

CHAPTER VIII

PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC ORGANISATION AND BEHAVIOUR

I. ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND PERSONALITY

An economic activity is an integral part of the social and cultural life. The economic organisation and behaviour are partly determined by the physical environment and they in turn determine the mode of life of the people. The food gathering activity is the primary activity in the social and individual life of a pre-literate, backward society. Hence the availability of food and resources of the food affect the personality structure of the members of that society. Whether the food grains are in scarcity or in abundance, the method of cultivation, the nature and kinds of

other means of subsistence etc. determine the inter-personal and inter-social relations and create certain typical attitudes and prejudices. The values stressed by the economic institutions of a people considered as a whole furnish significant cues to important differences in economic motivations. The acquirement of wealth is not to be lightly taken for granted as one of the basic drive of human beings. A detailed account of the economic behaviour and its relation to social and cultural life of the Dangis is given in this chapter. It is to be seen in what way it has affected the personality structure of a Dangi.

II. ECONOMICS OF PRE-LITERATE SOCIETY

The Dangis are a pre-literate people. So the economics of the Dangi society is somewhat different from that of the modern society. The economic relations of a modern country are wide and the economic structure is brittle. An event in any corner of the world is sufficient enough to turn upside down the economic structure of a civilised country. The economics of pre-literate and under

developed society like that of the Dangi is not so. It more or less remains unaffected. It does not mean that the principles governing the economic organisations of the pre-literate and civilised people are different. The primary motives and forces which expedite the economic activities and relations are the same. But the values and meanings attached to various practices are different. Secondly, the economic behaviour of an ādiwāsi is more governed by the local forces and circumstances.

III. THE NATURE OF THE DANGI ECONOMY

The Dangis once a nomadic tribe are now settled agriculturists of a lower grade who also hunt and tend cattle. Their's is a forest economy. The Dangi economic organisation is of the subsistence type, that is, it falls into the broad category of production - consumption economics. The International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) Committee on living and working conditions of the aboriginal populations in independent countries has classified the tribals of the world in five groups. The Dangis can be put in the third group of 'settled independent

farmers or stock raisers working on an individual or collective basis'.

The Dangi like other tribals is subject to the powers of nature, to the flora and fauna, to the hills and valleys, rivers and forests. His material equipment is comparatively simple which is not integrated into industrial organisation. His tools are those which he can shape well from the material available.

The economic considerations play a restricted part among the Dangis and all pre-literate people. For, their social behaviour is seldom governed by pure economic factors. The Economic factors have to function in a cultural matrix. "In every primitive group there is a problem of food supply in relation to population and this problem is not one realised by single individuals in isolation, but is dealt with as a collective question by some planned system of production and distribution".(1). Family ties, wider obligation to kinsfolk and to neighbours,

1. Firth, R. : Human Types. Nelson, 1956, p.73.

loyalty to chiefs and elders, respect for clan taboos, and beliefs in control of food and other things by spirits, ancestors, and gods; all play their part in their system'. There is a close association between the technical and ritual activities of the Dangis. The beginning of all the activities, for example, the beginning of the agricultural season, ploughing of the field, sowing the seeds, eating the first crops, etc. are sanctified by rituals. The rituals are directed towards promotion of fertility, control of incapable nature, the fear of the gods, and ancestors. These rituals are of great psychological importance. They bring the people nearer, bind them together, give them confidence against the fear of the unknown, and moreover, pave the line of work. Hence, culture is more important than either economic determinism or environmental forces.

IV. THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORK

The Dangis interest in the work and his environment is that of "survival in health". There is no motive of profit or gain behind it. He uses

his tools as ^{he} means to an end, viz. to satisfy his needs. He is not the slave of his tools. Attraction of money or material gain is not so much an incentive for work. Work for its own sake is not regarded as a duty. There is no saying like 'Satan finds mischief for idle hands to do'.

