

DUNGRI WARLIS

By

Gaurish Pandya

English Translation by

Smt. Kokila J. Shah



**TRIBAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD-380 014.**

DUNGRI WARLIS

By

Gaurish Pandya

English Translation by

Smt. Kokila J. Shah



TRIBAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD-380 014.

Published by :

Vinod Revashanker Tripathi
Secretary, Gujarat Vidyapith Mandal
Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-380014

© Gujarat Vidyapith

First Edition 1987

Copies 250

Printed by :

Vidyapith Prakashan Mandir
Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-380014

FOREWORD

According to the 1981 census the tribal populations in the State is 48 lakhs. Tribal Commissioner, Govt. of Gujarat, Gandhinagar had suggested the Tribal Research and Training Institute to prepare a monograph on the Dungri warlis of the State which is considered economically more backward compared to other tribal groups in the state.

The Institute prepared a monograph i.e. a report on the Dungri Warlis and submitted it to the State Government requesting them to move the Central Government to consider, the Dungri Warlis as a primitive tribe in the State on the basis of the collected data.

This study was done by the research team led by Shri Gaurish Pandya, Research officer of the Institute. He deserves congratulations for his hardwork and devotion in preparing this monograph study.

It is hoped that this monograph study will be welcomed by the Anthropologists, Social Workers and Administrators in meeting the challenges of Tribal Development.

Dated 17th Feb. 1987
Gujarat Vidyapith,
Ahmedabad-380 014.

Prof. Ramlal Parikh
Vice Chancellor

PREFACE

According to the 1981 census the tribal populations in the State is 48 lakhs. Tribal Commissioner, Government of Gujarat had asked the Institute to prepare a detailed report on "Dungri Warlis" of the State. The Dungri Warlis are mainly concentrated in Dharampur and Bansda talukas of Valsad District. The report is based on data collected through a household survey of Dungri Warlis in these talukas.

We are grateful to Shri Dayal the then Tribal Development Commissioner, who had assigned the present work to our Institute. We are deeply indebted to Shri N.A. Vohra, the then Deputy Tribal Development Commissioner, for the whole hearted interest he took in the project.

Our Institute's director Dr. T. B. Naik from the very beginning of the survey work to the completion of the last chapter guided me in a proper way. It is because of his expert guidance that the report could be prepared in a satisfactory manner.

Members of the survey team deserve credit for performing their duties very sincerely. The team consisted of Shri Shankerbhai Patel and Jasvantsinh Rathod, Research Assistants of the Institute. I am deeply thankful to both of them for all that they have done for the study. I also thankful to my colleague Shri M. I. Masavi for his help in preparing this report.

The present report was first written in Gujarati by me. The English version is prepared by Smt. Kokilaben Jagdishai Shah. I am deeply thankful to her for the translation work, which she has so lovingly and painstakingly done.

Last but not the least, I acknowledge the generosity of all the Dungri Warlis informants for their kind cooperation in giving us all kind of information freely.

Dated : 17-2-1987

Gaurish Pandya

DUNGRI WARLIS

INTRODUCTION

Department of Labour, Social Welfare and Tribal Welfare of Gujarat Government had urged upon the Tribal Research and Training Institute, which is run by Gujarat Vidyapith, to undertake the Ethnographic studies of the most backward tribes of Gujarat State, namely Kothodis, Kolghas, Padhars, Siddis and Dangi Bhils and to chalk out special programmes for their development. Accordingly the reports were prepared and submitted to the concerned departments. It was then decided to undertake such study on 'Warli' tribe, inhabiting Dharampur and Vansda talukas of Valsad district. This report is result of the above-mentioned study.

Warlis are mostly concentrated in Dharampur, Vansda Umargaon and Dangs. However, Warlis of Dharampur and Vansda are the main targets of this study because in these two talukas their status is very vulnerable and they fall much below the poverty line. For nearly half of the year, they get cut off from the main population. The inhabitants of forests and hillocks as well as those staying near rivers and streamlets lead their lives in absolutely primitive conditions. The data about their historical background, as well as the data about their social, economic and religious life which are presented in this report are based on the field investigation done in this area. A sincere effort has been made to depict the correct picture of their miserable poverty in this report. The poverty of Warlis is a blatant fact their daily life reflects. It is indeed very difficult to express the pangs of poverty in words; however, sincere efforts have been made to represent the hard facts of their poverty in this report. Since ages they are leading the life full of utter scarcities and thus poverty has become the salient feature of

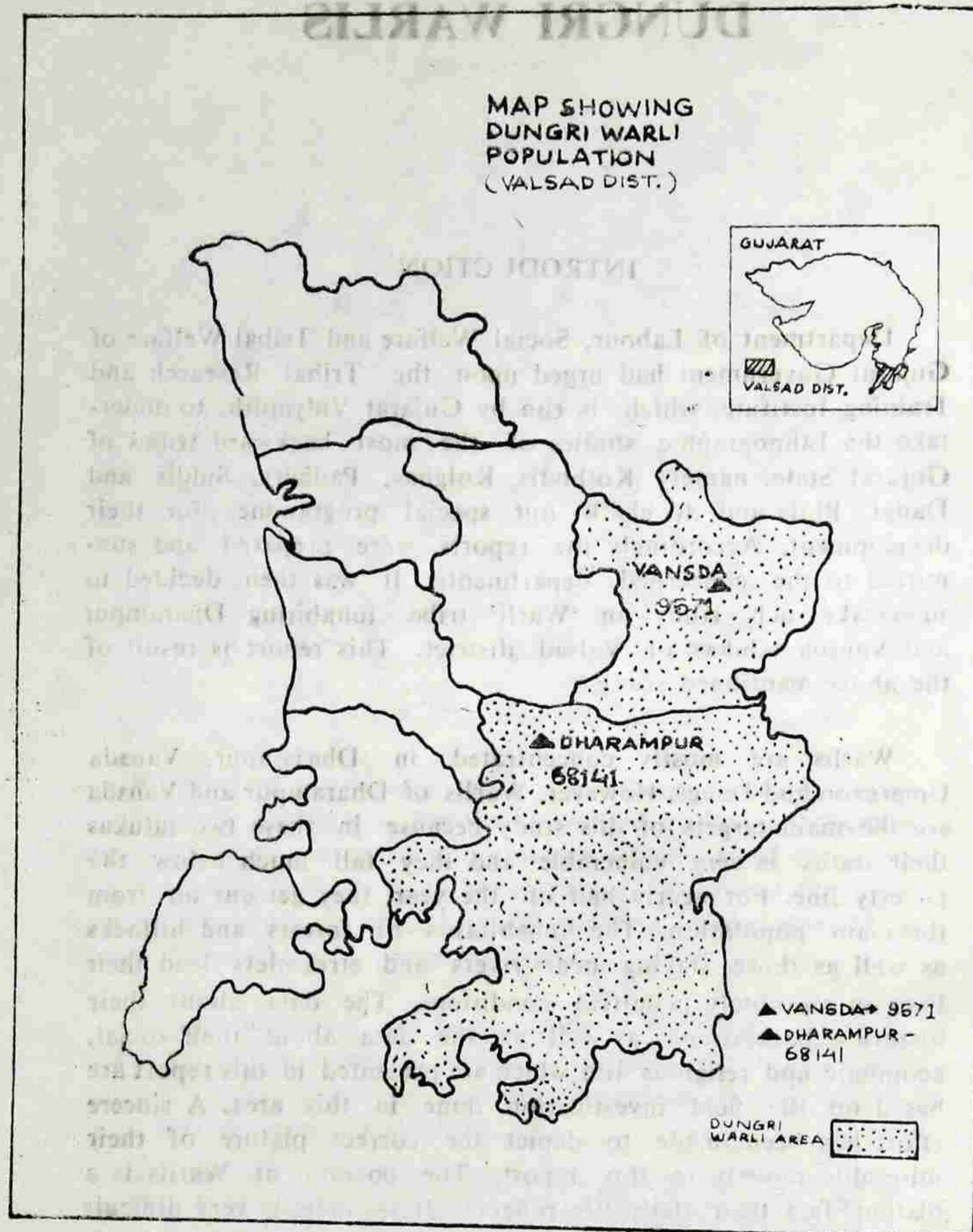
their culture. An honest endeavour has been made to solve their daily problems by making viable suggestions for their upliftment.

We are grateful to Secretary Shri Rathod and Joint Secretary Shri Rangadurai, of Labour Social Welfare and Tribal Development Department for allowing us to undertake this study and giving us needful financial assistance.

This report was prepared under the able guidance of Dr. T. B. Naik, the Director of Tribal Research and Training Institute. He has taken keen interest at every level. He had personally come to Silgha and surrounding villages and rendered valuable suggestions during the field-work as well as for report writing. We are indeed very grateful for his direct and indirect guidance at every stage.

I am highly obliged to Shri Shankerbhai Patel, Shri Jaswantsinh Rathod and Shri Gulabbhai Patel for helping me in my field-work. I am also obliged to Warli leaders as well as to the host families, who not only treated me as a family member but also helped me in collecting data for the study. Last but not the least, I owe gratitude to various taluka officers for giving active co-operation in getting the necessary information for the study. I am thankful to Mrs. Kokilaben Jagdishbhai Shah for translating this report into English.

The necessary data were collected by applying scientific research methods. As mentioned before, most of the field-work is done in the villages situated in forest region of Dharampur taluka as well as in the remote villages situated in the hilly regions. With the exception of a few Kolcha families these villages are inhabited by Warlis only. In all, six villages were selected, and 50 per cent families of these six villages were selected for the survey. Initially the lists of total households of the villages were prepared and out of this list 50 per cent households were selected for the sample survey. Out of these selected families, a few families had migrated in search of labour and hence they were omitted from the prepared list, as it was not possible to contact them. As far as Vansda taluka is concerned, Warlis cohabit with other tribes as well as with non-tribals. So only two villages were selected



from Vansda taluka and only 100 families were enlisted for the data collection.

The information about the number of households from the selected villages is as follows :

Distribution of total families, total Warli families and surveyed families in different selected villages

Sr. No.	Taluka	Selected villages	Total No. of families	Total No. of Warli families	No. of surveyed families
1.	Dharampur	Silgha	285	280	122
2.	„	Pindhardevi	101	101	52
3.	„	Aastol	100	100	50
4.	„	Ketaki	48	48	20
5.	„	Ekalera	92	92	36
6.	„	Umali	24	24	10
	Total	650	645	290
7.	Vansda	Khambhala	281	95	60
8.	„	Ambapani	124	47	40
	Total	405	142	100
	Grand Total	1055	787	390

As seen from the table, 45 per cent of the households were selected from Dharampur taluka, while 70 per cent of the households were selected from Vansda taluka for the survey. In all 390 families were selected for the study. Thus out of 8 villages, 49.5 per cent of the households were covered for the data collection. Besides these 8 villages, 'Warlis' of Dangs as well as of Umergaon were contacted. Certain written data and historical data were collected by referring to the relevant literature from the library. Participation-observation method was also applied during the fieldwork. These 390 households were personally contacted and the data regarding their family life as well as about economic life were recorded on the prepared questionnaire. Personal interviews of local leaders, Patil, Karbhari, Kathia and of old responsible people of the selected villages were taken by

the fieldworkers. Local Government Officers, as well as certain non-tribals and of the other local tribes were also contacted to get the information about the religious as well as socio-economic life of Warlis. An assessment was made of their present daily needs and of their future needs by such interviews. As mentioned above certain objective and largely quantitative data were gathered through questionnaires. We are happy to say that we could establish an excellent rapport with Warlis. So it was easy for us to know about their social interaction and as we participated with them in certain social and religious occasions, we could observe their daily life from very close quarters. It was possible for us to have photographs of their certain peculiar ceremonies as well as activities.

It is hoped that this study would help in creating a better understanding of Warlis as well as in planning proper development schemes for their betterment.

As these Warlis live in mountainous areas of Dharampur and Vansda, they are known as 'Dungri' Warlis. As such there is no separate existence of Dungri Warli tribe.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

The Warli, which has more than one lakh of population, is considered an important tribe amongst the tribes of Gujarat. They prefer to stay in hilly and remote forest areas, so mostly they remain cut off from the main population and hence have been able to retain their primitive organisation. One can't help being attracted towards this "primitive character" of Warli culture.

The habitation of Warli tribes can be found in Maharashtra and Gujarat in India. In Gujarat they are found in Umargaon, Dharampur, Vansda talukas in Valsad district and Dang district. These areas are situated near Maharashtra border.

Dharampur

This taluka which consists of 237 villages is situated in the east in Valsad district geographically, it is divided into two parts. There are 41 villages in the area near the foot of the mountainous region and is known as talat. The area consists of 70,843 acres. The soil here is sandy. Rice, Kodra and Nagli can be grown here. The population consists of Dhodia tribe.

The other region is known as mountainous region. The land here is quite rocky and so it requires lots of human effort to grow anything over here. Of course, most of the area is covered with forests and is full of small streamlets. The main population consists of Warli and Konknas. The taluka lies between 20° north latitude and 73° east longitude.

Dharampur taluka has in north River Auranga, Chikhli and Vansda taluka, in south Nagar Haveli and Nasik district of Maharashtra State and in west has Valsad District.

Dharampur district is spread in 1650 sq.kilo meters and has 403942 acres of land. Out of that only 552 acres of land is cultivable and has the irrigation facility, while 140058 acres of land fall into the category of uncultivable land. The forest area consists of 174901 acres. The other cultivable but barren land consists of 29659 acres of land. 58738 acres of land is classified as

uncultivable land. The average rainfall is 250 c.m. The main crops are Nagli, Rice and Kodra.

Kumbghat, Mohgadh, Luheri, Peria, Bopi, Gar, Pilao, Nimno, Astol, Kastol, Wilson hill are main hillocks in the taluka. There are various other hillocks also.

Rivers

Man, Tan, Auranga, Par, Kolak and Damanganga are the main rivers in the taluka. Besides, there are many streamlets in the region.

Most of the region is covered with natural forests. The woods are mainly used for fuel and construction. Forest products consist of honey, gum, mahuda, doli, lacquer etc. Coal producing is also quite common. The forests are inhabited by wild animals like tiger, wolf, bear, fox as well as deer, rabbits etc.

Silgha, Pindhardevi, Eklera, Ketki, Umli and Astol are the six villages selected for the study. They are in the range of 40 kms from Dharampur. These villages are situated on the flat lands of hilly regions. Each village has the area of 3 to 5 kms. One can see the scattered *falias* of mostly Warli population on the flat lands of this hilly area. Various rivers and streams pass through these villages.

No connecting road exists between these villages. Silgha village is 18 kms away from Kaparada and 14 kms from Mandwa. In monsoon, river Kolak gets flooded and thus the area gets disconnected. Bus transportation is resumed after February and continues till the starting of rains. Trucks for transporting wood from forests also get totally stopped till the rivers and streams get to their normal water level. There are no other modes of transport. Even travelling on foot becomes difficult during monsoon.

The geographical situation is such, that the people cannot have much communication with the main population. The area doesn't have a stationary market from where one can buy the daily necessities. The purchasing is done at periodical *Hats* at Silgha, Mandwa and Lavkar.



Vansda

Vansda was a princely kingdom before the independence and now it is made a taluka. In north it has Mahuva and Vyara talukas of Surat district. In east it has Nasik district of Maharashtra State and Dang district. And in west it has Chikhli taluka. The main rivers are Kaveri and Kharera while Yajman-gadh, Torania and Pilwo are main hills. The eastern side is absolutely hilly and one can find quite a few wild animals there.

The average rainfall is 200 cms. The land is rocky. The main crop is rice, nagli, kodra; and cereals are grown on hilly regions.

Vansda taluka has 94 villages, out of which 17 villages are inhabited by Warlis. These villages are mostly near the border of the Dangs and hence they also live in same environments of deep forests and hilly region.

Warlis mostly stay on the border area of Gujarat and Maharashtra and though they live in different States they maintain amicable social relations amongst the fellow tribesmen.

