each hamlet, locality or recognised cluster with reference to :

(a) Religion.

(b) Sect.

(c) Caste.

(d) Institutions.

(e) Some geographical feature.

(f) Others.

38. History of settlement and growth of each locality and the control of various resources in and around the village as determined by the history.

39. Distance of one locality from another and system of communication.

40. Particulars of village factions on the basis of religion, caste, ideology, locality, economic interest, dominant personality and other factors and ramification of such faction in different aspects of village life.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

41. To what extent the people of the different localities are connected with one another in matters relating to :
- (a) Obtaining sources of livelihood.
 - (b) Employment.
 - (c) Supply of labour.
 - (d) Supply of commodities.
 - (e) Channel for dealing with outside world including Govt. officials.
 - (f) Obtaining traditional services.
 - (g) Obtaining different institutional facilities.
 - (h) Performance of rituals.
42. Is there any rivalry/cooperation among the different hamlets or localities for control and use of centres of common activities or matters of common interest like :
- (a) Village panchayat.
 - (b) Recreation centre, playground etc.
 - (c) Performance of various rituals and ceremonies.
 - (d) Pasturage ground.
 - (e) Schools.
 - (f) Markets.
 - (g) Churches, etc.
 - (h) Temples.
 - (i) Different amenities provided by the Govt. (*e.g.*, water supply irrigation)
43. Is there any rivalry/co-operation among various religious and caste groups for control and use of centres of common activities or matters of common interest ?
44. (a) Is there great concentration of wealth, influence or prestige in some religion or caste-group or hamlet or some other recognised segment of the population ? As a result of this, does a relationship of domination and subordination exist among the different segments ? What are the manifestations of such relationship ?
- (b) (i) Who are considered to be the dominant segment ?
 - (ii) Who are considered to be the most subdued segment ?
45. Particulars of the leaders of each of the following segment of the village.

Segment	Name of leader	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	How attained leadership	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Religious group							
Caste							
Occupation group							
Hamlet or locality							
Others							

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

57. Particulars of indigenous and modern medicinemen in the village.

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Caste	Qualifica- tion	Training	Type of treatment	Diseases of treat- ment of which there is more demand	In case of indigenous medicines, particular	Appr. No. of patients	Main source of livelihood	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

58. Particulars of land revenue and other taxes in the village.

Nature of revenue/tax	Rate	Collecting agency	Remuneration for the collecting agency	Method of collection	Time of collection	Total collection in the village	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

59. Land utilisation pattern in the village

	Acreage under ownership of						Remarks
	Govt.	Comunidad	Private under		Other private	Other	
			Concesao Provisoria	Aformento			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Forest

Pasturage

Cultivable fallow

Under settled cultivation

(a) Terraced

(b) Unterraced

Under shifting cultivation

Grave, crematorium

Uncultivable fallow

(Other than grave, crematorium)

Homestead

Waterways

Roads

Others

ANNEXURE II--contd.

60. Distribution of households by religion & caste with reference to size group of ownership of land.

Size group	Hindu		Christian		Other		Remarks
	Caste 1	Caste 2	Caste 1	Caste 2	Caste 1	Caste 2	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
NIL							
Less than 2 acres							
2-4 acres							
5-7 acres							
8-10 acres							
11-15 acres							
16-19 acres							
More than 20 acres.							

61. Per capita ownership of land by religion and caste.

Religion	Caste	Per capita land owned	Remarks

62. Statistics of ownership of livestock and domestic animals

Religion	Caste	No. of animals									
		Cow	Bull	Bullock	He-buffalo	She-buffalo	Goat	Sheep	Pig	Fowl	Others

63. Development activities including introduction of terrace cultivation, improved agriculture, construction of road, improvement of Education, Water supply, etc. undertaken in the area during last 15 years.

Name of activity	Year of execution	Agency of execution	Impact on the life of the village	Remarks

ANNEXURE II—contd.

64. Particulars of village council/panchayat:

- (a) When constituted
- (b) Number and category of
 - (i) Members
 - (ii) Office bearers
 - (iii) Employees
- (c) Particulars of members, office bearers and employees

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Caste	Education	Occupation	Position in the panchayat	How selected	Nature of duty
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(c) Particulars of Members, office bearers and employees—concl'd.