Time is not an important element in the economic process. Payment is not calculated on the basis of quantity of work done or energy spent. A Dangi may walk down a long distance or carry a weight for you and expect nothing. This does not mean that the Dangis are idle or slow at what they are supposed to be doing and have no economic sense. When the work itself calls for industry or even haste they respond. For example, after the festival of Holi when they are busy in lopping and spreading the branches of the trees in the fields, they work tirelessly for many days together. At the same time there is no plan of finishing the work within a particular period. He takes his own time to finish the work. The response to the call of work is always within the sphere of the needs of the task. But a general responsibility to be busy does not

lie with them. 'Remaining idle for the sake of it' does not get general approval. Iku of Kalibel told me 'Those who do not work do not get food, and are not appreciated by others. What shall we eat if we do not work ? A girl who cares more for toileting is not thought to be industrious and does not get preference as a house wife. For, if she is hardworking how can she get time for toileting ?'

A Dangi is well acquainted with the flora and fauna of his land. He knows the names, properties and uses of various trees, vegetable plants and roots. They make a plentiful use of Mohura flowers. The use of mangoes and pumpum is not unknown. Amla and Harde trees are found here and there but they do not seem to be making use of them. The Dangis are well aware of the medicinal value of the plants and roots. In cases of sickness, scorpion or serpent bite, cough, bodyache, cuts by instruments, first aid treatment of their medicines is given. "Everybody and each of us does not know the specific use of each medicinal root", said Narsubhai, "Only the experts know. But we collect about fifteen to twenty roots and the mixture is

then taken into use. Of these roots one is sure to be really effective. It works, and hence cures the patient".

A Dangi can distinguish between a poisonous and a non-poisonous root and knows the technique of turning a poisonous root into an edible one. He also possesses a detailed knowledge about the quality and use of woods, the nature of rocks, stone and earth. In brief, in a Dangi there is an economic outlook of how to make use of things available from his environment.

V. THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE

"We are pre-eminently agriculturists. Labour is the occupation of leisure in non-agricultural season. Hunting, fishing and jungle products are our spare time activities. The earning from the agriculture is not sufficient to meet our needs. So we have to take up other supplementary activities to earn and live". The 1951 census reports clearly show the pre-eminence of agriculture.

		Males	Females
Total population	47282	25196	22086
Tribal population	44269		
Persons depending on agriculture	42733	22344	20389
Sub-classes :			
(i) Self supporting		9393	199
(ii) Non-earning dependents		10573	13508
(iii) Earning dependents		2378	6682
Cultivation of :			
(i) Land owned		21542	19793
(ii) Land unowned		187	131
(iii) Cultivating labourer		610	462
Non-cultivating owners of land		5	3
Non-agricultural classes :	4549	2852	1697

VI. LAND AND FOOD GATHERING ACTIVITIES

A Dangi farmer is the owner of his land. One who cultivates a piece of land owns it also. The ownership of the land does not give the right of sale or giving in gift or mortgage. Government has

reserved every right to the requisitioning of the land for its own use. A landless Dangi on application to the government can get a piece of land for cultivation. Presently 50,000 to 70,000 acres of land are under cultivation. The pakka land and revenue measurement is not done so far, but the pieces of land have been demarcated by practice and convention.

The average holding per family is 8.1 acres which is not at all economically sufficient to maintain a family. Moreover, these holdings are ^{not} economic also. Hardly a Dangi owns a continuous piece of land. His holdings are in two or three or more fragments.

The land revenue payable yearly to the government is a fixed sum of Rs. 6.50 nP. per plough. A plough is equal to that area of land which a single man can cultivate with one pair of bullocks. It usually amounts to seven acres. The unit of payment of revenue for holding more or less than this is half plough. A Dangi holding land less than one plough pays Rs. 3.25 nP. while one holding more than one plough but less than two ploughs pays Rs. 9.75 nP.

In each village there is some communal land for common use only. It is owned by nobody. This includes the cow pastures, the village cemetery, lands occupied by roads, etc.

VII. AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

"The festival of Holi", said Kolgyabhai, "marks the end of the spring season and starting of the agricultural season. Our method of cultivation is very crude and primitive. The use of a plough and bullocks is a recent instruction^{du}. We used only a hand drawn small wooden plough". The reasons are obvious. For, the Dangis are too poor to own a pair of bullocks. Secondly, it is very difficult to use a plough with bullocks on sloppy land. Thirdly, the holdings are so small that a man could till his k land himself with his own hand.

