CHAPTER VI (a)

MATERIAL CULTURE

I The Structure of a House

The coastal towns and villages in Saurashtra are not exclusively occupied by the Kharwas. The Kharwas live side by side with the people belonging to other castes and communities. However, the population of Kharwas in a town or village is found to be concentrated exclusively in a separate locality known as 'Kharwa Vas' or 'Kharwa Vad.' The Kharwa Vas is generally situated near the sea shore. There is sea shore on one side and other localities or roads on the other side of the Kharwa Vas. Consequently, in spite of considerable increase in the population of Kharwas, there is no scope for the extension of Kharwa Vas. Again, the Kharwas have a peculiar tendency to stick to their locality for residence in spite of scarcity of space. As a result of such tendency we find them living in the same Kharwa Vas which was designed and constructed years before, when the population was much less in number than at present. The locality is thus overcrowded. As is usually the case with the towns developed in earlier times, the streets and by-lanes of the Kharwa Vas are very narrow. In big cities like Veraval and Porbunder there are two or three storied buildings on both sides of these narrow streets. Adequate sunshine is hardly found in these streets even at noon. We find lack of cleanliness...
in the streets. Waste water is continuously flowing in the streets. Rubbish of fish and vegetables are thrown negligently by the women in the streets. Small children excrete on both sides of the streets. The Kharwa Vas is like a slum area of an industrial town. In small coastal villages which are not developed as ports and which are therefore not overpopulated, there are no big buildings overlooking the streets. The streets are therefore continuously exposed to sunshine. The drinking water has to be brought from distant places. Hence there is restraint in the use of water. We, therefore, do not find the streets so unclean as in big cities.

The Kharwas reside in houses built of stones. In big cities the walls of the house are plastered with cement while in small villages the walls are plastered by clay and cow-dung. The houses constructed recently have a pacca cement slab as the roof. The old houses have the roofs of the tiles. Most of the houses are old and as such have the roofs of the tiles. In cities the floor of the houses is made out of cement or tiles. In villages the floor is made out of clay and cow-dung.

The houses are old-fashioned and there is lack of adequate facilities for light and air. There are very small windows or ventilators in the top of the walls. The streets being very narrow, adequate light and air cannot enter the house.
There is no courtyard to the house. The average Kharwa has a house consisting of one room, one kitchen with or without a small verandah. There are no lavatories and bathrooms. Of course, the educated and the rich people in cities have now started reconstructing their building with all the modern amenities. With the exception of such lucky few, they have no sanitary facilities in their houses. Consequently, small children excrete in the streets and grown up people — both male and females — excrete on the sea-shore. The excretions on the sea shore are generally wiped out by the tides of the sea. However, if any body goes round the sea-shore near the Kharwa Vas, he will find the wastes here and there.

In cities the Kharwas have water taps in their houses, through which they get the supply of drinking water. They are getting adequate water but there is no proper system of drainage. This is one of the main reasons for the uncleanliness of the Kharwa Vas. In villages, drinking water has to be fetched from distant places.

II

Ceremony at the time of constructing house

The Kharwas are Hindus and observe all rituals of Hinduism. At the time of laying the foundation-stone of the house the worship of the earth (Bhumipuja) and other religious ceremony, according to Hinduism, are performed. When the house is completed Vastu ceremony is performed, when relatives and
Brahmins are offered a feast. Every clan has its own priest (Purohit) who conducts the ceremony. In the wooden frame of the door of the house an idol of Ganesh is carved and painted red with Sindur. They believe in omens and evil eye. In order therefore to avert the influence of evil eye a lemon with a needle inserted therein is hung in the middle of the door. Few grains of Adad tied in a piece of black cloth are also hung with the lemon.

III Articles of the Household

The articles of household of an average Kharwa family are limited in number. In one corner of the kitchen there is hearth. It is either affixed to the ground or made from the old iron bucket and moveable. Those who use firewoods for cooking the food have fixed hearth while those who use coal use portable hearth. The firewood is collected by females and children from the open land near the village or city. In small villages people use firewood and hearths fixed to the ground. In cities they generally use coal and portable hearths. The use of stove has also become common in the urban population.

In the kitchen there is a shelf in the wall where the utensils are kept. In earlier days earthen pots were used as cooking vessels, but now they have resorted to the use of metal utensils. The utensils are generally made of brass or copper.
Economically well-to-do families have started using the stainless steel utensils also. However, most of the people still use earthen pots for preparing Dal or curry. It is their firm belief that Dal or curry prepared in earthen pots is more tasteful than the one prepared in metal utensils. For baking the bread and loaves an earthen plate is used. When the things are to be fried they use an iron pot. They use glasses of brass for drinking water. The water is stored in earthen pots with red and white paintings thereon. The water pots are kept on water stands made of stones. These stands are affixed with the wall in the verandah or room at a height of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The glasses for drinking water are kept on a small shelf above the water stand. They generally use copper or brass utensils for fetching the water. The lids of water pots are made of brass. All these utensils are cleaned daily in the morning. In addition to these, there are few plates and katoras of brass.

The practice of grinding the food-grains at home with a hand-mill is now gradually disappearing and most of them have resorted to the help of flour mills in urban areas. In rural population the old practice is being followed. Even in urban population of Kharwas 25% of the families own a hand-mill and ladies grind the food-grains daily in early morning. Every family in urban as well as rural population owns a mortar (KHANDANIO).
The members of the Kharwas family generally sleep on the floor. Due to scarcity of space they cannot afford to keep cots for every member. They spread the mattresses of cotton or quilts on the ground and rest on them. Grown up people use pillows under their heads. However, every family has at least one cot which they keep in front of the house. In the morning and in the evening when there is shade in front of the house old men and women sit on the cot and do some light work. The old men, for example, knot the fishing nets. The old women look after the young children.

The mattresses and quilts are rolled up in the morning and kept one upon the other in one corner of the house on a wooden stand. Near this stand we find two or more iron trunks for keeping the spare clothes. The Kharwas generally cannot afford to purchase and store the foodgrains for the whole year at a time. They purchase their requirements of foodgrains intermittently. The foodgrains and flour are kept in tins of alluminium.

The Kharwas do not keep any cattle or poultry. They purchase their requirement if milk from the local sources. The main reason for not keeping a cow or a buffalo, may be acute...
scarcity and therefore high prices of fodder. Grass generally does not grow in the land near the sea-shore. It has to be brought from distant interior parts and hence it becomes very costly. Even the construction of Kharwa Vas is such that no individual has enough space near his house where the cattle can be kept. The Kharwas generally do not take eggs and meat and therefore they do not keep a poultry. To kill a hen or other animal is considered a sinful act; although they do not consider it sinful to catch fish and eat it.

IV. Weapons

Although the Kharwas are a militant people, they do not keep any fire arms or other fatal arms. At the most they keep a long stick, a knife and gupti (a long double-edged knife hidden in a stick). Every man keeps a small penknife in his pocket, which is used for cutting the eatables. The cases of serious conflicts between the individuals of the same community or between Kharwas and individuals belonging to other communities are very rare. They quarrel only orally and abuse each other. There is no actual fighting. The need for keeping the arms is thus obviated.

