Productive activities of potters mainly consist of production (manufacture) of clay objects, such as pots, bricks, tiles etc. Besides these as their main occupation, they also engage themselves in other activities like agriculture and trade as subsidiary occupation (or adopted occupation). These features indicate mixed economy and pursuit of various occupations. But on the basis of their specialised field of production of clay objects - they divide themselves into two main occupational categories. These two occupational categories are:

2. Intawala - those who manufacture bricks.

Majority of the potters belong to vasanwala category. Vasanwalas are found in villages as well as in cities. In Baroda, Broach and Panchmahals districts the following
groups$^1$ of potters can be included in Vasanwala occupational category.


The second occupational category of potters who specialise in manufacture of bricks is known as Intawala. This category consists of the Dalwadi group. Besides this group, some of the other groups also occasionally manufacture bricks. For example, Varia and Gurjar potters of Dahod taluka of Panchmahals district manufacture bricks during summer, and pots during other seasons. But they are known as Vasanwalas.

The Vasanwala class of potters can also be divided into a number of sub-categories according to their professional expertise. These sub-categories consists of -

(a) Those potters who make all types of pots but specialise in big water jar (matala), doni etc. They are Gurjar potters of Panchmahals district and Ahir potters of Broach district.

(b) Those potters who prepare only small pots and

$^1$ These groups of potters are described in Chapter III. Various types of clay objects, whose local names occur in this chapter, are described in detail in Chapter VI.
specialize in this field only. This sub-category consists of Maru, Ajmeri, Khambhati, Vatalia, Sindhi or Momana groups of potters.

(c) Those potters who specialize in tribal crafts: They prepare handmade toys, moulded toys, murtis (idols), different types of terracotta objects etc. Their main profession is to prepare different types of murtis (idols) of gods and goddesses and toys. Mainly Ajmeri potters belong to this category. However, some of the Varia potters and Gurjar potters also prepare objects of tribal craft according to the local demand. For example, Varia potters of 'zoz' village of Chhotudaipur taluka of Baroda district prepare various types of objects of tribal craft for the local people.

(d) Those potters who prepare only smoking objects like hukka, cheelam, dhoopadani (ence - burner) and small diya and lamp. This sub category consists of Vatalias. They are also known as Kathiawadi potters. They are mostly found in Baroda district and are well known for their manufacture of cheelam, hukka and lamp. Besides this group, Varia of Panchmahals district also prepare this type of objects.

(e) Preparation of rooftiles is also one of the potters'
jobs, and many potters do this work along with the work of preparing other objects. Therefore, it is difficult to describe this profession as a specialized activity. However, generally Gurjar, Khambhati, Varia and Maru groups manufacture rooftiles according to the demand of the locality.

Table 4.1 (given on next page) shows various groups of potters and their specialised activities and adopted occupations.

2. PRODUCTION PROCESS AND FACTORS AFFECTING PRODUCTION

Main profession of potters from ancient times is manufacture of clay pots and utensils. Production is organised on household basis, and their household economy depends on the quantity and quality of production. The type of pots and utensils which they produce and the quantity of production is mainly governed by the following factors:

(A) Demand
(B) Availability of raw-material
(C) Manpower and division of labour
(D) Market accessibility.
Table 4.1: Showing Potters Groups and their Traditional and Adopted Occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the potters group</th>
<th>Traditional Manufacture of Clay Objects</th>
<th>Adopted</th>
<th>Selling the prepared pots</th>
<th>Services in Govt. &amp; Private sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Big pots</td>
<td>Small pots</td>
<td>Smoking objects</td>
<td>Terra-cottas toys etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurjar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khambhati</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatalia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmeri</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi or Momana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalwadi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 0 = Existence of the occupation.
- = Non-existence of the occupation.
(A) Demand

The type, quality and quantity of pots and utensils is geared to the market demand in the first place. If the demand for a particular type of pots at a particular place is more, the potters try to supply the required types. However, given the demand, the other three factors (mentioned above) exercise a constraint on supply.