Remuneration	Uniform or symbol of office	Remarks
11	12	13

- (d) Place of meeting of the panchayat executive.
- (e) How frequently the executive meets ?
- (f) How many times and on what occasion did the executive meet last year ?
- (g) How the decisions are arrived at ?
Does any official play a dominant role ?
- (h) Development activities undertaken.
- (i) Administrative and judicial work undertaken.
- (j) Other activities.
- (k) Income
- (l) Expenditure
- (m) Other particulars.

65. Particulars of village disputes referred to different authorities last year.

Name of agency to whom referred	Leading members of each disputing party	Nature and cause of dispute	Method of disposal	Particulars of decision	Particulars of implementation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

66. Particulars of village leaders

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Clan	Education	Occupation	Names of organisation institutions where holding office or special position	Since when holding office	How gained position
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

66. Particulars of village leaders—*concl'd.*

Remuneration	Other relevant particulars	Remarks
11	12	13

67. Recreational and cultural activities enjoyed by the villagers.

Type of activity	Brief description	Where takes place (if outside the village, name and distance of the place)	Occasion	Frequency & duration	Extent of active participation of people of main castes & communities in performance (many, few, some)
1	2	3	4	5	6

67. Recreational and cultural activities enjoyed by the villagers—*concl'd.*

If the activity is in the village, do visitors from other villages participate

Name of village	Distance	Approximate No. of people participating	Role	Sponsoring agency	Particulars of the active pe. formers	Remarks
7	8	9	10	11	12	13

68. Particulars of social, cultural, religious and other reform movements in the village.

69. Particulars of humanitarian activities undertaken in the village by various agencies.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

70. (a) Particulars of missionary activities in the village and/or surrounding area.

(b) Number of converts in different periods and ethnic and socio-economic background of converts in different periods.

(c) Special benefit and concessions enjoyed by converts in different period in the institutions sponsored by Christian Missionaries

Nature of institution	Name of institution	Since when in existence	Staff			
			Designation	Religion	Caste	No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	

70. (c)—*concl.*

Beneficiary			Remarks including particulars of missionary institutions that have ceased to exist
No. of Christians	No. of non-Christians	Special Concession for Christians.	
7	8	9	10

71. House and house type (Description of Hindu high caste house, low caste house ; Christian high caste house, low caste house ; other house):

(a) Selection of house site.

(b) Preference about direction.

(c) Description of the components of the dwelling complete (Bedroom, Kitchen, Store, Cattleshed, bath, latrine, yard etc.).

(d) Materials used in

	Material	Wherefrom obtained	Remarks
Plinth			
Wall			
Roof			
Door			
Window			

(e) Number of slopes on roof ; number and position of door, window and other elements.

(f) Decoration and embellishments.

(g) Names of different parts of house and nature of use of each

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

- (h) Privacy & hygienic condition.
 (i) Ceremonies connected with construction.
 (j) Cost of construction.
 (k) Other details.

72. Dress.

(Describe separately for Hindu higher castes/ lower castes/ Christian higher castes/lower castes/ other economic groups who have peculiar dress of own).

Male/Female.

- (a) Upper garment including headgear.
 (b) Lower garment including headgear.
 (c) Garment of bridegroom.
 (d) Garment of bride.
 (e) Garment of priest.
 (f) Garment of other special functionaries.

73. Ornaments and body decorations (Describe separately for Hindu higher castes/lower castes/Christian higher castes/lower castes/ other ethnic groups who have peculiar ornaments of own.

- (a) Ornaments

Name of ornament	Part of body where used	Material	Sex by which used	Community by which used	Price	Brief description
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

73 (a) Ornament—*concl.*

Variation in size, shape, design	Trends of change	Remarks.
8	9	10

- (b) Body decoration including hair style, tattooing

Ethnic group	Description	Remarks
--------------	-------------	---------

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

74. Food and drinks

(a) Particulars of vegetarian and non-vegetarian, communities.

Category	Names of communities	Remarks

(i) Vegetarian

(ii) Non-vegetarian

(b) Staple food by ethnic group.

Item of food as staple food	Name of ethnic groups consuming as staple food	Remarks

(c) Important items of food by ethnic groups and economic status groups (Rich, average, poor).

Items of food	Seasons when available	Ethnic groups consuming	Economic status groups generally consuming	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

(d) Method of preparation of food by ethnic group and economic study group

Item of food	Method of preparation among different ethnic groups	Method of preparation among different economic status group in each ethnic group	Remarks
6	7	8	9

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

(e) Drinks by ethnic group

Nature of drink	Brief description of the method of preparation	Ethnic groups consuming more frequently	Remarks
1	2	3	4

75. *Birth*

Part A—Beliefs and practices.

