SETTINGS OF THE ALSIGARH GRAM PANCHAYAT

Traditional Backdrop

The Alsigarh Gram Panchayat is found to be grounded in a social backdrop structured of two aspects: (1) The village systems and (2) the state system. The village system refers to social structure which is a peculiar set of interrelationships patterned into social cultural, economic and political dimensions of life in the villages of the panchayat. The state system signifies a set of politico-administrative interrelationships between the tribals and the state within and beyond the village systems of the panchayat.

The traditional village system is a consequence of interplay between two major factors; namely, (i) the territorial affinities and (ii) the kinship-based affinities. The patterns of relationships emerging out of the process of interactions are observed as spatial, social, cultural, economic and political structures interspersed and interwoven into each other. The affinities, bonds or solidarities of spatial proximities amidst the people have been concretized into a system of socio-territorial units such as neighbourhood, phala (sector), paal (village) and region in the traditional Bhil setting of southern Rajasthan. Their smallest socio-territorial units as elsewhere, but rarely perceivable in their case, i.e., neighbourhood, falls short of being as much effective as to meet their communal requirements arising out of their life crises such as birth, marriage, death, socio-ethical aberrations, external dangers and natural calamities while dwelling in widely dispersed huts in the uneven and hazardous topography. But, rather, it catered to the immediate needs of fellow feeling, leisure, collective working on a farm, hut-building and conflict resolution at any odd hours just beyond the boundary of a family. Generally it poses difficulties for an outsider to take cognizance of the neighbourhood, specially in the high hills, thick forests and rugged topography. Instead, phala consisted of a number of the
huts dispersed on a part of land bound by natural markers is the next but effective smallest socio-territorial unit for organization of social life in the traditional Bhil setting. It provided its members with a good number of opportunities for interaction while carrying on daily chores of life such as fetching of drinking water, tending of their cattle, collective working on fields; ritual performances related to birth, marriage, death, etc; and collective thatching of a hut, silt cleaning of a water tank, tilling and harvesting of a farm, etc. It represents a socio-cultural institutional complex generally of families, lineages and clans, sometimes inclusive of even castes and religious identities, evincing solidarity by collective propitiation of deities, mourning on a death, participation in fields and settlement of disputes through bhaanijgadias (reputational leaders). A phala may consist of only a few huts such as the up-coming, Dhindwhaar of Pai and Naala of Alsigarh confined amidst high hills; or the one of a large number of huts such as the burgeoning Waada of Alsigarh. Process of phala formation is a gradual work of the excessive population from an existing phala flowing out into some nearest virgin land distinct by natural markers such as high hills, streamlets, criss-crossing rivulets and undulated lands, in course of time, assuming a separate name derived of identity of the natural situation. In a physiographic sense, the natural markers defined size, shape and nature of the multiplying phalas; some of which may be as big as seemingly a village and the others very small. A set of phalas with their distinct (natural) markers is an ideal Bhil village, a mosaic of variegated landscapes, as obtained in the case of Pai; or else, in absence of apparent markers the one becomes of the continuously outgrowing phalas as to be seen in the case of Alsigarh. In the Bhil parlance, a village resembles with a paal (valley) confined by hills or/and a streamlet/rivulets/ridges which are scale over by the paalvis (valley-dwellers) growing in number during a gradual and continuous process of its differentiation into phalas. The paal which may be a network of interrelated or even undifferentiated phalas provides a village with its physical, socio-structural and normative character composed of a number of social formations such as family, neighbourhood, lineage, clan, and even castes and religious groups; cultural organizations such as seasonal fairs, periodic worship of deities, religious congregations, death feasts (nangtas), gavari, etc; economic structures like sanda (collective co-operation), jajmani, sahukari (indebtedness), property system of mango/mahua trees, forest property, etc and political institutions such as the gameti (headman), the bhaanijgadias, waatawaalas (reputational leaders), the bhopa (religious leader), representatives of the state, etc. At first instance, resembling with Robert Redfield's Little Community (Redfield 1953) characterized by its smallness, distinctness homogeneity and self sufficiency, it has been the most effective unit of social organization in the traditional Bhil setting of the southern Rajasthan. However, self sufficiency of a paal is restricted by a pattern of socio-cultural relationships spread beyond its physical boundaries, i.e., an inter-paal network or an operative region for drawing life partners, participation in fairs, festivals and gavari dance, exchange of agricultural surplus for essentials and deciding the disputes regarding women, marriage, elopement, adultery, etc. Such a regional structure consisted of a large number of families, neighbourhoods, lineages, clans, paals/villages and some of castes and religious groups, beyond the paals/villages of the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat is found spread up to the Jhadol-Baghpura-Madri network in the west, Udaipur in the east, Kherwara in the South and Kalibas in the north.

The Bhil settlement pattern cutting across the various socio-territorial structures is peculiarly characterized by wide dispersal of huts, built with the nearest available material such as wood, earth and stone, generally on hill tops or slopes allowing them a total view of the surrounding lands for cultivation or of some impending danger. This pattern,
to some extent, resembles the one of dispersed dhaanis (houses) in villages of the Thar Desert in the western Rajasthan - a reality came into being with the increasing sense of law and order under the British influence over the princely states of the western Rajasthan, i.e., Jodhpur, Barmer, Jaisalmer, Bikaner and Nagour, to meet the agricultural requirement for looking after crops and cattle at the same spot. But the dhaanis of the Desert characterized by the caste structure fundamentally differ from the Bhil huts of the southern Rajasthan characterized by the tribal social structure. Briefly, the Bhil social structure is, therefore, characterized by a dual process of downward differentiation and upward integration of a multiplicity of socio-territorial units such as neighbourhood, phala, paal and region encompassing social, cultural, religious, economic and political formations within their matrix.

Contrarily, the patterns of social relationships, i.e., a socio-cultural matrix of families, lineages, clans, castes and religious groups as consequents of the affinities originating from a common descent (blood), sexual alliance and shared faiths of the Bhil are found distributed in their different diameters of coverage over the socio-territorial matrix. Family consisted of certain role structures is a basic unit of social organization of both the types; viz, the socio-territorial and the socio-cultural structures. A Bhil family is a patriarchic structure of rudimentary roles based on age and sex, generally interchangeable; housed mostly in a single room hut with sheep, goats and poultry and cattle and hearth in its covered varandah. Passing through dynamics of several phases, an incomplete conjugal family becomes complete with the birth of first issue, assumes jointness with the marriage of the eldest son, keeps moving between its nuclear and joint forms with its continuous differentiation owing to their distinct tradition of separating a son soon after his marriage and, ultimately, jointness persists as the parents continue to live with the youngest married son until they pass away. Therefore, the household size of a family, due to its constant cock shuttling from nuclear to joint and vice versa, was never a large one. At present, more of a person's life is spent in a joint family because every married son is separated mostly after the next one is married and the last one remains there for ever. While traditionally being in practice of shifting cultivation (Erskince 1908: 42-43) and of food gathering, the Bhil families, today, belong to the settled agriculturists-in-transition rearing cattle, sheep, goats and poultry alongwith unskilled labour and a few other occupations such as shop-keeping. A lineage consisted of a number of families headed by the eldest of their members is an effective intra-village unit of social organization cutting across neighbourhoods and phalas, worshipping a few common bhomias and mutually cooperating in agricultural and day-to-day activities. A clan gotra is a unit of social organization of still a higher level cutting across various socio-territorial units such as neighbourhoods, phalas, paals sharing common beliefs in a gotra-deity (female) and organizing occasional festivities around the deity in every village and activising its members on a dispute related to woman, marriage, property, etc. A network of inter-clan kinship relationships extending beyond the boundaries of a village provided occasions for participation of different families, lineages, clans, phalas and villages (paals) in fairs and festivals, on birth, marriage and death and in searching life partners in the region. Multilineal and multi-clan character of a territorial unit such as the paal (village) with a good number of families to a great extent, provides it with a socio-cultural richness, vibrancy and self sufficiency in the wake of resultant innumerable criss-crossing relationships of several intricate and overlapping circles among the people in its territorial space. The fairs such as held in Badrana (Jhadol) and Baghpura (Madri) and the festivity such as the gavari, a mobile group dance, expressed their regional solidarity. Their participation in
the fairs of Kesariyaji and Matrikundiya exhibited even an extra-regional, i.e., sanskritic solidarity.

The Bhil of the region are today Hinduized or Christianized people. They have, by accretion and syncretization, adopted a number of deities, customs, rites, rituals or ideologies from the Hindu population adjacent to them or trading with and/or serving among them, while retaining their tribal entity. Also, some of them are converts to Christianity, who retained their traditional identities, discarded a few of cultural aspects such as pantheon of deities, death feasts and rituals on birth and marriage to replace them by their belief in one god and prayer and marriage in church and drew life partners from a new cultural region (Kherwada), though for economic and political interests they continue to depend on the traditional cultural region. In the church, prayers to the God for recovery of health of ailing members are recited along with tantric rites by the Padri. Since the remote past the castes entering the Bhil villages of the region such as Mahajan, Bohra, Khatik and Kalaal for trading and Balai, Nagarchi, Lohar and Nai for giving their services, have created a semblance of the caste structure containing two types of relationships; viz., the commercial relationships of trader-customer and the jajmani system of patron-client relationships.

Nature of the tribe-caste aspect of these two relationships seems to be following the spirit of the Hindu caste hierarchy. The trader-customer commercial relationships are obtained in two types; viz., (i) the relationships between Mahajan and Muslim Bohra traders on the one hand and the tribal villagers on the other and (ii) the relationships between Kalaal and Khatik traders on the one hand and the tribal villagers on the other. In the former type, the Mahajan and the Bohra shopkeepers/traders, directly related to their economic life by catering to their needs of cash or kind on birth, marriage, death or agricultural occasions stood in a superior position to the villagers. In the latter type the Kalaal and the Khatik catering to their needs of liquor and demand and supply of goats and sheep respectively stood inferior to them. Again, the trader-tribal (trader-customer) relationship is further differentiated into two types; viz., the one between the Mahajan trader and the tribal customers and the other between the Muslim Bohra trader and the tribal customers. The Mahajan is superior to the tribal villagers not only in economic relations but also in terms of ritual status defined by the Hindu caste structure, though he practised only a symbolic untouchability restricted to dining and water. The dining habits of a vegetarian Mahajan go against those of the non-vegetarian tribals, except the Bhagat Bhils. So, the distance or symbolic untouchability of the Mahajan with the Bhils is an extended form of the ritual position of a caste Hindu. On the other, the Muslim Bohra is only economically superior to the tribal villagers. His non-vegetarian dining habits coincide with those of the non-vegetarian tribals, barring a few Bhagat Bhils (Doshi 1971:68). There is no possibility for practice of untouchability by the Bohra with the tribals. Therefore, of the two, the former is superior to the tribals economically as well as ritually, i.e., in, both, secular as well as religious sense; but the latter is superior to them only in economic or secular sense. The tribals prefer the Bohra to the Mahajan. But they have to, so far, depend more on the Mahajans who, owing to comparatively a sound economic position, could advance even cash besides the things of requirement in various crises, though he exploited them rather harshly. The latter type of the trader-customer commercial relationships, i.e., the relationships between the Kalaal and the Khatik on the one hand and the tribal villagers on the other is qualitatively different from the former one. It is the relationship of give and take between the equals. The Kalaals and the Khatiks provided liquor and sheep and goats respectively for consumption of the tribals in daily
routine as well as on occasions such as marriage, death, fairs, festivals and rituals on the one hand and the tribals also supplied mahua flowers for liquor to the Kalaals and sold sheep and goats to the Khatiks on the other. Apart from this reciprocality, low ritual status of the two castes in Hindu caste structure also worked for their equal-footing with the tribals. The second major type of the tribe-caste relationships pertains to the presence of Hindu functionary castes such as Nath, Balaai, Nagaarchi/Dholi, Lohar and Nai in the tribal villages. By nature of their stay in the villages, the functionaries are divided into two types; viz., (i) the castes such as the Nath, the Balaai and the Nagarchi which are settled in the tribal villages and (ii) the castes such as the Lohar and the Nai which come from the villages of caste populations; namely, Madri, Jhadol, Baghpura, Nai, etc. to the tribal villages. This difference of their stay does not make any difference in their position with respect to the tribals. The tribals are patrons/jajmans taking the services of clients/kamins. Balaai removes carcasses, mends shoes and provides leather threads used for agricultural purposes; Nagaarchi beats drum on the occasions of fairs, gavari or death; Nath works as the priest on birth, marriage and death; Lohar supplies and mends iron implements and Nai cuts hairs. All of them are at least theoretically considered of low status as compared to their tribal jajmans. Except Nath, Lohar and Nai, the remaining functionaries are untouchables in the caste Hindu structure. Symbolically they are untouchables amidst the tribals also, but not in the same manner as in the Hindu caste structure. Tribals avoid using a common pot of liquor or food with Balaai and Nagaarchi only but allow them to join a common platform. So this is a rudimentary extension of untouchability among the Hindus to the tribal structure. The functionary castes are permitted by collective consensus to receive sunkadipaara (a certain quantity of grains such as maize, wheat, etc) on harvests and in cash and kind on special occasions. Net impacts of the two types of castes among the tribals are also different. Contact of the Mahajan and the Bohra traders has sanskritizing effect on the tribals who have, to a little extent, learnt shop-keeping and other commercial relationships while the functionaries among them have come to be tribalized (Chauhan 1978:29-40). Thus, the caste-tribe contacts resulted into the initiation of two opposite processes in the tribal setting, i.e., sanskritization and tribalization.