(B) Availability of Raw-material

Availability of raw material is an important factor in potters' economy. The most important raw material is clay. In this craft clay always plays a dominant role. The production and quality of the pots depends on the availability of good quality of clay.\(^2\)

In those villages where good quality of clay is available, the potters turn out good quality of pots, but where such type of clay is not available potters only produce small pots, usually for local consumption. Sometimes, even local people do not prefer such low quality pots and depend upon import from distant villages or places. When the clay is not suitable to the needs of the potters, they temper it

---

2 Quality of clay is described in Chapter V. Good quality clay is so proportionate in its ingredients that it does not require tempering and can be easily moulded into variety of shapes. Heat resistance and quality of baking which determines the durability of the pots also depends on quality of clay.
with other raw materials such as ass-dung, ashes, straw etc. to make it homogenous. Specially when the clay is very sticky, its mixing with nonplastic materials, described above, becomes essential. However, when such materials are mixed with clay, its capacity of bearing temperature is reduced. Pots made from such mixed clay cannot be fired to adequate degree of temperature, and hence they would be more fragile. This reduces their durability. When ass-dung is mixed with clay, the pots give a peculiar (bad) smell during rainy season. People who are aware of such type of pots, never buy them. It has been noticed that even some potters do not like such pots, because it causes pollution according to them.

At some places where potters do not get suitable clay for preparing pots and other objects, they bring it from some other places. For example Vatalia group of potters in Baroda district buy clay from 'Than' in Jamnagar district for preparing hukka, cheelam, lamp etc., as the local clay is not suitable for the making of these objects. At some places where the entire area is under cultivation, the potters cannot get clay from their surroundings and in that case they have to bring clay from far off places. However, bringing clay from distant places adds to the cost of raw-
material and hence makes many types of objects rather costly and uneconomical to produce. In such situation they produce only selected objects which are in great demand. This reduces their overall quantity of production and limits the varieties of supply.

Second important raw-material is firewood. At places where firewood is available, this industry is going on well. But, where it is not available, it is difficult for the potters to carry on their profession.

Panchmahals district being covered by hilly and forest tracts, has a good supply of firewood. Easy availability of firewood is a factor which keeps the potters in their profession in spite of difficulties of obtaining good clay. Good quality clay is not generally available in Panchmahals. The only exception in this district is the area around Dhoral village. This area has good clay. In fact the clay around this area is so good and abundant that organised ceramics industry has developed in this area which has also attracted a large number of traditional potters as wage paid labourers.

The clay in Baroda district is generally better than that in the other two districts. But Baroda district for the
same reasons, consists of agricultural tracts, and hence firewood is scarce. However, availability of good clay itself is responsible for flourishing business of pot-making in this district.

Broach district is poor in both, good clay and firewood. Therefore, only a few places in this district like Rajpipla, Kavi and Jambusar are known for pot-making on a considerable scale. In other places in the district if there are potters, they do make a few insignificant variety of objects and on an insignificant scale.

Besides, the two basic raw-materials, i.e., clay and firewood, there are a number of other materials which are used as inputs in pot-making. There are ochre, chalk, ground-nut oil and mica etc. These materials are generally purchased in the market. However, at some places such as Kalol in Panchmahals district and Ankleshwar in Baroda district, ochre is available from natural sources.

If available from natural sources, mica is used for decorating the pots. Generally in Devagarh Barida of Panchmahals district and Dabhoi taluka of Baroda district, potters use mica which is recovered from river beds or collected from hills. Mica is not used for decorating the
pots in those places where it is not available from natural sources. Potters, generally, avoid its purchase.

(C) Manpower and Division of Labour

Like all the traditional crafts, pot-making is also organised on household basis. All the members of the household contribute their labour to the family business. Hence manpower supply to the household unit of business is limited by the members of the families. The scale of production depends very much on the size of the household.

Limitation of the manpower is overcome by efforts to increase the productivity of each individual. This effort is mainly in the direction of division of labour. Division of labour again is practiced at two levels:

(a) Division of labour at a macro level, i.e., inter-group division of labour which is manifested in specialization of the households in particular group of potters in making particular types of objects. For example Gurjar potters specialise in the manufacture of big water jars, doni, handli and other big pots. Vatalias specialize in hukka and cheelam and some other varieties of pots. Needless to add that such specialization helps in improving their
efficiency, ability and skill. A particular household unit acquires special expertise in shapes and designs of the variety it manufactures, and its overall productivity increases. An interesting outcome of such specialization is that just by looking at a pot it is often possible to identify the potter group, which might have produced it.

