Chapter 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Results and Discussion:

India's culture has always been best reflected in its practice, visual content and in forms of oral traditions. Regional and communal costumes in India since ancient times have worked as a strong repository for its people to comprehend not only the locality but also the community of the wearer. Such a strong visual language apparently was ordained to communicate basic details about the person such as age, marital status and socio-cultural status. Most of the fragments of this visual vocabulary has been intensively investigated, recorded, diversified and revived, while a limited range of these have died a slow death. Some of the rare existent kinds of such threads have survived as mainstream article of clothing; simpler, apparent and as a product for daily life yet unique in their own kind. The formative research procedure yielded in identification of two such textiles- the *tarap* or *lugdi* tribal cloth and Pacchedi textile of Gujarat, as discussed below. Pacchedi textile further formed the main subject of present investigation.

This chapter traverses from depicting meaning of the pacchedi textile and understanding its genesis and evolution pattern. For the purpose of which data was excavated from both analysis and synthesis of available literature information. The data synthesis for explanation of textile includes the description of present day craft scenario and production procedure. It then fissions down to unearth the significance of textile in each community, its consumption patterns and gradual evolution into the present form. The last part of the chapter deals with the reporting of suggestive design deliverables from the languishing pacchedis.

The data has been reported in form of case studies, documented credentials, quantified information and photographic representations of materials studied as results. Each of the represented section of information led to the synthesis of qualitative information. The results have been chalked out under following heading.

4.1. Background research- Identification of textile craft
4.2. Pacchedi- its meaning, origin and evolution
4.3. Craft profile: socio-economic status of producers and production system

4.4. Consumption patterns and socio-cultural significance of pacchedi
4.5. Proposing contemporary designs in pacchedi weaving techniques

4.1. Background research- Identification of textile craft

On conduction of desk research, various weaving crafts located at various zones of Gujarat were identified by the researcher. Varied responses were achieved from the crafts persons of different regions. The intention was to identify lesser known or down trodden weaving practice for the purpose of execution of research.

Ahmedabad was found to be the habitat of many craft makers, its marketers and pioneers who works towards the sustainability of traditional crafts. Some crafts are traditional and have been handed down since generations, while others are contemporary developed to provide employment to the under privileged population and some crafts have declined years ago leaving descendants of the maker class boast about their ancestral skills. Crafts in this region are more commercialized, ranging from most luxurious class like Brocades to more utility based mats.

Kachchh was understood as a stockpile of varied folk textile crafts. People of this region employed almost all techniques of textile ornamentation- embroideries, weaves, dyes, prints, resist and paintings onto the fabric to come up with products that distinguishes them amongst themselves sect wise. Experts opines that these crafts could still persist in the rural pockets of this region because, the deserted land of Kachchh lead the secluded life until late nineties. It was after earthquake that hit Gujarat in 2001, it got exposed to the modernized world. Presently, the situation was such that practioners were so aware of the importance of their own skills both in national and international market. Various NGOs, connoisseurs, Governmental bodies and design institutes of repute were found to have played pivotal role in the development of crafts in the region. Tourism brought new ray of hopes for the artisans, who designed and devised right products that were suitable for the taste and usage of urban mass.

Mass production and industrialization have made several communities in the developing world unable to survive. Their work and skill have lost relevance to present

requirements. Same was the case with the tribal weaving craft of Mandvi, South Gujarat. With the prices of raw materials going high and laborious process involved in the production, these textiles slowly became unaffordable to the local tribes. The cheap non-degradable form of plastic- Polyester, became every common man's choice in the region. Weavers had started to gain no profit from their traditional occupation and then there was a switch from the traditional occupation. The craft, though completely died some five to eight years ago, was still found to be forming the necessity of tribal community at the time of funeral ceremony. This coarsely woven cotton textile in single Ikat weaving technique, worn by the Chodhari and Gamit tribes, was not so familiar amongst the textile historians (Tomar S.,2016).

Figure 4.1.: A section of Rahi Salla, procured from the local market of Mandvi.

The sample was woven in 2x2 basket weave and the fabric count was 20x22. It was the simulated form traditional ikat sample woven at Dholka, Ahmedabad.

The only literature available was in the form of monograph published by Gujarat Vidyapith which was timely authored by Shri Haku Shah and Eberhard Fischer in 1979. A sample of textile was documented and preserved in the Museum of Ethnography Basel in Switzerland, collected by Alfred Buhler in 1977. Field visit led to the identification of the master weaver who was the sole bearer of the knowledge pertaining to the Simple Ikat Weaving technique from South Gujarat. He seemed to be showing no interest in its revival. The practitioner had wanted their descendants to excel and study further.

Figure 4.2: Costume of Choudhary women of South Gujarat

Left: Chodhary woman in traditional Rahi Salla

Source: Simple weft Ikat from South Gujarat, India

Right: A Chodhary woman in contemporary polyester *Odhna* and *Sadlo*

Figure 4.3: Zari border weaving in process at Mandvi, Surat

They were aware of the quota system and other encouragement policies introduced by the Government for encouraging them to study and exceed ahead. The idea of weaving, carrying forward their ancestral activity and its promotion were futile to them.

These days, the khatris of mandvi on absorbing local influence were found to have manipulated their inherited skills to develop products that were supposedly more commercially viable and could be sold in nearby textile hub Surat. Women in the town would weave zari laces and borders based on the requirements. Mr. Babubhai Gandevia, the local trader, informed that there were thirty-two ladies practicing this craft in and around the town of Mandvi. Twenty of them wove alone in the town and rest twelve resided in the nearby villages (Tomar S., 2016).

Saurashtra is another region that has a pride of being homeland for handloom weavers since decades. It was till late 1950s, almost every village of Saurashtra region had weavers community residing. The region transformed locally available wool and grown cottons into immensely beautiful khadis, tangaliyas, dhablas, khes, pachedis and boris for the consumption of local communities. The craft of ikat weaving was introduced in Saurashtra region of Gujarat as a part of Government training scheme. The salvis- original Patola weavers from Patan were hailed to train artisans of the region in single ikat textiles in order to generate market and achieve sustainable economic development. The weavers were trained at Rashtriya shala, Rajkot in 1960s and slowly the craft proliferated in the villages of Surrendranagar and Rajkot districts. People who adopted weaving were amazed by the patterned textiles produced on insertion of weft yarns. Moreover, the initial adopters of craft expressed that the weaving required only investment in the pure silk yarns which yielded more than fifty percent profit to them. The relatives, cousins and nephew were trained and employed by the trained artisans who later branched out and hence the craft sporadically spread in the Sayla, Muli, Wadhwan, Limbdi, Dasada and Lakhtar blocks of the district. This craft as a trend proliferated rapidly to shun local cotton and wool weaving industry. The unique craft of *tangaliya* though survived due to the combined efforts of Ahmedabad based NGOs and design institutes.

Both tangalia and dhabla are the woolen textiles worn by the bharwad community. These textiles were woven traditionally by the Dhangasia community of weavers that received wools from the shepherds and customized textiles for them. Tangalia was a form of a loin cloth worn by the ladies while dhabla- a shoulder wrap was used by males. Tangalia weaving craft was the first craft to receive Geographic Indication in Gujarat. Nonetheless, being woven on a basic two shaft pit loom, the textile has unique

attribute of being conceived in yarn twisting method of pattern generation. Method includes winding coloured fibers across definite countable spots on laid warp yarns.

The technique produces neat dotted patterns that are secured in place on battening shots of base weft yarns. The dotted pattern was colloquially termed as dana work or bead work. The textile was found to be practiced in various rural pockets of Wadhwan, Muli and Chotila blocks of Surendranagar district and the district itself has a society of weavers called Vastadi where the weaving community resides.

Figure 4.4: Weaver on Tangalia Loom in village Savlas,

These days, dhabla was found to be used by males and females of almost every local community. The practice of weaving of dhabla has been found to be increasing amongst the khadi and cotton weavers also due to hike in its demand among the local communities. In place of wool, people have started to use acrylic for weaving both tangalia and dhabla that are intended for local use. Tangalia has been diversified and the new range of products is being produced for the contemporary market whereas dhablas are produced in large numbers in bright colours for local markets.

But the craft of *khes, pachedi* and *bori* weaving was found to be on a deplorable stage. This local craft was found to be gone unnoticed from the eyes of most craft developers. During interaction, it was observed the minds of the weavers were very raw. Being exploited by the local merchants who were believed to be the sole media to diffuse their goods out to the intended consumers, they hardly had any idea about the vast market that their craft can cater to. Also, there were very few literatures to spoke about the existence of these textiles being woven in the region. Therefore, the researcher identified the craft of *Khes*, *Pachhedi and Bori* weaving most suitable for further research.

In order to learn craft of weaving before interacting with the weavers further in actual environment, researcher had undergone one of month training at Weavers' Service Center, Ahmedabad in handloom weaving. The weavers appointed at the Center were from Vankar community originally from Mehsana and Kavitha, Ahmedabad. Under their guidance, researcher had tried out actual scale down sample swatch of *bori pacchedi* (Tomars S., 2016).

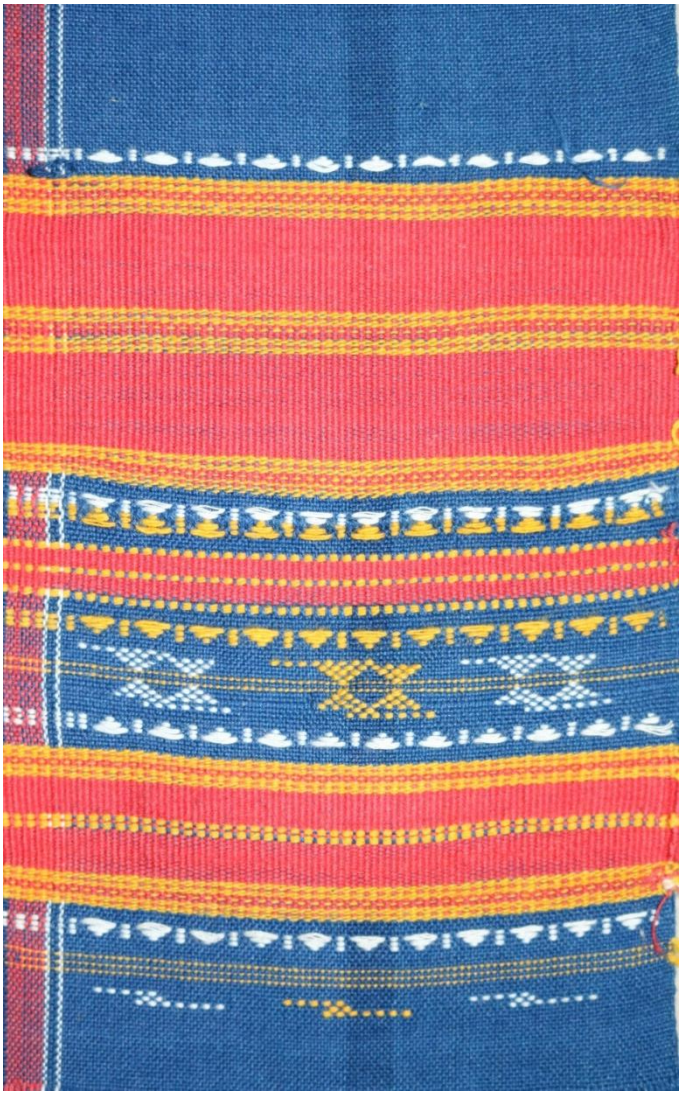


Figure 4.5: Swatch of bori pacchedi woven by researcher on sample loom

4.2. Pacchedi: Its History, Meaning and Evolution:

The study on the folk textile production in Gujarat other than prints was still relatively unexplored by the textile historians. There exists less oral or written record on pachhedi textiles that elaborates much about its origin, production and significance. One direct source drawn from the article of Moti Chandra illustrates forms and consumption pattern of Pachhedi. Moreover, the visual language and functional principle of this textile under was so strong that it associated its inspirations from *sashes, paktas, dhotis* and *paghdis* used by Indian men since ancient times. *Chaurapanchashikha* paintings displayed at Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum reveals the use of patterned end textiles in profusion, tied as *patkas* and adorned as headgear. This scene from the series of Chaurapanchsshikha paintings shows use of patterned end *patka* worn by the character Vilhan whereas *champavati* could have been shown wearing ikat. It could have been possible, even likely, that ornamentation style used on this form of textiles in ancient India has directed its course to present forms of pachhedis and paghdis used in Gujarat.

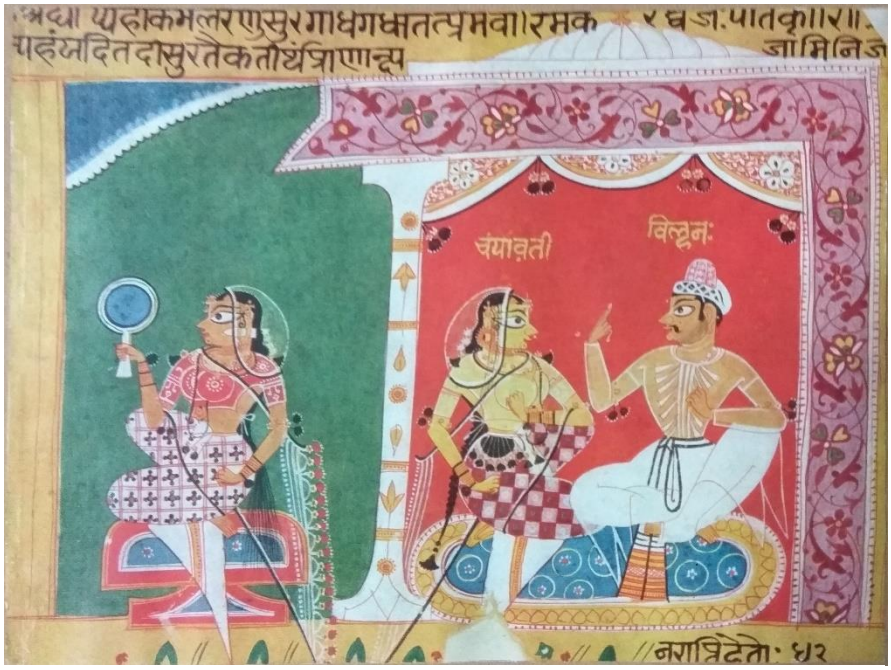


Figure 4.6:A scene from the series of Chaurapanchashikha paintings.
Source: Plates on display at Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum

The word Pachhedi in Gujarat apparently, was a term used for "fabric" which was intended for some or the other function or only for "loom fashioned garments" meant to be used as wrappers. This can be supported by the fact that nomenclatures like

Pacched, *Pacchedo* and Pachhedi were commonly found to be used for a wrapper used by both men and women in Gujarat in present times. In one of the Sanskrit sources, there is a mention of presents received by Kumarapala from the King of Konkan. The pieces received as gifts were *sringarakodi* sari and *manakapachhedau*, i.e. Ruby colored *patka* in 1304. In another *prabandhan*, as cited by Moti Chandra, the presents to *Kumarapala*, included an *agniparavala pachhedau* which has been assumed as the asbestos cloth of the early times (Chandra M.,1973:17). Thus, word pachhedi can be accepted as a derivative term coming from Sanskrit, perhaps meaning cloth, used extensively in Gujarat.

Goswamy studied various visual references and in his accounts he had tried explaining the use of *dhoti* and *patka* or sashes. He explained about the two items of apparel called-*uttariya* and *pichhauri.* The relevance of the two unstitched garments, as discussed earlier, with the subject under study can be traced in its usages and formats. Both these pieces were worn in conjugation with *pattika. Uttariya* was explained as the loose wrap for upper body and *pichhauri* was worn over the lower garment and tied in front so as to cover the buttocks. There exists other words for both these garments *angavastra, dupatta* and *chaddar*. What is undoubtedly of interest is the fact that the *uttariya* and *pichhauri*-both being long unstitched pieces of cloth could be turned to either use, even if they were not intended to be used interchangeably. A *pichhauri* could be taken off and draped over the shoulders, likewise the *uttariya* could as need arose, be used to tie around the waist. One can trace them often in early sculptures and painting of pre-mughal times (Goswamy B.N., 2002:15). Such applications were still found to be existent in case of Pachhedis. Rabaris and Charans residing in the districts of Jamnagar and Dwarka includes in their costume the use of smaller widths of fabrics that can be draped as a headgear and tied as a waist cloth over *choyrno*.

Goswamy furthers his analysis on the early medieval works and delves upon a reasoning from the paintings of *Gita Govinda* and *Bhagwat Purana* that they comprised of simple *patka* with horizontal stripes close to the ends, much closer in relation to the subject under study which has horizontal stripes as one the striking feature. He pinpoints that the group of paintings included numerous scenes in which figures appeared seated on the floor on their haunches. In the particular stance, their feet would be close to each other, and knees bent but 'bound' or held together with the *patka*. The

suggestion clearly is that the *patka* has been removed by the person from his waist and tied around his knees, for serving as the classical, and evidently comfortable, *yogapatta* (Goswamy B.N., 2002:15). Such scenes were found to be common in the *chaurapanchashikha* paintings as well. What was of special interest for the research in the instance was that the *yogpatta* fashion discussed by B.N. Goswamy was not alien to the present day folk Gujarat! The use of supplementary dupatta accessory as *yogpatta* is quite conspicuous from the illustrated figures.

Figure 4.7 : Comparative view of the use of patkas and present day kheses as yogpatta
Source: Plates on display at Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum (Top) Images from the collection of A.A. Wazir

In his further analysis, Goswami had closely examined the appearance of Mughals in India and exchange of costume culture between natives and muslims. After analyzing visual materials from *tutinama, humzanama, Akbarnama* and other *Rajasthani* and *Pahari* style miniature paintings, he had reported in his accounts that the sashes or *patkas* were accepted in India with the Mughal constructed garments. The Royalties in

India including Mughal rulers had been using delicately woven silk sashes as the girdles. As for the Hindu rulers, their draping styles differed from region to region. Some would tie it with a knot, others would drape it as *pichhauri* while others would tie it as *phenta*. The use of refined and elegant sashes made in silk and fine fabrics were limited to only elites and sovereigns.

Pachedi or *Pichodi* has also been explained in the glossary of terms in the textile trade as Pitcharies or colored calicoes, exported mainly to the Malay Archipelago. The *varnakas* or stock lists of stuff compiled by Gujarati writers explains that in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, it was also used as bedspread called *khata pachedi* and if it had closely printed patterns, it was termed as *nijhari*. If it had golden stripes, then was termed as *sonadori* while the tie-dye ones were called *chunadi*. Moti Chandra points that *pachedi* was, therefore, much richer stuff for home consumption than present times. He adds *pachedis* were sold in Ahmedabad in two different sizes that were for waist cloth and *dhotis* with a plain field of either white, red, blue, maroon, plain borders and wide cross borders (Chandra M., 1973).

In the present context as well, pachhedi was the term used for dhotis worn by men in Gujarat. Under the class of pachhedi came other textiles called *khes, dhotali, paghdi, phariyu* or *phadiyu, bori*, and *potiyu*. These names were given on the basis of their use. Again, some of these names recovered their references in the list of trade textiles. The strong coarse calicoes called *dutties* or dhotis, woven at Dholka, where finest quality of pachedis are still woven, were mainly used for sails and as packing materials in the seventeenth century. *Keeses* or *khes* were kinds of dupatta garment and in English trade they were often mentioned in white and blue colors (Irwin J, 1955).

Poti, potu or *potiyu* was explained as a short waist cloth of cotton and *phada* or *thephada* was described as rough dhoti used by Rabaris (Chandra M., 1973). *Phariyu* in the present context is used for smaller length textiles that can be wrapped around as a head wrapper. Weavers also called a single piece – a *phariyu* out of two pairs of textile sold as pachhedi to achieve required width.

John Irwin further points that plain and dyed calicoes, ranging from the finest and most expensive muslins to the cheapest and coarsest sackcloth, constituted the main bulk of

the textile exports from western India. The premium in superiority were the muslins, which were bought both as piece goods, under the name of s*erribaffs* and in form of girdles and turban-pieces. Turban pieces were known as *shashes* and they had their heads brocaded or embroidered, sometimes with gold and silver thread. He further studied how the Arabic word *Shash* (lit., muslin), commonly used in Islamic countries to mean "turban-piece", found its way into the English language in the seventeenth century in the perverse sense of "girdle" or "waistband". He also had related the fact that the word "Shash" was well known to factors of the East India Company in its proper oriental sense, and those Indian shashes (i.e. turban pieces) were frequently listed in the Company's bills of lading from 1614 onwards.

John Irwin in his article (A Note on The Indian Sashes of King Gustavus Adolphus) identified sashes of King Gustavus, as Indian shashes or turban-pieces and assumed that these were cut into short lengths and adapted for use as girdles. He concluded that the change of meaning could have resulted from unwitting misuse of the turban-piece as a waist-band. On further examining actual samples of sashes, the author discussed that samples were not cut to smaller pieces but were woven in their actual length. A closer investigation of East India Company's record then led to the inference that Indian term *shashes* were applied not only to turban- pieces but to a class of woven fabrics of which turban-pieces were merely characteristic form. To some extent uses were interchangeable and the only measurement would have determined whether a particular *shash* was intended to be wound into a turban for the head or a girdle for the waist. Irwin supports his interpretations with writings of Edward Terry that Indians wore upon their heads "a long wreath of cloth, about half a yard broad, usually white, but sometimes of another colour. And they have girdles made of the same wreathes of cloth for the better sort, thus inter-woven, which come twice at least about them, made very trim with that kind of weaving, especially on both ends, which hangs down direct before them." (Irwin J., 1959:69) (Fig.4.6).

The above interpretations and notes by both John Irwin and Edward Terry form a strong base for paghdi textiles in the present context. People of Saurashtra and eastern Gujarat identified such textiles in the class of pachhedi whereas weavers in Kachchh identified other cross- bordered textiles inspired from the design of Paghdi. The narrower and shorter dimensions of paghdi fabrics were worn by the various communities in Gujarat

also existed in the forms of *bhet* or girdles wrapped by different communities in Saurashtra region over *choryno*. The present form of elaborate pachhedi can, therefore, possibly be attributed to evolutions and mutations brought about in ancient sashes. Also, in the case of Paghdi and pachedi textiles, the form and the color determined its function as well the community for which it was intended. Thus, the practice of determining the dimension of the cloth based on the function still continues in the milieu of pachhedi class of textiles that has borne multiple names and connotations based on their use.

Figure 4.8: Sample of Indian Sashes possessed by King Gustavus Adolphus and examined by John Irwin
Left: Brocaded end of the sash, Right: enlarged section of the sash
Source: Indian Textile Journal

The microscopic test of samples of sashes revealed that the samples were woven in a compound tabby weave. Warp comprised of fine reeled silk, two main warps existed between one binding warp and weft comprised of reeled silk and a cotton yarn. The author explains that the figured sections were similar on both the sides. The whole piece consisted of narrow stripes plain and patterned alternating and a border with a pattern of symmetrical flowers at each end. The plain stripes were woven with the buff cotton yarns. In another sample, unicoloured stripes, alternating with the two colored stripes

were woven. Furthermore, it was determined that the samples of Swedish sashes were woven in western India particularly in Gujarat or Sind (Irwin, 1959: 73-75).

From the photographs of the sashes illustrated and above description, it can be suggested that the samples were patterned through both extra-warp and extra-weft technique. The unicoloured stripes created with the use of cotton buffs resembled very much to the existing patterns created in pachhedi textiles. The ground or the field shows warp-wise ridges or weft-faced rib weave effect which renders eccentricity to the existing pachhedi and paghdi textiles. The horizontal stripes again exists as the characteristic feature of the pachhedi especially paghdi textile which was also one of the element of the sashes discussed by the author and as evidently observed in the photograph. The brocaded motifs of flowers and pattern stripes could have been created by the technique of *jala mechanism* or brocade technique. The fabrics of mixed cotton-silk textiles were produced in large quantities in the region for upper-class Muslim consumers. Such textiles were also popular amongst pastoralist communities like Ahirs and Rabaris. Moreover, Jasleen Dhamija wrote about the existence of remnant extra warp pattern turban-pieces in the trousseau of pastoral communities handed down by the older generation in Kachchh, the patterns of which were identical to the patterns illustrated in photographs of sashes (Fig.4.7).

Figure 4.9: Section of a Sodha Rajput Lungi from Abdasa, Kachchh

She had mentioned that such textiles were produced in Kachchh and Sindh regions of undivided India. Rabaris still were found to have the custom of wearing mashru or only silk turbans during the wedding. Similar kind of turban clothes was called *Lungis* in Pakistan. *Lungis* were often woven entirely with silk or silk and cotton. Silver and gold wrapped threads were incorporated for wear on more formal occasions (Askari N. and Arther L, 1999:67) (Fig:4.8). These particulars can thereby establish a surmise that such textile existed in more elaborate and refined forms when compared to the present time and have infiltrated today to exist as cultural identity.

Figure 4.10: Lungis and Salaras used in Pakistan

Left: Man in turban cloth called Lungi in Pakistan
Center: Lungis used as shoulder cloth in Pakistan
Right: Salaras, the textiles of men and women used in Pakistan
Source: Uncut cloth: Saris shawls and sashes

Also, with changing times and migrations, these textiles seemed to have had adopted different visual contents. Each Rabari sect in Gujarat had different pattern vocabulary and so was the case with other communities. In Pakistan as well *Salara* was a term coined to describe a cotton, silk cotton and woolen shawls worn by both men and women in the rural areas. Salaras are explained to have plaid and striped fields offset by contrasting edges and borders often containing serrated or toothed patterns, which are very similar to the *Pachhedi* construction. A *salara,* or the somewhat smaller *salari*, is worn by women and woven in pairs of one and a half meter lengths, which are then stitched together (Askari N. and Arther L, 1999) (Fig:4.8). Nature of these textiles

resembled the *khes* textiles used by Rabaris in Gujarat, origin of which is traced back to Sindh.

It, therefore, can be assumed that these forms of textiles are the conglomeration of different periods and influences. Its origin can be linked with the rooted ancient tradition of draped garments in India while continuity can be part of the cultural exchange, expressions of communal designation and conformity and dynamic socio-cultural and political conditions.

4.3. Socio-economic status of producers and production system:

4.3.1. Accounts on the existent socio-economic profiles of the weavers and their working culture

The results in the section efforts to spell out the details on the social set-up of the weaving community and the conduction of weaving as the trade or practice. It further divulges processed information on the monetary affairs and weavers' economic conditions. The section of the result deals with empirical recording of the facts gathered at the time of the multi-cited and multi-timed visits paid at villages. The data has been assembled in form of the descriptive statistic processed and explained in tables and graphs supported with reasoning and analysis.

4.3.1.1. Social setup:

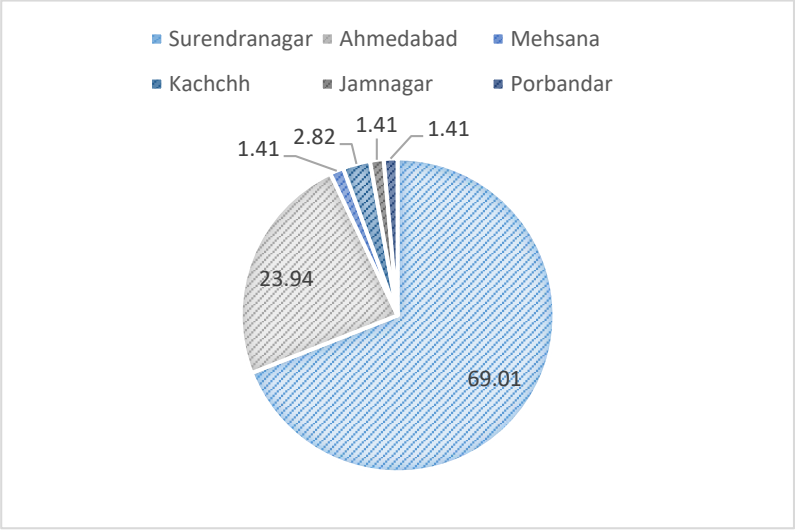
1. Distribution of existent Pachhedi weaving families in Gujarat: The conducted field visits brought to the light that the pachhedi weaving craft for the local market was being carried out in only eighteen villages of the six blocks in Gujarat. There were only seventy-one practicing families interspersed in the districts of Surendranagar, Ahmedabad, Mehsana, Kachchh, Jamnagar and Porbandar. The concentration of the population of the practicing weavers were highest in Surendranagar district i.e. 69% followed by Ahmedabad with 23.9% families residing in the district.

2. Distribution of weavers based on number of members in a family: On conduction of field study, it was found that the maximum number of practicing families comprised of two members. It was mainly because, the members from the second and third generation had either migrated from the village or were staying in a separate household. This reflects that the concept of nuclear family had started becoming acceptable amongst people in the village. Conventionally in the earlier times, as discussed by the respondents, only one brother or a son would leave the family to migrate in the city. The others were anticipated to continue family's traditional occupation and take charge of running the family. In other instances, due to the lack of space, members started building their separate houses in the same village. Such an extended family, if practicing weaving as an independent income generation activity, were considered separate in the purview of the current research.

N=71

Table 4.1: Distribution of existent Pachhedi weaving families in Gujarat			
District	**Block**	**Villages**	**Families**
Surendranagar	Limbdi	Shiyani	8
		Pareli	6
		Parnala	9
		Raska	3
		Untadi	7
		Gomta	6
	Chuda	Balala	3
		Jaubala	8
Ahmedabad	Dhanduka	Sarval	1
		Jhanjharka	3
		Mota tradiya	3
	Dholka	Kavitha	2
		Chalodi	6
		Jalalpur vajifa	2
Mehsana	Vadnagar	Undhai	1
Kachchh	Anjar	Ninghal	2
Jamnagar	-	Pan Khokri	1
Porbandar	-	Jubeli	0
Total	**6**	**18**	**71**

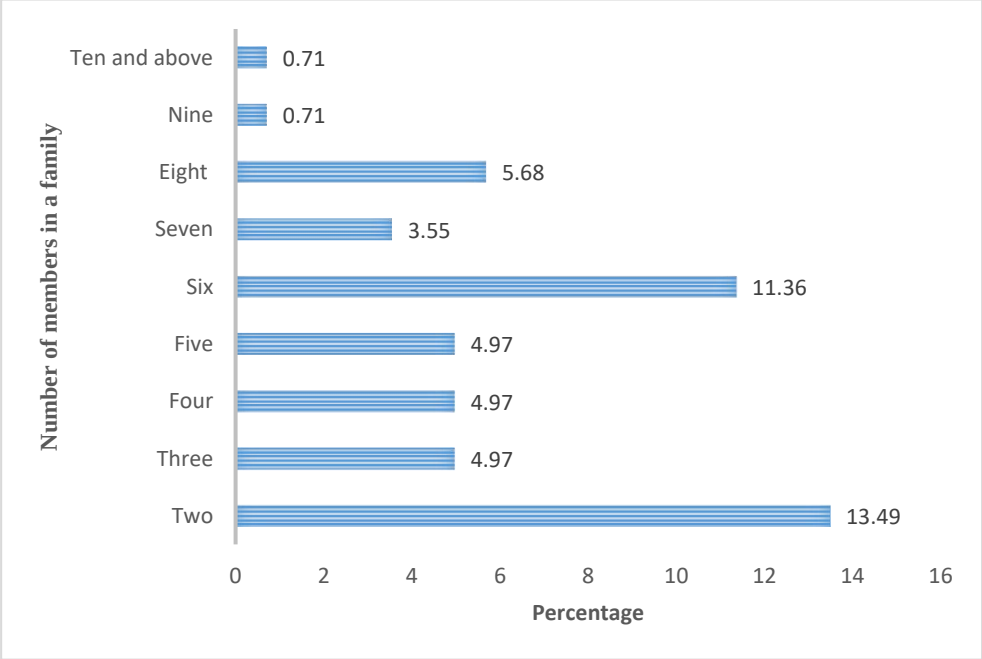
Such an extended family, if practicing weaving as an independent income generation activity, were considered separate in the purview of the current research. However, it was observed that some of the families, preferred staying with the first generation and that is how there existed sixteen families with six members in each.



Graph.4.1. Distribution of existent Pachhedi weaving families in Gujarat

N=71

Table 4.2.: Distribution of families based on number of members (size of family)		
Number of members in a family	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Two	**19**	**13.49**
Three	7	4.97
Four	7	4.97
Five	7	4.97
Six	**16**	**11.36**
Seven	5	3.55
Eight	8	5.68
Nine	1	0.71
Ten and above	1	0.71
Total	**71**	**100**



Graph.4.2. Distribution of number of members in the weavers' families

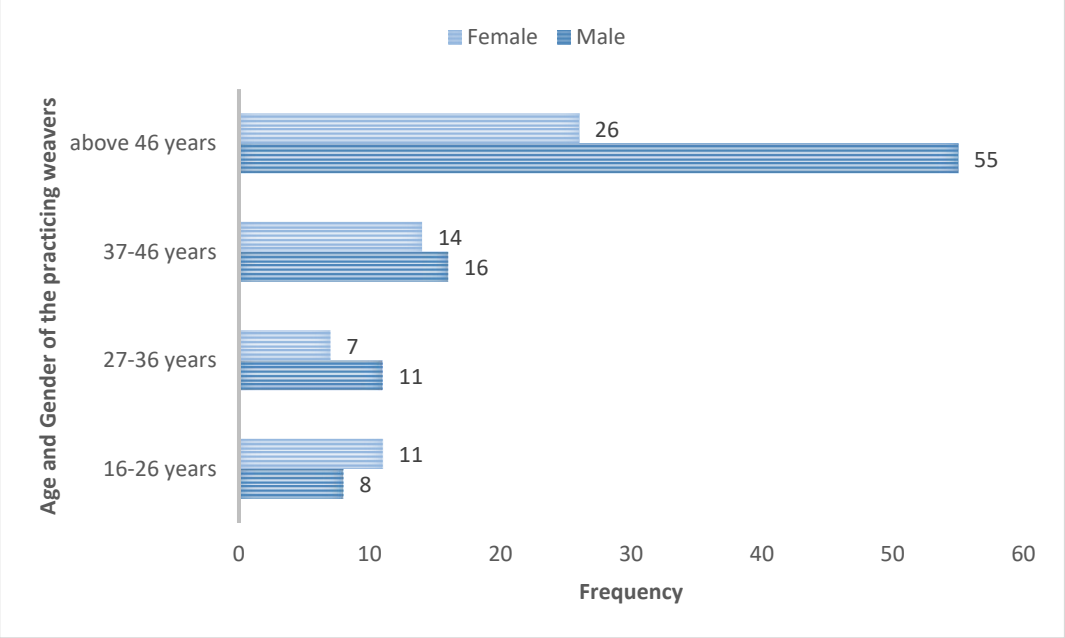
3. ***Distribution of weavers based on the age and gender:*** The results exposed that the number of males practicing the craft were more than the females. In the age bracket of 16-26 years, the count of the females were slightly more than the males. It was also observed at the time of data collection that females who did not opt for higher education or were school drop outs did not have other occupational opportunities. After the wedding, as shared by the women, they were engaged with ancillary

activities other than actual weaving. Men folks again in the age bracket of 46 years and above were found to be more engaged in weaving compared to the women

N=148

Table 4.3.: Distribution of the weavers based on the age and gender

Age	Frequency (Male)(f)	Percentage (Male) (%)	Frequency (Female)(f)	Percentage (Female)(%)	Total
16-26 years	8	8.89	11	18.97	19
27-36 years	11	12.22	7	12.07	18
37-46 years	16	17.78	14	24.14	30
above 46 years	55	61.11	26	44.83	81
Total	**90**	**100**	**58**	**100**	**148**



Graph.4.3. Distribution of weavers based on the age and gender

4. ***Distribution of members in the weavers' family based on the education:*** An attempt has been made to detail out qualification of the members in the family, irrespective of the ones not practicing the craft. The intention was to know if education was one of the important reasons to proscribe the weaving practice. The data processed portrayed discrete patterns, yielding into unsupportive and ineffective relations between the variables and has been split into various graphs that aided in spotting patterns across gender and age groups.