The families composed of a large number of combinations of members are monogamous or bigamous by the number of wives. By way of getting life-partners marriages are of five types: Arranged marriage, marriage by elopement, marriage by exchange, marriage without rituals (poor man’s marriage) and widow marriage. Their major festivals are Holi, Diwali (Khenkhra), Nauratra, Gavari, etc. Traditional dress pattern of men includes turban, shirt, dhoti, marki (earrings), hansli (necklace), Kada (wrist ring), leather shoes, etc. and of women includes lugra (pull-over), ghaghrara (petti-coat), Kapda (blouse), Kada (bangles), hansli, leather shoes, etc. Their food pattern includes maize, wheat, jawar, barley, rice, gram, chilly, sesame oil, khatai (custard), liquor, ghee, tea, etc. Traditional dependence on nallahs, community wells and tanks has been reduced by hand pumps, private wells, anicuts, etc. Skin diseases while living in the jungles are very common and treated by herbal medicines or at dispensaries. Now-a-days, tuberculosis is also on increase among them.

Their leisure pattern includes group singing, playing with children or gossiping. Bhili is their original language which takes impression of Mewari dialect in the Mewar region and of Gujarati language near the Gujarat border. Speaking Mewari-mixed Bhili, they are conversant in both Hindi and Mewari.
Their nomenclature has travelled a long way by assuming a number of names such as the Bhil, the Gameti, and the Meena. Originally they are Bhils as recognized by the outsiders and the official documents. Later they came to be addressed among themselves and by outsiders as Gameti. The Gameti (headman) is a social institution, hereditary social position in every village. The Gameti headed the village in controlling internal affairs and in dealing with external affairs. But with increasing outward contacts and education, the position of Gameti gradually lost significance as a number of persons emerged out to deal with outsiders and to meddle with internal affairs. Therefore, every person of such a character came to be addressed as the Gameti and gradually the word came to prevail for the entire people. Now-a-days they have started to address themselves as the Meena in view of increasing importance of the Meena tribe in administration. Adoption of this nomenclature by these Bhils is purported to enhance their social status by posing themselves to be the Meenas.

Briefly, the traditional internal tribal social structure is not static but a dynamic source of a number of social processes such as territorial differentiation and integration, family differentiation, sanskritization, tribalization, Hinduization, Christianization, deforestation, enlabourmentization, occupational accretion, syncretism and plurality.

The state system as a part of the social structure of the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat is to be traced at two broad levels: (1) The state system in traditional set up of the villages of the panchayat and (2) the state system in contemporary set-up of the panchayat. In the latter set-up, the state system may be further taken up into two parts; viz., (a) the state system in the contemporary set-up of the villages in the panchayat and (b) the administrative-political set-up in the Gram Panchayat system which is again divided into two types; viz., (i) the administrative system and (ii) the democratic structure, i.e., rational-legal hierarchized set-up. The traditional state system in the villages of the panchayat represented the Mewar princely state of pre-Independence period which consisted of the state officials such as kaamdaar, sepoys, etc. The Kaamdar (revenue clerk) visited villages to assess agricultural production and to collect revenue in the villages. The sepoys of the state also visited villages to arrest a culprit or to call a headman or villagers in the darbar or the Court of the King. The villagers came into contact of the state officials when the king went out through villages for hunting in the jungles. During these contacts, the officials, whosoever, first approached the gameti or headman of a village to carry out their tasks. Thus, the gameti or a few bhanjgadias/waatawaalas acted as the mediator(s) between the folk (masses) and the state system restricting the state’s impact largely in the villagers’ life. In the wake of democratic political set-up of welfare state in post-Independence India, the state directly and largely made incursions in the people’s life. First, various agencies of the state government directly initiated developmental works such as road construction, supply of agricultural inputs, construction of community buildings, education, water, electricity, public distribution of essentials, construction of residential quarters for poor sections, etc. in the villages and, second, a broad administrative-political system was extended or introduced in the villages. Under its administrative system, the villages at the base were made part of the hierarchy of Girwa Tehsil, Girwa Sub-division and Udaipur District in the state of Rajasthan in India. These administrative units of differential scopes carried out administrative, revenue and, to some extent, judicial functions. Thus, the villagers of the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat also formed a part of the monstrous multi-layered administrative system in a direct way. Then, under the extension of democratic polity upto the village level in the wake of the Community Development
Programme in India, the panchayat came to be a basic political entity of its linkages with Girwa Panchayat Samiti, Zila Parishad, Legislative Assembly Constituency, Udaipur (Rural) and Parliamentary Constituency, Udaipur.

These broad structural patterns of the village system and the state system in the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat required a subtle and micro analysis of structural realities and dynamics embedded at the levels such as the panchayat as a whole, the constituent villages and intra-village constituents. Therefore, such an analysis with a view to understand the bases of structuring and functioning of the panchayat has been undertaken in the following discussion.

The Alsigarh Gram Panchayat as a whole

Alsigarh Gram Panchayat, though an artificial political entity deserves to be understood in its totality as a part of the overall Bhil reality.

Physical Structure

The panchayat, a clustre of three villages-Alsigarh itself being the headquarter flanked by Pai in the south and by Aad in the north, is spread in an area of 5,935 hectares (Census 1991). It is situated in the interior of Girwa valley at a distance of 26 Kms. on Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road in the south-west of Udaipur-the city keeping the headquarters of the district, the Girwa tehsil and the Girwa block and is surrounded by a number of villages such as Kavita, Kaliwaas, and Popalty in the north, Undri, Pipalwaas and Kumaariya Kheda in the east, Khajuri, Dhimdi and Paalya Kheda in the south and Oguna, Paanarwa and Goraana in the west. It is a land gradually narrowing towards the two extremes, southern and northern, each other standing about 15 km. apart bound althrough in the west by the multiple ranges of hillocks gradually rising steep, from the eastward bottom, with patchy groves at higher reaches; littered althrough in the east into an undulated land of innumerable ramifying ridges elevating from the bottom and carving in-between the extremes three narrow paals (valleys) or villages, with a width of 4-9 kms, dovetailed into each other with a criss-crossing of ridges, streamlets, rivulets and groves.

The area was in the recent past densely forested with multi-cultured flora and fauna. The forests were largely damaged by the contractors from Gujarat with the leases granted by the Bhumia and the Girasia Chieftains in pre-Independence period (Erskine 1908:52). The villagers of the panchayat earlier being under the Khalsa system of land tenure supplied forest-woods to the Mewar kings, practised waallar or shifting (slash and burn) cultivation, reared animals and cleared the land for settlement and cultivation in view of increasing population. The decreasing forests received a death-knell from the contractors who indiscriminately destroyed the forests auctioned to them by the state Forest Department in post-Independence period (Doshi 1974:38-9). Even today attenuated forest remains are in a process of depletion due to needs of timber, wood and coal. The common trees in the area are mango, babul (acacia arabica), bar (ficus bengaleusis), dhak (butea frondisa), khair (acacia katechu), Khajur (phoenix silvestris), mahua (bassia
catifolia), pipal (ficus religiosa), runjra (acacia leubophloea) and bahera (terminalia bellerica). The trees left at the higher and protected reaches are dhaman (grewia oppositjolia), haldu (adina cordifolia), sagwan (tectona grandis), salar (beswellia tomentosa) and bamboos.

The smaller shrubs commonly found are akra (calotropis procera), anwala (casia auriculata), Karauda (caressa carendas) and thor (euphorila nerifolia). During the rainy season, there are abundant of grasses and sedges which dry up in the summer. With the diminishing forests, occasionally wolves and rarely panthers are seen in the forest of higher reaches.

Besides the state high way, i.e., Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road, there are three kachcha link roads- one linking two villages of the panchayat as well as the exterior villages, another linking two villages of the panchayat only and the third linking a village of the panchayat to its exterior villages. The area of the panchayat under the three constituent villages is obviously differentiated into 20 phalas (sectors); namely, Kaada, Kaatyay, Kheria, Wada, Naal, Mual, Vadla, Hamli Pipla, Gawaadi, Nichla, Nalvat, Dhindhwaar, Paaba, Khildi, Kemri, Nala, Raataagarh, Dhora Ghaati, Sindhi Ghaati, Lilwa Mahadev Ghaati, Uparla and Hetla. The phalas are characterized by the peculiar Bhil settlement pattern of widely dispersed individual huts built, with the nearest available material like wood, earth and stones, on hill tops or slopes to keep a watch on the paths in view of the nuisance of robbers and cattle-lifters in the past, though somewhat drift from the traditional pattern in the wake of increasing population pressure on the land and security sense among the people is also obvious in the present. The traditional water sources such as nallahs, community wells and water courses are being replaced, syncretized or still depended on by increasing number of hand pumps (presently 31 hand pumps in all) in the panchayat as the physiographic situation warrants. Despite the passage of the power lines of electricity through three parts of the panchayat, only a few -mostly shopkeepers by the roads- could avail of the facility because neither the adverse physiography nor the economic position allows this facility to them.

Social Structure

Population

The census data indicate a significant and constant phenomenon of the presence of non-ST populations, constituted of the SC and the non-ST/SC populations, which may be attributed to the government personnel for developmental activities initiated under agencies of the state government and to the caste persons pursuing their occupational activities amidst the tribals. Overall population growth in the panchayat during the decades 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91 is 56.43%, 16.31% and 32.1% respectively. Again in the respective decades, the growth rate of the Bhil population is 35.29%, 33.18% and 39.23% respectively, of the SC population is 141.03%, -71.28% and 59.26% respectively and of the non-ST/SC population is 375.86%, -43% and -82.20% respectively. This high variation in the growth rate of total population as well as in that of the SC and the non-ST/SC populations clearly indicates mobility of the non-ST population amidst the tribals in the process of development in the panchayat.
**Sex Composition**

In the years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991, the female ratio (per 1000 males) in the total population is 981, 1032, 1013 and 965; in the Bhil population is 995, 1019, 1018 and 967; in the SC population is 696, 649, 800 and 955 and in the non-ST/SC population is 813, 676, 967 and 826. This pattern shows a balanced growth of sex-ratio among the tribals and the imbalance of sexes among the non-ST populations, which owes to migratory nature of their presence in the tribal villages.

**Household/Family**

The average household size is 5.9, 5.1, 5.5 and 5.1 persons in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991. This does not show any significant variation in household size in the panchayat during the last three decades. When the decadal growth rate of households in the panchayat, is considered, it is found 76.27%, 9.23% and 42.38% in the respective decades of 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91. It reveals that during the households increased by an annual rate of 8%, 0.1% and 4% in the respective decades. Therefore, the growth rate of households is greater than the growth rate of population in the panchayat. It is indicative of continuous multiplication of households, which is corroborated by difference of the number of households and the number of occupied residential houses in the census reports.

The Bhil family in the panchayat is a patri-local, patri-lineal, patrinymic and patriarchic structure of roles crudely based on sex and age. Wife is called by the name, jodat (pairer of mine) or gherwaali (she-owner of the house) and the husband by gherwaala (he-owner of the house). These denominations indicate equality of the sexes in constitution of a family. Females are generally engaged in domestic, child-rearing and light activities, males in field and heavy and outside activities and the children in grazing cattle, collecting mahua flowers or mangoes, fuel wood, grass, etc. and helping in fields, though almost all the activities are exchangeable among them.

**Lineages, Gotras and Castes**

In the traditional set up of the constituent villages in the panchayat, lineages played effective roles, but today with increasing external contacts, mobility and literacy, their effect has been weakened.

The panchayat has, in all, 31 gotras; viz., Aahri, Bhagora, Bhudra, Bodar, Chhaanya, Chunkaara, Daama, Daamar, Dungri, Hagya or Sagya, Hiraavat, Holki or Solanki, Kalaawa, Kasota, Kataara, Kateria, Kharaadi, Kharwad, Kher, Khokharia, Mori, Od, Paargi, Patela, Relat, Sapania, Sokaara, Suwaan, Taavad, Talovia and Vadera.

The phenomenon of caste population has emerged in the process of development in the panchayat after 1951. In 1991, the caste-tribe ratio is 1.63% and 98.37% of the total population in the panchayat. The caste population included, both, the SC population and the non-ST/SC population. These three populations, i.e., the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribe (Bhil) and non-ST/SC population formed 98.37%, 0.83% and 0.81% respectively of the total population in the panchayat. When of the growth rates of the SC population and the non-ST/SC population are viewed, it appears that persons of these two categories have mostly been temporary migrants to the panchayat and only a few of them, numerically insignificant, are permanently settled amidst the tribal population. The growth rate of the former category is positive at last in 1991 and that of the later is
always negative. This indicates a greater stability of the Scheduled Caste population than the non-ST/SC population in the tribal areas. The fact is also corroborated by the data collected from the field. Of the Scheduled Castes permanently settled amidst the tribals are the Balaai (leather worker) and the Nagaarchi (drum beater) castes. The non-ST/SC settled amidst them to pursue their trading/shopkeeping activities are the Mahajan (Hindu trader) and the Bohra (Muslim trader) castes. The castes of the former category are permanently settled amidst the tribals of the panchayat, whereas those of the second category partially reside there only to pursue their occupation and keep their families in the village or city of their settlement. This difference of stability of the castes owe to the status differences generated by caste hierarchy.