First, in the beginning of the agricultural season the trees are lopped. In the months of April and May one would find all the time on his way males on the top of the trees, cutting the branches, women and other helpers collecting the branches and making the bundles. The bundles are brought to the field and

spread out there one to one and half feet high. All available cow dung, coarse grass leaves, reeds, stalks, dead bamboos etc. are also collected. This collection is burnt and the ashes^{are} spread over the ground. This process is called 'Rab Bharvi'* (to fill rab).

This process of rab is over before the first rains which are sometimes as early as the last week of May. After the first rains, the fields are ploughed and seeds such as^{or} Nagli, Paddy are sown in the burnt area. After a few days and rains the seeds germinate and when the saplings are about six to eight inches high, they are transplanted in the ploughed land with deep furrows. Once the saplings are fixed in the ground their job and worry are over.

* The Dangi practice of 'Rab Bharvi' is prevalent in most of the primitive tribes in India and elsewhere. The Naikadas, the Dhotia, the Dublas, and the Bhils of Gujarat employ this mode of cultivation. This they call 'Daziyu'. This practice is known as 'Jhum' among the Kukis of Lushai hills, as 'Daya' in Northern India, as 'Poduar' in Southern India, as 'Bogada' in the Ganjam agency tracts, as 'Deppa' in Bastar states, as 'Khil' in the Himalayas, as 'Kumari' in Western Ghats. It is known as 'Chitemene' among the North plateau tribes of Northern Rhodesia as mentioned by R. Firth.

The Dangis do not see the necessity of transplanting the saplings in a systematic manner or removing the weeds and unnecessary growth of grass. Nor do they see the need of keeping a watch over the growing crops. It is left to the nature to do its work. When the crops are ready they are harvested and taken to the threshing floor. Corn is cleansed of the stalks and stems^m at leisure and the produce is sent home. Because of the inferior methods of cultivation and carelessness the returns are very low.

All kinds of crops are not taken at a time. Crops generally taken are nagli, paddy, varai, banti, pulse, khurasani etc. Except in nagli and paddy, in no other crops filling 'rab' and transplantation are required.

The people whose fate and fortune depend much on the forces beyond their control, try to seek and retain their confidence by deifying and propitiating them. This is quite true and in quite fitness about the agricultural people. Among us, the civilised Hindoos, our most of the festivals and gods are centred around agricultural activities. It naturally

should be and is more so about the pre-literate people like the Dangis. Their gods like moonson god, kanasari goddess, mountain god, and festivals like Holi, Tera, Tij, Pola, etc. are centred around the food-gathering activities. The following table shows the months of agricultural activities and the festivals falling therein. It suggests the relation between economic activities and rituals.

Dangi Months	Christian Months	Names of the agricultural activities	Festivals
Fagun	Mar.-April	Lopping the trees	Holi, Simgan
Chaitra	April-May	Lopping and collecting the branches	Jatra
Vaishakha	May-June	Spreading the branches in the fields	Akha Tij
Jeth	June-July	Filling the Rab, ploughing	
Akhad	July-Aug.	Ploughing, sowing seeds	
Savan	Aug.-Sept.	Transplanting the saplings	Tera
Bhadjyo	Sept.-Oct.	Watching the crops, hoeing and cutting weeds.	Eating first crops
Asso	Oct.-Nove.	Harvesting, bringing the crop to the threshing floor	Diwali
Kartak	Nov.-Dec.	Taking home the produce.	

VIII. LABOUR

Labour is a major secondary source of subsistence which keeps ^{the} Dangi occupied in non-agricultural days. Labour is of two types, physical labour and carting. There are three forms of physical labour. Labour in the fields, labour in the jungle coupes which is called 'Kabadu' in forest regions of Gujarat, and labour on government works.

For most of the families the corn they produce hardly lasts upto the next season. Hence, they have to subsist on labour. A landless Dangi depends merely on the income from labour. Every year about forty jungle coupes are opened and given on contract. The locations of the coupes are spread over the whole of the area so that practically every village has an easy access to the place of labour. The work in the coupe is done in three stage, felling, logging and carting. The felling and logging form one part and carting is a second one. Generally, two or three persons work together on one tree. First, the tree is uprooted from the very low base of the trunk with an axe. It is pulled down with the

ropes in such a way that the adjacent trees are not injured. If the trunk is not defective, or there are no sprouts in between it is taken as one piece, otherwise it is cut into two or three pieces. Next work is removing the bark, and finishing the trunk. The bark is removed with the axe, Then a semi-circular sharp iron plate instrument is rubbed on the surface of the trunk. It makes the surface smooth and shining. This log is stamped by the forest department and is ready to be removed outside.