Comparatively Umargaon has the highest Warli population but then the land is plain and does not have forests or hillocks. In spite of that their economic life is not better than that of the Warlis of Dharampur.

The population of Warlis in India

Year	Population
1931	1,39,691
1941	1,53,504
1961	3,74,184
1971	4,61,559

The comparative figures of Warli population in 1961 and 1971

State	1961	1971	Increase
Maharashtra	2,43,980	2,93,941	
Gujarat	97,710	1,26,108	29.06
Goa-Div-Daman	—	491	
Dadara Nagar Haveli	32,494	41,017	
Karnatak	—	2	
	3,74,184	4,61,559	23.35

The above figures show that the total Warli population has increased by 23.35 per cent during the decade, while in Gujarat it has increased by 29.06 per cent.

The Warli population in Gujarat is around 1,26,108 and it forms 3.38 per cent of total tribal population of Gujarat. Valsad district is the main centre of Warli population. However, they are also scattered in different districts of the State. The district-wise population is as follows :

Districtwise Population of Warlis

Sr.No.	District	Population	Percentage
1.	Dangs	12,688	10.07
2.	Valsad	1,12,975	89.59
3.	Surat	173	00.14
4.	Bharuch	10	00.01
5.	Panchmahal	210	00.16
6.	Sabarkantha	6	—
7.	Banaskantha	6	—
8.	Vadodara	38	00.03
9.	Mahesana	2	—
		1,26,108	100.00

As seen from the above table out of nine districts having Warli population, Valsad has the maximum Warli population (89.59 %). The second is Dangs (10.07%). While the remaining districts have insignificant numbers.

The population of Warlis in different talukas of Valsad district is as follows :

Talukawise Warli Population

Sr.No.	Taluka	Population	Percentage
1.	Valsad	348	00.31
2.	Pardi	1,173	1.04
3.	Umargam	32,757	28.99
4.	Gandevi	61	0.05
5.	Navsari	99	0.09

1	2	3	4
6.	Chikhali	825	0.73
7.	Vansda	9,571	8.47
8.	Dharampur	68,141	60.32
	Total	1,12,975	100.00

It is evident that Dharampur taluka has the maximum Warli population (60.32%), while Umargam rates second (28.99%) and Vansda taluka rates third (8.47%). The other talukas have meagre numbers.

Thus the Warlis stay in mountainous regions of Dharampur and Vansda talukas. In Dharampur Warlis cohabit with Konknas and Kolcha while in Vansda they stay mainly with Konknas. The following table gives the information regarding the other tribal population in both the talukas.

Tribewise population in Dharampur and Vansda Talukas
(1971 Census)

Sr. No.	Tribe	Vansda		Dharampur	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	Bhil	758	0.7	1	—
2.	Dubla	1,036	1.0	1,081	0.6
3.	Dhodia	36,295	33.4	36,60	20.4
4.	Gamit	4,750	4.4	10	0.0
5.	Choudhari	1,119	1.0	38	—
6.	Kokna-kunbi	46,202	42.6	57,851	32.4
7.	Naik-Naika	3,896	3.6	5,796	3.2
8.	Warli	9,571	8.6	68,141	38.0
9.	Kolcha	3,551	3.3	9,617	5.4
10.	Kotwalia	1,245	1.1	7	—
11.	Bavcha	—	—	3	—
12.	Kathodi	—	—	1	—
13.	Pomla	1	—	—	—
14.	Non-scheduled	124	0.1	32	—
	Total	1,08,548	100.0	1,79,181	100.0

As compared to the total population of Dharampur taluka, the tribal population forms 92.5 per cent while that is 90.0 per cent in Vansda taluka. As compared to the total tribal population of Dharampur taluka Warlis are 38.0 per cent while Warlis are 8.8 per cent in Vansda taluka.

The total figures of Warli population of 290 families of 6 villages of Dharampur taluka and of 100 families of 2 villages of Vansda taluka are given in the following table :

Distribution of Population of Surveyed Families

Taluka Villages	No of families	Population		Total
		Male	Female	
Dharampur				
Sildha	122	389	332	721
Pendhardevi	52	164	142	306
Astol	50	166	159	325
Ekalera	36	92	105	197
Ketki	20	45	55	100
Umali	10	28	16	44
Total	290	884	809	1693
Vansda				
Khambhala	60	167	16	335
Ambapani	40	130	11	212
Total....	100	274	278	575
Grand total	390	1181	1087	2268

In Dharampur, the selected villages had only Warli population, except in one village there were 4 Kolcha families and one muslim family, while in Vansda, in both the villages Warlis were cohabiting with Konknas.

Historical Background

It is very difficult to build a definite theory about the native place of Warlis but certain hypothesis can be made that they may have migrated to this area from Konkan in south due to the pressures of Phirangis, or may be because of some natural calamities or due to imperialistic movements of Marathas.



Ethnologically the word 'Warli' has originated from 'Warud'. As the records show, in Satpura of Vindhya mountain range, three Anarya tribes used to reside, namely, Nishad, Vyas and Warud. 'Warud' was distorted and made Warudai, then Warulai, then Waruli and finally it was 'Warli'. According to Mr. Anthoven, Warlis belong to the sub-tribes of Bhils.

In 'Bhagwato-Mandal' dictionary, it is written that Warli(F) means an aboriginal tribe which is proficient in digging out roots and transplanting the new trees in the forests and are also involved in agriculture.

According to the old Indian gazetteers, they belong to Konkan and they are mainly concentrated in Thana, Surat agency, Nasik district and in Ehavar State. According to 1833 Nasik Gazetteer Warlis are known as uplanders. Their reference is made in Warlat Sat Konkan Pradesh Hindus. Like thakores they survive on grams for some time and the rest of year on certain tubers and green leafy vegetables. They lead the life of utter poverty.

Warlat is one of the regions of Konkan area. At present it is known as Kolaba and Thana region and thus Warlis are naturally seen to be concentrated in these regions.

Dr. Wilson also supports this statement. According to Liam (Anthology of India) Warlis belong to Kol tribe. It's a fact that Kols used to stay at Thana, Kolaba and at Bombay. They used to stay in huts and their main occupation was fishery. Kols of Maharashtra State can be traced back to Sonkolis.

According to the other view, when the British people entered the hutments of Kol tribe in Bombay, they named it as Worli. It is quite possible that the Kol tribe may have settled in Worli, in 17th century and then the Kols were known as Warlis. Warlis look like Kolis in appearance. They belong to Dravidian group. But as history shows, Kolis don't hail from south like Dravidian. They originate from Gujarat. According to Mr. Save, Warlis belong to Dravidian group. According to him 'Warli' has its root in word 'Warul' which means 'fanatic' or 'forest'. Hence the inhabitants of forests were known as Waruls or Warlis. According to this view all the tribes living in forests should be known as Warlis. Thus it is very difficult to build a concrete theory about their origin. Most of the views are probable conjectures only.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL CULTURE

Warlis stay in remote forests and are completely left to nature for the survival. They have limited means of livelihood and have to put up a strenuous struggle for the existence. One glance in their daily life provides enough evidence of all the hardships they go through.

The House

The area is quite hilly, so the houses are built wherever it's possible to get the flat land. There is certain vagueness about the ownership of land for the house. They prefer to build the house in the vicinity of the houses of relatives. Sometimes the old house is demolished and a new house is constructed. Nowadays, Panchayat is consulted for building a new house. The necessity for the new house arises due to, may be because the son gets married or for the son-in-law or may be when the brothers divide to separate.

Warli houses are stereotpyes. They have same type of architectural design. Every house has a definite place for god, for grain storage, mezzanine, mortar etc. When there is no possibility of constructing a new house, a partition is erected and the house gets divided into two parts, especially for separate cooking purposes.

Warlis do not have adjoining houses in their falia. They live in a scattered manner, mostly keeping the distance of five feet to twentyfive feet. Their falia consists of such clusters of scattered houses. It is quite possible that as this region is hilly, it may be difficult to get a long patch of flat land for building many houses together. Every house has a courtyard and is protected by fences made out of bamboos. Mostly nearest relatives, e.g. the sons build their houses near that of their father. A man staying as Ghar-Jamai stays in a separate house which is very near to his father-in-law's house. Warli falia (Pada) consists of houses belonging to the members of the same lineage.



The Number of Houses and its Ownership

Each family has its own house. The houses are not built for renting purposes. The 390 families selected for our study had their own houses. The following table gives the information regarding the housing position in the six selected villages.

Number of houses among the surveyed families

Area		Total families	No. of houses
Dharampur	Cultivable-land-holders	178	183
	Non-cultivable-land-holders	112	113
Vansda	Cultivable-land-holders	55	55
	Non-cultivable-land-holders	45	45
Total	Cultivable-land-holders	233	238
	Non-cultivable-land-holders	157	158
Grand Total		390	396

It is evident from the above table that in Vansda, whether engaged in agriculture or not, the families didn't have a separate provision for their animals. While in Dharampur, certain big farmers have a separate provision for keeping their animals. Thus there were six more houses than the total number of families. Out of these six extra houses, five houses belonged to the families who were agriculturists, while one belonged to the family, which was not involved in agriculture. These extra houses were used for keeping the animals. Out of 290 families in Dharampur, 187 families had sheds for their animals while out of 100 families in Vansda 73 families had provision of sheds for their animals. Thus 66.7% of the families had provision of sheds for their animals. As such, there is no separate shed from the house but the shed is adjoined to the wall of the house. As this is a forest area, a careful watch is required to protect the cattle from the wild animals. The second reason for not having separate accommodation for the cattle, is the scarcity of the building material. They find it difficult to get the necessary wood for the house. Thus the houses are very small and cater to their basic needs.

The Land for the House

The following table gives the information about the acquirement of the land for the housing purposes.

Ownership of the House Land

Area	House in hereditary land	House in forest land	House in village Panchayat land	House in others' or relative's land	Total families
Dharampur	190	17	40	43	290
Vansda	50	18	1	31	100
TOTAL	240	35	41	74	390
Percentage	61.5	9.0	10.5	19.0	100.0

It is obvious from the table that 'Warlis' prefer to build their houses on their own land 61.5 per cent of the houses were built in the fields only. 9.0 per cent of the families had built their houses on the forest land. The owners of the houses who have built their houses in the forests, face lots of difficulties as they have often to pay the fine to the forest department. Sometimes the penalty is quite big, e.g. in form of chicken, goat or a big chunk of money. Sometimes the houses are built on the land belonging to Gram panchayat.

Preparations for construction of house

Mostly the wood required for construction of the house is acquired from the forests. Such wood is cut from the forest illegally. As far as the roof is concerned, the tiles are made at home or are purchased from the market. Sometimes the roof is built out of dry grass, twigs and leaves only. First they clear the land, on which the house has to be constructed and then the pits are dug for erecting the load bearing wooden poles. These wooden poles are made with the help of the carpenters. A fishing net is kept on the main pole to protect the new house from the witch. Two family members sleep in the new premises till the house gets completed so that the witch may not damage the new house.

A special religious ceremony is observed when the main pole is erected in the centre of the land. Usually the carpenter performs this ceremony. The pole is sprinkled with yellow and red turmeric powder. Certain herbs are tied around the pole with the help of white cotton thread. Even mango leaves are also tied and then the liquor is poured and a sacrifice of chicken is offered. Boiled rice, chicken and liquor is offered to all the members who attend this ceremony. Once the centre pole is erected then the four corner poles get erected. Then the preparation for construction of roof gets started. Mostly the roof is made out of bamboo poles and teak poles. If the house is big, a provision for mezzanine is also made. The walls of the houses are made from thin sticks of Baru and Karav. As such the house has one room only but in some cases separate provisions for kitchen and cattle are also made. The houses don't have windows. Most of the houses have one door only. The doors are made out of Bamboo or Baru sticks.

The Roof

The leaves of Sag or Sadad trees are soaked in water and they are tied to the wooden planks with strong creepers and thus the roof gets erected. This type of roof doesn't last more than a year or two. After every monsoon they renovate the roof with new leaves as the old leaves get decayed. The information regarding the roofs of the houses is as follows :

Types of Roof

Area	Covered with grass	Country tiles	Manglore tiles	Total
Dharampur	224	33	33	290
Vansda	78	—	22	100
Total	302	33	55	390

74.4 per cent of the families had roofs made out of dry grass and leaves, 8.5 per cent houses had country tiles while 14.1 per cent had Manglore tiles. Even these houses also had parts of their roofs made out of dry leaves.

Rooms

All the houses under the survey were kachcha houses. Not a single house was made of bricks. The raw-material for the house came from the surrounding forests. The classification of the houses according to the rooms is given in the following table :

Number of rooms of the houses

Area	Single room	Two rooms	Three rooms	Total
Dharampur	232	57	1	290
Vansda	65	35	—	100
Total	297	92	1	390
Percentage	76.2	23.6	0.2	100.0

Most of the houses are one room houses only. 76.2 per cent of the houses had one room, 23.6 per cent had two rooms and only one house had 3 rooms. Thus though they have ample space the houses are small. This is because they do not get enough wood required for bigger houses. As such, whatever wood they acquire is collected by illegal means, and sometimes they have to pay heavy fine for stealing the wood. In some houses small sheds are constructed in the front of the houses. This is used for storing the hay as well as for sleeping purposes.

The Arrangement in the House

They possess few household things. In one corner they have their oven made out of three stones. Sometimes they light fire at the same place where they sleep. So the ashes get scattered all over the floor. They keep their waterpots on cut tree-trunks right in the front of the house. On the shelf they keep a water ladle made out of dried gourd and may be an aluminium glass. The bucket and the rope are hung there only. The utensils are kept near the oven. Very few houses have kothis for storage of grains. However the farmers do store their grains in bamboo kothis (Pala) and keep them in Marrine. The seeds for future crops are stored in baskets made from dried leaves. These baskets are usually hung on the walls. A mortar is fixed near the door and a wooden pestle is kept nearby. The grinding stone is kept near the oven. A bamboo stick is hung for keeping additional clothes and coverlets.

They can hardly afford cots or mattresses. A long piece of jute is used for spreading on the floor as well as for covering one's self while sleeping. Women make use of their sarees for the same purposes. In winter they light fire in the house for protection from cold. In summer they sleep outside. Some people make mats from bamboos and they sleep on them. The fishing net is usually kept on the roof and an axe is kept inside the house. They hang a flat bamboo disc over the oven. In monsoon they keep grain over the disc and then they use it for grinding. They worship Kansaridevi and she is kept along with other gods in a basket. The basket is usually kept near the kothis. They put nagli grains in the basket containing the various gods and keep the basket covered. They believe that in this way their grains can be saved from the decay. They do not have extra provision of space for guests. They also sleep along with the hosts. When there is a case of delivery in the house, if the house has two rooms, one room is allocated for the women but if they have only one room then a temporary partition is created by tying a sheet. The woman sleeps on the torn mattress for four-five days after her delivery. Then the curtain gets removed.

The fuel used for cooking is collected in May or April and it is stored near the front door under a small roof. They grow mango trees, tamarind, bamboo and bor trees, in their back yards. They also grow white gourd, brinjals, beans etc. in their kitchen garden. For passing bowels they go near thick bushes to distant ravines. They clean their bottoms with the help of leaves.

Household Utensils

The following table gives information regarding the possession of household utensils by families selected for the survey :

Distribution of Vessels among the surveyed families

Area	Total families	Vessels						Total Vessels
		Copper	Alu-minium	Brass	Steel	Nickel	Ear-then	
Dharampur	290	4	1700	111	27	—	1161	3003
Vansda	100	38	536	94	29	8	268	973
Total	390	42	2236	205	56	8	1429	3976
Percentage		1.1	56.2	5.2	1.4	0.02	35.9	100.0

As seen from the above table Warlis mostly use Aluminium vessels. The total use of Aluminium vessels is 56.2 percent. They buy these utensils from weekly markets. These utensils consisted of Tapelis, small thalis, glasses and lotas. Utensils were in miserable condition. They also use earthen vessels. They have earthen waterpots, roasting pan (Tavi) and earthen Handlis. Out of the total utensils, earthen vessels were 38.0 percent. 5.2 percent were Brass utensils. One could also come across rare use of Bronze thali and bronze lota and stainless steel glasses. This forms 1.4 percent. All these figures show that they did not have enough utensils. The broken conditions of their utensils echoed their utter poverty.