Cultural Structure

Living Patterns

There are three types of houses in the panchayat; viz., (1) traditional (Kachcha) houses, (2) modern pacca houses and (3) mixed type of houses. The traditional houses are found in utmost number followed by the mixed and modern types of houses. Their food patterns composed of the articles such as maize, wheat, jawar, barley, rice and some millets, mustard and sesamum (oils), gram and urad (pulses), khataai (curd) and raabri (molasses). Most of the adults wear dhoti and kurta and many of the villagers wear turban on their heads. The new generation is has adopted pant, shirt and shoes in their dress pattern.

The Bhils of the panchayat have traditionally been very direct in their behaviours without observing any prerogatives regarding age and sex. Many of their behaviour patterns resembles with those found among modern urban or westernized people. There is no usage of avoidance of son-in-law and he lives in an informal manner with his in-laws. But under the Hindu influence daughter-in-law veils before her father-in-law and elder brother-in-law, though she can directly talk to them.

Marital Patterns

All the four marital types of the tribal region are prevalent in the panchayat. In all the types, dapa or bride price has an important role to play. The amount of dapa is decided before wedding takes place in an arranged marriage or in a panchayat (meeting of bhaanjgadias/waatawaalas) after the marriage by elopement has taken place. There are two variants of the widow marriage: First, marriage of a widow within the family of her deceased husband in which no question of dapa arises and, second, marriage of a widow with a man outside the family of her deceased husband, in which the family of her deceased husband demands dapa from her new husband. In poor man’s marriage, the expenditures on wedding rituals are avoided and a few persons from a family and/or lineage accompany a girl to her would-be husband’s house. This is, in a sense, short-cut form of the arranged marriage wherein the dapa is already decided. The first three types are very common among the people.

Polygyny considered as a status symbol, generally of large lands and work requirements has been a common traditional feature, but today only bigamy is observed in a few cases.
**Literacy Rate**

Literates in the population of the panchayat in the years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 are 4.84%, 6.55%, 6.54% and 9.96% respectively. The female literacy rate is still lower. Even, increase of total literacy is largely there due to the presence of non-ST population in the panchayat. Therefore, literacy rate in the panchayat is still very low. The low literacy rate is explicable in terms of their low economic condition and inadequate educational facilities.

**Belief Pattern**

By their beliefs, Bhils of the panchayat are divided into two categories: (1) The Hinduized Bhils and (2) the Christianized Bhils. The Hinduized Bhils are again classified into two sections by their differential levels of sanskritization; viz., (i) the Bhagats and (ii) the non-Bhagats. The Bhagats associated with a guru (preceptor) are teetotallers and vegetarians wearing saffron dress. In reality, however, many of them eat meat and take liquor. They can be further sub-divided into a few panths (sects) such as Kabir panthis, etc. The non-Bhagats are not bound by any dietary restrictions. The Hinduized Bhils, barring Kabir panthis, believe in a number of deities such as Bheru Bayji, Jargaji, Mera Baba, Magra Baba, Mahadev, Hanuman, Ramdev, gotra deity, Sikotri, etc. and practise mantra-tantra, nangta, etc. The Christianized Bhils have discarded such traditional beliefs and practices and go to church to pray on every Sunday. There exist three churches in the panchayat.

**Fairs, Festivals and Leisure**

Two fairs, i.e., Baghpura and Badrana (Jhadol) are organized at the regional level and two fairs at Alsigarh and Pai are organized at the village level within the panchayat. Besides, the villagers also participate in fairs organized by the villages falling beyond the panchayat. The major festivals in the panchayat are: Hariyali Amavasya, Navratra and Gavri, Diwali or Khenkhra and Holi. Their leisure hours are spent in gossiping, playing with children, sipping of liquor or chorus singing.

**Interaction patterns**

While their contacts with outsiders they cast doubts of them on two points: (i) The outsiders being economically superior may sexually exploit their females or may allure them to become prey of their comforts and well-feeding and (ii) there is a community concern regarding outsiders’ role in proselytization (Christianization) of their members who, then, remain beyond the pale of their relationships.

**Political Structure**

The people of the panchayat are found divided into two political categories; viz. the leaders and the common people. The leaders of three streams are available: (i) The traditional-institutional leaders, (ii) the traditional-reputational leaders and (iii) the traditional sacred leaders. These leaders at the village level form a Da Mota (elders’ council) to decide matters regarding marriage, sex, property and its inheritance, thefts, debts, etc. They also deal with external persons such as revenue, police and other government offi-
cials. In the present time, the traditional-institutional leadership; i.e., gameti and bhaanjangadia, have lost their power to a great extent and the sacred/religious leadership (Bhopa) to much extent. Only the traditional-reputational leadership, i.e., waatawaala/motbirs (now-a-days also called bhaanjangodias), attained importance not only in internal and external matters of the villages but also in constitution of the formal panchayat.

**Occupational Structure**

Bhils of the panchayat traditionally being forest-dwellers and shifting cultivators have shifted to the settled agriculture in the remote past. Today, they are settled agriculturists-in-transition pursuing a number of occupations such as agriculture, sericulture, shop-keeping, formal services and labour with a tendency for occupational accretion, plurality and syncretism. They yield two crops in a year; namely, Kharif (rainy) crop and Rabi (winter) crop. In Kharif they yield grains, pulses and vegetables such as maize, rice, sugarcane, hamlai/samlai, moong, chavla, waleri, vaneer and ratalu, whereas in Rabi they yield wheat, urad, gram, til and chillies. The land is of two types: (i) Plain land containing alkalinity of soil and (ii) raankad mostly unfertile, barren, sloppy and encroached upon in the forests of high reaches. Only a very limited irrigation facility of water from tanks or streams is available. Introduction of sericulture by the State Government has provided them for extension of agricultural and animal rearing experiences to a new pattern of man-plant-animal relationship, though the occupation is found on a very limited scale (4% cultivators) owing to limited water resource. Their knowledge of shopkeeping came from their encounters and experiences with Mahajan and Bohra traders, Kalaals (liquor venders) and Khatiks (dealers in sheep/goats). Bhil traders (3%) have retail shops, tea shops and flour mill. Again, a very limited number of them (3%) is found in the services of formal sector such as in schools, aanganbaadi, post-office, co-operative society, etc. Lastly, a larger number of them (92%) consists of workers mostly at construction sites and most of them are daily commuters to Udaipur city. Other nominal occupations such as jajmani and transport operation (0.2%) are also seen there. None of the occupations is alone dependable. Therefore, individuals or/and their families have to combine a number of occupations to the main occupation, i.e., agriculture. Of them, labour is a perennial one. The occupational combinations have brought them into a number of situation of complex relationships such as tribal v/s non-tribal, tribal v/s tribal, tribal v/s caste, traditional v/s modern, traditional v/s traditional, informal v/s formal, etc. Under the continuous process of their enlourmentization (Ram 1995:39-41), they are also destined to become donors of labour and receivers of culture (Bailey).

Briefly, social structure of the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat consists of a good number of typicalities such as undulated physiography, urban proximity, widely dispersed settlement, low literacy rate, changing sex ratio, multiplication of families, large variety of gotras, differentiation of living, behavioural and belief patterns, continuity and change of traditional leadership, occupation, plurality and syncretism, presence of state agencies and linkages with higher democratic structures. This structural typicality obtained differentially at the level of its village systems does have role to characterizing structuring and functioning of the panchayat.
The Village Systems

The three village systems; namely, Alsigarh, Pai and Aad have been studied in the following analysis.

Alsigarh

Known as Alsigarh-Kotda in the region, it carries a folk tale: Rana Kumbha, prince of Mewar, after execution of his scheme for construction of 32 garhs or forts around the capital of Mewar, remarked for the most impregnable garh as the asli garh (the only real fort) constructed on a hill in the eastern end of Kotda village. The area around the garh came to be known as Asligarh which in course of time corrupted to Alsigarh in local parlance and when combined with the old nomenclature of the village it became Alsigarh-Kotda just to be differentiated from Kotda district of the erstwhile Mewar state. The onlooking fort, standing intact, housed a police post until a decade ago when the policemen tired of carrying water on head to this height shifted into a part of the Panchayat Bhavan.

Physical Structure

This village-second in size-headquartering the panchayat offices, spread in an area of 2380 hectares (census 1991) and situated in the west of the Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road, at a distance of 23 Kms., from Udaipur city is surrounded by Undri-Popalty Forest Hills in the east, Pipalwas and Pai in the south, Gorana in the west and Aad in the north. Almost round in south, east and north and snouting narrowly long beyond hillocks in the west, it is scattered into the region of innumerable ridges -5 kms. from south to north and 10 kms. from east to west. Except the western forested hillocks, the mainland depicts a few originating from the Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road bi-sects the village while going upto Kalibas through Aad. Another kachcha road originating from the former link road connects it with Pai. The village containing widely dispersed huts, except a few adjoining ones, is at present found to be divided into five phalas: Kaada, Kaatya, Naal, Waada and Kheria. A new Phala -Relya Talai- is in the process of becoming in view of increasing population. Barring the people of main phalas in the centre of the village, those of the peripheral parts heavily depend on traditional water sources such as Relya Talai, Kotda Water Tank (officially known as Gorana Water Scheme), community well and nallahs (streamlets). Electricity is availed by a very few. In brief, it is a village characterized by a rugged, undulated, naked and inclement physical appearance.

Social Structure

Population

Respective growth rate of total population in the decades 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91 is 62.94%, and 18.78% and 22.12%; of the Bhil population is 42.09%, 35.47%
and 23.76%; of the SC population is 100%, 200% and -58.33%; and of the non-ST/SC population is 1240%, -88.56%, and -56.52%. The data show fluctuations of growth rate in case of the SC population and the non-ST/SC population, but decrease in that of the Bhil population. The fluctuations and the decrease may be due to migration of a sizable number of people in search of livelihood.

**Sex Composition**

In the years 1961, 1971, 1981, and 1991, the respective sex ratio (females per 1000 males) in the total population is 1009, 1123, 1034 and 993 females and for the Bhil population is 1021, 1034, 1051 and 990 females. This pattern indicates preponderance of female population in the village up to the census of 1981. The trend seems to have been reversed in 1991 when the males slightly exceeded the females in number.

**Household/Family**

From household growth-rate during the decades 1961-71, 1971-81, 1981-91 being 131%, 5% and 32% respectively, one can assume that despite the decrease and the fluctuation in the growth rates of the populations the households are undergoing a twin-process of change, i.e., from the traditionally preponderant nuclear family pattern to the Hinduized joint family on the one hand and to the continuous differentiation of the joint families into the nuclear ones but without affecting their jointness because the nuclear family of a son generally separates from the family of procreation after marriage of the next son.

As per the field data, there are total 463 families/domestic groups/households in the village. The size and the growth rate of households enumerated in the censuses indicate that, both, the tendency for a large/probably joint family and differentiation of a large/joint family are at increase. The tendency for a large or joint family may be due to decrease of death rate in view of availability and growing awareness of medical facilities among the people. Additionally, in view of increasing economic insecurity and spatial mobility in the wake of attenuating forests, the people may be looking for security in the large or joint family.

**Gotras and Castes**

The families in the village are variously distributed over eleven gotras: Kharaadi-121, Vadera-93, Solanki and Paargi-53 each, Kalaawa-40, Solanki-39, Kataara-32, Daamar-24, Suwaan-3 and Kateria and Mori-1 each. This large number of gotras depicts structural complexity of the village. There are 3 persons from 2 castes in the village: Mahajans-2 and Balai-1. The three persons, not their families, are settled in the village for their occupational needs.

**Caste-Tribe Pattern**

The caste-tribe pattern is perceived from the census of 1961 onwards. In 1991, the ratio of the tribal, the SC, the non-ST/SC and the caste populations is 99.29%, 0.24%, 0.47% and 0.71% respectively. When their growth rates viewed over the decades, the non-ST/SC population always shows a negative growth, whereas the SC population shows, both, negative and positive. This means that there is no stability of the caste people except the SCs who, too, are under some spatial mobility. From the non-ST/SC population, only 2 Mahajans from nearby villages stay in the village to run their shops.
Literacy Rate

The literacy level of the villagers rose from 0.53% males only in 1951 to 7.21% comprising 13.52% males and 0.9% females in 1991.

Cultural Structure

Belief Pattern

The deities Worshipped in the village are Bheru Baavji, Amba Maata, Hula Maata, Nimach Maata, Magra Baaba, Bormal Baaba, Mahadev, Ramdev and Hanuman and Sikotri. The places of worship are scattered on land of the village.

