
C H A P T E R V I

S U M M A R Y A N D C O N C L U S I O N S

Costume is a characteristic feature of civilisation. It gives eloquent expression to the culture and tradition of the age which has functional as well as aesthetic values.

Gujarat has twenty eight tribal groups (78) of which the main tribes are Bhil, Dubla, Dhodia, Choudhary, Rathwa, Gamit, Dhanaka, Kukna, Varlis, Naiks, Patelia, Kotwaria, Kolghas, Kathodi, Siddis and Padhar. These tribal communities of the state manifest rich cultural heritage through their clothing, ornaments, customs and beliefs.

However, they are gradually losing their tradition and individuality. The available literature on tribal costumes documents the names of the garments with pictorial forms or sketches, which do not suffice the vital need of conserving the tribal costumes. It lacks the critical indepth documentation of tailored and draped garments which is important from the reproduction and understanding.

Therefore it was decided to conceptualise the details of garments, the fabrics, designs and colours used, head-dresses, ornaments and footwear worn by both men and women. It was also thought desirable to study the clothing behaviour as related to demographic variables and socio-cultural factors that influence the clothing of selected tribes in the State of Gujarat.

Specific objectives of the study;

- 1 To study the fabrics, designs and colours of traditional and existing garments used by Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary men and women.
- 2 To analyse the constructional details of the traditional and existing tailored garments worn by men and women of selected tribes.

- 3 To document schematically the details of the traditional and existing draped garments of men and women.
- 4 To study the head-dresses, accessories, ornaments and footwear used by men and women of selected tribes.
- 5 To study the clothing behaviour of Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary men and women as related to demographic variables.
- 6 To study the socio-cultural factors that influence the clothing behaviour of Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary men and women.

Delimitation of the study

The study was limited to:

- 1 Five tribes in State of Gujarat namely Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary.
- 2 Only twelve villages were selected.
- 3 Men and women above twenty years of age were selected for the present investigation.

After critically evaluating the available literature and keeping in mind the objectives of the study, the investigator formulated theoretical framework of the research. In the light of the framework, a multi-method approach to the investigation was designed which included descriptive survey method to study the traditional and existing costumes with regard to fabrics, prints and colours used, to study the clothing behaviour of men and women as related to demographic variables and socio-cultural factors. A practical approach was used to analyse the constructional details of tailored garments and document schematically the draped garments.

The tool used for collecting data was an interview schedule. A multi-stage purposive sampling procedure was adopted for selection of sample, for data collection.

Five tribes having distinct style of clothing were selected for the study, namely: Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary. Two villages for each tribe, - one under each category - rural and semi-urban were selected. Only for Kotwaria tribe four villages were visited 2 under each category. The villages visited were:

Moti Malu and Fulpari for Bhil tribe in Panchmahal district.

Waghecha and Gotasa for Halpati tribe in Surat district.

Tundva and Gondaria for Rathwa tribe in Vadodara district.

Chinchingaontha, Kudkas, Waghai, and Ahwa for Kotwaria tribe in Dang district.

Kimdungra and Khedpur for Choudhary tribe in Surat district.

The data were personally collected with the use of structured interview schedule. The total sample of the study consisted of 374 respondents including both men and women residing in twelve villages of four districts in Gujarat.

A careful study of the traditional garments in museums and with the older generation as well as local dealers of the different tribes was made. Each part of the garment was studied and represented on scale and the draped garments were represented in schematic drawings.

Data were analysed employing descriptive statistics. The major findings of the study revealed that:

- 6.1 Of the 374 respondents, 53.21 percent were rural respondents and 46.79 percent were from semi-urban villages. Of the total number of respondents 51.13 percent were men and 47.86 percent were women.

The age range of respondents was divided into four categories 21 to 30 years, 31 to 40 years, 41 to 50 years and 51 years and above. A fairly large number, i.e. 134 respondents belonged to the first age category and the smallest number, i.e. 72 respondents belonged to the category of 41 to 50 years.

Education level of the respondents was poor. It was found that only 12.56 percent were literates. Of the literate respondents only 2.94 percent were women respondents. Among all the five tribes studied men and women of Choudhary tribe were more educated as compared to the other tribes.

- 6.2 Cotton fabric with varying textures was used for traditional garments worn by Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary tribes. In the past only 'Khakhi' fabric was used by Kotwaria men for the upper and lower garments which was a distinguishing feature of the tribe while 'Doti' fabric was used for lower garment by Halpati and Choudhary men which was hand spun and hand woven. Presently tribals use fine, smooth, cotton fabric. Synthetic fabrics such as nylon and polyester were also widely used by men and women of all the tribes studied. Among the five selected tribes, Kotwaria men and women adhered to cotton fabric only. Well-to-do young men and women used polyester fabric only for the upper garments.