Apart from the household utensils, one look at their other household possessions will also reflect their miserable condition. The table for household possessions:

Distribution of Household Goods

Name of Goods	Dharampur	Vansda	Total
Cots	15	6	21
Chairs & Tables	1	7	8
Clocks/Wristwatch	6	4	10
Sewing Machine	2	—	2
Radios	2	—	2
Fishing Net	157	49	206
Hunting Weapons	86	1	87
Musical instruments	52	3	55
Chimani	40	—	40
Lalten	1	—	1
Baskets	492	177	669
Grinding Stone	170	83	253
Trunks	5	2	7
Torch	9	—	9
Others	5	1	6

The above table gives the correct picture of their household possessions. Only 21 cots were traced in these 390 selected families. Thus amongst 2268 members there were only 21 cots. These



cots were made from bamboo sticks. One could hardly find any chairs. 10 persons had watches and only one family had a radio. Most of them had fishing nets. Some had bows and arrows. They also had bird traps. This consisted of hollow bamboo, wax and a few thin bamboo sticks. The sticks have gum on their tips. This wax is kept outside and when the birds sit on the sticks they get glued to the tips and thus get caught. One can find variety in their hunting weapons. Out of 390 families only one family had a lantern. 40 families had chimneys but they did not use them regularly. In Vansda, none of the 100 families had chimney. They manage to get light by burning wood. Most of the houses had baskets of various sizes as they are daily necessity. Out of 390 families, 253 families owned hand-grinders (ghanti). Those who did not own the ghanti went to the persons who had it to get their grains ground. Thus everybody can not afford the basic necessities also.

Musical Instruments

Music is usually played on social as well as on religious occasions. Dancing is very important activity as far as tribals are concerned, and naturally music and dancing go together. At wedding times, professional instrument players are called. They would be paid between Rs. 10 to Rs. 20. Toor, Bronze thali, Kahli, Samal (Dholak) Pawi, Ghanghli, Tarpu etc. are their traditional musical instruments. The Bhagats make use of Bronze thali while giving a religious discourse. A Parsani stick is glued to the bronze thali with the help of wax. Bhagat plays different tunes by the movements of the stick. Everybody does not possess all the instruments, but one can see these various instruments with the person who makes them.

Instruments of Bhagat

Bhagat holds a special status amongst tribals. Bhagat is called in the difficult times as well as in the times of sickness. It is believed that he has the power to remove the worldly miseries. He practises witchcraft and for that he requires certain instruments. He keeps a specific stick (4' to 5' long) which has heart shaped bunches at one end. This stick is used as an armour against witches and evil spirits. He carries this stick alongwith

him on social and religious occasions. He uses a broom made out of peacock feathers. He is supposed to sweep off the sickness from the diseased person with the help of this broom. Ghanghli is considered to be the instrument of god. As mentioned above he uses bronze thali and Parsani stick for giving religious discourse. He uses iron chains to drive out the evil spirit from the possessed person. He whips himself also with these chains if he gets possessed while performing some ritual. He uses wooden whips also. This whip is made out of 4 to 5 pointed wooden pieces which are tied with strings.

Clothing

Very young children wear loin cloth only. Some elder children wear bush-shirt and the loin cloth. While still older children (upto 10 years old) wear half pants and bush-shirts.

The very small girls wear a blouse and a loin cloth while slightly older girls would wear a blouse and a small saree which is wrapped around the waist and looped between the legs. The girls above 10 years wear a blouse, a regular saree which gets looped between the legs and a clothpiece to cover the head.

The men wear bush-shirt or a sleeveless jacket, and a half pant, or a striped underwear or a loin cloth and a 'Pagree' to cover the head.

The young and old women wear the saree as described before. They wear their blouse so short that they hardly serve the purpose of covering their breasts. They use small sarees as the head covers. The middle aged women wear only saree while they work in the house.

Tatoos

Warli women are fond of tatoos. They get the tatoos done under lower lip, on chin, or temples, on forehead, on cheeks, on nose and on feet. Tatoos are known as 'Godhelu' in their local dialect. They get themselves tatoosed by a professional tatooser at weekly markets. Tatoos are must for Warli women. The tatoos are of various designs. Usually they get themselves tatoosed between the age of 5 to 15 years.

Ornaments

The men do not wear the ornaments but women are extremely fond of ornaments. They can not afford expensive ornaments made out of gold or silver but their ornaments are made out of nickel, aluminium or steel. It is customary to give silver ornaments at the time of wedding but because of utter poverty, this custom is not observed.

Ladies' Ornaments

They use iron bobbins for their hair. Recently the plastic pins and colourful nylon ribbons seem to be in vogue.

- Nose : They wear a nickel nose ring which is known as Kulki.
- Ear : Earrings (known as Dool or Toghe) are also made of nickel.
- Neck : They wear a nickel chain, or a necklace made of coins (8 anna or a rupee coin) or a string of colourful plastic beads.
- Hands : They wear rubber, plastic or brass bangles. They sometimes wear coin rings on their fingers.
- Feet : The anklets (sankla) are made of silver or some cheap metal. They also wear rings (Jodwa) on the feet fingers.

It's not necessary that Warli women wear or possess all these ornaments. They try to wear maximum ornaments at wedding time.

Food

Their staple food is Nagli. Their daily food consists of Nagli rotla, udad dal and some vegetable. In Vansda, they eat udad gruel with Nagli rotlas. It is known as 'Ukacha Bhujya'. First they roast the udad dal then they grind this dal. The udad flour is boiled in water and they season it with salt and chilly powder. They also eat tubers, roots and various spinach. In Dharampur they sometimes make rotlas out of rice flour. Jowar rotlas are also popular. Sometimes they eat dal and rice also. Their meal times are 7-00 a.m. to 8-00 a.m. in the morning, 12-00 noon to 1-00 p.m. and 6-00 p.m. to 7-00 p.m. in the evening.

The breakfast consists of rotlas made out of Nagli, Jowar, or rice and chutney or gruel.

For lunch they have dal and rice or nagli, rice or jowar rotla and raw mango or dried fish. They catch fish from rivers or streams. Their dinner consists of rotlas and chutney or some vegetable. If they are short of grains, then, every body drinks just the gruel or survive on roots and tuber.

Drinks

Liquor is the most common drink over here and it is drunk at any time of the day; they love getting drunk. Liquor is a must on any social or religious occasion.

The men also enjoy smoking beedies. The beedies are made from Asitra or Timroo leaves. They carry Timroo leaves and tobacco in their pockets. They make their own beedies and smoke. Very few people can buy beedies from the market.

Agricultural Implements

Most of the agricultural implements are made by themselves only. Among all agricultural implements the plough (Hal) is the most important implement. Karal, Samar, Bullockcart and Varania are also considered important implements. Different types of iron axes and spades are considered secondary implements. The following table gives the information regarding the agricultural implements possessed by the selected 390 households.

Name of the implements	Number of Agricultural Implements		Total
	290 families in Dharampur	100 families in Vansda	
Wooden Plough	211	55	266
Karab	—	13	13
Samar	182	8	190
Vavnio	1	—	1
Small implements	1067	100	1167
Bullock Cart	1	6	7
Machine	—	1	1

As seen from the above table, 233 families had their own land. Those who did not have their own land, cultivated in the backyard or in the forest area. A small plough (Pandavo) and iron axes are used for such small pieces of land. It is evident from the table that they do not possess enough agricultural implements. They usually borrow the required implements from their relatives. The use of Karab was not found in Dharampur and its use was quite rare in Vansda also. Very few families possessed Samar and Vavano. One could hardly see few carts and only one engine was located in Vansda. Thus agricultural activities are undertaken on a very primitive level. Dharampur had no irrigation facilities, while in Vansda there were a few wells.

The following few sample cases of families possessing household things will give some idea about their material life.

Sample cases : Household possessions.

We have not used the original names.

1. Name : Ukad Dhakal
Village : Silgha (Dharampur)
Family members : 5
House : Kachcha House
Land : Does not own any land but cultivates in forest.
No. of Utensils : Aluminium-5, Earthen-4, Chimney-1, Baskets-2, Ghanti (Grinding stone)-1.
Agricultural implements : Wooden plough-1, Samar-1.
2. Name : Channu Lahanu
Village : Pendhardevi
Family members : 7
House : Cachcha house
Land : Owns 4 acres of land
No. of Utensils : Aluminium-7, Brass-4, Earthen-5, Baskets-3
Agri. Implements : Wooden plough-1, Samar-1, Smaller instruments-5.
3. Name : Lahanu Mahadu
Village : Astol-Dharampur
Family members : 6
House : Kachcha house

- Land : Does not possess any land
Utensils : Aluminium-5, Earthen-3, Ghanti-1
Agri. Implements : Small implements-5 (Axes, Sickle etc.)
4. Name : Rama Bhikhlu
Village : Ambapani (Vansda)
Family members : 3
House : Kachcha
Land : 1 acre & 34 gunthas
Utensils : Copper-2, Brass-3, Steel-1, Earthen-4 Baskets-2, Ghanti-1.
Agri. Implements : Did not possess any agricultural implements.
5. Name : Rania Chhitu
Village : Khabala (Vansda)
Family members : 6
Land : Does not possess any land
Utensils : Aluminium-5, Brass-1, Steel-3, Earthen-2, Baskets-3, Ghanti-1.
Agri. Implements : Nil.

CHAPTER III
THE ECONOMIC LIFE

It's established fact that the geographical conditions have a great impact on the local economic life. The primitive people try to adjust to the prevailing physical conditions in such a way that the total environment becomes the part and parcel of all the aspects (Social, Economic, cultural etc.) of their life. They arrive at certain equilibrium with the prevailing conditions and can't escape the stagnation. Their social, cultural and economic life gets so interwoven that it is very difficult to study each aspect separately.

As mentioned before the Warli region is full of hillocks, thick forests and number of rivulets. The land is rocky and uneven. The rainfall is around 100" and the erosion of land takes place because of such heavy rainfall. As a result, the fertile layer of the land gets washed away. The rain water flows with such gushing speed that the crops also get destroyed. It is difficult to store this rain water and canalise it through the fields because of the uneven land and because the fields are situated in a scattered manner. The land is so slopy that the rain water also flows away and it can not retain the rain water. The land remains void of moisture. Thus Warlis have to work against all these adverse natural factors.

For Warlis, means of livelihood are limited and insufficient. Though various economic activities like forest labour, collection of forest products, agricultural labour etc. are available to them they cannot provide for even minimum subsistence throughout the year. June, July and August are the worst months in a year. The new crops don't get ready during these months. Besides, the procurement of leafy vegetables also is very difficult and so this becomes a lean period for them, wherein sometimes they have to remain hungry for days together or, if fortunate, may have to put up with one meal per day.

Classification of family members according to age-group

Area	Total families	No. of Members according to age-group										Total				
		1 to 6 years		7 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 35 years		36 to 60 years			Above 60 years			
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F		
Dharampur	290	191	205	195	142	134	135	192	163	148	143	24	21	884	809	1693
Vansda	100	58	55	55	56	62	52	44	41	69	62	9	12	297	278	575
Total	390	249	260	250	198	196	187	236	204	217	205	33	33	1181	1087	2268
Percentage		22.4		19.8		16.9		19.4		18.6		2.9				100.00

Distribution of families according to Economic Status

Area	Total families	Workers		Workers but dependent on others		Non-workers but dependent on workers		Grand Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	
		Total		Total		Total		
Dharampur	290	306	2	187	442	391	365	1693
Vansda	100	143	1	57	170	97	107	575
Total	390	449	3	244	612	488	472	2268
Percentage		19.6		37.7		42.7		100.00

The geographical condition is one of the important determinants of economic life in any region. The age-group also plays a vital role. The economic progress in any given society depends upon the number of people who are capable of undertaking economic activities and also on the number of dependents. The following table gives the information about the age-groups.

Thus, it is evident that (see table on page 129, Classification of families according to age-group) 2268 members of 390 households are in the group of 1 year to 6 years (22.4%). 19.8 per cent are in the age-group of 7 to 14 years while 2.9 per cent are above 60 years. Thus, 45.1 per cent of the total members under survey cannot participate in production process to the fullest extent. The age-group of 35 to 60 years constitute 18.6 per cent and comparatively it can contribute in a better way but the real working group, i.e. group of 15 years to 35 years is just 36.3 per cent. Even in this group 50.0 per cent are female members. Thus the active participation in economic activities is undertaken by a very small group. As they cannot shoulder this heavy burden, the very young and old people are forced to work hard to make both ends meet.

The table (see table on page 129, Distribution of families according to Economic Status) indicates the number of earning members, the number of earning dependents and the number of non-earning members.

As the table shows that the working members form 19.9 per cent of the total members surveyed 37.7 per cent are the working dependents. They do not earn much but their income can augment the total income of the family. Mostly the young children and the women fall in this category. Only 20.7 per cent men fall in this category. 42.4 per cent of the total members are non-working dependents.

The Warlis cannot progress rapidly as the majority of the human resources are not actively employed in economic activities. The number of dependents is so big that a small minority of earning members cannot lead the society much ahead. The human resources are wasted due to the dearth of employment opportunities.

Division of Labour

The division of labour indicates the specific involvement of men and women as economic units.

Men

The men involved in agriculture, prepare their fields in the month of April and May. First they clean their fields. Then they make the preparation for 'Adai' which is a part of 'slash and burn' cultivation. They collect the wood and dry leaves from the forest. The women help in preparing the ground for burning this wood and dry leaves. This is a time consuming activity and usually is shared between two three fields. Once this gets over the woods used as fuel are collected and are stored for monsoon. Every house has a specific wood storing place. A small roof is constructed for this. The house gets repaired before the advent of monsoon. If special care is taken to fill up the leakage in roof, the tiles are rearranged. Those who don't have the tiles on their roofs they rearrange them with new dry-grass, dry leaves and wood. Meanwhile the hunting of fowl and the hunting of small animals like rabbits, deer etc. is carried on by the men and children. The making of new agricultural tools as well as repairing is done during this period. The cattle also get proper care. If they have spare time, they go in search of some work. This is the time for socialising also. They enjoy attending weddings.

The beginning of monsoon is a real busy time for them. The paddy requires transplantation. The saplings of different vegetables are also prepared. The sowing, weeding, fencing the fields etc. keep them very busy. If they can afford they employ labourers, otherwise they help each other in various chores associated with agriculture. Once the crop gets ready, they get busy in winnowing, thrashing and other final activities. In winter they take the crop of Udad, Jowar, grams etc. But their main cultivation is done in the monsoon only. After monsoon they usually migrate in search of other labour activities. Usually they go to Chikhli, Valsad, Pardi where they work mostly as agricultural labourers. They also work in jungle coups where they are employed for coal making, tree plantation, wood transportation or numbering the trees. Sometimes they are employed in various construction

activities like Roads, building etc. They also collect forest produce like gum, honey, doli, mahuwa, ambla, timroo leaves and then sell these in market.

Women

The women keep busy throughout the day. They not only look after the house, the family members, the cattle but also help their menfolk in cultivation as well as collecting forest produce. The kitchen garden is their responsibility. Their staple food consists of nagli and rice. They grind their own flour. Nagli rotlas are cooked in a simple way while rice rotlas require elaborate cooking. The men and children are given first preference in serving food. The women eat the left over food. Sometimes they survive only on gruel for days together. They roast the fish or make a fish curry. The dried fish is usually mixed with dal or vegetable and then eaten with rotlas. Besides this intricate household work, she works on fields as well as in the forests. She indulges in liquor making and selling also. Sometimes she travels with her husband alongwith her family and joins him in different kinds of work like agricultural labour, forest labour, construction activities etc.