Removing the log from the coupe to the warehouse or depot is called carting. The paths leading to the coupe are not always suitable for vehicles. Sometimes the coupe is located in a deep valley. So the logs are to be dragged up and taken out to the place where the carts or motor trucks are waiting. The dragging up of the logs is a very difficult task. Iron chains or ropes are fastened with the log and it is pulled up by the 'Helas' (he buffaloes). If the log is not too heavy it is dragged up by a group of men.

The Dangis know their jobs very well. Those who own a cart and a pair of bullocks or he buffaloes engage in carting. The work in the coups lasts for about five months, from November to May. Not all the Dangis engage themselves for all the days.

The payment of the labourers is made on the basis of work done. Two or three persons together can fell and finish one big tree, or two small trees in a day. Average wages they get is one and a half rupees per day. The rates of carting are fixed per cubic feet on the basis of distance between the coupe and the depot. A Dangi earns about rupees fifty to one hundred and fifty depending upon the days he works and trips he makes.

A Dangi farmer who alone cannot meet the demands of his work hires other Dangis as labourers. A labourer is engaged for the whole day. As the wages the labourer gets one afternoon meal and six 'seers of Nagli' if he is a male, and four and half seer if she is a female labourer. The Dangis are engaged as labourers on the construction works like the bridge and road constructions undertaken by the public

works or the forest departments of the government on the daily wages of one and a quarter or one and half rupee. The Dangis have to attend 'Begar' a call for compulsory duty to the forest department. It is their obligation in return to the concessions they get for the use of forest products. They get a nominal sum as payment for the labour. The sum is equally distributed among all. During my tour Kolgyabhai of Kirli told me that in 1959 each house of the village got four rupees in this way.

IX. SOME OTHER FOOD GATHERING ACTIVITIES

Fishing, hunting, poultry keeping, collecting forest products, etc. are some other minor sources of subsistence.

Fishing is a job of a holiday. Once a week or fortnight a group of villages^s have a programme of 'Dahad' (collective fish catching activity). Sometimes all the members of the families go for fishing. After cooking food in the noon they carry the fishing equipments and go to the water reservoir. One method of catching^{the} fish is with the use of a net and other

instruments. The other method is by poisoning water with the mixture of powder of some roots like Beda, Iahandul, Gal, etc. The programme is collective but the collection is not communal. Everybody keeps his own collection. The fish are dried and can be preserved for many days.

Hunting is not pursued as a profession. Hunting of wild animals like Bisan, deo sambhar, deo bhekhar, or Nilgiri cow is prohibited. In days of scarcity and sometimes for the sake of pleasure a Dangi goes out in hunt of animals like rats, rabbits, squirrels, parrots, etc. Sometimes the prohibited animals are also killed. If a big animal is killed, it is cut into small pieces and cooked and distributed to all the villages. Those who are absent, their share is kept and sent to them. A small hunt is distributed only among a few friends.

In every family at least there are a few chickens. The poultry is not maintained as a source of income. The chickens and cocks are offered to the gods as sacrifice on various occasions, and secondly chicken preparation is a good dish on some festival day. It can be sold to one who needs it also.

The Dangis collect the Mohwra flowers and other fruits and use them as a substitute for food. The Mohwra flowers can be used for preparing the native liquor also. Many families run short of corn in the beginning of the monsoon season. Hence, they search out the vegetable roots, make them edible by a certain process and subsist on them for many a days before the crops are ready. They also sometimes collect honey, gum, wax from the forest and sell them to the merchants or others at a very nominal rate. The bees from the honey-comb are driven away by producing smoke from the fire under the comb.

