

# Socio-Economic Issues Facing Katkaris

A Report by Tata Institute of Social Sciences

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'Socio-Economic Issues Facing Katkaris' explores the persistent exclusion and deprivation of Katkaris in the districts of Raigad and Thane Region. Following mixed methods and a review of secondary literature. It details the extreme vulnerabilities faced by Katkaris in the present time. The report also suggests culturally and economically sensitive government measures for Inclusion and Development of Katkaris.

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**Sponsor: Rest of Maharashtra  
Development Board**

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## Introduction

This project on socio-economic conditions of Katkaris is a review study and includes an analysis of secondary research. Secondary sources are coupled with primary research following a mixed methods approach to understand the complexity of continued deprivation and exclusion facing Katkaris. The study though small scale has therefore helped us map both the scale and complexity of social issues facing Katkaris. We thank the RoMDB for supporting this research to use innovative and people centred approach which has helped us engage both Katkaris and Social Movement activists in designing the outcomes.

Present chapter gives a brief summary of the research questions, design and rationale. Following were some of the key questions that we set out to explore.

1. *What is the socio-economic condition of Katkaris in Maharashtra? Focus will be on education, health, economic and political situation with emphasis on women and children.*
2. *How have the livelihood opportunities and economy changed in last three decades for Katkaris? Focus on negative impacts and positive changes.*
3. *What are the past and present government and non-government interventions focusing on development of Katkaris? What is the impact of these interventions on Katkaris?*
4. *What are the strengths and shortcomings of state policies? What are policy spaces and possibility for comprehensive inclusion and development of Katkaris?*

## Geographic Location of Katkaris

The primary research has focussed on two districts Maharashtra, namely and Raigad and Thane due to concentration of Katkari population in these Districts.

**Table 1.0: Distribution of Katkari Population in Maharashtra**

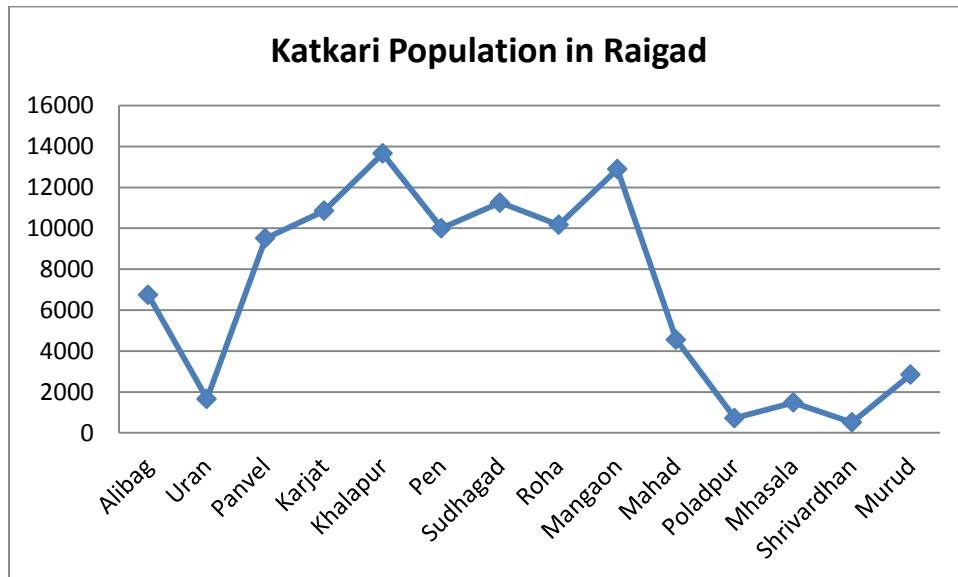
Sr.No	Name of the district	Percentage population
1	Raigad	43.34
2	Thane	32.91
3	Ratnagiri	12.12
4	Pune	5.09
5	Nashik	2.55
6	Others	3.99
7	Total	100.00

\*Source Patnaik(2004)

Above disaggregated figures from Patnaik (2004) provides us a break up of the areas where most Katkaris reside. Katkaris are found mostly in the districts of Raigad, Thane, Ratnagiri, Pune, Nashik. Raigad and Thane together account for around 76 per cent of Katkari population. Raigad alone has around 44 per cent of Katkari population. Raigad thus

remained our focus in the study. Within Raigad, Khalapur and Mangaon are the two talukas with the highest Katkari population.

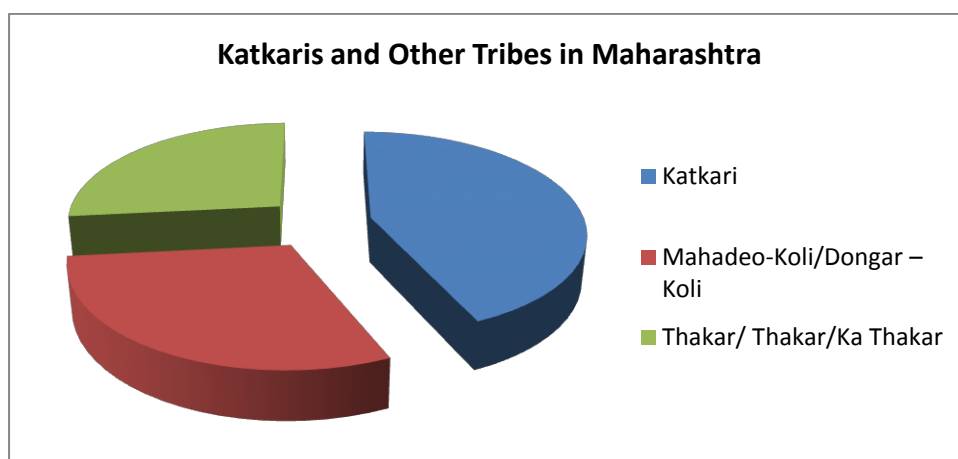
**Figure 1.0**



\*Source: Census 1991, Compiled in Puri (2009)

There are many tribal communities in Raigad district of Maharashtra. The total ST population in Raigad district as per the 1991 Census is 2,33,953. The 2001 Census reports a marginal rise in the population of Scheduled Tribes in Raigad 2,69,124. The 1991 Census provides details of three major tribes in Raigad district as below and the Katkaris constitute the most numerical Scheduled Tribe in Raigad.

**Table: 1.1 -Tribals in Raigad district of Maharashtra**



\*Source : Compiled in Puri (2009)

Raigad and Thane were thus the focus of our study, however most coverage was of Raigad due to Katkari preponderance here.

## Research Design

**Village Specific studies** (includes ethnographic fieldwork coupled with surveys): A total of 11 hamlets were studied in Thane (4) and Raigad (7) so as to ensure diversity in economy, topography and population compositions. The study of Katkari hamlets and villages helped us understand the changes in economy and tribal livelihoods. Primary research in these hamlets revolved around case studies and a small household survey with 350 rural families.

The survey focussed on studying the socio-economic status and multi-dimensional nature of poverty facing Katkaris. Qualitative study through FGDs and Participatory Rural Appraisal Exercises helped us understand specific aspects of changes in Katkari-State relations and the complex nature of poverty and exclusions that Katkaris face.

**Table 1.2 : Study Villages**

Katkari Hamlet/Villages	District	Katkari Households	Households Interviewed	Qualitative (FGDs and Interviews)
Adiwasi Wadi – Nilaj GP	Raigarh	41	30	√
Majiwali	Thane	35	20	√
Depivali	Thane	53	30	√
Nevare – Aghai GP	Thane	70	50	√
Talawali -Adivasi Wadi	Raigad	50	40	√
Talawali-Chillewadi	Raigad	15	15	√ and Ethnography
Khonda, Kasa and Haritmal – Chinchawli GP	Raigad	140	45	
Chandewadi	Raigad	110	70	Ethnography
Niwachi wadi	Raigad	70	20	√
Sonar Wadi	Raigad	80	15	√
Sonde Wadi	Raigad	50	15	√
<b>Total</b>		<b>720</b>	<b>350</b>	

## Rapid Appraisal

Rapid appraisal was carried out in 70 Katkari Hamlets of Raigad [50] and Thane [20] to understand the general social and economic profile, access to civic amenities and to government welfare schemes. The study covered 50 hamlets of Mangaon Taluka in Raigad District and 10 each in Wada and Shahpur talukas of Thane district. A similar extensive appraisal of Katkari hamlets has been carried out by Buckles and Khedkar (2011) in Khalapur, Sudhagad and Kajat. We focussed excessively on Mangaon as it is the second most Katkari populous Taluka in Raigad District. Though Khalapur has most concentration of Katkaris in Raigad, a somewhat similar survey has been carried out by Buckles and Khedkar (2013) in Khalapur, Sudhagad and Karjat.

The methodology involved Focussed Group Discussion with the key leaders in the village, both men and women. The questionnaire included both close-ended and open ended questions. The group consisted of minimum of 8 and a maximum of 12 people comprising of both the sexes. The participation was highest from the age-group of 40-45 years. Each discussion lasted for about 40 to 45 minutes.

Rapid appraisals have helped in studying the scale of exclusion and the general nature of Katkari deprivation. The issues covered here are Health, Water, Education, Assets, Access to Schemes and Entitlements, Agriculture and Crops, Livestock, Fisheries and Forest Resources and the main problems that have plagued the Katkaris.

The research also included small qualitative studies on Education (focussing on Ashram Shalas), Political Participation of Katkaris (Interviews with present and past Panchayat representatives), Land Issues and Katkari perspective on Migration (Interviews with Katkaris families who migrate).

## **Chapterisation**

The chapters are designed to address the research questions that we sought to explore. Chapter 2 provides details of present socio-economic status of Katkaris. We present the general deprivation and poverty facing Katkaris and measure the scale and depth of poverty among Katkaris through Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index. We use MPI to highlight the shortcomings of government ways of identifying and working with poor amongst Katkaris. Katkaris still seem excluded in several Katkaris from the ambit of basic needs and welfare. We also briefly engage with Katkari perception of state and state welfare schemes here.

Based on RRA, Survey and Qualitative Interviews and group discussions with activists and Katkari representatives in Panchayats, three key issues are identified and discussed – Land, Education and Migration. The following Chapter 3 engages with the landlessness and land issues facing Katkaris. It delineates the progressive state policies and their limitations in dealing with land dispossession facing Katkaris.

Well over half of the Katkaris migrate out of their villages to work as contract labourers in Brick Kilns, Coal Making or Wood Cutting. Katkaris being a nomadic tribe historically have continued to deal with the poverty facing them by looking at newer opportunities of work and labour in and around their villages, neighbouring Talukas and Districts and at times out of state. Chapter 4 deals with the Migration and the challenges and opportunities it provides for Katkaris.

Migration has the most adverse effect on education of Katkari children. Schools in and around have limitations in meeting the educational needs of Katkari children therefore. Chapter 5 deals with Educational issues, particularly the overwhelming absence of Katkaris in Ashram Shalas. Ashram schools have been in news recently for their terrible living conditions and death of tribal children. Besides the quality of living and education we raise the issue of marginal Katkari children's participation in Ashram Shalas and suggest ways for an inclusive approach. Chapter 6 presents summary and conclusion.

## II

### Socio-Economic Status of Katkaris

*From the economic point of view it is difficult to imagine a more poverty-stricken race of human beings[ than Katkaris]. (Servants of India 1939: 2)*

*If I say that the tribe [Katkari] has attained a status of low Hindu caste, no villager will be surprised at my statement. (Weling 1934 : 68)*

The above two epigraphs reveal the difficult social and economic condition of Katkaris in 1930s. The first one points to the poverty stricken nature of Katkari existence and the second to Katkari mobility into caste society and the new lower status assigned to them. Government policies both during the colonial and the postcolonial period took note of Katkari deprivation. The British bracketed Katkaris as Criminal Tribes and also took some nominal measures of encouraging settled life for Katkaris through providing forest land on lease for cultivation. Following independence there has been a broader recognition of the excessive exclusion facing Katkaris and state measures have been initiated for development of Katkaris. Katkaris however continued to be one of the most deprived PVTGs in Maharashtra.

This chapter assesses the present socio-economic status of Katkaris to suggest that state welfare and justice measures though present have largely failed to deliver change for the

#### **Insecurities faced by Katkaris in present times**

**Tenure insecurity** – Lack of ownership rights (private as well as community) over land, water bodies and forests

**Livelihood insecurity** – Loss of access and control over natural resources traditionally harnessed - coupled with a lack of alternate options (assured wage labour and employment)

**Existential insecurity** – Threat of evictions and displacement

**Knowledge insecurity** – Lack of information and awareness, and inadequate education

**Social and psychological insecurity** – Absence of collective mobilization or unionization.

**Milind Bokil, Activist and Scholar( at TISS Consultation)**

Katkaris. The marginal change achieved in Katkari status is largely due to grit and power of Katkari labour; both Katkari men and women have survived the largely hostile economy and society through their labour power.

In the sections that follow we present general profile of Katkaris and the key areas which help is understand Katkari exclusion better. The data presented here from

secondary sources and the primary research which includes Rapid Rural Appraisal conducted in Mangoan, Wada and Shahapur Talukas, Household Surveys and other qualitative techniques.

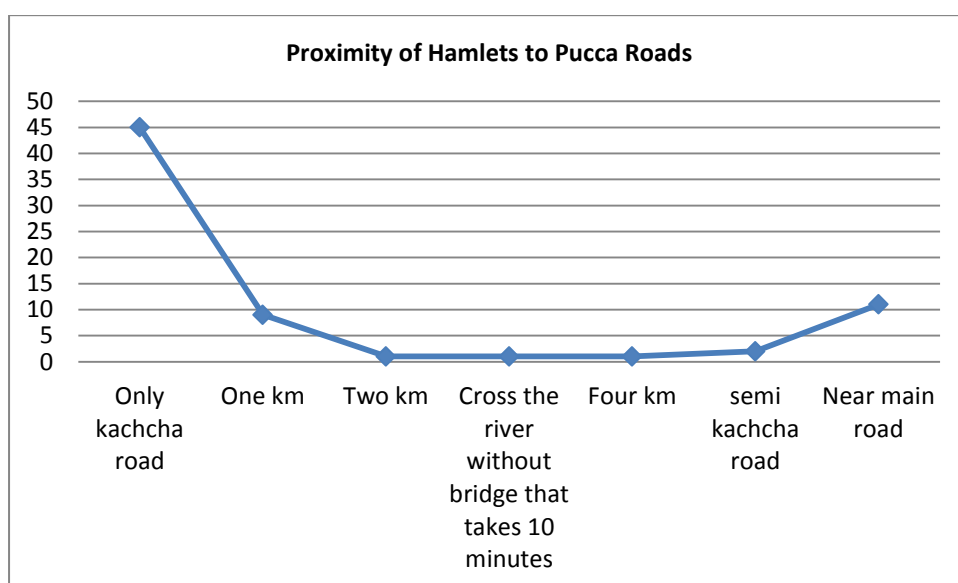
### **Katkari Hamlets: Small and Peripheral**

Katkaris continue to reside in smaller hamlets. Most of these are close to but outside caste villages. In villages covered under Rapid Appraisal, the average number of households per hamlet is around 50 and the mode is 18. Buckles and Khdedkar (2013) study of Katkaris in Karjat, Sudhagad and Khalapur has similar findings and reports mode of 15 households per hamlet. Most hamlets fall under the 40 households per hamlet. The smallest hamlet had 4 households, below table presents a summary of households per hamlet.

#### **Households in Katkari Hamlets**

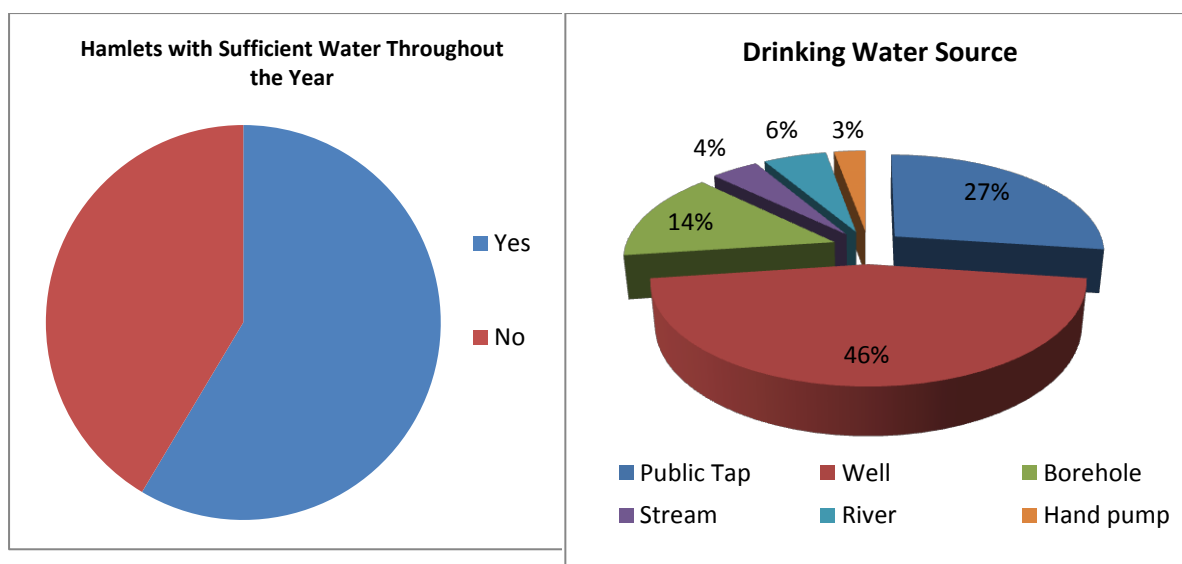
No of Villages	No of Household
24	1 to 20
21	21 to 40
12	41 to 60
11	61 to 100
2	101 and above

Exceptionally some Katkari hamlets had households more than 100. The small number of households makes the Katkari hamlets vulnerable to political dominance of numerically stronger social groups in the village. It particularly affects their access to civic amenities like water, education and health.

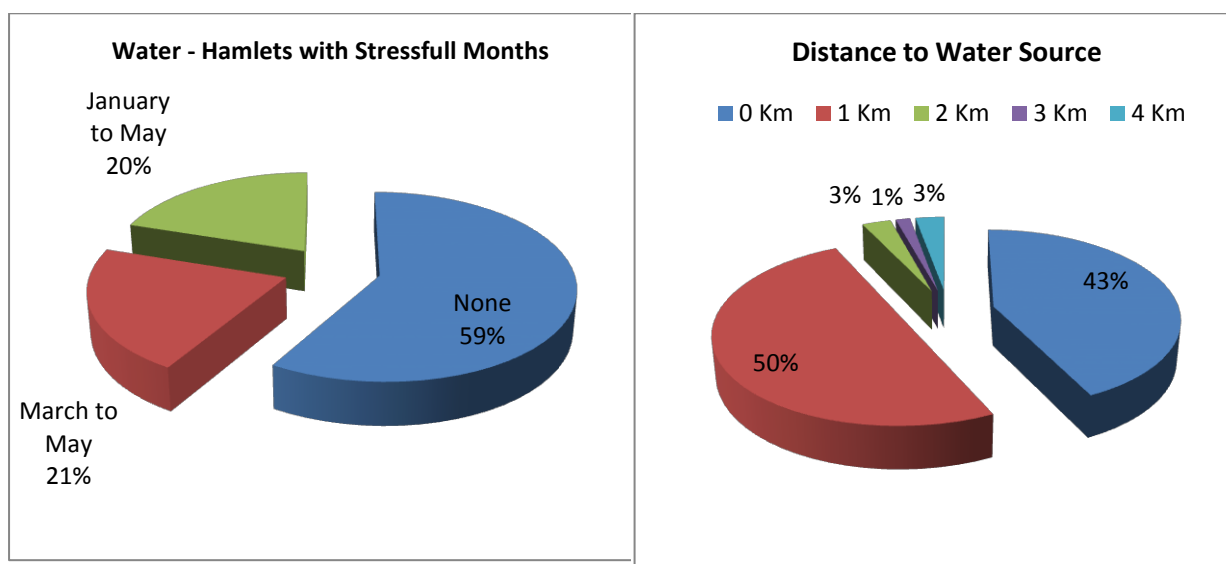


#### **Water and Sanitation**

Katkari Hamlets continue to face drinking water issues in present times. Of the total hamlets surveyed, 41 per cent did not have sufficient drinking water. Buckles and Khedekar (2103) studied the Katkari hamlets in three talukas to find water scarcity in 45 percent Katkari hamlets. Water wells are a major source of water for Katkaris, however, these tend to dry up during summer or at times much earlier.



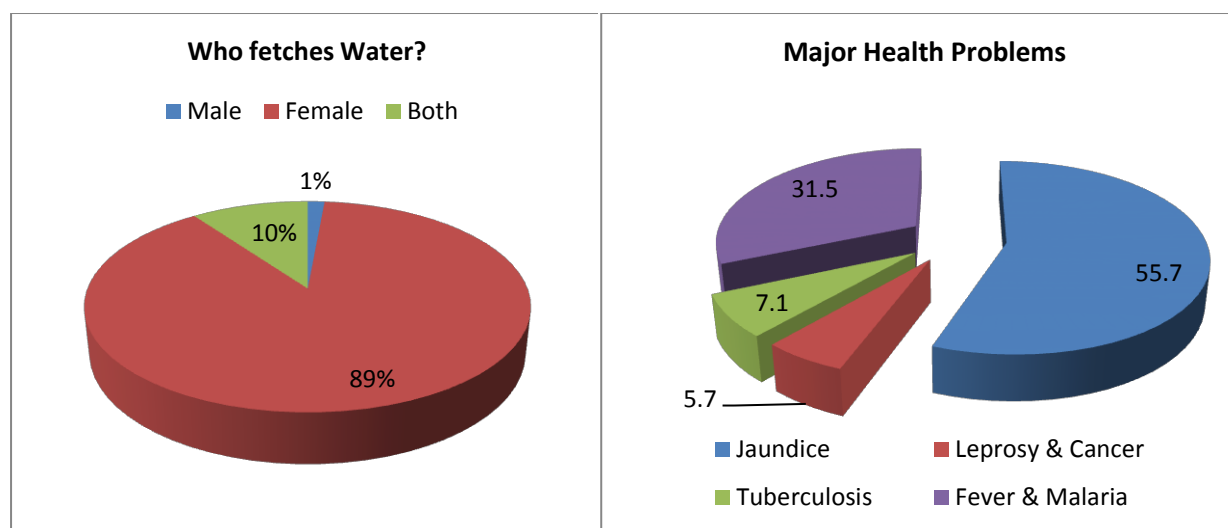
Around 41 per cent hamlets reported water scarcity of which 20 per cent reported scarcity for five months from January to May. Katkari homes are not close to water sources which also means that they may have to walk some distance to fetch water. Only 43 per cent hamlets reported water sources to be very close to their homes, whereas 50 per cent hamlets reported that they have to walk upto one km to fetch water. Needless to mention that the brunt of fetching water comes on the women as around 90 per cent villages reported women fetching water and only 10 per cent had both men and women collecting water.