(b) Division of labour at house-hold level: This division of labour is manifested in division of work between male and female members of the household. Women are generally assigned the work of making hand-made objects, like chulha, tharu, kothi, sagadi etc. Besides making of these objects women also share in the processes of making of other objects which are in the main line of profession. One of the important processes assigned to women is decoration of pots by various designs with flora, fauna and geometrical motifs. Decorative art is the sole prerogative of women in the household and naturally they acquire a great deal of expertise in it. Besides the work of decorations, women also do some other work like preparation of clay, giving the clay lumps at the time of throwing the pots by male, arranging the pots for drying, firing and storing etc. Advantage of this division of labour is that even old women who cannot see, can make themselves useful by doing such
work as passing on the lump of the clay when the pot is being thrown. Even this apparently simple process can be handled efficiently only after some experience. This type of division of labour according to sex is not a new fact. In many living cultures of the world we find division of work between males and females, mostly based on tradition. In India, assistance to a potter by his wife is an age-old practice which has been alluded to even by Kalhana and Hemachandracarya. There are other evidences of this type of work showing such practice also.

The extent of the division of labour is, however, limited by the extent of market. In those places where the demand for pots is limited, potters families generally do not specialize in manufacturing particular variety of pots.


5 This observation made by Adam Smith in his famous work: "An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations", Vol.I (1776) still holds true, and is so clearly and directly observable at household level of production.
They prepare a little of everything that can be sold in the market. In such situation, division of labour even within the house-hold is very limited. Except for the work of decoration, which is generally assigned to women in the family, all other processes, i.e., preparing the lumps of clay, throwing the pots, arranging the pots for drying and baking etc., are all handled by men only.

It may be mentioned here that the operation of throwing the pots by wheel is regarded as a male operation only and is a taboo for women in almost all the groups of potters except one. The one group which allows this operations to be carried on even by women, if necessity arises, is the group of Sindhi or Momana potters in Broach and Surat district.6

(D) Market Accessibility

As already discussed, the extent of market is an important factor determining the scale of production, specialization and even the division of labour within the family. The extent of market is determined by the accessibility to the market which is a function of (a) means of

6 Among Sindhi or Momana potters of Broach and Surat districts, women throw the pots by small and light wooden wheels.
transport and (b) methods of sale. However, means of transport and methods of sales themselves depend to a large extent on the scale of production and concentration of potters in a locality. These are some of the factors which are discussed in the following sections.

(a) Transportation

It is seen that where good transport facilities are available, the potters have access to a wide market extending from their village to bigger towns, sometimes even to a distance of 300 to 400 kms. Those potters who are scattered in far-off and interior villages not having good transport connections, have a market limited to their own village or at the most to the neighbouring villages. This limits their scale of production and also the variety and the quality of pots which they produce, and consequently their economic condition is relatively poorer.

Various means of transport which are used by potters in different situations can be listed as follows:

(i) Manual (i.e., the potter carrying the load on his head)

(ii) Asses
iii) Bullock or Camel or hand cart
iv) Boats
v) Trucks
vi) Railways.

In the villages potters carry pots on their head if they have to cover only short distances. In cities and towns where roads are better, they carry pots on hand-cart also. Use of hand-carts obviously improves the load carrying capacity. But in most of the villages potters keep asses for this purpose. They carry pots on assback to the surrounding villages. Some potters use bullock and camel carts for the same purpose. Generally they do not keep these carts, but take on hire. By bullock carts and camel carts they are able to send pots even to far-off places.

Another very interesting and very ancient means of transport is boat. Potters from those villages and towns, which are situated near river use boats for transporting the pots. Rivers usually connect many important towns and villages and boat transportation helps in catering to a much wider market. Potters of Chandod, Tilakwada and Sinor towns of Baroda district and Rajpipla of Broach district (all situated along the river Narmada) use boat as their
principal means of transport. Boat transportation, where available, is advantageous in many ways. It makes it possible to capture a more extensive market. Besides it is much less expensive method of transport, in comparison with other methods. Further, since boat transport is very smooth and less jerky, it causes much less damage to the fragile pots. Boats are available in various sizes and the size can be chosen according to the load to be carried. This flexibility of adjustment of the size of transport to the desired load is not available in other means of transport to the same extent.