V Instruments of Fishing

The sources of earning livelihood for the Kharwas are mainly fishing and navigation. Some Kharwas are employed as navigators by rich people owning country crafts and steamers.
The rest are engaged in fishing. Fishing is, to them, not only a food gathering activity, but an activity for procuring all other requirements too. They catch fish on large scale for sale. Fishing has become a trade.

When the young children indulge in fishing activity they use Kunti. An iron hook tied with a string is known as Kunti. Some eating material is applied to the hook to attract the fish. As soon as the fish takes it in its mouth the hook tears across the mouth of the fish. The fish is taken out, the eating material is applied to the hook and again it is put in the water. In this process only one fish can be caught at a time.

The young men, when they go for fishing, generally use the nets for catching the fish. There are two types of nets—those designed by the local people and those designed on Japanese pattern. The latter is called 'Hoju.' The locally designed nets are spread under the waters early in the morning at about 3.30 a.m. and drawn back at about 7.00 a.m. The nets thus remain in water for about three and a half hours. The Hoju net is thrown in the water at about 7.00 a.m. in the morning and taken out after an hour.

The fishing activity is carried out throughout the year. But during monsoon the sea is very rough and as such they do not go very far from the shore. The peak season for fishing commences from the onset of the month of Bhadrapad (i.e., September). The date and time for resuming the fishing is decided and notified by the Panch.
Accordingly, all Kharwas gather together at the notified time and place with their canoes and fishing instruments. Then there is a ceremony of worshipping and adoring the sea, with white and red powder. A coconut is offered to the sea and offer prayer for an abundant yield of fish. The nets are then thrown into the sea. If they do not get sufficient number of fish, they suspect the influence of an evil eye.

VI. Canoes

The place of canoe in the life of a Kharwa is very important. What a stick is to a blind man, so is a canoe to a Kharwa. If we take a walk on the sea-shore we shall find young children of 6 years and above moving in the sea near the shore in small canoes. This gives them confidence and prepares them to face the hazards of the sea fearlessly.

The canoes are important means of transport for fishing expeditions. Every family living mainly on fishing owns its own canoes. Formerly country canoes were used for this purpose. But after independence the Govt. of India has undertaken a planned programme for the development of fisheries. In some centres, Kharwas have formed their co-operative societies also. Adequate loans are now available for building a canoe for the Government as well as co-operative societies. Every Kharwa has therefore not only his own fishing canoe, but the canoes have been equipped with oil engines. Every canoe is now mechanised.
This has greatly enhanced the potency and efficiency of fishing expeditions, as the Kharwas can now go to distant parts in the sea within short time.

The canoes are built by the carpenters skilled in this particular art. The raw materials are supplied by the Kharwas. The carpenters are paid for their labour. However, in Porbander some Kharwa youths have acquired this skill. They build and repair the canoes themselves. The approximate cost of one mechanised boat comes to about Rs. 70,000/-. 

VII Daily Life of Kharwas

The daily life of the Kharwas are of routine nature and devoid of variety. The men and women generally get up early in the morning between 5:30 and 6:00 a.m. After completing the primary routine of washing the face, responding to the natural call etc., they start the normal routine of the day. The Kharwas generally take bath daily in the morning. The women busy themselves with preparing tea and breakfast for the members of the family. The man, after taking the bath, go to the temple of Lord Shiva for Darshana. The Kharwas are staunch Shaivites and regard Shiva as the principal Deity. When they return from the temple of Shiva, which they call Devala, the morning tea and breakfast are ready. Their breakfast is very simple. They take chapati along with the tea as the breakfast.

After the breakfast the men go out for their work and ladies attend to the household work. Sweeping the house, cleaning
the vessels, fetching water and cooking food for the lunch are the main duties of the ladies in the forenoon. They also attend to the needs of the children. The old men do not go out for work. Still they do not remain idle. They knit the nets or repair them. They also weave the ropes out of coir. The Kharwas are very industrious and hardworking people. No one would like to be without work unless physically disabled. The old women look after the children in the family and also perform other light works.

The children get up a little bit late. They take their breakfast and go out to play. Now-a-days the Kharwas have become conscious of their backwardness in comparison to the members of fellow castes. They have, as it were, started a race to overtake other castes in matters of social, educational, economical and moral advancement. This is specially a noteworthy feature of the urban population of Kharwas. Consequently, children who have attained the age of seven are sent to schools. Those who do not go to the school, help their parents in their work. The girls help their mothers in household work and also look after the younger siblings. The boys go out to collect the fire woods or to catch fish. The families, with poor economic conditions, send their children for labour also. The girls work as house maids and the boys work in hotels, shops and factories.
The men return from work at about 1:00 p.m. in the afternoon. Other members of the family also return from their respective work. They take their meal between 1:00 and 2:00 p.m. Men take their meals first. Ladies have to wait till then. Children take their meal as soon as it is ready. They have not to wait for anybody. The menu of the meal is limited in number and simple. Dal, one vegetable, chapati and fish constitute their full menu. Some Kharwas also take rice, but generally they have no special aptitude for it. The men take only one meal on Saturdays. They forgo their breakfast and supper. Fasting on Saturday is considered very fruitful. They do not take fish or meal on that day. Similarly, women take only one meal on Monday, Thursday and Friday. They take only vegetarian meal on these days.

There is no specific period for rest after the lunch. In fact, they do not take rest at all. After the lunch the men would return to their work. The ladies cleanse the utensils and kitchen, and attend to other minor household works. They have to prepare the supper by 8:00 in the evening. Cleaning of foodgrains, grinding it or getting it ground in a flour mill, washing the clothes, fetching the water, care of the young children etc. are some of their main functions in the afternoon.

They take their supper after 8:00 p.m., when the males return from work for the day. Loaf of millet, rice, dal or curry and fish are the items of their menu. The men are edicted to wine.
They take a little dose of wine before supper. Even though there is prohibition in the State, there is illicit distillation on a wide scale and every Kharwa male is a drunkard. However, they observe strict moderation in drinking so that they may not lose senses. If men, by chance, take an overdose they would not stir out of their houses. They regard wine as a stimulant, but to exceed the dose and thus to lose senses in the presence of others is considered shameful.

After the supper the old men and women assemble together and sing Bhajans or read some religious book. Hearing the Katha and Bhajans of God is the only enjoyment of old people after supper. Young men attend the 'Bethak' of their ward. A Bethak is a ward association of heads of the families. It is one of the constituents of the main Panch. The detailed discussion of the structure and functions of 'Bethak's is given in the succeeding pages. The youths sometimes stage entertainment programmes like Dandia Ras, Duhu, Jokes, instrumental music, etc. The programme lasts till midnight. The youths in urban areas go to the films also. The activities of the day end at this time and the people disperse and go to their respective homes for sleep.

The Karhas do not observe weekly off as is the practice in other fields. They stick to the old practice of keeping a holiday on the eleventh day of the bright half as well as the dark half (Agiyaras or Ekadaishi) and also on the last day of the month.
Thus they abstain from their normal work on three days in a month. They also observe holidays on all festive days. On these days men abstain from carrying on their normal economic activities. However, they do not like to sit idle. They utilise the time thus spared in cleaning and, if necessary, repairing their canoes and fishing nets. In the afternoon they finish such work, take their bath and then go out. Some people go out for marketing, some to their friends and relatives, others to film show etc. Everybody plans his programme individually according to his liking. They return home at night, take their supper, go to the Bathak or participate in entertainment programmes, and with it ends the day of rest.