There are 8 Bhagat Bhils in the village: Kesa Vadera, Nathu Kharada, Dewa Kharada, Gora Kharada, Dhana Kharada, Mavji Solanki, Kakua Sapania, and Homa Kalawa.

Heads of 6 Christianized families in the village are: Ditraj Kharada, Thavra Kharada, Dalu Kharada, Kaua Kharada, Prabhu Sapania and Kalu Kalaawa. They, all, changed over to Christianity within the last 5-6 years. Samji Kharada while being sick appeased all the deities to recover but for nothing. He approached the Padri of a church in Pai, who prayed to God (Christ) for his improvement and approached some Christian organization in Udaipur for medical help to him. Gradually he recovered and began to believe in Christianity about 5 years back. But he continued to attend Hindu deities for two years. Then, Fauja Ba-gameti of his phala objected his visits to church and asked him to choose either deities or church. So, Samji decided to remain with his own people and returned to the fold of Hindu faith and deities.

Fair

From the next morning of Holi festival, single-day tribal fairs are organized, turn by turn, by the villagers in their cultural region. One of such fairs was witnessed in Alsigarh on 15/04/1994 - the next day of Holi. In the morning of the day, gametis of four major phalas of Alsigarh assembled at the Panch Pipala or Mahadev Pipala atolling the Relya Talai and tied a red cloth with a coconut and some gur at the top of a tree. After 12.00 noon, some people and mobile shopkeepers dealing in bangles and cosmetics, toys, sweets, pakodas, merry-go-round, sugarcanes, bamboo baskets and other domestic articles continued to slowly pour in the place to assemble or decorate the shops. Around 2.00 p.m., Hagji Vadera-gameti of Kheria phala was also there but none of other gametis, not even Varda Kharada-Gameti of the entire village. Looking to the time passing away, Hagji ordered to the sewadaar (servant) of Mahadev, Savji, to beat the Mahadev kundi (drum). That day a drum could not be arranged because the drum common for the village was in a damaged condition and none was ready to give his private drum. At the beat of kundi, the villagers and their guests who had reached last night or in the morning and were busy with eat-drink and be-merry activities, poured down the hills and ridges to the spot to observe and to join the ger (a dance of the participants moving with their sticks and swords in a circle). A Dholi or Nagarchi (drum-beater) also, by the time, arrived to perform his duty. A second drum was also arranged and luckily another Dholi came over there to attend the drum. Men and women, young and old and boys and girls joined the ger and folk songs. After 6.00 p.m., the gametis decided to declare the fair to be over before it is dark. Varda Kharada, the senior most gameti, could not turn up by evening that day. The reason was guessed to be over consumption of liquor with the guests. Hagji
moved to the tree of red cloth and seven women each holding a *seldi* (bamboo stick), youths and others followed him. He ordered two youths to climb up the tree to win the red cloth containing coconut and *gur*. The women kept on beating them by the *seldis*. One of the youths approaching the cloth kept it, the women kept the sticks and the rest received *prasad* only. The people did a hectic purchasing before their dispersal. Until it was dark the people and the police personnel, who were present to avoid any confrontation generally expected between the over drunkards, left the place. The fair had a poor turn-out due to the people being engaged in daily livelihood outside the village. The people from other villages joining the fair were from Pai, Aad, Pipalawaas and some distant villages having kins in Alsigarh.

**Political Structure**

Today there are five *gametis* or headmen, each of a *phala*, forming the traditional-institutional leadership of the village; namely, Varda Kharaadi, Kesa Solanki, Hagji Vadera, Fauja Kharaadi and Shankar Kharaadi. About 35 years ago a dispute arose over the headmanship and, therefrom, a separate *gameti* for each of the *phalas* came to be appointed. Varda Kharaadi is still symbolically a *gameti* of the entire village. Before Varda, his father Uda Kharaadi and before Uda, his father Gunja Kharaadi, was the *gameti* of the Village. After Uda, Khema Kharaadi remained a *de-facto gameti* and Varda is a *de-jure gameti* even today. The traditional-reputational leadership (*waatawaalas*) in the village includes the persons like Kesha Solanki, Nara Ba Sapania, Dhanraj/Dhana Kharaadi, Rama Kharaadi, Nangaji Kharaadi, Lalu Vadera, Nana Sapania, Sawu Kharaadi, Hurma Kharaadi and Dewa Kharaadi. The third stream of traditional-religious leadership (*bhopas, sewadaars, etc*) in the village is constituted by Varda Kharaadi, Dhanraj Kharaadi, Kesha Solanki, Harupa Paargi, Hakra Paargi, Lalu Kharaadi, Pema Solanki, Limba Solanki, Gora Kharaadi, Dharma Kharaadi, Mawa Kharaadi, Samji Kharaadi, Kodra Vadera and Dharma Vadera. 19 leaders from the village, still alive, formed the formal leadership occupying positions in the panchayat constituted at various periods. In practice, the classification of leadership is not so simple. An accretive, pluralistic and syncretic nature of the leadership is clearly visible. Varda, at the same time, is both, the gameti - traditional secular positional leader and the Bhopa -traditional religious positional leader. Dhanraj Kharaadi has been, at the same time, a waatawaala -traditional reputational leader, a bhopa and a sarpanch -formal institutional (positional) leader. There are found a number of cases of such types.

**Occupations**

Households of villagers may simply be distributed into four occupational categories: Agriculture-460, Sericulture-8, Shop-keeping-11, Labour-447 and Formal Services-6. But, in actuality, they pursue these occupations in combinations and there are in all 10 occupational categories: Agriculture only-4, shop-keeping-2, agriculture and service-5, agriculture and shopkeeping-4, agriculture and labour-436, agriculture, sericulture and labour-7, agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-3, agriculture, shopkeeping and service-1 and agriculture, sericulture, shopkeeping and labour-1. The data show that agriculture and labour are two major occupational categories which are pursued by most of the villagers in various combinations with other occupations.

Briefly, an accretive, pluralistic and syncretic character of their social structure is well evident in their historical denomination (Alsigarh-Kotda), structural units (caste-
tribe pattern), religious patterns (tribals, Bhagats, non-Bhagats and Christians), leadership streams (gameti, bhaanjangadia, waatawaala, Bhopa and sewadaars and formal leaders), occupational combinations of (primary, secondary and tertiary sectors alongwith a tribal division of work) and institutional network. This structural character can still be better concretized in its subtleties at the level of phalas of the villages and, therefore, an analysis of phalas of Alsigarh is being attempted to unravel the realities of basement.

The Phalas

Alsigarh is constituted by five phalas: Waada, Kheria, Kaatya, Kaada and Naal.

Waada

Location

This phala located in the centre of Alsigarh is surrounded by Kheria in the East, by Kaada in the South and by Kaatya in the West and the North. The land is an undulated matrix of a large number of ridges-stark naked and uncovered of vegetation. The kachcha link road, originating from the Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road, bisects the phala while leading to Kalibas via Aad and an another kachcha link road to Pai bi-sects its southern part. By its road-approach, the phala is in a more advantageous position than any other phala of the village. There are at present four identifiable residential points in the phala-Damlia, Mahadev or Panch Pipla, Juna Garh and School. Damlia -western tip of the phala- is a central locus of the village as well as a centre of traditional and contemporary activities such as commercial, bureaucratic, political and cultural. It is identified by a few tall old trees, closely situated or adjoining houses, Mahajan shops and institutional structure of the Panchayat Bhavan, the Public Sub-Health Centre, the Police Post and an Aanganbaadi Kendra located in a private hut. The Mahadev Pipla is identifiable from far distances by the five pipal trees on the hedge of the Relya Talai Water Tank, a few other trees such as babul, neem, baheda, etc. in the tank's catchment area and huts dispersed amidst the ridges. It is the place where the community well used even today is located in the tank's bottom and the tribal fair is held. The Juna Garh, located a few yards eastward of the Mahadev Pipla, is identified by the remains of an ancient castle surrounded by a number of huts dispersed in the ridges extending in the south upto Pipalwas. The school residential point is identifiable by a few dispersed huts surrounding a middle school building, atolled a big rocky ridge on the left of the road to Kalibas. Sources of water are four handpumps installed along the link road, the community well at the Mahadev Pipla, the Kotda Water Tank and a few private wells. The power line passes along the link road across it but only a Mahajan shopkeeper avails a power connection.

Family, Gotra and Caste

This phala has the largest number of families/households, i.e., 172 families, in all, distributed over 5 tribal gotras and 2 castes: Solanki-50, Paargi and Sapania-38 each, Kharaadi-43, Mahajan-2 and Balai-1. There are three households of two castes-Mahajan and Balai, but their families are settled in Nai and Sisarma.
Cultural Structure

This phala has the locus of the annual fair held at the Mahadev Pipla. In recent years its regularity has come under doubts. The quarrels and tensions among youth overpowered by liquor consumption are common features in the fair. The aged fearing of such nuisances rather prefer no fair. How long the phala will keep on enjoying the value of location of the fair is today under serious doubts! The irregularity or total discard of this fair will leave not only the villagers but also Sawa or Savji-the priest servant of the Mahadev-bereft of the pleasure of the day. The phala has also the shrines of Ambav Mata and Bhumrachiya Baavji. Most of the phala dwellers are non-Bhagat Bhils and Dhanraj Kharaadi is the only Bhagat at the time. Besides, Ditraj s/o Nangaji Kharaadi, Thavra s/o Nangaji Kharaadi and Prabhu s/o Nanaji Kharaadi are the three converted Christians. Varda Kharaadi and Hakra Paargi are the Bhopas of Bheru Baavji, Dhanraj Kharaadi of Ambav Mata and Kesa Solanki and Harupa Paargi of Nimach (Limbas) Mata.

Political Structure

The traditional seat of the village gameti, presently occupied by Varda Kharaadi, has remained in the phala since the immemorable times. At present Kesha s/o Vaga Solanki is the selected gameti of the phala. The waatawaala stream of leadership is presently formed by Varda Kharaadi, Hakra Paargi, Dhanraj Kharaadi, Kesha Solanki and Harupa Paargi. The leadership in the phala emerged out of formal structure of the panchayat is constituted by 17 alive persons out of 19 persons elected in all. They are: Kataara-1, Kharaadi-4, Sapania-3, Solanki-5 and Mahajan-1. Of them, Shanti Lal Mahajan, Dhanraj Kharaadi and Nathulal Sapania have been in the office of Sarpanch and Khema Ba Kharaadi in that of Up Sarpanch. The leaders elected as ward panches are: Vesati Bai Kataara, Homli Kharaadi, Gujri Bai Kharaadi, Kalu Kharaadi, Nara Sapania, Kaua Sapania (now in Naal), Nathu Solanki, Vetti Solanki, Bheru Solanki, Rama Solanki and Mavji Solanki.

Many of the leaders come under more than one stream of leadership. Kesha Solanki is gameti, waatawaala as well as Bhopa in the phala; Dhanraj Kharaadi -waatawaala, bhopa and bhagat and sarpanch and the rest -waatawaalas and formal leaders.

Occupations

The people have five occupational sources of earning such as agriculture, shopkeeping, sericulture, services, and labour. They are distributed over 7 occupational combinations/categories: Agriculture-3, shopkeeping-2, agriculture and shopkeeping-1, agriculture and labour-160, agriculture and service-1, agriculture, sericulture and labour-4 and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-1. Therefore, all the tribals, except 2 Mahajan shopkeepers, pursue agriculture and to this central occupation they combine other occupations and mostly labour.
Kheria

Location

Located in the East-North of Alsigarh, this phala is surrounded by Popalty in the North, by Undri Hills in the East, by Piplawas village and Waada phala in the South and by waada and Kaatyia in the west. The phala depicts rare signs of vegetation on undulating ridges forming long gorges in-between. The paceca link road bi-sects the phala, from east to west, into the southern half on the left and the northern half on the right. The northern half is again divided by two identifiable points; viz., the Indira Aawaas Yojna area and the Nawa Garh (new castle), i.e., Alsigarh, area. Except the Indira Aawaas Yojna on the link road, adjoining houses are invisible amidst the ridges of varying heights. There is the Post Office on the link road just before the Indira Aawaas Yojna. Devilal Vadera -an educated youth/former ward panch- is giving his part time services in the Post Office. Main water sources are the nallahs, a community well below the new garh, and the four hand pumps, one each, installed each near the Indira Aawaas Yojna, near Devilal’s house behind the Yojna, between the Yojna and the Alsigarh Bus Stand and the Alsigarh Bus Stand on the Udaipur-Jhodoi-Phalasia Road. None of the huts have electricity connection.

Family, Gotra and Religion

The phala consists of the third largest number of families, i.e., 111 families, in all, distributed over only three gotras: Vadera-82, Damar-24 and Kharaadi-5. Families and lineages from the Vadera gotra have dominant role in the phala.

2 major deities are enshrined in the phala; viz, Hanuman and Magra Baaba. A big idol of Hanuman-Hindu deity- is found installed just near the Post Office on the link road and Magra Baaba is on the north-eastern extreme. Kodra Vadera and Dharma Vadera are the bhopas of Bheru Baavji and Gavarkiya Maata respectively. Kesa Vadera is the only Bhagat from the phala.