Trucks and goods-trains are the most advanced means of transport for transporting potteries over long distance. But only at few places potters get these facilities. Between trucks and railways, goods-trains are cheaper than trucks. Some of the potters in Baroda city use goods-trains for transporting pots to Surat. Thus the use of railways is limited to those potters who are located near a railway station. Road trucks are a more versatile means of transport. However, in view of the cost of trucking and the minimum load required to make trucking economical, this method is used in those villages or towns where there is a large
concentration of potters, who normally sell their wares through contractors. Then the contractors lift-up the pots from a number of potters at a time in a truck. This makes the use of trucking difficult for those potters who are scattered in far-off villages. Thus the possibility of use of trucking facility, i.e., the most advanced and fast means of transport is the result of economy of agglomeration.

Potters of Vadu and Muwal villages of Padra taluka in Baroda district and Godhra potters of Panchmahals district transport their pots by trucks to Baroda, Broach, Ahmedabad and Surat.

(b) Methods of Sales

Method of selling the pots is directly related to the quality and types of pots, demand in the market, area of the market and availability of labour and transport systems.

Keeping in view the above mentioned factors, methods of selling the pots can be classified into three categories:

i) Selling from residence of potters

ii) Selling from village to village

iii) Selling through contractors.

Most of the potters sell their pots at their own
residences to the local customers. In most of the villages, potters make pots only for their own village use. There are generally small types of pots such as tavadi, handli, chappan, dathra, kodiu, gagro, choti-doni, monti matali, dhakani, diya etc. These are the most useful pots for the village folk and every body needs them in the village. Such types of pots are easy to prepare because high precision and skill is not required and any type of clay can be used. Moreover, it is easy for customers also to buy these pots from their own village-potters, instead of going else-where. Due to common demand these types of small pots are available everywhere in the villages where potters stay.

Sometimes potters sell pots from their residence due to following reasons also:

(i) When potter's house is situated near the market or in a big village where people from adjoining villages make visits quite often for other purposes, it is easy for potter to have a regular sales from his own house.

(ii) If the potters have no donkeys for carrying the pots to other places;

(iii) If the number of male members in the family is less, it would be difficult to carry and sell the pots in other villages.
(iv) If the male members of the family are engaged in some other work, then women sell the pots at the residence as a side business.

Some potters often carry the pots on donkeys, bullock-cart, camel-cart or themselves and sell them from village to village in a radius of about ten km. This type of selling is carried out mostly in those families which have joint family system and hence, number of family members is more, as this needs more manpower. If they carry their load on a donkey or on their own head, they usually do the hawking from morning to evening. But if they go by bullock-cart or by boats, they usually take about at least three-four days to come back. Sometimes they are away from home even for a week or ten days. This is done usually during dry season, i.e., between the months of March and June. During summer season, demand for pots for storing water is high. In the villages they also buy big kothi for storing grains and doni and gori for milk and milk products. Besides, other small items like tavadi chappan etc. are also in demand. Mostly during these months people in the villages exchange pots with food grains. But in this system of barter, reference to value is in terms of money only. They convert the value of pots as well as that of food grains into money for the
purpose of exchange. However, there are places where a pure "barter system of exchange" also exists. In this system of exchange there is no reference to money as a measure of value. In this system Kumbhar has to supply clay vessels to his jajmans (i.e., permanent customers) in exchange for specified amounts of grains. The Jajman must take earthenware from his own Kumbhar and from none other. Only when a Jajmans' own Kumbhar is not able to supply the required vessels, he changes his supplier. This system is prevalent in some villages of Dabhoi taluka in Baroda district. But this system is, however, on the decline.