The Children

Most of the children do not go to school. They help their elders in different activities. They look after the younger children. They love doing errands like getting things from market, collecting forest produce, bringing wood for fuel etc. They also love hunting small birds, fishing, taking cattle for grazing etc. They also help in weeding as well as in protecting the crop from the birds as well as from the other animals.

Occupation

As we have seen, Warlis have to struggle perpetually to maintain their lives, one single occupation can not give them a permanent source of income. They have to resort to various economic activities to make both ends meet.

The following table gives information about their various occupations.

Types of Occupation

Occupation	Area		Total	PC
	Dharampur	Vansda		
Agriculture	3	—	3	0.8
Agri. & Agri. Labour	250	40	290	74.3
Labour (Agricultural labour, Forest labour, Construction labour)	34	54	88	22.6
Agriculture & Service	3	6	9	2.3
Total	290	100	390	100.00

As seen from above table, most of the Warlis undertake agriculture as their main occupation and augment their income by undertaking different manual work like agricultural labour, forest labour, construction work. 4 to 5 families had their own small shops. They also trade the collected forest products. Some followed their ancestral professions like performing religious rituals (Bhagat), midwifery, carpentry etc.

Agriculture

Only 3 households (0.8 %) of the members surveyed depended on agriculture only. The reasons for not depending on agriculture alone are as follows :

(a) Land

As discussed in first chapter, the land is not conducive for good cultivation. In spite of good rains, because of its slopy nature, it cannot conserve the moisture and the humus of the land is washed away by gushing rain water.

(b) Landholding

The minimum landholding has to be not less than 10 acres, if one wants maximum returns from this type of land. Most of the Warlis did not have economic holding of land.

The following table shows the number of Khatedars having their own land as well as of those who didn't have their own land:

Distribution of Selected Families

Area	No. of landholding families (Agri. land)	No. of landless families (Agri. land)	Total
Dharampur	178	112	290
Vansda	55	45	100
Total	233	157	390
Percentage	59.7	40.3	100.0

As seen from the above table, number of Khatedars not having their own land were 40.3 per cent while 59.7 per cent households under survey had their own land. Still only 3 households, i.e. 0.8 per cent were depending on only agriculture for their livelihood.

The following table gives the information about the size of landholding :

Classification of households according to the size of landholding

Size of land (in acres)	Area		Total	Percentage
	Dharampur	Vansda		
Less than 1 acre	11	1	12	5.2
1.00 to 2.09 acres	113	21	134	57.5
3.00 to 5.09 "	42	22	64	27.5
6.00 to 8.09 "	8	6	14	6.0
Above 9 acres	4	5	9	3.8
Total	178	55	233	100.0

It is evident from the table that 62.7 per cent of households were having less than 3 acres of land. 90.00 per cent of the households were having less than 6 acres of land. Only 10 per cent of the households had more than 6 acres of land and only 3.8 per cent of households had more than 9 acres of land. The problem of landholding poses a serious obstacle for Warlis. The land is usually in the name of the greater family, though they don't have a Joint Family system. They find it very difficult to get the land in their own name, once the greater family starts

disintegrating. Once the adult male member gets married he starts leading his own independent life. Informally he gets his own piece of land but Talati does not help in registering him as an independent Khatedar. Formally the land is retained in the name of father. Thus the above table gives an illusory picture of landholding in Warlis. In reality the land is segmented in much smaller pieces.

The households not registered as Khatedars also were seen cultivating some piece of land either belonging to their relatives or to the forest department.

Distribution of households who cultivated the land on lease

Area	No. of landholding families	No. of landless families	Total
Dharampur	4	56	60
Vansda	3	—	3
Total	7	56	63
Percentage	11.1	88.9	100.0

As is obvious from the table, 50 per cent of households, not having their own land, took land on lease and cultivated, while 6 households who had their own land and still took land on lease and undertook cultivation. Thus 88.9 per cent of the households were not having their own land. Yet they were trying to cultivate on land belonging to their relatives, other Khatedars or to the forest department. Thus, this shows that there is an acute dirth of cultivable land.

Those who take land on lease usually cultivate land in lieu of surrendering certain percentage of crop to the owner. If the land is leased by the forest department, the payment is in form of cash. The crux of the problem is that, the landholding in Warlis is not at all economic. In order to maximise the optimum return, the size of holding has to be at least 10 acres.

(c) Primitive methods of cultivation

The methods of cultivation are very primitive. The agricultural tools are traditional. They are so poor that they cannot

store any grains in form of seeds. They are unaware of the new high yielding variety. The trader exploits them by charging exorbitant price for lower quality of seeds.

Manure

They do not use new chemical fertiliser. Though they have plenty of cattle they have not adopted the scientific method of collecting the dung in pit and preparing it into compost manure. The cattle are taken to forests for grazing; so the dung remains there only. Whatever dung is collected is used in preparing Adar for 'Slash and Burn' type of cultivation. The main problem with the Warlis is that they do not possess enough cash required for undertaking proper cultivation. So many a time the fields remain barren in absence of proper supply of seeds and manure. The bullocks play vital role in primitive way of cultivation. Here the bullocks are also of inferior quality and thus they cannot be of much help in ploughing the fields in proper manner.

Wage Labour

Though the agriculture is the mainstay of the Warli economy, they have to depend on other types of work to survive.

Agricultural Labour

There is very little scope for persons being engaged as agricultural labourers in the village itself, as agricultural operations are carried on on a co-operation basis. At the time of paddy transplantation, hired labour is used in a very small proportion. The payment is quite traditional, i.e. in form of certain measure of grains and one cooked meal per day. Most of the families migrate to Nasik, Navsari, Chikhli, Pardi, Valsad etc. The minimum wage rate is 4 to 5 Rs. per day. They are so much homebound that they do not leave their villages for more than 15 to 20 days. They do not migrate in monsoon. As discussed before they take land on lease from relatives or from forest department.

Forest Labour and Collection of Forest Produce

The main source of additional income is from fire wood and minor forest produce collected from neighbouring forests. They also undertake making coal, numbering of trees, transplantation of new trees etc.

The forest department can give employment for 3 to 4 months. But as explained before Warlis do not prefer to stay away from home for a long time. They take such work at intervals. They collect honey, gum, timroo leaves, Mahuda, Doli etc. and sell them.

Construction Work

They go to Navsari, Chikhli, Pardi and Valsad and earn Rs. 4 to 5 per day.

Service

Due to lack of education they cannot get good jobs but they do serve as Mukadam, Postman, Watchman or some of them go to Vaghai and work in the wood factory over there.

Animal husbandry

Although cattle are owned by most of the households in the village, they do not occupy important place in the subsistence economy of Warlis. The primary value of cattle is not economic but social.

The bullocks and he-buffaloes are used for tilling the land. Even, the families not possessing their own land also keep the bullocks and he-buffaloes. They lend their animals to their relatives for tilling the land and get grain as payment. They also possess other animals also. The following table gives information about their cattle :

Distribution of Animals According to Family

Animals	Area						Total	Pc.
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total			
	Land-holder	Land-less	Land-holder	Land-less	Land-holder	Land-less		
Bullocks	190	68	46	13	236	81	317	15.0
He-buffaloes	7	5	29	20	36	25	61	2.9
Cows	194	68	31	6	225	74	299	14.1
Buffaloes	6	2	1	—	7	2	9	0.4
Heifers & Calves	99	42	21	7	120	49	169	8.0

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sheep & Goats	261	97	34	14	295	111	406	19.1	
Poultry	432	198	162	64	594	262	856	40.04	
Total	1189	480	324	124	1513	604	2117	100.0	

Warli households possessing their land for cultivation had 236 bullocks and 36 he-buffaloes which were used for cultivation. The average possession of bullocks is less than two. Thus, they borrow each other's bullocks for ploughing the land. Those who do not have their own land but possess bullocks give their bullocks on hire. They either charge Rs. 30 to 40 or insist for equal amount of grain. Out of total cattle, 14 per cent were cows, 0.4 per cent were buffaloes and 19.1 per cent were goats and sheep. The largest percentage was held by poultry. The goats and sheep have prominent place in religious sacrifices and the entertainment of Guests. The cattle are not kept for milk. Every house had chickens. They do not use them for food but when they fall in dire need of money they dispose of one or two cattle to meet the emergency. Besides chickens, every household had 3 animals on average. Cattle and goats are important for the purpose of getting manure. This manure is mainly used for preparing 'Adar'.

Trees

Though they don't have much land for cultivation, they plant some useful trees around their houses. The wood of the tree is used for making tools while fruits are either consumed or sold. Warlis are children of nature, hence the trees are part and parcel of their lives. The forest has more important place than agriculture in Warlis. They prefer to roam about in jungle to collect forest produce, though agriculture is more paying economic activity. The table on p. 139 shows number of trees planted in surrounding area.

The table shows that 233 families who owned the land had 727 trees while the landless tribals had very few trees and so they depended on forest trees. The forests are full of Mahuda, Mango, teakwood trees.

Distribution of Trees according to family

Trees	Area						Total
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total		
	Land-holder	Land-less	Land-holder	Land-less	Land-holder	Land-less	
Mahuda	123	3	12	—	135	3	138
Mangoes	164	1	68	—	232	1	233
Other trees like Teak, Sadad, Tamarind and Bor trees	311	2	49	—	360	2	362
Total	598	6	129	—	727	6	733

The above data show that they neither have much land of their own nor do they have interest in agriculture. They earn their livelihood from various occupations, but then that is also not sufficient. The table on p. 140 gives an idea about the income from various occupations.

Though they possess quite a few animals, the income from land and animal husbandry is just 15.8 per cent while income from agricultural labour is 40.8 per cent. The income from forest labour is 22.2 per cent. Though the forests are dense, they give employment for four months and that too, to only men. The income from construction works is 8.8 per cent while the income from other labour work is 6.3 per cent.

The main source of their income seems to be labour. The aggregate income from agricultural labour, forest labour, construction work and other miscellaneous labour is about 78.1 per cent. The income from forest produce is just 1.00 per cent. Though they can have plenty of forest products, they cannot get a proper market or a regular shop which can sell their products. They exchange the forest products in lieu of salt, grains, vegetables etc. at the weekly Hats.

TABLE
Distribution of Income according to families (in Rs.)

Type of Income	Area						Total	Pc.
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total			
	Landholders	Landless	Landholders	Landless	Landholders	Landless		
Total Families	178	112	55	45	233	157	390	—
Agricultural & Animal husbandry	53,797	14,350	50,085	1,680	1,03,882	16,030	1,19,912	15.8
Agri. Labour (in village or outside village)	1,23,165	1,02,740	45,025	38,300	1,68,190	1,41,040	3,09,230	40.8
Forest labour	80,659	62,980	13,595	11,250	94,254	74,230	1,68,484	22.2
Construction labour	30,990	29,000	3,160	3,990	34,150	32,990	67,140	8.8
Other labour	4,270	7,780	13,190	23,010	17,460	30,790	48,250	6.3
Forest Produce	4,180	4,000	—	—	4,180	4,000	8,180	1.0
Service	8,350	1,500	17,120	—	25,470	1,500	26,970	3.6
Others like business etc.	7,000	—	1,000	1,500	8,000	1,500	9,500	1.5
Total	3,12,411	2,22,350	1,43,175	79,730	4,55,586	3,02,080	7,57,666	100.0

The income from various services like serving in Forest Department or P & T Department or serving in a shop etc. is 3.6 per cent. They prefer to serve in surrounding areas of their habitat to maintain the constant contact with their family members. The income from trading of certain necessary items is just 1.5 per cent. Warlis prefer to do jobs and this indicates their changing attitude towards modernisation.

The average income per year per household is estimated at Rs. 1943. Thus the average income per month per household comes to Rs. 162/-. If we assume six members per family, this income seems very meagre. The annual income per person is just Rs. 334/-, while the monthly income per person is just Rs. 27. The daily income per person is only 0.92 paise. In spite of working very hard how can one survive on just 92 paise per day? Warlis are far below the poverty line.

Expenditure

Though they earn very little, the major portion of their earning is spent on food. The following table gives the information about the food expense:

Expenditure on Food Items (in Rs.)

Items	Area		Total	Percentage
	Dharampur	Vansda		
Ration	2,95,767	1,63,850	4,59,617	76.00
Vegetables	10,335	3,740	14,075	2.30
Sugar & Jaggery	4,435	4,575	9,090	1.50
Ghee & Sweet Oil	7,795	2,150	9,045	1.60
Tea & Coffee	851	592	1,443	0.20
Spices	8,495	5,856	14,351	2.40
Wine	39,235	7,875	47,110	7.80
Tobacco & Bidi	20,002	6,150	26,152	4.40
Fuel	1,848	1,155	3,003	0.50
Meat, Fish & Eggs	16,290	3,405	19,695	3.30
Fruits	15	—	15	—
Other	80	—	80	—
Total	4,05,148	1,99,348	6,40,496	100.00

Household Expenditure (in Rs.)

Items	Area						Total	Percent- tage
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total			
	Landholder	Landless	Landholder	Landless	Landholder	Landless		
Total families	178	112	55	45	233	157	390	—
Food Expenditure	2,34,170	1,70,978	1,24,597	74,751	3,58,767	2,45,729	6,04,496	77.90
Travelling	10,195	6,900	2,045	1,375	12,240	8,275	20,515	2.70
Clothes	60,640	36,170	11,050	6,455	71,690	42,625	1,14,315	14.70
Shoes	—	—	550	290	550	290	840	0.10
Education	510	112	350	100	860	212	1,072	0.10
Social & Religious	12,750	8,000	3,060	2,175	15,810	10,175	25,985	3.30
Medicine, Bhagat &								
Bhuva	2,575	1,920	2,690	1,805	5,265	3,725	8,990	1.20
Others	—	320	—	—	—	320	320	—
Total Expenditure	3,20,840	2,24,400	1,44,342	86,951	4,65,182	3,11,351	7,76,533	100.00

In total food expenditure the expense on grain is maximum (76.0 per cent). The expense on vegetable is just 2.3 per cent. They spend very little on sugar and jaggery (1.5 per cent), and on Ghee and oil 1.6 per cent. Very few people drink tea. They are fond of liquor, the expenditure on alcohol is 7.8 per cent. 3.3 per cent was spent on meat and poultry products. These figures confirm that they not only do not get sufficient food but also they are deprived of nutritious food. They become victims of many chronic diseases because of malnutrition and insufficient food.

As seen from the table the expenditure on food is 77.9 per cent, 14.7 per cent is on clothing. Warlis can hardly afford full clothing. Most of them roam about with half naked bodies. The expenditure on travelling is just 2.7 per cent. They do not mind covering long distance on foot. Most of them cannot afford shoes. The expenditure on shoes is 0.1 per cent, and on Education is also 0.1 per cent. The expenditure on medicine is 1.2 per cent. They hardly go to dispensaries. The Bhagat or Bhuva plays a vital role. The expenditure on social or religious rituals is about 3.3 per cent.

As seen from the above table one can easily see that as compared to Kolghas, Kathodis, Kotwalias, Siddis and Padhars, they are much below the poverty line. A person having less than Rs. 57/- per month expenditure is considered to be below poverty line. (This norm was prepared by Sardar Patel Institute, Ahmedabad in 1977-78). The latest figure is Rs. 62/- per person per month. Warlis are having half expenditure than this normative figure. The extent of the miserable life of Warlis is beyond one's imagination. They cannot survive on their meagre income. They are compelled to borrow to meet their daily needs. The interest rate is immaterial as long as they continue to survive.

Indebtedness

The comparison of the two tables of income and expenditure makes it evident that borrowing is a necessity for Warlis. Unfortunately, all Warlis cannot borrow as they cannot pledge anything in lieu of monetary loan. It's customary to mortgage one's land or one's cattle, but majority of the families cannot afford this also.

Classification of Indebtedness (in Rs.)