X. TRADE

The Dangis occasionally sell a few things like bamboo baskets, gum, wax, honey, etc. to outsiders and earn a few chips. The enterprising and reliable persons are encouraged to keep contracts of very small jungle coup^es and to deal in bamboo business. Sayaji of Iskhandi in April 1957 told me that, that year he earned Rs. 450/- in business. But because of lack of business tactics, skill, self-

confidence and money, and because of ignorance very few Dangis are in business.

XI. ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF THE DANGIS AND CONCESSIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT

The Dangis as a forest tribe enjoy some rights and privileges of using the land for cultivation and using the forest products. A Dangi has rights of cultivation, grazing, lopping, collecting, cutting bamboos and tress for domestic purposes, in the protected forests.

Every twenty years, a Dangi family is authorised to get one 'mafi cart', a cart full of timber logs and bamboos free of charge, for building his house. One 'mafi cart' contains the following items. The approximate price in the market is also shown along with.

One big timber piece to be used as Dhāran	...	...	Rs. 40-00
Eight timber pieces to be used as Avalwalis and Kutwalis	...	...	Rs. 200-00
Twenty timber pieces to be used as Thamblis	...	...	Rs. 400-00
One hundred bamboos for making walls and covering the roof	...	...	Rs. 400-00
Fifty pieces as Dandās	...	...	Rs. 160-00
Total			Rs. 1200-00

Though the house building materials are given free, every Dangi cannot afford to build a house from the 'mafi cart'. For, it costs about Rs. 300 to 400 for carpentary work, labour and earthen tiles for the roof. A poor Dangi has no money to meet these expenses.

XII. LIVE STOCK

The cattle are in an important asset of a Dangi family. Bhavdu of Subir told me, "We are with our cattle. The cattle share the same house with us". Cows, calves, bullocks, he-buffaloes, and goats are generally domesticated. ^{The} Dangis do not keep buffaloes. The reason is that the buffalo is only a milk giving animal. It is not useful in agriculture, and the Dangis have no taste for milk. The cows are reared not for milk, but for getting the calves and bullocks. The he-buffaloes are imported from outside and share all the duties with the bullocks. The following is the table of strength of cattle in 115 families :

Animal	Strength	No. of families out of 115
Cows	309	78
Goats	183	35
Bullocks) He-buffaloes)	305 40	82
Chickens	429	76

The Dangi cows and bullocks are of an inferior quality because of the scarcity of water and proper nourishment. The cows do not give milk except for a few days in monsoon. The cow is not milked but its calf is allowed to suck.

"The cattle are an item of wealth" said Bablubhai of Galkund, "The greater the number of cows and oxen a Dangi has, greater is his wealth". The Dangis acquire cattle for social ambition too. The attitude of the Dangis towards their cattle varies from detachment to intense affection. They have ritualistic veneration for the cattle as found in the worship of the cows and bullocks. The bead of the cow is a taboo at least to the Kunbis and the Warlis.

A Bhil has not so much love for his cattle as a Kunbi has.

A wealthy father gives a cow to his daughter in marriage. The bullocks are given on hire for ploughing the fields. The owner in return gets a few maunds of corn. A full grown goat brings seven to eight rupees to its owner. The goat is kept both for milk and meat. It is offered as a sacrifice to the gods and goddesses also.

Out of 115 families only 31 families owned 36 carts. A cart is used only in going on labour in carting. As a vehicle for journey the cart is rarely used.

XIII. PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The patterns of economic behaviour are of two types, economic relations with the outsiders - non-Dangis, and economic relations among themselves.

Economic relations of a Dangi with outsiders especially with ^{the} merchants and contractors are always in terms of money and they are through the price

mechanism as elsewhere. A Dangi may sell his surplus corn and get the cash. He also gets cash payment for labour on the coup^es and construction works. His dealings in the weekly 'hat' (bazaar), purchase of clothes, ornaments, utensils, instruments, etc. ^{are} ~~is~~ always in terms of money.

The prices prevailing in the local market are comparatively higher than those in the general market. There are two reasons for it. One, the merchants have to travel a long distance to come to the business places in the district. Secondly, the prices are determined as under imperfect or monopolistic competition. The Dangi cannot in any way influence the market rates, for he as a consumer has no upper hand over the seller.