In the household survey we carried out around 30 per cent households reported that they had to walk over 30 minutes to fetch water. Besides the shortage of and distance to water Katkaris also reported water borne health issues that they face. In the rapid appraisal around 56 per cent hamlets reported jaundice and malaria was reported in 31.5 percent hamlets.

## Some Issues

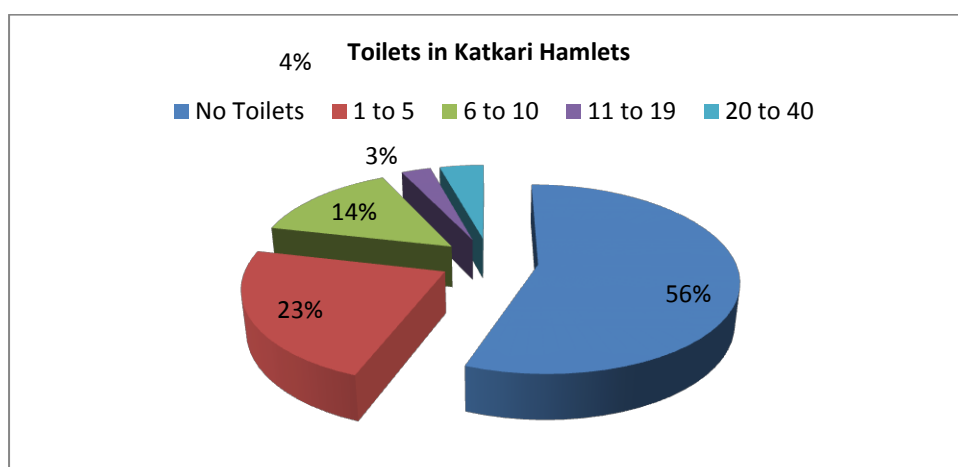
- *Nal Pani Puravatha Yojana* is a good scheme and Water can be provided through taps under this Scheme. Some Katkari hamlets are covered under this *however Katkari hamlets are generally small and far from main village and most remain out of this scheme therefore*
- *Tankers provided only when significant number of Katkaris organise and pressurise the taluka administration.*
- Under Gharkul Schemes Toilets are Compulsory but people cannot use them due to lack of water.
- The Sarvajanik Sauchalaya schemes should not be implemented if no water is available
- Watershed Management is not allowed in forests. Whereas for the Katkaris it is best to conserve water in forests.



Haritmal (also referred to as Saitan wadi) is a Katkari Hamlet in Chinchawli Gram Panchayat. There is one well in Haritmal built around 20 years ago. The construction is flawed and has already broken up causing possibilities of serious accidents. The location is also on the slope of the mountain from where many Katkari women have fallen down and hurt themselves while going to fetch water and climbing all the way up with filled water pots. This well does not store water for the summers. In summers Katkari women walk down four kilometers to Khonda to fetch water from the public well.

A study from IIT Bombay in Thane District shows that mainly villages having higher ST population are left out of the drinking water schemes and made to depend on the tankers for drinking water requirement in summer months. This dependence on tankers reduces the motivation of the villagers to go for a full fledged drinking water schemes. **(Kirubaharan 2011)**

Lack of proper sanitation and toilets is a major health concern in Katkari Hamlets. There are 56 per cent villages where the facility of toilet is not available and its residents opt for open defecation. There are 23 per cent hamlets which have 1 to 5 public latrines and these numbers are measly. Not all Katkaris are enthusiastic about using toilets. In one of the villages, the inmates have stocked there harvest inside the latrine instead of using it.




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### Masoom (2009) on Child Mortality and Related Health Issues amongst Katkaris

#### Summary of Katkari Health Issues

- One third of all children born died either as infants or in their early childhood.
- 121 women (87%) out of 139 lost one or more children while 55 women (40%) lost two or more while 19 women (14%) lost three or more children born to them.
- 41 women (30%) had one or more still births or pre-natal death (during delivery).
- Causes of death as reported were low birth weight, fever, pneumonia, measles / mumps, diarrhoea and a few cases of tetanus. If a child dies within first six days for unknown reason, “satavi” is reported as the cause of death. Probably these must be low birth weight or pre-mature babies.
- In all deliveries of breach presentations, the child died during delivery.

There were a couple of shocking cases like

- A woman had six abortions and has only two surviving children.
- A woman lost her new born because she delivered while walking to the doctor and the new born fell on the ground.

Some other findings / observations were:

- Except for a couple of cases, all deliveries were handled by traditional birth
-

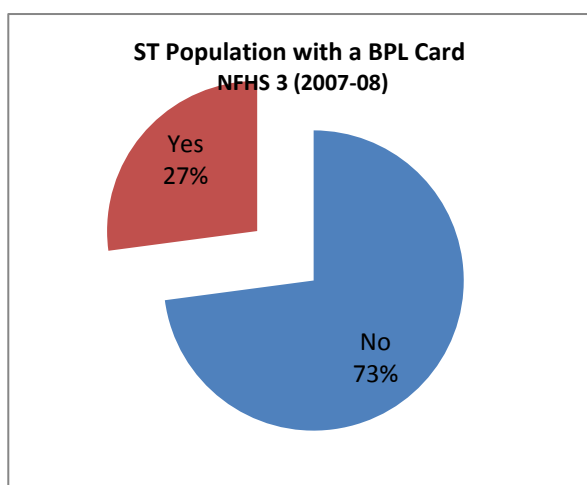
attendants (TBAs or suins/dais in Marathi).

- The TBAs / suins could not handle breech presentations or difficult deliveries as the children died during delivery in all such cases.
- During delivery, the umbilical cord is cut only after the placenta is expelled. Some peri-natal deaths are reported due to delayed expulsion of placenta.
- The newborns are not given colostrums. The breast-feeding starts after three days.
- The girls are married at an early age of 10 to 12 years and the couples start cohabiting from the day of engagement.
- Most abortions occurred from early age pregnancies. Causes of abortion reported are lifting of heavy material at their place of work in brick kilns or construction sites, and fall due to slipping.
- The women start going for work on 5<sup>th</sup> day after delivery.
- The women do not eat any special (nutritious) food during pregnancy or in the post-partum period. On the contrary, they are given only rice with salt before and after delivery.
- The only meal that most Katkaries (including men, women and children) eat during the day is the evening meal that they cook after coming back from work.

**\*Data specific to Mahad block**

### **Ration and BPL Cards**

The TRTI survey of 1997 lists around 97 per cent Katkari population as BPL. The number of poor amongst Katkaris however has been dwindling at a significant rate, this is a result of targeted approach which focuses on reducing the number of poor, nature of poverty calculation and the local dynamics where Katkaris do not have much say. This has led to STs in general and Katkaris in particular being excluded from BPL lists. The below figures present the percentage distribution of the ST population in Maharashtra that is in possession of BPL card. Amongst the Scheduled Tribes around 73% of ST population in Maharashtra does not possess a BPL card.



Katkari Hamlets with APL, BPL and No Card			
Hamlets	BPL Card	No Card	APL
36	All the households	None	None
27	Not all	Up to 25	None
7	Not all	25 to 50	50

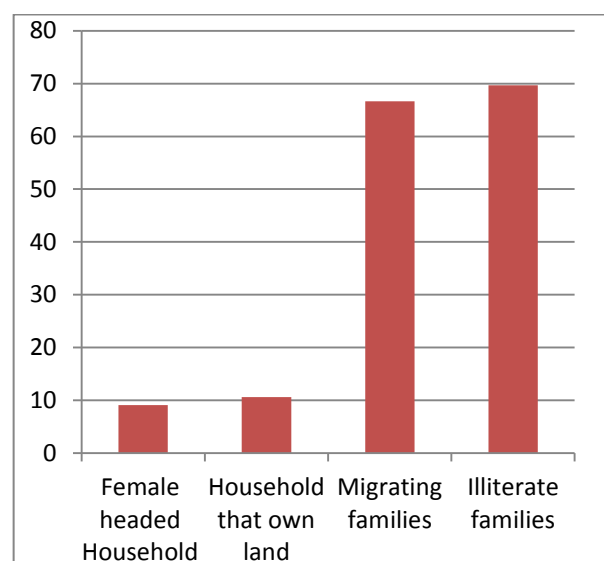
As can be seen from below table from the Rapid appraisal, there are 36 villages where all the Katkari households have a BPL card. However close to 50 percent Katkari hamlets had up to 25 or more Katkari households holding no Ration Cards. On an average there were 22 households per hamlet that **are without a ration card. NGOs and social movements have intervened in Hamlets where most Katkaris have ration cards.** In Mangoan

Sarva Vikas Deep followed up with the government officers to secure BPL cards for Katkaris. They succeeded partially however around 200 Katkari applications are still pending with the Tahasildars office. The government officers cite the problem of *isthang (specific quota of antyodaya/BPL allotted to Talukas)* as an obstruction in not being able to provide cards to all eligible Katkaris. A short list of such cases is attached in Annexure V for reference (Courtesy- Sarva Vikas Deep, Mangoan).

Deserving Katkaris are not merely excluded from BPL lists around 18 per cent Katkari households had no ration

card. From the **below figure** we can see, amongst those who do not have ration cards, close to 70 per cent are the migrating and illiterate families. These Katkari households lack social and political capital required to impact the access of BPL facilities.

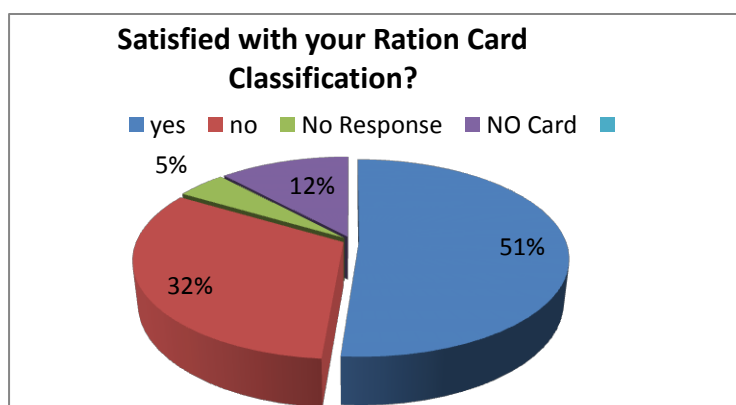
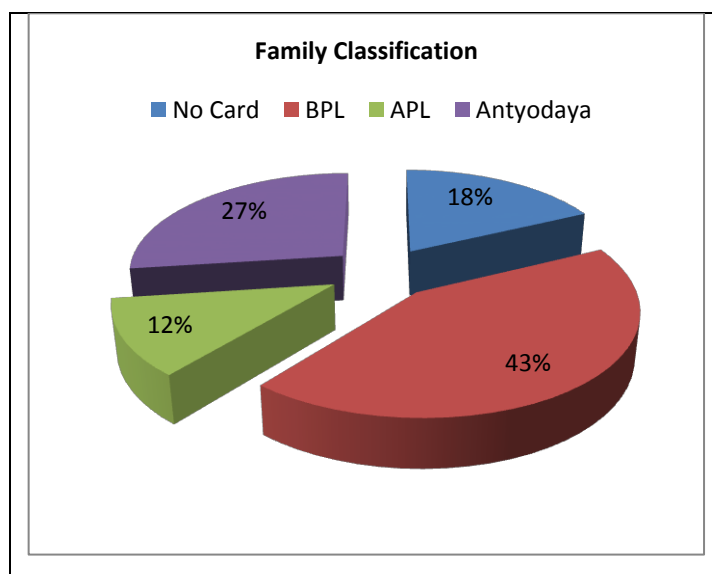
**Who does not have a Ration Card amongst Katkaris?**



However Katkaris being deprived of BPL cards is not a specific case and Research on BPL cards has observed that BPL cards across India including Maharashtra are distributed to the non-poor households. It is estimated that, about 44% of the BPL card (27 million) were distributed to the non-poor households in the country. On the other hand, about three-fifths of the poorest (those in abject deprivation) do not possess BPL cards. Also, only two-fifths of poor households and one-fifth of non-poor households possess a BPL card. In other words, a majority of the poor do not possess a BPL card in the country (Ram, Mohanty Ram 2009).

- Each Block/District has a “quota” for BPL and Antyodaya
- At times names of new weds are listed in the same old card of their parents under BPL. This affects the grain allocation as under BPL the allocation is unit driven whereas under Antyodaya each family gets 35 kg grains. However most new Katkari families are neither provided BPL nor Antyodaya cards. Those who apply for new cards are being provided APL cards instead.

In our survey we found that Katkaris who were not given BPL card or did not have a card were particularly dissatisfied. Around 32 per cent Katkaris were unsatisfied with their ration card classification. Whereas 52 per cent were happy with the card they were allotted, most of those satisfied were Antyodaya and BPL card holders.



*I have been given a Kesari Card despite being poor. You tell me why should I not get the BPL (daridrya reshe khali) card?*

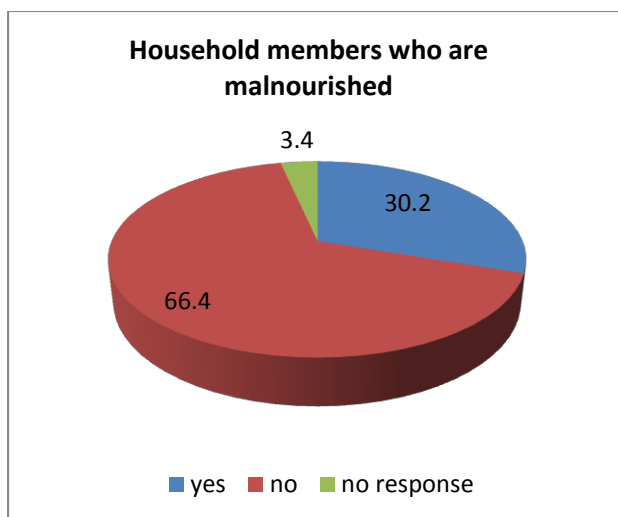
**Katkari Woman respondent from Talawali**

Katkaris are excluded from BPL list through multiple ways. At times local political competition has resulted in Katkaris being excluded from BPL list.

**Ankush a Katkari Sarpanch from Newachi Wadi shared,**

*"The previous sarpanch was from Congress party; he played politics with the Katkaris, he deprived 484 families of BPL card during survey. Those who were in the Shiv Sena their names are now in the BPL list and those who were in the Congress party their names are not in the BPL list. So now the 484 families do not have the BPL card. That is why the Katkaris do not get any schemes from the government here."*

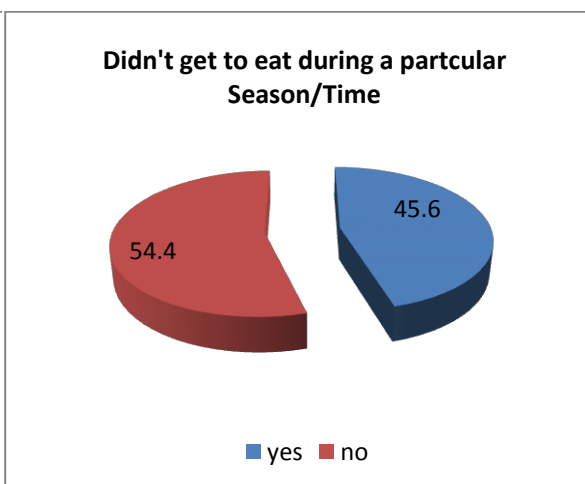
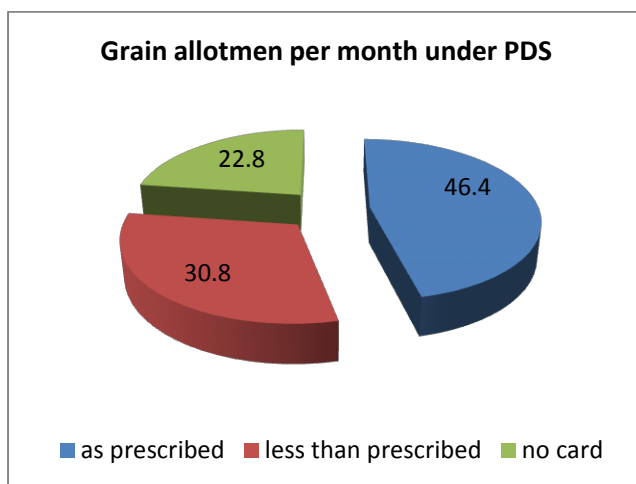
In Nevare Pada for instance the Katkari community were allotted houses under **Indra Avas Yojana and were excluded from BPL list**. When the Katkaris visited the Tahasildar office to protest, they were told that since they have a pucca house they will not be eligible for BPL card. Katkaris maintained that the surveyors did not even visit their homes for taking the information.



The Supreme Court on the other hand, in its interim order of 2nd May 2003 on the Antodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) directed the Government of India “to place under AAY category six groups of most deprived groups of person including the particularly vulnerable tribes.

The interim order thus requires universal coverage of Katkaris and other PVTGs under Antyodaya. The Supreme Court’s order is however least implemented by most state governments including the state of Maharashtra.

As one of the most deprived PVTGs, Katkaris should have universal coverage under food security schemes. A good number of Katkaris face food shortage during some time of the year. In our survey around 47 per cent households reported that they had faced food shortage or didn’t get to eat during a particular season or time in last year. Not all who have cards are happy with the grain allotment only 46 per cent Katkaris said that the grain allotment was as allotted whereas 30 per cent were not allotted as prescribed.



Around 30 per cent of families in our households in the survey reported that some family member was malnourished. In the rapid appraisal carried out in **70 hamlets 62 reported (89 per cent) reported Katkaris facing food shortage some time in a year.**

The National Food security Act of 2013 aims at covering 70 per cent rural population. This targeted approach will result in Katkari without ration card and those with APL cards being left out. **Katkaris should be provided universal coverage under the Food Security Act as Antyodaya Families.**

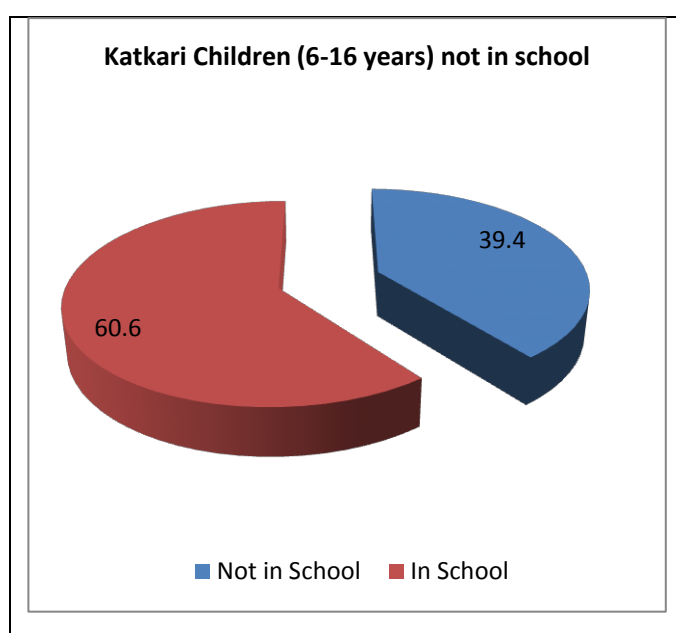
## Katkari Women: Multiple burdens and Sustained Resistance

Besides taking care of domestic labour activities within the households Katkari women also contribute extensively through their labour to economy. Katkari men and women face the pressure of marrying and earning early. Early married couples generally proceed to work as contracted couples on brick kilns. Katkari women are paid equally on farms as they do the same amount of work as the men. Some women couple these with collecting minor produces from forest for consumption and minor sale.

Our survey suggests male share in the Head of the Household category as not atypical, where Men are head of 82.3 per cent households and Women are head of households in 16 percent, who are mostly widowed & are desolated. There are also women (though not a significant percentage), who are in charge of the house even with the presence of male members in the house.