Items	Areas						Total Percentage
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total		
	Land-holders	Land-less	Land-holders	Land-less	Land-holders	Land-less	
Total families	178	112	55	45	233	157	390
Indebted families	121	74	33	17	154	91	245
Borrowing Source							
Money-lenders	11,130	6,750	1,850	190	12,980	6,940	19,920
Government	160	—	—	—	160	—	160
Co-operative Society	8,690	750	6,025	380	14,715	1,130	15,845
Bank	—	—	15,900	2,000	15,900	2,000	17,900
Relatives	10,430	6,207	1,460	1,190	11,890	7,397	19,287
Landholders	—	100	2,230	—	2,230	100	2,330
Total Debt	30,410	13,807	27,405	3,760	57,875	17,567	75,442
Type of Debt							
In cash	25,383	11,645	22,165	2,410	47,548	14,055	61,603
In kind	5,027	2,162	5,300	1,350	10,327	3,512	13,839

Classification of Indebted families

	Area						Total
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total		
	Land-holder	Land-less	Land-holder	Land-less	Land-holder	Land-less	
Total families	178	112	55	45	233	157	390
					(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Indebted families	121	74	33	17	154	91	245
					(66.1)	(58.0)	(62.8)

Out of 390 households, 245 families were able to borrow 62.8 per cent. Out of these 62.1 per cent having their own land while 58.0 per cent were landless.

Amongst 245 households the amount of debt was Rs. 13,839, i.e. average indebtedness per family was Rs. 308/-. The main source of getting loans were Traders and Moneylenders (26.4%) and relatives (25.6%). Thus they also have very close economic relationships. In the absence of any other sources for getting loans, the relatives stand by in critical times. The loans from Co-operative Societies amount to 21.0 per cent, out of which major portion was in form of seeds or in form of cash. The Government borrowing was just 0.2 per cent. In Vansda, loans were taken from Banks mainly buying cattle for milking purpose. In Vansda the Warlis also borrowed from other tribal people. Most of the debt was in cash (81.7%). 18.3 per cent was in form of kind, e.g. seeds, manure, grains, clothes etc. The debts were incurred for various purposes.

As seen from the table on p. 146, the debts were incurred for the purposes of meeting the household expense, for social and religious ceremonies, agricultural expense, buying animals, for getting medicines, for trading etc. 28.9 per cent of debt was for household expenditure which shows that their income is insufficient to meet the daily requirements. 18.2 per cent of debt was for agricultural purposes. 16.9 per cent was for Social ceremonies and 1.9 per cent was for medicines. The debt for trading was just 1.3 per cent wherein, only 2-3 families were involved.

Purpose of Debt

Purpose	Areas				Total	Pc.
	Dharampur		Vansda			
	Landholder	Landless	Landholder	Landless		
Total Families	178	112	55	45	233	390
Indebted families	121	74	33	17	154	245
Social & Religious	8,039	3,915	600	170	8,639	12,724
Agriculture	5,210	100	8,325	80	13,535	13,715
Building Construction	1,100	2,400	—	—	1,100	3,500
Household Expenditure	13,181	5,642	1,615	1,370	14,796	21,808
Medicine	470	—	950	—	1,420	1,420
Cattle	410	1,750	15,975	2,140	17,385	21,275
Business	1,000	—	—	—	1,000	1,000
Total	30,410	13,807	27,465	3,760	57,875	75,442

Total Assets (in Rs.)

Assets	Areas				Total	Percentage
	Dharampur		Vansda			
	Landholder	Landless	Landholder	Landless		
Total Families	178	112	55	45	233	390
Lands	5,74,920	—	3,19,600	—	8,94,520	49.0
Houses	2,28,250	93,100	82,750	27,050	3,11,000	23.7
Trees	73,300	1,000	10,570	—	83,870	4.6
Cattle	1,82,730	65,185	54,345	17,645	2,37,075	17.5
Agri. equipments	11,544	5,653	9,938	490	21,482	1.5
Household equipments	32,836	15,145	10,452	4,184	43,288	3.4
Ornaments	2,100	980	1,515	30	3,615	0.3
Total	11,05,680	1,81,063	4,89,170	49,399	15,94,850	100.0



Assets

As such, Warlis lead such a difficult life that one cannot expect many assets from them. Most of the assets are in form of land, house, trees, agri. implements, ornaments and household articles. Besides, these assets are inherited and which get divided through generations. This leads them to further poverty.

The assets shown in table on p. 147 were priced in accordance with the recent rates, hence they appear to be big but in reality the assets are very meagre. 49 per cent of wealth was in form of land. 23.7 per cent were in form of houses, 17.5 per cent in form of cattle, 4.6 per cent in form of trees, 4.9 per cent in form of household articles, and 0.3 per cent in form of ornaments. These ornaments are made of inferior metal. One can hardly see silver or gold ornaments.

The average assets per person cost Rs. 4,680/-. These include land, house and other articles. Out of 390 households, 233 households had land. So the average wealth per household amounts to Rs. 6,845/-. This mainly includes land and house. 157 families were without land and their wealth amounted only Rs. 1,468/-.

The overall picture of Warli economy is very dismal. They live in scarcity. Very few basic necessities of life are met with, as the income is extremely low. Opportunities within the community to supplement family income are limited. Industry is non-existent and animal husbandry is of little importance. It is difficult to make both ends meet in Vansda as well as in Dharampur.


CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL LIFE

The social ties in tribal societies are much more stronger than other sections of the greater society. The traditions play such a vital role in continuing these ties, that the basic patterns of the tribals have remained same through all these ages. Warlis are no exception to this. The Warlis staying in remote areas have hardly much contact with the main stream of society. Even the geographical conditions have helped the Warli society to remain aloof from other tribals also. The village acts as an important binding force for Warlis. The Patel or Patil (this title is inherited) plays a vital role in maintaining the social traditions intact. He has his say in every affair (individual, social or religious) of Warli society. Karbhari and Kathia hold second and third place in Warli hierarchy. Kathia—(his position is also hereditary) is a sort of watchman and works as an immediate helper to the Patel. The Patel and Karbhari have the privilege of getting first invitations on any occasion. At the wedding times, there is a custom of 'The Pagree tying' to the Patel and Karbhari. The Kathia gets a few Rupees. Whether it is a festival or a funeral, the village acts under the leadership of Patel. He is entitled to hold the court with the help of other elderly people, when required.

It is interesting to note that there seem to be persisting fights between adjoining Warli villages. The intervention of the Patels of the respective villages becomes a must to stop the normal fight taking a violent turn.

Politically a great stress is given to Panchayati Raj at village level. But for Warlis, the Patel has more authority than the Sarpanch. The Sarpanch gets elected. So there can be an opposition group but the Patel inherits his position and his authority does not get challenged.



Warlis can be classified in three groups (1) Davar Warli (2) Nehri Warli (3) Murday Warli. The majority of Davar Warlis stay in Gujarat.

Family

The family system is patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal. The father is considered the head of family. The status of women is subsidiary to men. Wife-beating is very common among Warlis. Though women are given freedom in certain matters, the main decisions are taken by men. The average size of Warli family consists of 4 to 6 members.

Both, in Vansda and Dharampur the number of families having 4 to 6 members were more, i.e. 54.9 per cent.

Number of Families according to size of Family

Size	Dharampur	Vansda	Total
Total Families	290	100	390
1 to 3 members	40 (13.8)	15 (15.0)	55 (14.1)
4 to 6 members	156 (53.8)	58 (58.0)	214 (54.9)
7 to 10 „	84 (29.0)	23 (23.0)	107 (27.4)
Above 10 „	10 (3.4)	4 (4.0)	14 (3.6)
Total	290 (100.0)	100 (100.0)	390 (100.0)

Number of Members according to size of Family

Size	Dharampur		Vansda		Total		Pc.
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Total families	290		100		390		
1 to 3 members	59	53	24	21	83	74	6.9
4 to 6 „	396	385	147	142	543	527	47.2
7 to 10 „	360	318	98	86	458	404	38.0
Above 10 „	69	53	28	29	97	82	7.9
Total	884	809	297	278	1181	1087	—
Grand Total	1693		575		2268		100.0

As seen from the table the average family of Warlis consists of 6 members. The families having 1 to 6 members were 54.0 per cent, the families having 7 to 10 members were 38.0 per cent. The families having more than 10 members were 7.9 per cent. Thus Warlis seem to be having medium size family.

The Warlis do not incline to have joint family system. Majority of them prefer to stay separate after marriage.

The following table gives the information about the types of the family :

Types of Family

Taluka	Joint Families	Nuclear Families	Total Families
Dharampur	114	176	290
Vansda	40	60	100
Total	154	236	390
Percentage	39.5	60.5	100.0

It is evident from the table that 60.5 per cent of the total families under survey were having nuclear families. However 39.5 per cent were joint families.

The Warlies are independent by nature. They marry at late age. Besides, the houses are so small that the newly weds are compelled to build their separate house after marriage. Whatever debt is incurred due to marriage is borne by the new family.

Settlement in the Villages

Years	Area		Total	Percentage
	Dharampur	Vansda		
1 to 5	5	—	5	1.3
6 to 10	2	—	2	0.5
11 to 20	2	2	4	1.0
21 to 40	—	—	—	—
40 to 60	—	—	—	—
Above 60 years	281	98	379	97.2
Total	290	100	390	100.0

Most of the Warlis have settled in this area since generations. As seen from table, 97.2 Warlis of the selected 8 villages have settled for more than 60 years. Only 2.8 per cent had settled for 1 to 20 years. Amongst these newly settled Warlis, most of them were sons-in-law who had settled in their wives' villages. Some families had migrated to this area because their original villages were destroyed by floods. However, they already had their kinship relations with the inhabitants of their new residence for many years.

The Warli society is made of blood relations, marriage alliance and they have also the system of having son-in-law in the house. Thus the family has all sorts of relatives. The family in tribal society, as compared to non-tribals, is a powerful social unit. They have strong kinship bonds.

Distribution of Families According to the Relatives
living in the Family

Sr. No.	Relatives living with family	Dharam-pur	Vansda	Total
1.	Husband & wife	8	8	16
2.	Husband, wife and their unmarried children	155	49	204
3.	Husband, wife and their married and unmarried children	22	4	26
4.	Husband, wife, married sons, their wives and grand sons & daughters	18	5	23
5.	Husband, wife & unmarried sons, daughters, married sons, their wives and their sons & daughters	28	12	40
6.	Husband, wife & unmarried children, married daughter, son-in-law and sons and daughters of daughter	6	1	7
7.	Husband, wife and married sons and their wives	3	—	3
8.	Husband wife, parents of husband and brothers and unmarried children	1	1	2

1	2	3	4
9. Husband wife and their unmarried children and husband's widow mother	18	3	21
10. Widower, unmarried children, married sons & their wives, married daughter and son-in-law	2	—	2
11. Widower, married son, daughter-in-law and grand sons & daughters	3	1	4
12. Widower, married son, daughter-in-law & unmarried grand sons & daughters	2	1	3
13. Husband wife, son-in-law, married daughter, daughter's children and married son but his wife has eloped	3	3	6
14. Husband wife, married son, daughter-in-law and married daughter but deserted by her husband and her in-laws	—	2	2
15. Husband wife, unmarried sons, married son, daughters, daughter-in-law & son-in-law	3	2	5
16. Husband wife, married sons, daughters-in-law, grand sons & daughters, unmarried children and widow father of wife	2	1	3
17. Husband wife, widow mother, unmarried sons & daughters, brother, brother's wife, sons and daughters and divorcee brother	3	3	6
18. Husband wife, brother's wife and his children	4	1	5
19. Husband, wife and parents	1	2	3
20. Husband wife, unmarried son, daughters and widower son & grand son	1	1	2
21. Wife & Husband (Second) and unmarried son and daughter of first husband	2	—	2
22. Husband wife and unmarried brother & sister	1	—	1

1	2	3	4
23. Husband wife & deserted daughter and her unmarried children	1	—	1
24. Husband wife and divorcee son	1	—	1
25. Widow and unmarried sons & daughters	1	—	1
26. Husband wife, unmarried brother, sister, married daughter and brother-in-law	1	—	1
Total	290	100	390

The table shows that the family relationships were mainly based on blood relation and marriage alliance and accordingly the relatives stayed together in some families. The tribal society is a homogeneous society and as it consists of smaller number of people, the bonds are very strong. They stand by each other in times of calamity. The social, religious and economic ties are very close amongst them. In contrast with Hindu society links through women in marriage are as important as through men. On account of a strong family sense nobody in Warli family feels insecure.

Gotra—The family system

Gotra means the relationship out of same parents; thus it consists of brothers and sisters. Hence the marriage in the same gotra is prohibited. However during our field work, 2 instances of marriage in the same 'gotra' were found.

The 'Patel' always hails from the original settler family. His position is hereditary. His position is distinct and powerful in the village. His presence in any social ceremony is considered obligatory. When he has his own social family functions, the head of next 'gotra' in the village hierarchy presides the function.

The village has different funeral grounds for different 'gotras'. Each gotra stays in a different falia. Whenever there is some function at a relative's place, the participation is very spontaneous and the reciprocal gift giving is carried on by set rules.

The Warlis have variety of 'Gotra', some are named after birds, animals, trees, while some are based after places, e.g.

No.	Name	Explanation
1.	Kalho	Fox—animal
2.	Murha	Peacock—bird
3.	Ambar	Mango tree
4.	Dodka	Turia—vegetable
5.	Naik-Patil	Designation
6.	Gavali	Shepherd—business
7.	Pachalkar, Dangarkar	Place

The 390 households under the survey belonged to various gotras. The following table gives information about the various Gotras and the number of family members in that gotra in Dharampur and Vansda:

Distribution of Families According to Gotra

Sr. No.	Name of Gotra	Taluka	
		Dharampur	Vansda
1.	Tumbada	31	—
2.	Khale	9	—
3.	Khalia	2	—
4.	Kunti	13	—
5.	Dovala	9	—
6.	Kachara	4	—
7.	Bagul	5	—
8.	Asare	6	—
9.	Valavi	16	8
10.	Kharpade	5	—
11.	Bananti	31	—
12.	Kardode	2	—
13.	Ojare	3	—
14.	Vasava	2	—
15.	Chingadan	2	—
16.	Moharia	3	2
17.	Karpad	2	—
18.	Kakad	2	—
19.	Bhavar	9	—
20.	Dhasar	2	—

1	2	3
21. Thorkhad	3	—
22. Gotarni	3	—
23. Jajar	2	—
24. Bartha	4	—
25. Nibhara	1	—
26. Ninkode	1	—
27. Dhumada	1	—
28. Dhodi	1	—
29. Dhodaka	1	—
30. Vagh	1	—
31. Bhoya	2	—
32. Nishal	5	—
33. Bij	1	—
34. Chaudhara	1	5
35. Ravate	1	—
36. Thalnak	1	—
37. Boge	1	—
38. Alaba	2	—
39. Bunjad	1	—
40. Barap	1	—
41. Giranthar	1	—
42. Sabar	7	—
43. Sambar	4	—
44. Kesare	4	—
45. Hilim	5	—
46. Dagada	1	—
47. Radia	2	—
48. Vad	1	—
49. Khadam	1	—
50. Valu	8	—
51. Vani	5	—
52. Ghatar	2	—
53. Gahala	1	—
54. Dhum	1	—
55. Vakati	1	—
56. Bhurkul	1	—

1	2	3
57. Parvad	9	—
58. Gorat	1	—
59. Osare	1	—
60. Khanjodia	1	—
61. Vaijal	1	—
62. Pathvad	4	—
63. Randia	1	—
64. Vanjaro	1	—
65. Mundkar	1	—
66. Vadkar	1	—
67. Rathad	1	—
68. Dalavi	10	—
69. Chauhan	6	—
70. Valma	3	—
71. Vattar	3	—
72. Gagada	2	—
73. Rada	1	—
74. Hasari	1	—
75. Mothakar	1	—
76. Vaghar	1	—
77. Tmojad	2	1
78. Khichari	1	—
79. Mange	1	—
80. Pather	—	7
81. Perania	—	6
82. Tamadi	—	—
83. Aberkhadia	—	3
84. Handvi	—	7
85. Kunvar	—	5
86. Var	—	3
87. Mokachi	—	3
88. Kangari	—	2
89. Sovaliye	—	2
90. Sole	—	3
91. Tadavi	—	1
92. Gavial	—	2

1	2	3
93. Pawar	—	1
94. Sapata	—	7
95. Ghatad	—	1
96. Suskar	—	1
97. Sonar	—	9
98. Tatar	—	6
99. Masiva	—	3
100. Ponaje	—	1
101. Kode	—	1
102. Ilim	—	1
103. Bayataria	—	1
104. Nevad	—	1

Thus there were 104 gotras for the 390 households under survey.