VIII. Personal Appearance

The Kharuas are a coastal population and are thickly scattered in the parts of Saurashtra. They are sea faring and may serve as laskars in the Indian ocean. They claim Rajput descent as all semi-aboriginal people do, although their surnames do not justify their claims. They are of dark complexion, short stature and strongly built, easily distinguished from others by their long whiskers but shorn of beards. They wear short dhotis and trousers and put on turbans as the head gears. Their average height is from 4 ft, 6 in. to 5 ft, 6 inches. There is a scanty growth of hair on the body especially on the chest. Similarly, there is no marked growth of hair on hands and legs.
The Kharwas have an attractive shining face, the head of medium height, nose broad with some tendency to flatness, deep and small eyes and fleshy averted lips. They have a strong, well built body, straight and stout physique with proportionate limbs. Their capacity for hard work and endurance are worth praising. They work hours together without an interval. They are always alert, active and enthusiastic in their work.

The Kharwa women are of moderate height and gracefully built. They are seldom fat or plump. They are hardly tired or bored by their work. They are continuously at work from morning till night and still are always complacent.

The Kharwa children in infancy appear charming and attractive. Their growth is generally normal and healthy. But they lose most of the charm of appearance later on because of their slovenly habits, indifference to make up and neglect of hygiene. I found many children between 3 and 7 years of age playing with dust and filth in the streets. They are barely clad. Some children wander naked in the streets. Others put on only a short. Many children were found excreting on the sides of streets. They play with dogs, who lick their body and face. They lack the sense of cleanliness and personal hygiene till they advance towards puberty.

IX. Ethnographic and Serological Data

An anthropometric and serological survey of Gujarat organised by the Gujarat Research Society in 1946 and carried
out by Dr. D.N. Majmudar has given us anthropometric and serological data of sufficient importance to determine the ethnographic status of Kharwas among the castes and tribes of Gujarat including Saurashtra. He had taken the blood groups, the measurements of head and face and the measurements of height and weight of the Kharwas. The data presented by Dr. Majumdar are as under:

(a) **Blood Group Frequencies of Kharwas**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Total No. studied</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>Probability</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>40 - 24 - 30 - 12</td>
<td>0.0743</td>
<td>$p &gt; 0.70$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Length and breadth of Head and Face**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. studied</th>
<th>Length and Breadth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Maximum Head Length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Maximum Head Breadth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Maximum Frontal Breadth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Maximum Bizygometric Breadth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Bigonial Breadth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Nasal Length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Nasal Breadth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10 Dr. D.N. Majmudar: Race Realities in Cultural Gujarat, 1950, P. 12.

11 Ibid, P. 59.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. studied</th>
<th>Length and Breadth</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Total Facial Length</td>
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<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Upper Facial Length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Auricular Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Stature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Sitting Height</td>
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(c) Table showing the mean values of stature and weight of Kharwas at various age groups.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Stature</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.5 - 23.5</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>158.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.5 - 28.5</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>161.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.5 - 33.5</td>
<td>108.4</td>
<td>160.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.5 - 38.5</td>
<td>100.4</td>
<td>149.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.5 - 43.5</td>
<td>104.3</td>
<td>159.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.5 - 48.5</td>
<td>107.2</td>
<td>161.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the anthropometric and serological data presented above, Dr. Mazumdar tries to infer the ethnographic structure of Gujarat. He writes, "If we put the castes and tribes into tiers, the Bhil-Bangi groups will form the bed, the Parsis, the Bhatias and the Bhadela the apex and in between the two tiers will be..."
found the rest of the groups in ascending order as follows: Koli, the artisan groups, the Macchis, the Kharwas, the Kanbi Patidars, Sunni-Wojah, Lohana, Memon, Khoja, Nagar Brahmin, Audich Brahmin and the Mehr, the Wagher, the Miana and the Rabari, the last four forming a separate constellation. Dr. D.N. Mazumdar regards the Kharwas as belonging to dolicocephalons strain. He also regards them as intermediate between the higher castes and the tribal cluster.

X Dress

The Kharwa males put on dhoti or payjama, shirt and turban on the head. Dhoti or payjama and shirt are white in colour, while the turban is either white or red. They also used to wear short loin cloth around the waste, and above the payjama. It was known as Bheth. Some put on bandi of generally black or brown colour. Some males put on caps in place of turbans. The custom of wearing Bheth has mostly disappeared now. Most of the aged people now put on payjama, kurta and a cap. The modern fashion of clothes has been adopted by the young and educated people.

The ladies wear petticoats, blouse and a sari. They put on clothes of different colours. They prefer bright colours.

13 Dr. D.N. Mazumdar: Races and Cultures of India.
14 Dr. D.N. Mazumdar: Races and Cultures of India: Race Realities in Cultural Gujarat, p.56.
to light ones. They do not keep their head uncovered. It is always covered by the sari, which is of five metres in length. The young girls generally put on fruks till the age of 9 to 10. Then they adopt full dress of a woman, namely, petty coat, blouse and sari. This change indicates the transition from childhood to puberty. The young male children are not generally clad sufficiently. Except in winter, they are with short only and the upper part of the body is undressed. Very young children, say up to the age of five, move about nude during the whole day.

The males put on shoes and the females chappals, while going out. They are an indigenous product of leather. On account of the tropical weather conditions, shoes and chappals are considered a necessity. However, they move bare-footed in the house and neighbourhood. In the morning and evening we find aged people too moving without shoes or chappals.

Ornaments

The Kharwas like to put on ornaments on festivals and other ceremonial occasions. The women have a special inclination to adorn themselves with ornaments. Both men and women wear rings on the fingers of the hands. There are different kinds of ornaments practically for all parts of the body for the ladies.
There is an ornament for the head called Tiko. It can be of gold or silver. It consists of a pendal of various designs with a string having a hook at the end. The pendal is kept hanging in the centre of the forehead as the hook is fixed in the hair of the head. The ear ornaments are of two types - Earrings and Toti. Earrings are common even among the advanced castes. The Totis exactly resemble the ring of the wheels of a bicycle. It is like the ring of a wheel with a diameter of about 1/2 to 1/3 of an inch. It is fixed in the big holes in the lobes of the ears. The Toti has a string with a hook which is fixed in the hair. The Toti is generally made of silver. The nose ornament called 'Chunk' is made of gold. On the neck they put on a bunch of golden strings with small round pendals like coins attached to the strings. It is called Mangalsutra. They also put on chains, Hansadi, Mala and Necklace in the necks. Kadu - a hollow golden bar bent like a ring - is the ornament of the upper part of the arms. Bangles of glass, ivory or plastic material are put on the wrist. On ceremonial occasions bangles of gold are worn. Kadla - (Anklets) hollow silver bars bent round like rings - and Sankala - a bunch of three or four silver chains - are the ornaments of the feet. Rings of silver are worn in the fingers of the legs.
The ornaments for the males are very few. Mostly rings for the fingers of the hand are a common male ornament. Those who can afford, put on chains of gold in the neck. Formerly the males used to put on Dunn in the lobes of the ears. Tola - hollow silver bars of about one inch diameter bent round like a ring - were the ornaments of the feet, but now this system is disappearing. These Tolas weigh about 500 grams. They also put on an abdomen string of silver called Kandora. Its weight is approximately 300 to 350 grams. Some use buttons of shirts made of silver.