When the potters prepare pots on large scale, they sell them through contractors. In the three districts under study there are a few centres of pottery where potters sell the pots through contractors. Such places are mainly Vadu, Muwal and Dabhasa villages and Tilakwada town in Baroda district, Vejalpur, Halol, Godhra, Dahod and Santrampur in Panchmahals district and Kavi, Jambusar, Rajpipla, Ankleshwar, Jhagadia in Broach district. These are important centres of pottery with large population of potters. At these places potters supply pots to contractors. Contractors sell these pots at different places in the same district or in other district.
While manufacturing these types of pots which are to be sold through contractors, the potters have to take care that the pots should be made of good levigated clay and should be well-baked, and they should be good looking in shape. Generally for this purpose big waterjar, matla, and doni are needed. But at some places they also prepare small pots which are also sold by contractors. For example Vatalia Kumbhar of Baroda city prepare special types of hukka, cheelsam and lamp and sell them through contractors, because all their products cannot be consumed locally. Sometimes they sell small cooking vessels through contractors also. For such pots, a special clay is needed which can bear high temperature while heating and does not crack. This type of clay is not available everywhere. Therefore, where such type of clay is available potters manufacture only such types of pots and sell them through contractors. For example at Godhra in Panchmahals district, clay is very good for this purpose. Therefore, these potters prepare only handli and tavadi and sell them through contractors. Contractors take them to Ahmedabad, Surat and other places where a very good market is available for cooking vessels.

Besides pots, big kothi, moulded toys and idols are also sold through contractors. At some places like Darapura
in Padra taluka, Chandod in Dabhoi taluka in Baroda district, Lunawada in Panchmahals district, potters produce very big kothis which are sold through contractors. Toys and idols are generally sold during festivals such as Ganpati puja, Durga puja etc. These idols are generally sold by Ajmeri potters.

The existence of contractors or middlemen makes the process of marketing the pots relatively easy and painless and is advantageous in many ways.

Contractors (or middlemen) usually come from urban areas. They collect the pots from number of potters, transport them in bulk and sell them in bulk to retailers. Some of the contractors maintain their own retail shops also. Since their operation is at a much larger scale than would be possible for any potter, they are able to reap the benefits of economics of scale in transport cost. Also for the same reason they help in acquiring a much wider market in urban areas and distant places. Reaching such distant markets for individual potters would be rather difficult. Also this process saves a lot of potters' time which would have otherwise been spent in transportation and retail hawking. Thus, potters can exclusively devote themselves to the processes
of production and achieve greater degree of specialization and improve their production efficiency. Also, since contractors place their orders in advance and for exact types and quantities of pots, the potters produce exactly according to these orders and deliver the goods to the contractors. They do not have to resort to the stocking of pots, which otherwise they would have to do if they did not know what exactly could be sold and in what quantities. Keeping stocks of the potteries for poor potters is rather difficult and uneconomic. They are saved from this by the contractors or middlemen.

Another important advantage of selling through the contractors is that the potters can get advance money which particularly helps during the lean season. Usually the month of July, August and September constitute the lean season for the potters when they cannot do their work due to rains. Only some potters, who have some land, can engage themselves in their subsidiary occupation of agricultural work. Others have to remain idle. Advance money from contractors is a great help to them during this period. Besides this, whenever they have a bulk need of money, like, on the occasion of marriage or for making and repairing their homes and such other purposes,
they depend on the contractor for helping them out. Just by retail selling, they are not able to provide for such bulk needs. Usually the contractors fix the prices of different types of pots in advance through negotiations with potters concerned. They also make an assessment of the productive capacity of the potter concerned. And this broadly serves as the basis of the amount which they can advance. During the lean season the contractors go from door to door, assessing the needs of the potters as well as their capacity to supply pots in future and on this basis making advances to the potters.

However, the existence of contractors is described by potters themselves as a mixed blessing. Since the contractors advance money during the lean season and also negotiate the prices of various types of pots at the same time, the bargaining power of the potters is bound to be low in these circumstances. The potters always have a feeling that if they were not in need of advance money, they could have got better prices. Further, the contractors are interested only in certain selected varieties of pots. There are a number of other minor or inferior varieties of pots which are manufactured in the process almost like by-products— as the
children or other less experienced persons in the family may also be able to produce such varieties. The contractors do not accept such varieties. Moreover, the contractors are very particular about quality and on this ground they discard a good part of production, for which the potters have to find their own market. Also contractors place strictly time-bound orders which sometimes put the family under great strain and pressure.