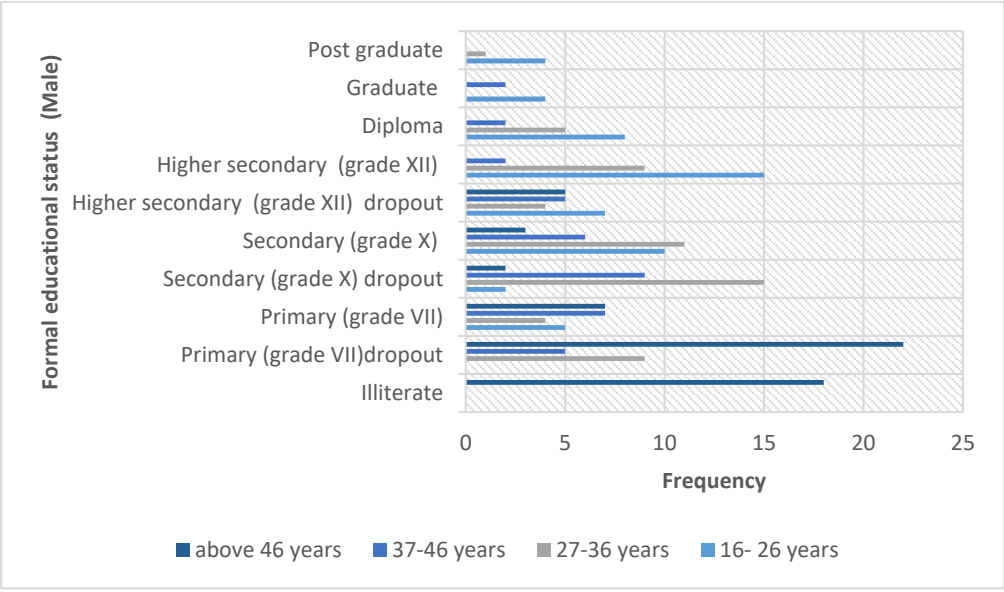
N=208

Table 4.4. : Distribution of members in the family based on the qualification (Male)

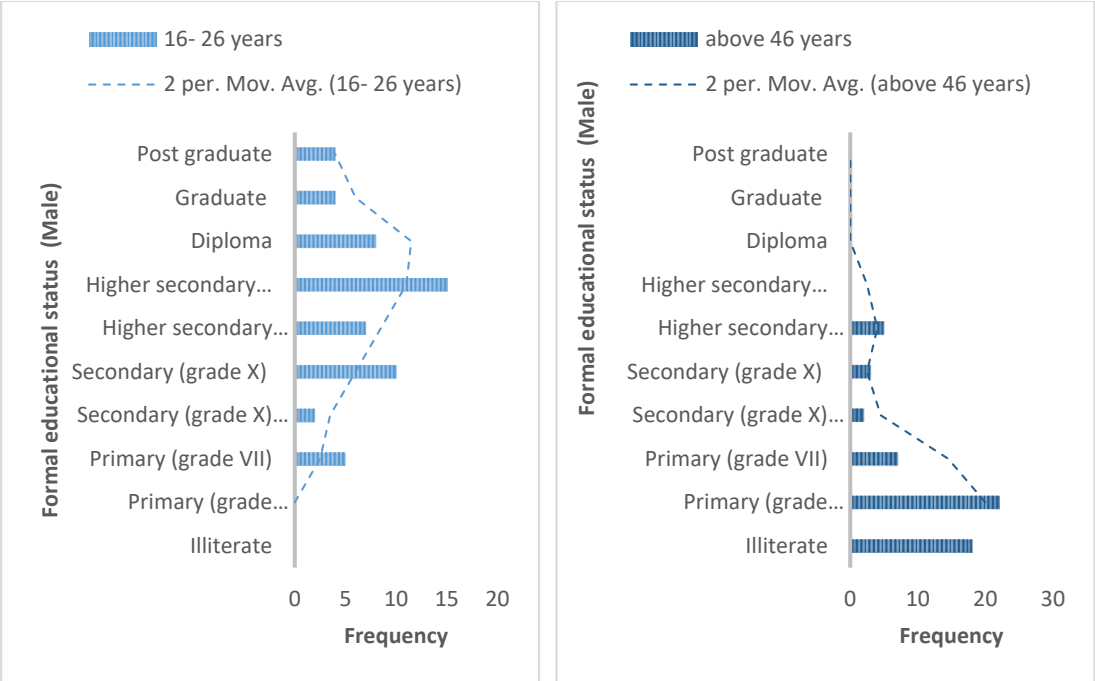
Qualification	Age brackets								Total
	16-26 years (f)	Per%	27-36 years (f)	Per%	37-46 years (f)	Per%	47 years and above	Per%	
Illiterate	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	18	31.58	18
Primary (grade VII)dropout	0	0.00	9	15.52	5	13.16	22	38.60	36
Primary (grade VII)	5	9.09	4	6.90	7	18.42	7	12.28	23
Secondary (grade X) dropout	2	3.64	15	25.86	9	23.68	2	3.51	28
Secondary (grade X)	10	18.18	11	18.97	6	15.79	3	5.26	30
Higher secondary (grade X) dropout	7	12.73	4	6.90	5	13.16	5	8.77	21
Higher secondary (grade XII)	15	27.27	9	15.52	2	5.26	0	0.00	26
Diploma	8	14.55	5	8.62	2	5.26	0	0.00	15
Graduate	4	7.27	0	0.00	2	5.26	0	0.00	6
Post graduate	4	7.27	1	1.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	5
Total	**55**	**100**	**58**	**100**	**38**	**100**	**57**	**100**	**208**

The data is presented in tables and in form of graphs dispersed across three tables, trying to understand the educational status of males and females in the community across different age bracket including subjects from 16 years and above. Field study had brought to notice that most of the respondents were school drop outs. The tables and graphs reflects that the maximum number of illiterates were from the bracket of 46 years and above. There was no preference of males over the females in terms of education. Both the genders were found to be equally provided with an opportunity to study.

The tabulated data informs that in the age group of 16-26 years, 27.3% comprised of the subjects that had studied till grade XII grade, 14.55% comprised of diploma holders, and graduates and post graduates shared equal percentage of 7.3%. In the age group of 27-36 years, 25.8% respondents were Xth grade drop outs with just 1.72% comprising of post graduate. Strangely, enough, the age bracket had no graduate and just 15.52%, comprised of percent population that had studied till grade XII. The age group 37-46 years had 23.68% of male respondents trying to study till secondary section and comprises of only 5.26% percent of graduates and diploma holders each. The age group of 47 years and above had 31.58% illiterate, 38.6% of population studying till primary section while only 8.7% of respondents reaching till the level of higher secondary. The figures, hence, reveals that overall the qualification of the respondents (male) was considerably low, the years and advancement in the society has only urged the members in the community to attend schools.



Graph.4.4.a. Distribution of number of members in the families based on the qualification (male).



Graph.4.4.b. Patterns amongst the age groups, 16-26 years and 47 years and above.

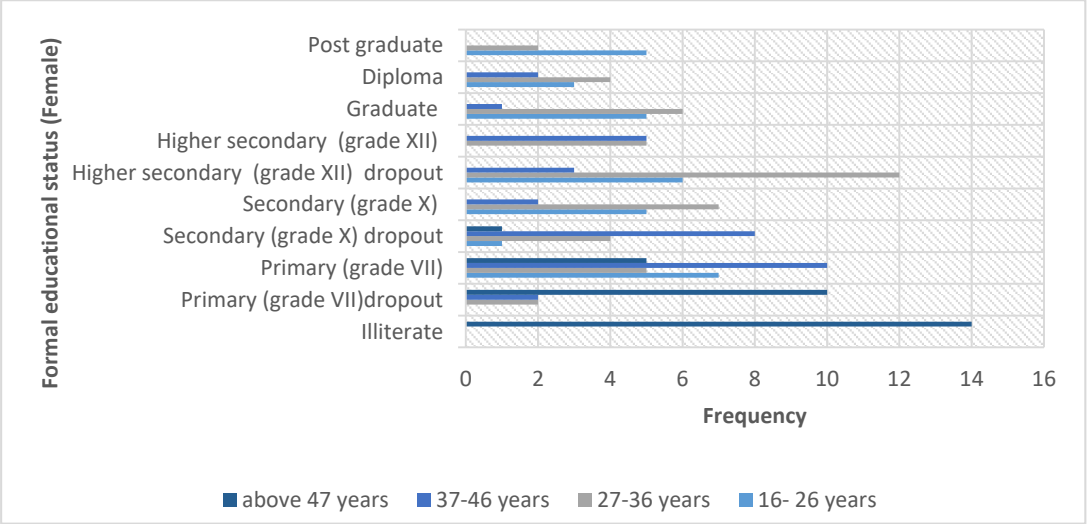
The trend line marked, in the graph, based on the patterns shown by the age bracket, forty-seven years and above, explains that there was a steep slump from literacy to higher education whereas in the case of age group 16-26 years, there was a gradual upturn from literacy to higher school education which drops down again for advanced education after schooling. The patterns, thus, generated reflected that the standard of education had barely improved over three generations.

N=142

Table 4.5.: Distribution of members in the family based on the qualification (Female)

Qualification	**Age brackets**								**Total**
	16-26 years (f)	**Per %**	**27-36 years (f)**	**Per%**	**37-46 years (f)**	**Per%**	**47 years and above**	**Per %**	
Illiterate	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	46.67	**9**
Primary (grade VII)dropout	0	0	2	4.26	2	6.06	10	33.33	**14**
Primary (grade VII)	7	21.88	5	10.64	10	30.30	5	16.67	**14**

Secondary (grade X) dropout	1	3.13	4	8.51	8	24.24	1	3.33	**14**
Secondary (grade X)	5	15.63	7	14.89	2	6.06	0	0	**14**
Higher secondary (grade XII) dropout	6	18.75	12	25.53	3	9.09	0	0	**21**
Higher secondary (grade XII)	0	0	5	10.64	5	15.15	0	0	**10**
Diploma	3	9.38	6	12.77	1	3.03	0	0	**9**
Graduate	5	15.63	4	8.51	2	6.06	0	0	**12**
Post graduate	5	15.63	2	4.26	0	0	0	0	**7**
Total	**32**	**100**	**47**	**100**	**33**	**100**	**30**	**100**	**142**

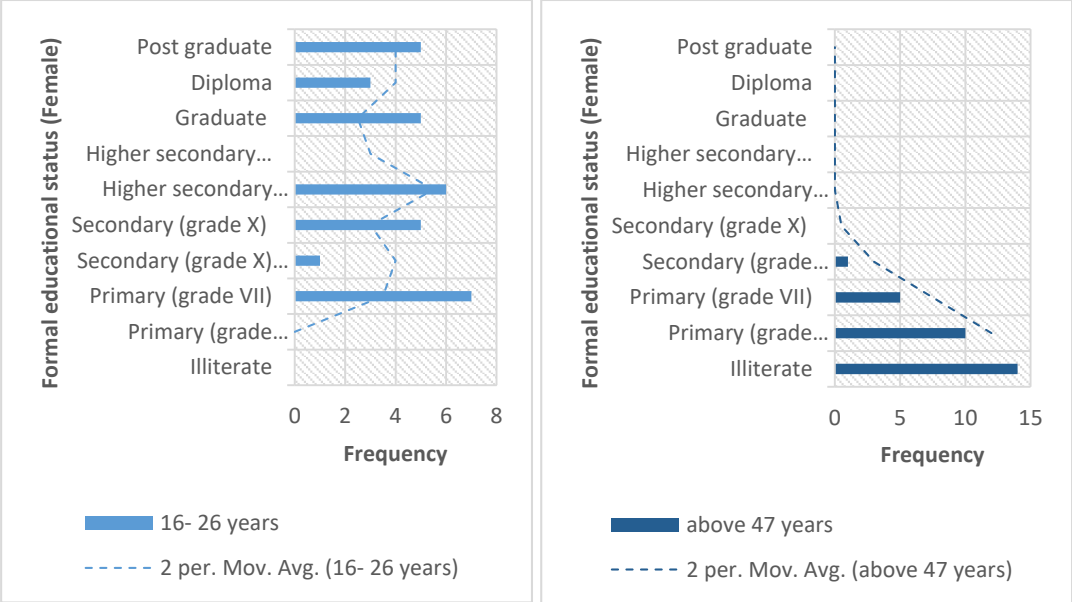


Graph.4.4.c. Distribution of number of members in the families based on the qualification (females).

Maximum number of females were primary school dropouts followed by secondary school dropouts. The females falling under the age bracket of 16 to 26 years comprised of only 9.38% diploma holders and 15.63% graduates and post graduates. In the age group of 27-36 years, 25.53% of respondents had tried studying till higher secondary section while only 10.64% of respondents had managed to clear the higher secondary exam. The age group had 12.77% diploma holders while 8.51% graduates and 4.26% post graduates. The age group of 37-46 years had 30.3%, respondents had studied till

primary section, 24.24% respondents had tried reaching till secondary section and 15.15% had studied till higher secondary. The age group of females had 6% graduates and 3% diploma holders. Lastly, women above 46 years comprised of 46.67% illiterates followed 33.3% women attending formal education till primary section with only 3.3% females studying till secondary grade.

The figures, thus, elucidates that interest in female education had increased gradually over the generations. Sizeable number of women in the first generation were illiterate. The patterns comprehensible from the graphs shows highly discrete information for the age group of 16-26 years. It seemed that attending schools became obligatory for the community, but very few could manage to reach beyond primary section and secondary section.



Graph.4.4.c. Patterns amongst the age groups, 16-26 years and 47 years and above (females).

Tables- and graph 4.2.c., explicates that educational standings of the weavers' community for both male and female members was fairly low. The patterns revealed ascertains that there existed no discrepancy amongst the gender in terms of qualification.

Furthermore, when surveyed regarding the reasons behind discontinuation of education, 33.1% expressed lack of interest in studies and 24.3% ascribed poor economic conditions as the main reasons for quitting education. 20.3% expressed that,

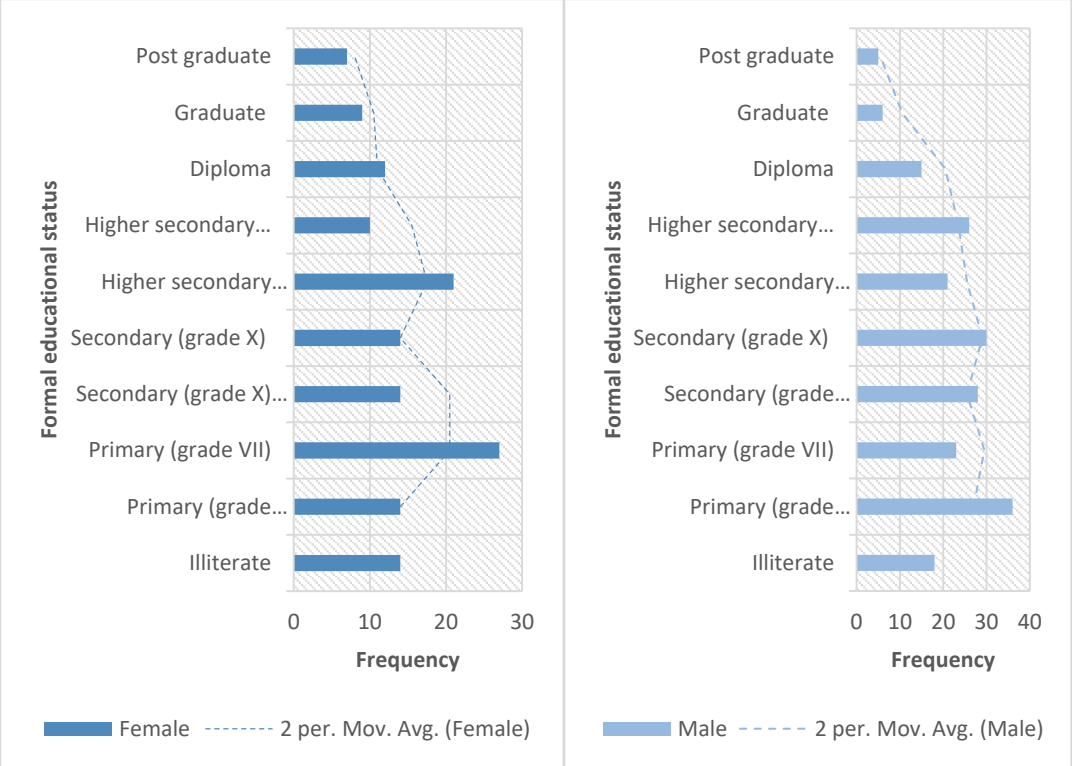
they did not get support of their family, 13% reasoned non-availability of good colleges and institutes in the close by areas and 9.1% expressed adoption of weaving as a practice at young age resulted in discontinuation of education. Strangely enough, 33.3% respondents accounted lack of interest as the reason behind discontinuation of education.

The results, thus, supports the determined outcome, discussed ahead, that lack of education and better career amenities has been one of the reason for prolonged sustenance of the craft.

N=350

Table 4.6.: Distribution of members in the family based on the qualification and gender

Qualification	**Male**		**Female**		**Total**
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	
Illiterate	18	8.65	14	9.03	32
Primary (grade VII)dropout	36	17.31	27	17.42	63
Primary (grade VII)	23	11.06	27	17.42	50
Secondary (grade X) dropout	28	13.46	14	9.03	42
Secondary (grade X)	30	14.42	14	9.03	44
Higher secondary (grade XII) dropout	21	10.10	21	13.55	42
Higher secondary (grade XII)	26	12.50	10	6.45	36
Diploma	15	7.21	12	7.74	27
Graduate	6	2.88	9	5.81	15
Post graduate	5	2.40	7	4.52	12
Total	**208**	**100.00**	**142**	**100**	**350**



Graph.4.4.d. Aggregate educational status of males and females

N=350

Table 4.7.: Distribution of members in the family based on reasons for discontinuation of studies

Reasons for discontinuation of education	**Age brackets**								**Total**	**Per %**
	16-26 years (f)	**Per %**	**27-36 years (f)**	**Per %**	**37-46 years (f)**	**Per %**	**47 years and above**	**Per%**		
Continuation with the weaving craft practice	2	2.30	9	8.57	9	12.68	12	13.8	32	9.1
Poor economic condition	18	20.69	32	30.48	12	16.90	23	26.4	85	24.3
Lack of family's support	28	32.18	12	11.43	19	26.76	12	13.8	71	20.3
Lack of interest	29	33.33	38	36.19	20	28.17	29	33.3	116	33.1
Unavailability of college and institute in the surrounding area	10	11.49	14	13.33	11	15.49	11	12.6	46	13.1
Total	**87**	**100**	**105**	**100**	**71**	**100**	**87**	**100**	**350**	**100**

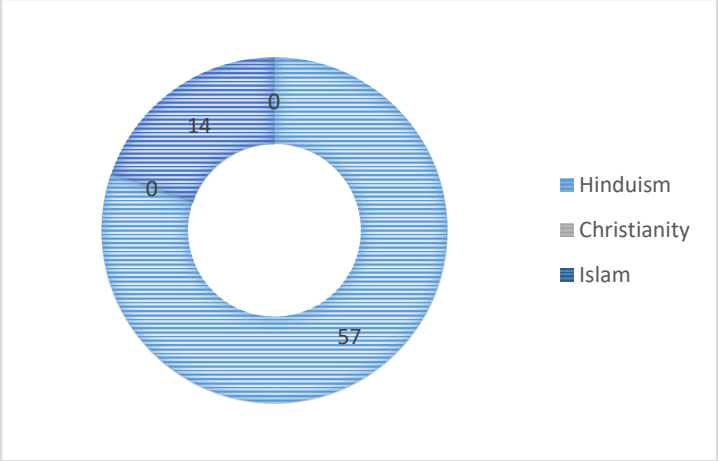
5. Distribution of weavers' families based on religion: The weavers belonged to the *Vankar* community who had always woven cotton cloth for the local communities. *Vankars* were traditionally Hindus who dwelled in the demarcated area or locality called *vankarvas* in a village. During field visit 19.72% families were recorded to have converted their religion in Christianity. It was observed and discussed with the respondents that at the time of field study that weavers were provided with the educational and health aids by the missionary community. The cluster of three secluded villages in the interior of Saurashtra - Parnala, Pareli and Shiyani where pacchedi weaving was carried out comprised of families that has begun following Christianity. The weavers were not much open to the discussions based on the change of religion. Although, they had some pleasant instances to share wherein the fathers, nuns and other missionary associates had helped to receive relief funds. The funds supplied were collected by missionary comrades as donations from Christians residing in other Nation. Some of the weavers' children were imparted education for free till the bachelors' programme by the missionary organizations. These educated members were teaching in the missionary schools while others has also been serving private schools and I.T.I.s.

The weavers also informed that the Christians from abroad had travelled their villages at the time of 2001's Gujarat's Earth quake and helped them re-construct their houses in sun and heat. Others proclaimed that what they were taught at the time of prayers was worth learning and one can always follow two Gods a time. Agreeably, enough they also had pessimistic approach towards the way higher class would treat them and unreasonable troubles they have been bearing while they generate meagre amount through weaving activity.

N=71

Table 4.8.: Distribution of weavers' family based on religion

Religion	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Hinduism	57	80.28
Christianity	14	19.72
Islam	0	0.00
Total	**71**	**100**



Graph.4.5. Distribution of weavers' family based on religion

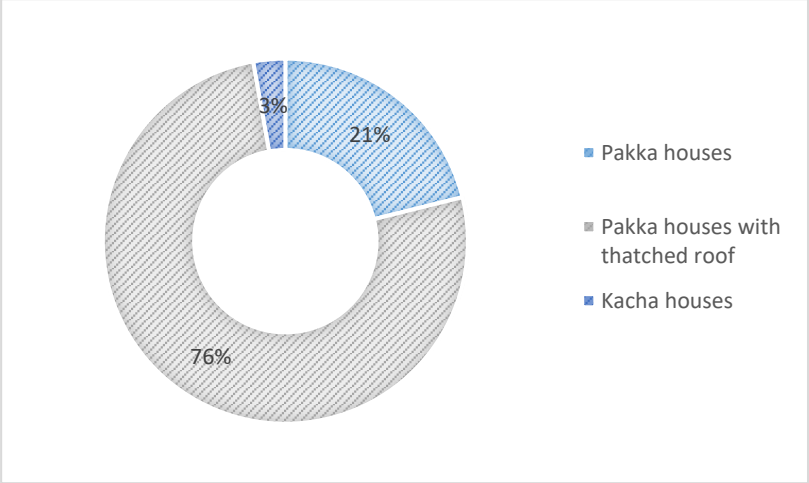
6. Distribution of weavers' families based on the house/ shelter possessed by them: The dwellings of *Vankars* involved two areas, the house itself and the courtyard, where guests or the outsiders were received. The *pakka* house with the thatched roofs were the most prevalent kind of houses. The observations recorded at the time of field study showed that 76.06% respondents resided in semi *pakka* houses or the houses with thatched roofs. The house was again divided into two parts- the anterior of the household was a semi-open area called *otlo*, wherein, certain times space was created for the weaver to weave in light. The posterior of the household comprised of two rooms again. In certain cases, there would exist an extra entrance for the household in the room. This would usually be present at the rear side of the house.

21.13% weavers owned self-constructed *Pakka* house. Masonry was an alternative profession for many of the weavers. The daily wage received in the activity was higher than what most can earn through weaving. The family members would construct their own house by themselves, the layout or floor of which remains almost similar to the traditional *pakka* house.

N=71

Table 4.9.: Distribution of weavers' families based on the house/ shelter owned

Religion	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Pakka houses	15	21.13
Pakka houses with thatched roof	54	76.06
Kacha houses	2	2.82
Total	**71**	**100**

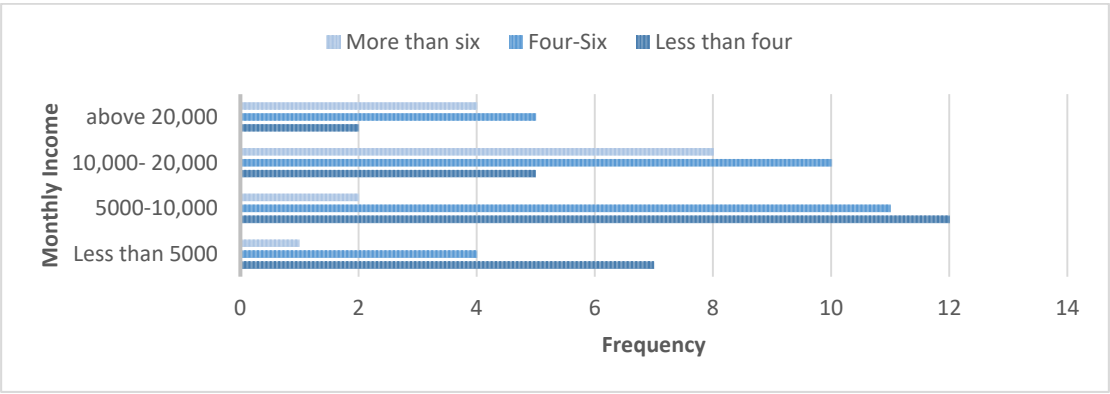


Graph.4.6. Distribution of weavers' family based on the house/ shelter owned

4.3.1.2. Economic background:

The dominating topics of informal discussion of the weavers with researcher was always based on monetary matters. It seemed as if the members in the family were always worried about money. For most of the family, the day always begun with the planning of managing course of the money. For most of the family, unless dedicated enough hours, weaving activity alone failed to breed sufficient income. The current section concerns information and figures related the money matters of the practicing families.

1. Distribution of weavers' families based on their monthly income:



Graph.4.7. Distribution of weavers' family based on their monthly income

N=71

Table 4.10.: Distribution of weavers' families based on their monthly income:

	Number of members in family						**Total**	
Income	Less than four (f)	%	Four-Six (f)	%	More than six (f)	%	(f)	%
Less than 5000	7	26.92	4	13.33	1	6.67	12	16.9
5000-10,000	12	46.15	11	36.67	2	13.33	25	35.2
10,000- 20,000	5	19.23	10	33.33	8	53.33	23	32.4
above 20,000	2	7.69	5	16.67	4	26.67	11	15.5
Total	**26**	**100**	**30**	**100**	**15**	**100**	**71**	**100**

The gathered information conveys that there existed reasonable percentage i.e. 16.9% of families out of the total population into consideration that earned less than or equal to Rs. 5000 per month. This fact explicates the current financial situation of the practicing weavers from the community. 35.2%, families grossed marginal amount between Rs.5000-Rs.10, 000 per month while 32.4% earned Rs. 10,000 to 20,000. Only, 15.5% of the families asserted making above 20,000 per month.

The reported fact was inclusive of the income generated by the families through other means of income. Weaving activity, occurred as a rotational activity for some of the weavers' families in the Saurashtra region. Most of the weavers and the members in the family, especially women, work in the field on daily wage basis. The daily income earned from the field was stated to be Rs. 400 per day and hence helped earn comparatively more than what one earns after weaving a set of Pachhedi, in a day.

The region of Saurashtra is also popular for cotton cultivation. Most of these weavers worked as cotton pickers in the field during the month of April and June. During this period, the weaving activity in most of the village went completely redundant.

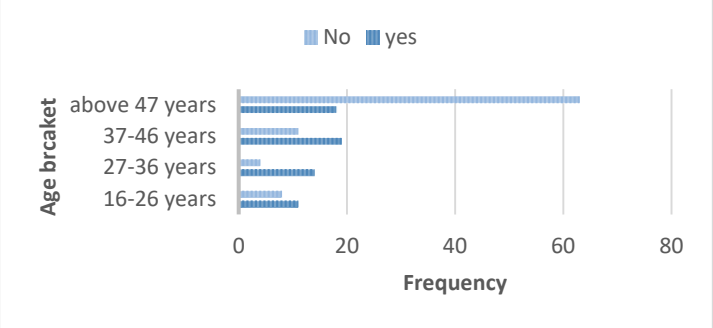
2. Distribution of weavers based on engagement in alternative source of income:

N=148

Table 4.10.: Distribution of weavers based on engagement in alternative source of income

Age bracket	**Yes (f)**	**Per%**	**No (f)**	**Per%**	**Total (f)**	**Per%**
16-26 years	11	17.7	8	9.30	19	12.8
27-36 years	14	22.6	4	4.65	18	12.2
37-46 years	19	30.6	11	12.79	30	20.3
above 47 years	18	29.0	63	73.26	81	54.7
Total	62	100	86	100	148	100
Per%	41.89	-	58.1	-	-	-

The data generated revealed that 41.89%, weavers were engaged in income generating activities other than weaving. This population covered 30.6% weavers belonging to the age group of 37-46 years followed by above 47 years old with 29 %. The age group of 27-36 years had 22.6% weavers engaged in other activities.



Graph.4.8. Distribution of weavers based on engagement in alternative source of income

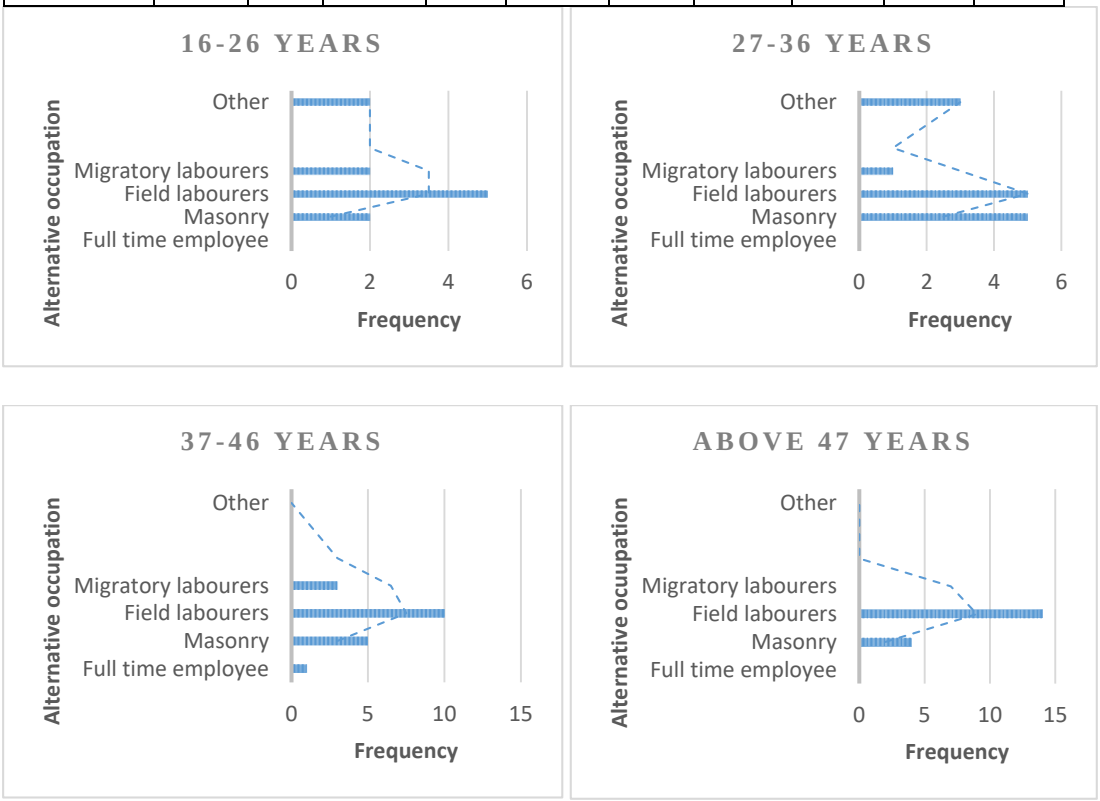
3. Distribution of weavers based on their involvement in other income generating activities:

During the preliminary visits, it was realized that the stated areas were harboured as the ancillary occupations for generation of income by the weavers. In the subsequent, visits data collected revealed that 54.84% of the practicing families were also engaged as seasonal field labours. Another popular occupation was masonry with 25.81% subjects followed by working as migratory labourers. The graphs explains the patterns of adoption of these occupation amongst various age group.

N=62

Table 4.11.: Distribution of weavers' family based on their involvement in other income generating activities:

Income generating activities	**Age brackets**								**Total**	**Per %**
	16-26 years (f)	**Per %**	**27-36 years (f)**	**Per %**	**37-46 years (f)**	**Per %**	**47 years and above**	**Per %**		
Full time employee	0	0	0	0	1	5.26	0	0.0	1	1.61
Masonry	2	18.2	5	35.71	5	26.32	4	22.2	16	25.81
Field labourers	5	45.5	5	35.71	10	52.63	14	77.8	34	54.84
Migratory labourers	2	18.2	1	7.14	3	15.79	0	0.0	6	9.68
Others	2	18.2	3	21.43	0	0.00	0	0.0	5	8.06
Total	**11**	**100**	**14**	**100**	**19**	**100**	**18**	**100**	**62**	**100**



Graph.4.9. Distribution of weavers' family based on their involvement in other income generating activities:

The mean trend across the four graphs explicates that being the field labourer and engaging oneself into the construction activity were the easiest occupation prospects available to the community.