## Education and Literacy

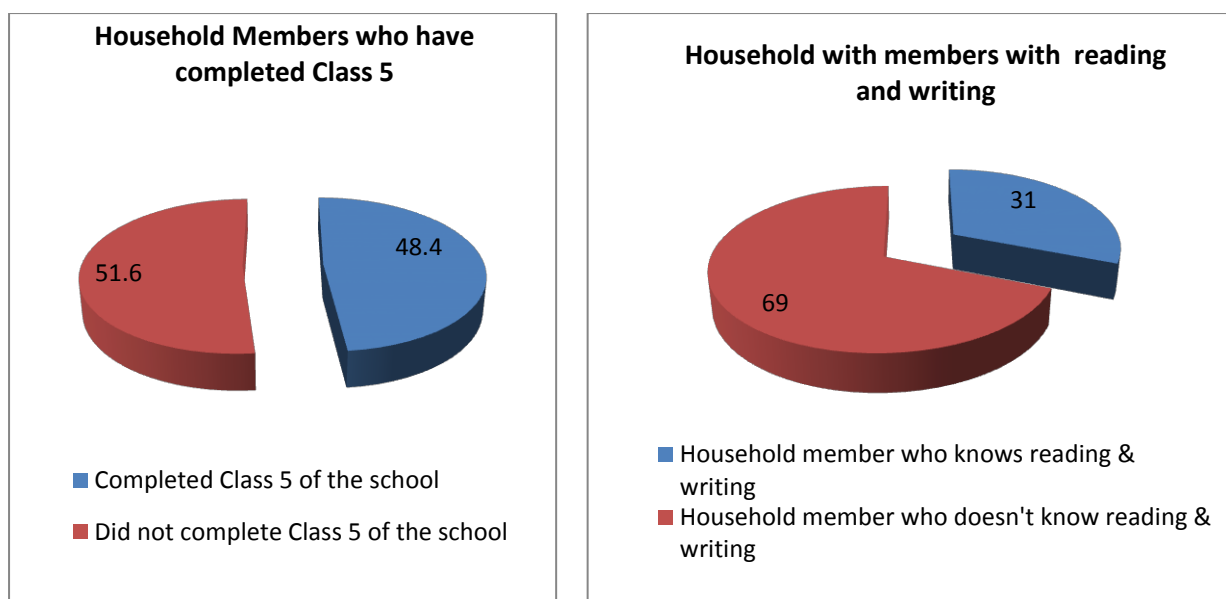
In 1997 the literacy amongst Katkaris was around 16 percent in 1997 (TRTI 1997). The



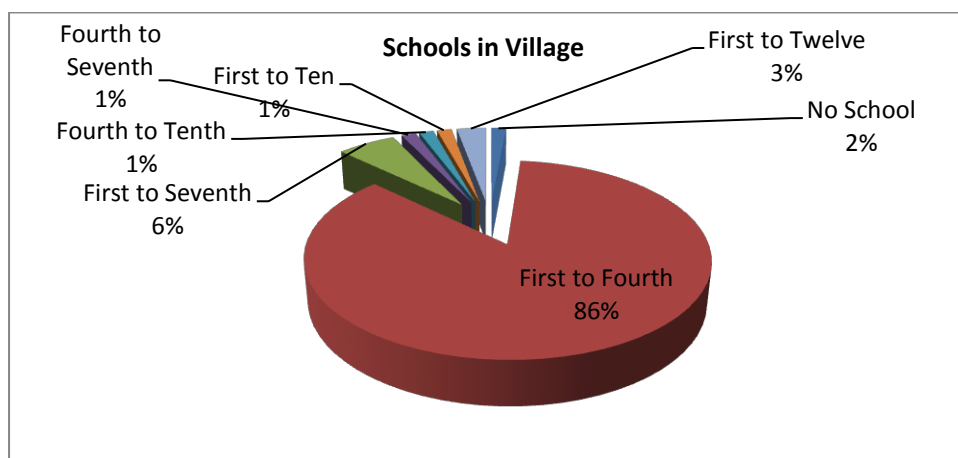
literacy rate amongst the Katkaris is found to be as low as 21 per cent (Kurane 2009). The present literacy rate amongst the Katkaris continues to be far lower than the 40 per cent literacy rate reported for males and 18 per cent for females aged seven and above. On an average, only five men and one woman are literate in each of the Katkari hamlets of three talukas (Buckles and Khedekar 2013). Tomar and Tribhuwan (2004) estimate Katkari literacy to be around 9 per cent in Pen Taluka. The slow achievement of functional literacy amongst is a matter of concern; however what is further

more grave is Katkaris exclusion from higher education. Those who go to school manage to complete very few years of schooling. This in many ways reflects the shortcomings of our school system to sustain the interest of Katkaris in education, particularly higher education.

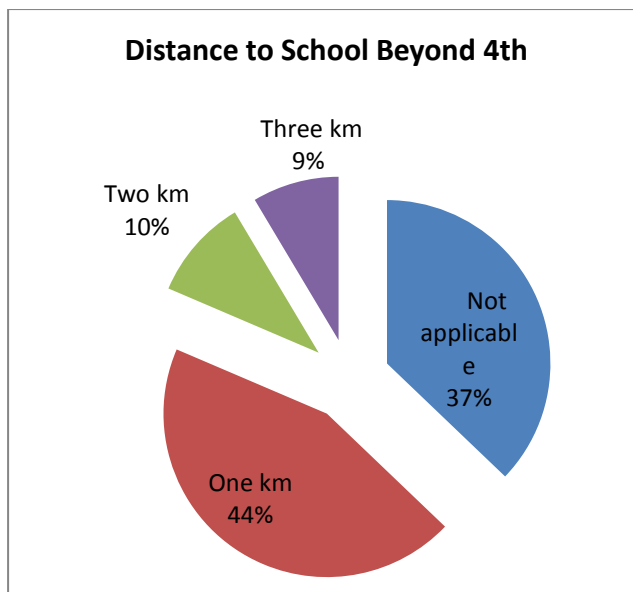
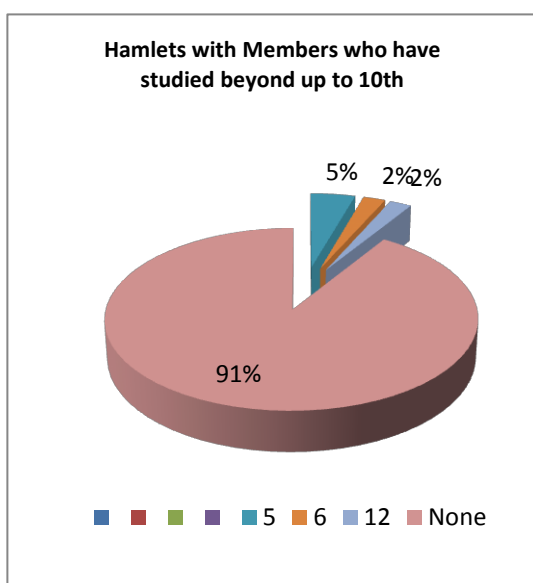
RTE (2009) is resulting in Katkari children being marked present in schools even if they are not attending. Katkari children moving onto to higher grades would not mean that they have achieved quality and satisfactory education.



The Rapid appraisal findings further unravel the problem of schooling for the Katkaris. None of these schools are in the hamlets and are located in the upper caste localities [referred to as gaav]. Further not villages have school till higher grades. Most villages (86 %) have school till the fourth grade.



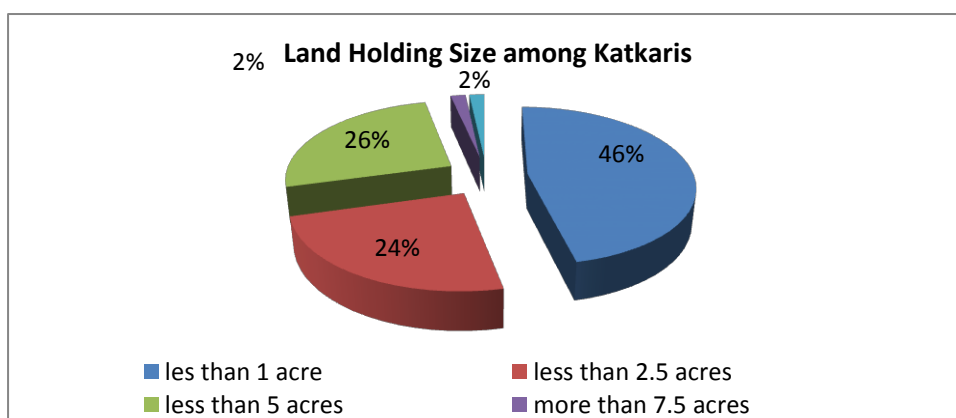
Buckles and Khedekar (2013) study of hamlets in Khalapur, Sudhagad and Karjat, found that only two hamlets in the three talukas have a primary school within the hamlet, and only 11 per cent have anganwadi. Buckles and Khedekar further suggest that primary schools, Balwadi and Aanganwadi located in non-tribal villages are open to Katkaris but many Katkari children do not attend these. Our Rapid Appraisal figures presented in below figure present the distance to schools beyond 4<sup>th</sup> grade above one Km for 44 per cent hamlets and above two kilometres for 20 per cent hamlets.



Our rapid appraisal of 70 hamlets revealed that of the 59 per cent of these did not have a single member who had studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> grade. Emphases on Marathi language, lack of Katkari teachers, Migration in search of work are various factors that affect Katkari education. Residential Schools appear to be the way out for Katkari Education; we discuss the challenges facing Ashram Shalas in next chapter.

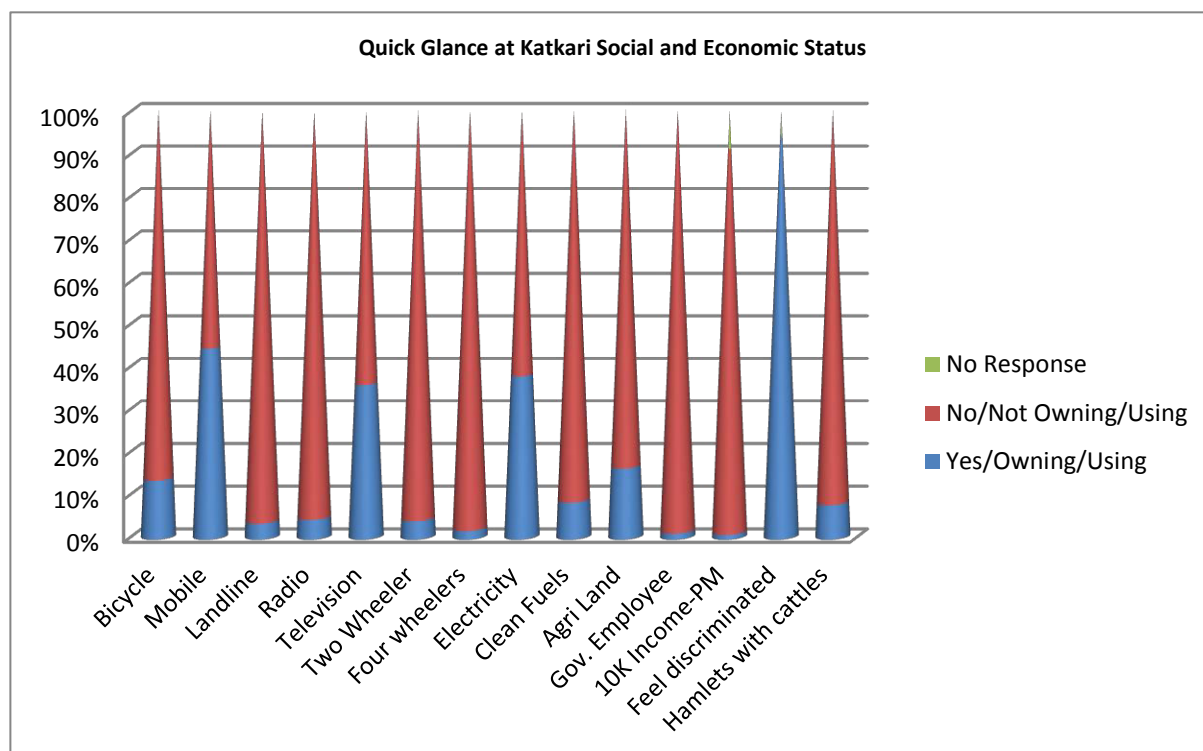
### Occupation and livelihoods and Katkari Poverty

Katkaris are a largely landless tribe who depend on agricultural and non agricultural labour to meet their ends. Only 6 per cent of Katkaris are cultivators (Census 2001). We discuss the landless and land issues facing Katkaris in one of the following chapters. As of now it should suffice to say that around 85 per cent Katkaris are landless. Amongst the Katkaris those who own agricultural land, 46 per cent have land holdings of less than one acre size and 24 per cent have land holding between 1-2 acres.



Around 93.4% of Katkari households in our survey their major livelihood is either Agricultural labour (where they are casually engaged in other person's agriculture land), Manual Labourer (where they casually work for others in return get daily wages), Most (around 60 per cent) workers work as migrant labourers in brick kilns, wood cutting and coal making. Migrant works that Katkaris are involved is of semi-bonded nature, elements of

these works fit the description of bonded labour. Of the Hamlets we carried out rapid appraisal in 90 per cent hamlets had Katkari who migrated over six months for employment.



\*Data from Household Survey and Rapid Appraisal

The study of Katkari poverty thus requires working through the complexities of social and economic exclusion that Katkari face. Ideas of empowerment cannot be limited to economic considerations or to unproductive assets. This study therefore does not merely focus on Katkari incomes and assets, and has used the indicators of Multidimensional Poverty Index to understand Katkari Poverty. These indicators however have limitations in capturing qualitative dimensions of Katkari exclusion.

**Multidimensional Poverty Approach :** The MPI shows the number of people who are multidimensionally poor (suffering deprivations in 33.33% of weighted indicators) and the number of deprivations with which poor households typically contend. It reflects deprivations in very rudimentary services and core human functioning for the people (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative). The MPI has three dimensions and 10 indicators.

**Education**

Years of Schooling  
School Attendance

**Health**

Child Mortality  
Nutrition

**Standard**

Cooking Fuel  
Sanitation  
Water  
Electricity  
Floor  
Asset Ownership

From our survey of 350 families we have calculated their deprivations under the MPI approach. We have used MPI to understand the vulnerability and diverse nature of exclusion that Katkaris face. Below table shows that close to 80 per cent (78.86) per cent families Katkari families are MPI Poor

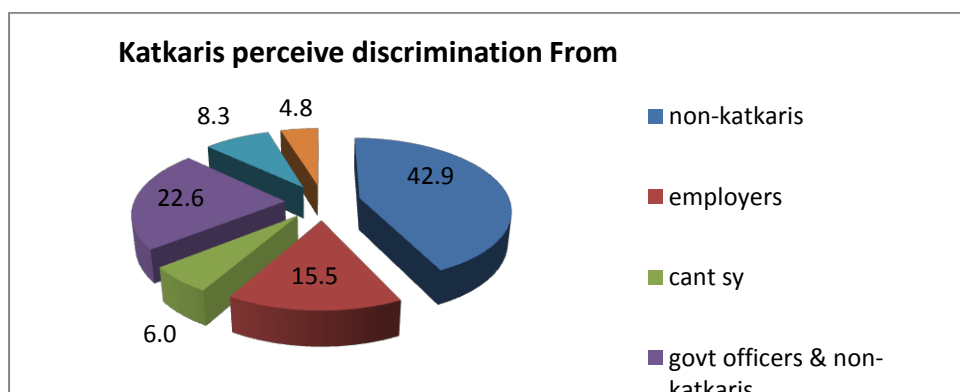
### Multidimensional Poverty among Katkaris

Indicators	Poor	Non-poor	Total	
Number of MPI Families	276	74	350	
Number of MPI persons	1430	417	1847	
% of MPI poor families (Ci)			78.86	
Multidimensional headcount ratio (H)			77.42	
Intensity of Poverty			0.508	
Average Household size of poor			5.18	persons
Average Household size of non-poor			5.64	persons
Total household size			5.28	persons

### Social exclusion

Heredia and Srivastava (1994) have suggested that caste communities and other Adivasis consider the Katkari inferior to themselves and to all other communities in the area. Dominant caste communities generally consider the Katkari a primitive and drunken society. (pg 38). Buckles and Khedekar (2013) write that the *Undir Navami* and rodent meat is considered a source of health, vigour and vitality among Katkari people (39), also benefits the farmers – also called to kill monkeys. All these are considered lowly amongst the Non-Katkaris. The Thakor for instance use the term ***Kathodi*** as a term to disrespect and abuse Katkaris (Buckles and Khedekar 2013: 39). The distinctiveness of the Katkari collectivity is used to exclude the community utterly leaving them in a position more vulnerable than the lower castes and other tribal groups ( Buckles and Khedekar 2013:40).

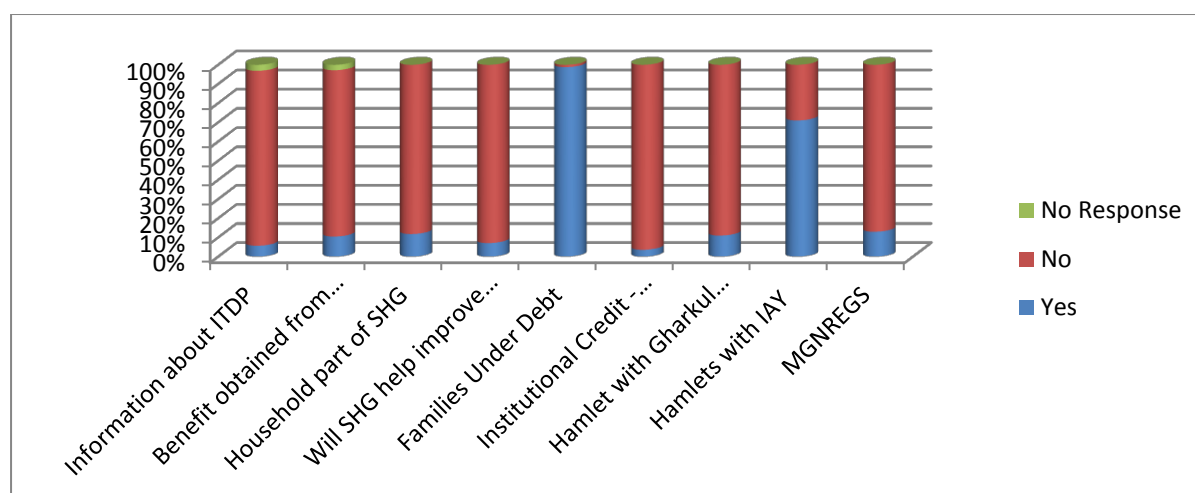
Katkari in our study largely felt neglected and discriminated by state and by Non-Katkari society. In a question we asked to Katkaris if they felt discrimination. Almost all perceived discriminations from state and non-Katkaris.



There is also an increasing lack of hope and trust in government efforts and schemes. The bureaucracy and power surrounding government offices and officials make the Katkari stay away from demanding their rights from state machinery. **For instance around 76 per cent Katkaris do not have a caste certificate. For most of the schemes meant for tribals producing caste certificate is essential.**

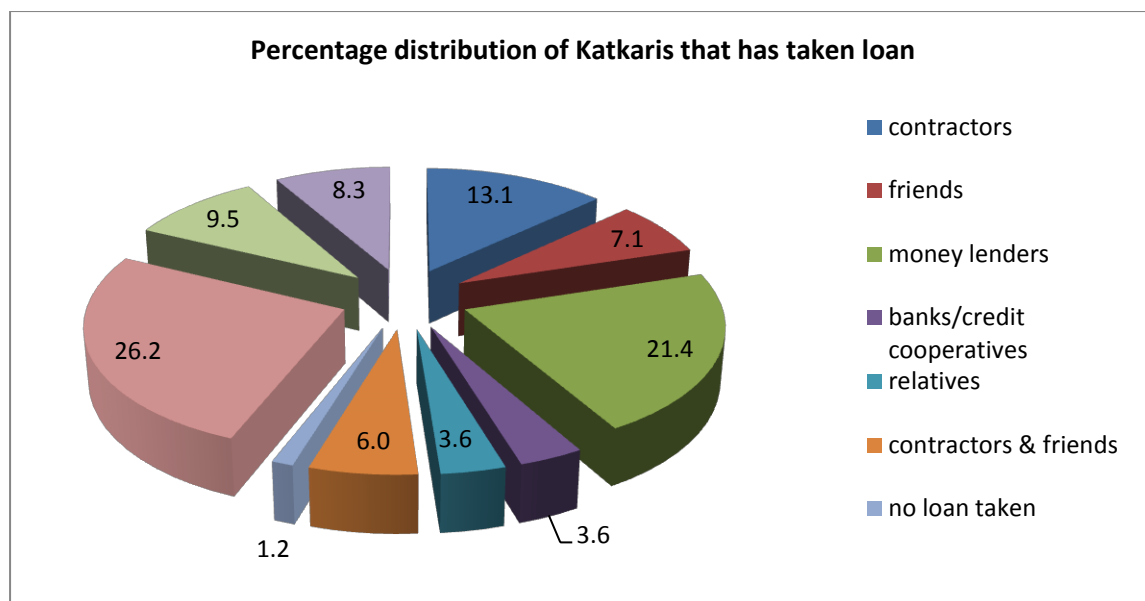
Amongst the schemes accessed, Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) is the only programme which has reached most Katkari Hamlets. 87 percent hamlets reported that MGNREGS was not implemented. Some general issues reported by Katkaris in accessing MGNREGS were **wages not being attractive, work not provided within 2 kms, Wages paid after one week in a bank (prefer in hand), Money spent to travel to banks as banks are not close always.**

### State Access for Katkaris



Places where it was implemented, works were not given for more than 20 days and wage payments were not made timely. Most Katkaris were not aware about the ITDP schemes and 98.8 per cent Katkaris reported to be under debt. Only 4 per cent Katkaris have access to institutional credit from Co-operatives or Banks. Below figure shows Katkari dependence to non-institutional credit and their vulnerability of falling in debt trap.

More than one-fourth (26.2%) of Katkari household have taken a loan from contractors & money lenders, while 21.4% of Katkari's have taken a loan only from money lenders. Their other source includes only Contractors (13.1%), Friends (7.1%), Banks & Credit Societies & also Relatives (3.6% from either of them), 6% from Contractors & Friends, while only 1.2% of them have never taken a loan from any of them.



Government schemes are largely trapped in patronage culture with some cuts being paid to local political leaders and officers. Schemes work best without pilferage for Katkaris only where NGOs or social movements are involved in providing intermediary role of accessing state. While much can be expected from Katkari leaders and representatives in decentralised governance, they fail to deliver for Katkaris due to rampant patronage politics in panchayats. Following short section elaborate the complexity of the issues Katkari representatives face at village level.

### **Decentralised Governance and Katkaris**

Katkaris find it difficult to be assertive in Panchayats due to dominance of land owning castes in Panchayats. Generally, the non-tribals decide on Eligible Katkari Candidate to contest for **Reserved Seats of Sarpanch**. Katkaris may agree on the Member to contest under pressure. All expenditure for the elections including paying deposit and organising certificates and documents are borne by Non-Tribals, at times two competing groups within the village.

Some Katkais become Panchayat members due to pressure from Non-Tribals despite their lack of knowledge and interest in Panchayats. Babi Jadhav (55) from Panhalgad Budruk village was not interested in becoming Panchayat member or Sarpanch.

“I did not want to become Sarpanch. But the government wants a mother who has only two children. I was the only one who had two children and I became Sarpanch. We have no land all land belongs to Marathas. If you give us some land we will be able to do well. “

She complained about the exclusion of Katkaris from BPL cards.

There is one card for five families.’ Aamchya kade aardhya lokan kade ration card nahin’ [Half the Katkaris do not have BPL card].

The Selected Sarpanch/Ward Member is able to do little for Katkaris → Most schemes through Panchayats end up helping Non-Tribals. Katkaris who tend to get assertive and independent also face violence.

Suresh Savar is 10<sup>th</sup> pass and is Assertive for Katkari Access to Civic Amenities. He faced violence from Non-Tribals and a case of theft was registered against him.

Katkari representative complained of less resources being allotted to Kaktari-wadis. They also shared concerns over the pilferage and bribes they have to pay for accessing schemes. Katkari representative are able to deliver for the Katkari village when elected as Sarpanch on reserved seats. However they are able to do little in solving problems of the Katkaris.

**See Annexure II for details of Interviewed Katkari Representatives of Past and Present**

### Katkari Landlessness: Progressive Policies and Continued Deprivation

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Katkaris are poor because they do not have their own land, they do not have farmland, they do not have land to live. If they had farmland they would have worked and cultivated something or the other. The community does not have land anywhere..