Earlier woven and hand printed fabrics with geometrical or floral designs in dark and bright colours were used by men and women of the tribe studied. Woven stripes and big checked fabric was widely used by women of Choudhary tribe. Small checks were used by women of Kotwaria tribe whereas Bhil and Rathwa women enjoyed wearing dark and bright floral printed fabrics. Men of all tribes usually wore plain fabric in neutral colour.

'Nagari', 'Kabri' and 'Chunari' were used as 'Odhani' by Bhil women. 'Gajji' fabric was used by Bhil, Rathwa and Choudhary women for their upper garments. 'Kohtu' was worn by all Rathwa men for their lower garment which was a distinctive feature of the tribe. 'Khan' fabric was used by Kotwaria women. This was the peculiarity of the tribe with regard to fabric design. 'Channa Chokdi' fabric was used by Halpati women. 'Bangara no Ghagro' was distinctive feature of Halpati tribe which is not woven these days.

'Kabru' and 'Rahyu' were used for the lower garments and head-dress by the women of Choudhary tribe. This was a typicality of the tribe.

For the present day garment men used plain, printed and striped fabric in dark and bright colours for upper garments and plain and printed checks or woven self design fabric for lower garments; whereas women used plain fabric for upper and lower garments and fabric with small designs for 'Odhanis' or saris. This was due to the better communication these days.

The costumes worn by men and women of the selected tribes were broadly categorised as upper garments, lower garments, head-dresses, accessories, ornaments and footwear.

It is evident from Table 44 and 45 that the names of some of the traditional upper garments were similar among the tribes studied but they were different with regard to the constructional details and draping methods. 'Dagli' the upper garment worn by Halpati, Kotwaria and Choudhary women, though had a similar name each had characteristic features to identify one tribe from the other.

The present day upper garments worn mostly by young men and women had a lot of similarities among Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary tribes in terms of constructional details as well as the names of the garments.

The traditional upper garments had greater variations than the lower garments. The upper garments had distinct features and did not get repeated in the other tribe. 'Juldi' ('Kari bandi') and upper garment worn by Bhil men was a typical garment of the tribe. 'Khameez' worn by Halpati men and 'Khamis' worn by Rathwa men had distinctive constructional features to identify Rathwa men from Halpati men. 'Daglu' worn by Kotwaria men was also very typical. Use of 'Dibbawari hakar' on the placket of 'Khamiz' by Choudhary men was a peculiar characteristic of a traditional garment. 'Kanchri', 'Juldi', 'Kapdi', 'Dagli', 'Kanchru'. 'Angarkhi', 'Chori' and 'Angirkha' worn by Bhil,

TABLE 44 : TRADITIONAL AND EXISTING GARMENTS WORN BY MEN OF BHIL,
HALPATI, RATHWA, KOTWARIA AND CHOUDHARY

TRIBES CATEGORIES OF GARMENTS	BHIL	HALPATI	RATHWA	KOTWARIA	CHOUDHARY
Upper garments	Juldi	Bandi	Bandi	Bandi	Bandi
	Bandi	Banyan	Bodice	Daglu	Ganji
	Shirt	Khameez	Khamis	Bodice	Khamis
		Shirt	Shirt	Kameez	Shirt
		T-Shirt	Bushirt	Bushirt	
Lower garments	Langoti	Dhoti	Kohtu	Langoti	Dhoti
	Dhoti	Shorts	Kedhatiyu	Dhoti	Lungi
	Potdi	Lungi	Dhoti	Lehangu	Shorts
	Trousers	Pyjama	Potdi	Trousers	Trousers
		Trousers	Hajurio		Underwear
		Lungi			
		Trousers			
Head-dress	Fatki	Feto	Fariyu	Topi	Feto
	Feto	Topi	Feto	(Pagodi)	Pagdi
		Rumal	Rumal		
Accessories	Korda	Gatri	Kohda		
	Gofan	Chambar	Charho		
			Galgatro		

TABLE 45 : TRADITIONAL AND EXISTING GARMENTS WORN BY WOMEN OF BHIL, HALPATI, RATHWA, KOTWARIA AND CHOUDHARY TRIBES

TRIBES	BHIL	HALPATI	RATHWA	KOTWARIA	CHOUDHARY
Upper garments	Kanchri	Kapdi	Kanchru	Chori	Kapdi
	Juldi	Dagli	Angarkhi	Dagli	Angirkha
	Kabjo	Sari- blouse	Kabjo	Polka	Dagli
	Sari- blouse		Sari- blouse	Aangadi	Sariblouse Kurta Gowns
Lower garments	Ghagro	Ghagro	Ghagro	Bhotiya	Vingrayelo- lugdo
	Fotio	Sari- petticoat	Fotio	Kahti	Akhu- lugdu
	Sari- petticoat	Lugdu		Fadki Pater	Sari- petticoat
		Sari		Fadke	Sari Chudidar
Head-dress	Odhani	--	Odhanu	Tongre	Hi hi bandhi
	Sari		Sari	Lugde	
Accessories	Lump of fabric	--	--	--	Koho

Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary women respectively were some of the typical garments of those tribes.