4. Distribution of weavers based on reasons for practicing weaving:

During initial visits paid in the year 2012 and 2013, researcher, gauged that there existed some sort of negative feeling towards the practice of the craft especially in the Surendranagar district. Neither weaver, nor his family, trader or the consumer of the textile appreciated this folk textile under study. The weavers had declared craft had reached its downfall and it doesn't yield much to the benefit for the trader or the wearer. This lead to the apparent inquiry on the reasons behind the continuation of craft despite of it being discouraged and reservedly accepted.

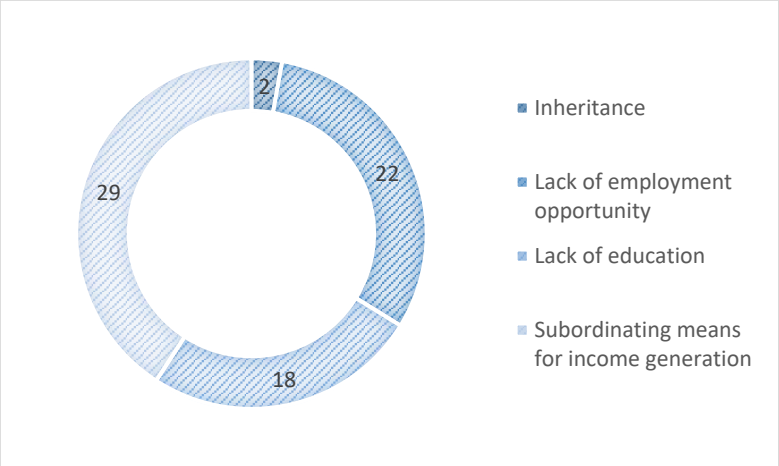
It was atypical to note that only 2.82% respondents had continued to accept the craft as a traditional livelihood prospect. Rest, 40.85%, 30.99%, and 25.35% respondents had furnished reasons like weaving serves as ancillary means of income generation, and to the lack of employment generation opportunities as well as to the poor standard of education.

It can, therefore, be discerned that lack of interest in giving importance to the education as well as the dearth of career prospects has made weavers' existence and lifestyle tough and ostracized. The actual fact is life brims with paradoxes and such has the case happened with the *vankar* community. With changing times and its requirements, weavers and other stakeholders involved in the trade failed to gauge and evolve. The unworried and easy acceptance of the situation has left people with confusion.

At first glance, one observes that people were neither appreciative of the existent skills at hand nor were they willing to cope up with the unfamiliar demands of the developing urban world. Perhaps, the fact happens to demonstrate this disconsolate and pervasive reflection of rural India.

N=71

Table 4.12.: Distribution of weavers' family based on reasons behind continuity of weaving craft		
Reasons	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Inheritance	2	2.82
Lack of employment opportunity	22	30.99
Lack of education	18	25.35
Subordinating means for income generation	29	40.85
Total	71	100



Graph.4.10. Distribution of weavers' family based on reasons behind continuity of weaving craft

5. Distribution of weavers' family based on the loan taken by them:

Data revealed that 42.25% respondents had secured money on credit. On being queried, for considering weaving a full time profession and investing it to develop products, most of the weavers had expressed their concerns towards getting loans and procuring raw materials. Weavers expressed that setting up a business involves risk and they had to feed many mouths in the family. While when they were enquired for the loan, facts reflected that most of them had taken money on credit.

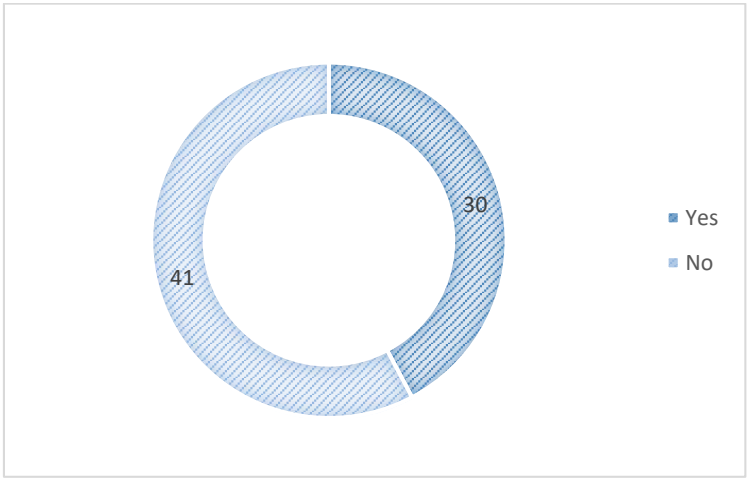
After interaction it was felt that weavers are required to be briefed towards the advantages of repayment of the loan. They are also required to be informed about weavers those have taken money on credit and had gradually excelled in their business.

However, the main intention behind this particular inquiry was to understanding the mindset and other requirements of the people in terms of fund management at the time of crises.

N=71

Table 4.13.: Distribution of weavers' family based on the loan taken by them

Yes (f)	**Per%**	**No (f)**	**Per%**	**Total**
30	42.25	41	57.75	71



Graph.4.11.: Distribution of weavers' family based on the loan taken by them

6. Distribution of weavers' family based on the reasons behind requirement of loan:

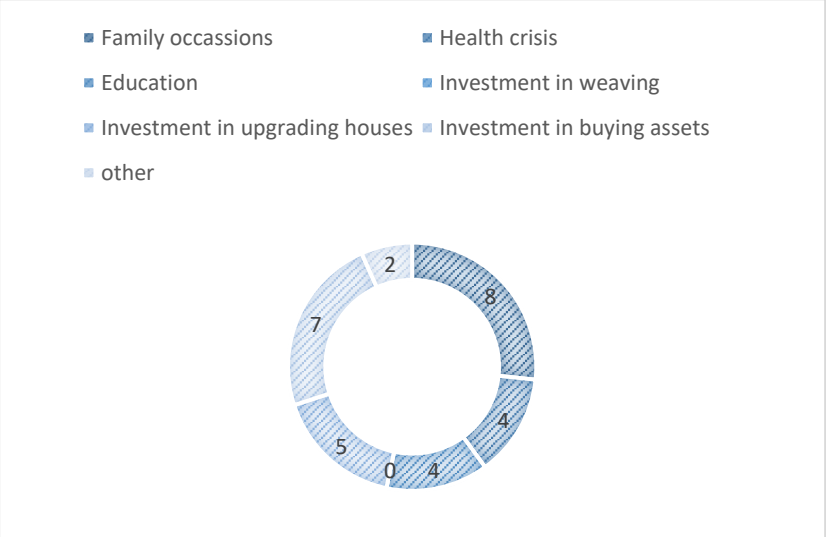
The consequently probed question, revealed that 26.67% of the respondents had taken money on credit for the social events and family functions. Such functions included baby shower, wedding and meal to be offered at the time of death. Other than that respondents had believed in spending in upgradation of their lifestyle with 23.33% of them investing in buying assets like motorbike, gold, purchasing newer shelter. There existed 16.67% of the respondents who had taken money on credit to renovate and update their household after monsoon. Health crisis and education,

though, being the indispensable necessity formed the third most requirement for takings loans.

N=30

Table 4.14.: Distribution of weavers' family based on reasons behind requirement of loan

Reasons	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Family occasions	8	26.67
Health crisis	4	13.33
Education	4	13.33
Investment in weaving	0	0.00
Investment in upgrading houses	5	16.67
Investment in buying assets	7	23.33
other	2	6.67
Total	30	100



Graph.4.12: Distribution of weavers' family based on reasons behind requirement of loan

At the time of discussion with the weaver in terms of loan, one of them had also shared that most families in the villages would buy a small piece of land from the old settlements in the *vankarvas*, refurbish them and rest those houses to the nuclear families of the village. Hence, in such instances loans were paid off by the rental amount besides which it also aided in earning income.

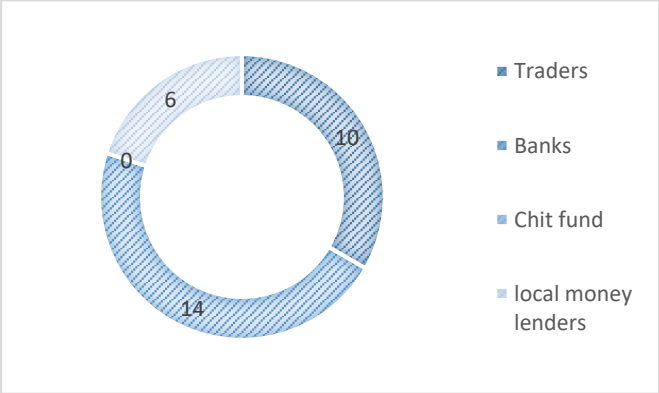
7. Distribution of weavers' family based on the sources of availing loan facilities:

Data revealed that 46.7% of the weavers took money on credit from banks while 33.3% were found to be availing credits from traders. The data showed that 20% of the respondents had also taken money on credit from local money lenders. On being probed further, subjects had expressed inconveniences in transacting with banks such as postponement in processing, denial to give loans, high interest rate, mistreatments etc. For issues like this, Mapdar S. in his research had suggested measures like weavers should be sensitized to avail the MCGF schemes and the schemes like Swarojgar credit card. The delay in processing may be addressed through Block level Bankers meeting and through District Co-ordinatioon Committee (DCC) meeting of bankers under chairmanship of District Magistrate (DM).

N=30

Table 4.15.: Distribution of weavers' family based on the sources of availing loan facilities

Reasons	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Traders	10	33.3
Banks	14	46.7
Chit fund	0	0.0
local money lenders	6	20.0
Total	30	100



Graph.4.13: Distribution of weavers' family based on the sources of availing loan

4.3.1.3.Weaving practice and set-up:

The section has been intended to elaborate upon the facts collected on weaving practice and space. As mentioned earlier, the front room or the semi-open area porch of the house is weaver's workshop. The facts collected intends to elaborate upon the placement of loom, weavers' interaction with the loom in his place as well as facts on the productivity.

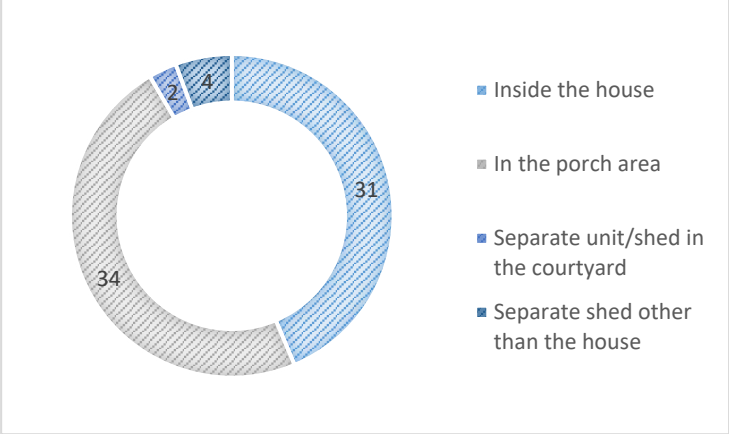
1. Distribution of weavers' family based on the location of loom:

The detailed out data explains that 43.66% of the looms were placed inside the house. Usually, such looms were installed across the width of the room inside. As briefed earlier, such rooms at the back of the house would have a spare door and small window to allow passage of sunlight and air. 47.89% weavers had looms fixed in the front area or in the porch of the house which is usually partially open. 5.63% had separate shed other than house while 2.82% had made space in the courtyard for weaving.

N=71

Table 4.16.: Distribution of weavers' family based on the location of loom

Location of the loom	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Inside the house	31	43.66
In the porch area	34	47.89
Separate unit/shed in the courtyard	2	2.82
Separate shed other than the house	4	5.63
Total	71	100



Graph.4.14: Distribution of weavers' family based on reasons behind requirement of loan

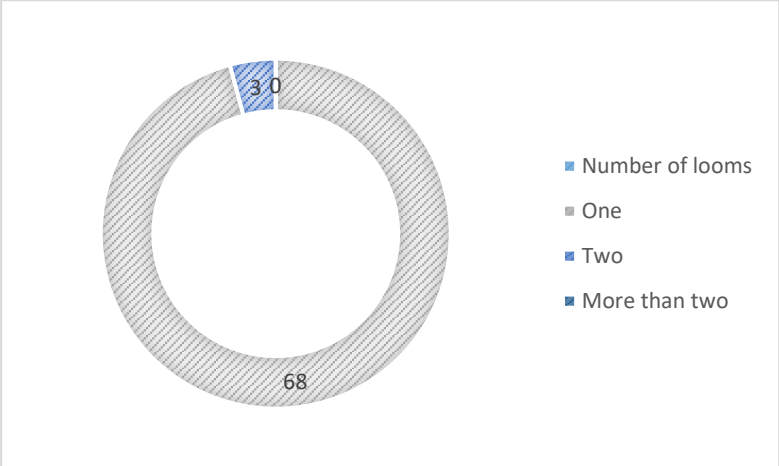
2. Distribution of families based on number of loom present in the household:

As evident from the graph and the tabulated information, in 95.77% houses, only one loom was installed and bedded in. Weaving is an elaborate technique where minimum of two people are required to set up loom and laboriously working on it. Usually, two or three people in the household knows to weave but house majorly had single loom.

N=71

Table 4.17.: Distribution of families based on number of loom present in the household

Number of Looms	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
One	68	95.77
Two	3	4.23
More than two	0	0.00
Total	71	100



Graph.4.15: Distribution of families based on number of loom present in the household

3. Distribution of the types of looms present in the weavers' household:

The data collected reported that 87.84% of the looms used by the weavers were fly-shuttle pit loom with peg-warp whereas some weavers that formed part of the cooperative society had begun to use the warp beam as well as the frame looms. Frame looms were found to be used only in Ahmedabad district in Chiloda village. The throw shuttle pit loom was used in Kachchh for weaving paghdis or headgear.

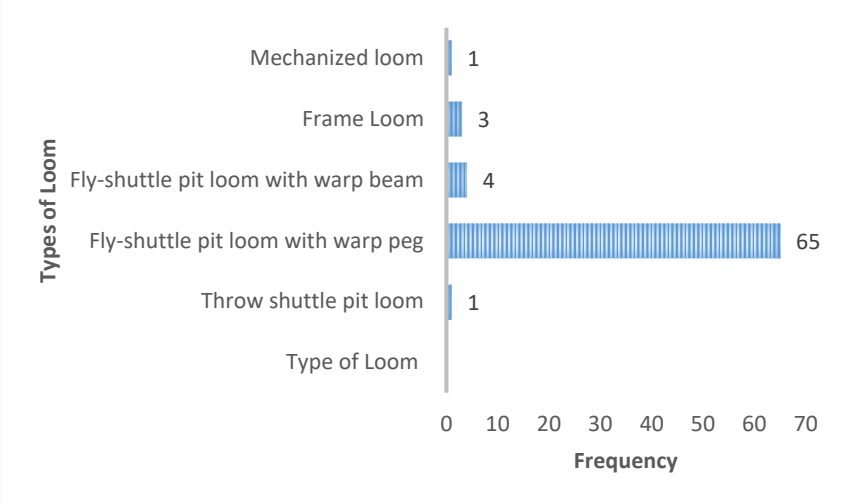
There occurred an interesting revelation of the mechanized loom in Jaubala village of Saurashtra. The secretary of the cooperative society in the village showed researcher

the semi-automatic powerloom that was used to weave only the body of the fabric. The ends of the pachhedi were given for weaving to the young and amateur weavers for the traders have been incapable of replicating the end borders on the mechanized loom. These separately woven borders were later sewn on the powerloom woven body. For every pair of end border, weavers were paid Rs. 30-40, based on the finishing.

N=74

Table 4.18.: Distribution of the types of looms present in the weavers' household

Number of Looms	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Throw shuttle pit loom	1	1.35
Fly-shuttle pit loom with warp peg	65	87.84
Fly-shuttle pit loom with warp beam	4	5.41
Frame Loom	3	4.05
Mechanized loom	1	1.35
Total	74	100



Graph.4.16: Distribution of the types of looms present in the weavers' household

4. Distribution of number of hours invested by the weavers in the weaving activity:

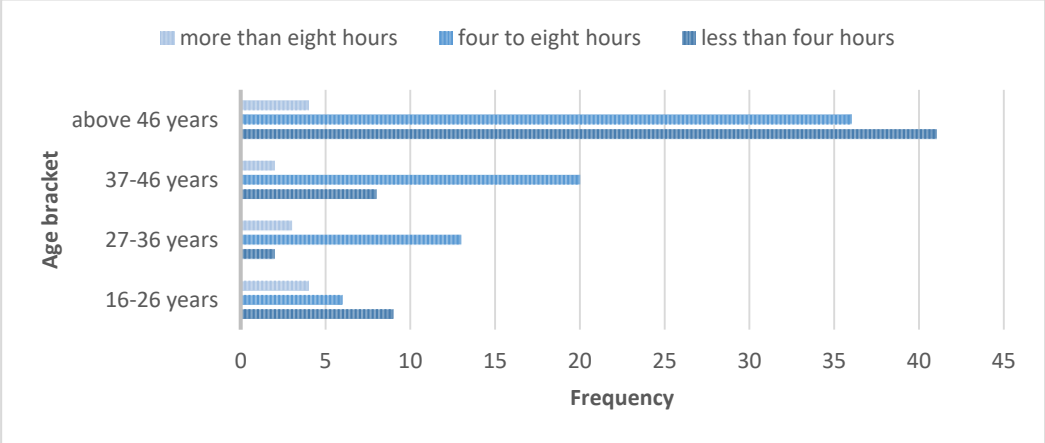
The data collected interprets that 50.7% of the artisans would spend four to eight hours on weaving activity.40.5. Whereas 40.5% would spend less than four hours and only 8.8% percent would spend more than eight hours in weaving activity. 72.2% weavers,

from the defined age group of 27-36 years expressed spending four-eight hours while 66.7% of weavers belonging to the age group of 37-46 years would spend the same time.

N=148

Table 4.19.: Distribution of number of hours invested by the weavers in the weaving activity:

Number hours invested	16-26 years		27-36 years		37-46 years		above 46 years		**Total**	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
less than four hours	9	47.37	2	11.11	8	26.67	41	50.62	60	40.5
four to eight hours	6	31.58	13	72.22	20	66.67	36	44.44	75	50.7
more than eight hours	4	21.05	3	16.67	2	6.67	4	4.94	13	8.8
Total	19	100	18	100	30	100	81	100	**148**	**100**



Graph.4.17: Distribution of number of hours invested by the weavers in the weaving activity

5. Distribution of types of unit articles produced by the weavers family:

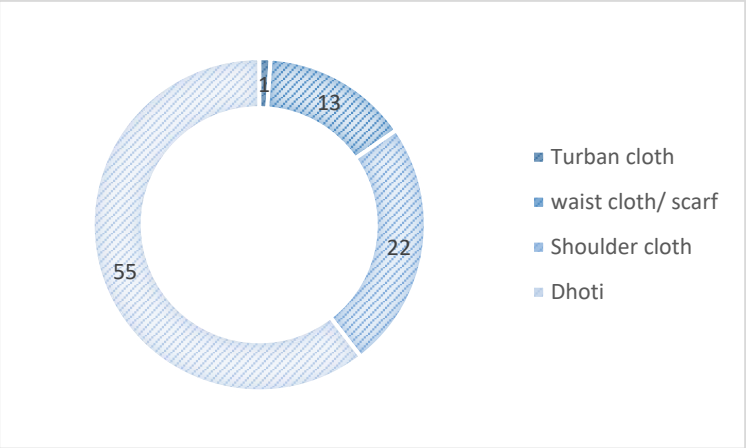
The major articles studied under the purview of present study included turban cloth, waist cloth or scarf, shoulder cloth and dhotis. Turban cloth was exclusively woven by the specialized weaver. Presently, there was only one existing weaver in Ninghad, Kachchh who wove turban cloth for the Kachhi and dhebaria rabaris of Kachchh. Some of the weavers elsewhere who wove dhotis or basic pachhedis also wove scarf and shoulder cloth. The tabulated data explains the type of articles produced by the number of weavers. 60.44% weavers solely wove dhotis, while 24.18% weavers wove shoulder

cloth and 14.29% weavers wove scarves. The statistics would also vary depending upon the market demand. The data also shows the depreciating picture of the craft.

N=91

Table 4.20.: Distribution of the types of unit articles produced by the weavers family

Products produced	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Turban cloth	1	1.10
waist cloth/ scarf	13	14.29
Shoulder cloth	22	24.18
Dhoti	55	60.44
Total	91	100



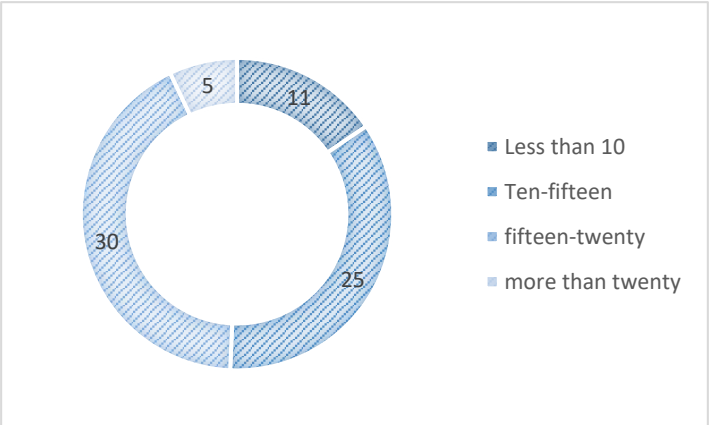
Graph.4.18: Distribution of the types of unit articles produced by the weavers' family

6. Distribution of families based on the unit products produced by them per month:

N=71

Table 4.21.: Distribution of families based on unit products produced by them per month

Products produced	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Less than 10	11	15.49
Ten-fifteen	25	35.21
fifteen-twenty	30	42.25
more than twenty	5	7.04



Graph.4.19: Distribution of families based on unit products produced by them per month

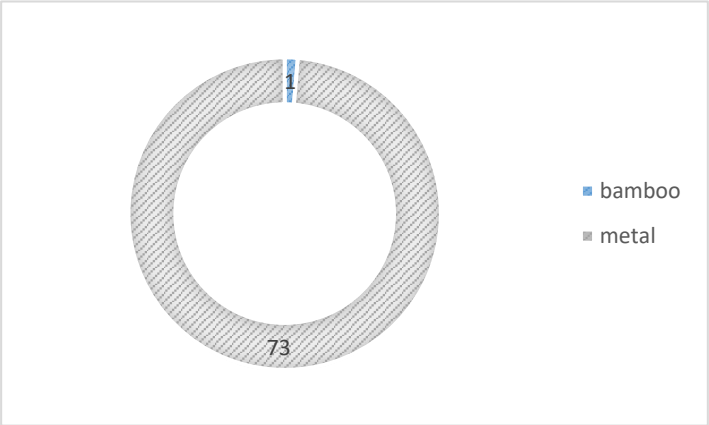
42.25% weavers ascertained that they usually wove fifteen-twenty pairs of pachhedi every month. 35.21expressed weaving ten-fifteen pachhedis while only seven percent agreed on weaving more than twenty pachhedis a month.

7. Distribution of looms based on type of reed used:

N=74

Table 4.22.: Distribution of the looms based on type of reed used

Type of reed	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Bamboo	1	1.35
Metal	73	98.65
Total	74	100



Graph.4.20: Distribution of the looms based on type of reed used

Traditionally, the reeds were made of bamboo. Some of the weavers were still possessing old samples of bamboo reed with markings of *visi* in it.

It was only in Kachchh, that the weaver was weaving baghdis with bamboo reed.

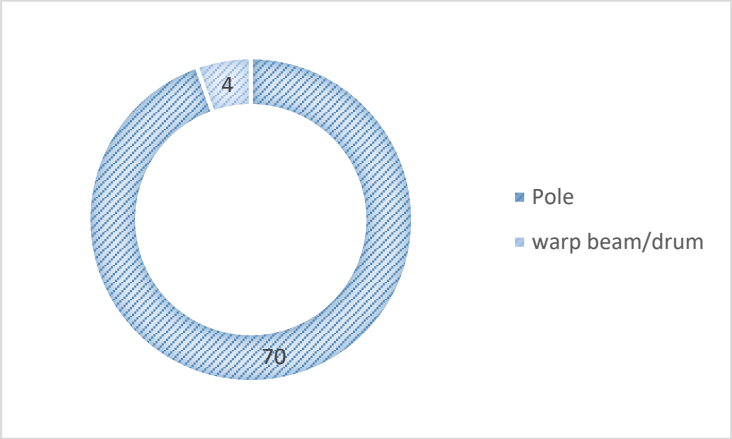
8. Distribution of looms based on type of let off arrangement or warp beam used:

It was observed at the time of field study that the weavers wove textiles on counter balance pit looms wherein the yarns were stretched and held across a pole or beam pegged in a ground instead of a conventional drum. At the time of data collection it was observed that villages in Surendranagar district- *Gomta* and *Raska*, had four looms with warping drum. Rest in every region, pole was used to maintain tension in the warp. In the subsequent heads, process of weaving has been explained.

N=74

Table 4.23.: Distribution of the looms based on type of let off arrangement or warp beam used:

Type of reed	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Pole	70	94.59
warp beam/drum	4	5.41
Total	74	100



Graph.4.21: Distribution of the looms based on type of let off arrangement or warp beam used

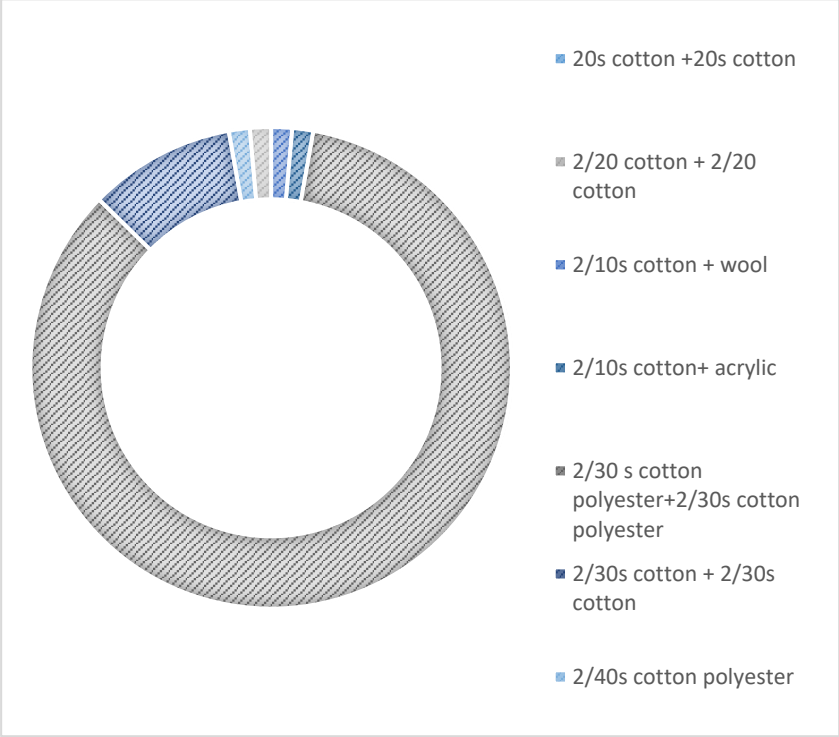
9. Distribution of weavers' family based on the raw materials used by them:

The data shows that 84.5% weavers used 2/30s cotton polyester while 9.9% weavers were using 30s cotton. These weaver were based in Chaloda and the weaver from Kavitha, Ahmedabad would weave *pachhedis* in 60s count. 2/10s was used in Kachchh for weaving paghdis.

N=71

Table 4.24.: Distribution of weavers' family based on the raw materials used by them:

Raw material used	Frequency	Percentage
20s cotton +20s cotton	0	0.0
2/20 cotton + 2/20 cotton	0	0.0
2/10s cotton + wool	1	1.4
2/10s cotton+ acrylic	1	1.4
2/30 s cotton polyester+2/30s cotton polyester	60	84.5
2/30s cotton + 2/30s cotton	7	9.9
2/40s cotton polyester	1	1.4
2/60s mercerized cotton	1	1.4
Total	71	100



Graph.4.22: Distribution of weavers' family based on the raw materials used by them

4.3.2. Case narratives on weavers:

The cases elaborated here intends to situate the substance of the weaving craft in its environment. Significant to this section are the understanding that discourses discussed reveals based on the social patterns, existent cultural themes and weaver's attitude towards his practice. The section includes two cases from Surendrangar district, one each from Kachchh, Ahmedabad and Mehasana districts.

Case Narrative: 1

District: Surendranagar
Block: Limbdi
Village: Parnala

Parnala was an interior village with no direct road. One had to cross narrow lanes of nearby villages and the muddy subjugated road running parallel to the canal to reach to the village. The *vankarvas*, again, as the matter of rule was situated in the outskirt of the village. It was observed during multiple field visits that the area was sub-divided into two parts. A lane of the vankar household comprised of the people of the community that had discontinued weaving while the other lane had eight families weaving under the name of cooperative society- Vivekanand Vankar Sahkari Mandali. The registered society comprised of twenty one weavers and its fifteen looms had got recognition on paper.

At the time of the first field visit in 2013, researcher had recorded in her field notes that there existed only three practicing families in the village. At that particular time, the researcher was received by the weavers of above fifty years of age. It was also informed that the weavers sold the samples to the popular local traders- Devshi Devkaran Mehta and Bhikhatrikam. The second visit of the researcher was paid again in 2014, after the field visit of the Jhanjharka village in Ahmedabad district. At the time of the field visit, researcher had stumbled upon the temple known as Savgun Mandir. The temple was exclusively meant for the vankar community. As vankars, were prohibited from entering temples of honour attended by the higher castes, this popular temple was constructed by the *guru* who had migrated from Rajasthan and had settled in the area to work towards the upliftment and development of the community. The existing guru in the lineage- Shri Shambhunathji Maharaj had introduced researcher to one of his

follower who had acted as an anchor point for getting familiar with the villagers. It was then the researcher was introduced to Govindbhai Galabhai Makwana. Govindbhai was the secretary of the cooperative society in Parnala. He was a sixty-two years old man and was revered not only for helping villagers build their cooperative society but also had gotten his two sons educated. Both of his sons were teaching in the government schools. One of them was a high school teacher and the other taught in the primary section.

Govindbhai, after understanding the intentions of the researcher, had introduced her to the families practicing in the interiors of the village. The instance, thus, explained about the strict and stern mindset of the people of the region.

On being queried, during the further discussions and interactions, Govindbhai, Rameshbhai and Motikaka acknowledged the fact that accepting outsiders without checking their background was not the usual practice in the village. One could conspicuously collect information and hence can use against them. Usually, the fear amongst the cooperative societies was that they would show more people on paper than the actual number of people being engaged in the activity.

Figure 4.11: Weaver working on her loom
Jyotiben Makwana, peeping out of a window.
As discussed earlier, weaver would sit next to the window or door while weaving to be able to get light and feel ventilated

In the case of Parnala village as well, researcher after spending the three entire days in the village could track only nine active looms in the society. So, far as the socio-economic condition was concerned, weavers in the village were highly perturbed by the challenges and the daily requirements of their lives. Some of them felt terrible

about the lack of career opportunities of their children, others found their children lousy for not being able to do well in studies. It was observed that these families in the village had changed their religion from Hinduism to Christianity. Some of their children's education was being sponsored by the missionary trust. Those that were educated would end up becoming teachers in the nearby schools. Even for the graduates and diploma holders, securing jobs was a difficult task.

The weavers residing in neighbourhood were part of the same family tree. Also, the marriage alliances happened from the nearby villages such as Parnala, Pareli, Shiyani, Mota timbla and Lakhtar. This made their bonds stronger despite of rivalries on the petty issues and matters. Certain processes concerned with weaving were also shared amongst the families. Dahyabhai, a 62 years old man and his family would do the process of piecing for the rest of the weavers. For every set of new warp they would charge Rs. 60. His son Jagdishbhai and Rameshbhai, were of almost similar age, thirty-eight years and forty-one years respectively. Both were considered intelligent in the area were hailed by the weavers in the village in case of doubt. Such was the repute of Motikaka, in his early age. Although, every family would do warping for four sets of *pachhedi*s in their own compounds, certain times, elderly would request families with youngsters to get the warp ready for their looms. These instances suggest that weaving was conceived as the common activity amongst the practicing family of the village. There would occur the sharing of errands either as the service or based on the personal favours, people stayed as a close-knit community.

It was also reported that the weavers these days majorly wove bori *pachhedi*. Bori *pachhedi*s were introduced only thirty-five to forty years ago. Traditionally, they wove pacchedis and kheses namely, *pachrangi pachedi* also known as *navrang cheda*, checkered boris known as *kheses* in Kachchh, *upadiya, lal chheda pachhedi* and *chhappan derdi* for the markets of *halar* region of Saurashtra and of Kachchh. On being shown examples of elaborate *dhotalis*, it was reported that their elders had woven the same only for the *Motabhai bharwads* of the surrounding areas. The production of the same had halted more than sixty years ago. The count of the yarn used by the weaver was 2/30s cotton polyester. The cooperative society would either sell their pieces to local trader from their village who has shop in Limbdi or directly to the local communities.

Case narrative: 2

District: Surendranagar
Block: Limbdi
Village: Untadi

Mafatbhai Chavda's house was amongst the first place visited for collecting data. His house was in the location close to the village pond. Mafatbhai, who was very keen on understanding the intention of the researcher, introduced her to Rameshbhai. Mafatbhai had kept weaving activity on halt, as he was busy renovating his house. They were changing floorings of their house and each family member was aiding in the process. He called Rameshbhai from the neighbourhood for further interactions.

Rameshbhai's family comprised of six members. His father- Narsinhbhai was head of the family who had been out to visit a relative. The other members included his wife, daughter and two sons. Apart from Rameshbhai, none of the other members in the family were skilled in weaving. They would help him in ancillary activities of winding bobbin and in the process of warping. They resided in semi pakka house which had cemented walls but tiled sloppy roof. The loom was installed in the open area or courtyard which was covered with a cemented sheet roof. During interactions, Rameshbhai talked about current affairs, news broadcasted on radio and television.