Kinship Relations

As discussed before there are two types of kinship relationship in Warlis:

- (1) Relations based on blood.
- (2) Relations based on marriage alliance.

Relatives in 1st kind are interrelated because of common blood. The relations can be near or distant. The family members, spread over in three generations are considered near relatives, while other relatives are considered distant relatives. The members of same gotra are considered relatives based on 'blood relations'. The nearest relatives are as follows : Husband-wife, Father-son, Father-daughter, Mother-son, Mother-daughter, Brother-Brother, Brother-sister and sister-sister. Then there are Father's Father, mother, brother and sister and Mother's father, mother, brother and sister.

Marriage alliance creates new relations. It's customary to get Maternal Uncle's and Paternal Aunt's children married. Thus there are relations within relations. It is quite common to see them staying together.

As the villages are small in size, the members of other Gotras as well as non-tribals residing in same village, make a new kind

of fraternity. They invite each other on important social occasions and also reciprocate gifts.

Rules of Behaviour

Restrictions

Warlis have set rules of behaviour and they observe them religiously. The elder brother is not expected to call younger brother's wife by her name. Same way younger brother's wife is also supposed to observe certain restriction in the presence of her husband's elder brother and his wife. Same way, between Mother-in-law and Son-in-law, Father-in-law and son-in-law, Father and son, Father and daughter, Mother and son, Brother and sister and with other elders in the family there are customary behavioral patterns.

Joking Relationship

It is common to have easy joking relationship amongst the same age group in the family. It is also customary to joke with persons, with whom there is a possibility of marriage.

Indirect Relations

The husband or wife cannot address each other directly. He or she is addressed as one of the children's father or mother.

All these indicate that there is a constant endeavour to strengthen the ties. The restrictive customs are not meant for curbing the relationship but the rules are there to maintain the customary pattern. Thus kins of all kinds, paternal, maternal, and affinitive are recognised and because of this strong sense of fulfilling kinship obligations, the community is drawn together by bonds of social and economic interdependence. The Warli society seems to be very egalitarian and the real sense of co-operation pervades their daily life. The kinship relations work as social insurance.

Kinship Terms

Sr. No.	Relation	Term of Reference	Term of address
1.	Father	Ba	Ba
2.	Mother	Aaya	Aaya
3.	Son	Pose, Posa	By name



1	2	3
4. Daughter	Porgh,Posi	By name
5. Husband	Navaro	By name of Son (Inter- mediate)
6. Wife	Navari,Baiko	„ „ of daughter(„)
7. Brother	Baba	By name or baba
8. Sister	Bai	By name
9. Step brother (son of Step Mother)	Baba	By name
10. Step brother (son of Step Father)	Baba	By name
11. Step sister (daughter of Step Father or Step Mother)	Bai	By name
12. Elder brother	Motababa	Motababa
13. Younger brother	Bariklavala	By name
14. Elder sister	Moti Bai	Motibai
15. Younger sister	By name	By name
16. Father's brother	Motobas, Kaka	Motobas
17. Brother's son	Babo	By name
18. Father's younger brother	Kako	Kaka
19. Father's Elder brother	Motabas	Motabas
20. Elder Brother's son	Bhatrijo	By name
21. Elder Brother's daughter	Bhatriji	By name
22. Father's Elder brother's wife	Motes	Motes
23. Father's younger brother's wife	Kaki	Kaki
24. Father's Elder brother's son	Babo	By name
25. Father's Elder brother's daughter	Bai	By name
26. Father's younger brother's son	Babo	By name
27. Father's younger brother's daughter	Bai	By name
28. Father's Elder sister	Fui	Fui
29. Father's Younger sister	Fui	Fui
30. Father's Sister's husband	Mama	Mama
31. Father's Sister's Elder son	Bavo	By name
32. Father's Sister's younger son	Mehane	By name

33. Father's Sister's Elder daughter	Vahnis	By name
34. Father's sister's younger daughter	Salish	By name
35. Father's sister's son's wife	Bai	By name
36. Father's sister's daughter's husband	Bala (Sadhun)	By name
37. Father's sister's son's son	Bhatrijo	By name
38. Father's sister's daughter's daughter	Bhatriji	By name
39. Mother's Elder Brother	Mama	Mama
40. Mother's younger brother	Mama	Mama
41. Mother's Elder Brother's wife	Fui	Fui
42. Mother's younger Brother's wife	Fui	Fui
43. Mother's Elder Brother's son	Bhavas-If elder	By name
	Mehane-If younger	By name
44. Mother's Elder Brother's daughter (elder)	Vahunish	By name
45. Mother's Elder Brother's younger daughter	Salish	By name
46. Mother's younger Brother's son	Moto-Bavas Nano-Mehane	By name By name
47. Mother's younger Brother's daughter	Moti-Vahunish Nani-Salish	By name
48. Wife's brother's son	Jamay	By name
49. Wife's brother's daughter	Vahi Lage	By name
50. Sister's son	Bhasas, Jamay	By name
51. Sister's daughter	Bhasis, Vahu	By name
52. Mother's Elder sister	Motis	Motis
53. Mother's younger sister	Jiji	Jiji
54. Sister's son	By name	By name
55. Sister's daughter	By name	By name
56. Mother's Elder sister's husband	Mota Vahas	Mota Vahas
57. Mother's younger sister's husband	Kaka	Kaka
58. Wife's younger sister's son	Sakhinoputra	By name
59. Wife's Elder sister's son	Aakad Saduna Bekus	By name
60. Wife's younger sister's daughter	Bai	By name
61. Mother's Elder sister's son	Baba	Baba
62. Mother's younger sister's son	Baba	Baba

1	2	3
63. Mother's Elder sister's daughter	Bai	By name
64. Mother's younger sister's daughter	Bai	By name
65. Father's father	Dover Bahara	Dover-bahara
66. Son's son	Aajo Bas	By name
67. Son's daughter	Aajo Bas	By name
68. Father's mother	Dosis	Dosis
69. Daughter's son	Aajo Bas	By name
70. Daughter's daughter	Aajo Vis	By name
71. Wife's father	Mamo	Mama
72. Wife's mother	Fui	Fui
73. Daughter's husband	Jamai	By name
74. Husband's father	Mamo	Mamo
75. Husband's mother	Fui	Fui
76. Son's wife	Vahus	Bai
77. Wife's elder brother	Bhavo	By name
78. Wife's younger brother	Mehane	By name
79. Elder sister's husband (called by male)	Bhavas	Bhavas
80. Elder sister's husband (called by female)	Bala	Bala
81. Wife's elder brother's wife	Bai	Bai
82. Wife's younger brother's wife	Bai	Bai
83. Younger sister's husband (called by male)	Bhavas	Bhavas
84. Younger sister's husband	Bala	Bala
85. Wife's Elder sister	Askad Sasus	Bai
86. Wife's younger sister	Salis	Bai
87. Wife's elder sister's husband	Satus	By name
88. Wife's younger sister's "	Satus	By name
89. Husband's elder brother	Jetharas	
90. Husband's younger brother	Derus	By name
91. Husband's elder sister's husband	Bala	Bala
92. Husband's younger sister's husband	Bala	Bala
93. Husband's Elder sister	Vahanish	Vahanish
94. Husband's younger sister	Nandas	By name

1	2	3
95. Elder brother's wife (called by male)	Bhovjas	Bhovjas
96. Elder brother's wife (called by female)	Bai	Bai
97. Younger brother's wife (called by male)	Vahi	
98. Younger brother's wife (called by female)	Bai	Bai
99. Husband's Elder brother's wife	Jethanibai	Bai
100. Husband's younger brother's wife	Deranish	By name
101. Son's wife's father	Ihaish	By name
102. Son's wife's mother	Ihanish	By name

Village

The Village is one of the important social units in any society. The form of village and the geographical conditions are the determining factors of any given society. The geographical conditions of Warli habitat are quite peculiar. In Dharampur, the area is hilly and full of small streams and rivultes. So the communication with these villages is very difficult. Out of six villages surveyed, only one village (Silgha) has a bus route and that too operates only during the months of February to May. None of the villages has a regular shop. They acquire their daily requirements from weekly hats. The villages are mostly spread between 4 to 6 kms. The houses in a village are never built in one area but they are dispersed and they can be classified according to 'Falia' or 'Pada'. Even these falias also do not form a street. As the area is very uneven, the houses are built in a scattered manner. The village 'Pindhara devi' is built on the top of six hillocks. The village 'Asstol' is spread over the surrounding valley of the hill. The village Silgha is situated on a slope. The whole region is so hilly, that it is not possible to see one 'falia' from another falia.

Falia is a cluster, whose members mostly belong to the same gotra. They visit and work with one another, and they form a sort of co-operative group. Thus in spite of maintaining a separate identity, the falias are part of the village community. The people

as whole co-operate in work, recreation and rituals. The members of the different falias intermarry. (It was found during the field work that a Muslim had married a Warli woman and was participating in all the social occasions with equal zest). The village Silgha is divided into 14 falias.

Description of Falias (Padas)

1. **Patel Pada** : It is named after the Patel of the village. It has a school, a public well, Forest Officer's house, Forest Co-operative Society house etc
2. **Umar Pada** : This is situated above Patel Pada. It is named after Umar tree. The Umar tree is worshipped at the time of marriage. It does not have a well.
3. **Hatsari** : The weekly Hat is held here on each Saturday and hence it is named as Hatsari.
4. **Adolpada** : A big rock is lying horizontal here and so it is named Adolpada.
5. **Ranpada** : There was a very dense forest over here. So it is called Ranpada.
6. **Vaganpada** : The stream over here flows for all the 12 months. Thus it is called Vaganpada.
7. **Chickechi Mali** : The falia is situated on a hill and it looks like storey, so it carries this name.
8. **Sedar Pada** : 'Sindhoor' means red and the mango trees in this bear red mangoes. So it has the name of Sedarpada.
9. **Tarichipada** : This falia has many palm trees so it is called Tarichipada.
10. **Naikpada** : As the land and the estate were acquired in this area as Jagir it is named as Naikpada.
11. **Bardapada** : The area appears as a back of the hill and so is called Bardapada.
12. **Karanipada** : The falia is full of Karanj trees.
13. **Sambarpada** : There are many big trees over here and big trees are known as Sambar and so the falia is called Sambarpada.
14. **Thailhedi** : Thai means a paw. It is said that in old times the tigers used to paw the trees and hence it is named as Thailhedi.

The social solidarity amongst Warlis is not limited in village boundaries only. There is inter-relationship between surrounding villages also. However cases of conflicts between villages are also

not rare. During the difficult months Warlis migrate in search of work and the new bonds are created amongst the members of different villages on the new work site. They also travel to Dharampur for certain official work and this activity leads them to create new contacts.

As stated before the village acts as an important social unit in Warli society. The following example will give an idea about their social solidarity.

The trenches around 'Patel falia' and Hatsari falia always remain full with water. Immediately after monsoon, the fishing on individual basis cannot be carried on. It is the Patel or the Patil who decides the day and it is he who gives permission for fishing on collective basis. Usually the villagers collect fodder from the trees and keep it on the banks of trench. After acquiring the permission from the Patil, this fodder is thrown in the trench. Slowly in water it starts turning yellow. This has a stupor effect on fish. They start getting sleepy and pop out of water for breathing air. The villagers start catching fish and crabs. They can collect fish individually now. But if they get a special fodder from Maharashtra they have to pay for the fodder. In that case, the families who have paid for the fodder catch fish collectively and then they distribute the fish amongst them.

Inter relationship in the Village

The major population in Dharampur district consists of Warlis. However they keep amicable relations with Teachers, Traders, Administrative staff etc. As they constantly borrow from the traders, they maintain good relationship with them.

During the field work it was found that they looked down upon the Kolchas as the Kolchas eat the flesh of dead animals. The Kathio comes from Kolcha tribe. He plays musical instruments on social and religious occasions and for that he would be paid between Rs. 5 to 10. The Warlis don't drink water at Kolcha houses. The Kolchas are treated as untouchables. Besides Kolchas even some Dhodias and Kunbis were found staying in the villages. They maintain good relationship with them. Hierarchically, Dhodias and Kunbis are superior to Warlis. They participate actively in social functions and also render economic help when required.

CHAPTER V
THE LIFE CYCLE

It's an established fact that the habitats of any remote area which is cut off from the main stream for many years have a very close knit society and hence the social, the religious and the economic aspects of life cannot be segregated. The Warlis live in the state of extreme poverty. Their poverty has become an integral part of their culture. Because of poverty, their social and religious activities centre around the economic life. They have set customs for every thing in life. These customs have been carried on since many years and hence are looked upon as the laws. The traditions are very sacred for them. The study of their life cycle will easily indicate the importance of the traditions in their life. From cradle to grave the Warlis undergo certain ceremonies which may look religious but at the same time they are socially important.

Menstruation

The girls when they reach puberty start menstruating. In Dharampur menstruating lady is called as "Doki Dhovoyga" (means a woman needing hair washing). The menstruating woman is supposed to get her hair washed after four days. In Vansda the term 'Banni' is used, for such a girl. There are certain prohibitive customs set for such woman. She is allowed to carry on certain activities and she is banned from certain activities.

She is not supposed to carry on her daily activities like filling water, cooking, grinding etc. She is not supposed to go near the place where the family gods are installed, neither can she participate in any religious ceremonies. The sexual relations are also prohibited during this period. However she is allowed to carry on working on farms or collecting forest produce or other labour work.

Once the menstruation period gets over, i.e., after four days she is supposed to bathe properly, especially she is supposed to



wash her hair. This is supposed to be a purifying bath. She can resume her daily chores after this proper bath.

When a woman stops getting the menstruation period she is supposed to be pregnant. The other symptoms according to Warlis are getting nauseatic feelings and an urge to eat clay.

Though they know that the sexual relations cause pregnancy, they also believe that the conception cannot take place without the boon of god. An unusual delay by a newly married woman to conceive is viewed as the standard supernatural punishments, which may be due to a curse by the ancestor spirits or supernatural powers. Hence in such cases the help is sought from the Bhagats or Bhuvras.

Beliefs

Childlessness is viewed with serious concern by both, husband and wife. The couple then resort to certain vows like not eating fish etc. or giving a goat or a chicken as a sacrifice to the god. In case of an unusual delay they resort to witchcraft also. The witch doctor tries to find out the reason and guide the couple in undertaking certain specific religious ceremonies. Certain herbs are collected from the forests. The witch doctor makes a small bag of these herbs and after performing some rituals, he ties the bag around the neck of woman. This is known as 'Peti Bandhvi'. After the birth of a child, at the time of 'Panebora' or after two three months of a child birth, a religious ceremony is performed for this bag which is known as Peti Poojan. Till the "Peti Poojan" is done the woman does not eat certain food.

'Peti Poojan'

The witch doctor is called on the 'Peti Poojan' day. He makes 5 idols from the rice dough. These are supposed to be the spirits. They are installed on small mats and are decked with vermilion by the witch doctor who keeps on chanting certain verses. Then the woman is called. She sits with her child before these spirits. The witch doctor unties the 'Peti' from the woman's neck. He circles the spirits over the mother and child's head. Then he offers the coconut and he also offers the liquor to the spirits. Then they take away the spirits from the house

and install them at a distant place. They sacrifice a chicken there. The relatives and the witch doctor then consume the liquor. The chicken is brought to the house by the relatives. It is cooked and eaten with rice. The witch doctor is paid for this ceremony.