A Dangi does his major purchases twice a year on 'Diwali' and 'Holi'. He has money in his hand from the sale of his crops. He comes to the business place like Ahwa or Waghai, a long distance from his village. He is in a hurry to go back, he pays the price demanded by the merchant without arguing. Similar is the reason why he gets less price of his

sales. He wants money badly and is in haste to dispose of his wares. Moreover, the Dangis are ignorant of the general market rates and hence, the businessmen exploit this ignorance.

At present the weekly bazaars are held at the following places :

Day	Village	Range
1. Monday	Singana	Subir
2. Tuesday	Galkund	Galkund
3. Wednesday	Waghai	Waghai
4. Thursday	Kalibel	Menhskatri
	Davadahad	Pimpri
5. Friday	Ahwa	Ahwa
6. Saturday	Ghubita	Ahwa
7. Sunday	Gharvi	Pimpri
	Pipaldahad	Piplaidevi

The Dangi has an economic sense. He knows the difference between 'dear' and 'cheap', and is affected by the increase in prices of ^{the} things. He shows preferences in choice of things and chooses the better. He understands the value of work and asks for the return in terms of money.

XIV. ECONOMIC RELATIONS AMONG THEMSELVES

The economic relations among themselves are governed by barter. Corn and labour can be given on loan and returned. Corn is never given free as alms. Interest on corn is as much as 25 per cent, i.e. for getting one maund of corn on loan he has to return one and a quarter maund. Even money is also given on credit on interest. A landless Dangi may help the others in cultivating his land and gets some share in the crops. The bullocks and the plough are lent to those who have not.

Bride-price is also a form of economic distribution. The relatives contribute eight annas or a rupee to the father of the bridegroom to help him a little to pay the amount of the bride price. He is in turn expected to give the same sum when a similar occasion is celebrated in the family of these contributors. It is a social gesture showing co-operation and fellow feeling. It is a social obligation too.

On the occasion of marriage the services of the people as the pipe player, drum beater and the relatives are recognised in terms of money and gifts.

The bride's father has to give clothes and blankets as gifts to his daughter's in-laws and relatives. It is with the expectation that they continue to give co-operation which they have given so far.

Right to own and use the property is recognised by the Dangi. Property is conceived not only in terms of cash money, but in terms of quantity of corn and number of cattle. A man of property is called 'Assāmi' - a well-to-do man. He is respected and held in high esteem. He enjoys prestige and status in the village. He and his family members will never have to starve even if there is famine. A well-to-do man hires labourers to help him, gives corn on loan to the needy, hence he is a great help to others.

The Dangis believe that man must be allowed to enjoy his property without interference. One must not use the things of the other man without paying him. The services are never expected without material consideration and recognition. The scarcity of food which creates food anxiety, abysmal poverty, attitudes towards corn and recognition of the right to hold and enjoy property have an important

bearing on the personality of the Dangi. The Dangi believes in fate so he accepts his life as it is, does not think of scolding others for his miseries and starvation. Corn is deified as goddess. So a Dangi does not think of stealing corn. Moreover, as he recognises the right to hold and enjoy property he does not feel jealous of others. These factors also suggest how a Dangi develops an attitude of laissezfaire towards life. This attitude in turn explains why a Dangi accepts life as it is and succumbs to the difficult situations.

XV. THE PART OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The Dangi female is as hard-working and industrious as the male. She manages the household, over and above is helpful to the husband practically in all his activities. She may not be able to undertake the strenuous tasks like climbing the trees or lopping the branches, but she helps the husband in collecting, and spreading and burning the branches, sowing seeds, etc. Women also are engaged as labourers in ^{the} fields as well as ^{on the} construction works. Sometimes the female alone go for fishing too. If the work in the

fields is strenuous for men, going down the hill and fetch water from there is all the more strenuous for females.

A wife is always with the husband in doing sales and purchases in the market. The woman is a great economic asset in a family. This factor helps in understanding the strained relations between the sexes, the male and the female. If a wife runs away, her husband loses in her an economic asset, the bride price he paid, and also an object of sex satisfaction.

The children are not a liability to a Dangi family. How to feed the child is not a worry for the parents. From the early age of nine or ten years children become active helpers to the parents. As one Dangi put it to me, "a new child has also two hands to work". Except feeding and providing a bare clothing the father has to spend nothing after the child. The child is an economic asset.