Figure 4.12: Weaver discussing his woven sample

Rameshbhai Makwana with his daughter Heena, discussing the sample fabric he wove for her to be worn as kurta.

He discussed marketing strategies at length which their community lacks. He was a staunch believer of honesty and work but was not convinced to teach the craft to his kids anymore. He shared and showed the forms of products he had woven other than pachedis. One of the motif used in pachedi was repeated based on his design

sensibilities and he used the same for making kurta of his daughter. He shared the samples of woven mats and rugs made out of old polyester saris. He also ardently shared the old reeds of various other dent sizes carved out of bamboo that he had preserved with himself.

His father, Narsinhbhai Chavda, was 79 year old now. Narsinhbhai has been engaged with craft for last sixty years. He has now retired from weaving as an activity; these days he would help his son in winding bobbins, meet relatives in the surrounding towns and locality. Narsinhbhai elucidated that they were eleven siblings, six brothers and five sisters. Four brothers continued weaving in the village while rest two moved out for higher education and earning money. One of his brother, he shared was employed at GSFC, Vadodara. Since, he was eldest of them all, it was his responsibility to educate his siblings.

In those days, two of his sisters studied till grade tenth. He aspired that his granddaughter should pursue higher education and become self-dependent. On being questioned about his memories of past based on craft, he illustrated that there were around 100 villages earlier where *pachhedi*s were woven and in each village there were more than four-five vankar family engaged in weaving pachedis alone. He shared, it was only after 1980 that mechanized bobbin winder was introduced.

He further adds that Gandhian ideologies are good, promoting craft and handloom is good and he too is very patriotic by nature. Probably, it was with his age and his association with freedom movement that his feelings were even more inclined towards nationalism. But, we can hardly survive on being called so good, artisans, craftsmen or weaver. One requires stable market, capital investment and skill to promote one's own hand produce. In order to establish business based on their skill, they need capital investment. He gets annoyed on further prodding as he asserts- *"Dhando to karvo kharo pan rokan nathin"* (We want to do business but this craft doest yield money for capital investment). We have taken loans for our children's education and would cover debts slowly and steadily. With brimming eyes, he looks at his granddaughter and instructed her, look at her- such a young girl! He advised her to make her family proud of her. Encouragingly and lovingly asked her to move out, work hard, be confident and earn her living. This was not a common scene in the community of *vankars*. It was difficult for them to earn living.

Rameshbhai, explained that people in their community barely took interest in studies. They would fail even in simpler academic areas like I.T.Is or diploma. Majority of them were afraid of studying after grade ninth of tenth. Clearing board exams were considered big things for them. Rameshbhai added that his daughter, Heena has made his family proud. With little living they earned, they had sent her to Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya- a popular government English medium school in district which was established by the Ministry of Human Resource Development for the education of talented rural children. Heena had also been to another branch of school in Madhya Pradesh to participate in a competition. He showed his concerns about his eldest son who was differently abled. The youngest child went to the local school in the village. He was good at drawing and had a nameplate hand painted for his house. The outlook of the family was completely different from the rest of the villagers.

Except for Mafatbhai Chavda and Narsinhbhai Chavda's house, the other weavers were dwelling on the other end of the main road that divided the village into two parts. The village space on the other end of the road was much more clustered and compact. It was observed that in very household *bori pachhedis* were being woven. People had similar stories to narrate on the lack of funds, declining market and poor career opportunities in future. One thing that every family was sure about was that gradually the local market for the textiles would end and it was disrespectful of the family to teach their children to weave. If youngsters were to be taught weaving, it meant that the family doesn't want them to grow. The question that arose here was if one should consider their thought patterns outlandish or should accept it as the harsh by-product of their difficult life.

For further interfaces with the villagers residing in Gomta and Raska, Rameshbhai had handed over the researcher a hand written in Gujarati. The note introduced, researcher with the Rameshbhai's acquaintance, suggesting that she is reliable and was interested in studying the traditional craft of the region with a request to lend her requisite support.

Case Narrative: 3

District : Mehsana
Block: Vadnagar
Village: Undhai:

Narrow lanes guided to Shri Babubhai Parmar's house located in vankar vas of the village. His was a Pakka house built by his father with a front and a back entrance. Loom in Babubhai's house was installed close to the back entrance that allowed exposure of natural light while weaving. The front area had an otlo, which had photographs of his late wife, parents and National award in the area of Handicrafts being displayed.

Figure 4.13: Weaver (Babubhai Parmar) measuring the width of the cross border with indigenous methods

Babubhai was the sole weaver in the Mehsana district and was fifty years old now. He was educated till only third grade and was an only parent to a daughter and a son. Like, other families in the community, both children and parent took very little interest in education.

His daughter had failed in tenth and son was studying in standard ninth. Babubhai had a great expectation from his son; he wanted him to study and get employed somewhere rather than waste his life working as labour like other youths of the village. He explained that due to apprenticeship, his son might know how weaving happens. He would always sit by his father talk about the process but he never had hands on experience. Babubhai adds weaving as a profession shall lead his son nowhere and elaborates that he is the last person around the place who weaves and sells the local products.

As per Babubhai, there were about twelve looms in the village till the year 1991. He assumed that weaving as an occupation stopped in region after late 1990s. Apart from Undhai, weaving was practiced in other places including blocks and villages namely;

Balisna, Unjha, Hander, Badalpur, Malikpur, Karbatiya, Vadnagar and Sipore. In Sipore, people of their community were still weaving handloom articles like towels and napkins.

He ascertains that he continued weaving for he did not had any other career option open for him. He received National Award in the area of Handicrafts in the year 1990. Handing over a photostate copy of his certificate, Babubhai explained that earlier weavers in the village worked under co-operative society and his uncle was the secretary of the same. During that time, officers from Handicrafts board, visited his house and took a sample of *Kachchhi Khes* and guided him to apply for the award. Innocently, he asked researcher, "National award is a big thing, right? I wish to apply again for the same. This time I shall send *pachhedi* sample." He possessed an artisan ID card issued by INDEXT-C with name's mistake on it while he had a weaver's ID card issued on the name of his late wife.

Babubhai wove only *Upadiya Pachhedi* and *Khes*. He purchased yarns from the Kalupur market in Ahmedabad, single handedly wove and sold *pachhedi*es. Sometimes, Rabaris would themselves arrive at his place to purchase else he would sell them in Rapar block of Kachchh by himself. This way he would earn direct profit through selling. Moreover, with years of experience, he had made several acquaintances in the region. Consumers as well buy *pachhedi*s at cheaper rate from him. He further informed that the designs made by him were different than those bulk produced in Limbdi and so Wagadia Rabaris preferred his products over bulk produce solds by the traders so much so that it gets difficult for him to meet up the demands. He sold *Khes* for Rs. 700 and *Pachhedi* in Rs.1000. The quality of *Pachhedi* woven was better than those woven in Limbdi. As per the local measurement, *khes* measured six hands and *pachhedis* measured eight hands. He explained that one hand equaled 1.5' or 30" approximately. Lease was termed as *jog* here. Special marking was kept on the yarns itself for the identification of the areas of cross borders and fields while weaving which was very unusual of *pachhedi*s woven in Surendranagar district.

On discussing and inquiring, Babubhai had very keenly demonstrated and explained the process of attaching parts on the loom and weaving process. Meanwhile, he served Patras and Gathias with cold drink. He allowed researcher to sit in pit, depress treadles and understand lifting orders for both cross borders and field. Grooved dandiya that

support tie-up for treadles was termed *kadiya* here and temple for maintaining width of the fabric was termed as *tadhan*. Shuttle was called *naliyo* here and smaller shuttles were hand thrown while weaving cross borders. In Surendranagar and Ahmedabad district, cross borders were also woven with fly-shuttles. The starting line was termed as *atri*. The extra-weft woven design called *thamblo* remained the same while the other motif was termed as *upadiya*. The yarn count used in the past was 2/20 S and presently cotton polyester blend of 2/40 S was used. Babubhai also incorporated use of synthetic yarn in extra weft weaves.

Case Narrative: 4

District: Kachchh
Block: Anjar
Village: Ninghad

The village was identified with the support of Khamir. Devji Velji Vankar was explained to be the weaver who would weave and sell the *paghdis* in the local market of Anjar. Other villages suggested were Sarli and Adohi. Sarli had weavers weaving diversified designs of dhablas and Kachhi shawls while Adohi wove plain fabrics, tangalia and did mass production of the designs shared by Master weavers who would sell in the National and International exhibitions. Adohi village was also recommended by Dahylal Kudecha from Kachchh.

Figure 4.14: Weaver (Devjibhai Dahyabhai), weaving on his throw shuttle pit loom

Devji Velji Vankar, assumed as the name of one weaver who had continued to weave *paghdis* was

actually the name of the two brothers-
Devjibhai and Veljibhai.

Devjibhai vankar was 62 years old man and Valjibhai was of 65 years of age. Devjibhai Dahyabhai, had two daughters who were gotten married, he was reluctant to talk about his son, which meant that his current family comprised of just two members- his wife and himself. Devjibhai had hearing impairment and his wife Ramiben was talking for him. Their humble old house was nestled in the narrow lane connected with the open compound of the village.

Devjibhai belonged to the sect of Maheshwari Vankars, prominently found in the regions of Kachhchh. He wove *Paghdis* or *Dhotali*s in the contemporized versions along with Dhebaria Rabari women's skirt in checks made as a union of cotton and wool. At the time of researcher's visit, Devjibhai was fervently weaving set of *dhabli* on a throw shuttle pitloom. Instead of conventional metal reed, Devjibhai was weaving with a bamboo reed.

Veljibhai, on the other hand was involved in the selling of textiles produced by his brother. Along with the *dhotalis* and *dhabli*, he would sell pieces of other folk costume's article and poor quality *dhablas*, similar to ones also found to be woven in Surendranagar.

Veljibhai and his wife took care of their physically challenged son and hence, their family comprised of three member. Their other three sons were staying separate. Veljibhai would procure industrial waste yarn from Ahmedabad to weave *Dhotalis*. The count used was 2/10s. The *dhabli* occurred as the combination of wool and cotton, woven in plain weave in broken draft yielding interesting colour and weave effect pattern similar to houndstooth.

Case Narrative:5

District: Ahmedabad

Block: Dholka

Village: Kavitha

Shri Ambika Vankar Sahkari Mandali was established in 1986 in village Kavitha. Shri Mulji Vaghela was the secretary of the same. With the support of District Industries Center, Ahmedabad, Mandali had constructed its separate workshed in the village.

Although the weaving activity was completely stopped, Muljikaka and his son along with the other family had continued to weave *Laal pachhedi*. *Laal Pacchedi* was worn by the Desi Rabaris, residing in and around Ahmedabad district. The mandala was these days producing light weight *chaddars, chaursas,* towels and napkin. *Lal pachhedi* and *chhapan derdi* were the only two forms of textiles produced these days by the weavers in Kavitha, Chaloda and Jalalpur Vajifa. Chhapan derdi existed on almost every loom. Laal pachedi was woven only on order. The sample shown by Muljibhai was worn in 60s count cotton and was better than the pachhedis woven elsewhere.

For each laal pachhedi, Muljibhai charged Rs.1200 and during festivities it costed more than 1500. Other than *laal pachhedi* and *chhapan derdi*, around decade ago weavers also wove *laasa pacchedi, kathwas, upadiya* and *khes pachedis*.

Weavers here made use of warping drum which helped them increase the width of the pachhedis. The fabrics were woven in the widths of 38" and 42". The reed size use was 60 and hence need not require to weave a pair. *Pachhedis* here were woven in ready widths of the fabrics.

Field interactions in the Chaloda and Jalalpur vajifa, informed the researcher that the labour cost as referred in the local terms for weaving *laal Pacchedi* was Rs 180 per piece and for *chhapan derdi* was Rs. 90.

Figure 4.15: Weavers' workshed in Kavitha, Ahmedabad

These figures showed the margins that the trader or the secretary of cooperative society earns. This state was not just confined to the weavers in Ahmedabad district but held true for the weavers weaving across the Saurashtra region, including the district of Jamnagar. Two of the researcher's trip to Jamnagar went futile in search of the weaver who wove the textile under study in Dwarka and Jamnagar districts. Pan khokri was the name mentioned by each of the localite and the trader. In the second visit, researcher was informed that the old weaver had passed away. The fact was very difficult to be deemed true for the local merchant had innumerable samples to discuss and elaborate at the time of first visit.

4.3.3. Details on production process and motif vocabulary:

The loom typology more or less remained same across Gujarat. Textiles like *Tangalia*, *Dhabla* and pachhedi were the broad classification of textiles produced on such looms for local consumption. Each of these textiles had further variations and nomenclature based on the use by different gender and sects. The loom typology and the process for *Pacchedi* weaving was studied at Surendranagar district. The *Dhabl*a and *Tangalia* weavers still operated on throw-shuttle pit loom. The uninterrupted passage of extra-weft across the width of the *dhabla* required longer stick wound with weft yarn in place of shuttle. The stick was long enough to be passed across the width in one go. Whereas in *tangalia* weaver needed to generate pattern through its unique technique of twisting supplementary yarns on countable warp yarn across the length of fabric. This attribute hindered weaver to continuously throw weft yarn. In case of *pachhedi*, the body of the textile remained plain and patterns existed only as cross-borders. Thus, fly-shuttle mechanism was successful and readily adopted by the pachhedi weavers.

The loom and its parts:

The loom used for pachhedi weaving was fly-shuttle pit loom. Most of the looms were installed in the interior of the household. The portable nature of loom made it easier for the loom to be bed in and dismantled based on the convenience. Whenever not at work, it left roominess in the house.

Figure 4.16: A scene from a weaver's workshop
The frame of the can be seen hung on the wall

This was the main reason why weavers still preferred pit loom over frame looms and pole for supporting yarns in place of warp beam. This type of loom required installation of just rectangular frame, two poles or stumps and a pit. Rest each part of the loom

could be easily dismantled and required to be assembled stepwise at the time of setting-up of loom.

The height of the frame varied from 48-50 inches and it was 42 inches wide. The depth of the pit was 25 inches which had two treadles placed. The loom in the Saurashtra region was termed as *Khataro* or *Hancho (Sancho).*

A. The parts of the loom are discussed as below;

Table 4.25: Parts of loom and loom accessories:

Sr. no.	Gujarati name	Terminology	Description
Parts of Loom			
1.	*Hancho/ Khataro/ Khada shal*	Pit-Loom	Loom was called Hancho and Khataro in Saurashtra. In rest of the region, being pit loom it was named *Khada shal*.
2.	*Toyar/ Toar*	Breast beam	It was a horizontally installed beam attached to frame.
3.	*Hathlo*	Beater	It had a grooved portion which was affixed at the top of reed. It provided provision for holding with fingers.
4.	*Phani*	Reed	Traditionally, reeds were devised out of bamboo. These days' people used metal reeds. Some of the respondents had preserved their old reeds. Weaver at still Ninghad used bamboo reed. The reed size 24 was used by the weavers. The size of the reed was locally determined in regional count called *visi*.
5.	*Ranch*	Shaft	Shafts were called *Ranch* in Gujarati. Owing to the regional variations in the dialects, some of the families pronounced it as *Raans.*
6.	*Soya and ghar*	Dent	Dents were termed as *Ghar* in gujarati and teeth of the reed were called *Soya*.
7.	*Gala*	Heald eye	Heald eyes were called *Gala* in Gujarati. Threading of *galas* was carried out at the time of tying them manually. Such handmade *healds* lasted from four to six months depending upon their use.

			These days' readymade nylon *healds* available in the market were also used by the weavers.
8.	*Pavla/ Pavdi*	Treadles	The treadles were called *Pavdas*.
9.	*Gharadiya*	Pulley/ heddle horses	Pair of two pulleys were connected to the frame of the loom. The *gharadiyas* or pulleys were tied to the shafts while loom was being set.
10.	*Dandiya*	Stick for supporting treadles	A pair of *dandiya* was tied to the bottom end of shafts. The top portion of shafts was attached to the pulleys. *Dandiyas* were also attached to treadles. The treadling order was thus governed with the help of *Dandiya*. These occurred as grooved cylindrical baton to support free moving of shafts and restricting string slippage at the time of weaving.
11.	*Dama*	String	Cord or string attached to the *dandiya* and shafts were called *dama.*
12.	*Pasadiyu*	String	Pair of strings hung loosely in the pit, sometimes alternatively used in place of treadles at the time of introducing patterned cross borders. Most of the time *pasadiyu* was attached to the treadles by replacing *dama* at *dandiya*.
13.	*Raasilo/ thamblo*	Poles/ stumps	*Raasilo* or *thamblo* were the poles grounded on the floor for maintaining the tension and controlling take-up and take- off motion. Two such poles occurs-one opposite to the weaver in place of warp beam and the other next to the weaver for loosening and tensioning of warp ends.
Loom Accessories			
14.	*Pherakni*	Rod/ lever	The rod called *phirakni* worked as a lever for take-up motion. It helped in rotating cloth beam for winding woven fabric around.
15.	*Kathlo*	Shuttle	Shuttle was called *Kathlo* in Gujarati
16.	*Nerdi/* bobbin/ *kokda*	Bobbin	Bobbin was mostly called bobbin and some people also called it *kokda.*
17.	*Panas/ Panakh*	Temple for maintaining width made up of pair of sticks	Panas was a tool formed by joining two wooden sticks from the center and a string attached to their ends. The function of panas was to maintain width of the fabric, like that

			of stenters. It had spine or nails at the four ends of the two sticks. These nails were pinned on the selvedges to maintain equal width.
18.	*Charkha/ Piratyu*	Charkha	Charkhas worked as a bobbin winder and it also helped in plying yarns.
19.	*Thambla*	Pegging frame	Pegs were either mounted on the walls or in form of the pegging frame.

Figure 4.17: A still of dandiya, a pair of stick that connects treadles with the shafts

B. Pre-loom process:

The above stated lists of parts of looms and ancillary elements aided in the pre-loom and loom processes. There also existed native concept of reed count. The fineness of fabric and calculation of number of yarns was established on reed count. Reed count was based on number of *visi*. Normally, the reed size used by the weaver was eight and half *visi*.

Subramaniam L. discussed that the earning of weavers in eighteenth century varied according to their skill and the kind of cloths they undertook to manufacture. Weavers working on *bejutapauts* blue and white (export textile from Gujarat) of 10 *vees* and 24 *guz* dimensions were paid 3 quarter and 50 *reas* by the company. (Ed. Riello and Roy: 2013:270). Thus, the model of *visi* was centuries old and was indigenous not only to Gujarat but to India as well perhaps with different name. This model was found to be still practiced by the local weavers in Gujarat. As per the present day explanation of

visi, four dents/ teeth in reed formed one unit (i.e. 4 dents=1unit) and twenty such units formed one *visi* (i.e. 4 X 20 = 80 dents). Hence, one *visi* comprised of eighty dents and has derived its name from number twenty called *vees* in Gujarati.

Wendt I. concludes in his paper that Industrialization in South Asia was a complex process that resulted in mixed handicraft-mechanized industries by nineteenth century that are in many ways unique to the history of South Asia. The processes of cotton picking, cleaning, transport, spinning and warping have been almost entirely industrialized. In comparison to the late eighteenth century, this represents elimination of at least 60 percent of all labour from textile industry (ed. Riello and Roy, 2013: 215). This mixed- industrialization impact was very much evident in the pachhedi manufacturing clusters in Gujarat. The pachhedi manufacture in the district of Ahmedabad and Surendranagar existed as a mass production system, where mill spun cotton polyester blend yarns were supplied to the weavers to weave alike pachhedis in bulk for local market. The process of pachhedi weaving is explained in the following steps;

Step 1- pre-treatment of warp yarns: The pre-loom weaving activities in pachhedi weaving began right away from warping yarns from cones either purchased by the secretary of cooperative society or provided by the wholesalers. These yarns were not dyed or sized. Such yarns were blends of poly-cotton or precisely terry cot in 2/40 count, which did not require pre-treatment before warping process. Thus, the young weavers were ignorant in the processes of dyeing and sizing. Weavers in Ahmedabad mentioned that they had dyed yarns with direct, reactive and naphthol dyes in the past. They, however, eliminated the process of sizing owing to the availability of plied and twisted mill yarns, as informed by the trader.

Step 2- Calculation of warp yarns: For the purpose of warping basic counting of number of ends required was carried out. This counting in Surendranagar remained same for 24 inches wide pachhedis. The reed size was eight and half visi. The simplified calculation goes as below;

- In one visi, there should be 160 yarns. That is, there occurred 2 yarns per dent.
- One reed comprises of eight and half visis.

Therefore, 8.5 X 160 = 1360 yarns.

- Total number of yarns divided by number of cones of yarns available with him determined how many times he will have to wound the yarn across pegs of fixed lengths.

Figure 4.18: Use of cot as warping creel

Step 3- Preparation of warps: The process of making warp was termed as *tani-karvi* in Gujarati. Weaver at a time prepared warp for thirty-four to thirty-six pachhedis, depending upon the order and availability of cones with him. Warping was carried out either on warping frame or on the wooden pegs bolted on the walls in the compounds of the houses or on the exterior wall of the houses. The warp maker would first carefully arrange all of the cones beneath a cot. Yarns were then allowed to pass from the opening of the cots and were guided by the loops on a wooden horizontal frame. Each of these yarns was pulled together. This bundle of yarn was named lath.

The warp maker now guides these *laths* manually and wraps them around pegs. After completion of one complete round of warping, lease was introduced at the first or starting peg. Lease was called *daah* in gujarati while some called it *jog*. *Daah* was taken on separate stick manually and was then transferred on peg

Figure 4.19: Native development of peg frame

Figure 4.20: Process of taking up lease and warping

Once the warping of required length was finished, weaver would start looping warps by coiling them across their arms till a bundle of warp was formed. During this procedure, utmost care was taken of maintaining tension sometimes, warp maker required helper to support him maintain tension. In the past, as explained by the weavers, yarns were brought in hanks. These were non-plied single yarns in 20 to 40 counts. Hanks of these yarns were spread on the hank opener called *piratiyu*. Warping was usually a female affair in the past. To *piratiyu*, a stick was attached which made it easy to be held in hand and in other women carried a stick with metal loop to guide warps through the pegs. The pegs in the past were perpendicularly nailed in the ground.

Figure 4.21: Collection of warp from the warping peg

Step 4- Piecing: The denting order followed was (1-3, 2-4), thus, forming a broken draft. Healds were hand tied with six plied nylon cord on pair of sticks to form shafts. To avoid repetition of tedious process of warping, fresh set of yarns were pieced with previously threaded yarns. This process of piecing was termed as *Sandhani* in Gujarati meaning the process of attaching.

In the process of *sandhni*, the two set of yarns were held together, given the turn towards previous set of yarns and twisted with first-finger and thumb using ashes obtained from the vestiges of *chulha*. Every first generation member including females in the family was expert in the process of *Sandhani*.

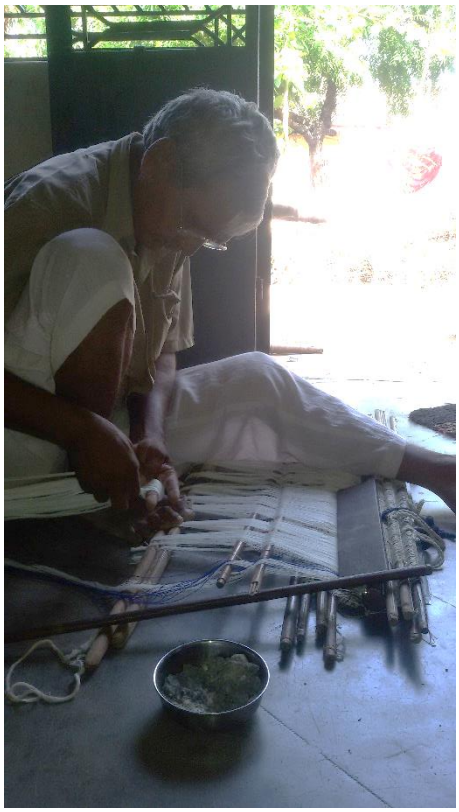


Figure 4.22: Process of piecing warps together
Note: The posture of weaver while piecing

The family of Dahya kaka from Parnala had expertise in this process and did this operation for other families at the wage rate of Rs. 100 in the village. The operation of only piecing or *sandhni* took an hour to be completed.

Once, the yarns were carefully pieced, one by one, they were cautiously pulled from the reed. This process was termed as *sandhani utarwu* or pulling of pieced yarns.

Figure 4.23: Pieced yarns being pulled through the shafts.

They were guardedly pulled and pounded with thin stick to open loose and entangled yarns. During this process, one person held reed and shafts tight and the other person, pulled yarns. This process also involved pushing of leased area forward, so as to ease space for reed and shafts. Every entanglement was taken care off at this process.

C. Setting up of loom:

Step 1: The pieced yarns along with shafts and reed hanging with them were spread on the cloth beam. Cloth beam had the stick attached to it to which warps were joined. This stick was tied at three equidistant positions to avoid bowing of fabric on being stretch at loom.

Figure 4.24a: Process of setting up of Loom- warp being stretched on the cloth beam

Step 2: Shafts were now tied with the sets of pulleys. The upper bigger wheel was connected to first and fourth shaft while the second and third shafts were connected with smaller wheel or pulleys. These pulleys were called *gharadiya*.

Figure 4.24b: Process of setting up of Loom- attachment of shafts to the pulley

Figure 4.24c: Process of setting up of Loom- tensioning up warp on the pole facing weaver

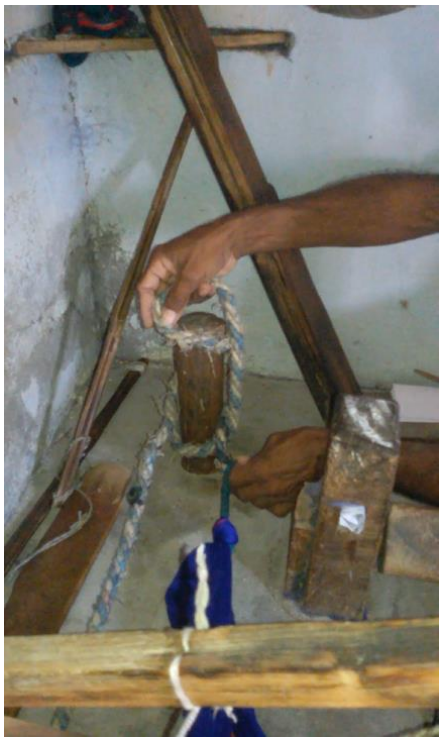


Figure 4.24d: Process of setting up of Loom- helding up of tensioned warp on the pole next to the weaver

Figure 4.24e: Refinements brought about in the techniques of stretching warps in Kachchh

Step 3: After, the warp yarns were tied to cloth beam, another person guides, yarns till the poles affixed at a distance of 12- 15 feet from the loom. The yarns were then guided till the weaver who ties the warp to the pole bolted next to him. This process of tying incorporates tying of flexible knot around warp yarns with the help of external cord. Weavers remarked that, one don't easily learn to tie this knot. Only practicing weavers

were capable of tying this knot easily. Amateur weavers or young weavers usually sought help of experts in the family.

Step 4: Now, the weaver would tie shafts to the *dandiya* with the support of *dama*. The tie-up process includes, tying of first two shafts with first dandiya and to the first pavdi or treadle. The third and fouth shafts were then attached to the second treadle. This resulted in lifted order of 1-2, 3-4, for creating plain weave in the fabric. While creating patterned ends, treadling order is changed. Sometimes, extra string called *pasadiyu* is attached to be used as treadles in place of other two treadles.

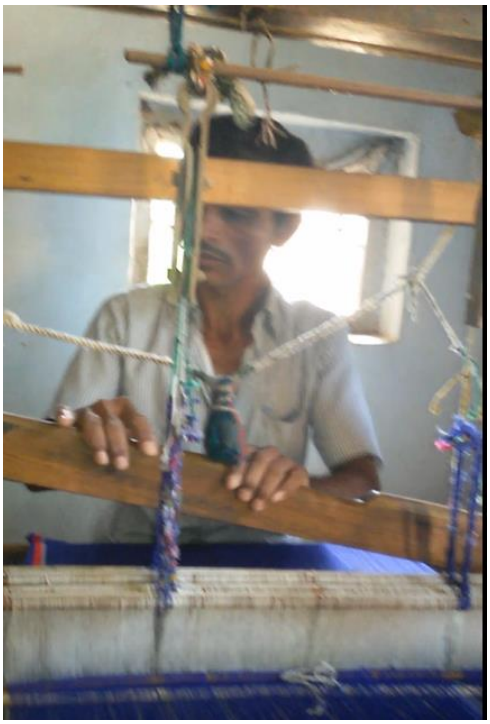


Figure 4.24f: Process of setting up of Loom- Placement of beater on reed

Step 5: Beater called *hatho* is affixed on reed. Few of the elder weavers worshipped it before installing it. Weaver now inserts two- three rough shots of wefts and commences with weaving.

D. Weaving process- forms, motifs and colour:

Motifs:

The motifs produced in *pachhedi* were minimalistic yet alluring. The motifs or patterns were found to be produced in *pachhedis* by three methods discussed below

1. By means of cross beating technique

In order to generate patterns by means of cross-beating technique, three-four plies of yarns are wound on bobbin. The design was created by insertion of coloured shots at defined intervals that are compactly beaten by reeds. The thicker plied yarns, broken draft and cross-beating technique induced these coloured shots to spiral around warps and hence generate weft faced rib or warp wise bold ridges.

These ribbed weaving creates bands of different lengths that occur as cross borders in pachhedi textiles. Widths of these bands varied from 5mm to 24 inches. The cross border along with kor lends them the identity of pachhedi. Insertion of different coloured shots also yielded in formation certain patterns elaborated as below:

Figure 4.25: Weaver demonstrating cross beating technique

1. *Chokha:* Chokha means rice in Gujarati. It was majorly found in lal pachhedis produced in Ahmedabad and was placed at the start and end of the cross border.

2. *Khajura* means centipede and it was seen in *lal pachhedi*.

3. *Anjand:* Anjand means repeat in Gujarati and it was used profusely in every form of pachhedi and boris. Boris and some contemporary pachhedi comprises of two consecutive cross bands on each end separated by other motifs. *Anjand* was present at the start and end of solid bands and in the center of solid broad band. In chiloda village it was also called *kaida*, i.e. bells hanging in anklet, when woven in two colours.

Weavers in Kachchh had traditionally woven mostly paghdis for local communities that included three sects of Rabaris, Ahirs and Patels. So, they termed cross borders developed in rib weave as '*paghadi no design'* and the technique was termed as *Aathtaako* technique.

4. *Macchar*: means mosquitoes in Gujarati. Any tiny pattern created out of different shots of weft yarns was labeled *machhar* here.

5. *Lath*: the continuity of long cross bands of pachhedi was broken by insertion of single white shot in plain weave. This produced intermittent lines in the cross bands

called lath which means stick. The name is also implied to single colour smaller width bands.

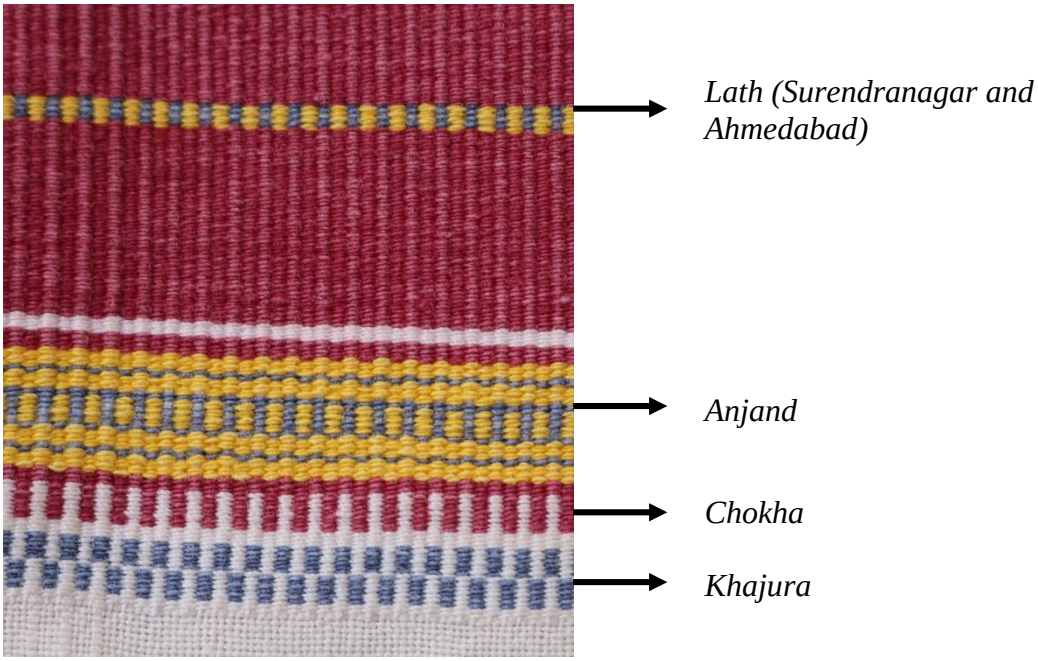


Figure 4.26.: A Section of Lal Pachhedi worn by Desi and Patanwadi Rabari along wih the nomenclature of forms generated by cross beating technique

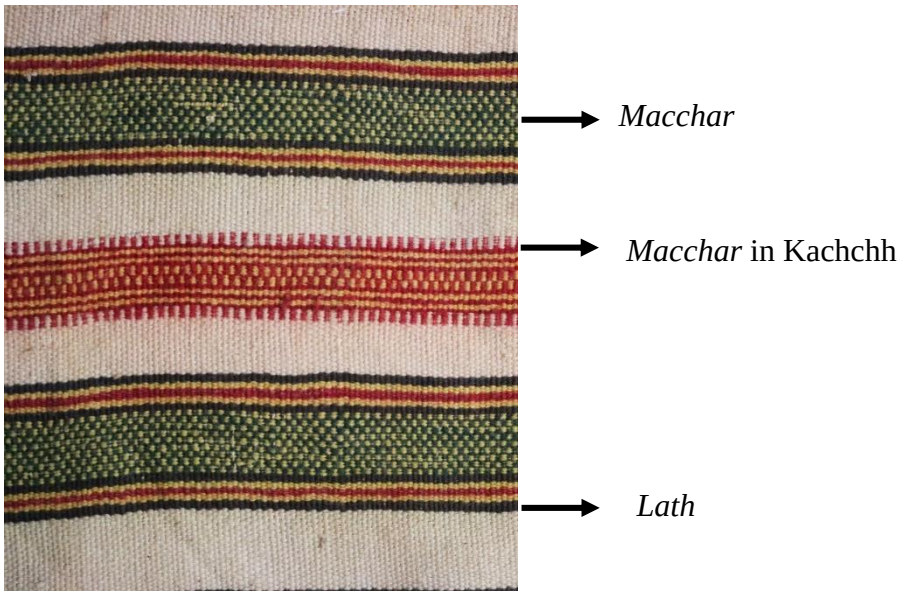


Figure 4.27: A Section of extinct piece of dhotali retrieved from Kachchh

2. **By means of inserting supplementary wefts;**

Extra weft patterning technique was used to create motifs. The process of weft insertion involved two methods illustrated as below. The definite geometric designs produced by

this method, show beautiful interplay of positive and negative spaces at front and rare portion of the textiles. The pattern generated at both the faces, makes the textile to be considered as reversible. Some considers the pattern developed on the front as face of the fabric while others of consider back portion on the loom as face of the fabric.