Leadership

Hagji Vadera -gameti of the phala- is perhaps the most active among of the gametis of Alsigarh at the time. With a personality of dominance, Hagji was the only organizer and director of the fair observed after the Holi in 1994. Kesha Vadera is the bhaanjgadia of the phala. The waattawaala stream of the phala is, today, consisted of Homa Vadera, Dhula Vadera, Hira Vadera, Lalu Vadera, Rupa Vadera, Sawa Vadera, Kamla Vadera and Hagji (s/o Lakma) Vadera. Kodra Vadera and Dharma Vadera are the bhopas in the phala. Kesha Vadera and his son, Devilal Vadera, constitute the formal leadership.

Occupations

Pursuing the occupations of agriculture, shopkeeping, service and labour, the families in the phala are distributed over four occupational combinations: Agriculture and shopkeeping-111, agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-107, agriculture and shopkeeping-2, and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour and agriculture, shopkeeping and service 1 each.
Therefore, the major occupational combination is that of agriculture and labour. None of the families have irrigational facilities.

**Kaatya**

**Location**

Located in the west and the north of Alsigarh, this phala is surrounded by Uparla Phala of Aad in the north, by Waada in the east, by Kaada and the Kotda Water Tank in the south and by the Hillocks separating it from Naal in the west. The *pacca* link road passing through bisects it into the northern part on the right and the western part on the left. The western part is, again, divided by a water course (*nallah*) leading to Aad into two parts: The south-western part consisted of adjoining as well as dispersed huts, a water works post and a primary school near the Kotda Water Tank and the Western high lands with a few dispersed huts. The northern part, too, is divided into two parts: The one consisted of dispersed huts beside the road and the other of the huts dispersed far away beyond rising ridges in the north. The land is more undulating and denude of vegetation except the rainy bushes, hedges and grasses. *Nallah* leading to Aad, 5 hand pumps and the Kotda Water Tank are the sources of water. For the purpose of drinking water, hand pumps are scattered all over the phala, one each, at the southern tip, on the right of the road while entering the phala, on the northern high ridges and in the area beyond it. The huts dispersed far off have more acute problem of water. None of the huts have electricity connection.

Beyond the western hillocks is Naal - an upcoming phala dependent of the main phalas in social, cultural and political respects. This phala, located at a distance of 5 km from Kaatya, beside a *nallah* (streamlet) meandering through a too much rugged and undulated topography, is surrounded by Dhindhwaar hills of Pai in the south, by hills of Gorana in the west, by hills of the preserved forests in the north and by naked hills of Kaatya itself in the east. The people of this phala have to depend for water on the *nallah* only. The children, if any desirous, have to go to Gorana to attend a school beyond the high hills. For socio-cultural, political and economic purposes they have to cross over to Alsigarh, day in and day out.

**Family, Gotra and Religion**

The phala consisted of the second largest number of families in the village, i.e., 127 families which are distributed over ten gotras: Kalaawa-40, Kharaadi-38, Kataara-23, Paargi and Vadera 10 each, Solanki-5, Suwaan-3, and Kateria, Mori and Sapania-1 each. Therefore, despite a good number of families, there are only three numerically significant gotras, i.e., Kalaawa, Kharaadi and Kataara.

The phala holds a number of religious places. Bada Devra of Bheru Baavji and temple of Ambav Maata - common for the entire village - are situated on the eastward slope of the western hills in the phala. Shrine of Hula Maata is situated near waada phala, of Magra Baaba on the northern high tip and of Ramdev on the eastward low land. Lalu Kharaadi, Pema Solanki and Limba Solanki are the Bhopas of Gavarkia Maata, Bheru Baavji and Nimach Maata respectively. Kakna Sapania and Homa Kalaawa are
two bhagats from the phala. Kalu Kalaawa’s is the converted Christianity family in the phala.

**Leadership**

Shankar Kharaadi is the gameti of the phala. Pema Solanki, Limba Solanki, Vesa Kalaawa and Kaua Sapania (from Waada settled in Naal) are all the waatawaalas. Lalu Kharaadi Pema Solanki and Limba Solanki are bhopas from the phala. Pema Solanki, Kalu Kalaawa and Kakua Sapania are the leaders who have occupied formal positions in the panchayat. Thus, Pema Solanki shares three types of leadership-traditional-reputational (waatawaala), traditional-religious (bhopa) and formal-institutional (ward panch). Limba Solanki assumes, both, traditional-reputational and traditional-religious leaderships and Kakua Sapania- traditional-reputational and formal-institutional.

**Occupations**

The phala are distributed over four occupational combinations: Agriculture and labour-122, agriculture and service-3, and agriculture and shopkeeping and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour 1 each. Therefore, most of the phala dwellers depend on the combinational pursuance of agriculture and labour. Irrigational facility in the phala is not available at all.

**Kaada**

**Location**

Situated in the south of Alsigarh, this phala of is demarcated from Waada by a deep nallah flowing from the Relya Talai highlands down to the Kotda Water Tank in the north, by the Tank and Nalvat phala of Pai in the south, by Waada in the east. The kachcha link road drawn from the link road at Waada bi-sects the phala into the eastern and the western halves. The phala is the most undulating and intercepted by rivulets. A wide nallah flowing down from the east to the Kotda Water Tank again, bi-sects it into the northern and the southern halves. Thus, the phala is divided into four natural sections. Both parts of the eastern half and one of the western half lying before the interception of the nallah are populated by dispersed huts but the second one of the western half, i.e., beyond the nallah is still constituted by unpopulated fields of the villagers. Only a few trees such as neem, babul or bushes, can be seen in the entire phala region. There is a hand pump beside the road and another one in the eastward interior ridges before the Kotda Water Tank. In the topography neither it is possible nor the people required electricity.

**Family, Gotra and Religion**

The phala consisted of the smallest number of families, i.e., 53 families distributed over four gotras: Kharaadi-44, Paargi-5, Solanki-3 and Vadera-1. The phala seems to be an extension of Waada phala. A Ramdev temple is situated in the centre of the western half of the phala. Gora Kharaadi, Dharma Kharaadi, Mawa Kharaadi and Savji Kharaadi are the bhopas of Ambav Maata, Bheru Baavji, Masania (Mahadev) Baavji and
Magra Baaba respectively. Nathu lal Kharaadi, Mavji Solanki, Dewa Solanki and Gora Kharaadi are the bhagats from the phala. Dalu s/o Katna Kharaadi and Kaua s/o Krishna Kharaadi are the two converted Christian families. Samji Kharaadi also was the convert but now he has reverted to Hinduism.

Leadership

Fauja Kharaadi is the present gameti of the phala and Kaua is the bhaanjgadia. Nathulal Kharaadi, Gora Kharaadi, Savji, Hurma Kharaadi and Mavji Solanki and Dewa Solanki are waatawaalas from the phala. Gora Kharaadi, Dharma Kharaadi, Mawa Kharaadi and Savji Kharaadi are the bhopas from the phala. Nanga Kharaadi is so far the only formal institutional leader (ward panch) from the phala. Therefore, Gora Kharaadi and Savji Kharaadi share, both, waatawaala and bhopa leadership streams.

Occupations

Earning from agriculture, sericulture, shopkeeping, service and labour, the families of the phala are distributed over the four occupational combinations: Agriculture and labour-46, agriculture, sericulture and labour-4, agriculture and service-2 and agriculture, sericulture, shopkeeping and labour-1. Thus, they try to exploit every possibility of earning from the environment but the combination of agriculture and labour is a necessity of their life.

Briefly, the social structure of Alsigarh architectured in variations of rugged and undulating topography is today characterized by accretion, plurality and syncretism in social, religious, political and occupational aspects not only at the level of village as a whole but also at the level of its phalas.

Aad

Location

This smallest village spread in an area of 455 hectares (census 1991) is situated, on both the sides of Alsigarh-Kalibaas Link Road, at a distance of 30 kms from Udaipur city and surrounded by Kavita and other small villages in the west, Kalibaas in the north and ridges and hills of Kaatya phala of Alsigarh in the east and the south. It is scattered into innumerable ridges, gorges, trenches and hills in a limited space on the sides of the water trench drawn from the Kotda Water Tank. Along the water trench going parallel to the link road in the elongated paal, the trees like mango, mahua, babul, neem, pipal and baheda are observed. The peripheral higher areas including the southern stone mines remain almost naked but the cover of bushes, hedges and grasses in the rainy season. The village is divided into two main phalas; viz., Uparla and Hetla, each, lying on a side of the water trench and a third one is in offing near Hanuman temple in the north. The villagers traditionally depending on nallahs and a community well, now-a-days, utilize a few private wells, four hand pumps and the water trench to lift by diesel engines water for irrigation during the dry season. A few of the villagers residing by the road haveelectricity connections for domestic consumption.
**Social Structure**

In the census years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991, there were 218, 426, 405 and 583 persons respectively. Of them, there were 218, 306, 405 and 582 persons respectively of the Bhil population; 1 person of the SC in 1991 and 119 persons of the non-ST/SC population in 1971. During the decades 1961-71, 1971-81, 1981-91, growth rate of the Bhil population was 40.37%, 32.35% and 43.95% respectively. The data indicate two things: (i) Casual presence of the SC and the non-ST/SC populations in the village and (ii) a population growth rate fluctuating but with no marked change perhaps affected by phenomena of marriage and birth.

**Sex Composition**

The female ratio per'000 males in the years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 is 1000, 901, 1035 and 980 respectively. The ratio does not indicate any disadvantageous number of females in the village as compared to that in the state or in India.

**House Hold/Family**

In the years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991, the respective number of households in the village is 132, 305, 320 and 422; the respective household size is 6, 5, 6 and 5 persons and the respective decadal growth rate for 1961-71,1971-81 and 1981-91 is 145%, -245% and 65% or annual one is 15%, -2% and 7% respectively. Thus, the household size is almost constant but the population growth rate is decreasing. The negative growth rate in the decade 1971-81 owes to a shift of the caste population.

**Family, Gotra and Caste**

In all, 129 families are distributed over seven gotras: Paargi-65, Kharaadi-24, Solanki-22, Kharwad-8, Kher and Vadera-4 each and Dungri and Kalaawa 1 each. At present, not a single caste person is settled in the village. The government employees at the school and the sericulture centre also commute from Udaipur City.

**Caste-Tribe Patterns**

Presence of the non-ST/SC population, i.e., 28% of the total population is seen only in 1971 and one Scheduled Caste person appears only in 1991. Thus, the villagers till date have only a casual association of the caste people in their village.

**Religious Structure**

A good number of the village wide deities are found such as Bheru Baavji, Kheda Devi, Gora Devi, Mama Dev, Ramdev Baaba, Mahadev, Chamunda Maata, Ambav Maata, Nimach Maata and Magra Baaba. Hakra Paargi and Bheemaji Solanki are bhopas of Bheru Baavji, Jaita Paargi of Mama Dev, Bhura Solanki of Nimach Maata and Ambavji Paargi of Nimach Maata. Vardaji Paargi is the paal (chief) bhopa. He inherited the seat from his father, Bhera Solanki, who, too, inherited it from his father -Bhuraji Solanki. Each gotra has its own female deity (Maata). Roopa Paargi and Naru Paargi are the bhagats in the village.
Political Structure

Sawa Paargi is the present gameti of the village, who inherited the seat from his father, Nana Paargi and his grand father, Amra Paargi. Hurma Paargi is the present bhaanjgadia succeeding his father, Thavra, and grand father, wala. There is a good number of waatawaalas in the village such as Bhuraji Solanki, Nana Kharaadi, Vesya Kharwad, Hakra Paargi, Dhana Paargi, Shankar Paargi, Dhula Paargi, Mohan Paargi, Bheema Solanki, Ambawa Paargi and Virna Paargi. The bhopa stream of leadership, too, is a large one including Nana Kharaadi, Bheema Solanki, Dhula Paargi, Hakra Paargi, Dhana Paargi, Rupa Paargi and Homla Paargi. Sawa Paargi and Hakra Paargi have been the ward panches from their village is the panchayat. Thus, Sawa Paargi is, both, the gameti and the ward panch. Hakra is a waatawaala, bhopa and ward panch. Bheema Solanki, Nana Kharaadi, Dhana Paargi and Dhula Paargi are both the Waatawaalas as well as the bhopas. Therefore, the leadership is of inclusive nature.

Occupations

Drawing their occupational combinations from agriculture, sericulture, shopkeeping and labour, the villagers' families are distributed over three occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-116, agriculture, sericulture and labour-9 and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-4. The data reveal their heavy dependence on agriculture and labour.

Briefly, the village is, still, to a great extent, traditional and only a few social, political and occupational accretions are visible. Subtleties of such accretions may be observed in the phalas of the village.

Uparla

Location

Located in the east of the village, this phala is bound by the water trench in the west, by the highlands in the north and by Kaatya phala of Alsigarh in the east and the south. The link road also passes mostly parallel to the trench through this phala. Many of the houses parallel to the road or sandwiched between the road and the trench are found adjoining to each other. This type of settlement owes to the paucity of space for huts. In the area off the road, there are found widely dispersed huts. The deep patches with constructed boundaries in-between the ridges and in the flow of streams and rivulets are useful to preserve water for rice cultivation. A school, a sericulture centre and a bus stand are located on the tip of its northern highlands. Two hand pumps, too, are installed in the phala.