(Describe briefly from a Hindu high caste/a Hindu lower caste/
a Christian high caste/a Christian low caste/Others).

- (a) Pregnancy and pre-natal practices.
- (b) Delivery and disposal of placenta.
- (c) Post-natal practices.
- (d) Naming ceremony, baptism etc.
- (e) Suckling and child rearing practices.
- (f) Use of contraceptives.
- (g) Abortion.
- (h) Beliefs and practices, connected with barrenness.
- (i) Beliefs and practices connected with still-birth and infant death.
- (j) Beliefs and practices connected with abortion.
- (k) Other particulars.

Part B—Inter-community relationship during birth.

Occasion	Religion & caste of child	Names of religious and caste groups from whom services are obtained	Remarks
1	2	3	4

- (i) Assistance during delivery (midwife).
- (ii) Cutting the umbilical cord.
- (iii) Disposal of placenta.
- (iv) Washing the clothes of the parturient.
- (v) Washing the clothes of child.
- (vi) Magic toward off evils.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

	1	2	3	4
(vii) Tonsure.				
(viii) Worship of deities.				
(ix) Messenger.				
(x) Music.				
(xi) Others.				

76. *Marriage*

Part A—Beliefs and practices.

(Describe briefly for a Hindu high caste/a Hindu lower caste/ a Christian high caste/a Christian lower caste/others).

- (a) Age when sexwise segregation starts from Sleeping, Play, work, others.
- (b) Premarital free mixing.
- (c) Premarital sex relation.
- (d) Unit of endogamy.
- (e) Unit of exogamy.
- (f) Degree of prohibited relationship.
- (g) Preferential mating.
- (h) Permissibility of:
 - (i) Levirate
 - (ii) Sororate
 - (iii) Widow remarriage.
 - (iv) Divorce.
 - (v) Legal separation.
- (i) Age of marriage.
- (j) Selection of partners.
- (k) Betrothal.
- (l) Marriage ceremony
 - (i) rituals
 - (ii) entertainments.
 - (iii) others.

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

Part B—Inter-community relationship during marriage.

- (a) Number of inter-ethnic marriages in the village.
 (b) Inter-community co-operation

Occasion	Religion or caste of bridegroom	Names of religious and caste-groups from whom services are obtained	Remarks
(i) Assistance in negotiation.			
(ii) Preparation of marriage garments.			
(iii) Paring of nails.			
(iv) Performance and rituals.			
(v) Drummers and musicians.			
(vi) Others.			

77. *Death.*

Part A—Beliefs and practices.

(Describe briefly for a Hindu high caste/ a Hindu lower caste/
 a Christian high caste/a Christian lower caste/Others).

- (a) Belief concerning death.
 (b) Preparing patient for death.
 (c) Transment of the corpse and its disposal.
 (d) Grave goods and sacrifices.
 (e) Exhumation and secondary disposal.
 (f) Period of mourning and pollution for different categories of kins.
 (g) Purificants.
 (h) Shrines and relics.
 (i) Rituals.
 (j) Other particulars.

Part B—Intercommunity relationship during death

Occasion	Religion and caste of the deceased	Names of religious and caste groups from whom services are obtained	Remarks
(a) Messenger.			
(b) Preparing the body for disposal.			
(c) Carrying the body to place of disposal.			
(d) Digging of grave.			
(e) Performance of rituals			
(f) Others.			

ANNEXURE II—*contd.*

78. Consensus among different ethnic groups about religious phenomena.

Religion	Caste	Consensus about			Remarks
		Supreme being	Other deities	Life after death	
1	2	3	4	5	6

79. Household deities among different communities

Religion	Caste	Household deity				Remarks
		Name	Image & other symbol	Place of worship	Particulars of worship	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

ANNEXURE III

EXPLORATORY SURVEY OF SOCIAL CONTOUR IN GOA VILLAGE HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

1. Name of village.
2. Name of concelho.
3. Name of head of household.
4. Particulars of the members of the household including the head.