There are no specific ornaments for the children. The young girls always put on earrings and chunk. The male child does not have any ornament except that he may be allowed to wear Kandora on festivals and other ceremonial occasions.

XII. Food and Drink

The habits of diet of the Kharwes are not very different from other Hindu castes. They take three meals a day. The breakfast in the morning consists of chapattis and tea. In the afternoon meal at about 12.00 P.M., chapatti or loaves of millet, liquid preparation of tur and fish are important items of menu. In addition to these, rice and vegetables are also common items. But they have no special liking for rice. The evening supper at about 8.00 P.M. consists of loaf or chapatti, vegetables, liquid preparations of mug and fish. Fish is served in every meal. This is
their normal diet. But the preparation and consumption of Puri, Bhajiya and other fried saline items are not unusual to them. They also prepare a variety of sweets on festivals and ceremonial occasions like marriage etc. Sweet balls, Bundi, Mohenthal, Sukhadi, etc., are common sweets.

The Kharwas are meat-eaters. They take meat only on festive days. They do not kill or hunt the animals for meat. They purchase the raw meat from the market and roast it at home. However, the use of meat is very rare. Some of them do not take meat at all.

The use of groundnut oil, powder of red chillies and haldi is very common in preparing the food. They take onions and garlic in great proportion. They appreciate pungent and sour preparations of vegetables. They consume pure ghee and milk according to their financial conditions. They do not prefer the use of vegetable ghee in place of pure ghee. The fruits are very costly in Saurashtra, and the consumption of fruits, though a biological necessity, is a matter of luxury. Very few Kharwas can afford to take fruits regularly. However, mangoes, bananas, guava, papaya corica, pomegranates and water-melon are the fruits which a common Kharwa can afford. These are seasoned fruits and Kharwas take these during the peak season.
The Kharwas are habitual drinkers. They take liquor or toddy daily in the evening before supper. Generally they take liquor in a limited quantity and do not become intoxicated. The cases of intoxication, however, often occur. After drinking they do not stir out for some time. Women and children do not take liquor. Even after the enactment of legislation prohibiting the production and consumption of liquors, the percentage of habitual drinkers has gone up. There is abundant illicit distillation in Kharwa Vas. They know that drinking is a vice; yet they cannot eliminate this habit. They do not use liquor for the purpose of any religious ceremony.

There is a custom of offering a goat as a sacrifice to Raghorsai — before resuming fishing expeditions in September. The goat is sacrificed and the meat is distributed to all those present at the ceremony.

XIII Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, on the material culture of Kharwas, the description of the structure of the house of Kharwas, their personal and domestic equipments, their vessels, instruments of fishing, items of dress, ornaments etc. has been given. The Kharwas lead a very strenuous life. They are a sturdy people capable of hard work for 16 to 18 hours. Although they are living side by side with people of other castes, and have continuous contacts with them, they have succeeded to a great extent in preserving the essential elements of their culture.
This brief survey of the personal and domestic equipments of the Kharwas reveals the efforts made by the Kharwas to adjust to the physical conditions. He has acquired and developed the technical skill to manufacture and make use of the material objects like the fishing nets and canoes. The use of the material objects is backed by certain beliefs and social values. For example, it is expected of a young man that he should know how to weave and repair a fishing net, how and where to lay the net to get the maximum number of fish, how to navigate a boat, etc. Similarly, a young girl is expected to be skilled in household work and in cooking. She should be well-versed in various preparations of fish. The various items of the material culture of a people, their habits of food, and drink, dress, ornaments and the general mode of life have an indelible mark on the personality of the people. The general mode of living of the Kharwas, their equipments and instruments etc. give a definite shape to their developing personality. The detailed implication of these will be discussed in Chapter XIV.
The psychological culture refers to the institutions, beliefs, ideals and attitudes of the people as revealed in their behaviour and responses. In this part of the thesis, an attempt has been made to describe the role of various social, economic and religious institutions of the Kharwas, their beliefs, attitudes, and value systems as revealed in their behaviour and responses. An individual incorporates the beliefs, attitudes and value systems of his society in the course of his interaction with the society and culture. These ideological patterns of culture determine an individual's approach towards the situations, persons and objects of his environment. As pointed out in earlier chapter, every object in an individual's environment has a cultural meaning. There are specific beliefs, attitudes, sentiments and ideals attached to every material object and these determine an individual's perceptions of objects and the technique of shaping and using it. The material equipments - his instruments and implements - are thus connected with his mental and moral disciplines. The psychological culture of the ideological patterns of culture determine the individual's patterns of behaviour and responses. Every individual participates in the culture of his society and his cultural participation develops in him a typical mode of thinking, feeling and acting. All
our responses and behaviour are thus culturally conditioned. Not only our conscious and voluntary activities, but our unconscious processes and internal biological activities are also culturally determined. Our internal biological behaviour, sexual behaviour, motor habits, perceptions, cognitions, feelings and emotions, our phantasies and even the unconscious processes are culturally patterned. It is through the persons that the culture is manifested and developed. Similarly, it is through culture that an individual realizes his personality. Personality and culture are thus mutually related and continuously interact with each other. Personalities shape and change the cultural patterns. But in turn it is itself shaped by culture.

In the succeeding chapters, the ideological or psychological patterns of Kharwa culture have been described. While describing the institutions, attitudes, beliefs etc. of the Kharwas, appropriate suggestions have been made to bring out the typical traits of their personality as revealed in their interpersonal, interfamilial, inter-group relations and their responses to the physical objects. Of course, the detailed discussion of these points is given in Chapter XXII.
CHAPTER VI (b)
SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND BEHAVIOUR

I Introduction

Society means an organized, systematic unity or whole. It is not a mere aggregate of individuals. Every society, worth the name, must therefore have its own specific organization. This is true of primitive tribes also. Without organization there can be no society and no social life. There should be a basis or a footing from which the social structure and social life can gradually evolve.

Every society has certain customs and sanctions which govern personal, social and cultural behaviour of an individual. These customs and social sanctions are the unwritten laws of the society - a code of conduct spontaneously followed by all members of the society. Social institutions are the functional or operational units. Society functions through these institutions. An individual, as he grows, automatically and gradually internalises the social beliefs, customs, mores, taboos and the ideals of his society. As a result of this internalisation, he develops a basic personality structure representative of his society and culture. In a pre-literate society, where the social life is compact and homogeneous, such basic personality structure becomes easily evident.
II. The Local Population as the Functional Unit of Social Life

The Kharwas are fond of festivities and merriments. They like to work in company with others. Consequently, we find that except for certain strictly personal or family affairs, for all other purposes the local population, as a whole, acts as a unit of social structure and organization. In all social, economic, and religious activities the whole population acts as one. The local group is the smallest unit of cultural organisation. There is a distinct caste organisation in every city. For instance the Kharwas of Veraval have their own social organisation with slight differences from the organisation of Kharwas in Porbandar. If there are a few blacksheep in the local population of a town, they spoil the good name of the whole population. For example, if there are two or three quarrelsome people in Kharwa population of Veraval, the Kharwas of other towns will say that caste fellows of Veraval are quarrelsome.