Family, Gotra and Religion

Of the two phalas, this larger phala consists of 91 families, in all, distributed over seven gotras: Paargi-36, Solanki-22, Kharaadi-21, Kharwad-6, Kher-4 and Dungri and Kalaawa 1 each. This plurality of gotras provides structural and cultural strength to the village.

The shrines of deities found in the phala are Bheru Baavji, Gavarkia Maata, Ramdev, Mahadev and Magra Baaba. Nana Kharaadi, Bheema Solanki and Dhula
Paargi are bhopas of Bheru Baavji and Dhana Paargi of Gavarkia Maata. Rupa Paargi is a sevak (priestly servant) of Hanuman, Ramdev and Mahadev.

**Leadership**

Sawa Paargi, the gameti of the village, lives in the phala. Bhura Solanki is the bhaanijdia of the phala. The waatawaalas from the phala are: Nathu Solanki, Nana Kharaadi, Dhana Paargi, D hud a Paargi, Bhema Solanki, Ambawa Paargi, and Vibha Paargi. The bh opas are Varda Solanki, Nana Kharaadi, Bhema Solanki, Dhula Paargi and Dhana Paargi. Thus, Sawa is, both, the gameti and the ward panch from the phala/village. Nana Kharaadi, Bhema Solanki, Dhula Paargi and Dhana Paargi are both waatawaalas and bhopas.

**Occupations**

Drawing occupational combinations from agriculture, sericulture, shopkeeping and labour, the families in the phala are distributed over three occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-86, agriculture, sericulture and labour-3 and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-2. In the fields of constructed boundaries to store water people grow rice whereas in the slopy fields -wheat, maize, black sesamum, hamlai/sam lal (millet) and grass. The livelihood is mostly earned by labour at construction sites and adjusted with agriculture.

**Hetla**

**Location**

Situated to the left of the trench in the western half of the village, the Hetla phala or the phala of low lands is bound by naked hill range separating it from Kavita and Kalibaas in the north, by the trench in the east and by the high rocky ridges of Kaatya phala of Alsigah in the south. It is densely populated in the valley between the western hills and the trench in the east. Its extension towards Kalibaas is a slow formation of a new phala. Except a few trees such as mango, mahua, babul and neem, vegetation is rarely seen in the dry season. The people depend on the trench and private wells in the Upalra phala for water requirements. Of two hand pumps installed in the phala, one is in the trench itself just below the school building and the another is in the northern extension. Only a few houses on the road side have availed the electricity facility.

**Family, Gotra and Religion**

This phala consisted of 38 families, in all, distributed over four gotras: Paargi-29, Vadera-4, Kharaadi-3, and Kharwad-2. Thus, the structural dominance of Paargi gotra is apparent in the phala. The major religious sites in the phala are Bheru Baavji, Kheda Devi, Ambav Maata, Ramdev, Mahadev and Hanuman. Hakra Paargi is the bhopa of Bheru Bavji and Homla Paargi is the sevak of Hanumana. Naru Paargi and Rupa Paargi are the bhagats in the phala.
Leadership

Hunna Paargi is the gameti of the phala and Hakra Paargi and Vasya Kharwad are the bhaanjgdias. The waatawaalas are Shankar Paargi, Mohan Paargi, Vasya Kharwad, Naru Paargi, and Rupa Paargi. Hakra Paargi is the ward panch in the panchayat. Hakra Paargi is a bhaanjgdia, bhopa and (former) ward panch at the same time. Naru Paargi and Rupa Paargi are bhagats and waatawaalas, both.

Occupations

Drawing occupational combinations from agriculture, shopkeeping, sericulture and labour, the families are distributed over three occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-30, agriculture, sericulture and labour-6 and agriculture, shop-keeping and labour-2. Thus, none of them can escape agriculture and labour.

Briefly, though seemingly insignificant, a number of structural differences of socio-cultural, political and occupational resources created by the minute topographical variations are observable in the two phalas of Aad.

Pai

The nomenclature is shrouded by a mystery settling around two legendary places in the village; viz., (i) the Raatagarh and (ii) the Raada. Lalu Ram Damar, former sarpanch of the panchayat and perhaps the best informed person of Pai, narrated the two legends. The first legend, widely prevalent among the people and related to the remains of a fortress built of red stones on a hill, speaks: The Raatagarh fortress built in the distant past remained long under the control of Mewar princes who got moulded paais (coins) in the garh (fortress). In the subsequent times the area around the garh came to be named as Pai by the people of the surrounding villages. Actually the garh was built during 1420-1428 A.D. by the villagers to protect the Bhil assassins from the forces of Rao Ranmal of Mandore, the then regent of the minor Rana Mokal of Mewar. The second legend is related to the Raada -place of the earliest ancestors of the villagers- where the ancestors before setting down buried a pai (coin) beneath an idol of a goddess to help them flourish in the place. The idol still stands there but no one knows what deity actually it is. It is offered a he-goat every year before the rains begin in the month of Ashhadha of Vikram Samvat, i.e., June-July, when all gods and goddesses of the village are propitiated. The people believe that the village received the name, Pai, right from the incidence of burying a pai at the present Raada in the distant past. People of Lakumbra, Sangalia, Dhoyat and Dhauyat clans of the Bhils were the earliest inhabitants of Pai. These clans were followed by the Rajputs of Sisodia branch who were also known as Jagotra. The Vadera clan of the Bhils also arrived about the same time. Today, except the Vadera, none of those early inhabitants are found. The village temple of Bheru had been built by the joint efforts of the Vadera and the Sisodia. (Doshi 1974:23). Except the Vadera all other Bhil clans of Pai settled in a period of less than 200 years.

Physical Structure

This largest village of the panchayat sprawling in an area of 3018 hectares (census 1991), at a distance of 29 kms from Udaipur city, is surrounded by Kaada phala,
Kotda Water Tank, Western high hills and Naal phala of Alsigarh in the north, by Pipalwaas and Kumariya Kheda in the east, by Footi Talai of Khajuri, Idakmal and Palya Kheda in the south and by Oguna, Paanarwa and Goraana in the west. The area ranging 8-10 km from east to west and 10-12 Kms from north to south is too much intercepted by the westwardly hillocks; criss-crossed by rivulets in the north and the east; ramified by streamlets and ridges in the south and depicted by undulating ridged matrix of valley in the centre. Being a comparatively better village in flora and fauna, it has thinly dispersed trees like mango, mahua, bar, pipal, babul, baheda and some hedges and bushes in the valley. In the rainy season almost entire village assumes a green cover. The forested westward high hillocks extending towards north -the green crown of the village- have since last 40 years been a bone of contest between the state Forest Department endeavouring to construct a boundary wall for their protection and the people settled by trespassing therein. The Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road bisects the village. From it, a kachcha road goes to wada phala of Alsigarh, another to Kumaariya Kheda, Khajuri and other villages in the south-east and an incomplete one upto 2-3 kms towards its Nala phala. A few kachcha roads built by forest contractors in the past and innumerable footpaths are in use to approach the higher reaches. Except a few adjoining huts in the valley, mostly it is difficult for an outsider to locate huts dispersed in a frequently undulating and forest-covered topography. It is typically differentiated into 14 phalas and sub-phalas: Mual, Vadla, Hamli Pipla, Raatagarh, Sindhi Ghaati, Dhora Ghaati, Nala, Nichla, Nalvat, Paaba, Kemri, Khildi and Dhindhwaarh. Traditionally the people depending on water sources like nallahs, water tanks and a community well have, today, additional sources like private wells, five anicuts and fourteen handpumps. The shopkeepers and a few hut owners have taken connections of electricity.

Social Structure

Population

In the census years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991, there were, in all, 1057, 1512, 1812 and 2518 persons respectively in the village. Of them, there were 946, 1209, 1584 and 2449 persons respectively of the Bhil population; 39, 90, 15 and 37 of the SC population and 72, 213, 213 and 32 persons of the non-ST/SC population. The respective growth rate in the decades 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91 for the Bhil population is 27.8%, 31.01% and 54.61%. These data indicate that (i) the presence of caste population in the village is a constant and significant phenomenon in the post-Independence years, (ii) the presence of the caste populations is of unstable, fluctuating and decreasing nature in all these years and (iii) the growth rate of Bhil population in the village shows a markedly significant increase, specially in the last of decades.

Sex Composition

The female ratio per '000 males in the years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 is 971, 1035, 980 and 944 respectively. This low female ratio in Pai may owe to greater presence of the mobile caste population which generally keep females at some place of permanent residence in a caste village or a city.
Household/Family

In 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 the number of occupied households is 200, 263, 331 and 489 respectively. The household size in the respective years is 5.3, 5.75, 5.48 and 5.15 persons and the respective decadal household growth rate is 31.15%, 25.86% and 47.73%, i.e., 3.12%, 2.59% and 4.78% households increased per year in the respective decades. The household size does not show any significant variation during the years and the household growth rate shows a significant variation of increase in the last decade. The village has the largest number of families in the panchayat, i.e., 563 families.

Gotra and Caste

Families are distributed over 29 gotras and 4 castes: Kataara-172, Kharaadi-77, Paargi-76, Bhagora-38, Khokharia-37, Hiraavat-34, Daamar-24, Relat-20, Bodar and Sapania 12 each, Daama, Taavad and Vadera 7 each, Sokaara-5, Chunkaara-4, Aahri-3, Kasota, Kateria, Kharwad and Od-2 each, Bhudra, Chhaanya, Hagya/Sagya, Patela and Talovia-1 each, Naath-8, Khatik-4 and Balaai and Muslim Bohra 1 each. This large number of gotras and castes provides a typical character to a tribal village.

Caste-Tribe Pattern

The perceivable pattern of the SC and the non-ST/SC populations characterized by ups and downs shows that caste people in the tribal villages are transit settlers pursuing their occupational interests only. Difference between their male and female populations also corroborates the fact. Increasing involvement of development agencies of the government and upcoming tribal entrepreneurship have reduced the presence of Mahajans and other traders among the tribals. Moreover, due to their occupational changes and commuting labour, the villages does not hold much even for the functionary castes such as Balai, Carpenters, Blacksmiths or Barbers.

Cultural Structure

By their beliefs, the families of villages are divided into three divisions: Hindu-520, Christians-33 and Mussalman-1. Hindu families are divided into two divisions: (i) The caste Hindu families-13 distributed into Naath, Khatik, Nagaarchi and Balaai and (ii) the Hinduized tribal families-516. The Hinduized Bhils are further divisible into two categories: (i) The Bhagats and (ii) the non-Bhagats. At present the village has six Bhagats: Thvara Paargi, Nana Kataara, Shankar Kharaadi, Dharma Bhagora, Kakuram Bhagora and Ratna Kataara.

The Naath/Saadhu

Officiating marriage and death ceremonies, they are the recognized priests of the Bhils. As being tribalized (Chauhan 1978: 38-80) in their habits, diet and rituals, they eat meat, drink liquor, receive in kind on harvests and rituals and ceremonies and live in similar huts. As of the Bhils, they also for livelihood are distributed over a few occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-4, and agriculture and shopkeeping, agriculture and service and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour 1 each. Economically they are slightly better off than the Bhils but socially the Bhils consider themselves superior to the Saadhus/Naaths (Doshi 1978:19). They abide by the decision taken by the Bhil leaders.
More than any other section of the population, they are found to have taken different economic vocations.

**The Balaai**

There is only one family of Balaai in Pai. A Balaai has the duty to remove dead cattle, to make shoes for his patrons, and leather bags (chadas) for drawing water from wells for irrigation. He is public announcer and messenger for the village. In the traditional set-up of a Bhil village, a Balaai has no real function as the Bhils have no aversion to removing of dead animals and skinning them off. In Pai, the Balaai mainly plays role of a messenger and announcer. If there is a death in the village he shouts from one hill to another conveying the news of death. He also receives *sunkdipaara* (in kind) on harvests.

**The Nagaarchi/Dholi (Drum Beater)**

There are 2 Nagarchi families in the village to beat drum on marriage, death or festival ceremonies. Traditionally they too have not been important or indispensable in the Bhil set-up as the latter are also good drum beaters. They also get *sunkdipaara* at harvests. On the social as well as economic scale the Dholis are distinctly lower than the Bhils. They have land, but being lazy and of the habit of depending on others' income they are the poorest section of the village. Today, both the families pursue the *jajmani* and labour for livelihood.

**The Khatik (Tanners)**

Traditional skin tanners, the Khatiks, entered the tribal village to trade in sheep and goats. As a link between the city and the tribal villages, they purchased sheep and goats from the Bhil to sell in the city and to the Bhils as well, when they required. Of three Khatik families in Pai, 2 families have retail shops alongwith trading in sheep and goats and 1 family operates a truck to transport stones, tiles, etc.

**The Muslim Bohra**

A single mussalman trader from Udaipur is settled in the village to run a grocery shop. He frequently visits Udaipur.