The contractors generally belong to the potters groups. Mostly Gurjar potters of city area specially from Baroda and Surat districts do this type of business. Sindhi or Momana potters of Broach and Surat also do this type of contract work. Mostly the city potters who do not like to produce pots themselves, buy pots on this basis and sell them in different markets at different places. In some of the cities local potters produce only small pots, and they bring bigger pots from other places and sell them together. Some of the Baroda potters bring 'kothi' from Darapura and Chandod and sell them along with their own products. At some places, due to non-availability of raw-materials, potters do not produce the pots, but bring the pots from outside and sell them.
For starting this type of work the contractors do not require much capital. For example, if a contractor wants to buy one truck load of waterpots i.e. 'matlas' (nearly 500) of a good size, he has to pay approximately Rs.1000/- during the lean season in advance. Then at the time of taking the delivery of the pots, he has to pay labour charges and transport charges. Transport charges obviously depend on the distance over which the pots are transported. An approximation of the contractor's margin and his investment and expenditure can be had from the following account (Table 4.2) which is based on data obtained from contractors, and which may be taken as a representative model.

3. **SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION**

Besides their own professional work, potters also engage themselves in subsidiary occupations in order to supplement their income and also to keep themselves gainfully employed during the rainy season when the work of pot-making stands suspended. The two main subsidiary or adopted occupations are farming and rearing of animals.
Table 4.2: A Contractor's Costs and Margin (March 1976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>₹.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Money given in advance for 500 big water pots (6 months' advance)</td>
<td>1000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Transport cost (one truck load over 60 Kms.³)</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Labour charges (For loading and unloading)</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rent of a shop for keeping the pots for a month</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Loss of interest on ₹1000 for six months (at the rate of 10% per annum)</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total Outlay</strong></td>
<td><strong>1300.00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Out of 500 matlas, on an average 5% would be damaged in transporting. Thus the cost of remaining 475 matlas would be</td>
<td>1300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cost per matlas sold</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sale price per matla</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Contractors' margin per matla</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Total profit⁹ on a truck load of pots</td>
<td>365.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 This contractor would be keeping his own shop for selling the pots in retail.

8 500 big water jar (matlas) make one truck load.

9 Out of this profit of ₹365.75, the contractor would be incurring some costs towards visiting the potters a number of times for contracting, negotiations and supervision. This would come to approximately ₹50 per truck load. Thus the net profit would be a little more than ₹300.
A. Farming

In villages most of the potters possess small pieces of land and they do some farming work. There are many potters who possess good amount of land and hence farming has become their main occupation. In fact they have given up pot-making altogether. This type of potters are mostly found in Broach and Baroda districts. Mostly Gurjar and Varia potters have adopted agriculture as a subsidiary occupation. The economic condition of those potters who have adopted agriculture as their main occupation, is generally better than those whose main occupation is pot-making. Those potters who are partly doing agricultural work and partly their professional work, their condition is also better than those who totally depend on pot-making. This is so because those who have a subsidiary occupation, can keep themselves gainfully employed throughout the year.

In most of the villages potters had been given land by the Patels of village for providing free services and pots. It is known as 'baluta' system. The word 'baluta' is 10 This also means that traditional potters who have remained in this profession, have done so mainly because they have no land or other better opportunities of employment. If somehow they come to acquire reasonably good size of land-holding, they give up their traditional profession of pot-making.
used for payment in kind given by a farmer to a member of a
service-caste for his services, and a person who performs
services and accepts baluta payment is known as balutedar. But at present it seems they have come to acquire full
control over land which was originally given to them as
baluta, and in course of time their obligation to render
free services also has disappeared.

Some of the potters have also been allotted land by
the village Panchayat for extracting clay. They do get their
clay from such land, but also sometimes make use of it
for cultivations.