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Caste	Gotra	How related to the head	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Education	Main occupation	Subsidiary occupation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

4. Particulars of the members of the household including of the head—*concl'd*

Place of work	Activity if not earning	Marital status	Age of marriage	Payment received during marriage	Payment given during marriage	How and where spend leisure time	Voluntary association, club, library of which member	Place outside Goa visited	Remarks
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22

5. Particulars of the members of the household staying outside the household.

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Caste	Gotra	How related to the head	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Education	Main occupation	Subsidiary occupation	Place of work	Activity if not earning	Marital status
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

5. Particulars of the members of the household staying outside the household—*concl'd*.

Age of marriage	Payment received during marriage	Payment given during marriage	How & Where spends leisure time	Voluntary association, club, library of which member	Places outside Goa visited	Present address	Since when	Purpose	Remittance sent home	Frequency of visit to home during three years	Remarks.
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27

ANNEXURE III—*contd.*

6. (a) Is there a deity or object of worship, including sacred plant in the house.
- (b) If yes, where is the deity or object of worship located in the house.
- (c) What is the name of the deity or object of worship and what is the form of worship.
7. If the household possesses land, give
- (a) Total area in acres.
- (b) Area comprising.

Category of land	Area according to nature of right			Remarks
	Owned	Leased in	Other	
1	2	3	4	5

(i) Homestead

(ii) Uncultivated

- (a) Under non-agricultural use
- (b) Fallow.

(iii) Cultivable land

- (a) Current fallow
- (b) Cultivated
- (c) Particulars of cultivated land

Location	Nature of right				Total		Owned land leased out	
	Owned and cultivated		Leased in land		No. of plots	Area	No. of plots	Area
	No. of plots	Area	No. of plots.	Area				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Inside the village

Outside the village

- (d) (i) In case of owned land, how and when did the family come to own land.
- (ii) (1) What is the land revenue.
- (2) has there been any recent change ?
- (e) In case, the household has leased in land of a private landlord.
- (i) Who is the landlord.
- (ii) Where does he stay (If outside the village, the distance) and what is his occupation.
- (iii) Since when has the land been leased in.
- (iv) (1) On what terms the land has has been leased in.
- (2) Is there any recent change.
- (v) Other aspects.

ANNEXURE III--*contd.*

- (f) In case, the household has leased in land of *comunidad*.
- (i) Name of the *comunidad*.
 - (ii) Since when leased in.
 - (iii) Procedure of taking lease.
- (iv) (1) Terms and conditions.
(2) Recent change if any.
- (v) Other aspects.
- (g) In case, the household has leased in Govt. land.
- (i) Since when leased in.
 - (ii) Procedure of taking lease.
 - (iii) (1) Terms and conditions.
(2) Recent change if any.
 - (iv) Other aspects.
- (h) If land has been lease out.
- (i) To how many tenants.
 - (ii) Since when.
 - (iii) On what terms ? Has there been any recent change...
- (i) If any cultivable land is lying fallow.
- (i) Since when it is lying fallow.
 - (ii) Why is it lying fallow.
- (j) Is the household cultivating any land by hired labour ? If so,
- (i) Quantity of land cultivated through hired labour.
 - (ii) Agricultural operations in which hired labourers are engaged.
 - (iii) No. of mandays for which hired labourers are engaged.
 - (iv) Average wage per day hired of labour.
 - (v) Religion and caste to which the hired labourers belong.
- (k) If the household uses improved varieties of any of the following, please give particulars as under.

Brief description	Since when adopted	Source from which adopted	Whether satisfactory result obtained	Remarks
-------------------	--------------------	---------------------------	--------------------------------------	---------

Improved seeds.

Chemical fertilisers.

Organic manures.

Pesticides.

Improved implements.

- (1) If the household has irrigated land.

(i) Source of water & nature of irrigation facilities.

ANNEXURE III—*contd.*

- (ii) Since when irrigation facility is available.
- (iii) Through what agencies the facility has been provided.
- (iv) Terms on which facility is obtained.
- (v) Whether there has been any change in the extent of cultivation, nature of crops, yield etc. due to irrigation facility.

8. If the household is engaged in fishing.

- (a) Where catches fish.
- (b) Nature of right in the area where catches fish.
- (c) Tools and implements.

Name of tool	Brief description.	No. of owned by households	When and wherefrom obtained	Price	Method of manipulation	Place where more suitable for operation	Type of fish for which more suitable.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(d) Season and type of fish.

Name of season	Area of fishing	Type of fish more available	Remarks
1	2	3	4

(e) Hours of day and type of fish.

Hour	Area of fishing	Type of fish	Remarks
1	2	3	4

(f) Organisation of work group for fishing.