**The Christians**

Influence of Christianity goes long back to the British period when some Christian parties arranged villagewide feast parties and recited *bhajans*. But that impression lasted a short while. Actually it came 65 years ago, about the same time as the Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalasia Road was being constructed through this area (Doshi 1978: 19). Earlier the village adopted an inflexible attitude towards the converts and refused to take them back in the fold of Bhil society. The Christians are looked at with suspicion because the converts are forever cut from a family, lineage, gotra and Bhil society. The 33 Christian families in the village are distributed over 6 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-24, agriculture, sericulture and labour and agriculture and service 3 each and agriculture, sericulture and service, agriculture, service and labour and agriculture, shopkeeping, service and labour 1 each.
Cultural Structure

Bheru Baavji, Hanuman, Malya Maata (Tiral Maata or Kheda Devi), Magra Baaba, Mera Baaba, Ramdev, Heetla/Sheetla Maata, Masaania Mahadev, Jargaji, Nilwa/Lilwa Mahadev and Fatehpur (Bheru) Baavji are the villagewide deities. Besides, each family worship a pantheon of Bhomias, Khetlo (deity of the land), a gotra deity, and, sometimes, Sikotra or deity of evils.

There exist 3 churches in the village affiliated to two different sects of Christianity: (i) Philadelphia Church and (ii) Penti-coastal Church. Major festivals are Nabarta of Magra Baaba, Raakhi, Bhadra Badi Ka Jagaran, Gavri, Nabarta of Bheru and Maata, Diwaali (Khenkhra), Bhomia and Matlok, Hakrant/Samkranti, Jaagran of Maghchhat, Holi and Sheetla Maata. The villagers participate in the fairs of Badrayana (Jhadol) and Baghpura and organize a single day fair after Holi at the Masaania Mahadev in their own village.

Political Structure


Dito Ba Hiraavat, Daula Hiraavat, Dharam Das Bhagora, Kaku Ram Bhagora, Thavra Paargi, Lalu Ram Daamar are the bhopas and the sevaks of various deities. Formal-institutional leader are Dito Ba Hiraavat, Lalu Ram Daamar, Galali Bai Daamar, Khemraj Bhagora, Surji Bhai Bhagora, Kaku Ram Bhagora, Bheru Lal Bhagora, Dheera Bhai Kataara, Prabhu Das Kataara, Dita Kataara, Javeri Bai Kataara, Waloo Ram Kataara, Rama Kataara, Moti Lal Khokharia, Bhaga Kharaadi and Amba Lal Meghwaal.

Dito Ba Hiraavat, Kaku Ram Bhagora and Lalu Ram Damaar are waatawaalas, bhopas and formal (panchayat) leaders. Surji Bhai Bhagora is a waatawaala, padri and ward panch. Dheera Bhai Kataara, Dita Kataara, Waloo Ram Kataara, Rama Kataara and Bhaga Kharaadi are, both, Waatawaalas and formal leaders at the same time.

Occupations

Drawing their occupational combinations from agriculture, sericulture, shopkeeping, service, labour, jajmani and transport (truck) service, the families in the village are distributed over 13 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-461, agriculture-31, agriculture and sericulture-18, agriculture and service-16, agriculture and sericulture and services-9, agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-5, agriculture, service and labour-4, shopkeeping-3, jajmani and labour and agriculture, sericulture and service 2 each and agriculture, shopkeeping, service and labour-1. This large occupational categorization indicates differentiation and accretion owing to physical variations and social differentiations of a nature different from that in the previous of two villages.
The institutions representing the state system in the village are: Middle school-1, Primary Schools-2, Shishu Mandir-1, Aanganbadi Kendras-2, Post office-1, Patwaar Ghar-1, Sericulture Centre-1, Co-operative Society-1, Dispensary-1, Homoeopathic Sub-health Centre-1 and Hand Pumps-14.

Briefly, Pai is a village of the large spatial social cultural, political and occupational differentiation, accretion and syncretism making a matrix of traditional-informal and modern-formal features. Such characteristic features will be quite obvious in a structural discussion of its phalas.

Mual

Location

Known as the phala of Mahua trees (abundantly grown in the past) and centrally located, this main phala of the village is surrounded by Vadla phala in the north and the east; by Kumaariya Kheda village and Nala Phala in the south; by Paaba and Khildi in the west. The Udaipur-Jhadol-Phalsia Road bisects it into two halves: The southern and the northern. At the Bus stand in the phala, a number of shops and institutions are situated. In the northern half - on the right of road, there is the post office, a liquor shop, 2 grocery shops and 2 tea shops. Behind them is a middle school building and an Aanganbaadi Kendra adjoining just behind it. At a distance of few yards towards the Bohra Ghaati in the west, there is a Public Distribution Shop, Church (Penti Coastal) and a hand pump. On the other side, i.e., in the east, after a distance of a few yards, there is a building of Aadiwasi Mahila Sahkari Samiti, Pai, Ltd. The southern half has three important places: the Bus Stand, the Sindhi Ghaati and the Bohra Ghaati or Nilwa Ghaati. At the Bus Stand this part has a church (Philadelphia), 3 tea shops, a cigarette cabin, 2 vegetable shops, a grocery shop and a flour mill. At the Sindhi Ghaati there is a dispensary and downward to the Bus Stand is a Patwaar Ghar and a Sericulture Centre. At the Nilwa/Lilwa Ghaati, there is a Nilwa Mahadev temple known after the greenery of trees in the Ghati. Just down to it, towards the Bus Stand, there is a Community Bhavan at Thavra Paargi’s house to enshrine Jargaji there-in. The Bhavan is built under the Government aid to the panchayat. Beyond these points are the huts dispersed widely. Despite the limited space, no adjoining huts, except a few ones near the Penti-Coastal Church, are seen. The phala has only a few mahua and very few mango trees. In the rainy season the low sides and slopes of the ridges and hills are covered by grass, hedges and some bushes. The people depend on the nallahs, an anicut/water tank and 4 hand pumps. The hand pumps are, one each, found installed at the Bus Stand, near the Penti-Coastal Church, between the Bus Stand and the Community Bhavan (Jargaji) and on the southern ridges. A few people such as Dheera Bhai Kataara, Dana Kataara and Khemraj Bhagora have their private wells. Shopkeepers and a few other such as Dheera Bhai Kataara have taken electricity connection for domestic use.

Family, Gotra and Caste

The phala consists of the largest number of families, i.e. 78 families distributed over 12 gotras and a caste: Khokharia-19, Chunkaara-4, Daamar and Hiraavat-3 each, Kataara and Paargi-13 each, Bhagora-10, Relat-5, Kharaadi, Od and Vadera 2 each and Patela
and Naath 1 each. The distribution shows presence of a good number of gotras and a caste in a limited space. The Nath caste family of Ganga Ram has a tea shop at the Bus Stand along with the occupation of agriculture. Mual, being the phala of initiation of Christianity in Pai, has the largest number of Christians, i.e., 24 out of 33 Christian families in the village. Thavra Paargi, Nana Kataara and Kaku Ram Bhagora are three bhagats in the phala.

**Religion**

Just at the footholds of the Lilwa Mahadev Ghaati (heights), the temple of Nilwa Mahadev is served by Kakuram Bhagora - the sevak (Priest) and, sometimes, by Lalu Ram Daamar. Thavra Paargi has the idols of Ramdev Baaba’s horses and his associate Jargaji - a Meghwaal which are to be installed in the newly prepared Community Bhavan. Vardichand Bhagora is the Padri of the Penti-Coastal Church. Surji Bhai Bhagora, Motilal Khokharia and Sundarlal Khokharia are pasters associated with the Church. The Philadelphia Church is served by the padri, Mr. Tajender. Every sunday the Christians of the village and the nearby villages come to pray in the churches.

**Leadership**

Rama Bhagora and Thavra Paargi are the selected gameti and bhaanigadia respectively of the phala. The waatawaalas from the phala are Lalu Ram Daamar, Khemraj Bhagora, Dheera Bhai Kataara, Surji Bhai Bhagora, Vardichand Bhagora, Kaku Ram Bhagora and Hurma Kataara. Former Sarpanch - Lalu Ram Daamar, former Up sarpanch - Prabhu Das Kataara and former ward panches - Khemraj Bhagora, Dheera Bhai Kataara, Motilal Khokharia, Kakuram Bhagora and Surji Bhai Bhagora formed the formal-institutional leadership from the phala. Of them, Lalu Ram Daamar, Kaku Ram Bhagora and Surji Bhai Bhagora have assumed a triple leadership and the rest - a double leadership from the four streams.

**Occupations**

78 families of the phala are distributed over 6 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-68, agriculture and service-4, agriculture, sericulture and labour-3, and agriculture and shopkeeping, agriculture, sericulture and service and agriculture, service and labour 1 each. 24 Christian families from the phala are distributed over three occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-17, agriculture, service and sericulture and agriculture, sericulture and labour 1 each. This occupational pattern indicates attempts of the phala fellows to exploit all possibilities available for livelihood, and the Hindus and the Christians concur in this regard.

**Hamli Pipla**

**Location**

Located in the eastern hills of the village, Hamli (or Saamli) Pipla phala, i.e., the phala of the confronting pipal tree is widely sprawled in the area after its initial spread around a pipal tree. Today the phala is differentiated into three sub-phalas: The Sindhi
Ghaati, the Raatagarh and the Dhora Ghaati. The phala is surrounded by Mual in the south, by Vadla in the west, by Alsigarh in the north and by Pipalwaas in the east. The Sindhi Ghaati - a road slope in the south is known after a Sindhi who had a shop on the top of the Ghaati and long back he returned to Udaipur. Now Jeetmal Khatik occupies his house and runs a flour mill there. The Raatagarh - castle of red stones - is situated to the north of the pipal tree. The Dhora Ghaati is a steep height of the road to the east of the Pipal. The settlements around these points have come to be known after them. The phala is overwhelmingly intercepted by the ridges. Only a few trees, bushes and grasses are available in the nallahs. The phala people around the Pipal depend for water on a nallah flowing northward down the hills, an anicut therein and two handpumps, one each, at the Raatagarh and the Sindhi Ghaati. Those in far off areas have to depend on nallahs and a few of private wells. Except a Khatik family and the Government institutions at the Sindhi Ghaati, no phala man has availed of electricity.

**Family, Gotra, Caste and Religion**

75 families of the phala are distributed over three gotras and a caste: Kharaadi-43, Kataara-28, Hiraavat-1 and Khatik-3. Of the Khatiks, 2 are shopkeepers and 1 is a truck owner. The phala is not so much differentiated socially than physically. Presence of the Khatik owes to the residential location on the road. Ratan Kataara is the only bhat from the phala. The phala has, now, its own Bheru Baavji and Magra Baaba. Mostly they have to come down to worship the deities in the rest of phalas.

**Leadership**

Kalu Kharaadi and Daula Kharaadi are the appointed gameti and bhaanjgadia respectively in the phala. The waatawaalas are: Bhaga Kharaadi, Dewa Kharaadi and Thavra Kharaadi. Bhaga Kharaadi is the only former ward panch from the phala. Thus, Bhaga Kharaadi is, both, a waatawaala as well as a formal leader.

**Occupations**

The families of the phala are distributed over four occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-71, shop-keeping-2 and agriculture and shopkeeping and truck operation 1 each. Owing to its hazardous physiography, the phala has least possibilities for occupational differentiation.

**Nala**

**Location**

Deriving its name from a water streamlet flowing down from the Nilwa Mahadev Ghaati towards the south for 5-6 kms., Nala or the phala of streamlet is located amidst innumerable ridges in the backdrop of high hills all around in the south of Mual. In the east of it is Footi Talai and Khajuri, in the south is Idakmaal and Paalyakheda and in the west is Paaba phala. A kachcha link road originating from the Udaipur-Jhadoi-Phalasia Road at the Mual Bus Stand goes upto half the way to the phala. The footpaths are not motorable. Mostly baheda trees are seen here and there amidst the ridges. The people
have to depend on the streamlet water stored in an anicut and on a private well of the Padri, Kesa Talovia. The school at Ambawa Pargi’s house in the south and the church in the north of the phala stand at a distance of half a kilometre facing one other.

**Family, Gotra and Religion**

75 families of the phala are distributed into 13 gotras: Paargi-36, Kataara-12, Daama-7, Sokaara-5, Kharadi and Khokharia 3 each, Daam and Kharwad 2 each and Bhagora, Bhudra, Taawad, Talovia and Vadera 1 each. A family of the padri is the only Christian family in the phala. Religious places of Bheru Baavji, Nimach Maata and Magra Baaba exist in the phala. Magra Baaba idol is installed on a high hill in the south. Kana Paargi is the bhopa of the deities and Hawa Paargi - the Kotwal or assistant of the bhopa. There is a branch of the Philadelphia Church served by Kesa Talovia, the Padri. The people from Footi Talaai, Khajuri, Idakmaal, Paalyakheda, Kimri and Dhimdi come on every sunday to pray in the church.

**Leadership**

Kalu Paargi and Kesa Talovia are the selected gameti and bhaanjgadia respectively in the phala. Ambawa Paargi and Jalma Paargi are the waatawaalas.