B. Rearing of animals

Another side business of the potters is rearing of
animals. Generally those potters who possess agricultural
land, also keep cows and buffaloes, sell their milk and
calf and earn a good amount of money. Rearing of asses is
is also one of the business of the potters. They generally
prefer to keep female asses for the following reasons:

11 Valunjkar, T.N.: Social Organization, Migration and Change
(a) She ass can breed.

(b) She ass is mild tempered whereas a male ass has high temper and sometimes he breaks menger and pots.

(c) Due to mild nature she would be satisfied even with less grass whereas the male ass would not be easily satisfied.

(d) During mating season, it is very difficult to control male asses.

Some of the potters groups keep fowl also and sell their eggs. But according to the hierarchy of potters it is considered as a low job. This occupation is found only in Maru and Momana or Sindhi potters of these districts.

4. **LIVING CONDITIONS**

Potters generally belong to a very low hierarchy of economic classes in villages and towns. Their economic status and living conditions may be only slightly better than those of Harijans and other landless labourers who do not have a definite occupation. Major part of the demand for clay pots and other clay objects itself originates in the relatively poorer section of the society. And hence, there is little scope of making much advance in this profession. This is one reason why wherever a potter has sufficient
land to cultivate, or gets some other opportunity of
service or business, he changes his traditional profession,
and adopts the new one which improves his economic condition.

Among all the groups of potters, the economic condition
of Dalwadi potters, who are generally engaged in brick-making
is better. This is obviously so because bricks have an
expanding and prosperous market. Next come Gurjar potters.
Their economic condition is relatively better because they
are good craftsmen traditionally, and produce big pots. They
also invariably engage themselves in subsidiary occupation
(see Table 4.1) to supplement their income.

Next may be mentioned the varia group of potters. They
produce more variety of objects and are also traditionally
known as good craftsmen. Ajmeri potters also do well as they
produce terracotta dieties and toys etc. which fetch good
price during certain seasons. Maru and Vatalia groups are
among the poorest section of potters.

Generally speaking, the potters in the towns and cities
earn a better living than the potters in the villages.

An idea of the monthly income of a family of potters
from manufacture of clay objects can be had from Table 4.3.
Table 4.3: Monthly Income of Potters' Families from Manufacturing of Clay Objects - 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household No.</th>
<th>Village or town name</th>
<th>Taluka name</th>
<th>Monthly income Rs.</th>
<th>Number of members in the household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Varnama</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Varnama</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Varnama</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>350.00</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Padamla</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Padamla</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Por</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Por</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>180.00</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dholer</td>
<td>Dabhoi</td>
<td>150.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chandod</td>
<td>Dabhoi</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Naswadi</td>
<td>Naswadi</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Naswadi</td>
<td>Naswadi</td>
<td>250.00</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sevali</td>
<td>Naswadi</td>
<td>200.00</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sevali</td>
<td>Naswadi</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Muwal</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Muwal</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Vadu</td>
<td>Padra</td>
<td>350.00</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Vadu</td>
<td>Padra</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Vadu</td>
<td>Padra</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Vadu</td>
<td>Padra</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dabhasa</td>
<td>Padra</td>
<td>350.00</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table is based on response given by 20 families spread over different talukas of Baroda district. All the
families (whose incomes are presented in the table) belong to the Gurjar group of potters (a relatively better-off group of potters). From this data average per capita income works out to be approximately Rs.50/- per month (during the year 1976). This income is usually supplemented by taking up other occupations, particularly during the rainy season. However, all the supplementary income would not be more than half of the income from the main occupation, in most cases. Thus in general, the potters belong to a poorer lot.

12 A Survey (R. Radhakrishna et al, An Exploratory Study of Slums: Employment, Poverty and Liquor Consumption, Sardar Patel Institute of Economic and Social Research, Ahmedabad, 1977, p.107) of slum-dwellers (the poorest class) in Ahmedabad during 1975 revealed that their average per-capita expenditure was Rs.47.04 for Harijans, Rs.40.71 for Adivasis (tribals) and Rs.45.03 for others. This may provide some basis for evaluating the level of living of potters whose average income is mentioned here. However, the difference is that these figures pertain to expenditure, whereas our figure pertains to income. Further, this is the level of expenditure in a big city, though slum-dwellers do not spend on housing. Our estimate pertains to small towns and villages.