(Nathuram Jadhav, Katkari respondent from Madhegaon)

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Katkaris attribute their poverty and deprivation largely to their being landless. Landlessness amongst Katkaris is much severe than any other Scheduled Tribe in Maharashtra. Our survey suggests over 80 per cent Katkaris are landless. Similarly Buckles and Khedekar (2013) report landlessness as high as 87 per cent in the three Talukas they surveyed. This is despite the fact that measures for providing land lease and ownership for Katkaris date back to colonial times. The 2001 Census records the percentage of cultivators' amongst Katkaris to an abysmal low of 3.5 per cent in rural areas.

Historically, besides *katha* and coal making Katkaris have had a history of cultivating difficult patches of land in the forests. However ownership of cultivable land amongst the Katkaris is rare and large-scale landlessness prevails in present times. A history of land alienation, and failure on the part of government officials to implement policies of land reform and tribal land rights are the main reasons why the vast majority of Katkari remain landless to this day (Buckles and Khedekar 2013). Katkaris thus have largely failed to secure ownership over the difficult tracts of forestlands they cultivated and land reforms did not provide them ownership to plain lands where Katkaris worked and continue to work as as tenants and labourers

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#### Quick figures on Katkari Landlessness

- Landlessness as high as 80 percent – No other Scheduled Tribe faces land exclusion to this extent.
- Some 3 per cent of Katkaris have received ceiling lands acquired and distributed under Maharashtra Agricultural Land (Ceiling and Holding) Act 1961
- Only 6 per cent of Katkari families have received land under the tenancy act.
- Only 10 per cent of the Katkari households have rights to Dalhi plots granted during the British Period. Most households have not received the secure titles that they are entitled for Dalhi Cultivation
- Around 68 per cent of the total surveyed villages are without a title to a village site. Of the total, 73 per cent of the hamlets are on privately owned land and 25 per cent are on Forest lands now held by the Forest Department.

Buckles and Khedekar (2013)

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Katkaris in Thane and Raigad regions face two kinds of land dispossession. One is from the farmlands and other is linked to Katkari movement out of forest to caste villages where they do not have ownership for their homestead/habitat lands and land required for community purposed like cremation.

### **Village Sites and Housing Land**

Katkaris face the problem of not having ownership of homestead land or access to land for common community usage. Most Katkaris moved from forests to live in revenue and caste villages so as to cater to the labour needs of land owning castes. Thus they settled on the private lands of the farmers they worked for.

The survey of Buckles and Khedekar (2013) showed that 68 per cent of the total surveyed villages in Karjat, Khalapur and Sudhagad **are without a title to a village site**. Of the total, 73 per cent of the hamlets are on privately owned land and 25 per cent are on Forest lands now held by the Forest Department. Some 2 per cent of the Katkari villages without a gaathan are located on common grazing lands (gurcharan) or temple lands(devsthan). Uncertainty over tenure and security of Katkari homes and hamlets affects approximately 25000 people in three Talukas of Kahalapur, Sudhagad and Karjat (Buckles and Khedekar 2013: 44). The situation is similar in Katkari hamlets of other talukas as well. Katkaris thus in the present times face with an ever looming threat of eviction, and a major problem of public/common land for cremation purposes, building community halls, drilling borewells, etc.

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### **Struggling to Cremate – Katkaris of Madhegoan, Mangoan Taluka**

The Katkaris of Madhegoan [Mangaon Taluka] had some cremation space across the Kal river. In case of death this created a lot of trauma for Katkaris in the rainy season, as they had to wait for the river waters to subside till they could cross it.

“If someone dies during rainy season we have to sit with dead bodies for two to three days because of lack of cremation ground” [Nathuram Jadhav]

Katkaris of Madhegoan worked on this issue through the Gram Sabha. They managed to pursue the villagers so as to allow them to build a cremation place at a site previously used by Katkaris for cremating dead children amongst the Katkaris. However once the construction on the cremation site began, a neighboring owner of Farmhouse filed case against Katkari Sarpanch alleging encroachment. The case is still going on in the court.

Laxmibai Jadhav from Madhegoan shared the exclusion Katkaris face due to not having access to common land for non-agricultural purposes.

“We don’t have land to build the well or the school.”

All the schemes are thus built in the Village and the Katkaris have to go to the village for using these.

[Laxmibai Jadhav]

### **Living under Fear of Eviction: Nevare , Shahapur Taluka**

The Katkaris of Nevare in Shahapur live on the land of Kunabi Farmer. Their earlier

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habitation was burnt due to fire and they moved to live in the present location. The previous location of Katkari hamlets which was destroyed due to fire is now cultivated by a Kunbi Farmer.

Since the Katkaris do not have ownership of their homestead lands in Nevare village they constantly live in persistent fear of eviction from the land on which their homes are located.

*“Aamche sagle ghara gaavkaryanchya jaagevar aahe. aamhala ghar bandhut det nahit, ghar bandhaychya mobadlyat tyana 4-5 hazaar dyave lagtat”*

All our homes and living spaces is on the land of the Kunabis. They do not allow construction of homes on this land. If they allow they we have to pay 4-5 thousand rupees to them.

Sandeep Diva (27)

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Katkaris besides facing uncertainty over the very lands that their homes and families are settled on, is also one the most deprived communities when it comes ownership of agricultural land. They can be termed as one of the most land deprived communities of Maharashtra. Below we present some details on sustained Katkari exclusion for cultivable lands.

### **Katkaris Lands – Dalhi and Eksali**

Katkaris have been involved in cultivation of forestlands prior to British rule. They were involved in slash-and-burn cultivation in the forests. Like other tribes, Katkaris practiced *Rab*<sup>1</sup> and stash-and-burn cultivation on forest lands. The British forced the Tribes into settled agriculture as they saw both these practices as wasteful. Dalli or Dalhi generally refers to a system of collective lease for cultivating forest land granted to communities during British rule.

The British government had provided leases to the communities including Katkaris under the pressure of cultivators. Post independence, the Government of Maharashtra passed a very critical Resolution in 1970 on Permanent Grant of Dalhi Lands that was leased for cultivation through Revenue and Forest Department (Resolution No FLD.4268/27023-W dated January 14, 1970), under this Resolution, the Dalhi lands had to be first disafforested and then handed over to the respective beneficiaries. The forest department zealously disafforested the Dalhi lands (and pocketed the revenue) but only a small proportion of land was transferred and actually released to the plot holders (Bokil and Dalavi 2000). As can be seen from the above table for the Raigad district (Erstwhile Colaba) of the total 12,919.54 ha of Dalhi land only 1,405.859 ha (10.88 per cent) was transferred to the revenue department but disafforestation was carried out on 11,389.51 ha (88.15 per cent). The Forest Conservation Act December 27, 1980 further affected the transfer of forest land to non-forest purposes without the permission of the central government. In 1988, the amendments to the Forest Conservation Act **worsened the situation**.

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<sup>1</sup> A system of seedbed cultivation, associated with the use of wood twigs, leaves, grass etc with earth on top to keep it down, and the heap is set fire to (Munshi 1990)

Following these amendments, forest land could not be transferred to anybody other than a government agency (Bokil and Dalavi 2000). **The actual transfer of Dalhi lands to the Katkaris has thus been stuck in bureaucratic hurdles and total government apathy.** At present around 10 per cent of the Katkari households have rights to Dalhi granted to the Katkari during British rule. Most of these households **have however not received the secure titles** they are entitled to, leaving them vulnerable to eviction and harassment by the forest department under the pretext of ‘forest encroachment’ (Buckles and Khedekar 2013).

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Status of Dalhi Lands in Kolaba [Raigarh] District in 1980

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Forest Division	No of Dalhi Plots	No of Plot Holders	Total Area (ha)	Area Deforested (ha)	Area Transferred to the Revenue Dept (ha)	Transferred to the Revenue Dept but One that is Retained by the Plot Holders (ha)
Alibag	329	3100	9382.76	8125.12	525.12	8857.64
Roha	119	1772	3536.78	3264.39	880.72	2656.04
Total	448	4872	12919.54	11389.51	1405.85	11513.68

Source: Bokil and Dalavi (2000)

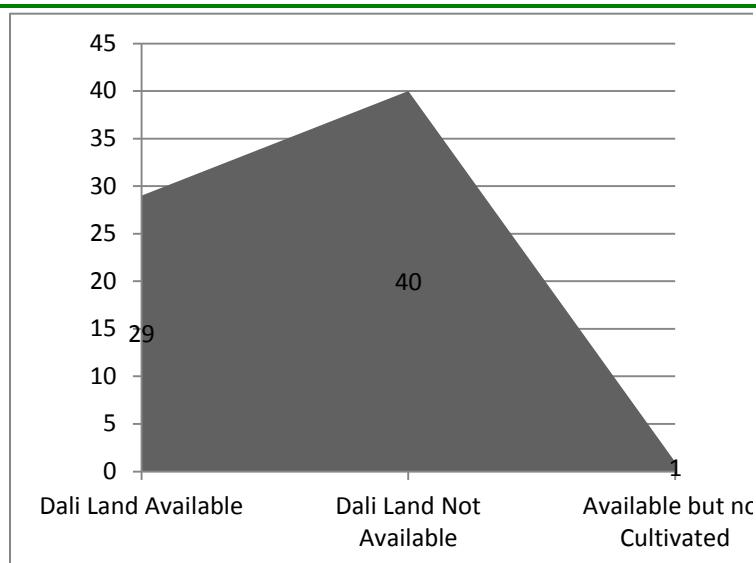
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Dalhi land made available to Katkaris for settled cultivation is generally of poor quality and was previously used for stash-and-burn [*rab*] cultivation and shifting cultivation this involved leaving the land for three- four years after an years’ cultivation. Because of the low quality of land Katkaris even now practice shifting cultivation and *rab* [stash and burn] and hoe cultivation on the Dalhi lands they cultivate. The land is of poor quality that requires intensive labouring with no advanced technology available. Dalhi lands are also at times far from Katkari habitations, these along with lack of capital for land development drive Katkaris away from cultivating Dalhi lands in present times. The lands also require fencing as at times non-tribals let their cattle loose for grazing on Katkari cultivations on Dalhi Lands (Gaikwad).

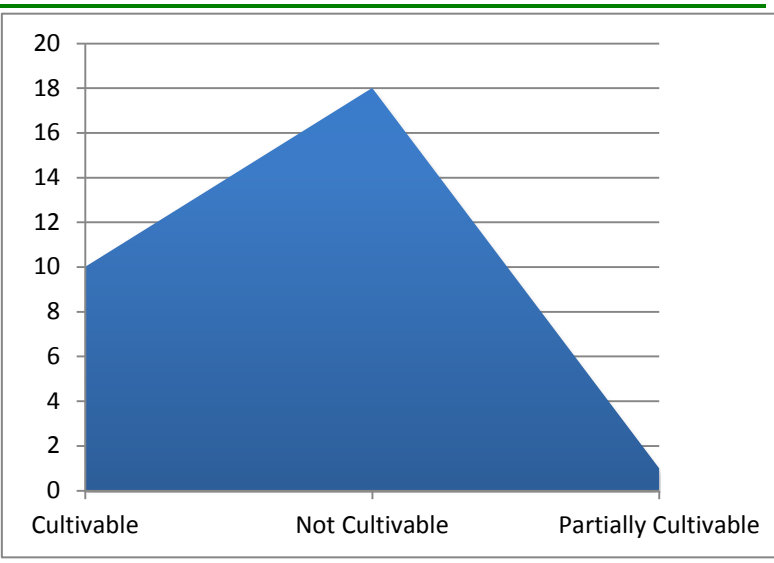
Activists estimate that around 60 percent of Dalhi land in Raigad district were leased to Katkaris (Consultation). Katkaris however continue to be deprived of the ownership of Dalhi lands despite progressive legislations instituted during the British administration followed by the Government of Maharashtra. As can be seen from below table, of the rapid appraisal in 70 villages carried out in Mangoan Shahapur and Wada, 40 did not have Dalhi land. Only 29 villages had some Katkaris involved in cultivating Dalhi land and in 1 village Katkatis did not cultivate Dalhi Land despite its availability.

Amongst the 29 villages where Katkaris had access to Dalhi lands only Katkaris in 10 villages felt that Dalhi land is cultivable, whereas Katkari in 18 villages felt that Dalhi land was partially cultivable and Katkaris in one village did not feel the land was cultivable and they did not cultivate.

### Dali Land Availability

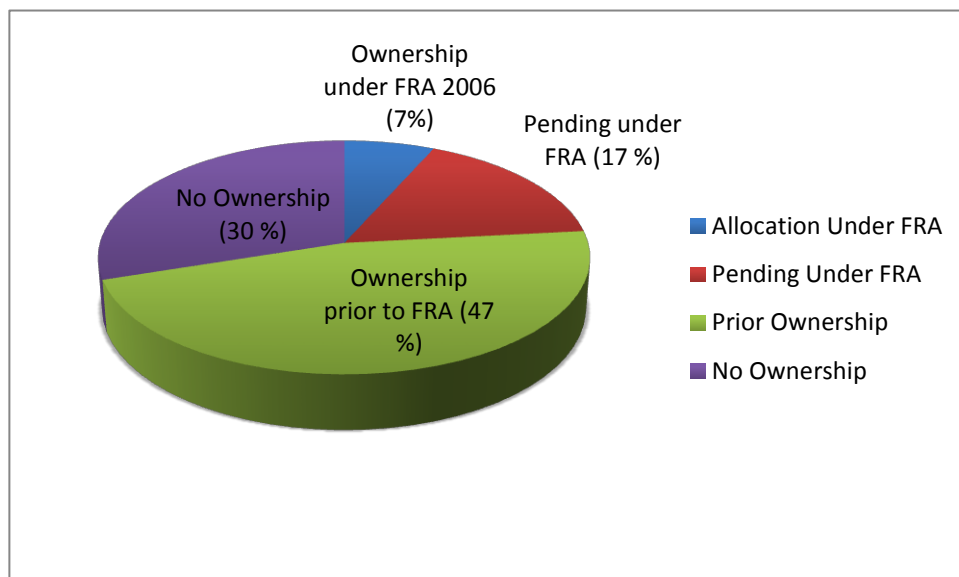


### Cultivable Dalhi land



### **Ownership of Dalhi Lands**

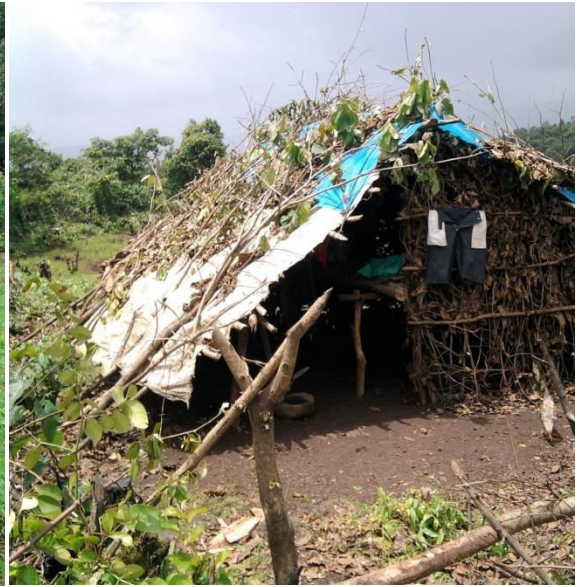
Further the ownership of Dalhi lands in itself has been a pending process. Of the above villages where Dalhi land was available for Cultivation for Katkaris 47 percent are still struggling for transfer of ownership right.



**Jyoti Pawar on Dalhi Cultivation**



**Temporary Hut on Dalhi Cultivation**



Despite these bureaucratic, economic and social challenges some Katkaris continue to cultivate Dalhi lands wherever feasible. They practice shifting cultivation and plots are divided amongst families based on a **collectively worked out understanding**. Below is the case of Jyoti Powar (37) from Dankhane village who along with her husband and five year old son had moved to Dalhi cultivation in July 2013. As the Katkaris continue to practice Dalhi cultivation, during 2013 five Katkaris from Talawali and Dankhane village in Roha cultivated the Dalhi plots.

Jyoti explained the process and challenges of cultivating Dalhi lands.

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“We have been working since May, clearing and getting this land ready after a gap of three years is a difficult job. Since the land is uneven and hilly it is difficult to use bullocks for cultivating the Dali land. Preparing the land involves, clearing the land, burning the dry grass, manually tilling the land and fencing the land. The land is infertile and requires rab, preparing rab is difficult as forest officials do not allow cutting of small trees.

I will reap around 5-6 mann vari and will get around 100-150 rupees per day by selling the zandu flowers for a month

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Dalhi lands due to their infertile soil and difficult terrain are only additional sources of income for Katkaris and they cannot bank on Dalhi for their annual sustenance as one could on low land rice cultivations. **Further due to the ambivalent nature of ownership, Katkaris cannot access credit facilities from Banks to develop these lands.**

## **Forest Rights Act – 2006 – Story of despair continues**

Katkaris of Talawali and Dhankane have been cultivating the Dalhi land for well over the half century. They estimate the total Dalhi land here to be around 80 hectares, however none have legal ownership yet. Katkaris of Talawali village have filed 32 claims of individual ownership under the Forest Rights Act 2006. The Dalhi Leader here was Daulat Rama Waghmare. Though the Katkari have filed for claims they are less hopeful as “proofs” are not necessarily in order of the requirements of FRA.

Despite the progressive government order of 1970, most Katkaris in current times do not have legal access to Dalhi land. **The actual figures pertaining to Katkari lease [under British] and ownership of Dalhi land amongst Katkaris following the 1970 order needs to made available easily by the Government for ethical transfer of Dalhi lands.**

The passing of the Forest Rights Act 2006 raised hopes due to its sensitivity to the cause of tribes involved in cultivating forest lands. However since the coming in of Act both in districts of Thane and Raigad very few applications of individual tribal cultivators for ownership rights have been approved. The authority vested in Gram Panchayats under the Forest Rights Act acts as an impediment for the Tribes in general and Katkaris in Particular. The Gram Panchayats are generally controlled by non-Tribes and the Katkaris constitute a miserable minority. In Thane District, of the total claims made by tribes 57% were rejected at the village level whereas, of the total claims made by non-Tribes only around 7 % has been rejected at Grampanchayats, thus rejecting 20,027 tribal claims and only 533 non-tribal claims (7%) at the Gram Sabha level. Collective claims of tribes on the other hand which mostly do not relate to cultivable lands have been considered positively at Gram Panchayat Level. Of the 860 claims only 3 were rejected and 455 claims being approved for 5138 acres of land.

### ***Katkaris and Dalhi Land in Patharshet, Roha Taluka***

Patharshet village comes under Jamgao GramPanchayat of Roha Taluka, District, Raigadh. Patharshet has around 70 Katkari households. Katkaris of Patharshet village recalled that their ancestors settled in Patharshet with the composition of 12 members in the beginning. The present generation claims to be 4th generation and suggest that they are residing in the village for over 100 years. Elderly Katkaris recall here that the holding size of their Dalhi lands they cultivated were large earlier and as the number of families grew the holdings became smaller. Though they have been cultivating Dalhi land for a while the issue of ownership remains unresolved even now.

Katkaris in Patharshet were hopeful of the issue of ownership being sorted out with the coming in of FRA 2006. Their claim for Individual Forest Rights for Dali Land which they said was allotted to them under the British rule. There were total 64 Individual Forest Rights Claims filed from out of which only one was approved. All the claims has been supported with authenticate minimum 2 proofs one is Ration card and another one is Domicile certificate which is mention in rule no. 13 of Forest Rights Act. Only one of the claims was approved whereas the rest were rejected without proper justification, leaving the Katkaris shocked

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“ We want to ask, why only one of us received the claims when 64 of us made the appeal? And the response was that it is a policy of government to approve one claim at a time from each hamlet and not to approved all together.”

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( Focus Group Discussion held on 19<sup>th</sup> October 2013 in Patharshet Village )

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Actual Dali land is divided in three parts Hedicha Land, Danganicha Land, Ambyacha Land; now out of which Hedicha Mal has been already snatched and grabbed by Upper Caste People and sold out to others. Thus many people left out without land or small piece of land. One of the victim of such encroachment made a complaint in the forest department and demanded inspection, survey and verification of the complaint but nothing has been happened till the date.”

( Interview with Dali Nayak- 20<sup>th</sup> Oct 2013 in Patharshet Village )

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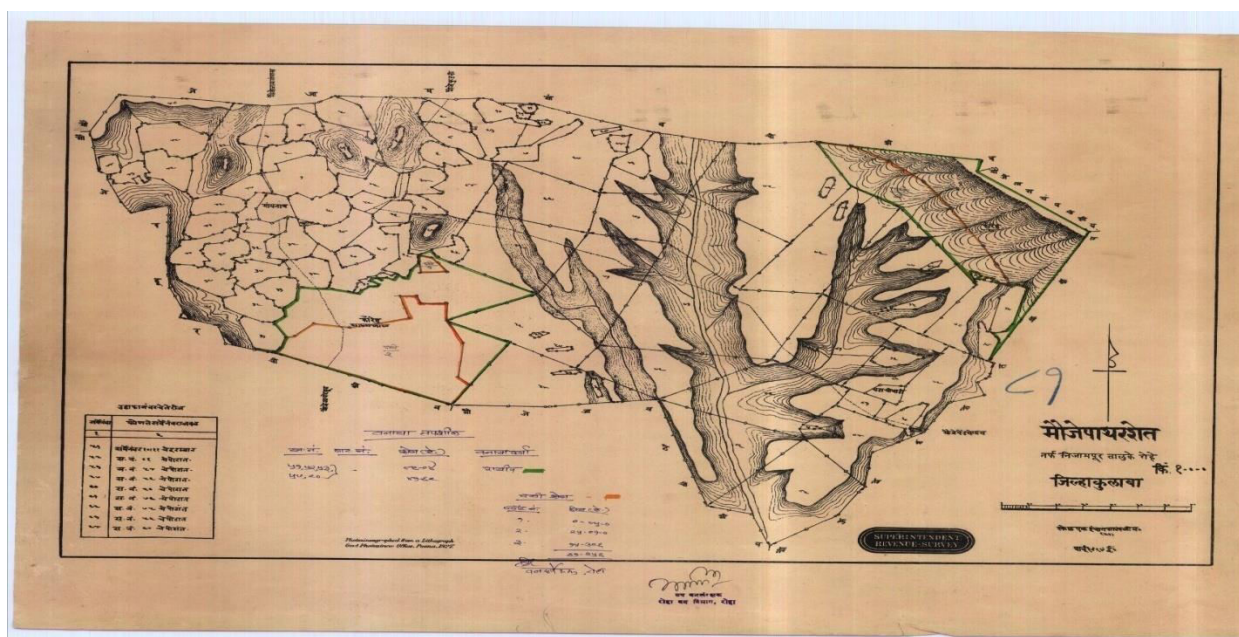
The Katkaris claim that the Dalhi Books which was allotted to the Patharshet Katakari Wadi was taken back by the Forest Department which left Katkaris of Patharshet with no evidence of documents regarding Dali Land. Apart from the negligence and red tapism of the Government, Katkaris of Patharshet complained about upper castes usurping Dalhi lands.