All the Kharwas of a village participate in their distinct religious festivals of "Bara Puja", "Nava Naraj", "Dariya Puja", "Dhajaguro" and "Melas". When they resume fishing after the monsoon all people gather together to perform Bara Puja. The fishing expeditions are then undertaken by all simultaneously. Of course, whatever fish they catch belongs to an individual. On social functions like marriage ceremony, all Kharwas help the
family concerned in organising and conducting the whole function. The host has simply to pay for the expenditure. The solidarity of the people is really appreciable.

III. Inter-relation between the castes

Even though the Kharwas are a militant community, they are co-operative and peace-loving people. They live in harmony with the people belonging to other castes especially the Hindus. Their relations with other castes are thus very cordial. Consequently, the attitudes of other people towards the Kharwas are those of sympathy and understanding. Most of the Hindus join the Kharwas in their festivals and religious processions.

However, their attitude towards the Muslims is that of estrangement and harshness. They are suspicious about the loyalty of the Muslims to our nation. This is because of the frequent communal upsurge arising intermittently in the country.

IV. The Panch as a Social Institution

In every town or village with Kharwa population there is an informal social institution of Panch. There is nothing like a written constitution or a formal organisation of the caste. The social life of the Kharwas is governed by conventions. The Panch is an inevitable part of the social organisation. In all matters concerning the interests of the
community the decision of the Panch is final and binding
to everybody. Panch's decision is to be respected and
called, All matters of general importance like somebody's
affairs with a woman, premarital relations, somebody not
calling his wife or the wife not going to husband's house,
quarrels about the partition of ancestral property, any
quarrels between two individuals or groups of individuals
etc. are discussed and settled by the Panch. The discussion
of such matters are undertaken by the members of the Panch
not merely for the sake of agreements but with an intent
to arrive at a definite decision. The members of the Panch
hear both the parties, exchange their viewpoints with one
another and arrive at a unanimous decision. Everybody has
to carry out the decision of the Panch ungrudgingly. The
Kharwas never come to blows or settle their disputes by
fighting. Even the old men of Kharwas told me that such an
incident was unknown to them. All disputes, irrespective of
their nature, are referred to Panch for arbitration. There
is not a single case on the record of judiciary of the state,
of litigation in which both the parties would be Kharwas.
The Panch arbitrates on every matter of inter-personal
relationship. Those who disregard the decision of the Panch
are punished with fines and in serious cases with ex-
communications. The authority of the Panch is invincible.
The Kharwas grudgingly abstain from certain acts on account of the fear of punishment by the Panch. They would violate a statutory act passed by the Government, but would never violate the directive given by the Panch. In important matters like casting votes in general or municipal elections the Panch decides as to whom the Kharwas should support and then issues a directive to all members to cast their votes in favour of a particular party. "Where there is Panch, there is God" is the general adage among the Kharwas.

The inter-village problems like quarrels between a bride from one village and the husband from another village are settled by the Panchas of the respective villages. The relations between the Panch of one village and that of another are like those between the two constituent units of a federation.

There is an association of Kharwas of twelve villages called 'Bar Gam Kharwa Gnati Mandal'. The twelve cities, whose Kharwa population are affiliated to this Mandal are, Porbunder, Veraval, Bombay, Mangrol, Dwarka, Okha, Mandvi (Kutch), Vanakbar, Ghoghla, Jamnagar, Arambhada, and Varwala.

The Panch never decides on any matters merely on the basis of hearsay or rumours. The aggrieved party who comes to the Panch for arbitration has to produce concrete
evidence for his grievances. The other party is also given an opportunity to defend itself. Both the parties to the disputes are also cross-examined by the members of the Panch by eliciting information through questions. The decision of the Panch is thus generally balanced and in the interest of the whole community. It is rarely unjust or onesided.

All members of the Kharwas, irrespective of age, social status, wealth or education are equal before the Panch. I could see that highly educated Kharwas well placed in life, like the legal practitioners, businessmen and president of a Municipality respected the decisions and directives of the Panch. The Panch is thus a powerful social control and wields a great social influence on the social behaviour of Kharwas. Under no circumstances a Kharwa would resort to beating the wrong doer and setting him right himself. He would file his complaint before the Panch whose authority is accepted by every Kharwa individual. This sense of obedience to the authority of the Panch is a powerful force in promoting and maintaining healthy and smooth social relations.

V. The Constitution of the Panch

There is no written constitution of the Panch. The whole organisation and the functions of the Panch are
based on conventions. The Panch consists of a Patel, four chovatias, and the members. The Panch is an elected body and holds office for one year. The Patel and the Chovatias constitute the executive body as well as the judiciary. They have the unquestionable authority to regulate and govern the life of the individual right from his birth up to the death. They settle all the quarrels and problems. If the party to the dispute is dissatisfied with the decision of the executive consisting of the Patel and the Chovatias, it has a right to appeal to the general body of the Panch on payment of certain fees called "Vera". The procedure to elect the Panch and its office bearers is as under:

In Kharwa Vad there are small ward groups known as "Bethak." The number of such groups varies from city to city. There are no strict conventions specifying the number of Bethaks on the strength of population or on other grounds. It is also not compulsory for a Kharwa family to join the Bethak of its own ward. An individual can become the member of any Bethak in the city. The members of the Bethak elect a Patel and four Chovatias (Advisers). Patel and the Chovatias together constitute the executive of the Bethak. The Bethak is primarily an
institution for social service. Its primary function is to help the members at the time of social occasions such as the marriage, the death of a relative etc. The member concerned has simply to pay the fixed Vero. The responsibility to organise and conduct the functions is shouldered by the people of this Bethak.

Every Bethak has been assigned a specific number of seats in the Panch on the basis of its size and strength. Every Bethak thus sends a specific number of representatives to the Panch. Generally the Patel and Chovatias of the Bethak are sent to the Panch as its members. The general body of the Panch is thus elected indirectly. The general body then elects a Patel, four Chovatias and a Treasurer. The Patel is the executive head and Chovatias act as his advisers. The function of the treasurer is to maintain accounts and make financial transactions.

The term of office of the Bethak, Panch and the executives is of one year. On the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Ashadh all the male Kharwas assemble in the temple of Shiva, called Kamanath. The assembly is known as 'Kamnathano Dayaro'. It is a social gathering. After this function, the accounts of the Panch are placed before the general body. The general body appoints two members as auditors who check the accounts and certify whether they are in order or not. Once the accounts are
audited and finalised, the Panch is dissolved and the process to elect the new Panch is set in motion.