Among all the tribes studied Kotwaria women had greater variation in upper and lower garments.

The traditional upper garments worn by men and women were comparatively much looser than the existing garments. The upper garments, specially women's wear were mostly hand stitched by some of the tribes with fine running stitches and were also hand embroidered to enhance the beauty, whereas, the existing garments were mostly purchased readymade from the 'Hats' or nearby cities and towns. Very few got them stitched from tailors according to their measurements.

Sleeves and pockets were the important features of traditional upper garments worn by women of all the tribes studied. The sleeve styles exhibited more variety and beauty. The sleeves of the various typical traditional garments had lot of variations and characteristic features but did not have any particular name. A set-in sleeves with decorative stitching above the hemline in 'Juldi' worn by Bhil women was a typical feature, 'Dadar bai' was a peculiar feature of Halpati women's garment, Magyar sleeves of 'Angarkhi' worn by Rathwa women, variations of set-in sleeves used by Kotwaria women were all characteristic features of the sleeves of the garments worn by the tribal women. Pocket was the salient feature and exhibited different shapes, sizes and techniques of attachments. Elaborately embroidered pockets of 'Juldi' ('Kari Bandi'), variation of welt pockets made on 'Angarkhi' and 'Dagli' the upper garments worn by Rathwa and Choudhary women

respectively and the patch pocket with gathers on 'Dagli' of Halpatti women were the typical styles of pockets among the different tribes studied.

The necklines of the upper garments worn by men and women in the past were usually close to the neck, except 'Kanchri', 'Kapdi' and 'Kanchru' worn by women of Bhil, Halpatti, Rathwa, and Choudhary tribe. A narrow chinese collar cut on straight grain was commonly attached to some of the men's garments which was later replaced by either convertible or full roll straight collar.

Pleats and tucks were another common feature noted in traditional upper garments specially in women's wear.

Most of the upper traditional garments were left open or fastened by means of knotting the two corresponding ends or by means of strings or tapes. 'Shat' (silver buttons) used as fasteners for 'Juldi' by Bhil men 'Dibbawari hakar' used by Choudhary men earlier and 'Koho' a handmade fastener used by women of Choudhary tribe were some of the indigenous method of fastening the garments. Now buttons only are used as fasteners in the existing garments.

The lower garment worn by men and women in the past were all in draped styles. The names of garments though were found to be similar among the Bhil, Halpatti, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary tribe as seen in Table 44 and 45, the draping method of most of the garments were different e.g. Dhoti draped by Bhil

men was different from that of Choudhary men. These days the lower garments were quite similar among the different tribes. Trousers or 'Lungi' worn by men and sari petticoat worn by women of all the tribes were similar in their constructional details.

The traditional lower garments of women were tied around the waist, below the navel. Bhil, Rathwa and Choudhary, women tied their garments almost around the hip bones by twisting and tucking in the two ends or knotting them.

The draping method of traditional garments worn by men and women was very complicated and involved a number of steps. The fabric consumed varied from 1 meter to 14 meters in length. Some lower garments like 'Langoti', 'Kohtu', 'Kedhatiyu', and 'Hajurio' worn by men consumed only a meter and a half - yet draped systematically, and 'Ghagro' worn by Bhil and Rathwa women consumed 8 to 12 metres of fabric..

The existing lower garments were more in tailored styles and some were in draped styles which were simple with regard to draping method.

Pleats were common features of traditional and existing lower garments. These possibly served the purpose of comfort and looseness.

Most of the traditional lower garments worn by men and women were draped short in length varying from thigh to about calf length. 'Ghagro', earlier also known as 'Gummar Ghagro' was of thigh to knee length. 'Ghagro' which was known as 'Bangara

no Ghagro' was draped such that length varied from thigh to mid thigh. 'Ghagro' worn by Rathwa women and 'Kahti' worn by Kotwaria women was of thigh length.

The uneven length on both sides of 'Vingrayelo lugdo' was a typical style of traditional lower garment worn by Choudhary women.

'Fotio' worn by Bhil and Rathwa women, 'Lugdu' worn by Halpati women, 'Bhotiya' and 'Pater' draped by Kotwaria women and 'Aakhu lugdo' used by Choudhary women were all about calf length.

The existing present day garments cover the major part of lower limbs e.g. 'Dhotiyu', 'Lungi', 'Pyzama', 'Trousey' worn by men and 'Sari petticoat', 'Sari and Chudidhar' worn by women.