For this technique, set of alternate warps yarns were lifted by lowering or pressing treadles. The requisite length of yarn, needed for creating pattern is taken and plied as per the embossed effect required by the design. From the lifted warp yarns, set of yarns were counted on finger based on the design. The plied string of extra-weft was thrown to and fro across counted set of warps to create memorized design. After each step, a single shot of weft was inserted to secure design at its place. These occurred as doted motifs with occasional floats, creating distinctive appearance both on face and back created of the face fabrics. After the completion of motifs, extra loose threads are clipped. In pachhedis and boris of ahmedabad and Surendranagar, motifs starts with fixation of loose extra-picks and ends with fixation of loose picks, keeping in mind sensibilities of design. The motifs observed, hence, created by this technique are:

1. *Naka: Naka* means starting point, comprises of set of two or three lines created by inserting coloured shots.

2. *Derdi* is placed at the starting of each *bori* used by bharwads and in some *pachhedis* before *naka*. *Derdi* is a triangular motif formed by set of dots and was inspired from temple tower. In *chappan derdi*, thirty six derdis are arranged in combination with *sontiya cheda* or *angothiya cheda* and *naka*.

3. *Dakla/ Damroo*: *Dakla* was formed by reflecting *derdi*. *Daklas* were used in place of *phudadi* sometimes in smaller width pachhedis woven in Saurashtra.

4. *Dakla/ Phudadi/ phuladi*: It is a flower or star like form created by counting yarns. Because, it was formed by arrangement of two prominent *daklas*, it was labeled *dakla* by some weavers, some called it *phuladi* or *phudadi* meaning flower.

5. *Heer:* It was not found to be used in present day *pachhedis.* A sample of *pachhedi* woven with heer motif was found in craft document of National Institute of Design.

Weavers of both limbdi and Ahmedabad identified *heer* and agreed that they wove it. Description of the sample illustrates that it means simplified form of chain. It was used occasionally either at the beginning of end part of the *pachhedis* worn by young people.

6. *Pankho*: *Pankho* was also described as simplified form of hand fan used in *chappan derdi cheda.*

In the second technique, set of countable yarns were lifted, across the width by means of rods. Warp yarns were counted on fingers, and for collective set on each finger, rods were inserted. This implicated use of dobby technique at an indigenous level.

Figure 4.28.: Method of pattern rod insertion by counting ends on fingers.

7. *Thambli: Thambli* means pole. It mainly occurs with *derdis*. It was called same both in Kachchh and Saurashtra.

8. *Ardhi derdi: Ardhi derdi* means half tower. Usually, cross-border bands are cascaded between *ardhi derdhis*. *Ardhi derdi* rarely exists without *thambli*.

9. *Unchet: Unchet* is formed by reflecting combination of *ardhi derdi* and *thambli*. Both *ardhi derdi* and *unchet* creates floats of weft on face and back of the fabric. The back of the fabric is sometimes considered true and design created is termed as *badaam* (almond). If the lifting order of *unchet* is reversed or counting is changed, its variations can be achieved.

10. *Upadiya*: Upadiya means to lift. Upadiya pachhedies were very elaborate and expensive pachhedis in the past. These are similar to unchet but do not have

countings of thambli, producing patterns of diamonds. The extra wefts are manually plied five to six times to yield embossed effect.

The vocabulary of motifs created by this method was found to be limited in Saurashtra region and Ahmedabad district when compared to kachchh. These motifs had appeared to transpired from the Dhabla weaving tradition.

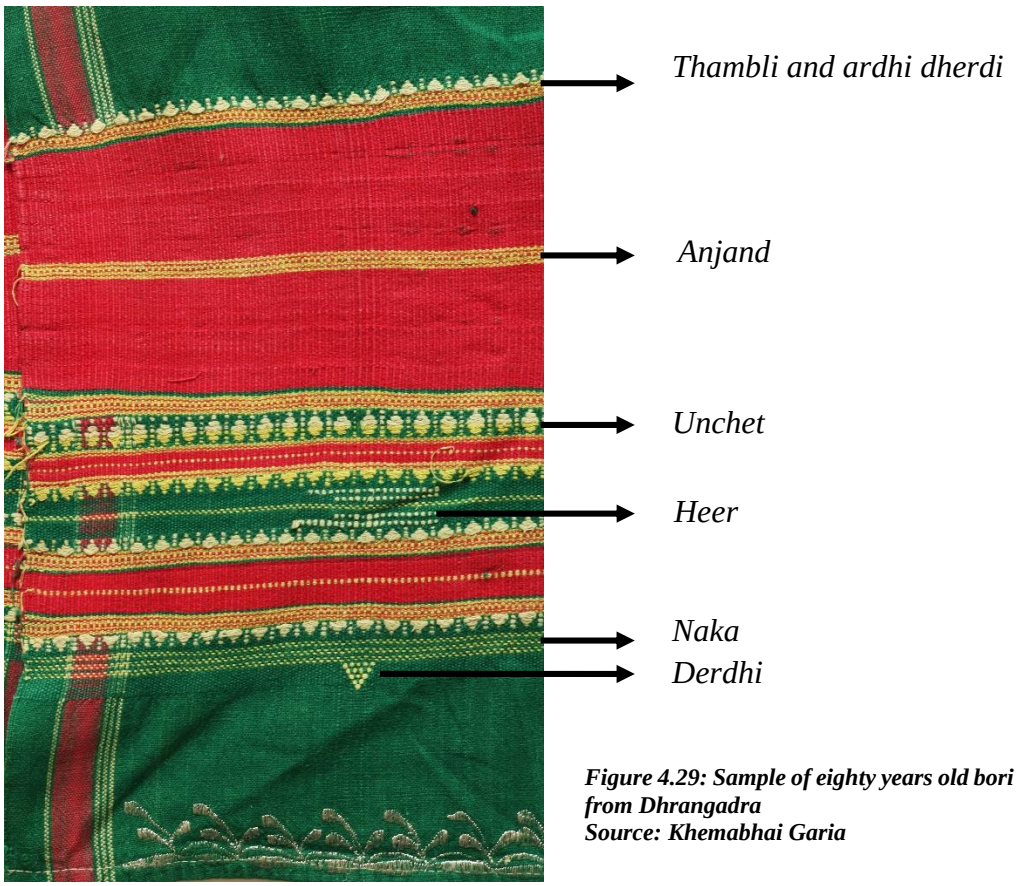


Figure 4.29: Sample of eighty years old bori Pachhedi from Dhrangadra
Source: Khemabhai Garia

1. *Brichli- Trichli*: *Brichli* means two and *trichli* means three. Set of two or three line woven by different coloured shots like *naka*, is termed as *brichli* or *trichli.*
2. *Dhunglo:* It is similar to *derdi* produced in *chappan derdi pachhedis* but is not identically made as *derdi.*
3. *Damroo/ dholki*: *Dakla* is termed as *dholki* in Kachchh.
4. *Chaumakh:* The *phulad*i motif is used in profusion in Kachchh.

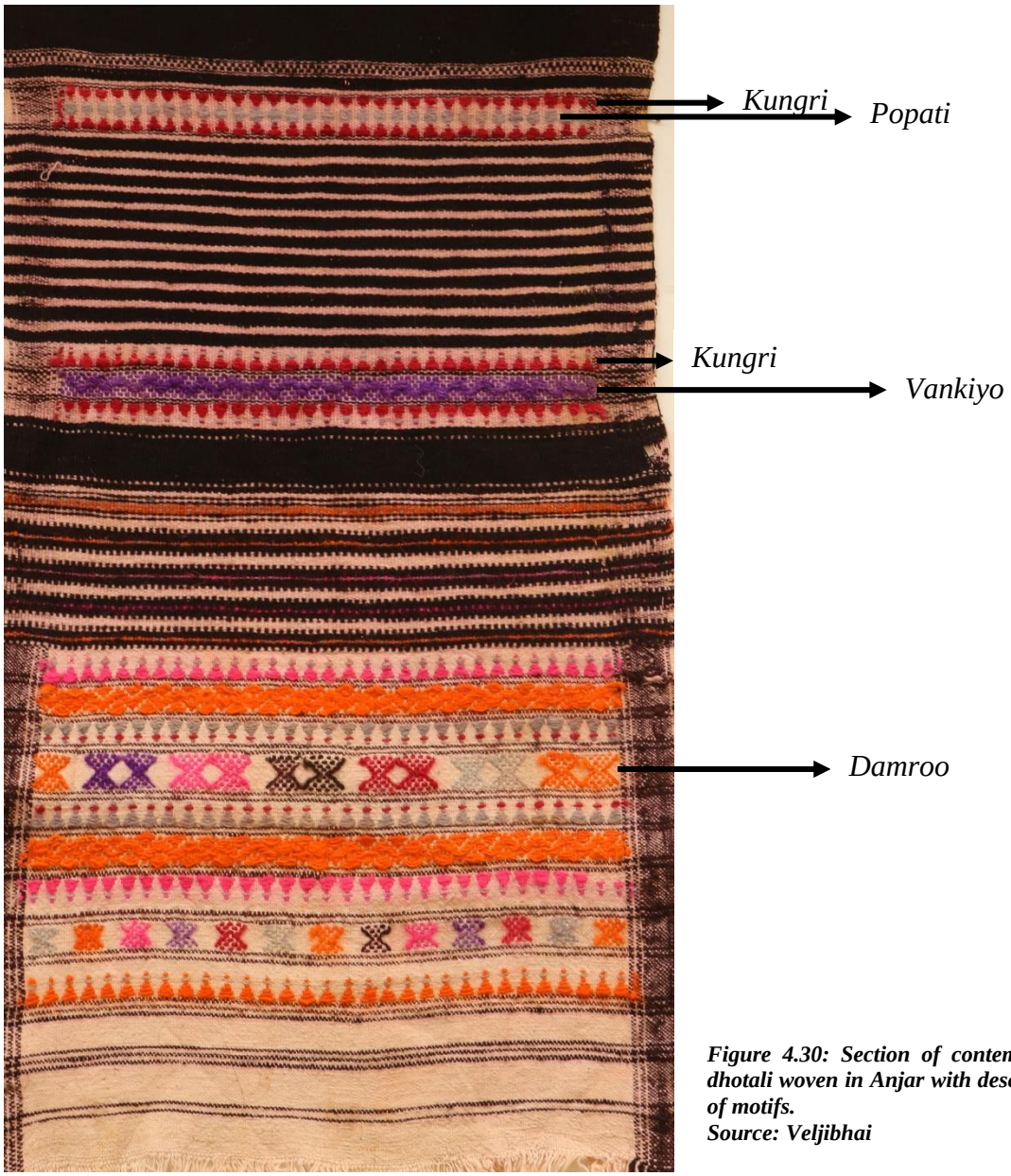


Figure 4.30: Section of contemporary dhotali woven in Anjar with description of motifs.
Source: Veljibhai

5. *Vankiyo:* it was a *zig-zag* pattern and it literally means same. It was also known as *danda mutiyano* or *lander*.
6. *Satkhani:* It is a diamond design formed.
7. *Thambli:* It was called same both in Kachchh and Saurashtra.
8. *Kungri: Ardhi derdi* becomes *kungri* in Kachchh. Although, it has different variations here.
9. *Popati: Unchet* is termed as *popati* in Kachchh.
10. *Hudki: Hudki* is square pattern created in contrast to *kungri*.

In the districts of Porbandar and Jamnagar, the visual language was fairly simple except for the *dhunglo* motif used in the *Pachhedi* of Sorathi Rabari. Srinivasan in his document mentions use of motifs like *Bummorai, Sahakhari, Laharia, Phul, derdi, mindi, mor, hathi, Patakhia, and jothar.*

Figure 4.31 A Section of Pacchawari from Jamnagar

Bumrai was *Satkhani* here, *Laheria* was *Vankiyo*, *Jhothar* was created by the pattern rod insertion method.

Again, it was observed in Vadnagar that although the textile and its fabrication techniques remained the same, the motif motifs differed. The vocabulary remained more or less the same. Looking at the visual language of textile, it was realized that the production carried out in the regions of Mehsana must also have found its main market Kachchh. The motifs on the anonymous textile found in the collections of craft connoisseurs in Kachchh resembles with the visual language of the kind of textiles that were produced in Vadnagar. It can therefore be probable that like present articles of clothing, the sample must have been produced in Mehsana and reached Kachchh through the route of Banaskantha. The right angled pattern created by the pattern rod insertion method was found unique to only Vadnagar and was also known as *upadiya.*

Therefore, the anonymous sample can be considered as the traditional sample for the present textiles that were fabricated in Vadnagar.

Figure 4.32: Section of present day khes produced in Vadnagar and anonymous textile sample studied at Kachchh

4.3.4. Value chain analysis and kinship between weavers, traders, middlemen and cooperatives:

The segment of the result intends to shed light on the existent dynamics amongst the stakeholders involved in the production, distribution and consumption of Pacchedi textiles of Gujarat. The stakeholders identified at the time of field study and their roles and definitions in context of the present study are discussed as below:

Stakeholder 1: Weaver

A weaver studied in the present study belong to the *vankar* community in Gujarat. Gujarat state gazetteer of Ahmedabad and Surendranagar explains that they wove *khadi, chofal* and *dhoti* in coarse strong texture. They were different from *Maru vankars, dheds* and *dhangasia* and wove only cotton. They claimed to be the descendants of Kshatriyas and bore surnames like Parmar, Chavda, Chauhan, Chudasma , Dabhi, Gohel, Makwana, Solanki and Vaghela (Patel G.,1977). The concentration of community's population was high in the district of Surendranagar followed by Ahmedabad. Field interactions and case study analysis showed that they had inadequate exposure, low education and very poor socio-economic status. The only driving factor behind their continual practice of weaving was unavailability of other career opportunities. Hence, to some of the weavers who could not espouse other means to make living, weaving represented an income.

There was just two weaving families that worked as a single unit. Rest other weavers were entirely reliant upon traders and cooperative's secretary for raw materials and marketing. Like other weavers in India as explained by review studies, the weaver here as well could not be itinerant. The character of work required judicious amount of time on loom. This element as well as the lack of education, motivation and appreciation towards their own skill had made their growth redundant.

Weavers that are aged, ignorant, resides in more secluded regions and illiterate had poor wage. Also, those who wove poor quality with simpler designs were also paid less wages. In certain cases, they were destined to toil as wage earners for traders for they had taken loans from them and there were no source of income left for them.

Stakeholder 2: Traders

The traders acted as the mediator between users of textile and its producers. They have had played a vital role in sustenance or existence of the craft so far. They belonged to the *Vania* community termed as *vyapari* by the artisans. There existed two major players in the business of *pachhedi* production and distribution. The other merchants from smaller blocks and cities procured textiles from them. They have fixed number of artisans working for them and their major role was similar to the master weavers, in lieu of other textile crafts. The traders though not skilled in the techniques but were well versed with it. They had also directed the course of the introduction of newer formats and designs in the market. Traders practiced ethics and would not try to break each other's weavers when if weavers approach them. They also added value to the products by further re-fashioning or re-vamping them for the consumers. Traditionally, consumers embroidered their textiles by themselves. They had now slowly started to diversify their range of textiles depending upon the requirement of local communities, due to evidently foreseen decline in the interest amongst both market and producing population. Each region had a specific trader or two to whom patrons would approach. Like weavers, traders were also well versed with motifs and communal requirements. In certain cases, these weavers had tried inducing certain forms of textiles in the market. It was reported by the consumers that Bori was introduced, merely fifty to fifty years ago. It could be likely that with the availability of mill spun yarn in colours, weavers and traders must introduced colourful *boris* in the system.

Stakeholder 3: Cooperative society

Formation of society required minimum of 51 members out of which at least 10 should be weavers working on loom. The other members contributes in subordinating activities like door to door selling, arranging for raw materials, and creating alliances with the traders. The development of society seems to have failed here for many of the reasons. The charge paid by the cooperatives are no better than those paid by the traders. In most cases the members of the society that were responsible for diffusing goods to the traders or communities, gradually began to think high of themselves. Some felt that the secretary and his inmates shared the major portion of the profit. Many times cooperative societies were found to be formed on submitting false documents and the appointed secretary availed benefits from that. In case of Vankars of Surendranagar and

Ahmedabad, secretary was the relative of the weavers. Number of weavers shown on paper were more than the actual count of practicing weavers, hence, it yielded in lesser confusions among the people. At times, in villages there existed two societies when the number of weavers in the family did not even exceed six.

Another major drawback that surfaced was that the weavers did not had check on the quality. They would weave cheaper and rough goods to compete with the prices of the established traders.

The below illustration shows the decentralized nature of present weaving craft under study:

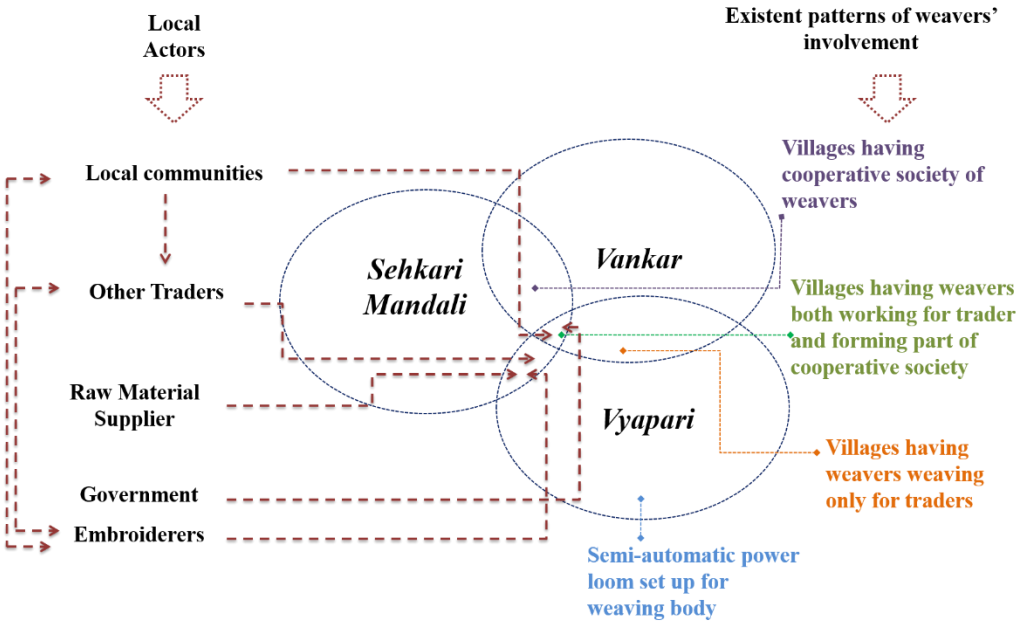


Figure 4.33: Decentralized nature of craft ecosystem

It was observed that there existed weavers who wove as part of the cooperative, there were those who wove both as part of the cooperative and wove for the traders, ones who wove only for the weavers and those who wove and sold the textiles themselves either to the trader or to the consumers.

Other than major stake holders- Weavers, traders and cooperative socities, there also existed participants like local communities, regional traders, raw material suppliers, government bodies and embroiderers. A consumer of textile can purchase his goods

from the weavers themselves, local traders, and cooperative society and from the trader or the wholesaler. The local traders on the other hand would always purchase goods from either cooperatives or established traders. The government facility of availing yarns at subsidized rates were available to only traders and cooperatives. A weaver being a singular unit would buy mill wastes and surplus from Ahmedabad. The embroiderers on the other hand are the local tailors who would work to feed in the requirements of the traders, local traders, cooperatives and the consumer communities.

It was also conceived that the craft operated at three levels and each stakeholder facilitated the other. There existed a symbiotic relationship between them which has been explained by the means of plane-2 and plane 3. The first level was where the weaver himself wove and sold the samples to his consumers. He procured raw materials all by himself from the market and fabricated goods to be sold either directly to the consumers or to the local traders.

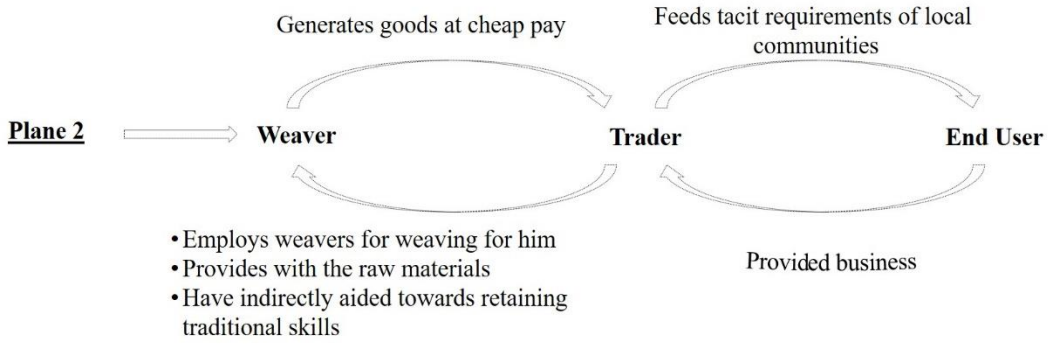


Figure 4.34: Plane 2-Craft value chain evaluation: Kinship between trader, weaver and end user

If viewed by a facile approach, it becomes apparent that at plane two, trader being the arbitrator provides the goods produced by the weaver to the end users. If seen and understood from the lens of mutual inter-dependency, it appears that each stakeholder forms an integral element of the symbiotic system.

At plan 2, trader provides employment opportunity to the weaver, he provides him with the raw material and thus have ministered the propagation of skill and its sustenance. On the other hand, weavers generate goods at cheap pay for the trader. The trader again fulfills the requirements of the local communities by means of meeting their tacit requirements related to the culture and in return end user provides trader with the business.

At plane three, it surfaces that in the cooperative body, weaver handles the production system and gets support of the secretary who regulates flow of raw material and funds. He acts an anchor point between the market space, government body and the weaver. He gets the goods transacted either through the local traders or directly deals with consumers. In both the cases, end user provides business to the weavers.

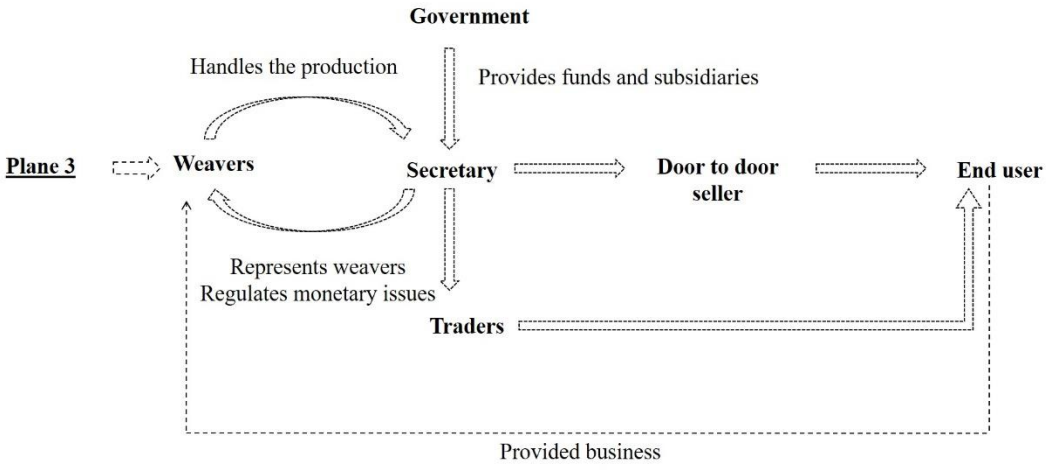


Figure 4.35: Plane 3-Craft value chain evaluation: Kinship between cooperative society, weaver and trader

Above all, pachhedi producers were 'cottage-weavers', meaning they worked in their own houses which meant that it was difficult to keep check on the time invested and number of piece goods produced by the weavers. Although, weavers received quantified amount of yarn, there anyway existed some scope for them to sell out textiles on their own without bearing the cost of the raw material. Thus, as induced by the law of the nature, each stakeholder worked and stood true for himself and in that process through their inter dependency, they nurtured the plateform for the survival of textiles.

4.4. Consumption patterns and cultural significance of Pacchedi

This section of result is concerned with the value, utility and the emotions of the social circle that makes use of these textiles. A manufactured good is essentially determined by its marketplace as well as the culture where it is located. One of the values of the social product is that it endows meanings in its consumer's life. A textile commodity provides identities to its wearers which becomes medium of communication for them

The results here, thus, sets out to explain the use of pacchedi, yielding into its specific format as well as to elaborate upon the aesthetics that have been lent by the culture.

4.4.1. Case Narrative on the Patrons of Pachchedis:

The case narratives explain the lifestyle and culture of consumer communities and their interactions with the textiles under study. Two detailed case interactions with communities were included to elaborate upon the social life of the rural communities and to pageant the degree of rootedness in their practice of cultural ethos. For the purpose of which two sects of Rabaris were identified- Kachchi and Bhopa. Bhopa was the sect of Rabari that was relatively accounted as retrograde in comparison to other sects. The major population of Bhopas and Wagadia were believed to have been living a nomadic lifestyle which made other sects count them fairly inferior.

The other sect chosen for detailed case study was of Kachhi Rabaris. The Kacchis were residing in the areas closer to Bhuj. This sect was considered moderately progressed and developed after the Rabaris of North Gujarat. The other cases were precisely meant to deal with the nuance of textile utilization patterns amongst the different communities interviewed at the time of data gathering. The case discussions also composite the important details discussed with the traders and middlemen of the areas where consumer communities were interviewed and interacted with. .

The intention, thus, was to demonstrate the interaction of the people, environment, experience and the phenomenon of the subject under study. This helped in not only explaining the picture of the environment where it was placed but also extrapolating pivotal themes.

Case Narrative 1:

Kachhi Rabari

Village: Bhujodi

Block: Bhuj

Manubhai Devabhai Rabari

Vankabhai owned a grocery shop at Bhujodi village. After inquiring about researcher's intentions, he showed a photograph of his great-grandfather wearing paghdi, that was hung at his shop. He directed his school going son to take care of his shop, when he took the researcher to his newly constructed house, a little far away from the bye-lanes of old Rabari houses. He mentioned that his father holds a respectable position in their samaj.

He is called to perform pujas on various occasions by families of their community.

Manubhai Devabhai Rabari, father of Vankabhai met at the entrance of their new house. After customary greetings, Vankabhai with chaste glee informed that his family had recently shifted to their new three-storey bungalow and had a grah shanti function a week ago.

Manubhai was of 61 years. Of late he had retired from Forest Department and had borne the sensibilities of both cultural and urban lifestyle. He had a quiet personality and spoke only when he felt that he could add more to what Vankabhai had discerned. He had studied till seventh grade, which was sufficient for him to secure a good government job.

Figure 4.36 : Manubhai, in his traditional dhotali

During his tenure at work, he dressed in western attire and had continued to wear paghadi since last two decades. It was after his retirement, their family decided to move to Bhujodi. Vankabhai added that his kids were fussy about them shifting to a village. He had two children and they studied at one of the popular school of Kachchh-Matruchaya declared the proud father.

On being enquired more about their community, father and son explained that Rabaris are sub-sected based on four parganas in Kachchh. Anjar taluka as Dhebar, areas of Bhachau and Ranpur falls under Wagad, and those residing in Ranasar area of Lakhpat taluka are termed as Kachhi Rabaris. Munubhai further elaborates; Rabaris residing both near Bhuj and Lakhpat were identified as Kachhi Rabaris. Those of Lakhpat tulaka were called belonging to Garada Panthak and those residing near Bhuj were termed belonging to Maghpat vistaar or belt. Magh or Jhakkar were the words used for dew drops in Kachchhi and Gujarati respectively. There were a total of 133 sakhs (branches) in Rabari community and thus their community was also termed as 'veehoter' nyat. Manubhai explained literal meaning of Vee- as vees meaning twenty, ho- as sau meaning hundred, ter- thirteen, the total of number thus, makes hundred and thirteen. He further asserts that Rabaris resides all over the Gujarat depending on their region-the culture and lifestyle of each sect differs. As for Kachchh alone, culture varies amongst Dhebaria, Wagadia and Kachchi Rabaris. But the culture of Garada and Maghpat belts, belonging to the same sect of Kachhis were more or less similar.

They explained that Rabaris can inter-marry amongst any sakh in their community. In Kachhi Rabaris, dates of marriage were fixed based on Muhurat. Rabaris of Anjar were strict about the Rabari tradition of getting married on the day of Gokul Ashtami. If there is unavailability of right muhurat, then even Kachhis marry at the time of Krishna's birth, for which one doesn't need to check for the muhurat.

To end with, after an insightful and satisfying discussion on Rabari community, Manubhai and Vankabhai moved to the first floor of their grand house. Manubhai comfortably sat on the floor and drew out a folded paghdi from his wardrobe. It was neatly pleated and rolled. He said he wore it on the house-warming ceremony and kept it as it was. The paghdi was similar to the sample kept in the Kala Raksha museum in terms of the design but its colour was maroon with a hint of purple in it. Manubhai

explained, it was the original piece of headgear worn by Kachhi Rabaris, called Dhotali. This style of paghadi was woven only by the weavers of Bhujodi. People did weave in the other villages but they could hardly reach the distinction of this sort in paghadis. Vankabhai further added that, even the weaver from bhujodi who could weave such paghadis had died a decade ago. Weavers still can weave such paghs on order but this paghadi is original and genuine, they cannot achieve this effect. Vankabhai took out few old family albums and photos. He initiated with the photographs and newspaper cut outs published when his father- Manubhai had honoured then Chief Minister- Shri Narendra Modi with Rabari Paghdi. That dhotali he announces with exhilaration was auctioned for three lakhs rupees in Ahmedabad. Manubhai's present dhotali was around fifty five years old. It was his father's dhotali and he still wears only this dhotali on special occasions.

Figure 4.37 : An old photograph of Kacchi Rabari men in their traditional attire.

Manubhai started hunting for relevant photographs, few of which were of the time of Vanka bhai's wedding and others were of the time when his family had visited Bhed mata-no- melo. The Goddess Momaiya mata was worshipped by Rabaris. She was called Bhed mata for her temple was on summit of an average heightened hill, called tekro in Gujarati. As it was evident from the photographs, Manubhai explained that

young Kachi rabaris wore maroon headgear with bandhni patterns. Dhotali, he described was worn after marriage by middle-aged Rabaris and after the age of 50-55 years, people started wearing plain white paghdi or dhotali without any design or pattern. He showed another photograph of an average aged man in dhotali from Nakhatrana. In most of the photographs, Manubhai and other people from his community had used bori in green and maroon as wrapper. These were called both bori and khes. These photographs were around twenty to twenty-five years old. This meant that boris were popular amongst rabaris since quite a long time. Manubhai also possessed a fifteen years old bori with black background and white checks. He had received this as a gift at the time of vankabhai's wedding. To khes, with white background and black checks, he stated that they were rarely used by Kachhi Rabaris but were popular amongst dhebaria rabaris.

As per Manubhai's knowledge, khes and boris were brought and sold from Ahmedabad. He had never heard of vankars weaving pachedis and boris. He explained that until recent times kachhis wore plain white pachedis. These people started wearing pachedis with designs. He possessed the angothia cheda pachedi, which again was a gift. He also displayed a set of kediyu and plain pachedi and asserted that earlier Kachhis wore kediyu but they currently wear Khamis with plain pachedi. His Kediyu was purchased from Ahmedabad. Such traditional outfits and objects like kediyu, bori and pachedi were not readily available in the Bhuj market. It has turned commercialized these days. Such products were either purchased from the market of Bhachau or Anjar or brought straight from the market of Ahmedabad.

His collections of photographs also had a picture of Dhebaria Rabaris in dhotali with black kor and chedas. He explained that kacchis never wore black paghadis. Black was common amongst Dhebaria Rabaris. Kachhis wore pleated form of paghadi. On requesting, Manubhai fervently agreed to demonstrate draping style of Paghadi. Researcher held one end of the dhotali while Manubhai neatly started pleating dhotali from other end, advising his grandson to tidy the pleats, while it held tight from two ends. Later, he neatly rolled the pleated dhotali which he kept next to him and started wrapping it nonchalantly on himself. After wearing dhotali, he checked himself in the mirror, rectified his mistake and explained that small end should be visible above the ear and the longer cheda should go around and be visible above the small cheda.

He also remarked that it was because of the conscious information provided by the reforms of saving culture and heritage, they were impelled to conserve and preserve their traditional pieces in textiles and otherwise. At his young age, he would adorn himself in traditional attire, not to conform to the group but because he was aware of his culture and it somehow, with other people it became a mandate to wear certain class of costumes on certain occasions.

After posing for a photograph, he directed his grandson to take the researcher to Vankabhai Kanabhai Rabari. Vanka Kana Rabari was a popular trader of traditional artifacts from Kachchh. It was anticipated that he would have a collection of pieces of old pachhedis. Vankabhai informed that he usually dealt with the embroidered samples from Kachchh. These days he was commissioning the production of embroidery pieces from the different sects of Rabaris.