VI. **Patterns of Family Life**

Family is the smallest unit of social life everywhere. The general notion is that the family consists of husband, wife and their children. But in Kharwas joint family system still prevails. All the earning and married sons of a man stay in their parental home with their wives and children. The authority of the father is accepted by all. He is the head of the family and he conducts all social affairs. Of course, in important matters he does consult his sons. The married daughters join their husband's family. In the event of the death of the son-in-law, or son-in-law not calling the daughter, she finds resort in the parental home. Generally the widow daughter and her children are maintained by the members of her husband's family and they stay with them. In very rare cases, she has to seek her resort in the parental home. Similarly, if the son-in-law is not calling the daughter, the Panch can be approached and requested to arbitrate and issue directive to the son-in-law. The children of the deceased brother find shelter in the uncle's home.

The reasons for maintaining a joint family are purely economical. The most hazardous of all human
enterprises known to primitive and preliterate society is sailing. Adverse wind or no wind at all, rough weather, currents and reefs are always liable to upset man's best plans and most careful preparations. Neither his knowledge nor his most painstaking efforts are a guarantee of his success and security. If, therefore, something unaccountable and unexpected happens during the voyage resulting in the loss of life of young man, his wife and children automatically get the protection and care of his brothers and their wives. Joint family system serves as an insurance policy, guaranteeing subsistence and shelter to the family of the individuals employed in navigation. Even if nothing unexpected happens and the men return home safely, it is a fact that men have to stay away from home for about eight months in a year. In their absence for such a long period, there must be somebody to help the wife and children in cases of illness etc.

But gradual changes in the family make up are penetrating in this community too. Since the invention of huge mechanised steamers, the Kharwas are obliged to search out other vocations for getting their livelihood. Many have taken up business and trade, some have taken up employment in government offices, municipalities and private firms.
These people have not to remain away from the family nor have to face the hazards of voyages. Consequently the economic significance of the joint family is lost and the system of divided family is getting popular in this community. I found many married young sons staying in a separate home with his wife. The old parents live with one of their sons. In most cases the ancestral house is divided into compartments or flats and every brother gets one flat to live in. Even though married brothers thus live separate in the same house, there is lack of bitterness and ill-feeling for each other. They all live in harmony and help each other in the hours of need.

(b) Size of the Family

The number of the members of a divided Kharwa family varies from six to ten. The average strength of the family is six. The divided Kharwa family consists of husband, wife and children. The Kharwas observe strict monogamy. I did not come across any instance of a man having more than one wife. Even the old people whom I contacted could not remember any such instance. Bigamy was a rarity in old days. An individual married another wife only if the first wife is incapable to bear a child. In case the first wife dies after she has some children and the man remarries, the children of
both the wives live happily together. Widow remarriage is not a taboo, though it is not appreciated. When the widow remarries, and if she has young children by the first husband, she takes them with her to the new house. If the children are grown up and if the parents of her first husband are alive, they would take over the responsibility of bringing them up.

The size of a joint family may be twice, thrice or even four times, according to the number of married sons living together in parental home. In a joint family, the sons live happily together as before marriage. Their wives also adjust with each other without any inconvenience. However, as is natural to the women, they sometimes become jealous of each other and this jealousy brings about the division of family. As pointed out earlier, divided family is a modern phenomenon, crept into the Kharwa community, after they gave up navigation and took up other vocations in the town.

(c) Members of the Family

The Kharwas are a patriarchal and patrilineal society. The father is the head of the family. He exercises direct control over all the members of the family and assigns different duties to other male members in the family. He looks after the needs and welfare of the society. All earning members,
if any, hand over their income to the father. He is responsible for the maintenance of the family. He also looks after all social relations and social obligations. In social functions he represents the whole family.

In Kharwas, the ladies generally do not stir out for the purpose of earning. But there is no prohibition too in this regard. If the conditions of the family compels, she goes out for labour or as maid servant. Such cases are very few. The main function of the mother is confined to the household obligations. She looks after the children and works as an adviser to her husband in family and social matters. She is really the pillar of the family life. The harmony and happiness in the family are really due to her.

The children form an important nucleus in the family. The parents are not afraid of getting a child. They believe that children are God-sent and they bring their own fortune with them. God is very gracious and he will see to it that every child gets what it needs. "God who has given teeth will also give food to chew" is a common adage among the Kharwas. Children are thus welcome by the parents. The un-educated masses do not believe in family planning. However, the educated and advanced people have realized the necessity of family planning and they have resorted to the use of various
means of birth control. As is usual in a patriarchal and
df a son is preferred to a daughter. But
there is no practice of infanticide of the girls. The girls
are not despised like other communities. A boy and a girl
are treated equally. Social equality of the son and the
daughter and the ideal of marriage are important factors
which determine the relation between the sexes in Kharwe
community.

The eldest son does not occupy a position of
special privilege as in other societies. He is on par with
other sons. In the absence of father, it is the mother who
is considered the head of the family. All decisions concern­
ing family and social matters are taken by her. Of course,
she does so in consultation with the grown up sons. She
becomes the custodian of the income and expenditure of the
family. In the absence of both the parents the eldest son
discharges all these functions. He is responsible for the
welfare of the family. Thus he occupies a respectable, but
not a privileged position in the family.

The Kharwe family is patrilocal and patrilineal.
It is patrilocal because the girl after her marriage leaves
the father's house and joins her husband's family. She and the children take the husband's and father's family surnames
respectively. The line of descent is traced through the father. The succession of property is from father to son. The property is neither premogeniture nor ultimogeniture. It is equally divided among all sons. If there is no son, the daughter inherits the property. There is a practice of adoption of the son. An individual may adopt a son of his own clan (Gotra) and in that case the property is inherited by the adopted son. Generally, an individual adopts the son of his brother or paternal cousin.

If the father dies, leaving behind him some debt, it equally devolves upon his sons. The sons share the debt equally and repay the same. Similarly the mortuary expenses of the father are shared by all sons irrespective of the fact whether the father was staying with a particular son.

VII.  **Clans and Kins**

The Kharwas are endogamous; i.e., an individual must find a mate within his own caste. But the Kharwa community is composed of numerous exogamous groups, called clans (Gotras). An individual must find a mate outside of his own clan. Marriage within the same Gotraj is a taboo. The clan is a paternal group. In course of my field work I came across the following clan names. The list, though not complete, is sufficient to acquaint us with the varieties of the clan names.
I was told by them that in the beginning there were only eleven clans. Out of these eleven clans, many sub-clans sprang up in the course of time. The primary clan names are common to Rajputs. This fact vindicates their claim for Rajput strain. The primary names and their derivatives are as under:

1. **Rathod (Primary Clan)**
   - Malam, Kotiya, Kuhada, Divatiya, Lodhari, Jungi, Panjeriwalla, Shiya, Masani, Fofendi, Majithia, Kanojiya, Kastudia, Thavar, Vanotar, Gadhvi, Hodar, Pavan, Bhutya, Doriabaidai, Devalia, Javeria, Chamudia, Malamadi, Bhutwala, Halkchari, Pithadia, Kastawala, Halkawala, Dariwala, Kantalia,

2. **Chawda (Primary Clan)**
   - Bhensani, Malam, Toter, Belavadia, Balapuria, Vaghavalia, Thapania, Khokhari, Modi,

3. **Gohil (Primary Clan)**
   - Kupliwala, Gohawala, Kotalia, Tibalia, Govindia,

4. **Solanki (Primary Clan)**
   - Vadvalia, Baridun, Vandur, Sukhadia, Bhadresha, Makwana,
(5) **Parmar (Primary Clan)**

Motivaras, Kalakia, Karnawalia, Sindhua, Padaria, Qabaria, Agiawala, Khorabawala, Pochatia, Vanikwala, Angiwar, Parmar, Varvalia.