There are no special rules for pregnant woman. She carries on her daily chores. There is no special food for pregnant woman. The delivery is done at the husband's place. The woman's parents are informed about the child birth and according to their ability they bring gifts for the child.

Delivery

When a woman starts getting labour pains and contractions the midwife is called. Each falia has its own midwife. Unless permitted by the falia midwife, other midwives do not attend the delivery. Usually she is the member of the same lineage group and is expert in effecting safe delivery. Some of them had taken the training from the nearest Primary Health Centre. The pregnant woman is given alcohol before the delivery as they believe that the alcohol reduces the intensity of pain.

Men are not allowed in the room at the time of childbirth unless an emergency develops and even then their role is limited. In the case of emergency, the Bhagat-Bhuva is called and certain vows are taken at the time.

The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with the dried stalk of Jowar. In Vansda this umbilical cord is buried in cattle barn while in Dharampur it's buried in backyard. The first bath to the new born baby is given by the midwife. The new mother is considered to be polluted and is treated as an untouchable for five days, her daily diet consists of rice gruel only. Fish, onions, garlic and the sour dishes are tabooed for her. After five days she is given rotla made out of rice or Jowar. She is supposed to eat middle part of the rotla only. The special care is taken so that the mother's milk remains digestible to the child. The midwife is given the sum of Rs. 5/- as a charge and sometimes she is given grain also. The fifth day after the child birth is called the Panchora and the special ritual on that day is known as 'Panchora-vidhi'.

'Panchora-vidhi'

This ritual is performed by the midwife. She asks the husband to get necessary items (coconut, vermilion, red powder, mascara, cotton threads, small pieces of wood) from the market. Besides this, the flour from five kg. paddy is prepared and then three rotlas of flour, three-four fish, a bottle of liquor, oil for lighting lamp are also collected. The midwife besmears in house with cowdung. One of the walls is also besmeared with cowdung then she installs the god on that wall. The new mother is given bath by the midwife. Then some customary ceremony is performed on the wall where their god is installed, the Bhuva sits on the opposite side of the wall. He makes small balls out of rice dough. The new mother sits with her child keeping her legs straight. They are covered with a piece of cloth. The Bhuva then takes these rice balls (these are supposed to be spirits) and passes them over the woman and child. The same ceremony there is repeated with rice rotlas and coconut pieces. Then these rice balls and the rotla pieces and coconut pieces are kept outside. Some liquor is also poured there. The midwife then takes the new born baby on a piece of cloth. This piece of cloth is used as a cradle and the child is swung thrice by two small girls. Then the child is taken out by the midwife and she blesses the child. Some ceremony is done at the place where the umbilical cord is buried. When all the ceremony gets over, the relatives feast on food and liquor.

Peti-tying Ceremony

This custom is prevalent in Dharampur. The Bhuva is called after 15 days of Panchora day. He brings certain herbs from the forest and makes two bags of these herbs. He ties them around the child and the mother after performing the traditional rituals. If it is a first child (boy) a goat is bought and kept in the house and if it's a second child then a cock is kept in the house. The mother is supposed to refrain from eating the flesh of goat or chicken accordingly for a year.

The Name Ceremony

The midwife or the parents give the name to the child. If the child cries too much, then after consulting Bhagat the name of the ancestors is given to the child.

Hair Cutting Ceremony

The first hair cut is given after four-five months. The hair cutting ceremony is done in the presence of the maternal uncle.

No other ceremony is performed after these ceremonies. The younger children are looked after by elder children. Some children go to school, some just play, while some go to forest, and collect the forest produce, some take the cattle for grazing, some go fishing, some help in agriculture. Thus while performing these chores the boys and girls come in contact with each other.

Pre-marital Liaisons

When the girls and boys come of age, they indulge in sexual activities while they go to forest for grazing cattle or for taking bath in streams. They find many opportunities to indulge in sex. Thus sexual activity begins long before marriage. Such relations are not taken very seriously. However in case of conception the boy is forced to marry the pregnant girl. If he refuses then he is fined by the Sarpanch.

Extra-Marital Relations

Such relations are looked down upon by Warli society and many tiffs and quarrels take place because either of the partners is unfaithful. Such culprits are fined according to their traditional customs.

Marriage

The Warlis regard marriage essential for every young man and woman of village. They believe that unmarried man or woman will turn into a ghost or a witch. As such monogamy is common in Warlis but one can come across quite a few cases of bigamy or polygamy. Some times two sisters marry the same man.

Proper material possession and good physique are considered good qualification in case of men while for women beauty and diligence are considered good attributes of a wife.

The marriageable age is between 15 years to 20 years. The girl's parents get a bride-price, so if they are in need of money they marry off their daughter at early age. During the fieldwork it was found that the land of some Warli family was covered

by Madhuvan Dam. The compensation money was not used in buying new land or building a new house but used for arranging the marriages of the youngsters in the family.

Age at the Time of Marriage

Age group	Areas							
	Dharampur		Vansda		Total		Percentage	
	M	F	M	F	Male	Female	M	F
Total families	290		100		390		—	—
10 to 14 years	45	151	—	—	45	151	8.4	27.7
							18.1	
15 to 19 „	324	241	32	120	356	361	66.6	66.1
							66.3	
20 to 22 „	24	7	98	21	122	28	22.8	5.1
							13.9	
Above 22 „	6	6	6	—	12	6	2.2	1.1
							1.7	
Total	399	405	136	141	535	546	100.0	100.0
							100.0	
Grand Total	804		277		1081		100.0	

The above table indicates that only 8.4 per cent of men were married between the age of 10 to 14 years. In Vansda, none of the members under survey was married in this age group. The percentage of married females in this age group was 27.7 per cent. The 66.0 per cent of marriages were done in the age group of 15 to 19 years. 13.9 per cent of marriages were in the age group of 20 to 22 years. Again it is obvious from the table that the females get married at earlier age than men. The appropriate age of marriage is considered between 15 years to 19 years.

The following table gives the Marital Status of 2268 members under survey :

Distribution According to Marital Status

Status	Areas				Total		Percentage
	Dharampur		Vansda				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Total families	290		100		390		
Unmarried	466	380	161	137	577	517	50.4
Married	399	405	128	128	527	533	46.7
Widower & Widow	15	22	5	12	20	34	2.5
Divorcee	4	2	3	1	7	3	0.4
Total	884	809	297	278	1181	1087	—
Grand Total	1693		575		2268		100.0

As seen from the table, the percentage of unmarried persons was 48.2 per cent, that of married persons was 46.7 per cent. The percentage of divorcees was just 0.4 per cent while the percentage of widowed persons was just 2.04 per cent. The figure about divorcees, though it appears to be low, does not mean that the divorces are quite rare. These figures are very unstable as the remarriages are very common. The widow, if she is an elderly lady and has an elderly son does not usually remarry. For a widower it's a different matter.

The distance in which marriages are contracted :

The Warlis are very practical and so do not get their children married off in distant villages. As the transport conditions are very poor, it's not possible to cover long distance on foot in case of emergency. They like to meet each other at weekly markets or at festival time etc. Thus the selection of spouse is done from nearby village.

The Distance in which Marriages are Contracted

Distance (in kms.)	Areas		Total	Percentage
	Dharampur	Vansda		
Total families	290	100	390	
In own village	183	63	246	46.0
1 to 5 kms.	—	38	38	7.1
6 to 10 kms.	181	27	208	38.8
11 to 20 kms.	35	6	41	7.7
Above 20 kms.	—	2	2	0.4
Total	399	136	535	100.0

As evident from the table, most of the marriages are done in the village itself and its ratio is 46.0 per cent. 7.1 per cent of marriages were done in the range of 1 to 5 kms. 38.8 per cent were in the range of 6 to 10 kms. 7.7 per cent were in the range of 11 to 20 kms. while only 0.4 per cent were beyond 20 kms.

As such marriage in same gotra is prohibited, but exceptions do take place in this matter. The alliance between children of maternal uncle and paternal sisters are quite common. Hence there is no separate term for father-in-law. He is addressed as Mama and the mother-in-law is addressed as Phoi.

The system of arranged marriages is prevalent among Warlis. However the other systems of marriages also exist in Warli society.

1. Kidnapping

Sometimes the girl is kidnapped by her lover from the market or from the fair. The main reason for this seems to be economic. When it's not possible to give the bride-price, the girl is kidnapped. The bride-price is paid to the parents, later on, when they can afford it.

2. Forced Marriage

The young Warli man and woman do have pre-marital relations. Sometimes the man refuses to marry the woman. Then

the woman by force enters the man's house and pressurises the man to marry her.

3. House Son-in-law (Khandhadio) System

This is quite common amongst Warlis. When the boy cannot afford the bride price, he stays at his in-law's place, and serves under his father-in-law for 2-3 years. Thus he pays the bride price by offering his labour. Sometimes it so happens that there is no son in the family. In that case the son-in-law stays with his wife's parents and helps his father-in-law in his occupation.

4. Marriage by Elopement

When it is difficult to get permission of parents for the marriage, the couple runs away from the village and gets married and settles somewhere else. They return to their village after two-three years.

In Warli society, the girl's parents not only get the customary bride-price but they are entitled to get money from the groom's parents for covering the expense of marriage ceremony. If the groom's parents cannot afford this payment, the 'Nanipen' ceremony is performed. Then the girl can stay at her in-law's place. The marriage can take place later on as and when the enough money is collected.

5. Pahun—the Guest

It's quite common amongst Dharampur Warlis, that the girl stays at her in-laws' place as a guest for 10-15 days. This provides an opportunity to the girl to know her future husband as well as her in-laws well. If she finds them amicable and capable to support her she agrees to the marriage. She has a right to refuse the proposal if the situation is contrary.

These are the various methods of selecting one's life partner. The men and women are given equal opportunities of choice. In spite of that if the marriage fails, they are again at liberty to terminate their marriage and both can remarry.

Marriage Expenditure

The average expenditure for a marriage in Warli society comes around Rs. 1000/-. This includes the bride-price, the

grain for marriage feast and ornaments and clothes for bride. It also includes the payment for the Saree for the bride's mother and the pagree for Patel. The expense for liquor comes around Rs. 100-. The groom also gets his clothes newly stitched. In case of arranged marriages the provision for engagement ceremony is also made.

The Engagement

In arranged marriage, the boy's parents have to be in search of a proper wife for their son after he attains marriageable age. Information about prospective bride is sent to them by the matchmakers, who are known as 'Bhanjgadias'. He is responsible to carry out the negotiations between both the parties. If he succeeds in establishing the match a pagree is tied to him at the time of marriage.

The engagement is also known as 'Magni' or Bolpen. It is an oral contract about the future alliance. On a settled day, the boy's father calls sarpanch, Patil, Kathia and other elderly kins to his place. The boy is asked to sit near a place where the grains are stored. The Bhagat is also called, he installs the god and chants certain verses offered to men and women. Dancing and music are part of the ceremony.

In the afternoon 30 to 40 persons from the boy's side go to girl's place. The boy and girl are asked to sit together and same ceremony is performed at girl's place. Again the liquor is offered here. Now both the parties dance together and rejoice. Then the boy and the girl are declared as future husband and wife. Both the parties sit together and decide about the amount of grain to be sent for Jan etc. The Patils from both the parties play important role in this negotiation. However in many cases, the economic situation of the boy's family is not good and he may not be able to meet with the heavy expenditure required for marriage ceremony. In such cases the boy and the girl are allowed to stay together. The marriage ceremony can take place when the economic situation improves.

Ghan

Ghan means grain. The boy's parents are supposed to send the grain to the girl's parents for wedding party. This 'Ghan' is usually sent before 10 days of marriage day.



The boy's parents are supposed to provide for bride's trousseau.

In Dharampur the girl's party go to the boy's residence for wedding while it is the other way amongst the Warlis of Vansda.

Invitations

Invitations are given in person and usually a band of local musical instruments goes along with the person who is given the responsibility of giving invitations. First they go to Patil and Sarpanch. They offer liquor to them alongwith the invitation. Then they go to invite the relatives. The relatives offer liquor to the musicians. Each invitee is given "Haldal (Turmeric) and Chola (gram)". A special messenger is sent to invite people who stay in other villages.

Application of Haldal

This ceremony is done at both bride's and groom's places.

The Patil and Sarpanch and other elderly kinsmen anoint the bride and bridegroom in their respective homes with turmeric powder. Before anointing haldal, the Bhagat propitiates the deity. The first person to anoint the haldal is Patil. He gives fifty paise to one rupee to the groom. After him other elderly kinsmen anoint the haldal to the bride or the groom and each one gives ten paise to one rupee to the bride or the groom. A small Mandap is erected at both the places. The local musicians keep on playing their instruments while this ceremony continues.

Umbar Punja

The Umbar tree is worshipped at the respective houses of the bridegroom and the bride. The elder brother and his wife and the other ladies of the family, along with Patil go near Umbar tree. They carry with themselves the cooked rice, liquor and other Puja material (Red powder—Vermilion—lamp etc.) with them. The younger sister carries the water Pot and a coconut on her head. She is known as Karuli. If the wedding procession is starting from the girl's place, an elderly lady, who is proficient in marriage ceremony accompanies the procession. They go near the Umbar tree and perform the customary rituals.

A small branch of Umber tree is brought home and is kept on Mandap. Along with the religious ceremony, liquor is poured near the tree. Then they all drink liquor and come home, singing and dancing. At night they all get together and dance throughout the night. The bride is made to sit on the neck of an elderly relative and he dances along with the other relatives.

Jan—The Procession

The wedding procession starts at 4-00 p. m. or 5-00 p.m. for the house of the groom. Women and children also accompany the procession. Throughout procession, they go on singing and dancing. If they can afford, the professional dancers are called and they keep on entertaining the members. They also perform the skits in their own dialect. A sum of Rs. 25 to 30 is paid to them.

The bride wears new clothes and ornaments. The procession stops at certain distance from the groom's house. The kinsmen from the groom's family go to receive them. They are offered liquor and water. They carry the bride and the bridegroom and bring them to the groom's place, while singing and dancing. Afterwards both the bride and the bridegroom are taken in the groom's house and certain marriage rites are performed near the mortar in the house. Then they are brought in the Mandap and again some rituals are performed and they are asked to greet each other. (To say Ram-Ram). The groom is now declared married and his status is elevated. He drinks liquor with everybody and greets his kinsmen by saying 'Ram-Ram'. He is now accepted as an adult.

In the morning both the husband and wife are given a nuptial bath which is known as 'Pithi Cholvi'. The bride's party is offered rice and liquor. The party then leaves for home leaving the bride and Kuruli (bridesmaid) at the groom's place. After 4 to 5 days the bride's brother and other relatives take her from groom's place. After a short interval the groom's relatives take her away. Then onwards she is supposed to stay with her husband. She can visit her parents' place on social occasions.

Divorce

Divorce is considered legal in Warli society. There are several reasons for divorce.

1. Maladjustment between husband and wife
2. Wife-beating
3. Conflict with in-laws
4. Impotency on the part of husband
5. Continuous illness of either of the party
6. The poor economic condition of husband
7. Extramarital relations
8. Elopement with another person
9. If the bride's parents are dissatisfied with the bride-price, then they don't send their daughter to her husband's place.

The Patils and the elderly persons and the Grampanch is authorised to conduct the divorce procedures. It is known as 'Kalki-Molvi'. Both the parties (groom's and bride's) remain present. They hold the alcohol in Khakhara leaves and one wooden stick which is known as Kolki is broken in two pieces by them. It means that though both parties don't hold offence against each other they are no more connected. Their relationship is broken like the wooden stick. Then they pour the alcohol around and after greeting each other with Ram-Ram they also drink alcohol and depart. The expense is borne by the party who had asked for divorce. It also has to pay the fine for breaking the marriage pact.

Remarriage

Both, man and woman (widow and widower also) are free to remarry. The marriage ceremony is done in a very simple way. The children either stay with the mother or with her parents according to convenience. Sometimes they remain with their father also.