On further interactions, Vankabhai explained that each sect of Rabaris residing in the regions of Kachchh had a definite center for their productions. Ninghad served the Dhebaria Rabari's requirements, Bhujodi wove for Kacchi Rabaris and in Wagad, Rabaris sourced their articles of requirements from the Chaubari village. He explained that the boris were the recent textiles that the weavers of Saurashtra had started vending 50-60 years ago. Kachchh had the tradition of weaving Khathi, a woolen shawl. He also informed about the other distinctions amongst the sartorial expressions of Rabaris in Kachchh. Traditionally, Kachhis wore only red and black coloured end pachhedis, popularly known as Ratapar and Karapar pachhedis. Kachchi did not make use of Boris. This fact was in contrast with the many visual references studied by the researcher and the old photographs of Manubhai demonstrated the use of bori-pachhedi in profusion by Kachchhi Rabaris. Wagadia was considered to be the most bright and exuberant of all sects. While Dhebaria sect had always worn black. It never accepted red or any other brighter colours. The similar discourses were shared by Vishramji Vankar from Bhujodi. He too had informed that the Bori was never a weaving tradition of Kachchh, it was introduced by the weavers of other parts of Gujarat.

On being queried about the placement of a flower or motif found in the corner edge of the traditional pieces, Vankabhai explained that there existed no specific reason of doing it. Mostly, there was only one reason that the similar textiles used by people

should not get mixed up or exchanged. Interestingly enough, this thread of tradition got transpired into the mechanized era as well. Its meaning and context, now have changed. Such motifs have become a built-in part of the pachhedi's design and occur in similar forms, size and shape, failing to serve its valid purpose.

Case Narrative: 2

Dhebaria Rabari

Village: Tappargam

Block: Anjar

Kanha Sava Rabari

Kanha Sava Rabari was a fifty-five years old man. In his childhood, he has been part of the *vandh* and had visited numerous places in Northern India and Maharashtra. With a glee in his eyes, he mentioned that he had been to Delhi and to many pilgrimages in north and remarks further that now was the time for his daughter!. Kanha Sava Rabari was a proud father of only a daughter who was a popular singer and was well known in the community across the state. She was an indispensable part of the group that conducts folk music events in Gujarat colloquially termed as *Daayro*. She was the sole bread earner of the family. Geetaben, daughter, of Kanha Sava Rabari had numerous photographs clicked in dhotali at events. Since, making one wear paghdi is an act of honoring the person in India culture.

The family had two samples of recently woven *dhotalis* from Ninghad. One of the sample was received as a gift by Geetaben and the other she had earlier bought which was to be gifted to her fiancé. Kanha Sava Rabari explained that he had worn both black and red end pacchedis which included both Ratapar and Karapar chheda Pachhedis along with elaborate upadiya. The family also had one sample of khes done in upadiya design which hand embroidered by Geetaben's mother. From 1995 onwards, the tradition of use of hand embroidery was stopped in the Rabari sect in order to cease dowry culture.

Kanhabhi further reported that the Dhebarias were ordained to use black but it has been a strict code of conduct for them. A man was expected to wear only black after the age of fifty-five years but before that, they had flexibility to choose their clothing in terms of colour. The dhotali was worn by middle aged man and elderly were expected to wear

white, however, some maintained wearing dhotalis at the time of rituals for it also depends upon the personal taste of the wearer. In Dhebaria Rabaris, there is a tradition of pleating the dhotali and twisting it before wearing so that the *kor* becomes visible.

The two *kheses* in upadiya design possessed by them had interesting finishings. The central joinery was termed as *khilni* here. If done in compact couching stitch, it was termed as *ghato khilni*. The other sample was of pachhedi used as dhoti which had machine embroidered joinery. The hem of the pacchedi had binding of printed fabric called *saat patto* or *panch patto*, application transpired from the use of mashru fabric. This binding was termed as *modhiyu* or *magdhi.*

Case Narrative: 3

Wagadia Rabaris:

Village: Gharana and Gamdav

Block: Bhachau

Sajanbhai Rabari and Bhachabhai Rabari

Bhachabhai from Gharana village was identified with the help of the weavers at Adohi. The intention was to study the type of dhotali that was used by the Wagadia Rabaris. On being approached, Bachabhai had reported that he had sold his sample of dhotali three months back to earn some money. Dhotali was a revered possession for him. He was a ninety-one years old man and had sold it to some local trader in two thousand rupees in order to earn money for himself. The dhotalis worn by them had red coloured end-panels and was informed having *Rata Chheda* in the local language.

Sajanbhai, was the sarpanch of the village Gamdav. He showed researcher the four samples of pachhedis possessed by him. Out of which three were his kheses or khesdis done in red ends with blue and green bands. The fourth sample was of upadiya pachhedi. All the samples were machine embroidered but the quality of the stitch was neat. To these pachhedis, Sajanbhai and his inmates were naming ‘Raato chhedawali Pachhedi’- Red end pachhedis. Sanjanbhai informed that in his childhood, he would visit Shiyani village in Surendranagar district to purchase pachhedis from the weavers.

Case Narrative: 4

Bhopa Rabaris:

Village: Gagwadhar
Block: Moti Khavdi

Ishwarbhai Rabari Nangesh and Harabhai Varsalbhai Nangesh

Ishwarbhai, Bhupatbhai and Mayurbhai were brothers living in their private houses in the same village. In early years of their life, they were herdsmen. Bhopa, Vagadia and Sorathi were three sub-sects of Rabaris that have still continued to wander with their cattles while rest of the groups of Rabaris had succumbed to modern lifestyle and static professions that fetched work to their door-step.

Ishwarbhai, aged thirty-four, had three children- two sons and one daughter. He owned a dhaba style hotel near Moti Khavdi, which had an authentic and rustic aura. It was a rare phenomenon to trace influential modern hotels in Saurashtra even today. Puriben belonged to the Motabhai Bharwad community and was employed by Ishwarbhai as cook.

She promised to get an old sample of bori the other day to the researcher. The sample produced her was a polyester white fabric with zari being woven in the cross borders. The population of bharwads in Jamnangar and Dwarka district was very less when compared to Ahirs, Charans and Rabaris. The region was demarcated as *Halar*, and the bharwads residing in this region were identified as *halari* or *alari* bharwads. The other two younger brothers, Mayurbhai and Bhupatbhai were professional drivers of tanker trolleys appointed by the dealers of Essar Oil.

Figure 4.38: Harabhai in his traditional costumes

It was around 2007 when Bhupatbhai learnt driving at the age of fourteen that he shifted his profession and subsequently Ishwarbhai opened up his hotel. It was then that their family shifted from their traditional profession.

On a discussion, to his home, Ishwarbhai elaborated that their ancestors had migrated from Lakhpat taluka of Kachchh to the areas of Jamnagar and Dwarka. Bhopas were originally worshippers, who performed *puja* rituals for the Kachhi rabari community.

It was after their migration to Jamnagar and surrounding areas, their settlement was identified as another branch of Rabaris called- Bhopa Rabaris. Being descendents of worshippers, they had continued use of bright red head wrapper which is their distinctive identity. He said many daughters (girls) of his community were married to Kachchi Rabaris in Tunda vandh (popular village of Rabaris in Kachchh district) and being a relative he often visits the village. In a casual talk about researchers study, Ishwarbhai asserted that it was very easy for him and his community people to discriminate between communities residing in his region from Jamnagar to Khavda which people would fail to do even after studying about them, reason being that they have lived their life in the established social system, which was undoubtedly a true fact. Ishwarbhai had illustrated a lists of stories and instances of Rabari. He had a huge social circle and was in touch with various sects of Rabaris.

On arriving at his residence, he invited people from his surroundings. Children hailed Harabhai Versalbhai Nangesh- a sixty five years old uncle of Ishwarbhai. Meanwhile, Ramiben with daughter Madhu, handed over saucers and served tea in customary style. With them entered Puriben, another relative of Ishwarbhai for discussion.

Ishwarbhai initiated discussion explaining that red pagdi or short red headgear stands out as the first identification for Bhopa Rabaris. He prodded, Harabhai, to speak more about pachedi, pagadis, khes and their own textiles.

Harabhai explained that Pachedi was termed as *potiyu* by bhopas. Chandra M. has mentioned potyu as a short waist cloth of cotton. References of which were also traced in fourteenth century literature from Gujarat. He further explained that it was either used as *bhet* or *khesdu*. *Bhet* was the specific term used for textile when it was tied as girdle and expression *Khesdu*, defined its application as shoulder cloth. Hence, cloth's manifestation relied majorly on its function and accordingly it was named. Srinivasan

J. in his craft document mentioned that Rabari men in Jamnagar and surrounding areas made use of *Khesada*. It was a white cotton cloth tied around the waist; it was used by Rabaris in their marriages and during other ceremonial occasions (Srinivasan J.: 1992:45).

The present day *pachedi* or *potiyu* had narrow band. Harabhai sent out one of the kids, gathered around to bring *potiyu* from his residence. Harabhai's *potiyu* was *Angothia pachedi* in weaver's terminology which had narrow *kor*. He further informed that people in community wore *Choyrno* or *Suthiya*, as they would call it teamed up with upper garment called *angudi*. In the past, added Harabhai, people also wore *angudi* with *pachedi*. Harabhai explained that *Choyrno* was stitched out of *paankora* cotton which was the local terminology for khadi.

Before, Harabhai could elaborate further, Ramiben and Puriben excitedly displayed intricately embroidered articles of daily objects, home décor and their daily as well as ritualistic costumes. These objects were inclusive of beadworked hand fan, danglers, kothlo, patch worked *parda*, *indhonis*, green *lungi* (shoulder wrap) in polyester used by grooms and other intricately embroidered products in varied stitches with mix-match of *tui* and golden laces. These embroideries had impeccable finishing and were done with extreme finesse, the quality of which was found missing even in the present day embroidery of Rabaris of Kachchh. They further described that even bhopa women wore *pachedis*. To which Ishwarbhai clarified that the researcher was interested only in male *pachedis*. The *pachedis*, thus, meaning a coarse cotton cloth, here used by females was of tie-dye fabric. Their function was same as *Pachedo* worn by Dhebaria and other female residents of Kachchh, thus diversifying its present form from traditional wool. Married ladies in bhopas wore red and maroon coloured *pachedis*. Young unmarried girls wore black *pachedis* with white and red bandhni dots creating all over triangular pattern called *tran dana*. The combination of double dyed red and white dots were called *tildi* while only white bandhni dots created were termed *ankh* (eye). Ladies explained that the old faded cotton pachedi was made out of *khoto* (false) fabric and the new set of *pachedi* in black printed polyester was identified as *sacho* (true) fabric by them. This reflected their respect more towards synthetic and imitation textiles than true cotton or wool bandhni textiles. This could have been a resultant phenomenon of merchant's endorsement for long lasting cheaper textiles that has deceased traditional life of true craftsmanship in the area. Srinivasan also mentions that apart from woven

ornamentations some of the textiles in Jamnagar were also tie-dyed (Srinivasan J., 1992:17). The central joinery of *pachedi* was called *hathni gathi.*

The bored, Harabhai, had left after having his tea and had waited sitting on the cot outside the Ishwar bhai's entrance. He agreed on the fact as inquired by researcher that young bhopas wore red *paghdi* while ones with cross border was worn after marriage by middle aged men. The elders would always wear white *paghadi*. He added that they would call *cheda wali pagdi* as *dhotali*. He supported his information of bhopas being associated with red turbans, showing photographs from Ishwar's album, when he had been to offer *dhwaja* at dwarkadheesh temple. Out of the sample photographs of old *pachedis* showed by researcher, Harabhai could identify red end of Ahir's *adhivato*, similar to the end of *pachedi* used by Sorathi Rabaris and navrang pachedi as navrang khesda used by young *bhopas*. He further informed on inquiry that caps worn by various communities in the region were accepted around 40 -45 years ago owing to the weight of paghadi, resulting as almost end for the *paghadi* tradition.

Merchants of the Dwarka region

Case Narrative: 5

Cities: Jam khambaliya and Dwarka

Dharmesh Arvindbhai Khatri:

Harabhai told Ishwarbhai to take researcher to the nearest town of Jam Khabaliya. He guided him the shop can be identified as *uncha otla ni dukan* in the main market area of the town.

The famous or the old shop that sold the attires of the Rabaris and local communities was named as Khatri Arvindbhai Girdharlal. Shops in Gujarat were named after the name of the owners.

Figure 4.39 : Dharmeshbhai – Trader from Jam Khambalia

Dharmeshbhai Khatri, the present head of the shop was thirty-seven years old. He had studied till grade twelfth and was an artist by heart. He was a painter, rangoli artist, dyer and merchant all together. Dharmeshbhai ascertained that he had inherited this business. Being Khatri, this profession was a long legacy for him. He chronicled his ancestry in profession and said with pride that he was the few amongst those who learnt the craft of dyeing. [In past, there were Vankars who wove for Rabaris, Khatris who dyed their wool and vaniyas the merchant sold their garments or pheriyas who were door to door seller. The pheriyas belonged either to the vankar, khatri or vaniya's community: Frater:2003]. The shop of the Dharmeshbhai was named after his father suggesting that it must have been opened by him. Dharmeshbhai was involved in the business for thirteen years now. His family was popular amongst the local communities which he was proud of and declared that his customer would always recommend his shop. His shop was for sure a busy place with just him on service and display.

He informed that he procured yarns 2/40S and 2/20S from Ahmedabad and got the *pachedis* woven from his weaver. He would pay just Rs.75 Per piece of pachedi, reason being that he has over a decade of relation formed with him. He further justified that their business lasts on good relations formed with the Karigars. This remark again suggests monopoly of trading community over weavers. The Khatri here was thus, not only performing the role of dyer but was also a popular Vaniya in the area. On being inquiring, who buys who these days, he joked- "*Ye to gehu ka lot hai, people buy as per their preference these days!*" The cultural expressions are slowly losing their grip. People experiment with different materials. Youngster would purchase cultural objects of other communities as well for functions and marriage occasions. Further clarifications based of community consumption were; the Rabaris these days buy only *Jam Cheda ni Pachedi* which was similar to the potiyu of Harabhai. Cheaper powerloom woven versions of this pachedi was brought from Amreli similar to *Sontiya Cheda* to which he termed as *Angothiya Pachedi*.

He had old samples of Gadhvi's wedding turban and those of Satwara's turban, which were made of single ply yarn. Dharmeshbhai explained that single plied yarns were still available in the market but one needs to size them which weavers were not willing to do. So, they introduced two plies yarns in 20 and 40 counts. He rationalized out of his knowledge that fabric woven out of cotton polyester deforms and distorts, perhaps out

of yarn slippage after use. Merchants of Limbdi make use of such yarns that we avoid. He also produced sample of Merchant Devsi Devkaran Mehta from his stock. For the current market, he had *tirangi litti ni pachedi, Pagh of Gadhvi* with black border called- *Bhojapra* , *Kheses* and *Khesdis* and *pachedis* used by only Rabaris and Gadhvis or Charans. Furthermore, he explained that elders wore *Bhojapra*. The *Khes* kept by elders on shoulders called were *Phariyu* and it had *Jamcheda* while twelve to fifteen years old would wear *khesdi* with elaborate borders. *Bheth* was tied on waist. Pachedis would come in two lengths- 7 hands (2.75 meters) measurement and 5 hands (2.5 meters) measurement and each 28" wide. *Khes* occurred in 2 meters. *Khesdi* occurred in 3 and half hands and bigger occurred in 4 hands.

Srinivasan J. had talked about the cotton brocades woven in Porbandar and Jamnagar district. He mentioned that the traditional textiles produced in the region were *pachhedis, khesdis, khesadas, dhablas, kacchikuras, Paghadis, bhojapara, odhanis* and *gharcholas*. The communities consuming them listed by him were Mer, Bharwad, Charan and Rabaris (Srinivasan, 1992). Moreover, the merchant made the point that he has mostly sold his cotton clothes to Gadhvis and Rabaris. Bharwads rarely visited him. This comment can germinate the fact that each locality had higher dominance of two or three communities over the other and based on the concentration of communities, textiles were produced and sold.

Dharmeshbhai's weaver was located in the village called Pan Khokri, whose name was Pababhai Vankar and hence the weaver too here belonged to Vankar community. Earlier, he used to get his textiles woven from Bhanvar. This place found mention in book authored by Judy Frater- Threads of Identity. Author had collected traditional samples of clothes used by Rabaris from Bhanvar or Bhanvad. Dharmeshbhai had refused to give his traditional pieces to the researcher. He expressed that those were got woven by his ancestors and were very rare. He remarked that the samples for him were invaluable and priceless. He explained when a *karigar* dies, the skill also dies with him. No one can weave such textiles these day. The weavers have stopped weaving such textiles in the whole *pargana* of Khambaliya. At the time of researcher's, second visit, Dharmeshbhai's old weaver was stooped to halt weaving process due to ill health.

Khimji Valji Ghedia:

Khimji Valji Ghedia's shop was located in the narrow lanes of Dwarka's market. There were two other stores in the market where *Pacchedi* textiles where traditional attires of the local community were sold. The traders there procured powerloom woven fabrics from Amreli which were heavily ornamented with machine embroidery. The zari was used in profusion for machine embroidery. Some of the pachhedis were also procured from the market of Suurendranagar district.

Khimjibhai's store was the most popular store for traditional costumes in Dwarka. He had stopped selling articles for the market for traditional goods as well as its production had declined in the region. Moreover, there were many stores in the town who had got into the business of selling poor quality, machine made textiles to match the taste of the local communities. Khimjibhai explained that the area had maximum population of Gadhvis. There were three sects amongst the charans who were also called as Gadhvi-Mathka, Tumkel and Ghoda. Ghodas were the primitive amongst the three sects and were yet not engaged in education. With their backward thoughts and attitude, they had continued to use traditional textiles. Khimjibhai further elaborated that the brownish maroon coloured dhotalis used to be for Charans while the deep reddish coloured dhotalis used to be Rabaris. Narrow bands in black would always suggest a Charan community while young Rabaris of the region carried navrang pachhedis.

Case Narrative: 6
Charan/Gadhvi
Village:Gurghat
Block: Baradi
District: Devbhumi Dwarka

Velji Khima Gadhvi

On route towards the Dwarka from Jam Khambalia, researcher traced a trodden semi-RCC made house next to the main road. A fairly aged man who was milking cow was adorned in black cross bordered *bhet*. Ishwarbhai who was knowledgeable man claimed that the family belonged to charan community.

His family eagerly welcomed researcher and her companions. Veljibhai was fifty-seven years old and had married twice. He had five children, two from previous marriage and three from second marriage. His first wife had passed away due to some disease which he did not reveal.

When the researcher arrived, Veljibhai continued milking his other cow, while his wife made *chai* (tea) from fresh milk on *chulha* (Indian stove). Chai prepared by Vejibhai's wife had a supreme taste, perhaps certain flavours could only be experienced at authentic places, where cuisines are prepared not for the lifestyle but for personal pleasure. Veljibhai was wearing *pachhedi* as *bhet* on his *kediyu*.

Figure 4.40.: Use of pacchedi is the costumes of Gadhvi

He was also wearing a pleated scarf with cross-border as a headgear called *Bhojapra*. Velji's son also had a *phariyu*, heavily ornamented with sequins and embroideries.

These formed the composite of daily wear costume for Veljibhai. On special occasions, the paghdi of the people would change. Those that had not sold off their traditional samples would wear it. He also explained, in the past, when a person would die, his clothes were either donated or were proffered to the flowing after his death as the heavier dhotali was difficult to be reduced to ashes with the lifeless.

Case Narrative: 7
Sorathi Rabari
Village:Rogda
Block:Putiyana
District: Porbandar

Dudha Kanha Vandha Rabari

Sorathi Rabari inhibits a region that expands northwest from Junagadh District into Jamnagar and Rajkot Districts and includes the dense forest of Gir, the Barada hills and Alejh. The village visited was known as Rogda where Rabari lived in concrete houses with bricked tiled roofs. Houses were fenced with cactus bushes and each compound had cattles. Lanes of the village were narrow. Ishwarbhai accompanied the investigator to the village at Dudhabhai's house. Dudha Kanha Vandha Rabari was a sixty year old man. He had two daughters– one married, other studying and a son who owned a fairly good dairy business. Dudabhai was studying in a separate house with his wife.

Figure 4.41: Use of pacchedi in the costumes of Sorathi Rabaris.

Researcher was offered place in other room to sit but not with the men. It was not customary with the Rabaris and other local communites to welcome females alongside men. Owing to the cultural constraints, researcher was expected to maintain distance for the man.

Due to the requirement of the research, the researcher was later invited in the sittng area and was provided a separate chair to sit while others found place on two cots. Dudhabahi's Son barely knew anything about *pachhedi.* He had never used one and was married with three children, one son and two daughters.

Dudhabhai who was sixty, had stopped using dhotlis and ornate traditional pachhedis worn by Sorathis since last 35 years. Dudhabhai's house had a photograph of his guru offering worship to God, in which he had draped himself in the most popular *bhet* of the region. Dudhabhai had an old sample of Angothia pacchedi woven which he shared with the researcher.

Finding Sorathiya Rabari's bhet was a difficult phenomenon in the region. Very few had kept the traditional samples with themselves.

He referred addresses of the merchants in Porbandar where researcher could still look for the traditional turban pieces or the *dhotalis.* Suleiman Mussa and co. was the name of the trader who had got five *Ratapar* and *Karapar, dhotalis* worn by Sorathi Rabaris on order. Plain *pachhedis* with *kor* procured from Amreli was readily available in the market for the purpose of being used as khesdis.

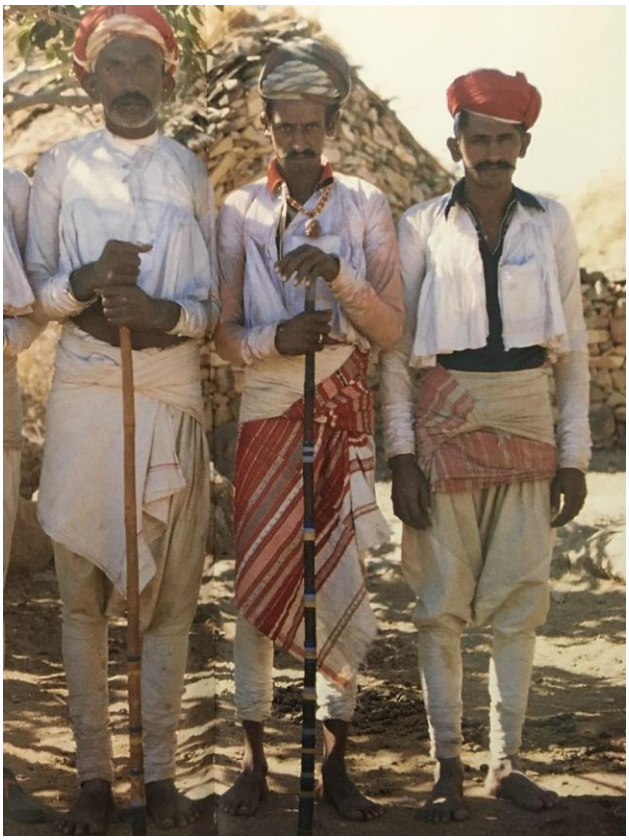


Figure 4.42: Use of dhotali and pacchedi as bhet in the costumes of Sorathi Rabaris.
Source: Threads of Identity

Case Narrative: 8
Panchali Rabari
Village: Bhupgarh
Block and District: Rajkot

Bijalbhai Devabhai Galsar and Lakhabhai Surabhai Galsar

Bijalbhai was a rich merchant of the region. He owned farmlands and had two pumps given on lease. Unlike, the lifestyle of the Rabaris in the extreme interior regions, Bijalbhai had a colossal and magnificently made house in the region. Rabaris and Bharwads of the neighbourhood worked at his farms and fields. For the quest of the researcher, Bijalbhai had called in for elderly men of seventy-two years from the village- Lakhabhai Surabhai Galsar. Lakhabhai informed that the men in their community wore *pachhedis*, earlier mostly in plain white with a narrower cross border. They adopted wearing *choyrno*, thirty-thirty five years back. Lakhabhai also confirmed to the fact of the types of draping dhotali elaborated by Dudhabhai from Porbandar and Kanabhai from Tappargam. Lakhabhai had further, explained the same with the names.

The style of paghdi when pleated and draped was termed as *lobdi* and it goes from right to left while when it is twisted and draped, it is termed as *nagdi*.

Lakhabhai also reported that they traditionally procured textile from the Sudamda village which was situated in the Sayla block. To the shoulder cloth, they termed as Khisdi pacchedi. Bijalbhai, possessed a sample a sample of tradition dhotali from his grandfather. Lakhabhai, on finding the same tried draping it on himself in *nagdi* style.

Figure 4.43: Use of dhotali in the costumes of Panchali Rabaris.

Case Narrative: 8
Raika Rebari/ Dewasi
Village: Aamthala
Block: Mount Abu
District: Sirohi

Bhutaram Bhura Rebari and Kailash Dewasi

Bhutaram Bhura Rabari was forty-two year old man working at Mt. Abu. He owned three horses and took them to sunset point at Mt. Abu, to ferry tourists to and fro. Originally, from Girwar village, Bhutaram along with his wife and children had settled in the colony called Mali colony at Mt. Abu, which got erupted on one of the cliff.

Figure 4.44: Use of Kanotia by Raika Rebari

Bhutaram asserted that traditionally men, in his community wore *Rati koni honi Pachhedi*, meaning red paneled pacchedi, from Gujarat. The sects of Rebaris, Bhutaram was aware about were Sirohia (which he himself was), Jailsalmeria, Desuda (Deesa and Dhantiwada), Jaloria and Kacchi. In the past, by the means of the length of the *chheda (Palla* here), one would determine from which region did the person belong. The use of pacchedi was, however, stopped but Dewasis (Rebaris) of the Sirohi district have been wearing them in form of *Kanotia*. *Phariyu* was termed as *Kanotia* here. Its function was same as that of *Parna. Kanotia* also was in use only in the Sirohi districts these days.

Kailash Devasi, a thirty eight year old lady from Amthala village, displayed pachhedis worn by men. The style of embroidery was very different from the ones found in Gujarat but the vocabulary remained the same. It comprised of vankiyo and peacocks. The central joinery was termed as *Kasino khilli.*

Case Narrative: 9
Desi, Tharadari, Patanwadi, Vadhiyara, Chuhar

Dedhal and Rampura villages in Deesa
Dasada block in Surendranagar District
Dhrangadra block in Surendranagar District
Viramgam, Ahmedabad

There was not much difference in the culture as well the costume of Patanwadi and Desi Rabaris. And so was there similarity between the cultures and ethos of Vadhiyara and Chuhar, residing in the areas between Viramgam and Hiraj. A common thread of their culture also runs across the areas of Jasdan, and Dasada with Kharapati Rabaris residing there. These sects composites the Northern Gujarat and the areas coinciding with Saurashtra.

Meghaben Sangrambhai Rabari and Santokben Rajabhai Rabari were the Kharapati sects of Rabaris residing in Dasada. They reported that, men would occasional carry *Kheses* with *chhedas*. Their pachhedis were always white with kors. Traditionally, they embroidered their clothes, these days they would embroider for the tourists visiting little Runn of Kachchh. Patanwadi Rabaris plain pachhedis with black kor. Traditionally, *Karapar* and *Ratapar* pachhedis were worn. Dhotali was worn by the middle aged men, younsters wore red paghdis while elderly wore plain white. Their dhotali did not have

cross borders and comprised of only kor. They had stopped wandering for more eighty years now and hence considered other sects of rabaris as primitive to them.

Case Narrative: 10
Motabhai and Nanabhai Bharwad

Motabhai Bharwad: Dhrangadra, Dasada and Ahmedabad
Nanabhai Bharwad: Limbdi and Ahmedabad

Jhaluben Bagabhai Dorala was a fifty-four year old lady residing in Dhrangadra. She had two sons. Out of them only the elder son who was engaged into animal husbandary had continued to wear Pacchedi. The other son was working a local store and hence had to give up on the traditional attire in order to conform to his job profile.

Ramuben who was sitting next to Jhaluben had explained that the *boris* were worn only till the age of forty-forty five years. Later, men were expected to wear *ossad*. *Ossad* was a plain white cotton polyester pacchedi or dhoti, that was either heavily or less embroidered. Men till the age of fifty-sixty years wore, *ossads*. Chappan derdi was later worn after the age of sixty years. Chappan derdi was never heavily embroidered. Jhaluben, meanwhile, took out sample of an old *angothia pacchedi* to which, she had termed *cheda wali pacchedi*. In their community, explained her, it was used as a shoulder cloth.

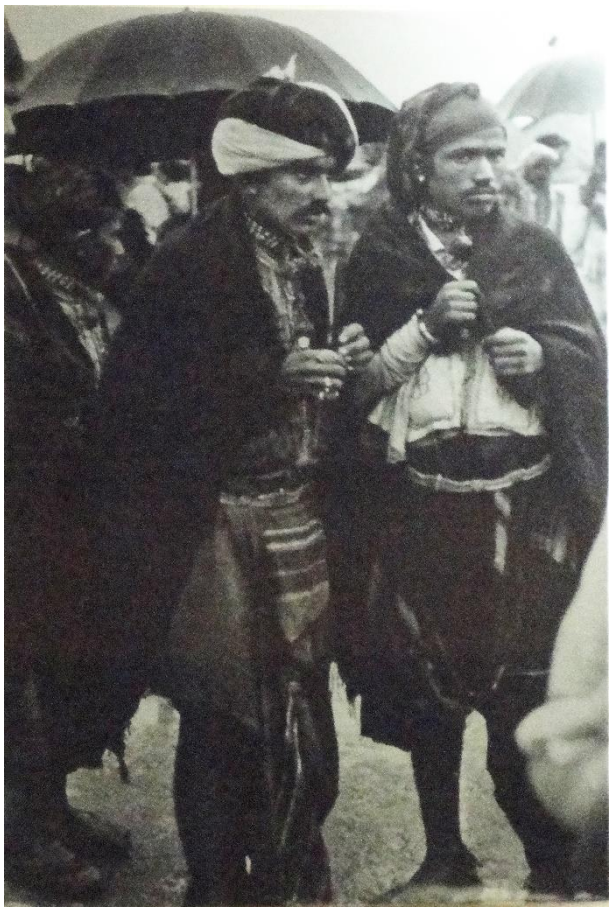


Figure 4.45: Bharwads donned in traditional dhotali and bori pacchedi, from Tarnetar fair
Source: Shreyas Folk Musem

Draping it one one's shoulder was mandatory at the time of *kayno* or at the time of someone's funeral. The women on contrary would also wear their traditional *ludi* or woolen dupatta. Traditionally, it used to be heavily ornate with embroidery. The *ludi* on such occasions would be worn with wrong side up. Khodabhai Ramabhai, a sixty-two years old man had asserted that he had given upon wearing *Bori* and had adopted *ossad* when his father had passed away. This meant that he had to shoulder responsibilities of his family after his father.

Vaniben Rajubhai Mewada, in one of the interactions had mentioned that bharwards had given up embroidering their textiles around eighty years ago.

Their *ludis, pachhedis* and other textiles were embroidered by the Patel community. This could perhaps been the reason why Bharwads easily adopted use of machine embroideries on pacchedis and boris. An old bori was retrieved and from the collection of Khemabhai Garia. His green *bori* was from either 1965 or 1967, when his first son was born. He further clarified that the *boris* were introduced only from early 1950s onwards.

Figure 4.46: Bharwads clothed in ossad

Figure 4.47: Bhayabhai in dhotli

The green *bori* was only the sample of its kind observed in the collection of Bharwads. It was a faded emerald green coloured textile with clear bold motifs. Rajubhai's address was recommended by many families in the town for Paghdis. His father had the old dhotali which Rajubhai had draped several times at the social events. Vaniben Rajubhai had reported that the paghdi was gifted by their to the daughter-in-laws family and they did not possess it anymore. They had an old photograph of Rajubhai's father- Late Bhayabhai Mashru Bhai's photo donned in an old dhotali.

4.4.2. Native classification, forms and functions of Pachhedi

The textiles under the broader term- Pachhedi were classified based on their function and design. The function determined the format or shape of the *pachhedi* as well as its dimensions. The designs aided in assigning names to the textiles which means the names were on the visual appearance of the textiles. The aesthetics of textiles, its format, and dimensions as well the draping style occurred as the strong identifier of the person's age, his community and the region he belonged to. The pacchedi textiles were therefore classified based on its function and the pattern it had. Other than that they inform everyone at him.

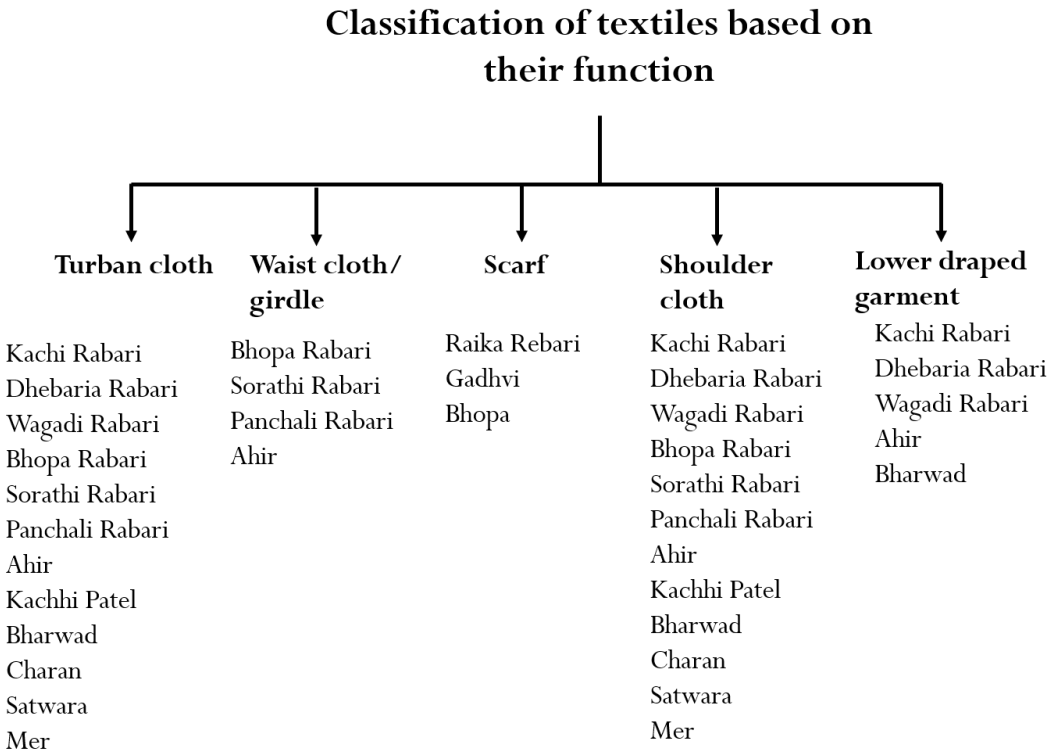


Figure 4.48: Classification of the forms of pacchedi textiles used by different communities in Gujarat

The above chart explicates the type of clothing articles owned by each community in Gujarat. The definition of each article made in cross bordered technique has been consequently in the under this section of the result.