(6) **Prithiha (Primary Clan)**

It has no sub-clans.

(7) **Chauhan (Primary Clan)**

Ghoaghia, Bandia, Talawala, Sheraju, Anjaniwala, Bhadresha, Vendarwala, Charadi, Chomalia, Goria, Mukadam, Naidhan, Sigotra, Barudin, Halchari, Haiyawala, Khammanwala, Chagali, Chauhan, Kishor.

(8) **Jethwa (Primary Clan)**

Gadhi, Goshia, Visavalia, Machchha, Suyani, Kanikya.

(9) **Vala (Primary Clan)**

Salat, Toraniya, Delwadia, Bharada, Halchadia.

(10) **Chudasama (Primary Clan)**

Ghorwadi, Khudai, Bhadricha, Tetar, Girmari, Khorawa, Badarshahi, Khetalpar.

(11) **Vachoila (Primary Clan)**

Soneri, Todarmal, Manjari.

The Family tree of the Kharwas is given in appendix II.
The Kharwas trace the origin of each clan to an ancestor and the different families in the same clan claim to have descended from that common ancestor. The common descent creates a fictitious blood relationship between the members of the clan. Individuals having the same surname belong to a common clan. The membership of the clan is determined by birth as well as adoption.

I could gather from my talks with the Kharwas that only a few of the educated lot, know their ancestor by name. An ordinary Kharwa individual could hardly trace his pedigree beyond fourth or fifth generation. The Kharwa families of the same clan do not live in the same town. They are spread over the coastal towns of Saurashtra and Kutch and in Bombay too. Hence persons belonging to the same clan do not necessarily know each other. There is also an overlapping in the names of sub-clans, grouped under different primary clans. For example, the clan name 'Malam' is the group of Rathod as well as Chawada. The name 'Halchari' is found in the groups of Rathod as well as Chauhan.

VIII. Origin of the Clan and Totemism

All clans are of equal social status. The Kharwas do not know the meaning of the clan names nor do they have any knowledge about the origin of the clans and their names. The Kharwas have their own Barot. A Barot is Charan by caste.
They are called sons of Saraswati - The Goddess of learning. They used to compose and sing folk songs in applause of their hosts. The Barots maintain diaries of the family trees and clan-trees of their hosts. In ancient times Rajput kings used to have one Barot in their Durbar. The above information about the clan names has been taken from the diary of the Barot of Kharwas. However, no authentic information could be had about the origin of clan names from this diary. However, certain inferences can be drawn from whatever information I could gather from the diary of Barot, from the monthly journals of "Dariya Chhoru" and "Vahanavati" - journals published by the Association of Kharwas of Twelve Cities and exclusively meant for the Kharwas only.

As pointed out earlier, the Kharwas claim to have a Rajput strain. They have twisted certain reference in Puranas and other Sanskrit literature so as to support their claim. The diary of the Barot is also based on this claim. According to this diary, Kharwas are the direct descendants of Rajputs of Rajasthan. The primary clan names given above are the surnames of Rajput. In course of time they migrated to Gujarat. They came to the help of King Ghelo Bhimdev Solanki of Anhilwad in his war against Mohmad Gazni. They
fought with bravery against Gazni. After the war was over, they were given the responsibility of guarding the coastal area of Gujarat. It is a historical fact that Mahmud Gazni attacked Gujarat by sea and first destroyed the famous temple of Somnath near Veraval. The importance of guarding the coastal frontiers was thus realized and the Rajputs migrated from Rajasthan were given this responsibility. Thus, they settled down permanently on the coastal areas and guarded the frontiers by moving round the frontiers in the sea in canoes and country crafts. Most of the time they were called Kharwas. In Gujarat, Khar means salty and Vas means habitation. Thus from the standpoint of etymology, 'Kharwas' means those living under salty atmosphere.

They came to Gujarat from different cities and villages of Rajasthan. Some of the clan names are derived from the names of these towns and the towns occupied by them in Gujarat, e.g., Kanojia, Kotiya, Devalia, Pithalia, Balapuria, Balavadia, Khokhari, Varwalia, Vanikwala, Ghoghalia, Chorwadi, Girvari, etc, Kanoj, Kotiya, Devalia, etc, are the towns in Rajasthan, Varwala, Vankbara, Ghoghla, Chorwad, etc are the towns of Saurashtra.

Some of the clan names are derived from the name of the Goddess worshipped by them; for example, from the name of Goddess Malan Ai, the name Malmdi has been derived.
Similarly, Bhadresha is a derivative from Bhadrech Ai, a name of the Goddess, Devadia of Delwadi Ai, Chamundia from Chamunda Ai, etc.

Some of the ancestors of Kharwas first came to Bhavnagar from Shadhergadh and then went to Anhilwad to the rescue of King Bhimdeo. These people were known as Gohil and thence Godhawala.

Some of the Kharwas acquired land from the government, made Durry (measurement) and then gave it away in alms to Sadhus, Brahmins and daughters. They were called Durrywala.

Some of the Kharwas have taken up agriculture. Of course, the number of such people is very rare. I think the clan name Halchari must have been devised and applied to these people. Hal means plough, and Chari means who runs; i.e., those who run ploughs.

Every clan name might have some such significance behind it; but no authentic data is available which would enable us to draw some reliable conclusions. However, one thing we can infer with certainty, that none of the clan names are derived from animals or plants or fruits.

'Are the Kharwas Totemistic?' This is the best and the last point that confronts us. A tribe is regarded as totemistic when it claims mystic ties with some material object, animal or plant species. The totem object or animal is worshipped
by the people of that totem-clan. In this sense, the Kharwas are not totemistic. They worship the 'cow' and regard it as a holy animal like other Hindus. They do not kill it or tolerate the killing by any other person. However, they do not claim to have any mystic ties with the cow.