The traditional women's lower garments were draped in such a way that during menstruation the soil was well absorbed and thus served the purpose of an undergarment but these days fabric pads were used by younger women during menstruation.

Similarities were found in head-dresses worn by men of all tribes. Mostly draped and a few tailored head-dresses were used by tribal men in the earlier period. 'Feto', 'Pagodi' and 'Fariyu' were the traditional head-dresses in draped style commonly used by men of Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa and Choudhary tribe and 'Topi' a tailored head-dress was widely used by Kotwaria men. 'Gofan' an essential accessory of Bhil men was tied around the head over

'Feto' or 'Fatki' or around waist was an identity mark of a Bhil man. These days 'Rumal' with tassels is used by young men around the skull or neck which is a style of Rathwa men.

Women covered their heads with 'odhanu' as a sign of respect but now-a-days only older women continued the trend of covering the head.

Men and women of all tribes were very fond of ornaments of all kinds. They had a number of ornaments worn on different parts of the body. Women specially, adorn themselves from head to toe. Ornaments worn by tribal people were mostly made of silver, aluminium, alloy, kathir and coloured beads depending upon their economic conditions. Gold ornaments were possessed by only some well to do families. Bhil and Rathwa men and women were very fond of ear, neck, forearm wrist and leg ornaments and had varieties of these ornaments. Choudhary women were also very fond of ornaments specially for neck and legs. In the earlier period they wore a number of ornaments on the legs and almost covered the legs till calf length. The hair ornament used to cover their plait was also very typical and home made with colourful threads known as 'Gophano'.

Now-a-days those traditional ornaments are occasionally used by only aged women, some of which were never worn by even aged women. The younger women wore ornaments made of glass, plastic and less expensive materials.

Footwear were never used by tribal people during earlier period except by Choudhary men. These days they wear plastic or rubber chappals or slippers specially when they go out of the village while men of Choudhary tribe have started wearing leather shoes.

6.3 The clothing behaviour of tribal men and women was related to demographic variables and socio-cultural factors.

6.3.A The demographic variables studied were:

Place of residence, Age and Education.

The change in clothing behaviour of men and women from traditional to existing costumes was greater in semi-urban villages as compared to rural villages. Clothing behaviour of Choudhary men and women had changed to a greater extent as compared to Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa and Kotwaria tribes. Kotwaria tribe was least influenced by city dwellers as far as clothing behaviour was concerned.

The traditional mode of clothing behaviour was confined to men and women of oldest age group whereas modern trend of clothing was followed by men and women of age group 21 to 30 years. However, it was found that among the Choudhary tribe the traditional clothing was only occasionally used even by men of the oldest age group.

All the literate tribal men and women had a tendency of adopting existing costumes irrespective of age. Their clothing behaviour changed with the increase of literacy level.

Men and women of Choudhary tribe have adopted modern costumes even for their casual wear. Choudhary women of middle and younger age group have started wearing gowns and salwar khameez for casual wear.

The clothing behaviour of men as related to demographic variables has changed much to modern whereas women of all these tribes still adhered to traditional pattern of clothing behaviour.

6.3B Some of the socio-cultural factors responsible for bringing about change in the clothing behaviour as stated by the respondents of Bhil, Halpati, Rathwa, Kotwaria and Choudhary tribes were:

Tradition (of the tribe)

Nature of family (joint or nuclear)

Place of residence

Seasonal migration

Change of residence

Literacy level of family

Fashion

Type of Job

Marital status

Mass communication media

Availability of garments.

These factors were related to the change in their clothing behaviour in varying degrees.

The clothing behaviour of Bhil men and women was related to seasonal migration to a greater extent as compared to other

socio-cultural factors. Costumes of Halpati tribe varied due to place of residence. Rathwa men and women clothed themselves according to fashion of the time and place whereas the clothing behaviour of Kotwarias was related to tradition. However, the existing trend of clothing followed by Choudhary men and women was due to the impact of high literacy level of family members.

USEFULNESS OF THE STUDY

This study could be used as a source of detailed information concerning traditional and existing tribal costumes of Gujarat. People interested in historical aspects of clothing would be highly benefited by this source of historical aspects of costumes of selected tribes residing in Gujarat.

The illustrations explaining the constructional details and how to drape the traditional and existing draped costumes will be helpful to costume designers, fashion designers, artists and museum personnel for reproducing and preserving the tribal costumes. Authentic indepth information shall also help the State Government to incorporate the details of traditional tribal costumes in the Tribal Research Training Institute to establish tribal museum and help preserving the same.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Similar studies may be taken in other states of India.

A cross-cultural study on tribal costumes may be carried out to study the impact of various factors on their costumes.

A study can be conducted on the tribal textiles in India.