Another chart shows the classification of textiles based on the colours, forms and patterns used. Based on their visual characteristics, each of the pacchedis were attributed names. These pacchedis could occur in either of the formats discussed above based on the requirements.

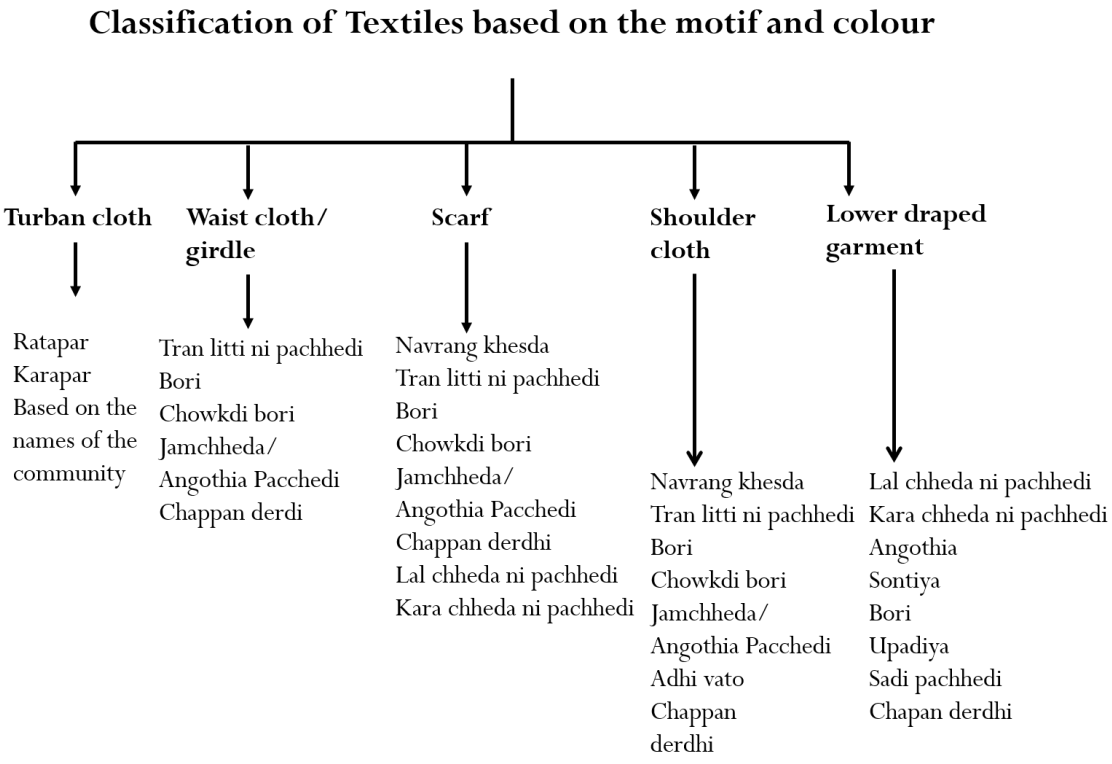


Figure 4.49: Classification of the pacchedi textiles based on their colour, forms and patterns

The articles of clothing classified based on their functions and formats are discussed as below;

Dhotali:

Turban cloth with weft heavy brocaded ends was found to be popular amongst all the sects of Rabaris, Bharwad and agriculturist communities like Ahir and Mer. This class of textile was termed as *dhotali*. Dhotali was different from usual paghadi and its use determined the age and status of the men in a family. Men in their middle age, usually married, wore such ornate headgears. After the age of sixty, they had to reconcile to

white paghadis, irrespective of the sect as well as community. This form of headgear was found to be rare and priced possession. Only few rich, affluent and joint families had restored the samples of traditional paghadis with them.

Usually, a *dhotali* was woven in pachhedi technique with two end panels; one end longer than the other and vertical border *kor*. Few dhotalis had only one brocaded end. The length of these forms of headgear varied from 6.2 m to 4.8 m. The length of longest end or *chheda* varies from maximum of 49" to 32" while the length of shorter end panel ranged from 35" to 29".

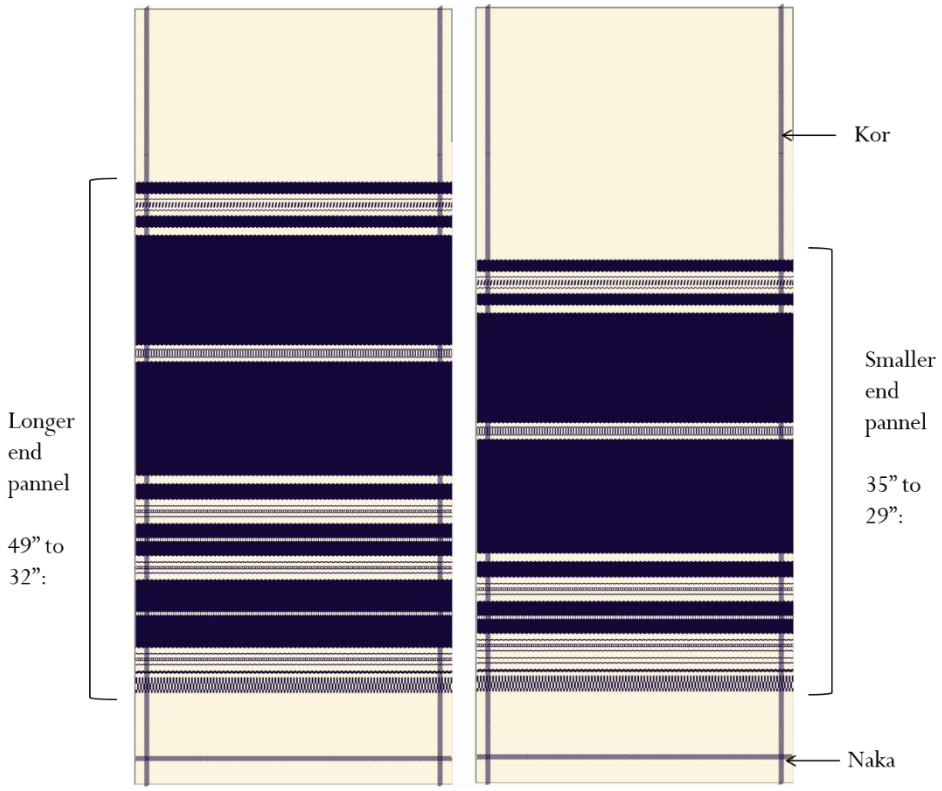


Figure 4.50: Format of a typical Dhotali used by Folk communities of Gujarat

Khes:

Shoulder cloth woven in the documented technique had numerous names across Saurashtra, North Gujarat and Kachchh. It was termed as khesdo, kheesdi, khes, khesdi, pacchedi as well as bori. Khes and similar terms were identified by each and every community for the shoulder cloth. Whereas, bori was the name given to the bright coloured shoulder wraps occurring either in solid or checks. Pacchedi was the interchangeable term for shoulder cloth, waist cloth as well as lower draped garment-dhoti. Shoulder wraps in the past were again identifier of age and the sect or community.

Specially, the use of Navrang khesda by Bhopa Rabaris, black and white checqured kheses by Kachi rabaris and the use of boris by bharwads were direct identifiers of their communities. Presently, the use of angothia chheda in pacchedi was found have become commonly used by each and every community. Navrang khesda was found to be the bright and beautiful amongst all the classes.

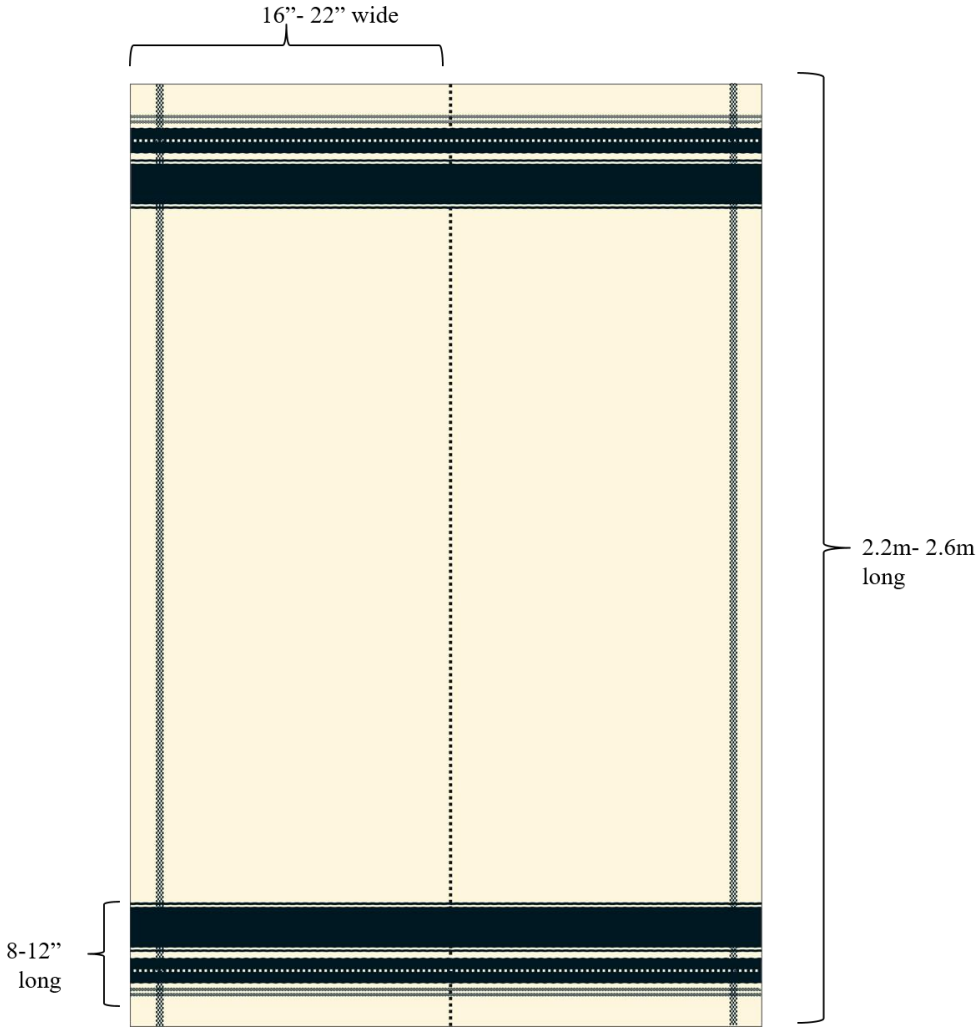


Figure 4.51: Format of a typical khes used by the folk communities in Gujarat

The shoulder cloth served many purposes. It was explained to be used as phariya for carrying goods simple goods and thrown over shoulder to form a make shift bag. Its purpose was more or less similar to *ghamchas or parna* used across country as napkin, sheet while sleeping and headrest while resting on cot.

A typical khes or khisdi pachhedi is formed out of joining two lengths of 1.5m or 2 m and 20” wide pieces together, available in market as set. These pieces have two end panels’ one small and other longer on both the sides that incases extra weft woven

motifs within. A commonly used angothia and sontiya pacchedi has only single cross border of 1" to 0.5" thickness.

***Phariyu*:**

A shorter length scarves woven for the young boys were found to be used by Charans and Vagadia Rabaris. These scarves were termed as *phariyas* while the one extensively used by Raikas (Sirohia Rabaris from Rajasthan) were called *Kanotia.* The function of *Kanotia* was similar to that of *gamcha* or *parna* again. It was wrapped around head while at work as a scarf, taken round the neck and used as napkin as and when needed. It was 0.5m to 1.5 m long and was 24" wide with set either two or one cross borders. *Kanotia* was manufactured in green, bright pink, blue, maroon and white colours. Whereas scarf meant for young boys occurred in only 16" width with white field and black cross borders.

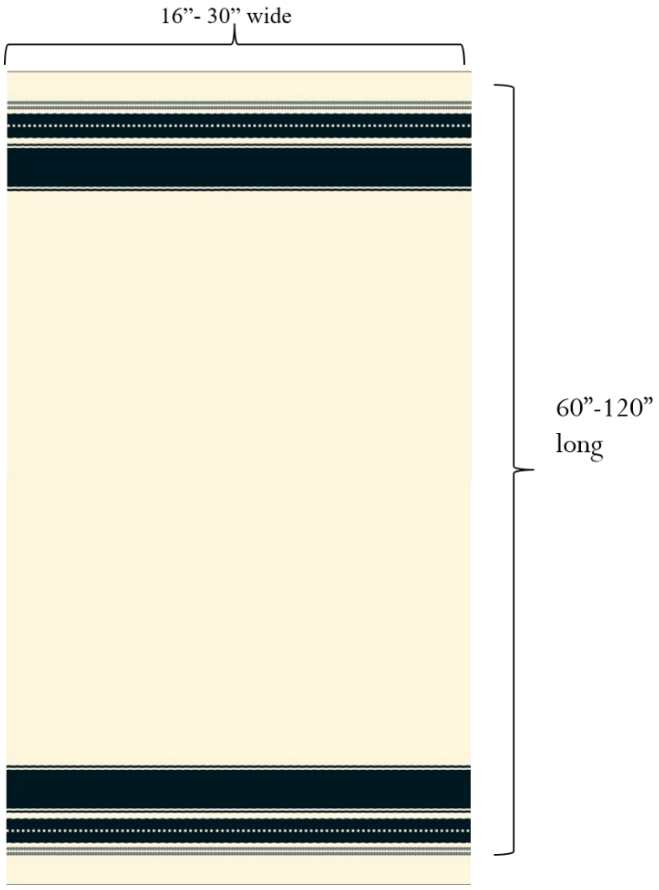


Figure 4.52: Format of a typical phariyu used by the folk communities in Gujarat

Bhet/ pacchawari:

When the pacchedi was tied or taken around waist over *choryno*, it was termed as *Pacchawari*, the term also explained by Rahul Jain as the form of *patka* that were tied around waist. The dimensions of this pachhedi were similar to that of pachhedi used as

shoulder cloth. The waist cloth tied was also referred as *bhet.* This form of pacchedi was extensively used in western saurashtra where the use of *choryno* was popular. Pacchedi as *bhet* or *pacchawari* were used by Mer, Charan, Bharwads and Rabaris irrespective of their sects. The most famed of these class of *pachhedi was the rata cheda ni pachhedi* or *khesdi* used by Sorathi Rabari groom at the time of the wedding.

In case of young man, states Srinivasan J., the edge of these pacchedis reached only knees whereas in case of elderly men, were left to hang till ankles.

Pacchedi:

This was the most popular form of textile used by Rabaris, Bharwads, Mer, Charan and Kohli. Dhoti was termed as pacchedi in northern Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kachchh regions of the state.Moreover, the term pacchedi was also found to be used by Raikas or the Rabaris from Rajasthan. Rabaris settled in and around districts of Sirohi and Jalore made use of the term Pachhedi for the loin clothes. Pachhedi can further be sub-classified based on the design configuration and colours used. Each community had distinctive pacchedis assigned for themselves.

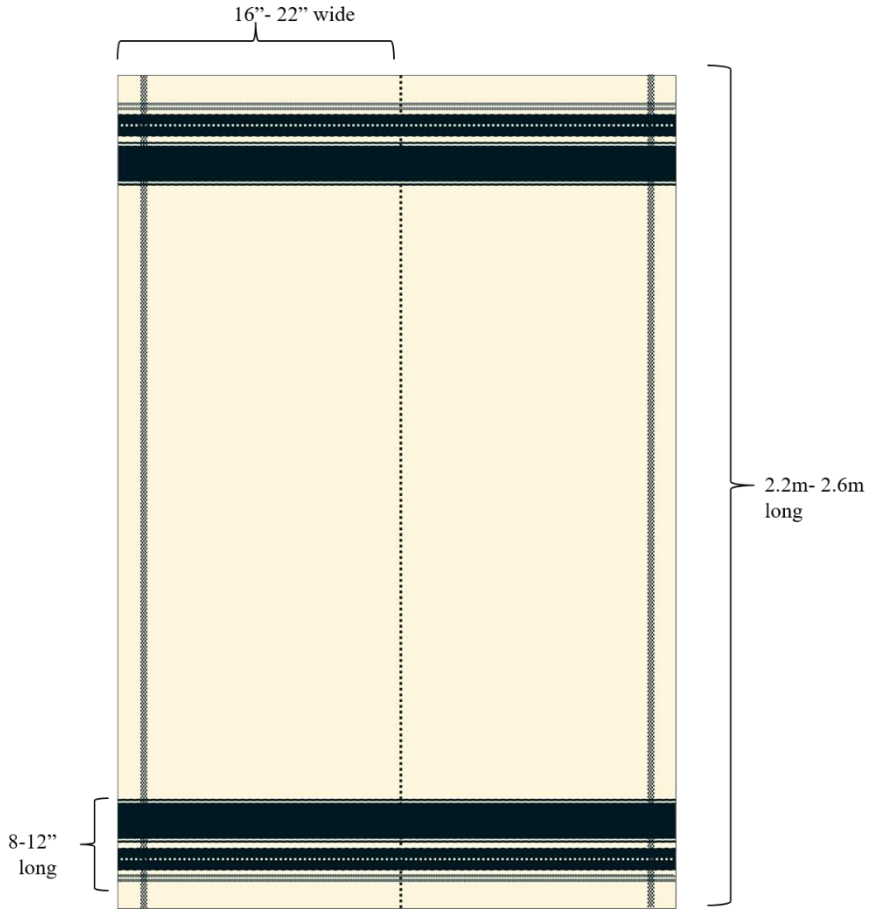
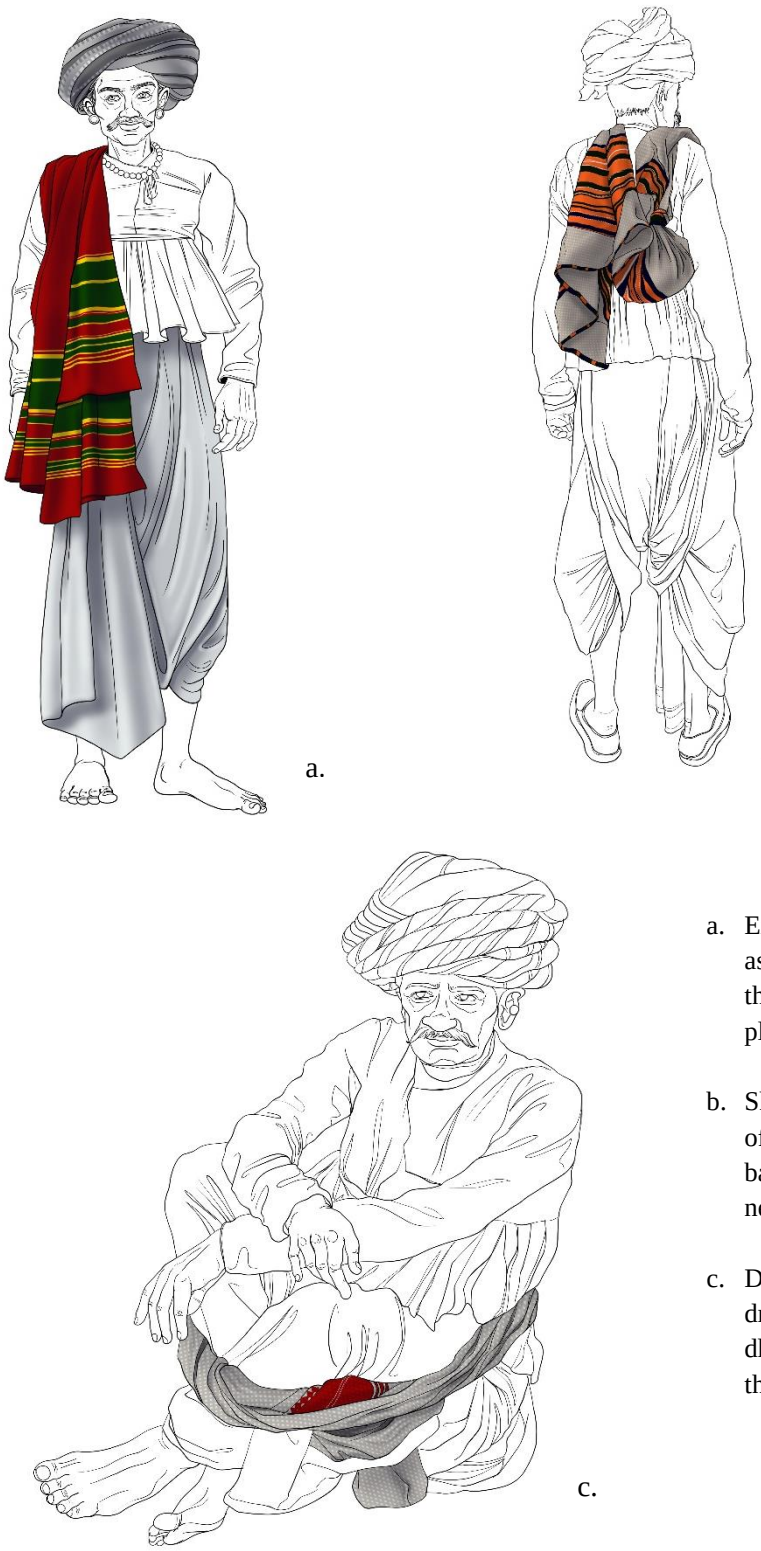


Figure 4.53: Format of a typical pacchedi used by the Folk communities in Gujarat

The below illustrated sketches suggests the application and use of the pacchedi textiles in its variegated forms:



a. Explains the use of bori as shoulder cloth and that of draping style of pleated *dhotali*

b. Shows the humble use of *khes* for carrying basic goods of necessities

c. Demonstrates the draping style of twisted dhotali and that of use of the *khes* as *yogpatta*

Figure 4.54: Draping styles of Khes and Dhotalis

d. Demonstrates use of *bori pacchedi* as a lower draped garment worn by bharwads
e. Exhibits use of *Khesdi* as a *bhet* or *Pachhawari, used by Sorathi Rabaris*

Figure 4.55: Draping styles of bori as a loin cloth and of bhet or pichhauri

4.4.3. Cataloguing of rare and existent forms of cotton textiles produced in Gujarat:

A number of textiles sample were analysed at the time of data collection. Origin, use and communal applications of some of which were completely obscure. The photographs of the studied samples had aided the researcher at the time of the data collection to build in context and study textiles in depth. The consequent pages constitutes of the compiled database in form of catalogue. The studied rare, extinct and existing form of cross bordered textiles reviewed with the private collectors, traders as well the users are reported in form of a directory. The directory or a catalogue reported, thus, accounts the concise information on the dimensions, structure, and function of the textile.

Plate: 4.4.3.a. Bhojapra

Sample: 4.4.3.a. Bhojapra

Community:
Satwara and Charan

Region: Jamnagar

Dimensions:
2m x0.35m (Maroon) (5 hands)
2.8mx 0.35m (Black) (7 hands)

Cross border:
1.5” wide

Kor: 0.25”

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjand and derdi. Here, derdi is produced by pattern rod insertion unlike the regions of Kachchh and Saurashtra

Functions:
Used as Phariyu or shoulder cloth which sometimes can be tied as head gear.
Maroon is used by youngsters and black is worn by elders

Source:
Dharmeshbhai Khatri
Jam Khambalia

Plate: 4.4.3.b. Khesdi/ Pachhawari

Sample: 4.4.3.b Khesdi/ Pachhawari

Community:
Charan

Region: Jamnagar

Dimensions:
2m x0.5m (Maroon) (5 hands)
Variations are available in 3 and 4 hands length for childrens and youngsters

Cross border:
7" wide long

Kor: 0.25"wide

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Content:
cotton

Motifs:
Anjand, derdi, thambi and jhothar

Functions:
Used as bheth or Pichhauri, Phariyu or shoulder cloth which sometimes can be tied as head gear.
Maroon is used by youngsters and black is worn by elders

Source:
Dharmeshbhai Khatri
Jam Khambalia

Plate: 4.4.3.c. Khesdo

Sample: 4.4.3.c Khesdo

Community:
Charan

Region: Jamnagar

Dimensions:
2.4m x0.956m
Colours: Black and Maroon

Cross border:
9.5” wide long

Kor: 0.5”wide

Weave:
1x1tabby weave

Content:
Polyester-cotton blend

Motifs:
Anjand, derdi, thambli, jhothar, patakhia and dakla/ damroo.

Functions:
Shoulder cloth. Maroon is used by youngsters and black is worn by elders

Source:
Dharmeshbhai Khatri
Jam Khambalia

Plate: 4.4.3.d. Navrang Khesdo

Sample:4.4.3.d Navrang Pacchedi/ Pachrangi Pachhedi/ khes

Community:

Bhopa Rabari, Bharwad

Region: Across Saurashtra and in Rajasthan

Dimensions:
2.2 m x0.4m
Colours: Blue, red and green
Cross border: 10”
Kor: NA
Weave:
1x2tabby weave
Content:
Cotton
Motifs:
Anjand
Functions:
same as khes or khesdo
Source:
Craft document, NID

Plate: 4.4.3.e. Tran litti ni pachhedi

Sample: 4.4.3.e. *Tran litti ni pacchedi*

Community and Region:

same as above

Dimensions:
2.28m x0.96m (for Khesdi)
2.54mx1.22m (for dhoti pachhedi)
Kor:0.23”
Functions:
same as khes or khesdo and dhoti
Weave:
1x1tabby weave
Content:

Cotton polyester

Source:
Dharmeshbhai Khatri
Jam Khambalia.

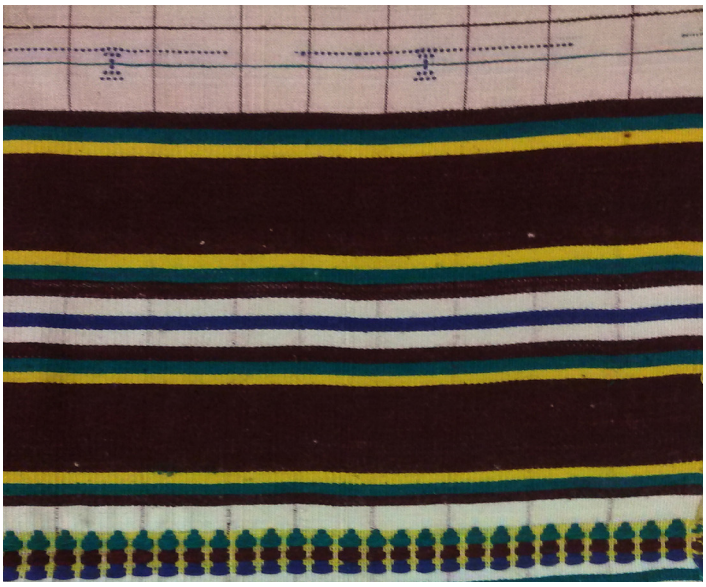


Plate: 4.4.3.f. Navrang upadiya

Sample: 4.4.3.f. Navrang Unchet/ Navrang Upadiya Pacchedi

Community:
Bhopa Rabari, Bharwad

Region: Rajasthan, Halar (Jamnagar and Dwarka)

Cross border:
Sample (above): 12”
Sample (Below): 8”

Kor: NA

Weave:
1x2tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs:
Unchet, Anjand and Derdhi

Functions:
Khesdi

Source:
Craft document, NID.

Plate: 4.4.3.g. Angothia Pachhedi

Sample:4.4.3.g Angothia Pachhedi also called Jam cheda

Community:

Bhopa Rabari, Sorathi Rabari, Bharwads

Region: Across Saurashtra and in Rajasthan

Dimensions:

2 m x1m

Colours: Blue, red and green

Cross border: 10”

Kor: 1”

Weave:

2x2tabby weave

Content:

Cotton

Motifs:

NA

Functions:

Khesdo

Source:

Dhuda Kanha Vandha Rabari, Village Rogda, Porbandar

Plate: 4.4.3.h. Sontiya Pacchedi

Sample: 4.4.3.h *Sontiya Pachhedi*

Community and Region: same as above

Dimensions:

2.28m x0.96m (for Khesdi)

2.54mx1.22m (for dhoti pachhedi)

Kor:0.23”

Cross border:

Functions:

same as khes or khesdo and dhoti

Weave:

1x1tabby weave

Content:

Polyester

Source:

Usman Ghanni Ibrahim, Porbandar

Sample: 4.4.3.i Upadiya Pacchedi

Community:
Dhebaria Rabari
Region: Kachchh but could have been produced in Mehsana district

Dimensions:
3m x1.3m
(half width)

Cross border:
17" long

Kor: 1"

Weave:
1x1 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjand, Upadiya

Functions:
The sample was used as dhoti in Kachchh

Source:
Manek Chowk, Ahmedabad

Plate: 4.4.3.i. Upadiya Pacchedi

Plate: 4.4.3.j. Upadiya Pacchedi

Sample: 4.4.3.j. Upadiya Pacchedi

Community: Kachi and Wagadia Rabari. Its visual language was fount to be used in Kanotia draped by Raika Rabaris

Region: Presently, was woven in Surendranagar district on limited orders by traders

Dimensions:
Sample 1:2.4mx 1m (continuose width)
Sample 2:
3mx 1.2m

Cross border:
9" long
13"long
Kor: 1"

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Unchet, Upadiya, anjand

Functions:
Used as dhoti. If made in smaller lengths, the same cross bordered textiles are used as phariyu or Kanotia.

Source:
Devsi Devkaran Mehta

Plate: 4.4.3.k. Upadiya Pacchedi

Sample: 4.4.3.k
Lal Pacchedi

Community:

Traditionally by Desi, Chuhar, Patanwadi, Vadhiyara, Raika, Wagadia and Kachi sects of Rabaris

Region: The first sample was woven in Surendranagar district and was fairly recent. The second sample was from Ahmedabad district. The characteristic difference between the two was the use of upadiya in place of chokha. Ahmedabad was popular for its lal pachhedi or rati chheda wali pacchedi and chhapan derdi.

Dimensions:
2.7m x1.1m

Cross border:
10” long
12”Long

Kor: 1”

Weave:
1x1 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjand, Chauktha/ phudadi, derdhi, Upadiya and chokha

Functions:
Was majorly used in dhotis

Source:
Sample 1: Devsi Devkaran Mehta, Surendranagar
Sample 2: Collection of Vishramji Valji, Bhujodi

Sample: 4.4.3.l. Ratapar and Karapar Pachhedi

Community:
Rabaris

Region: Produced in Ahmedabad and Surendranagar. Consumed in the region of Kachchh, North Gujarat and Saurashtra

Dimensions:NA

Functions:
Used as khes

Source:
Craft document, Ahmedabad

Plate: 4.4.3.l. Karapar and Ratapar Pacchedi

Plate: 4.4.3.m. Kheses

Sample: 4.4.3.m Khes, Khesdi, Bori

Community: Rabaris in Kachchh

Region: Used in Kachchh and produced in Mehsana and Surendranagar

Dimensions:
Sample 1: 3m x0.92m
2.4m x 1.2m

Cross border:
10.5” Long

Kor:
Sample 1:1”
Sample 2: 1.2”

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjand, Chokha, motifs developed through upadiya technique

Functions:
Used as Shoulder cloth

Source:
Sample 1: Babubhai Parmar,
Vadnagar, Mehsana

Sample 2: Devsi Devkaran Mehta

Plate: 4.4.3.n. Kheses

Sample: 4.4.3.n. Khes, Khesdi, Bori

Community: Rabaris in Kachchh

Region: Kachchh
Produced either in Ahmedabad or Surendranagar district

Dimensions:
sample 1:2.2x0.86m
sample 2: 2.4mx 1m

Cross border:
Sample 1: 12”
Sample 2: 10”

Kor:
sample 1**:**0.8”
Sample 2: 1”

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjan, Phudadi, derdi, anjand

Functions:
Used as Shoulder cloth

Source:
Kalaraksha Museum

Plate: 4.4.3.o. Khesdi Bori

Sample: 4.4.3.o. Khes, Khesdi, Bori

Community:
Wagadia Rabaris in Kachchh

Region: Kachchh
Produced either in Ahmedabad or Surendranagar district

Dimensions:

3 m x 1.6m

Cross border:
Sample 1.2”

Kor: 1”

Weave:
1x1 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjan, Phudadi, derdi, anjand

Functions:
Used as Shoulder cloth

Source:
Vishramji Valji

Plate: 4.4.3.p. Bori Pacchedi

Sample: 4.4.3.p. Bori Pacchedi

Community:
Bharwad

Region: Dhrangadra, produced in surendranagar

Dimensions:
2.6m x 1m

Cross border:
9” wide

Kor: 1”

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjand, Unchet, Upadiya, Heer and derdhi

Functions:
Used as dhoti by Motabhai Bharwad.

Source:
Makabhaibhai Gariya, Bharada village, Dhrangadra, Surendrangar

Sample: 4.4.3.q. Bori Pacchedi

Community:
Dhoti: Bharwads
Khes: Kachhi, Wagadia
Raika: Kanotia/ Pharyu

Region:
Produced: Surendranagar and Ahmedabad
Used: Saurashtra, Kachchh and Rajasthan

Dimensions:
3m x1.2m (half

Cross border:
10.5” Long

Kor: 1.5”

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Anjand, Phudadi, derdhi, Unchet, thambli.