IX. **Kinship Terms**

The Kharwas of Saurashtra use Gujarati dialect and as such the kinship terms used by them are not different from those prevalent among the Gujaratis. The most common terms in usage among them are as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Father</td>
<td>Bapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mother</td>
<td>Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Son</td>
<td>Chhokaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Daughter</td>
<td>Chhokari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Brother</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sister</td>
<td>Bahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Parental grandfather</td>
<td>Mota Bapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Maternal grandfather</td>
<td>Nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Parental grandmother</td>
<td>Moti Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Maternal grandmother</td>
<td>Ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Parental uncle</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Father's elder brother</td>
<td>Dada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. Father's younger brother
14. Father's elder brother's wife
15. Mother's sister (elder or younger)
16. Father's sister (elder or younger)
17. Father's sister's husband
18. Mother's brother
19. Mother's brother's wife
20. Paternal cousin brother
21. Paternal cousin sister
22. Maternal cousin brother
23. Maternal cousin sister
24. Father-in-law
25. Mother-in-law
26. Son-in-law
27. Daughter-in-law
28. Wife's brother (elder or younger)
29. Wife's sister (elder or younger)
30. Grandson
31. Grand daughter
32. Husband
33. Wife
34. Sister's husband
35. Husband's sister
36. Husband's sister's husband

Kaka
Dadi
Masi
Fui
Fua
Mama
Mami
Bhai
Bahen
Bahen
Mama Sasara
Mami Sasu
Jamai
Vahu
Salo
Sali
Pautra
Pautri
Dhani
Vahu
Banevi
Nanand
Banevi
The kinship terms of the Kharwas are of two types viz., classificatory and descriptive. For example, all persons of the father's age are addressed as 'Kakas.' One's own brother and sister and parental uncle's sons and daughters are called 'Bhai,' and 'Bahen' respectively. The females of the age of one's daughter are addressed as daughters and their husbands are referred to as 'Jamais' - Son-in-laws. There are also descriptive kinship terms like 'Mota Bapa' and 'Moti Ma' for the grandfather and the grandmother respectively.

The customary rules of Kharwas permit marriage between cross cousins i.e., an individual can marry his mother's brother's daughter. Marriage between a male child and his mother's brother's daughter only is permissible. An individual cannot marry his father's sister's daughter. This custom is prevalent among the Rajputs. It is known as the custom of marrying daughter after her Fui (father's sister), "Fui Pacchala Bhatriji." Marriage between an individual and his father's sister's daughter is not permitted by the custom of Rajputs also. Hence cross cousin marriage in the restricted sense of marriage between an individual and his mother's brother's daughter, is permitted in Kharwas;
but not obligatory. The maternal uncle (mother’s brother) is therefore the potential father-in-law for a boy, and his wife, a potential mother-in-law.

X. Family Relationships

In a Kharwa family, the father is the disciplinarian. The attitudes of the sons towards the father is that of submission. Even a grown up and married son dares not disobey his father. Emotionally the child is attached more intimately to the mother than to the father. I could gather from my talks and interviews with the married Kharwa youths who were living in a separate home from their parents, showing deep feelings and respect for their mother. The daughter is very much attached to the parental home. She visits her parental home many a times even after the marriage. There is also a custom of inviting the married sister on festive days like Bhaibij, etc. In case of a broken or unhappy married life she returns to her parental home and stays there.

In Kharwa community there are many restrictions limiting the free mixing of the young boys and girls. Young boys and girls have to observe great restraint in their relationship with each other. However, there are few relatives who are allowed free mixing and talking with each other. They are said to be in joking relationship. An individual may have joking relationship with his elder brother’s wife i.e., with Bhabhi. They can talk freely with each other and cut jokes. They sprinkle coloured water at each
other on the Holi festival. But they cannot cut any joke involving sex. The individual has to respect his Bhabhi as an elderly member. Similarly a girl has free and joking relationship with her brother's wife (Bhabhi). Since both of them are females, they need not be restrained in their relationship with each other. They also tease each other. An individual can freely talk with his wife's sister. They can have uninterrupted conversations, but no jokes. They cannot cross certain specified line of demarcation in relationship with each other. Free and joking relationship is also allowed between an individual and his brother-in-law. No restrictions are placed on the freedom allowed to them.

Joking relationship may be indicative of equality and mutual reciprocity or indicative of potential sexual relationship between a male and a female. The joking relationship between a woman and her husband's sister or between a person and his wife's brother or sister's husband indicate equality and mutual reciprocity. Free joking relationship between a person and his wife's sister or between a man and his elder brother's wife as allowed in some primitive tribes, is indicative of potential sexual relationship. In such tribes the practice of sororate and levirate is accepted. In Kharwa community, no such unrestricted joking relationship is permitted between the relatives of opposite sex. Hence the practice of sororate and levirate is not accepted.
A person has to respect his father-in-law and mother-in-law. A certain distance has to be maintained while talking to them. Hence, even though there are no formal restrictions, the relationship between them is always modest and restrained. Similarly, the daughter-in-law looks upon father-in-law and husband's elder brother with respect and observe Purdah. She cannot talk to them or in their presence. The Kharwas are very rigid in observing Purdah system. The system of hiding her face by her sari by a married woman is called Purdah system. The married girl has to observe Purdah in the presence of her father-in-law, husband's elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband, husband's uncle etc. She has to hide her face even from her husband in the presence of an elderly member of either family. The husband and the wife are expected to be modest and restrained in their behaviour towards each other in the presence of elders. They cannot talk to each other. They cannot call each other by name even in the presence of youngers.

X. Relationship with others

The Kharwas are generally very hospitable and cordial. Their method of greeting and receiving the kins or acquaintances is similar to that followed by Hindus in rural areas. When they meet a kin or an acquaintance they would smile and say 'Ram Ram' or 'Jai Jai' to each other. They would stop for a while and ask
each other where he was going. They would again say 'Jai Jai' or 'Ram Ram'. The host will offer a sit to the guest, either in the cot or a carpet. A glass of water is served and the housewife is asked to prepare tea. If the guest is to stay over for a day or so, a feast is given to him. During my stay in their midst I had an opportunity to enjoy their hospitality. To whomever I went, to an uneducated family, to a businessman or to a lawyer, I was offered tea and pan. Everyone was ready to help me in any way he could. Some of them accompanied me from morning to night even at the cost of their own job.

The relation of the Kharwas among themselves appeared to be very cordial and sympathetic. Everybody appeared to respect every other. But it was evident that beneath this show of cordiality and respect underlies a feeling of mutual distrust and jealousy. They have a tendency to despise and to bring down one another in other's eyes in the absence of the person despised. This feeling of distrust and jealousy does not find expression in open conflicts only because of the fear of the Panch. They have to repress this feeling. Open conflicts resulting into blows and death are very rare among the Kharwas. In fact my informants failed to point out any incident of the murder of a Kharwa by another Kharwa.

XI. **Summary and Conclusions**

In the social life of the Kharwas, the local population as a whole is the functional unit. The Panch is a powerful social
control and an important institution which governs the interpersonal relations and settles their disputes.

The family is the smallest unit in the social life of Kharwas. Formerly there was only joint family system, but it is now gradually disappearing and the system of divided families is getting prominence. The family is patrilocal and patrilineal.

The Kharwas are an endogamous community. It consists of many clans and the clans as such are exogamous. Cross-cousin marriage in a restricted sense is permitted but not obligatory.

It is necessary to make a study of the patterns of their social structure and social behaviour for a proper study of their personality. The social life, the family life, interpersonal relations and family relations develop certain personality traits like, regard for the authority of the Panch, mutual distrust, hatred and suspicion for the women etc. The social conditions like the size of the family, emphasis on maintaining cordial and peaceful relations, disregard for aggression etc. are responsible for creating an impression that the Kharwas are not jealous. But the social conditions do not operate in isolation. A host of other factors also operate in conjunction with social conditions and all of them acting together, determine the personality structure of an
individual. The economic organisations and behaviour, cultural standards, beliefs, child rearing practices, ideal of marriage etc., and patterns of social structure and behaviour are functionally inter-dependent. No one factor can be treated singly in isolation as a determinant of a specific trait.