XVI. THE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

A Dangi's life is an illustration of the struggle for existence. Whatever a Dangi earns from

his efforts is never sufficient to meet even his primary needs. He is always underfed and half-naked. He is working hard. The corn he produces hardly lasts up to the next season. There are many days in the year when he and ~~their~~ children get only one meal or have to subsist only on 'rab' - a rice preparation. Compulsory fast for ten to twenty days especially in monsoon is not uncommon for many persons.

Following is the table of income groups of 115 families. The figures given here are not exact, but only approximate and in round numbers. The Dangis are illiterate and ignorant of many things. For example, nobody knows his exact age. Nobody knows the exact quota of land he possesses. He would say 'I possess so many pieces or so many acres of land.' Nobody bothers to weigh the corn he has produced, and knows the amount of income and expenditure. They merely guess and depend largely on their judgements. By asking and re-asking the same man and cross-checking his answers by asking his friends, I have tried to be as near as possible to accuracy.

Income in rupees per year	Number of families	Percentage
Less than Rs.100	7	6
100 to 200	21	18.1
200 to 300	21	18.1
300 to 400	12	10.4
400 to 500	10	8.7
500 to 600	11	9.6
600 to 700	8	7.1
700 to 800	6	5.2
800 to 900	6	5.2
900 to 1000	2	1.8
1000 to 2000	9	8.0
More than 2000	2	1.8

The survey shows two things, one that the Kunbis are economically better than ^{the} Warlis and the Bhils, and second, there is abysmal poverty ^{for} ~~in~~ the income ^{is very low} from agriculture and labour. In two families one son from each ~~was~~ in service.

XVII. PATTERNS OF INCOME
AND EXPENDITURE

The main sources of income are agricultural products, and labour in the fields, ^ecoups and construction works. The Patel, the Karbhari and the Jaglya get a stipend from government as an additional source of income. Agriculture is the major source yielding 65 to 75 per cent of the total income while the income from labour and other sources is about 25 to 35 per cent.

The items of expenditure are food stuffs, clothing, tobacco, village and family social ceremonies, land revenue and payment of stipends and interest of government loan. The primary need is to live and to live one has to eat. 65 per cent of his total expenditure a Dangi makes on food stuffs and things like oil, salt, spices, bumla fish, etc. Clothing is the second expensive item. A male requires at least two short dhoties, two shirts, and one piece of paghree. A woman requires three to four blouses, three sarees and two 'fadakis' in a year. They spend 13 to 15 per cent of their total expenditure on clothing and ornaments. The village

ceremonies like worship of god, or celebration of festivals are collectively performed and the expense is born equally by all. One has to spend money and celebrate the occasions like ^{the} birth of a child, ^{the} marriage of a son or a daughter and death etc. The marriage of the son is too expensive as one has to pay the bride price. It comes to 8 to 10 per cent of his total expenditure. Each and every adult Dangi is a chain smoker. He gets the bidi leaves free from the forest but has to purchase the tobacco powder. He always carries with him some quantity of bidi leaves and tobacco powder and a hollow bamboo case containing a steel plate, a flint stone and cotton. Children do not smoke. Tea is not so universal as tobacco. It is too expensive for a Dangi. He spends 5 to 7 per cent on such habits. The land revenue and other money he pays to the government is about 3 to 5 per cent.

The Dangis do not have to spend anything on education, fuel and entertainment. Education and one time meal in the schools is provided free by the school board in the district. The firewood they

collect from the jungles. There are no professional institutions nor individuals who entertain the public. People gather together, dance, sing and enjoy.

	percent
Food stuffs ...	65 to 68
Clothing ...	13
Social ceremonies..	7
Tobacco and other habits ...	6
Land revenue ...	3
Miscellaneous ...	3

29.1 per cent of the families can do some saving, while 70.4 per cent families either live from hand to mouth or have deficit budgets and remain underfed.

XVIII. DEBT

A Dangi is not a debtor. Like other pre-literate tribes, ^{the} Dangis are not under the clutches of the eternal creditor who is known as 'sowkar'.

If at all a Dangi is a debtor he is mainly a debtor of ^{the} government from whom he has been issued loans and 'tagavis' for cart, bullocks, house, well etc.