**Occupations**

The families are distributed over 4 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-71, agriculture, shopkeeping and labour-2 and agriculture, sericulture and labour and agriculture, shopkeeping, service and labour 1 each.

**Vadla**

**Location**

In the shape of an undulating tabloid just in the centre of the village, this phala of bar (banyan) tree as named after a big bar (corrupted vadla or badla) tree visible from all directions in the valley is bound in the west by (Paba) Khildi hills, in the north by anallah, overflowing the Tiraal Mata Dara water Tank, circuiting towards east, north and, again, east to separate it from Gawaadi and Nichla phalas; in the east by a wide streamlet passing along the Hamli Pipla-Raataragh-hills and in the west by Mual phala beyond the Road. The raised level, tabloid shape, central location and presence of a number of banyan (vadla) trees are the characteristic features of the phala. Besides, a few mango and mahua trees are also present there. For water, the people depend on the Tiral Maata Dara Water Tank, the community well and a handpump in the streamlet bed, the Masaania Mahadev streamlet and 2 hand pumps, one each, at the Devra and the Aamli Chowrah in the centre of the phala. Electricity is not available to any of the huts. Major identifiable points in the phala are the Bus stand, the Vadla, the Heetla/Sheetla Magri and the Aamli Chowrah. The Vadla area of the phala is the highest one with the big banyan tree. In the south of it is the Bus Stand on the Road and in the west is the Sheetla Magri by the house of the village gameti, Vaka Ba Kataara and confronting to his is that of the village bhaanjgadia, Heera Ba Kataara. Just behind the Magri is the Aamli Chowrah - the place around a
tamarind tree. Down the Chowrah in the north-west is the Devra of Bheru Baavji and on the hilltop is the place of Magra Baaba looking over the Tiral Maata Water Tank. The middle school, the Anganbadi Kendra and the Sahkaari Samiti are situated near the Bus Stand and the Homoeopathic Public Sub-Health Centre at the Aamli Chowrah. The kachcha link road to Alsigarh also passes through the phala.

**Family, Gotra, Caste and Religion**

70 families are distributed over 3 gotras and 3 castes: Kataara-48, Hiraavat-13, Paargi-2, Naath-5 and Muslim Bohra and Nagarchi 1 each. Only a single (Kataara) Christian family is found in the phala.

In the north-west, on a hill, Magra Baaba -the deity of hills- is on guard of health, happiness and pleasure of the villagers to ward off the jungle-born dangers of animals, robbers, etc. Just at the bottom is the Devra of Bheru Baavji -the chief tribal god with Polya Baavji- the god at its gate and a Hanuman on its right side, atop the middle hill is Mera Baaba, i.e., Meh-Ra-Baaba or the god of rains situated in the south of Ganga Ram Saadhu’s house and in the north is Ramdev Baaba’s Mandir for the Naath families in the village. Parallel to it is the Aamli Chimrah beyond that is Sheetla Magri -the place of Sheetla goddess. Near the big bar (banyan) is the pantheon of Bhomias of Kataaras from the phala. In the streamlet beyond the bar area-in the footholds of the Sindh Ghaati -Hamli Pipla- Raatagarh hill range is Masaania Mahadev where dead bodies are cremated. A fair is also organized at the Mahadev every year after Holi. Since last 2-3 years villagers have not organized the fair in the wake of rising clashes between the Bhil lads from different villages.

**Leadership**

Vaka Ba Kataara, the village gameti, is assisted by bhaanjgadias of the phala such as Hardara Kataara, Thavra Kataara and Shankar Kataara. The waatawaala stream of leadership is consisted of Waloo Ram Kataara, Rama Kataara, Javeri Bai Kataara and Dita Kataara. These four waatawaalas have also been ward panches in the panchayat.

**Occupations**

The families of the phala are divided into seven occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-56, agriculture and service-5, agriculture and shopkeeping-4 and agriculture, sericulture and labour-2, agriculture shopkeeping and labour, jajmani and labour and shopkeeping 1 each. These divisions indicate adequate occupational multiplication and differentiation of the families. The Christian family pursues the occupational combination of agriculture, service and labour.

**Gawaadi**

Receiving its name from the spot of greenery this phala is carved in a round shape by the Tiraal Maata Dara -the streamlet. The streamlet flows over the water tank at Tiraal Maata Temple in the western hills towards east taking a roundabout to join the second one from the hills near Nichla phala. Thus, it is bound by the high hills in the west and separated from Vadla and Nichla phalas by the two streamlets flowing down towards
each other. The people depend for water on the Tiraal Maata Water Tank and a handpump in the first streamlet which shared with Vadla phala. Earlier it was a part of Nichla Phala.

**Family, Gotra, Caste, Religion and Leadership**

20 families are distributed over 7 gotras and 2 castes: Hiraavat-5, Aahri, Bodar and Khokharia-3 each, Chhaanya, Kharaadi and Sapania-1 each, Naath-2 and Meghwaal-1. Temple of **Tiraal/Dara/Malya Maata** - the village deity - is situated beyond the water tank and **Magra Baaba** from the hilltop looks over the phala. Shankar Kharaadi is a bhagat in the phala.

Dito Ba Hiraavat and Virji Aahri are the selected gameti and bhaanjgadia respectively of the phala. Kanji ba Sapania and Thavra Chhaanya are the waataawaalas. Dito Ba Hiraavat, Kanji Ba Sapania and Virma Aahri are the bhopas of Bheru Bavji, Malya Maata and Sikotri respectively. Dito Ba Hiraavat has been a ward panch also. Kanji Sapania is a waataawaala and a bhopa, both.

**Occupations**

The families are distributed over 5 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-9, agriculture and sericulture-4, agriculture and service and agriculture, service and labour 3 each and agriculture, sericulture and service-1. In addition to 5 private wells, the phala is gifted with irrigation facilities from the Tiraal Maata Water Tank built under the community development programme in 1965.

**Nichla**

**Location**

This phala known as that of low lands is situated in opposition to Gawaadi and Vadla phalas, separated by the two streamlets flowing down from the western hills, bound by gradually sloping and undulating land of Nalvat phala in the north and distinguished by a deep streamlet in the east. The phala is identifiable into two parts: The one is the main land phala in the west having a few mango trees and the second one lost in the innumerable ridges and bushy vegetation in the east. It has a kachcha water tank and a hand pump on the northern tip, besides the one shared with Vadla and Gawaadi in the south.

**Family, Gotra, Caste and Leadership**

Forty-eight families are distributed over 6 gotras and 1 caste: Kataara-24, Paargi-10, Sapania-8, Bodar-3, Kasotia-2 and Nagaarchi-1. There is no village level deity in the phala.

Dhanji Ba Kataara and Virma Kataara are the selected gameti and bhaanjgadia respectively of the phala. The waataawaalas are: Virka Kataara, Nanu Kataara, Mangla Kataara, Dharma Paargi and Fakira Bodar. Dhanji Ba Kataara contested for the office of Sarpanch in 1964-65 and Shankar Kataara for that of ward panch in 1988. Both of them lost the elections.
Occupations

The families are distributed over four occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-44, agriculture and service-2 and agriculture and shopkeeping and jajmani and labour 1 each. Only Dhanji Ba Kataara has a well to irrigate the lands.

Paaba

Location

The phala named after the water source and situated beyond the Nilwa Mahadev Ghaati is surrounded by Nala phala and Palya Kheda village in the south, by Kemri in the west, by Dhindhwaar in the north and by Mual in the east. The road bi-sects it from east to west-south. It is subdivided into four sub-phalas: Nilwa Mahadev Ghaati, Paaba, Fatehpur Baavji and Ran Ghaati. Just on the Nilwa Ghaati huts are found on the left of the road; still up there is a primary school, Indira Awaas Yojna and some adjoining huts on the right of the Road and some huts dispersed on both the sides; one kilometre ahead is the Fatehpur Baavji with dispersed huts and on the border of the village is the Ran Ghaati of dispersed huts where, according to the villagers, a war was fought fiercely. The people depend on the water tank near Fatehpur Baavji, streamlets and 3 handpumps, one each, at the Nilwa Mahadev Ghaati, Paaba and Fatehpur Baavji.

Family, Gotra, Religion and Leadership

Forty-nine families are distributed over 5 gotras: Bhagora-18, Relat-15, Paargi-10, and Kharaadi and Khokharia 3 each. The temple of Bheru -constructed by and named after the prince Fateh Singh of Udaipur- is the major deity of the village. Dharam Das Bhagora is the bhopa of the deity and, in his absence, Kaku Ram Bhagora comes from the Nilwa Mahadev of Mual. Ramaji and Thavra are the gameti and the bhaanjgadia respectively of the phala. The waatawaalas are: Dharam Das Bhagora, Kalu Bhagora, Nathu Relat, Lalu Bhagora and Kesa Paargi. Bheru Lal Bhagora is a ward panch from the phala. Dharam Das Bhagora is, both, bhopa and waatawaala.

Occupations

The families are distributed over 4 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-44, agriculture, service and labour-3, and agriculture, shopkeeping and labour and agriculture and service 1 each.

Nalvat

Location

The region of rivulets frequently criss-crossed by water courses flowing down from the western hills and the southern and eastern ridges is bound by the western hills, by Nichla phala in the north and the east and by the Kotda Water Tank in the north. The
phala looks all the way patchy and green. The people depend for water on rivulets, a private well and the Water Tank.

**Family, Gotra, Religion and Leadership**

Thirty-seven families are distributed over four gotras: Kataara-14, Kharaadi-12, Bodar-6 and Bhagora-5. On the north-western hills is Magra Baaba attended by Khatu Kataara (sevak). Khatu Kataara and Fauja Kataara are the selected gameti and bhaanjgadia respectively of the phala. The waatawaalas are: Ambawa Bhagora, Dharma Kharaadi and Phula Ba Kataara.

**Occupations**

The families are distributed over three occupational categories: Agriculture-21, agriculture and sericulture-14 and agriculture and labour-2. Fauja Kataara and the people nearby yield a number of crops drawing water from rivulets, the Kotda Water Tank and Fauja’s well.

**Khildi**

The high lands is a phala of extensions from the main phalas into the western hills range. It is subdivided into three parts: Paaba Khildi, Vadla Khildi and Nalvat Khildi, socio-culturally, each of them, depended on the main phalas. The khildis are surrounded in the north by Dhindhwaar, in the south by Paaba and in the west by Kemri.

Thirty-eight families distributed by their gotras over the three khildis are: Paaba Khildi-14 (Khokharia-6 and Bhagora and Vadera 4 each), Vadla Khildi-13 (Kataara-9 and Hiraavat-3) and Nalvat Khildi-11 (Kataara-5, Kharaadi-4 and Paargi-2). In all, 38 families are distributed over 7 gotras: Kataara-14, Khokharia-6, Bhagora, Hiraavat, Kharaadi and Vadera 4 each and Paargi-2. The families are distributed over 4 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour-24, agriculture-10, agriculture and shopkeeping-3 and agriculture and service-1.

**Kemri**

**Location**

Known after the Kemri trees (found abundantly in the past), this phala is situated in an undulated land frequently ruptured by rivulets amidst the high hills. It is surrounded by Palya Kheda in the south, Ogana-Panarwa in the west, Dhindhwaar phala in the north and Paaba in the east. Located in an inaccessible part of lands, it is all the way green or lush green with trees such as baheda, bar, pipal, dhavda, bamboo, babul, etc. Only footpaths are the apporach to the phala.

**Family, Gotra, Religion and Leadership**

55 families are distributed over 9 gotras: Daamar-19, Kataara-10, Hiraavat and Taaved 6 each, Kharaadi-5, Khokharia and Sapania 3 each, Kateria-2 and Sagya-1. The
phala has the religious places of Bheru Baavji and Magra Baaba. Shankar Daamar and Gopilal Daamar are selected gameti and bhaanjgadia respectively of the phala. Waatawaalas are: Chhattra Daamar, Lalu Hiraavat and Kalu Hiraavat. Galali Bai Daamar has been a ward panch.

Dhindhwaarh

The phala of dense forests is situated on the north-west tip of the hills, surrounded by Gorana in the west, Naal phala of Alsigarh in the North, several layers of rising hill ranges in the east and Kemri in the south. Amidst the high hills and dense forests preserved by the Forest Department, it depend for water on streamlets.

Eighteen families are distributed over 4 gotras: Kataara-9, Kharaadi-4, Paargi-3 and Hiraavat-2. Culturally the phala people depend on their parent phalas. Kalu Hiraavat, Dharma Hiraavat and Dharma Kharaadi are the waatawaalas in the phala. Politically they are related to their parent phalas. All, settled on the Kabja (grabbed) lands, are pursuing agriculture and labour.

In brief, Pai is a typical tribal village characterized by physical differentiation into a large number of phalas and sub-phalas found with frequent topographical variations, social differentiation at all the levels into multiple gotras and a few castes, religious differentiation of deities all along the physical and social levels, differentiation of leadership all along the physical and social divisions and occupational differentiation into a sufficient number of occupational combinations in the given physical conditions.

On the whole, micro-settings of the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat -though seemingly homogeneous- differ in their levels of social, religious, occupational and political differentiation which owes to their differential topographies and experiences and interactions with the external world.