Marriage with Brother-in-law or Sister-in-law

(Diar-vatu, Sali-vatu)

When the elder brother dies in the family his wife is encouraged to marry the younger brother. The reasons are economic as well as social.

If the woman dies then her younger sister is coaxed to marry the deceased sister's husband. If the husband is economically strong, he can marry his existing wife's sister. Thus it is not common to see two sisters married to the same man in Warli society.

Marriage to the elder sister is prohibited as she is known as 'Makad Sasu'.

Death

When a person is on deathbed, his or her relatives are called immediately. If the person is unmarried then he/she is given bath and turmeric powder is applied on the body. It is decorated with vermilion and mascara. If they can afford, the dead body is adorned with new clothes. In Vansda, the dead body is tied to bamboo sticks and then carried to crematorium. In Dharampur, the dead body is lifted by a few relatives and is carried to crematorium. In Dharampur the body is kept overnight in the house. The relatives keep on singing death songs accompanied by banging of thali with stick. Rice is cooked in the house and carried in khakhra leaves to crematorium. The women accompany the funeral procession upto the rest place of the village. The women put rice, liquor and 5-10 ps. coin in the dead person's mouth.

The articles specially used by the deceased are also carried to the crematorium. A pyre of logs is prepared for the dead person, and then his body is placed on the pyre along with his used articles. Then male relatives put rice, liquor and 5/10 ps. coins in the mouth. They apply one full bottle of liquor on the body and then they put fire to the body. While the pyre burns, they bathe in the nearby river. They return to dead person's house. They are offered liquor and Rotlas there. Warlis don't burn all the dead persons. The persons who died in accidents are not burnt but buried in the crematorium. The next day they make a statue of the dead person and burn it.

They smear the flour on the floor and keep it covered with the bamboo basket. The next day, the Bhagat takes away this basket and looks for certain signs which forecast the next birth of the dead person. For 12 days they keep the cooked rice, liquor and water near this place. If the crow comes to consume this, they believe it to be the dead person's soul.



On 12th day they celebrate the 'karaj' of the dead person. But if the family cannot afford it on its own, the members of the same gotra celebrate karaj of several dead persons collectively. The Bhagat who conducts this ceremony is known as 'Kambdi'. In case the family members complain about the harassment after death, the kambdi Bhagat makes a wooden statue of the dead person and installs it in the nearby forest. On certain occasions, then the family members are asked to light a lamp under the statue and to make offering of liquor.

Religious Life

As discussed before, Warlis of Dharampur were cut off from mainstream for a very long time and were still having a very primitive way of living. Even to-day their economic life depends upon natural forces and hence religion plays a pivotal role in their life. The fear is the key for their religion. Due to the constant struggle for survival they always take cautions not to offend supernatural beings. They must be propitiated at appropriate time so that they do not get offended or if they are offended, are appeased by right propitiations. Some of these supernatural beings are gods and goddesses, others ancestral spirits, ghosts and witches. Hinduism has some influence on the Warli religion but they have their own way of worshipping these Hindu gods and goddesses.

Gods & Goddesses

Some gods are house gods, e.g. Narandev, Kansaridevi, Hirwadev etc. while some are village gods, e.g. Gamdev, Makherdev, Doongardev etc. They are worshipped by the village as a whole and the expense is borne collectively. They are worshipped at the time of Holi, New Year, Akhatrij, Panchan. They are also worshipped while undertaking economic activities like sowing, reaping, winnowing-threshing, constructing new house, buying new cattle etc. They are scared of malevolent spirits and they try to fortify themselves against their wrath by magical rituals.

Bhagat-Bhuva

The Bhagat and Bhuva are supposed to protect against economic, social or physical calamities. They employ magical and religious rites so that the life runs smoothly. They are paid in cash or in kind, e.g. grains, liquor etc. for removing the evil effect of witches and ghosts.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEMS—THE SOLUTIONS

The Warlis are surrounded by forests and hillocks. They are sailing their lifeboat against the current. Their economic life is like a continuous hurdle race. The poverty is woven in their culture. They do not know what is better life. Their life-cycle goes on, in spite of the inhospitable geographical conditions.

The Housing

As the region is very uneven, it is not possible to have all the houses of the village at one place. The topography compels them to build their house in scattered manner. Due to the forest laws they cannot acquire the wood needed for building their houses freely. The wood is collected on the sly and so they are always scared of the forest officers. Most of the houses are one room houses and are kuchcha houses. They need repair in every season and they don't get protection against the seasonal variation in temperature. Monsoon is pretty difficult for them as to acquire tiles for the roof is an expensive proposition. They inhabit with their cattle and so this proves to be hazardous in maintaining cleanliness and healthy environment.

Water

In spite of heavy rains, the Warlis face the problem of acute scarcity of water. The rain water cannot be retained because of slopy land. Besides the houses are built in a scattered manner and so the wells cannot be utilised by people living at distance. They are in habit of using the water which is collected in small ditches. This proves hazardous to their health.

Land and Agriculture

This region has very little land which is suitable for agriculture. Whatever cultivation is carried on, is done on the low plain land and on certain plots in forest. As discussed before the region is hilly and has many rocky exposures. This is one reason for low agriculture produce.





Soil and their nature are of paramount importance in agricultural economy. Here the average rainfall is around 100" but as the land is slopy, the flow of rain water is very forceful and it washes away the humus part of land. This affects the fertility of soil in adverse manner.

As described before, the size of holding is very small. Most of the households have less than five acres of land. When the land is divided among brothers it is not recorded legally. Thus the statistics of landholdings are quite misleading.

There is no proper method for giving open forest land for cultivation to the tribals. Sometimes the lease is only for one year and so the tillers remain indifferent.

Lack of Irrigation Facility

The nature of land is such that irrigation facilities cannot be developed. When it is difficult to provide for proper supply of drinking water, how can one think of developing irrigation facilities?

Manure

Though they have plenty of cattle, they do not use manure. Most of the cattle are left in forest for grazing so their dung lies in forest. They are not accustomed to collect dung and use it as manure. They do not use chemical manure as they believe it to be harmful for soil. They do not make 'Adar' before cultivation (the method of slash and burn).

Method of Cultivation

The agriculture is carried on in the most primitive way. As discussed before the agricultural implements are also very traditional. They do not use improved variety of seeds. The seeds of improved variety acquired at subsidised rates, are used for eating purposes. They use their own seeds.

Cattle

Though the number of cattle is big, the percentage of bulls is small. Most of the households had only one bull. The breed of bull is of inferior kind and in the absence of appropriate fodder their efficiency is very low.

Credit Facility

The institutional credit facilities are almost nil over here. The administrative hurdles are too much for the illiterate tribals. They prefer to borrow from relatives or from private money-lenders in spite of high rate of interest.

Transport and Communication

Because of hilly area and too many rivulets, the transport facilities have not been developed. There are very few buses because of Kachcha roads. They are used to commute on foot. Their daily necessities are met with in weekly hats. Warlis are not basically agriculturists. They are the forest birds and are interested in those economic activities which are connected with forests, e.g. collection of forest produce, hunting etc. Because of the new forest laws, their income from forests has considerably reduced and hence they are forced to switch over to agriculture. They are indifferent to cattle breeding also. Whatever cattle they have, they are more of liability as they trample the fields in absence of proper pastureland.

Thus these are some observations about the state of agriculture in Dharampur and Vansda regions.

Labour

Next to cultivation, various labour work, e.g. agricultural labour, forest labour, construction work etc. are the secondary source of income.

Agri. Labour

The local cultivation is rain fed cultivation, so it does not offer much scope for hired labour. The Warlis travel quite far—e.g. up to Nasik, Valsad, Chikhli in search of agricultural work. They travel with their families and return to their village at the interval of 15 days to collect grains. These distant areas provide employment opportunities for four months.

Forest Labour

They get employed by forest coups for a month. Some times their services are used for making coal.

Construction Work

They are mostly employed in construction of roads,

Forest Produce

The income from forest produce is very little as they are exploited by private traders.

Hunting & Fishing

Because of new forest laws, hunting is quite difficult. Rivers and streams get dried up in summer and winter, so fishing is also difficult.

Jobs & Services

As there is high rate of illiteracy, they cannot get jobs so easily. But those who are educated get jobs as postmen, forest watchmen etc. But the experience has shown that if they are trained properly, they do their job well.

The Problem of Rehabilitation

The flow of mountainous streams is checked by using the side of hills but while doing so many villages get drowned. In order to compensate the tribals for loss of their land, some land from the forests is passed over to the victims. But then this creates a series of problems. It takes a long time to clear the forest land. It takes even longer time to legitimize this transfer of land. Most of this transferred land is unfit for profitable cultivation.

Sometimes these victims are paid in cash. All sorts of mal-practices are practised by the Govt. Officers in handing over this cash to the tribals. Whatever little amount they get, is spent on unproductive consumption, e.g. wedding feast or funeral feast. Thus the roots of poverty get deeper and deeper.

Children, old people & disabled people

The position of above-mentioned people is very precarious. In Warli society, the number of dependents is more than the number of earning members. Hence the old and disabled people seem to be more of a burden and are not looked after well. The life remains a sort of punishment to them.

Health

Health finally depends upon the quality of the food, and as Warlis suffer from acute poverty they cannot afford sufficient and balanced diet. In spite of working very hard they do not earn enough and so remain hungry for many days. In order to kill

the hunger, they take to alcohol. This has an adverse effect on their health. Because of mal-nutrition they become victims of T.B., Leprosy, Malaria, Typhoid and other intestinal and skin diseases. However they are not in habit of taking help from Governmental health facilities. Even in times of emergency they consult Bhuvas or Bhagats.

Education

The literacy rate is very low amongst Warlis. The schools in forest area are primary schools and they are very few. They are mostly one teacher schools, who is supposed to teach four standards. There are no permanent buildings for schools. They run on temporary basis in huts. The parents are also responsible for such a state of education. They are least interested in giving education to their children. The position gets worst in the months of monsoon. Because of lack of transport facilities, the teachers cannot commute between the schools and their homes. So the proportion of absentees increases during monsoon.

The following table gives information about the educational status :

Areas	Level of Education									
	Illiterate		1 to 4		5 to 7		8 to 10		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Dharampur	684	600	15	1	3	—	—	—	702	601
Vansda	216	228	8	—	3	1	4	—	231	229
Total	900	828	23	1	6	1	4	—	933	830
Percentage	96.5	99.8	2.5	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.4	—	100.0	100.0

(These figures excluded 1 to 6 year age persons)

As seen from the above table, 1728 members of 390 households were illiterate. Thus 98 per cent of the members were illiterate. Only 2.00 per cent had taken some education. Even in this 2.00 per cent most of them had not gone ahead of primary education. In Dharampur none from the six villages had taken education upto 10th standard, while in Vansda region only 4 members out of two villages had taken education up to 10th

standard. The figures show that the proportion of literacy amongst women is almost nil.

The following table gives the information about the children who were taking education :

Continuing Education in Children

Areas	1 to 4		5 to 7		8 to 10		S.S.C.E.		Total		Total
	Std.		Std.		Std.						
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Dharampur	11	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	3	14
Vansda	5	4	1	—	1	—	1	—	8	4	12
Total	16	7	1	—	1	—	1	—	19	7	26
Percentage	61.5	26.8	3.9	—	3.9	—	3.9	—	—	—	100.0

The table covers the age group of children between 7 years to 14 years. Only 5.8 per cent of children in this age group were found studying. 88 per cent of these children were in primary education. Only 11.4 per cent had gone beyond primary level of education. As far as these school going children were concerned the problem of Wastage-Stagnation was very acute. This is reflected in the following table :

	Percentage
Students who finished in prescribed period	15.1
Students who left half way	31.7
Students who continued their study	53.2
Total	100.0

Thus the very low rate of literacy reflects the backwardness of the Warlis.

Suggestions

The habitats

With the greater pressure of population on land it has been observed that less and less land is available for cultivation. Proper attention should be paid to solve this problem. Provisions for acquiring the wood from the forests to build the houses should

be made appropriately. For this, proper licensing system is necessary. The tiles should be supplied at subsidised rates. They should be educated to build a special separate berth for cattle.

The Problem of Drinking Water

We have seen that the Warlis don't have the regular drinking water supply. To solve this, the boring wells should be dug and water should be supplied with the help of pumps.

Agriculture

1. Firstly, every effort should be made for the soil conservation. Because of the slopes, the rain water cannot be stored, but they should be taught the terrace farming method. This will stop the soil erosion as well as it will help in irrigating the fields.
2. They must be taught to build the checkdams so that they can take the winter crops with the help of this stored water.
3. They must be oriented for the use of improved varieties of seeds and of agricultural implements. Attempts should be made to popularise the use of manures.
4. They should be supplied with strong and healthy bullocks so that they can plough the fields properly. Enough attention should be given for the proper breeding of the animals and for procuring enough supply of fodder.
5. A proper legal record of the landholders should be maintained so that all the Khatadars can take the advantage of various developmental schemes. Talatis should make themselves available to the inhabitants in forests. They should not always station themselves at Dharampur. They should approach forest dwellers and help them in solving their difficulties.
6. The forest areas should be supplied with proper infrastructure e.g. with schools etc, post-office etc. The administrative officers do not stay in these areas as they lack in providing basic necessities. One administrative centre should be created for every 8 to 10 villages and it should be supplied with basic infrastructure.

Labour

As we have seen earlier, the Warlis have to migrate in different areas in search of employment. The new rest homes

should be built for them in areas, most visited by them. Some provisions should be made to give education to the small children on temporary basis. They should be protected against any kind of exploitation e.g. not getting the recommended minimum wages.

Though raw material for certain industries is available in these areas, the industries are not established in these areas. If such industries can be started here, they may not migrate to other areas in search of work.

Roads and Transport

There are no proper roads to link the places in these areas. Hence there is little scope for developing transport facilities. The construction of roads should be taken on war basis. The existing roads get cut off by rivulets in rainy season. The bridges should be provided for such roads. Building roads and developing transport facilities will encourage the economic activities, raise the standard of living and stop this area from being cut off from the main stream of population.

Milch Cattle

The possession of number of cattle is a matter of social importance rather than of any economic importance. They should be educated in science of animal husbandry. They should be taught to breed the more milk giving cattle. The dairy industry should be also introduced. This will encourage in co-operative movement as well as raise their income.

The Co-operative Sector

The co-operative societies have miserably failed in tribal areas. Efforts should be made to revive the defunct societies. Forest Co-operative Societies can play important part in spreading education and uplifting economic status of local tribals.

Fishery

Though the Warlis love eating fish, fishing is very difficult in these areas. In spite of heavy rain, the rain water is not accumulated because of rocky and slopy nature of the land. Efforts should be made to store this rain water. The tribals should be taught to breed fish in such water. They should be

also trained to catch fish from flowing rivulets. They should be supplied with proper implements.

Industrial Training

The youngsters should be trained for carpentry, blacksmithy, potter (making tiles), tailoring etc. They should be also trained for their traditional occupations like making fishing nets etc.

Food for Children

The scheme for providing food to young children is not carried out successfully in this area. The corrective steps should be taken immediately. There is already provision for pregnant and lactating women in this scheme. But then it should also include the old and invalid persons.

Health

The diseases in this area are connected with malnutrition, imbalanced and insufficient diet and unhygienic drinking water. They are unaware of any kind of cleanliness. Hence they suffer from intestinal and skin diseases. Increase in number of health centres and undertaking various health oriented programme may dissuade them from going to Bhuvans and Bhagats. The best step is to educate these Bhuvans, Bhagats and midwives for health purposes. The health centres should also carry on the research for use of local herbal medicines.

Education

It is sometimes asked whether education precedes or whether it follows economic growth. We do not want to fall into this age old controversy but it is a fact that education facilities are almost nil in these areas. A proper environment has to be created so that tribals get attracted for getting their children educated. The number of Ashram Schools and the Schools should be increased.