“We added our names on Dalhi Book after death of our ancestors and we also used to pay the fine for the same, which can be proven by receipts which we used to have. But the Forest officials fraudulently snatched our Dali Book and other Dali related receipts saying that they need it for some survey and other official work and assured us to return it back. But they did not return it till the date after asking no. of times.”

( Focus Group Discussion -19<sup>th</sup> Oct and Interview with Dali Nayak- 20<sup>th</sup> Oct 2013 in Patharshet Village )

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Below Map of Forest area in Patharshet dated 1927 was accessed from Roha Forest office. This gives details of reserve forest and Dalhi land cultivation. Details here suggest that Patharshet has around 40 hectares of Dalhi land. Did Katkaris cultivate these?



If yes as claimed by the Katkaris, they still have not been able to get ownership of these lands despite progressive and welfarist attitude of government towards Katkaris. The FRA of 2006 has only made matter difficult by insisting on proofs from individual cultivators as Dalhi cultivations mostly shifting cultivation. Katkaris had a collectively worked out understanding of individual shares on cultivating Dalhi land. Something which the British understood and appreciated by giving importance to Dalhi Nayak, so that the internal arrangement of cultivation could be worked out by Katkaris themselves.

#### **Katkaris Cultivators of Eksali Land – Nevare Village**

Around 22 Katkari families of Nevarepada have been cultivating gurcharan land of Forest department since late 1960s. The land being of good quality Katkaris along with other families have been using it for rice cultivation, Of the 22 Katkari cultivators only 11 claims were considered positively under FRA whereas the rest were rejected for want of evidence.



#### **Lakshman Ambo Wagh from Nevare Village who received ownership for 5 Gunta Land**

Lakshman Ambo Wagh was amongst the lucky cultivators whose claim under the FRA for gurcharan land was approved. He had been cultivating 4 acre Gurcharan land of the Forest Department since 1972. Lakshman was cultivating 4 acres however under the FRA he received ownership rights for 500 sq. m of *gurcharan* land. Laskhman was deeply disappointed as 500 sq. m land was good for availing no government scheme.

Lakshman explained

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The government has betrayed us. I have been cultivating this land for 35 years. They have given me 5 guntas. What do I do with it? Should I cultivate Onions?

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The problem of evidence of cultivation remains a grave one. And providing evidence does not mean that Katkaris will get legal ownership for all the land that they have been cultivating. Further, not always have the Forest officials provided receipts for the money

they have taken from Katkaris. Of the 22 Katkaris, only 11 got ownership, of which only four have got the actual amount of land they were cultivating.

Laxman explained the problem of providing evidence for the land that they cultivated.

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We did not always get receipt for the money and gifts we paid to forest official for cultivating this land. We paid gifts or money given to forest officials in kind like a chicken or liquor. Every new forest official who came in threatened the katkaris and other encroachers of villages with eviction and made way with bribes, liquor and food party. The land has been measured several times by forest officials, they came with some machines, measured the land and took money every time they came.

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### **Landowning and Katkari Freedom**

As can be seen from the above cases FRA has not been beneficial for the Katkaris and the state authorities have managed to create newer hurdles for Tribes in general and Katkaris in particular

While most Katkaris are landless and those who have filed claims under FRA remain uncertain of the results, some exceptional Katkaris have benefitted from their claim under FRA 2006.



Kisan Hirya Wagh of Nevare has managed to secure ownership under FRA for two acres of gurcharan Land that he cultivated. He was happy about the ownership of two acres that he

has been cultivating for 35 years. He recalled the difficult times before he cultivated this land

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We encroached the land in 1978. The forest officials used to scare us of fine and jail. Before we encroached the land we used to work for the Marathas for mere food. This was not even sufficient for the family. We used to eat *kadu kanda* for four to five days. We used to work for whole day at Patils land and they used to give us ek payali [1 kg rice] bhat, half of which was bad quality.

During the days of emergency, people used to say Indira Gandhi cha hukum aalai , padik zamini kara ani kha and we started cultivating the gurucharan land. ***You may say that we have stolen government land but now we can eat stomachful.***

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Kisan Hirya Wagh is amongst the lucky Katkaris who managed to own some encroached land under FRA provisions. However most Katkaris continue to suffer rejection under FRA claims. As a **result of landlessness** Katkaris earn their livelihoods working as labourers on farms, brick kilns, coal making, sand mining, wood collection, construction sites and other such sectors demanding rigorous physical labour and unskilled employment. We have detailed some cases of exceptional Katkaris carrying out self-employment on small scale through rearing goats and fishing. Katkaris earning their livelihood through self-employment or non-agricultural means is as less as less as 3 per cent. Such cases are rare and Katkaris depend mostly on their labour to make their ends meet. Further due to landlessness, the dependency of Katkaris on forests for their livelihoods is declining and Katkaris increasingly depend on migration. This makes them vulnerable to both difficult working conditions and to seasonal unemployment.

### **Social Movements and Katkari Land Question**

Various Social Movements working on Tribal Rights in Raigad and Thane district have been raising the issue of landlessness and the ineffectiveness of policies aiming at providing land for Tribes for last 25 years.

Social Movements working on Adivasi and Katkari Rights in Raigad and Thane district have protested the red tapism around implementation of FRA and reasons for rejection of tribal claims to forest lands under the FRA 2006. They have also regularly presented representations to the Government on the shortcoming in the policies and the apathy and red tape that comes into effect while dealing with land issues facing Katkaris. Below are some issues raised by movements like Shramik Mukti Sanghatana, Sarvahara Jan Andolan, Adivasi Hakk Sangharsh Samiti in 2010 which still need to be addressed

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### **Summary of Bureaucratic Hurdles**

1. Caste certificate not provided.
2. Forest department Form no 1A not attached. This condition is not mentioned in the Law

#### **Adivasi Hakk Sangharsh Samiti**

3. Sub-division level committees are changing or overruling decisions of the first authority, i.e. Gram Sabha either without reasons or solely depending upon opinion of the forest department. Neither the claimant nor the Gram sabha is given an opportunity to have a “say” before rejecting or changing such decisions.
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4. Cases of decisions by SDLC are based on false submission by the Forest Department without verifying or hearing the claimant.
  5. Cases of SDLC seem to be based on “Lies” because the documents in the claim do not match with the statements made in the decision.
  6. Cases of misinterpretation of procedure are evident for claims of community rights, which are different from claims under sec 3(2) for use of forestland for development purpose.

#### **Shramik Mukti Sanghatana**

7. The Forest officials are exercising unnecessary influence during measurement of claimed lands.
8. While measuring the land, rather than measuring the total area under possession, only the land under paddy cultivation is considered.
9. Form A is to be submitted by the Forest representative to FRC before Gram Sabha. But contrary to this the Forest officials are presenting the same at the SDLC level.
10. In spite of demands from the Forest Rights Committees, GPS maps are only provided to SDLC.
5. The claimants are not rendered acknowledgment by the Secretary, FRA.
6. In Raigad district, out of a total claims of 18,716 only 4325 are declared eligible which stands at not even 25% of the total claims made.
7. For recognition of the claims only documentary evidence is taken into consideration. It's leading people to a lot of problem who are unable to produce such proofs. Claims are being also rejected for failing to submit caste certificates even if all other proofs are produced.
8. The claims of Dali landholders are rejected although the Maharashtra Government had granted those lands to the occupants in 1971. However, these claims are rejected by the SDLC and DLC. The total area claimed by the claimants is not considered and the old records made before 1970 are referred for ascertaining the names of the Dali landholders.
9. In some cases the total area claimed by the claimant is reduced without the claimant's knowledge. The claimant only learns about it when he is given the final certificate as neither the SDLC nor DLC cares to communicate him about the changes made.
10. Many claims are missing at the Tahsil level due to irregularities by the Tahsildar, Talathi & Forest officials.
11. Community Forest Rights claims are getting rejected. No clarity on the issue is provided. No document is made available to FRC.

The whole process of FRC and Gram Sabha decisions are made unimportant by the Officials at the SDLC and DLC level.

#### **Sarvaha Jan Andolan**

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e Katkaris have continued to be one of the most land deprived PVTG in Maharashtra due continued apathy of state government in ensuring land access for Katkaris. Neither the general Land reform measures have helped Katkaris gain land, nor have the specific measures linked to forest lands helped Katkaris in any significant way. The katkaris are increasingly dependent on labouring outside the forests as agricultural and migrant labourers for earning major part of their livelihoods. Land remains the key factor that could free Katkaris from the clutches of Migration and associated newer forms of slavery that

Katkaris are facing. The Government of Maharashtra need to take proactive measures to undo the landlessness affecting rural Katkaris. The measures need revole merely around forest lands and revenue and cultivable lands have to be made availale to katkaris.

## IV

### Brick, Coal and Wood

#### Migration and Bondage in Katkari Labour

*When we asked a Katkari who is a seasonal migrant, what work would you like to do in your village instead of working on Brick Kilns?" to which he queried, **'what work is available other than brick kiln'***

*Deepak Koli 22 years old*

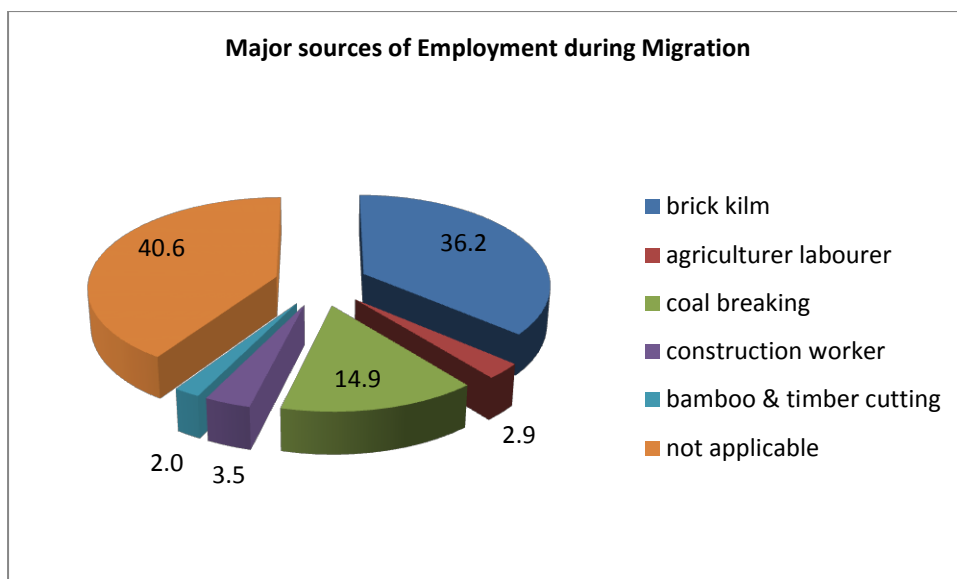
Moving out of their hamlets in search of work for Katkaris has become a major part of their difficult economic existence. Most Katkaris resort to migration, mostly seasonal migration for meeting their employment needs. Lack of secure and sustainable livelihood sources for Katkari requires Katkaris to move out of their hamlets to Brick Kilns or coal making and wood cutting sites. These sites of work are mostly away from their hamlets and require Katkaris to live there through the working period. Katkaris thus besides working on Brick Kilns located in Thane and Raigad Districts also move as far as Marathwada, Western Maharashtra and Karnataka for wood cutting and coal making.

Katkaris have historically engaged in upland agriculture along with excessive dependence on their labour power. Following *katha* making they depended extensively on coal making in forests till early 1980s. Once the government banned coal making in the forests of Thane and Raigad, Katkaris moved out in search of work. Brick Kilns were a major source of employment, besides coal making and wood cutting.

In this report we do not pathologise migration as migration constitutes a critical source of livelihood for various poor. Seasonal migration besides providing work opportunities for Katkaris is a possible source of economic security for Katkaris. By describing the processes of work, we instead focus on the informality of labour practices and the excessive exploitation of Katkaris that maybe underway in their work sites. We suggest that there are elements of bondage in the way Katkari labour in coal making, wood cutting and brick kilns. It is Katkari women and children who bore the excessive brunt of multiple exclusions due to migration. These can be corrected if the existing provisions of bonded labour act and inter-state migration act are implemented strictly in this sector.

#### Migration: Scale and Process

Through Migration, Katkaris cope with landlessness and limited state welfare schemes addressing Katkari exclusion. Close to 60 percent Katkaris resort to Migration as the most important mode of earning their livelihoods throughout the year. As can be seen from the table below, only 40 per cent Katkaris do not Migrate, whereas for the rest, seasonal migration remains a major source of livelihood.



Katkaris have secure employment in or close to their hamlets, only during the months of May and July when they work as agricultural workers. This is mostly on lands of Non-tribals and land owning castes like the Kunbis, Agris and the Marathas. During this time the demand for labour is high and the wages per day are around 200 rupees per day. The Katkaris are also provided meals along with liquor by the land owners. If the Katkaris are close to forests and river beds they also spend a considerable time in fishing and in forests from June to August. After the thrashing of rice is over, it is difficult for Katkaris to find regular work unless they are close to cities or small towns. Most private industrial units that are located close to Katkari hamlets in rural belts of Thane and Raigad do not employ Katkaris.

Almost all Katkaris take advance from brick kiln owners, coal making contractors generally in the month of August. The pressure for taking such advance is due to surviving in the lean months [August to November when employment is not available]. Brick Kilns form a major part of Katkari livelihood source. Sometimes the kilns are located close to Katkari Hamlets, however most Katkaris move to the sites of Brick Kilns which may be located outside their talukas or district. For instance several Katkaris go to Indapur to work on Brick kilns. The working and living conditions on these Brick Kilns is described as slavery in the Global Slavery Index.

## Brick Kilns

The Katkaris are paid in advance for working on Brick Kilns in mid-August. A couple is generally paid between 15- 20 thousand rupees. Locally this is referred to as a process of *jodpe bandhun dene*, which literally translates into 'tying the couples into working on Brick Kilns'. Katkaris end up using this money for their daily survival till the month of November.

Katkari are paid between 400 to 500 hundred rupees for making per thousand bricks. For every thousand bricks Katkaris have to produce 100 extra bricks for the owner. This is treated as interest or as security in case some bricks accidentally break in the process of making.



Once on the Brick Kilns Katkaris start working at 4am and work around 14 - 16 hours a day. They start filling up enough water for making mud useful for bricks. They start digging for mud and making clay. At the same time they have to make some space clean for putting down bricks. Once they dig out enough clay then they mix water and sawdust in clay and make mud useful for making brick. For mixing water they use their feet. The mud is moulded in a solid form. They cannot take a break after making the mould as it may dry. Once the solid bricks are formed then they put them for heating in a furnace. They arrange bricks in a manner to keep enough gap between two then they can fill those gaps by filling up wood, sawdust, coal etc. once bricks get enough heat then the solid bricks become strong and then those bricks would be ready for selling in the market.

The whole process involves strenuous physical labour in which Katkari women, men and children are involved. The living conditions on the brick kilns are extremely difficult void of water, toilets, electricity and proper residences. Katkaris built make shift huts making the children and young mother particularly vulnerable to extreme weather condition of cold in winter and heat in summer. Once on the Brick Kilns, Katkaris are given 500- 1000 rupees for their weekly expenses (*kharchi*). Generally Katkaris never save money from working on the

brick kilns. They may at best return with 2-3 thousand rupees or nothing. Minor illness and injuries that Katkaris face on the kilns are generally ignored by them. At brick kilns , the Katkaris face difficult working conditions and serious health implications



## Health Issues

Following are the general health issues that workers on the Brick Kilns face

Women and children are the worst affected. In addition to the difficult work condition women work hard to keep good working conditions. Around 79 per cent of the Katkari families migrating to Brick Kilns take their children with them making attendance in school periodic at best (Buckles and Khedekar 2013: 29).

Sr. No	Name of Disease	Percentage
1	Bronchial Disease	62.68
2	Body Aches	79.51
3	Heat Exhaustion	63.66
4	Injuries	26.83
5	Malaria	30.00
6	Women Specific Disease	20.49
7	Snake Bites	3.41

# Source Singh Mor (2003)

While the brick kiln owners may help the Katkaris in cases of minor illness to visit a doctor, as it is in their interest to keep the Katkari working, in cases of severe injury or illness Katkaris are left on their own.

### ***Death of a Pregnant Woman***

**Pregnant women are generally not employed on brick kilns by their families. However Kavita from Nevare village due to economic compulsions had to work on the brick kilns. She delivered a baby on the brick site with complications. She did not have money to go to hospital. The Katkari people called owner of the kiln but he did not give money for the treatment. Since the contractor did not help the woman died.**

### **Migration Economy and Marriage**

Due to extreme poverty and exclusion Katkaris face the pressure of earning early. Further Migration is the only resort for Katkaris to make any living. Early marriages thus work out to be a result of economic concerns as on brick kilns – couples can produce more bricks and make better money as compared to a single person working.

The lure of migration and the trap of debt thus push Katkaris into a cycle of Dropping out of School → Marrying Early → Working on Brick Kilns. Early marriage in present time is more of an economy influenced decision than a mere cultural one. Families who can afford education amongst Katkaris do delay the education of children upto eighteen years.

Further the contractors encourage couples to marry early by providing advances for marriage and later involving the couples in brick kilns or coal making. For the contractors it is most profitable to have a family tied in work than just a single person.

### **Account Manipulations**

Katkaris working in brick kilns are mostly illiterate and are not able to keep records of the money they receive at from contractors/owners. It is the owners who keep the *chopdi* (accounts book), the owners generally refuse to share the details with the Katkaris. Many Katkari workers shared that they do not know any accounts of their work. Owner keeps an account book but does not explain it to Katkari.

The Katkari workers are denied basic amenities and are charged for electricity.

Ravindra Jadhav explained;

“When I asked the rate of payment for work the owner refuses to clarify. When a couple makes 1100 then it is called ‘*pakki hajar*’ which means couple get payment only for 1000 bricks. The owner takes those 100 bricks for providing lights or lamps to us. If we watch TV at night, then the owner charges some bricks for using electricity for TV”.

## Migration, Child labour and Education

The Katkaris who work as labourers at the brick kilns migrate seasonally from their respective places of destination for survival. Children too join their parents very early in economic activity including working on brick kilns or coal making. The common reason of dropping out is the family's economic limitations. Katkaris find it difficult to support their children's schooling and thus the children are forced to quit school. Some of the key factors that push the children into labour are:

- i) Seasonal migration – Since parents migrate, children are forced to migrate.
- ii) Poverty, Unemployment, Bonded Labour – Poverty, unemployment, bonded labour, etc. factors push their parents to the kilns. “Kharchi” & “Uchal” pull their parents to kilns.
- iii) Full time involvement of parents – Parents have to work for 10-14 hours a day. The children are therefore neglected. They have to manage household work, take care of the young ones, as well as themselves.
- iv) Weekly Targets – Every family has to make 6000 to 7000 bricks a week. This forces the children to help to take up labour work.
- v) Lack of Adult Manpower – Lack of adult manpower in the nuclear families, forces children to get into child labour.
- vi) Work to survive – Both the parents & children have to work to survive.
- vii) Work to specialize the art of making brick – Both children and parents are aware that after the age of 15, a Katkari child should specialize or master the art of making bricks. After 15 to 18, the child learns to become a responsible adult and is ready to get married and start another nuclear family. The children therefore work to master the art of brick making.

(Kharche 2013)

The study by Jain and Tribhuwan(2004) shows that the Katkari children between age 8 – 15 carry bricks help parents in loading and unloading. Those between the age group 15 – 18 get trained to handle almost all labour jobs related to manufacturing of bricks when they become adult, they manage to show for their nuclear families. Once the children are hooked into child labour they are deprived of education and their rights.

### Unscrupulous practices in Brick Kilns

- Around 77 percent of families took advance to celebrate festivals – money spent on gambling and drinking.
- Workers paid for 1000 bricks when they actually produce 1100
- Surplus bricks treated as interest on advance
- Katkaris not best at calculation there may be manipulation in counting resulting in labour exploitation.
- The book and records of payment are mostly with the Sheth.
- 30 percent families expressed concerns over the way the contractors reported the accounts
- Identity papers are seized
- 23 cases of physical violence and three cases of rape
  - 12 deaths due to beating on Brick Kilns [ **Khedekar and Buckles 2013: 29-31**]

## Wood cutting and Coal Making

Katkaris also migrate after Diwali to engage in wood cutting in different district in Maharashtra and some Katkaris go out of Maharashtra to **Karnataka as well**. Six to seven months they get engaged in wood cutting and they stay at working place. Like the brick kilns working place do not have the facility of water, shelter, health, education. In this work contractor prefers only married couples and give money according to work done by them. Katkaris feel that wife and their children are very useful as helping hands.

Coal making is by far the most important and the most extensively adopted occupation of the Katkari community. The manufacturing of coal begins by the middle of October and ends by the middle of the next June when rains set in. For eight months during the Katkari engaged in this occupation, is required to work without a break. Most Katkaris go as couples.

Coal making occupation consist of cutting the trees, then to sear wood and collect by systematically on a place and upon that put down grass and set on the fire. Then the wood gets converted in raw coal. They pour water on raw coal and after three to four days this becomes a proper coal for selling it.

Contractor keeps records of everyone that how much coal made by each person. Katkaris have informed that record keeping is a strategy for showing participation but they never get paid properly. Katkaris working in coal making have to keep moving to the space where the contractors have bought trees for felling and making wood.



Below is a case of Katkari family working in Athani Taluka of Belgaum district. As can be seen from the table two Katkari families have moved along with their children. Anand Pawar has

come to Karnataka along with his brother (14), wife (28) and son (10). Dilip Jadhav, his wife Anita Jadhav were at the site with their 9 month old son. The children besides schooling and anganwadi are deprived from secure and settled childhood in these work spaces as Katkaris are constantly moving to the sites where the wood is to be cut.

S No	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Village
1	Anand pawar	29	M	8th	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
2	Sameer Pawar	14	M	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
3	Shanti pawar	28	F	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
4	Raju pawar	10	M		Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
5	Dilip jadhav	25	M	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
6	Anita Jadhav	22	F	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
7	Vishal jadhav	9 month	M	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist, Raigad.