Out of 115 families

17 families had borrowed corn from other Dangis

12 families owed Rs. 540/- to the merchants or creditors

53 families each owing to the government, the amount ranging from Rs. 60 to 1500.

The government is not a mercenary lender like the 'sowkar'. Hence, the Dangi debtor is not pressed or mentally tortured to repay the debt. So the traditional ills and misfortunes arising from the debt are far and far.

Below are given the budgets of three families which would give a fair idea of the economic prosperity (^{or} poverty) of the Dangis.

XIX. BUDGET

Budget 1

Name : Santubhai Dhavjibhai Patel

Members of the family : 3 males)
 2 females)
 4 children) Total : 9

Village : Kirli

Income in Rupees352-00 64 maunds of
 Nagli

180-00 15 maunds Rice

32-00 4 maunds Adad

12-00 Chillies

250-00 Labour and
 cartingExpenditure in Rupees

265-00 48 maunds Nagli

96-00 8 mds. Rice

32-00 4 mds. Adad

10-00 Oil (Re. 1 per
 seer)

25-00 Other food stuffs

50-00 Tobacco and Tea

20-00 Repair of
 instruments135-00 Bride price in
 the marriage of
 the son and other
 social ceremonies.

125-00 Clothing for all

6-50 Land revenue

50-00 Labour payment

10-00 Miscellaneous

826-00 Total Rupees824-50 Total Rupees

Budget 2

Name : Bapubhai Amadbhai Powar

Members of the family : 1 male)
 1 female)
 3 children) Total : 5

Land : 5 acres

Village : Kirli

Income in Rupees

66-00	12 maunds Nagli
8-00	1 maund Adad
10-00	1 maund Tugar Dal
84-00	7 maunds Rice
45-00	Labour for 30 days
<hr/> 213-00	<hr/> Total

Expenditure in Rupees

27-50	5 maunds Nagli
8-00	1 maund Adad
10-00	1 maund Tugar
24-00	2 maunds Paddy
75-00	15 maunds of corn on loan
60-00	Clothing
15-00	Tobacco
3-25	Land revenue
15-00	Social ceremonies
20-00	Oil, salt, and other food stuffs.
<hr/> 257-75	<hr/> Total

Budget 3

Name : Kolgyabhai Dajubhai Bhoi Kunbi

Members of the family : 1 male) Total : 4
 2 females)
 1 child)

Land : 13 acres

Village : Kirli

Income in Rupees

48-00	4 maunds Rice
110-00	20 maunds Nagli
46-00	8 maunds Warai
8-00	1.50 maunds corn in labour
360-00	Labour and carting
<u>572-00</u>	Total

Expenditure in Rupees

24-00	2 maunds Rice
82-50	15 maunds Nagli
28-00	5 maunds Warai
40-00	Oil, salt, fish and other food stuff.
110-00	Clothing
15-00	Tobacco, Tea
40-00	Social ceremonies, Birth of son.
26-50	Land revenue and stipend of loan.
35-00	Payment to labourers in form of corn.
15-00	Miscellaneous
<u>416-00</u>	Total

This man has debt of Rs. 250/- which includes Rs. 180/- government tagavi and Rs. 70/- to the money lender and to the merchants.

XX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The economy~~ies~~ of the Dangi people is that of a pre-literate society. They are the settled agriculturists of a lower grade. Their's is a forest economy. Their attitude towards work is practical, that is 'work for work's sake' has no appeal to them.

Labour, hunting, fishing, collecting jungle products, trade are other subsidiary means of ^usubsistence. A glance at their mode of living and patterns of income and expenditure suggests that they live a very hard life and have to remain without food for many a times in a year. In days of scarcity they get corn on loan. Economically they are very backward and poor. Scarcity of food and food anxiety have coloured their attitudes and relations with other people and objects.

The social and religious life, celebration of the festivals, their gods and rituals are connected with the economic activities of the Dangis. For example, it can be seen that each agricultural activity is connected with some festival. The beginning of each agricultural activity is sanctified by some ritual. These rituals are of great psychological importance. The nature of economy, the attitudes towards work and the attitudes towards food and corn, method and technique of cultivation, the cycle of yearly activities are important factors which influence the personality of the Dangi.