Functions:
Dhoti of Motabhai Bharwad

Source:
Devsi Devkaran Mehta, Surendranagar

Plate: 4.4.3.q. Bori Pacchedi

Plate: 4.4.3.r. Pharyu

Sample: 4.4.3.r. Pharyu

Community:
Raika Rabari

Region: Surendranagar

Dimensions:
Sample :1.6m x 0.5m

Cross border:
Sample 1: 5”

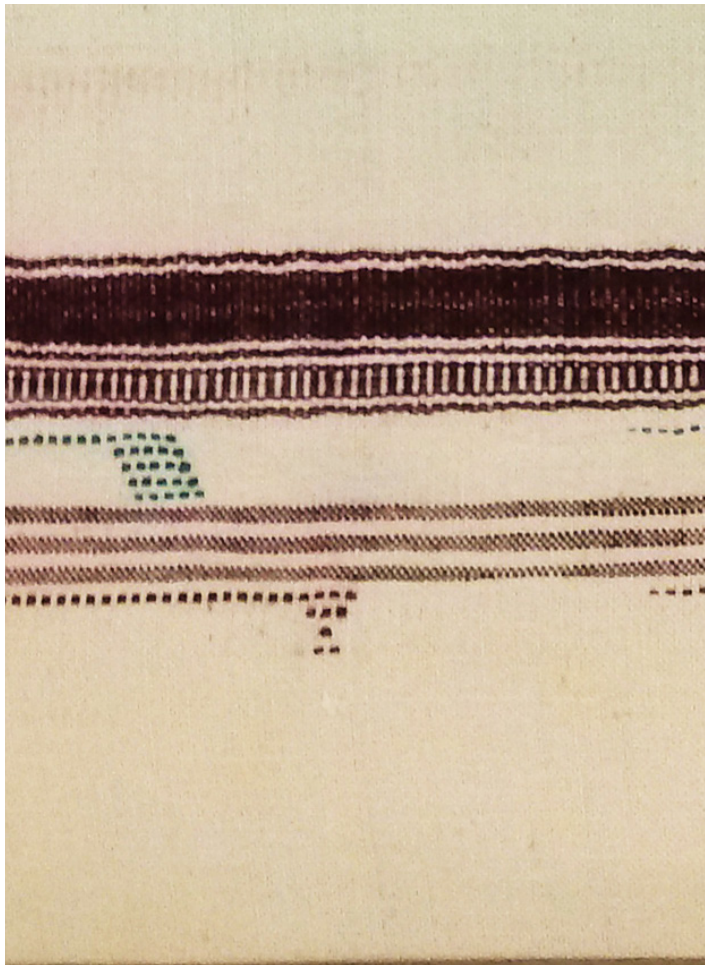
Kor: 1” wide

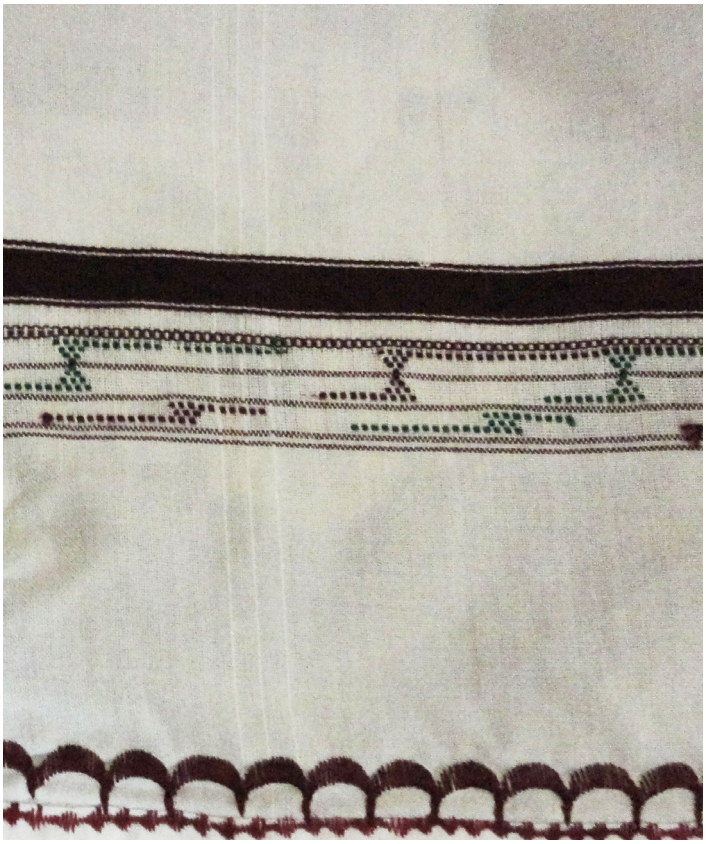
Weave:
1x1 tabby weave

Motifs:
Derdhi, Phudadi, Naka, and anjand

Functions:
Used as phariyu

Source:
Manek Chowk, Ahmedabad





Sample: 4.4.3.s. Chhapan derdi

Community:
Bharwads

Region: Produced in Ahmedabad and Surendranagar.
Dimensions:
Sample 2: 3m x1.2m

Cross border:
Sample 1: 1.4”
Sample 2: 1”

Kor:
Sample 1:NA
Sample 2: 0.9”

Weave:
1x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Pankho, derdi and khajuro and naka

Functions:
Used as dhoti, khesdi and phariyu

Source:
Sample 1: Craft document, NID Ahmedabad

Sample 2: Manek Chowk, Ahmedabad

Plate: 4.4.3.s. Chhapan derdi

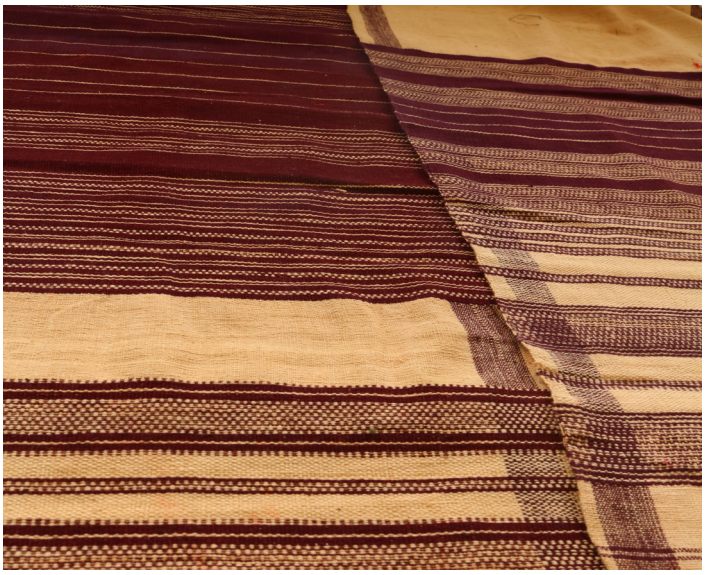


Plate: 4.4.3.t. Dhotali (Charan)

Sample: 4.4.3.t. Dhotali

Community:
Charan

Region: Jamnagar

Dimensions:
5 m x0.4m
Colours: Maroon

Cross border:
longer end: 41”
smaller end:21.5”

Kor: 1”wide

Weave:
1x2tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs:
Patakhia, Anjand

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:
Dharmeshbhai Khatri
Jam Khambalia.
The similar sample occured in abundance with Mr.A.A. Wazir and Vishram Valji’s collection.

Plate: 4.4.3.u. Dhotali (Satwara)

Sample: 4.4.3.u. Dhotali

Community: Satwara
Region: Jamnagar
Dimensions:
4.6 m x 0.44m
Colours: Maroon

Cross border:
10” long

Kor: 1”wide
Weave:
1x2tabby weave

Content: Cotton

Motifs: Patakhia

Functions: Dhotali (Paghdi)

Plate: 4.4.3.u. Jamchheda Pacchedi

Sample: 4.4.3.v. Jamchheda Pachhedi

Community: Bhopa Rabari, Charan, Mer and Bharwad
Region: Jamnagar
Kor: 0.25”
Weave:1x1 tabby
Cross border: 1”
Functions: same as khesdo
Content: Cotton
Source:
Dharmeshbhai Khatri
Jam Khambalia.

Plate: 4.4.3.w. Dhotali (Sorathi Rabari)

Sample: 4.4.3.w. Turban

(Karapan ni and Ratapar ni Paghdi)

Community:
Sorathi Rabari of Barada hills

Region: Porbandar

Dimensions:
8m x0.43m
Colours: Red and Black

Cross border:
longer end: 30”
smaller end:9”

Kor: 1”wide

Weave:
2x2 tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs: NA

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:

Usman Ghanni Ibrahim, Porbandar

Sample: 4.4.3.x. Turban

Dhotali (Bhopa Rabari)

Community:
Bhopa Rabari
Region: Porbandar

Dimensions:
8m x0.5m
Colours: Maroon, green, white, pink, orange and zari

Cross border:
longer end: 66”
smaller end:46”

Kor: 1.28”wide

Weave:
2x2 tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs: Anjand, Patakhia

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Note: This sample of dhotali had the longest brocaded ends.

Source:
Ishwarbhai Rabari, Jam Khambalia

Plate: 4.4.3.x. Dhotali (Bhopa Rabari)

Plate: 4.4.3.y. Dhotali (Kachhi Rabari)

Sample: 4.4.3.y. Dhotali

Community:
Kachhi Rabari

Region: Kachchh; Region of production is obscure

Dimensions:
5.8m x0.5m
Colours: Deep Maroon

Cross border:
longer end: 33”
smaller end:26”

Kor: 1.5”wide

Weave:
2x2tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs:
Unchet and machhar

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:
Kalaraksha museum and Manubhai Devabhai Rabari, Bhujodi, Kachchh

Plate: 4.4.3.z. Dhotali (Kachhi Rabari)

Sample: 4.4.3.z. Dhotali

Community:
Kachhi Rabari

Region: Kachchh

Dimensions:
5 m x0.4m
Colours: Maroon

Cross border:
longer end: 43”
smaller end:29”

Kor: 1.1”wide

Weave:
2x1 tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs: NA

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:
Kalaraksha Museum

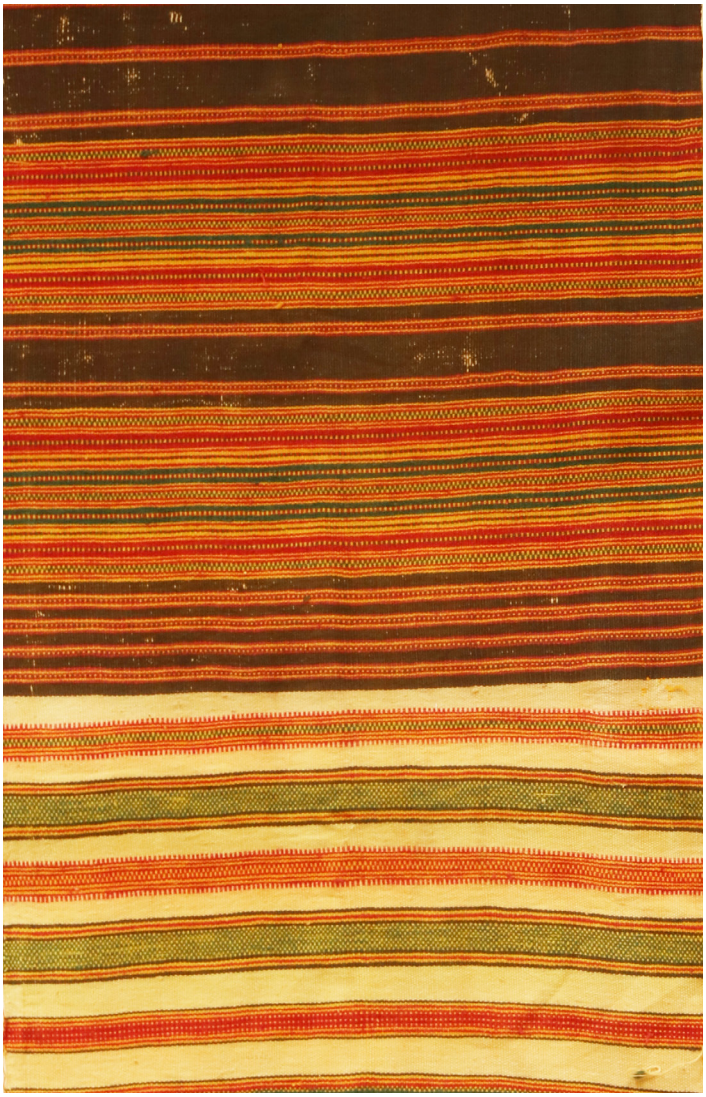


Plate: 4.4.3.aa. Dhotali (Unknown)

Sample: 4.4.3.aa. Dhotali

Community:
Unknown

Region: Unknown

Dimensions:
6 m x0.4m
Colours: Black,yellow,red, green

Cross border:
longer end: 50”
smaller end:46”

Kor: 1”wide

Weave:
1x2tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs:
Machhar

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:
Existed in the collections of Mr. A.A. Wazir
Mr. Satish Bhavsar, trader, bhuj market, Yogin bhai

Plate: 4.4.3.ab. Dhotali (Rabari Dhebaria)

Sample: 4.4.3.ab. Contemporary Paghdi from Ninghad

Community:
Dhebaria Rabari

Region: Anjar, Kachchh

Dimensions:
4 m x0.6m
Colours: Maroon

Cross border:
longer end: 41”
smaller end:32”

Kor: 3”wide

Weave:
3x2tabby weave

Content:
Cotton and wool

Motifs:
Anjan, popati, machhar, vankiyo and dakla

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:
Veljibhai Maheshwari

Plate: 4.4.3.ac. Dhotali (Unknown)

Sample: 4.4.3.ac. Dhotali

Community:
Obscure
Region: Obscure (Motifs suggests production in Jamnagar region)

Dimensions:
6.4m x0.4m
Colours: Maroon

Cross border:
longer end: 39.5”
smaller end:29”

Kor: 2”wide

Weave:
1x1tabby weave

Content:
Cotton

Motifs:
Jothar, dhungla, derdi and anjand

Functions:
Dhotali (Paghdi)

Source:
Collection of Yoginbhai Chauhan

Plate: 4.4.3.ad. Khes (Unknown)

Sample: 4.4.3.ad. Khes

Community:
Unknown

Region: Retrieved from Bhachau

Dimensions:
Sample :2.6m x 0.8m

Cross border:
Sample :20”

Kor: 1” wide

Weave:
3x2 tabby weave

Motifs:
Vankiyo, popati, Satkhani, macchar, hudki

Functions:
Khes

Source:
Collection of Vishramji Valji

Sample: 4.4.3.ae.
Pharyu

Community: Ahir
Region: Kachchh
Dimensions:
Sample :2.8m x 1m

Cross border: 11.6”

Kor: 1.8” wide

Weave:
3x1 tabby weave

Motifs:
Derdhi, Phudadi, Naka, and anjand

Functions:
Used as shoulder cloth

Source: Vishramji Valji

Plate: 4.4.3.ae. Adhivato (Parthoriya Ahirs)

Plate: 4.4.3.af. Adhivato (Unknown)

Sample: 4.4.3.af. Adhi vato

Community:
Unknown

Region:
Kachchh

Dimensions:
Sample :3m x 2.5m

Cross border:
Repp weave patch:

Kor: 0.9” wide

Weave:
1x1 tabby weave

Motifs:
Hundki, dhunglo, derdi, anjand

Functions:
Used as shoulder cloth

Source:
Bhuj Market

4.5. Proposing suggestive contemporary designs in pacchedi weaving techniques

Simplicity mandates time, money, taste, intellect, craft, art, care, love, commitment and many other standards. A lot of exclusive products can be plain, natural and utterly basic but at the same time can be rare for many reasons. Luxury issue of Lounge at Livemint blogs published in 2014 chronicles that rootedness, authenticity, human connection, hand crafted elements, the countryside origin of textiles or jewellery or furniture are becoming as meaningful as logos. The world today is reimagining, reinterpreting and accepting folk outputs as extravagance even when it's not brand-named, or when its white is not immaculate and black not industrially polished (Ramani P.et al, 2014).

Building upon the comparable lines, researcher here, intends to probe in a concept which could be furthered ahead as an investigation. An investigation as an exploratory process that engages development of contemporary designs. The modern day designs could be equally simple, rustic and yet aesthetically profound. An interesting range of products has an immense potential to be explored with tactful planning of the requisite formats, yarn count and use of colloquial material language that is culturally rich. One can ponder upon the processes involved that had contributed towards the fabrication of the textile technically as well as meaningfully.

Figure 4.56: Suggestive applications of pacchedis for the contemporary interior

The researcher as an example intends to propose limited range of designs keeping in mind the basic natures of the textiles under study. The intention is to direct the future courses of explorations in a manner that they do not end up eliminating the exclusive characteristics of the textiles. Pacchedi was a direct by-product of loom. Weavers fashioned these loom-made articles based on the requirements of its end users as well as considering the function it will be later ascribed. Moreover, the textile composites of the weft heavy cross border which makes it a suitable textile for the purpose of being spread. While being rummaged in the journey of studying textiles and pondering upon its application, numerous suggestive usages of the textile in actual format was tried out. Based on which a basic moodboard was developed and product explorations in digital format were carried out.

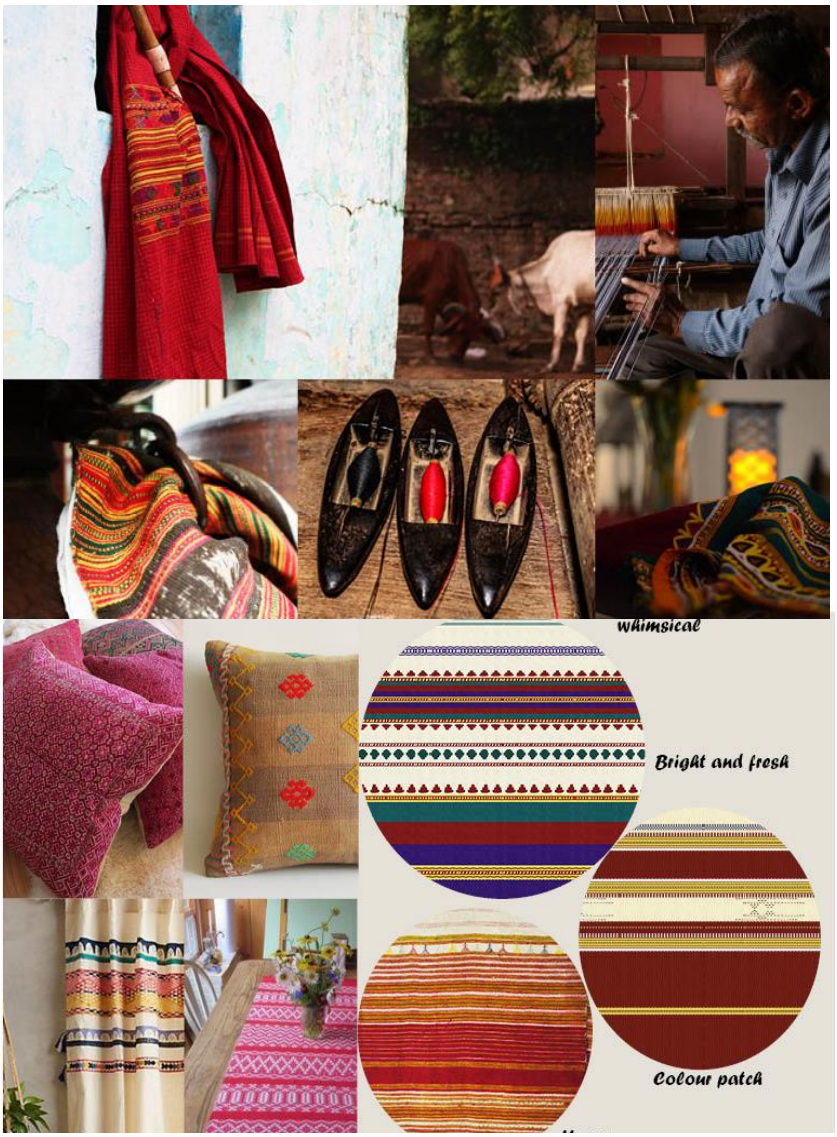


Figure 4.57: Formulated mood board and story board

The proposed designs, thus, were delimited to following range;

1. Living space accents: Curtain and cushions
2. Bedroom accentuates: Bed scarf and cushions

The designs discussed were digitally made on scale and are as follows:

Option 1: Set of Curtains and cushions inspired from *Chhapan derdhi pachhedi*

Dimensions:

Curtain:63”x54”
Rectangular cushion: 12”x21”
Square cushion: 20” square

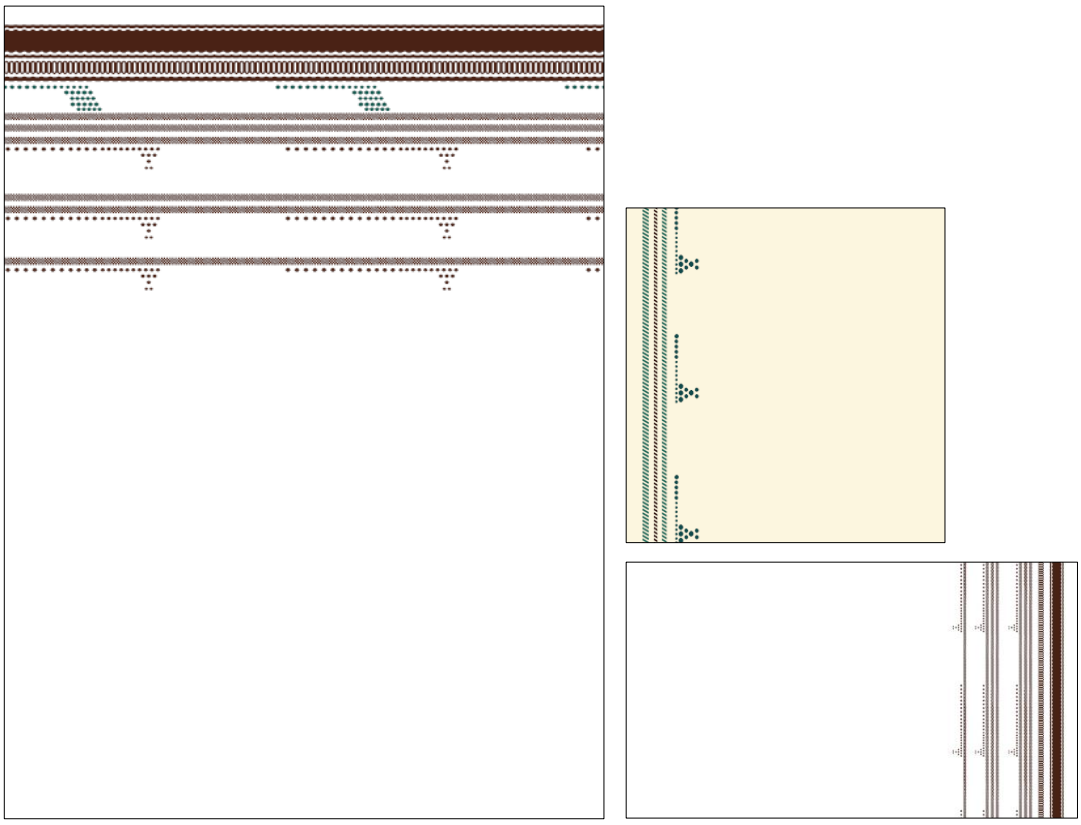


Figure 4.58: Proposed adaptations of Chhapan derdi for curtain and cushions

Option 2: Set of Curtains and cushions inspired from *Navrang Khesdo*

Dimensions:

Curtain:63”x54”
Rectangular cushion: 12”x21”
Square cushion: 20” square

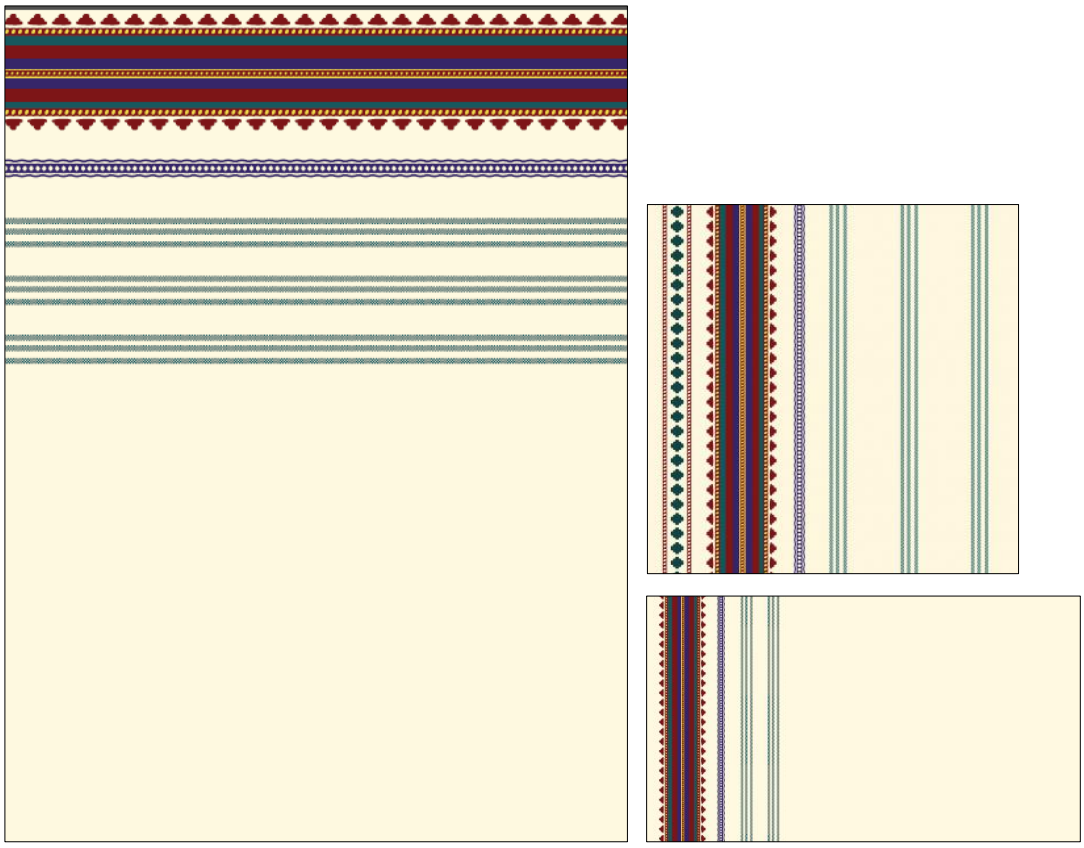


Figure 4.58: Proposed adaptations of Navrang Khesdi for curtains and cushions

Option 3: Set of bed scarf and cushions inspired from *Navrang Khesdo*

Dimensions:

Curtain:36”x80” (King size)
Rectangular cushion: 12”x21”
Square cushion: 16” square

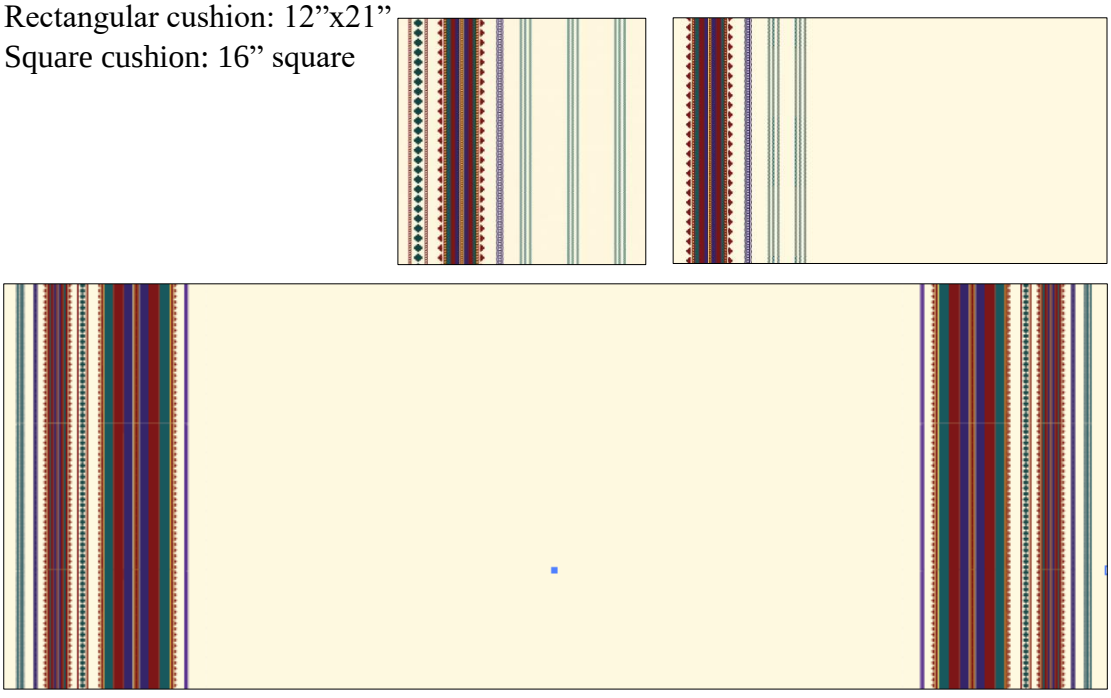


Figure 4.59: Proposed adaptations of Navrang Khesdi for bedscarf and cushions

Option 4 and 5: Set of bed scarf and cushions inspired from *Lal Pacchedi*

Dimensions:

Curtain:36”x80” (King size)
Rectangular cushion: 12”x21”
Square cushion: 16” square

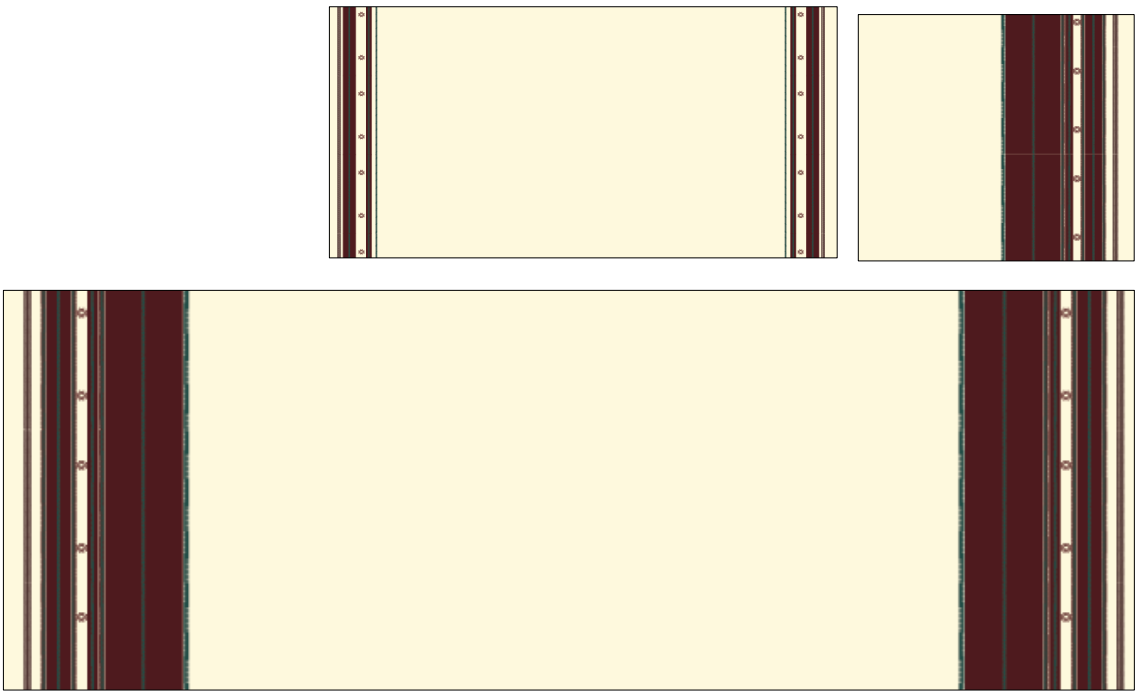


Figure 4.59: Proposed adaptations of lal pacchedi for bedscarf and cushions

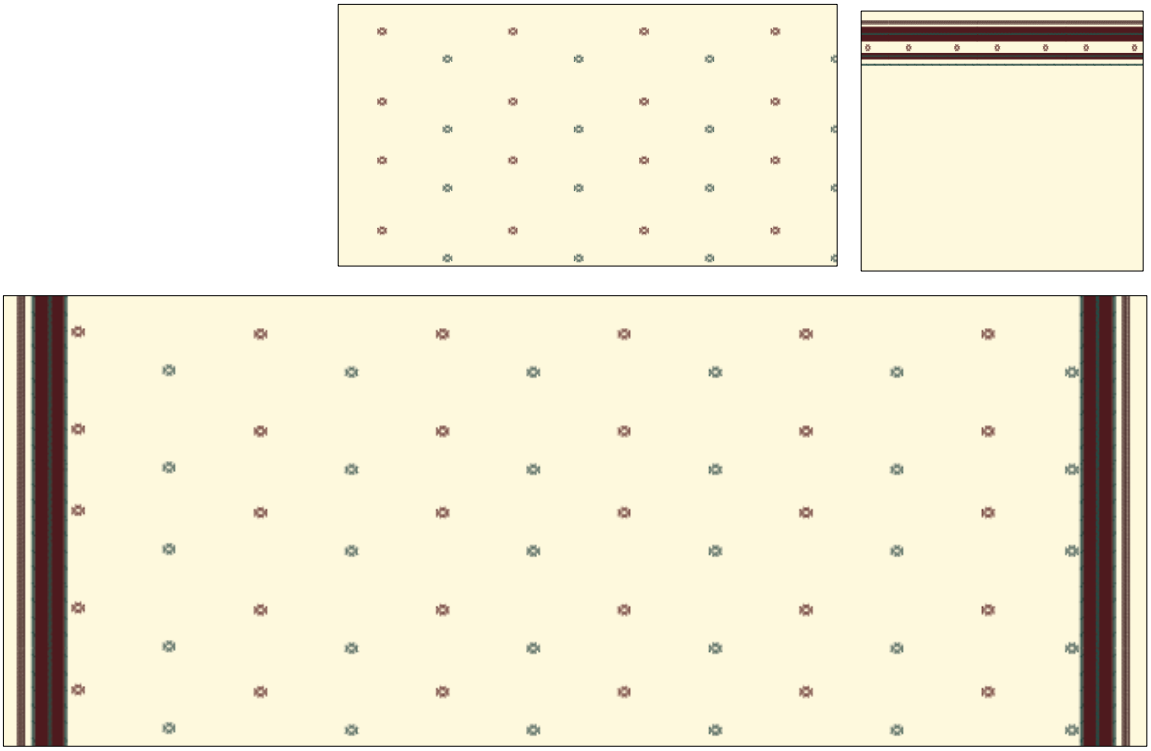


Figure 4.60: Proposed adaptations of lal pacchedi for bedscarf and cushions