Anand is amongst those exceptional Kaktaris who have land. He has cultivated his 1½ acre land before leaving raigad for coal making this year. He prefers this work in coal making as it is not as back breaking as brick kilns. Further the Katkari skill of coal making is appreciated by the locals. For every gunny bag of coal they prepare they earn around 100 rupees per pag. On an average in a month they prepare 70-80 bags. On an average each couple earns around six to seven thousand, that whys we are coming for this work far way. The work involves cutting and carrying they wood and packing the coal sacks.

The Katkaris do not understand the local language and are totally dependent on the contractors or their appointed representatives who can converse in Marathi. In case of any dispute over payment the Katkari have to generally succumb to the whims of contactors as they scare Katkaris of police action.



Contractors take Katkaris to the parts of Satara, Pune and Northern Districts of Karnataka for wood cutting and Coal making. None of the contractor follows the provision of inter-state

migration act. They arrange trucks for carrying Katkaris. Some respondents informed us that that while crossing borders in the trucks the contractors covered the Katkari workers under plastic sheets.

At times Katkaris get caught in conflicts between the contractor and farmers from whom contractors buy trees for felling. In case the contractor does not pay the farmer, the farmer holds the katkaris as captive labourers.

### **Coal Making, Drop outs and NGO Interventions: Case of Chinchawali, Roha**

In the Katkari wadis of Chinchawali village. the dropout rate of Katkaris in schools has decreased in last few years but still continues to be one of the major concerns. The major reason behind drop outs has certainly been migration for employment. People mainly migrate to Karnataka for charcoal. This migration to Karnataka happens for a year or two at a length. The parents cannot leave their children alone in the village for so long. So though the children may not work on the sites, they accompany their parents and miss schools. Another reason is having younger siblings or extremely poor economic condition. When children irrespective of being a boy or a girl are elder to their other siblings, they stay back at home to look after them and drop out. In case of extreme poverty they too work along with their parents to earn bread. The rest of the children work as shepherds and take animals for grazing and thus miss the school.

The drop outs in Khonda:

Name of the child	Dropped out at standard	Now taking supplementary classes for standard
Lakshmi	After 1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup> std (M)
Chetan	After 2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup> std (M)
Rani	After 2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup> std (M)
Santosh Pawar	After 5 <sup>th</sup> (without exam)	4 <sup>th</sup> std (S)
Santosh Pawar	After 6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup> std (M)

All the children marked '(M)' have dropped out because of migration and rest one because of working as a shepherd. But all of them, as one can see are re-engaging with formal education through a local NGO (Institute of Social Service) supplementary classes. The children are also going to appear for state board exams.

### **Brick Kilns and Coal Making: Violation of Minimum Wages Act 1948, Bonded Labour (abolition) Act 1976**

Bonded labour refers to a long-term relationship between employee and employer which is cemented through a loan, by custom or by force, which denies the employee various freedoms including to choose his or her employer, to enter into a fresh contract with the same employer or to negotiate the terms and condition of her/his contract (Srivastava 2005: 15).

The cycle of indebtedness includes involvement of children on work sites, violence and fear of violence that Katkaris face, long working hours (12-14 hours). While Brick Kilns have elements of bondage, Katkaris migrating to other states are most vulnerable and are at the mercy of contractors. None of the contractors follow the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979. Contractors involved in taking Katkaris to Karnataka are involved in clear violation of the **Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act and Bonded Labour (abolition) Act 1976**

None of the Coal Contractors seem to have the 'Certificate of Registration' as is required under the Inter-State Migrant Workers Act, 1976, and the Contract Labour Act, 1970. There are no fixed working hours and unauthorised deductions and untimely payments are a common feature. Almost all the workers were indebted either to their intermediary or their employers.

Although advance in cash or kind is rendered illegal under the Bonded Labour System (Abolition), 1976, majority of the workers were found to have taken huge amounts of money as advance. This is one of the reasons that give rise to many unfair labour practices, both on the part of the employers as well as trade union activists. In spite of the number of laws purporting to provide basic social security benefits relating to old age, marriage, maternity, sickness, injury and death; the gains to these women have been only marginal. It is because most of the provisions of the labour laws are either not complied with by the owners or they are not practically applicable to the workers of this industry.

Govt. of Maharashtra has some welfare scheme for the unorganized sector laborers. Due non enrolment with labour department Katkaris are deprived of social welfare scheme. State government needs to have updated database of Brick Kilns and Brick Workers. For implementation any welfare scheme government needs to take urgent action to update database of brick kilns and workers.

## Ashram Shalas and Katkari Education

“Without Education there is nothing, if Adivasis get education then the development of India will be there [..]. I do not want to marry early. I want to become lawyer and want to work for Katkari community.”

Deelip Pawar Katkari student from Uttekhola Ashram Shala

### Introduction

Education development is a basic requirement for social and economic development as it helps expanding knowledge and chances of social mobility tribals. Since independence efforts have been made by the central and state Governments to spread education among tribals through several schemes, and Ashram School is one of them. The Tribal Development Department is running residential Ashram schools in hilly and remote areas of Maharashtra for social, cultural and educational development of tribal children. In Maharashtra, the Tribal Development Department is running 1078 Ashram schools to cater to the educational, health, nutritional and socio-cultural needs of 4.25 lakh tribal children. There are 556 aided Ashram Schools run by Non Government Organizations, catering educational services to 2,25,576 tribal students, i.e. 1,35,628 boys & 89,948 girls. (ITDP 2008-09)

The concept of Ashram school has been derived from the traditional Indian Gurkulas in which the teacher and the students live together and have close interaction with the purpose of helping the student in the development of complete personality and in sharpening their capacities.

The main objectives of Ashram school as envisaged by the various committees and commissions are: to impart general formal education, to encourage tribal traditions like folk songs and dances so that the schools are not only learning places but also centres of cultural activities, to reduce the drop-out rate and to improve the retention capacity of the school, to wean which is generally not along with general education and to provide close interaction between the teacher and the students through the increased individual attention.

Consequently, Ashram schools are expected to reduce the incidence of absenteeism, wastage and stagnation and improve the standard of education at primary level. Further it is all intended to reduce the burden on tribal parents by saving them, from incurring expenditure on their children's education as these Ashram schools provide free board and lodging facilities apart from providing books, stationery, clothes etc. to the inmates. All these facilities have been provided to favourably motivate the tribal children and their parents towards education.

Ashram schools are in general residential and the inmates are provided with facilities of boarding and lodging, moreover, they function within highly structured and systematic framework in terms of timings of school and food.

## **Katkari Children's Aspiration**

Maharashtra is industrially and commercially a very advanced state in India. The industrialization and urbanization in Maharashtra is taking place very speedily with its effect on the rural population in all the spheres of life (Kharche 2012). There has been a large-scale urbanisation and migration from rural to urban areas for employment and in this whirlpool; the Katkaris have been caught unaware. This is also true in respect of educational status as we have seen from the low rate of literacy amongst Katkaris in the previous chapter

Despite their difficult economic conditions, Katkari parents we interviewed were keen to educate their children. However the social and economic status of Katkaris affected their access to education. Katkari children too had aspiration that involved accessing education.

*"I want to study beyond 15<sup>th</sup> standard.. I want to go out of India for future studies. "*

A katkari student from Kolghar Ashram Shala

Another 10<sup>th</sup> standard Katkari boy from Uttekhhol Ashram School said that his family's economic situation is slightly better. In his home most of the members have studied till 10<sup>th</sup> standard and the he intended to become a scientist.

*"I am a 'Little scientist' and represented my school at Pune. If all Katkari children get educated then I am sure that one day a katkari student will become top most scientist of this country"*

Ashram Shalas due to their residential nature can help give wings to dreams of Katkari Children.

## **Ashram schools and Katkari students' development**

Tribhuwan Robin (2004) has stated that, out of the 45 tribes in Maharashtra Katkari is the poorest, backward and most needy tribe in the state. Despite of 63 years of independence the members of this tribe are below the poverty line, landless, jobless, victims of poverty, debt, food crisis and social stigma. The rate of illiteracy is very high among the Katkaris and so among women. The bench mark survey conducted by the TRTI (1997) states that the illiteracy of Katkaris in Maharashtra T.S.P area is 83.62, with 89 % among males and 78.30 % among females. Tomar YPS and Tribhuwan Robin (2004) in their book captioned 'Development of Primitive Tribes in Maharashtra' have shown that the illiteracy percentage of Katkaris studied in two villages was 97.13%, with 91.66% among males and 90 % among females. Tribhuwan Robin (2010) in his report captioned, 'Human Development Indicators among Scheduled Tribes of Maharashtra' estimated illiteracy percentage amongst Katkaris at around 83.62%.

To uplift the socio-economic status of tribal children, the Central/State Governments had initiated several welfare programmes including the school education in remote tribal area in

the country. The specially designed residential schools for tribal children are managed by the government, local body, private-aided and private un-aided organizations.

Ashram Shalas are particularly important to Katkari children due to the large scale migration that their parents undertake in search of employment. Ashram is thus important due to its residential nature. When parents migrate, most of the time they take children with them because there is no one in the home to take care of them. This leads to discontinuation of education and disinterest towards school among Katkari children. So if the children stay in the residential school like Ashram shala, then there will be less chances of discontinuation from school.

Secondly, as stated above, Ashram schools intended to reduce the burden on tribal parents of their children's expenditure on education. Taking the economic status of Katkari tribe into consideration, the Ashram school becomes remedy for reducing the economic burden. Ashram schools provide free board and lodging facilities apart from providing books, stationery, clothes etc. to the children.

Hence it is very important to study Ashram schools and its contribution towards educational development of Katkari children to understand how many Katkari students studying in Ashram schools, how many Katkari children complete their schooling and any difficulties they face in Ashram schools while studying.

### Methodology

We interviewed three Superintendents, four teachers, four Principals, 1 non-teaching staff, 1 member of management committee, three FGDs with Katkari and Thakur students, one of them was specifically with Katkari students and we have interviewed five Katkari students. The interviews were open ended and had key points in our hand and we have asked questions related to Katkari children's educational development and the role of Ashram school. With the students, we asked the difficulties they face while studying, the importance of education for Katkari children and their aspirations after getting educated. The FGDs were more focused on the infrastructure of Ashram schools and facilities in Ashram schools.

### Interviews conducted in Ashram schools

Sr. No.	Name of Ashram school	Superintendent	Principal	Teachers	Individual Katkari students	FGD with Tribal students	Non-teaching /Member of M.Committee
1	Sawarsai, Pen	---	---	Yes		Yes	---
2	Kolghar, Alibaug	Yes	---	---	Yes	Yes	---
3	Ranpakhare, Pen	Yes	Yes	Yes	---	---	Yes
4	Vavloli,	---	Yes	---	---	Yes (Katkari)	Yes

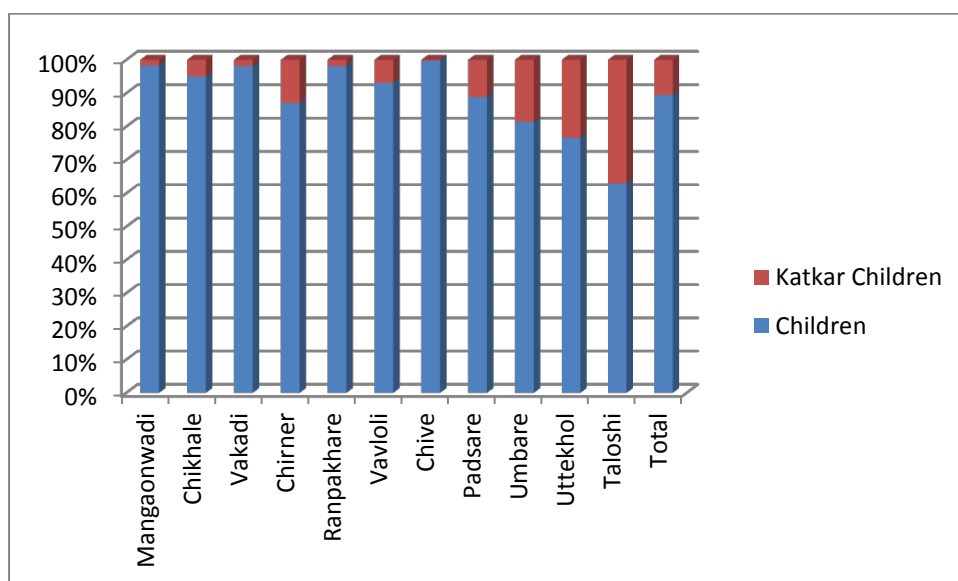
	Sudhagad					students)	
5	Uttekhol, Mangaon	Yes	Yes	---	Yes	---	---
6	Taloshi, Mahad	---	---	Yes	---	---	---
7	Vakadi, Panvel	---	---	Yes	---	---	---
8	Chirner, Uran	---	Yes	---	---	---	---
	Total	3	4	4	5	3	2

Sr. No.	Name of Ashram school	Food	Toilets	Infrastructure	Bed-sheets	Classrooms
1	Sawarsai, Pen	Good	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Good/New construction
2	Kolghar, Alibaug	Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Poor	Poor
3	Ranpakhare, Pen	Very good	Very good	Good/work under construction	Good	Good/work under construction
4	Vavloli, Sudhagad	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory
5	Uttekhol, Mangaon	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Good
6	Taloshi, Mahad	Satisfactory	Poor	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Poor
7	Vakadi, Panvel	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Satisfactory
8	Chirner, Uran	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor

The data we have analyzed with the help of responses we have got from interviewees and our observation at the school. Below we have rated the provision at the school as Poor,

Satisfactory, Good, Very Good. As can be seen from above table most are in merely **satisfactory** condition.

### Katkari Children in Ashram Shalas under ITDP Raigad



Katkari children constitute around 11 per cent in the Ashram Schools of Raigad District. The enrollment of the Katkari children in Ashram schools is less than one percent at standard 1<sup>st</sup>. we observed that, in every school in the 1<sup>st</sup> standard, we have found mostly Thakur students. The attraction of children too these schools is also linked to presence of elder children from their own or nearby hamlets. Katkari children however do not find friends from their own hamlets due to less number of Katkari students in the Ashram school, this affects Katkari students who would just start their schooling from 1<sup>st</sup> standard.

The absence of Katkari children till the fourth grade in Ashram Shalas can be attributed to presence of government school nearby however their marginal location in the overall school is a matter of concern. Katkaris are the most populous tribe in Raigad District. The successful working of Ashram Shalas in Thane and Raigad district should be assessed from the presence and percentage of Katkari children. After completing some years of schooling Katkari childrens education gets affected due to migration. Ashram Shalas despite being the best possible option have not been able to reach out to Katkaris.

### Infrastructure

Most of the Ashram schools are fraught with low quality infrastructure. Issues included lack of toilet facility, drinking water, cramped rooms, lack of boundary wall etc. Almost all Ashram school have no separate hostel facility and the classrooms are being used for sleeping as well (at the night except Sawarsai Government Ashram School and Uttekhol Grant-in Ashram School). Sometimes the hall is used as a classroom and sleeping room as well and the Superintendent of Kolghar Ashram School justifies it in a sophisticated language saying, that it is a “multipurpose hall”.

**In XX<sup>2</sup> Ashram School Girls who get menstrual cycle are asked to sleep in separate room.**

Basic facilities are also not available like sanitary pads, first aid kit, primary medicine and health checkup etc. We have found that the infrastructure quality of Government Ashram schools is poor in comparison to Granted Ashram Schools. In Kolghar Ashram School, there is no toilet facility for boys so they go out in open toilet. Though there is facility of toilet in the Taloshi Ashram School but it was unclean full of foul smell when we visited the school. The Vakadi Ashram School is spread on 22 acre land but in the classrooms of 1<sup>st</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> standard, there is not a single bench for students so students sit on the floor.

The only building, out of all grant-in-aid Ashram Schools, is the rented one of Chirner Ashram School. There are 16 rooms, but not a single class consists of benches for students. The infrastructure of classrooms is very bad and students sleep in the same condition. There is lack of proper toilet facility. The only computer centre in good condition is run by Pratham organization.

Power supply, communication system, and computer facility are also inadequate in the Ashram schools. A majority of Aided Ashram schools\hostels seem to be sanctioned without thorough scrutiny of existing infrastructure and other prerequisites such as water availability, enough space and land norms required for an ideal Ashram schools.

## **Food**

We have observed that there is lack of proper food management in the XX Ashram school. They do not provide proper meals for breakfast, lunch and dinner. For instance, government provision to provide egg everyday for breakfast is not followed daily. The day we have visited this school, we have observed that, there were eggs in the storeroom but the children told us that they were not served egg for breakfast that day. Students in some Shalas also complained that they get half cooked food and with sometimes worms in it. Some of the food, vegetable and fruits we saw were of poor quality.

The Katkaris are a non-vegetarian tribe. They eat fish, egg, meat of goat, chicken and pork. The Son Katkar do not eat beef but the Dhor Katkari eat Beef. Dry fish is adequately consumed by Katkaris which is the chief protein intake in their diet (Bhanu 2004: 996).

Food can be a major source of attraction for children if it is in tune with their cultural tastes. However some Ashram Shalas are strictly vegetarian and end up depriving Katkari children of the protein intake like eggs and fish that they are used to. These schools also end up

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<sup>2</sup> Some names of individuals and institutions in this chapter have been anonymised for ethical reason.

making the Katkari children feel inferior. All grant-in-aid school, except Ran-pakhare Ashram School, do not provide eggs in breakfast. . The Vakadi Ashram School does not provide non-vegetarian food to students claiming that they are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi who was against killing of animals.

### **Distance of Ashram schools – residential school is important**

Schools are located far away from the village and parents find it difficult to send their young children to Ashram school where they would be staying away from the family. In Vavli Ashram School, there are only 22 Katkari students out of 761 students and rest of the students belong to Thakur tribe.

The Ashram Shalas therefore need to make effort to make Katkari these schools culturally diverse and inclusive so that Katkari children feel at home in ashram Shalas like the other tribes. As discussed earlier, besides privileged castes, Katkaris are considered lower by the non-Katkaris as well. If the Ashram Shalas become an inclusive and accessible space for Katkari children – more Katkari children would enrol in schools and distance will not be an important variable.

### **Accessing education – challenges faced by Katkari students – some cases**

I come from a poor family and we face several difficulties in home. When I was 10 years old my father got married for the second time and my mother had to take care of five children. She had studied till 2<sup>nd</sup> standard during her time. So took all of us and came back to her parents' home. My two younger siblings are still studying. He goes for work in vacation.

#### **10<sup>th</sup> standard boy from Ashram School**

When I was child my mother used to drink alcohol. My elder sister was studying in school so I started following her to Anganwadi. I got motivated from Anganwadi teacher and followed my sister who was studying in this Ashram school. I got admission in this school in 3<sup>rd</sup> standard. My sister failed in 9<sup>th</sup> standard so she left school and got married. **After 12<sup>th</sup> standard I would like to become teacher and would like to work as teacher in school itself.** In vacation I go to my hamlet and motivate other friends to join education.

#### **10<sup>th</sup> standard boy from Uttekhoh Ashram School**

Katkaris are interested in education despite several difficulties. It is however difficult to find Katkari who have accessed education up to graduate level. Parents find it uneconomic to help their children study at higher levels. Further most Katkaris are not sure if this will help them secure any jobs.

A Katkari boy from Taharpur has completed D.Ed (Diploma in Education). This has however not motivated the parents from encouraging their children for taking up higher education,
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as the educated is still unemployed. Parents would openly say, those with a D,Ed degree don't have jobs then why should they teach our children after 10<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> class.

*We are scheduled tribe but don't have place in reservation quota. Many posts are declared in the government offices, schools, institutes etc for Adivasis. They give interview and get selected but amongst them no one is asking about Katkaris.*

*After graduation if students are going to brick kilns, cutting wood, then what is the use of getting education?*

*A Katkari respondent from Taharpur*

In Taharpur people are neglecting education and prefer sending their children to brick kilns.

### **Motivation and sensitivity amongst teachers and superintendents**

There are issues of discrimination towards Katkari children. We have found that the non-tribal teachers' perception towards Katkari is not positive hence it affects on the motivational level of education among Katkari children. We have observed this perception and manifestation of discrimination start from the Aangawadi itself.

Teachers also do not put the effort to teach katkari students. **we have found that they have preconceived notions.**

**Katkari children are not good in studies, they like to be out of school, they like to go to forest and hunt for birds, rabbits and other animals so they do not sustain interest in schools**

XX a teacher in Zilla Parishad School

In XX Ashram school the Superintendent beats students up very badly. In Same school, a Katkari boy was interviewed who is in 10<sup>th</sup> standard. He shared that he felt discriminated

***"Superintendent has told all Thakur students to be away from me, and not to keep any contact with me. I do not have any friends from Thakur community and do not understand language spoken by Thakur community. I have good friends from Katkari community which is near to Ashram School. [...] I was given a torn bed sheet with a hole in it."***

In all Ashram schools which we have studied, except one, Principal does not stay in the Ashram School Campus whereas rules say that Superintendent and Principal should stay in the campus of Ashram School itself for the paying attention towards children. In Taloshi Ashram School, there is no superintendent for one month. All studied Ashram Schools do not have female superintendent hence there is possibility of threat towards girls in the night.

There are very few teachers who are passionately interested in helping Katkari children access education. Absence of Katkari community teachers affects the enrollment of Katkari children to a certain extent.

## **Good practices**

The role of few Sanghatanas and NGOs has been important since few years in the educational development of Katkari tribes. Alone they cannot achieve and they have to collaborate with government mechanism to achieve visible development of education among.

- Uttekhol Ashram School is a good example of minimizing drop out rate and strengthening Katkari children by giving them technical skills from school itself. This organization teaches life skills such as engineering, electrical, agriculture, horticulture, construction, carpentry and Griharogya.
- Due to the access to technical support in this Ashram school, the drop out rate among students has gone down till 10<sup>th</sup> standard. Till last year, 4 batches of 10<sup>th</sup> standard have come out and 100 percent students passed.
- Pratham has donated six computers to Chirner Ashram School which is helping tribal students to get familiar with computer education.

## **Conclusion.**

We have highlighted the issues Katkari children face at Ashram schools and also their lesser number in the Ashram Schools. Given the rampant migration Ashram school can be vital institutions to ensure Katkari children continue education. Much needs to be done however.

It is also important that Ashram Shalas do not replicate deprived living conditions that Katkaris face in their hamlets. A recent RTI unravels several deaths Tribal children in Ashram Shalas. Ashram Shalas should be spaces for Katkari children to access dignified living and quality education. If this minimal goal along with quality education is not achieved the very purpose of setting up Ashram Shalas is defeated.