(g) Brief description of operation.

(h) Average catch daily.

(i) Marketing and operation of middlemen.

(j) Transport.

(k) Preservation.

(l) Finance.

(m) Annual output.

ANNEXURE III—*contd.*

9. Particulars of other occupations

10. Indebtedness.

Amount	Source	Purpose	When taken	Rate of interest	Nature of security	Nature of document.	Amount repaid	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. Unemployment.

(a) Is any member of the household searching for a job ?

(b) If so, give the following details.

Name	Age	Sex	Academic qualification	Other proficiency	Nature of previous employment if any	Date of cessation of previous employment	Reason for cessation.	Any subsidiary work at present	Whether registered with any employment exchange.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

12. Sale and purchase of valuable assets during last three years.

Time of sale	Buyer's place	Occupation of buyer	Sale		Type of asset	Purchase price	Purchase			
			Average No	Sale price			Average No	Seller's occupation	Seller's place	Date of purchase
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Land
Livestock
Machinery, tools, equipments
Building
Jewellery & valuable
Investments
Other assets
Total

ANNEXURE III—*contd.*

13. Source of finance for capital expenditure.

	Personal saving	Borrowing			Sale of assets	Other sources	Total
		Govt & other financial institutions	Others	Total			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Item

Expenditure on construction and improvement of building and other structures.

Expenditure on land development.

Expenditure on new capital goods.

Expenditure on purchase of lands and other assets.

14. Major heads of income and expenditure during last year.

Major head	Gross income				Major head	Expenditure		
	Amount	Source		Amount		Incurred		
		Inside village	Outside village			inside village	Outside village	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Cultivation				Food				
Livestock and products				(a) Cereal.				
Wages				(b) Non-cereal.				
Arts & Crafts				Fuel & lighting				
Fishery				House rent and repair				
Forestry				Clothing				
Trade				Travelling				
Transport				Recreation				
Profession				Education				
Service				Other miscellaneous services.				
Rent				Interest				
				Rent				
Investments				Remittances				
Remittances				Hired labour				
Interest				Purchase for production (e.g. seed, manure etc.)				
Others				Others				
Total				Total				

ANNEXURE III—*contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Borrowing				Purchase of assets			
Principal received back				Construction & improvement of buildings & other structure			
Sale of assets				Land development			
Grand total				Grand total			

15. (a) Is there any child of school going age (6-14) in the household ?
 (b) Is the child reading in school . .
 (c) If so, (i) Is the informant satisfied with the type of education ?
 (ii) If not what improvement is wanted.
 (d) If there is a child of school going age, not going to school, why not going to school ?
16. (a) What are the castes and communities found in the village ?
 (b) Arrange the names of the communities in order of social status.
17. (a) Do some communities suffer from some social disabilities ?
 (b) Why are they ?
 (c) What are the social disabilities that they suffer from ?
18. Does the informant consider that any of the following castes suffer from any social disability in Goa or the neighbouring States.

Name of Caste	Traditional occupation	Nature of social disability, if suffered in Goa.	Nature of social disability, if suffered in neighbouring States	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Mahar				
Chambar				
Bhangi				
Mang				

19. Does the informant consider that any of the following communities has peculiarities of dress, dialect, religion and social organisation in Goa or the neighbouring States.

Name	Traditional occupation	Peculiarities, if any in Goa	Peculiarity, if any in neighbouring States	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Dhangar				
Sattarkar Kunbi				
Gaonkar Kunbi				
Yalip Kunbi				
Gavda Kunbi				
Sidhi.				

ANNEXURE III—*contd.*

20. (a) What are the occupations in the village ?
 (b) Arrange the occupations in order of social prestige.
 (c) What are the reasons why some occupations are considered to below.

21. Particulars of seven most respected persons in the village.

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Caste	Mother tongue	Education	Occupation	Office if any held.	How attained office	Reason why respected	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

22. Particulars of seven most influential persons in the village.

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Caste	Mother tongue	Education	Occupation	Office if any held.	How attained office.	Source of influence.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

23. What does the informant know about Asok, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Sivaji, Albuquerque, Rammohan Roy, Gandhi, Subhash Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Kennedy, Salazar, Radhakrishnan.
24. According to the informant what changes have been brought about as a result of liberation in the life of the people of
- (a) Village concerned.
 (b) Concelho under survey.
 (c) Goa as a whole.