## VI

### Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has highlighted the persistent social economic and political deprivation and exclusion facing Katkaris. Close of 80 per cent of Katkari families are multi-dimensionally poor. Katkaris remain most affected due to the rapid urbanisation and development in the Thane and Raigad (erstwhile Colaba). Such development has remained most insensitive to the plight of Katkaris who have been rendered root-less and resource-less over years. Katkaris are most mobile, dynamic and laborious forest tribe. They have dealt with the rapid changes in the Thane and Raigad District mostly through their labour power.

Katkaris lag behind considerably in owning productive assets, securing education, most remain deprived of state schemes. The land question of Katkaris remains unresolved. They are the most land deprived PVTG in Maharashtra. All the progressive legislations including the FRA (2006) have failed to deliver land rights to Katkaris. Interestingly all the progressive legislations around land seem to evolve deflective mechanisms that ward off possibility of Katkaris getting land. These points to dis-interested bureaucracy coupled with apathy of political class. Katkari constitute a miserable and deprived political minority, engaging with Katkari issues requires more long term and persuasive measure which are sure to deliver change.

Lack of Assets and Resources drives puts Katkaris at the risk of debts. They are forced to look for survival opportunities and livelihood outside villages. Katkaris take advances from contractors and small traders who run trades like brick kilns, coal making, construction and wood cutting, thus become ready resource available for exploitation. The contractor prefers Katkaris to work for them with families which helps them to undervalue the contribution of children and women. The pressure of earning also pushes Katkaris to marry and earn early which helps contractors the most. The working hours and conditions of Katkaris are simply sub-human and some of these forms of work have been listed as practices of modern slavery in the World Slavery Report. We have not pathologised migration in this report and have recommended that elements of exploitation and indignity can be checked on an immediate basis.

The plight of Katkari children and women is further more deplorable. Migration affects the education access of children considerably whereas women end up bearing the multiple burden household, economic and care. The Katkari children lose their childhood rather too early due to economic reasons. This is best reflected in the educational levels amongst Katkaris. The Ashram Shalas could be a great source of relief for Katkaris if they provided culturally and socially sensitive environment along with quality education and living. Ashram Shalas have however failed to do so. The much anticipated RTE (2009) has turned into a mere source for teachers to completing data requirements whereas Katkari children continue to be largely deprived of schooling beyond 8th grade. Further lack of incentives, schemes, jobs and secure future for educated Katkaris has only discouraged Katkaris from taking on the challenge of higher education. The prevalence of alcohol abuse among some families further makes the Katkari children vulnerable.

Katkaris find moral and political sympathy in social movements and some progressive NGOs. Politically Katkaris remain voiceless, except some social movements we are yet to see Katkari leaders and intelligentsia who could engage Katkaris and the state apathy drastically. These points to institutionalised social exclusion of Katkaris most of them seem to have little faith in the welfare mechanisms of the government and perceive discrimination and exclusion from state and mainstream society. Katkaris can be seen as becoming the new untouchables as caste society members and at times scheduled tribes consider Katkaris lower in status.

Katkaris need to be accommodated in the fast changing economy. This report contains recommendations that try to address the necessity of being culturally, politically and economically sensitive for facilitating real, processual and inclusive change for Katkaris. However some of the issues facing Katkaris are also linked to the general apathy in Maharashtra to deal with rights and dignity of PVTGs, landless groups and the vast majority of workers in Informal sector. Below are some recommendations to ensure inclusion and empowerment of Katkaris.



# RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Land Issues and Landlessness
2. Food Insecurities
3. Migration and Working Conditions
4. Migration and Working Conditions
5. Inclusive Development
6. Livelihoods
7. Capacity Building for Political Representatives
8. Education and Schooling: Ashram Shalas, Education: General
9. ICDS
10. MGNREGA
11. Water and Sanitation: Smaller Hamlets
12. Electrification

## 1. Land Issues

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
<p><b>Village Sites and Housing Land</b> be allotted to Katkaris on Priority basis</p>	<p>The survey of Buckles and Khedekar (2013) showed that 68 per cent of the total surveyed villages in Karjat, Khalapur and Sudhagad <b>are without a title to a village site</b>. Of the total, 73 per cent of the hamlets are on privately owned land and 25 per cent are on Forest lands now held by the Forest Department. Katkaris live under fear of eviction despite living there for several years.</p>	<p>Land for homestead, community halls, cremation, schools and constructing water sources should be a matter for Right for Katkaris. The threat of eviction should be totally eliminated for Rural Katkaris.</p>	<p>Governors Office, ITDA, Forest Department, Revenue Department</p>	<p>Survey to cover all Katkari Hamlets, their village sites and housing land ownership status</p> <p>A committee to be set up to look at modes for transfer of ownership to Katkari homestead and village sites.</p> <p>Provide time bound ownership of land to Katkari hamlets and homestead lands.</p>
<p><b>Dalhi Lands</b></p> <p>For Dalhi Lands allotment under FRA 2006 – allotment should not limiting grant of Dalhi to cultivable land</p> <p>Dalhi is not individual but collective asset of Katkaris – <b><u>Claims to total Dalhi lands has to be considered as a community claim</u></b></p>	<p>Dalhi was collective rights. These rights were not merely for agricultural purposes and included other basic need</p>	<p>A special commission be constituted with activists, scholars and bureaucrats to solve the Dalhi Land Issue. The Government (forest and revenue) machinery have to take proactive measures as they possess the records and names of Dalhi cultivators.</p>	<p>Governors Office, Tribal Development Department and Forest Department, NGOs</p>	

<b>Dalhi Lands contd...</b>	<b>Key insights</b>	<b>Tasks</b>	<b>Stakeholders responsible</b>	<b>Key activities</b>
<p>The common usage lands under Dalhi should include grazing, housing, approach roads, land under big trees, cremation ground etc.</p> <p>[These common lands are different from common lands mentioned under FRA2006. And should all be included under community claims.]</p> <p>The lands under cultivation should be considered for individual claims.</p>	<p>According to the 23.10.2008 (paripatraks/10/2007/1257/P k309/F3) of the Government of Maharashtra – eksali, dalhi lands and the decisions of lands to be regularized between 1.4.72 to 31.3.1978, all the decisions were to be implemented in a time bound manner before 1<sup>st</sup> January 2009. No action has been taken so far in this regard. Those claims that have been accepted have considered only the lands under cultivation. While claims are for Dalhi lands the actual sanction is for homestead only.</p>	<p>The varas and vahivatdars should be decided through meeting with present day Dalhi cultivators.</p>		<p>Allocating Dalhi lands to Katkaris requires a colossal and time bound joint effort of government machinery, activists and Katkari communities.</p> <p>A white paper will have to be released on status of Dalhi lands in general and Katkari lands in particular – the lands they possess and the lands they have been displaced from.</p> <p>We see forming a commission as the best way out to solve the Dalhi land Issue in a time bound manner.</p>
<p><b>LAND SCHEME:</b></p> <p><b>Start a new scheme with generous grant aiming at providing Land for Landless</b> Katkaris. This could be on the lines of Dadasaheb Gaikwad Sabalikaran yojana</p>	<p>Despite several measures in colonial and post independent India to provide land to Katkaris most continue to be landless. A sustained effort needs to be made at providing cultivable land to katkaris</p>	<p>Float a scheme on the lines of Dadasaheb Gaikwad Sabalikaran Yojana to empower Katkaris. ITDA gives 50% subsidy and remaining 50% interest less debt.</p>	ITDA	<p>Katkari Beneficiaries to get 2 acres irrigated land or 4 acre un irrigated land. The time period for repayment is 10 years. The beneficiary should start to repayment after two years of getting the land.</p>

## 2. Food Insecurity

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
Katkaris should be provided universal coverage under the Food Security Act as Antyodaya Families.	<p>The interim supreme court order of 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2003 requires <u>universal coverage</u> of Katkaris and other PTGs under Antyodaya. The Supreme Court's order is however least implemented by most state governments including the state of Maharashtra. <b>This is followed by High Court order dated 21/6/2013 asking state government to hold camps for providing antyodaya cards to Katkaris.</b></p> <p>In our survey close to 50 percent Katkari hamlets had up to 25 or more households holding no Ration Cards. On an average there were 22 households per hamlet that <b><u>are without a ration card.</u></b></p> <p>The National Food security Act of 2013 aims at covering 70 per cent rural population. This targeted approach will result in Katkari without ration card and those with APL cards being left out.</p> <p>The provisions of grains <b><u>under Antyodaya is 35 kgs per family, which is much more than BPL/APL allocations under FSA-2013</u></b></p> <p>Several pending cases of Katkari vibhakt [New Couples] families – a list attached for Mangoan.</p>	<p>Providing Antyodaya Cards to All Katkaris</p> <p>The Quota Procedure of Antyodaya should not affect Katkaris access to Antyodaya Cards. Additional resources if needed any could be provided by ITDA</p>	Governors Office, ITDA and Food, Civil Supplies and Consumer Protection Department and NGOs	<p>Start a campaign to identify Katkaris without ration cards across Thane and Raigad</p> <p>Provide all card-less families and those families with APL and BPL cards with Antyodaya Cards/recognition.</p>

### 3. Migration and Working Conditions

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
<p>Survey Katkaris Migrating to out of Maharashtra. Regulate the Contractors involved and register the workers. Make the contractors follow Interstate Migrant Workmen Act 1979</p> <p>Practice of Child labour be totally banned on Brick Kilns and Ensure that No child is out of schools at Brick Kilns</p> <p>All the Brick Kilns in Maharashtra should be registered with the Labour Commissioner of Maharashtra. Enrol Katkaris under The Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana</p>	<p>Close to 60 percent of Katkari households migrate for making their ends meet. Most work in Brick Kilns followed by inter-state migration.</p> <p>Migration exposes Katkaris to Multiple vulnerabilities – women and children are most affected. The working conditions of Katkaris could be improved through state intervention.</p> <p>India is a signatory to the ILO convention and the above could help improve the standards of labour.</p>	<p>The working conditions of Migrant Katkari worker need to be improved and the risks and vulnerabilities they face be reduced.</p> <p>Regulation of Brick Kilns by Labour Commissioner so as to provide dignified working and living conditions and payment to Katkari workers.</p>	<p>Labour Department, NGOs, Department of Tribal Development</p>	<p>Form a 24 hour Call Centre for supporting distressed Katkari workers working in Brick Kilns and those migrating for other work in and out of Maharashtra [labour department with support of NGOs]</p> <p>Suo moto action by govt in case of deaths of Katkaris in Brick Kilns.</p> <p>Institutionalize compensation for death/injury on Brick Kilns</p> <p>Identify and support NGOs to mobilise and organise Katkari Migrant Workers and Brick Kiln Workers into Workers Unions.</p> <p>Regular monitoring by Labour Commissioners to ensure No child labour is practiced on Brick Kilns and No Child is out of school at Brick Kilns</p> <p>A campaign to enrol Katkaris families under RSBY in Maharashtra.</p>

#### 4. Inclusive Development

Recommendations	Key insights and problematisation	Stakeholders responsible	Tasks	Activities
Preparing database of Katkari hamlets	An easily available resource directory of Katkari hamlets is necessary for information of various government departments and schemes. This can also enable convergence of various activities, schemes and departments.	Tribal Research and Training Institute  ITDA and Zilla Parishad.	Preparing a database on amenities and land ownership	An exhaustive survey should be carried out by government on Katkari hamlets in Thane and Raigad to assess the provision of civic amenities. A data base be prepared on hamlet-wise access to housing, water, sanitation, homestead lands, education and health.
Form Katkari Development Agency  [On the line of Dongria Kondh and other such Development Agencies in Orissa]	There is a need for a dedicated special agency to further consolidate holistic Development of Katkaris.  Katkari Development Agency will constitute micro project focussing on Katkaris, this could help take into consideration specific need of Katkaris.  This will be under the ministry of Tribal Development	Chief Ministers Office, Tribal Development Department (GoM) and Ministry of Tribal Affairs (GoI)	Setting up Katkari Development Agency with the provision of special budget allocation in addition to CCD allocations from Ministry of Tribal Affairs for PVTGs	Design specific schemes for Katkaris  Livelihood, Health, Infrastructure, Education

## 5. Livelihoods

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
Need based livelihood initiatives for Katkaris	<p>Katkaris lack access to credit facilities and development schemes from various departments are not always best suited for Katkaris</p> <p>Katkaris also lack productive assets. [for e.g., Only 8 per cent hamlets have Katkaris owning some Cattles and Live Stock].</p>	<p>Allocate 45 per cent of the total expenditure of Tribal Development for Katkaris in Raigad District. This will be in keeping with the percentage of Katkari population within Tribes in Raigad.</p> <p>Prepare a road map for sustainable livelihoods for Katkaris, Work along with various departments, particularly MSRLM</p>	ITDA, MSRLM	<p>MSRLM to study livelihood options that would be sustainable and work best for Katkaris.</p> <p>The ITDP needs to be more proactive in informing Katkaris and Voluntary organisations about the present schemes. All the information of schemes have to be displayed outside ITDP offices and sent to Gram Panchayats for further dissemination.</p>
Award Contracts for public works and other Tenders to Katkari Cooperatives and SHGs	The participation of Katkaris in Government can be increased by awarding them <u>non-skilled contracts</u> for Public Works	Inclusion of Katkaris in Contracted Public Works	ITDA, ZP, PWD, NGOS	Form Labour Cooperatives of Katkaris Forge linkages with Government Departments especially PWD to take up non-skilled contracts
Award Minor Forest Produce Tenders to Katkaris Collectives on Priority Basis	Minor Forest Produce auctions is mostly won by Non-Tribals and at times private companies. Not much information is made available about the auctions of forest produce to Katkaris. Katkari SHGs can gain most if they are awarded tenders.	Award tenders for collection and processing of forest produces to Katkari SHGs [ There have been successful cases, like Majorne village in Mangoan Taluka where Katkari SHGs won the auction for collecting	NGOs, Forest Department, ITDA	<p>Promote Katkari collective/ groups to take part in Auctioning</p> <p>Give Priority in allocation of contracts for collection to Katkaris.</p>

## 6. Capacity Building of Katkari Political Representatives

Recommendations	Key insights	Stakeholders responsible	Tasks	Activites
Capacity building of Katkari Panchayat Representatives	Katkari representatives in Panchayats tend to lack awareness and assertion due to dominance of non-tribals in Panchayats.	ITDA, NGOs and YASHADA/ SIRD	Enhance involvement of Katkari Panchayat representatives in Governance and Development activities.	<p>Identify Local NGOs that could co-ordinate and conduct awareness and capacity building programs for Katkari representatives.</p> <p>Six Monthly Training and Awareness Workshops for Katkari Panchayats Representatives</p> <p>Periodic interaction of Katkari Panchayat Representatives with ITDP Officers and Secretary, Tribal Development [Once in six months]</p>

## 7. Education and Schooling: Ashram Shalas

Recommendations	Key insights *	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
<p>Ensure that 40 per cent of children in Ashram Shalas of Raigad District are from Katkari community</p> <p>ITDP should assess and Improve Infrastructure of all schools</p> <p>NGOs running smaller hostels for Katkaris School Children should be provided financial aid/grant</p>	<p>Katkaris are underrepresented in Ashram Shalas. This signifies a failure of Ashram Shalas to attract Katkari students. The Ashram Shalas need to be Katkari friendly especially in Raigad.</p> <p>In some Ashram schools same rooms are used for sleeping and teaching.</p> <p>*Most of these problems are anticipated and mechanisms are suggested to address in the manual of Ashram Shalas but implementation has been far from satisfactory</p>	<p>Allocate funds towards the provision of quality infrastructure in Ashram Shalas.</p> <p>Revisit Monitoring Mechanisms of Ashram Shalas. Involve Educational Experts and Activists in six-monthly Monitoring exercises.</p> <p>Specialised teachers be recruited for computer, drawing, craft, music, dance and sports in each Ashram schools</p>	<p>Principals of Ashram Shalas, ITDP and NGOs running Ashram Shalas.</p>	<p>Katkari children enrolment drive in May – June by Ashram School Administraion. Ensure food is Tribal friendly and vegetarianism is not imposed on children in any school</p> <p>Provision of recruiting Social Worker in Ashram Schools has to be followed</p> <p>Proper bedding should be given to all children. Washing machines be installed in Hostels.</p> <p>Develop basic sports infrastructure</p> <p>Weekly telephonic contacts with family</p> <p>Computer be installed and computed education be mandatory in all Ashram schools</p> <p>Employ a Katkari Assistant-Counselor at every Ashram Shala to motivate Katkari children to join and stay</p> <p>Conduct Six monthly Social audits of Ashram Shalas</p>

## 8. Education: General

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
Develop Katkari Language through Prakrit	Kathodi/Katkari language is preferred by Katkari families and children. The language could be developed thorough use of Prakrit font.	Identify cultural material that could be developed as Katkari literature. Form a Committee for Development and Dissemination of Katkari Language	Experts from TRTI, ITDA Education Department.	Bringing out texts on Katkaris in Kathodi language using prakrit.  Introduction of some texts in schools where Katkaris study.  A Kathodi to Marathi Dictionary
Award Money Prizes for Katkari Girls at the completion of 12 <sup>th</sup> and Graduation.  [Currently there is prize money for toppers amongst Tribes and money incentives for parents who admit their girl child in Ashram Shalas]	The education status of Katkari is amongst the most backward in Maharashtra. Encouraging higher education through money prizes could motivate Katkaris to send their children for higher education	Prize money to be instituted for Katkari girls accessing higher education.	ITDA	Katkari girls completing 12 <sup>th</sup> Standard be awarded ten thousand rupees as price money  Katkari girls completing graduation be awarded 25 thousand rupees as price money.
Government of Maharashtra should build three state of art residential school for PVTGs on the lines of Eklavya/Navodaya/Sainik Schools	These schools should be designed to meet Katkari leadership needs in a global perspective and should hope to produce Katkari youth who could be asset to Katkari community and nation in coming years.	Tribal Development Department will provide infrastructure and Education Department will develop and monitor the academic component.	Tribal Development Department, Education Department,	Educational experts in alternative and indigenous education be involved in planning the curriculum.

## 9. ICDS

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
<p>Establish Mini Anganwadis in Smaller Katkari Hamlets</p> <p>Reduced for the cap of population from 150 to 80 for Katkaris hamlets</p>	<p>As reported in the study most Anganwadis are not in the Katkari hamlets. There is scope to have Aanganwadis, especially min-aanganwadis in Katkari Hamlets.</p> <p>As per the revised population norms, a Mini-Anganwadi Centre can be opened in Rural Project on a population of 150-500 and in Tribal Project on a population of 150-300.</p> <p>These caps need to be reduced for Katkaris as the mode number of households is 18-20 for Katkari hamlets.</p>	<p>Revise the rules of establishing Mini-Anganwadis for Katkari Hamlets</p>	<p>Governor's Office, ICDS, Tribal Development Department</p>	<p>The minimum population for establishing Anganwadi should be lowered to 80 for Katkaris.</p>

## 10. MGNREGA

Recommendations	Key insights*	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
<p>Ensure that Katkaris have job cards and employment particularly in difficult months through MGNREGS</p> <p>All the Departments that provide work under MGNREGA should have 100 days work available for Katkaris from August to November</p>	<p>Most Katkaris do not have Job Cards</p> <p>Work is not available when Katkaris need it the most [August – November]</p> <p>Wages not competitive</p> <p>Wages paid after a week or later whereas Katkaris are used to daily payments</p> <p>*Some of these issues are generic and not essentially related to Katkaris, However Katkaris find It very difficult to get employment through MGNREGA</p>	<p>Get Job Cards for Katkaris</p> <p>Ensure they get job on Demand especially from August to November</p> <p>Gram Panchayats in Raigad should ensure that 35 percent of MGNREGS workers should be Katkaris</p> <p>Timely payment of Wages</p>	<p>Forest Department, Rural Development and Revenue Department, ITDA and NGOs</p>	<p>Participatory Survey of Katkari Hamlets on the kind of work they can do under MGNREGS</p> <p>Campaign for Katkaris to Get Job Card Number in coordination with local NGOs</p> <p>Encourage social forestry and soil conservation work on Forest lands through MGNREGS that could benefit Katkaris</p>
				<p><b>Pilot Project</b></p> <p>Dalhi land development through Katkari workers through MGNREGS</p> <p>Ensure Work is available from August to November for Katkaris. Payment of wages should cover both skilled and unskilled workers</p> <p>Works allotted should directly benefit Katkaris – like Dalhi land development and community infrastructure development. Provide advance payment of wages for one month for Katkari workers.</p>
<p><b>MGNREGA - Pilot Project with Katkaris in 10 villages of Raigad</b></p>	<p>As discussed in the report Migration is very high amongst Katkaris. This could be an innovative project to counter Katkari Migration through MGNREGA</p>			

## 11. Water and Sanitation: Smaller Hamlets

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
<p>Provide durable universal coverage of potable water to all Katkari hamlets</p> <p>The scheme of Solar Energy-based Dual Pump Piped Water Supply Schemes has to be used universally for all Katkari hamlets below 200 population.</p> <p>Water Tankers should be sent as priority to Katkari Hamlets with facing shortage.</p> <p>Toilets under Sarvajani Swachalaya Yojana and under the Gharkul Scheme be constructed only if water is available.</p> <p>Any scheme on water supply to the village should be sanctioned only when it includes water supply to Katkaris hamlets of that village</p>	<p>Around 40 percent hamlets reported stressful months of water access. The stressful months were from January to May</p> <p>Nal Pani Puravatha Yojana is a good scheme and Water can be provided through taps under this Scheme. Some Katkari hamlets are covered under this however Katkari hamlets are generally small and far from main village and most remain out of this scheme therefore</p> <p>Tankers provided only when significant number of Katkaris organise and pressurise the taluka administration.</p> <p>Under Gharkul Schemes Toilets are Compulsory but people cannot use them due to lack of water.</p>	<p>Providing potable drinking water to all Katkari Hamlets</p> <p>Maintain a data base on hamlets and their drinking water status.</p>	<p>Water Supply Department, ITDP, Ground Water Survey and Development Agency</p>	<p>This Solar Energy Based scheme targets populations between 150 to 250 (30 -50 households). The limit of population needs to be reduced however to 100 from 150 for Katkaris.</p> <p>Based on the database, Tanker Water to be provided as temporary measure till the Katkari hamlets are covered under solar energy or some other water supply scheme.</p>

## 12. Electrification

Recommendations	Key insights	Tasks	Stakeholders responsible	Key activities
Katkari hamlets that do not have electricity should be electrified on a priority basis	<p>Around 60 per cent household reported lack of electricity. However half of these were families whose connections were disconnected due to non-payment of bills. Katkaris complained of the bills being too high to afford.</p> <p>Some of solar lamps provided through ITDP in 2013 have stopped working. There is no provision by ITDP or the vendor to provide repair services for these.</p>	<p>Expanding the coverage of electricity for Katkari Households</p> <p>Providing Solar energy panels for remote and smaller hamlets that are not electrified.</p>	Maharashtra State Electricity Distribution Co. Ltd, ITDA, Maharashtra Energy Development Agency	<p>Katkari families/hamlets not yet electrified be given priority for electrification</p> <p>Remote and smaller hamlets low cost alternative energy should be used for provision of street lights</p> <p>Provide Greenlight Planet Sun King PRO, LED Solar Light and Smart Phone Charger [Some CSR initiatives in Raigad are encouraging these with follow-up/repair services]</p>

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## Annexure I: Violence and Exclusion

### Katkari woman married a Kunbi Man – Stripped and Humiliated in Public

Seema (name changed) is a Katkari tribal from Bhiwandi near Mumbai. Her husband Yogesh is a Kunbi from the OBC. The inter-caste marriage was opposed by his parents. On August 30, five months after they secretly wed, his family struck back. On that day, Yogesh's family asked him to invite Seema to their house. When they came, the couple were kicked and punched by Yogesh's parents. As Yogesh became unconscious, they focused their attack on Seema. Malti Patil and Rohidas stripped off Seema's clothes and hacked off her hair, as she wept and pleaded. "I never felt so insulted. I was fighting three of them alone. I shouted but there was no one to help me," said Seema, showing the wounds on her hands. Then they tied the couple to a pole outside their house. Seema remained there, with no clothes to cover herself till morning in full view of the villagers. Finally, the village sarpanch came and freed the couple.

Nineteen-year-old Seema (name changed) does not step out of her house without her scarf. She is painfully embarrassed to be seen in public. A month ago, she was beaten and stripped by her in-laws. Her long hair was forcibly hacked off with a sickle and scissors. Her new crop, kept carefully hidden, is a reminder of the brutal assault. ***Seema was kept tied to a pole for an entire night with no clothes to cover herself***

- ***She is a Katkari tribal and Yogesh is a Kunbi from the OBC***
- ***She filed a case against in-laws a month after the assault with the help of an NGO***

On Monday, police arrested her father-in-law Madhukar Patil, mother-in-law Malti Patil and brother-in-law Rohidas Patil. When *The Hindu* met Seema, she looked determined and composed. "When we got married, we knew my in-laws were against it. But I never imagined they would go to this extent," she said. She finally filed a case against them a month after the assault, leading to the arrests. Seema did not file a police complaint for a month. "I knew that police won't help me," she said. Then she got in touch with NGO Shramjeevi Sanghatana. "She was scared and initially hesitant to file the complaint. We assured her that she would be protected," said MLA Vivek Pandit from the Sanghatana. Seema and Yogesh met while working in a godown on the Mumbai-Nashik Highway. They also used to take the bus home together. They fell in love and got married within a month. "I was sure that my parents would not accept a tribal daughter-in-law but we decided to go ahead with the wedding. I left my house and shifted to her parents' home," said Yogesh.

**The Hindu. October 17, 2013**

Annexure II – Interviewed Katkari Representatives									
	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	GR. Position	Duration	Political party	Challenges facing Katkaris
1	Ankush Pawar  [Niwachiwadi-Mahad]	55	M	4 <sup>th</sup> class	Dali,& labour	Sarpanch	2009 To 2013	Shiv-Sena	Water Poverty-Migration Exclusion from BPL List due to party politics 484 families removed from BPL .When Ankush Visited the collector in Alibaug, the collector told him, “You are wearing very good clothes that is why you are disqualified from BPL”
2	Sharavan Pawar Sondewadi - Mahad	52	M	4 <sup>th</sup> class	Dali &labour	Sarpanch	2001 To 2005	Shiv-Sena	--00--
3	Shakuntala Waghmare Kothurde - Sondewadi	35	F	Illiterate	labour	Member	Present Member	Shiv-Sena	--00---
4	Kalabai Hilam	65	F	Illiterate	Labour	Member	1995 To 2000	Rashtrawadi congress	Migration, Water, PDS livelihood - Migration, Govt, Schemes,
5	Jana jadhav	32	F	Illiterate	labour	Sarpanch	Present	No party	School, Cremation Ground, Livelihood, Migration,Water living land, Govt, Schemes
6	Lakshimi Pawar	39	M	5 <sup>th</sup> class	Fisher	Member	2004 to 2009	No party	Katkaris do not have land so we are not able to construct a well under government scheme. The scheme has therefore gone to Madhegoan [main village”
7	Nathuram Jadhav	45	F	Illiterate	labour	Member	Present Member	No party	Representative Facing a court case for trying to build cremation ground for Katkaris
8	Babi Jadhav	55	F	3 <sup>rd</sup> class	labour	Sarpanch	Present Member	Rashtrawadi congress	Migration,Warer, Ration, School, building,poor health service.
9	Namadev Hilam	45	M	7 <sup>th</sup> class	labour	Member	2001 to 2005	rashtrawadi congress	Water, Ration, School,building , Govt,Schemes, health

10	Hira Waghmare	32	F	Illiterate	Labour	Member	Present Member	rashtrowadi congress	-00--
11	Narayan Waghmare	40	M	Illiterate	Leader / land	Sarpanch	Present	rashtrowadi congress	-00--
12	Sangit Saver	30	F	Illiterate	farming	Member	2005 to 2010	rashtrowadi congress	BPL--,.PDS Card,Water,Govt, schemes, Health
13	Suresh Vittal Saver	37	M	10 <sup>th</sup> class	Company labour	Member	2000 To 2005	rashtrowadi congress	Katkaris got house under IAY, subsequently all Katkaris with IAY were excluded from BPL BPL card, water, ,Govt, schmes , health.,PDS
14	Lakshimi Ganpat Mukane	40	F	3 <sup>rd</sup> class	Sanghatna SVS	Member	2005 to 2010	Rashtrowadi congress	Migration, House, road, water. Govt, Schemes.
15	Lakshimi Mahadu Mukane	64	F	Illiterate	Sanghatna SVS	Sarpanch	Present	rashtrowadi congress	-00--
16	Jaydev Gavit	37	M	11 <sup>th</sup> class	Sanghatna SVS	Sarpanch	Present	rashtrowadi congress	-00--
17	Balu Diva	27	M	7 <sup>th</sup> class	Labour	Member	2005 to 2010	Rashtwad	-00--

### Annexure III: Interviewed Migrants

District and village Name	Age of Res.	Place of Migration	Duration of migration	Occupation	Since how long (Year)	Why migration	What are the problems at Work Place	Anything positive	Earning total in Month	Debt
<b>Mahad Sondewadi</b>	40	Pune	After Nov to May	Wood cutting	Last 10 year	Limited occupation in village	-Water, sanitation, low wages.	Got work in six months	Around 4000-4500	Yes contractor 9000/-
	35	Pune – Nagar	After Nov to May	Wood cutting	Last 8 year	No work in village	Children education, low wages, not completing basic needs	- get work	Average 4000-6000	Yes contractor 10000/-
	35	Pune	After Nov to May	Wood cutting	Last 8 year	No work in village	-Not completing basic needs -contractor violence in work place	NR	Average 4000-6000	Yes contractor 5000/-
	50	Madangad	After Nov to May	Wood cutting	Last 15 year	No work in village	-contractor violence work place -Limited wage	Got money and employment	Average 4500-7000	No
	40	Raigad	After Nov to May	Brick kilns	Last 15 year	No work in village	-contractor exploitation in work place also some lost daily wages - no living facility	Got money and employment	Average 6000-7000	Yes 80000
	35	Mahad	After Nov to May	Brick kilns	Last 15 year	No work in village	-contractor exploitation in work place also some lost our daily wages	Get employment	Average 6000-7000	NR
	60	Ratnagiri	After Nov to	Wood	Last 15	Limited employmen	No water, housing facility	employment	Average 4000-	Yes 6000

			May	cutting	year	t in village	in working site		5000	
	35	Pune	After Nov to May	Wood cutting	Last 8 year	No work in village	No access of children education	employment	Average 4000-5000	Yes
<b>Mangaon Block</b> Panhalthar	35	Raigad	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 12 year	No work in village	Contractor not gave money time to time	employment	Monthly 7000-8000	Yes
	38	Mahad	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 15 year	No work in village	Limited wages, exploitation in work place, no water and housing facility	employment	Monthly 6000-7000	Advance money 6000
Chandewadi	28	Ratnagiri	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 8 year	No work in village	-more than 12 house daily working - very low wages -some time contractor not provide all money	employment	Monthly 6000-7000	Advance money last year 4000
Bhale	35	Mahad	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 13 year	No work in village	NR	employment	Monthly 5500-7500	Yes 5500
Kosta	35	Mangaon	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 19 year	No work in village	Very less daily wages not completing basic needs	employment	Monthly 6000-7000	Yes last year contractor money 8000
<b>Shahapur Block</b>	35	Wada	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 12 year	No work in village	Contractor not gave proper money and exploitation of wages	employment	Monthly 8000-10000	Yes 6000

Thane Nivre										
Nivre	50	Shahapur	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 20 year	No work in village	NR	employment	Monthly 6000-8000	Yes 8000
Nivre	35	Thane	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 16 year	No work in village	Working site no water and housing facility	NR	Monthly 5000-6500	NR
Nivre	40	Wada	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 12 year	No work in village	More than 15 hours work in a day lot of hard work	employment	Monthly 6000	Yes 10000
Taharpur	24	Wada	After Nov to May	Brick kiln	Last 5 year	No work in village	-Contractor not gave proper wages money	employment	Monthly 4000-6000	Yes 4000

### Onsite: Karnataka Coal Making

S No	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Village
1	Anand pawar	29	M	8th	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
2	Sameer Pawar	14	M	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad

3	Shanti pawar	28	F	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
4	Raju pawar	10	M		Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
5	Dilip jadhav	25	M	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
6	Anita Jadhav	22	F	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist ,Raigad
7	Vishal jadhav	9 month	M	-	Dandvadi Post. Jamul Pada. Tq.sudhagad Dist, Raigad.

**Annexure IV: Rapid Appraisal - Hamlets in Mangoan, Wada and Shahapur**

Sr. No	Name of Village	Name of Block	Sr. No	Name of Village	Name of Block
1	Vadvali	Mangaon	29	Vave Adiwashi wadi No 1	Mangaon
2	Khusheda	Mangaon	30	Vave Adiwashi wadi No 2	Mangaon
3	Talegaon	Mangaon	31	Vave Adiwashi wadi No 3	Mangaon
4	Harkol Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	32	Kashina adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
5	Nandvi Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	33	Nagroli Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
6	Juna Mangaon	Mangaon	34	Koshinali Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
7	Bhadav Adiwashi Wadi	Mangaon	35	Malti Adiwashi wadi No 1	Mangaon
8	Khanada Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	36	Potner Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
9	Khareli bhudruk adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	37	Tanuwali adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
10	Jadhav Surv Tale Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	38	Ganesh nagar kona	Wada
11	Umroli Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	39	Duparwadi	Wada
12	Vaki Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	40	Kona	Wada
13	Kharvali Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	41	Abit ghar	Wada
14	Panose wadi	Mangaon	42	Kabara	Wada
15	Turmpali	Mangaon	43	Tilgaon	Wada
16	Buvan Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	44	Narli pada	Wada
17	Sagi adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	45	Chinch pada	Wada
17	Rudrauli Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	46	Khaira Ambivali	Wada
19	Bhale Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	47	khuylu	Wada
20	Nivi Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	48	Nehal pada	Wada
21	Nilgun adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	49	Vedval	Shapur
22	Utakal Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	50	Taharpur	Shapur
23	Phanalgar Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	51	Kela	Shapur
24	Vadgaon Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	52	Pivali	Shapur
25	Chande Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	53	Nevare pada	Shapur
26	Harne Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	54	Mukane pada	Shapur
27	Kosre Bhudruk	Mangaon	55	Mohili	Shapur
28	Kosre bhudruk wadi	Mangaon	56	Palicha pada	Shapur
57	Kosre Khurd	Mangaon	64	Velande	Shapur
58	Tasgaon tribul wadi	Mangaon	65	Mutvali Trphe Nijampur	Mangaon
59	Bodshed ( bhala0	Mangaon	66	Nilaj Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon

Sr. No	Name of Village	Name of Block	Sr. No	Name of Village	Name of Block
60	Goroba Nagar	Mangaon	67	Rele Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
61	Madegaon Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	68	Kalimji Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
62	Mangawali Adivashi wadi	Mangaon	69	Muthavali adiwashi wadi	Mangaon
63	Lonshi adiwashi wadi	Mangaon	70	Kalwan Adiwashi wadi	Mangaon

**Annexure V: Sample list of Katkaris who do not have ANTODAYA CARDS despite High Court Intervention**

(The following application forms are with Supply Officer Mangaon)

Sr. no.	Name	Village (Hamlet)
1.	Nathuram Gangaram Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
2.	Ankush Vasant Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
3.	Vikas Pandurang Mukne	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
4.	Dashrath Maruti Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
5.	Ravindra Rama Waghmare	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
6.	Janu Gangaram Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
7.	Laxman Gangaram Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
8.	Kisan Hanumant Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
9.	Ramesh Bhikya Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
10.	Chandrakant Skharam Mukne.	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
11.	Arun Rama Koli	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
12.	Kalya Tanu Mukne	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
13.	Mangesh Vasant Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi

14.	Mangesh Balaram Waghmare	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
15.	Vikas Hanumant Jadhav	Nandavi aadiwasi wadi
16.	Jani Raju Jadhav	Tasgaon
17.	Baban Rajaram Pawar	Tasgaon
18.	Baban Navshya Pawar	Tasgaon
19.	Subhash Pangya Koli	Tasgaon
20.	Rama Kisan waghmare	Tasgaon
21.	Kisan kalu Jagtap	Tasgaon
22.	Vittal Bhorya pawar	Tasgaon
23.	Ganesh Suresh Pawar	Tasgaon
24.	Rahul Laxman Jadhav	Tasgaon
25.	Sunita Gyaneshwar Vasekar	Tasgaon
26.	Marvat Rajaram Pawar	Tasgaon
27.	Ravindra Laxman Jagtap	Tasgaon
28.	Vasant Chandar Jadhav	Tasgaon
29.	Mangal Baban Jadhav	Tasgaon

30.	Ramesh Sudam Pawar	Tasgaon
31.	Rohidas Bhagwan Wagmare	Tasgaon
32.	Gopal Suresh Wagmare	Tasgaon
33.	Surekha Motiram Pawar	Tasgaon
34.	Anil Chandar Pawar	Tasgaon
35.	Rohidas Laxman Jadhav	Tasgaon
36.	Satypan Sudam Pawar	Tasgaon
37.	Anita Shravan Walekar	Tasgaon
38.	Chandar Vikas Waghmare	Tasgaon
39.	Raghunath Nana Waghmare	Tasgaon
40.	Mangesh Daulat Pawar	Tasgaon
41.	Dhondur Vikas Pawar	Sangi
42.	Balu Kisan Katkar	Sangi
43.	Pinthya Baliram Jadhav	Sangi
44.	Sakharam Tulashiram Jadhav	Sangi
45.	Suresh Ramu Jadhav	Sangi

46.	Baluram Sakhrya Jadhav	Sangi
47.	Shiva Chander Hiram	Sangi
48.	Dattaram Anant koli	Sangi
49.	Magesh Ekka Katkar	Sangi
50.	Gangaram Pandu Katkar	Sangi
51.	Gopal Sudhakar Katkar	Sangi
52.	Mallhari Krishna Pawar	Sangi
53.	Sanjay Ekka Katkar	Sangi
54.	Babu Arjun Katkar	Sangi
55.	Ram Tukaram Koli	Sangi
56.	Laxman Ram Jadhav	Sangi
57.	Nathuram Shivaji Jadhav	Sangi
58.	Arun Baliram Kapre	Sangi
59.	Jayandar Baliram Jadhav	Sangi
60.	Chandrakant Barkya Katkar	Sangi
61.	Rohidas Hari Jadhav	Sangi
62.	Venu Ravi Jadhav	Sangi
63.	Chandrabhaga Baliram Hiram	Sangi

64.	Radha Govind Hilar	Sangi
65.	Barkya Daji Katkar	Sangi
66.	Chandrakant Jhanju Jadhav	Sangi
67.	Nathuram Kisan Pawar	Sangi
68.	Satish Mahadev Katkar	Sangi
69.	Ganesh Laxman Hilar	Sangi
70.	Prakash Shantaram Pawar	Waki
71.	Parshuram Babaji Waghmare	Waki
72.	Pandurang Shivaram Jadhav	Waki
73.	Nathuram Chandar Waghmare	Waki
74.	Sakharam Nathu Waghmare	Waki
75.	Chandar Sudam Jadhav	Waki
76.	Sakharam Shivram Jadhav	Waki
77.	Suresh Daji Pawar	Waki
78.	Gauru ekanath Jadhav	Waki
79.	Yashavant Sitaram Jadhav	Waki
80.	Subhash Namdev Jadhav	Waki
81.	Bandya Kisan Hilar	Waki
82.	Sanjay Ramn Jadhav	Waki
83.	Suresh Jayram Jadhav	Waki
84.	Shivram Jayram Jadhav	Waki

85.	Ankush Sahdev Hilam	Waki
86.	Kisan Sudam Jadhav	Waki
87.	Kisan Baban Jadhav	Waki
88.	Aarun Ankush Jadhav	Waki
89.	Ashok Hirya Waghmare	Waki
90.	Seeta Arun Hilam	Waki
91.	Ramesh Krushna Jadhav	Waki
92.	Tanya Bhorya Koli	Waki
93.	Keshav Tukaram More	Waki
94.	Sanjay Vasant jadhav	Waki
95.	Ananta Benu Hilam	Waki
96.	Gopinath Tukaram Hilam	Waki
97.	Nilesh Eknath Jadhav	Waki
98.	Raju Sonu Jadhav	Waki
99.	Ganpant Krushana Waghmare	Waki
100.	Gangaram Chander Hilam	Waki
101.	Prakash Ratnya Jadhav	Waki
102.	Sanjay Anata Hilam	Waki
103	Seetara Tanu Jadhav	Waki
104	Kalu Maruti Waghmare	Waki
105	Gorya Babji Waghmare	Waki

106.	Devu Sunder Wagmare	Waki
107	Prakash shantaram pawar	Waki
108	Prshuram babji waghmare	Waki
109	Pandurang shiwhram jadhav	Waki
110	Nathuram chandar waghmare	Waki
111	Sakharam nathu waghmare	Waki
112	Chandar sudam jadhv	Waki
113	Sakharam shivram jadhav	Waki
114	Suresh daji pawar	Waki
115	Gauru ekhanat jadhav	Waki
116	Yshvant shitaran jadhav	Waki
117	Subhash namdev jadhav	Waki
118	Bandya kisan hila	Waki
119	Sanjay raman jadhav	Waki
120	Suresh jayram jadhav	Waki
121	Shivram jayram jadhav	Waki
122	Ankush shadev hila	Waki
123	Kisan sudam jadhav	Waki
124	Kisan baban jadhav	Waki
125	Arun ankush jadhav	Waki
126	Ashok hirya waghmare	Waki

127	Shita arun hila	Waki
128	Ramesh kushana jadhav	Waki

**The Following List for Ration Cards are in the Office of the NGO Sarva Vikas Deep, Mangaon. Not Yet Submitted to Supply Officer**

Sl No.	Name	Village
1.	Jagtap Yashwant Shantaram	Koshimble
2.	Ankush Santaram Waghmare	Koshimble
3.	Laxman Jayram Pawar	Koshimble
4.	Arun Rajaram Pawar	Koshimble
5.	Gopal Laxman Waghmare	Koshimble
6.	Mamgesh Rama Jadhav	Koshimble
7.	Baliram Rama Waghmare	Koshimble
8.	Harichandra Baliram Waghmare	Koshimble
9.	Shantaram Kissan Waghmare	Koshimble
10	Ram Shankar Jadhav	Koshimble
11	Shankar Kissan Waghmare	Koshimble
12	Suresh Bedu Pawar	Koshimble
13	Bhiku Laxman Jadhav	Koshimble
14	Ganpat Shreepat Jadhav	Vithalwadi
15	Gyaneshwar Shreepat Hila	Vithalwadi
16	Yashwant Maruti Waghmare	Vithalwadi
17	Sandeep Ranya Waghmare	Vithalwadi
18	Ganesh Laxman Waghmare	Vithalwadi

19	Ankush Krushna Waghmare	Makti
20	Pandu Rama Waghmare	Makti
21	Tukaram Laxman Waghmare	Makti
22	Ramesh Laxman Waghmare	Makti
23	Mangesh Suresh Hiram	Makti
24	Ankush Rama Koli	Nagroli
25	Vasant Kissan More	Nagroli
26	Rabindra Chandrakant Waghmare	Nagroli
27	Lahu Rama Koli	Nagroli
28	Shreepat Ambashree Pawar	Nivi adiwasi wadi
29	Harichandra Navsa Waghmare	Nivi adiwasi wadi
30	Ankush Laxman Jagtap	Ratwad
31	Sharad Harichandra Pawar	Ratwad
32	Sameer Krushna Mukne	Muthawali Tale
33	Baburam Krushna Mukne	Muthawali Tale
34	Nathuram Gangaram Waghmare	Nivi Muthawali
35	Vaghu Deu Pawar	Nivi Muthawali
36	Naredh Raghu Pawar	Nivi Muhawali
37	Gotya Dhondur Jadhav	Nilaj
38	Ankush Anandya Jagtap	Bhuban
39	Dhakalya Kisa Waghmare	Bhuban
40	Basant Gopal Hiram	Umroli
41	Shankar Devji Jadhav	Umrooli
42	Raja Chander Pawar	Umroli Adiwasi wadi

43	Pradeep Sitaram Hilar	Panhal garh
44	Sitaraam Barku Katkar	Panhal garh
45	Harichandra Babu Jadhav	Panhal garh
46	Chander Harichandra Jadhav	Panhal garh
47	Chandrakant Sakharan Jadhav	Panhal garh
48	Prakash Narayan Waghmare	Panhal garh
49	Manoj Sonu More	Panhal garh
50	Bhiku Narayan Koli	Muthawali
51	Mangesh Shankar Gauli	Muthawali

**Activist and Academicians who participated in the in the TISS  
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Mr. Anil Sonavane  
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Mr. Vijay Sathe  
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