

અદ્ય-૧૧૬

MODERN INDUSTRY AND THE TRIBALS

(A Study of the Effects of Industrialization on the
Tribals in South Gujarat)

R. B. LAL

FIELD WORK

R. B. Lal
Siddhraj Solanki
Mustali Masavi

TABULATION

Mustali Masavi
Prakash Mehta
Chhotubhai Patel

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

115

1982

P R E F A C E

The present study is one of the several such studies which the Tribal Research and Training Institute of Gujarat Vidyapith had been making on the problems arising out of the participation of the tribal groups in the various economic processes of the State. We at the Institute fully realize that the most pressing necessity today appears to be multi-dimensional studies of the processes and problems of adjustment of the tribal communities to the new social and economic environment : the impact of market economy; tribal groups and process of industrialization; the new economic opportunities provided by the forest department and other agencies; educational development and tribals; etc. This study is an attempt to understand the process of industrialization and urbanization among the tribals of Gujarat.

In a study of this sort it is quite evident that several persons would have contributed towards its completion. I, therefore, would be failing my duty if I do not acknowledge the kind help and cooperation of my colleagues, Dr. Siddhraj Solanki and Shri M. I. Masavi rendered to me from the very beginning to the end. Both of them had been associated in the field work for this study and it was largely because of their insight that I could develop the right perspective in analysing the data. I thank them profusely.

I am highly grateful to the management of all the four industrial units viz : The Atul Products Ltd.; Cyanamid India Ltd.; Cibatul Ltd.; Atic Industries Ltd. who gave us unqualified support and cooperation while this study was being conducted. We had been given all the facilities - residential, transport etc. - when the field work phase was in operation. We are particularly indebted to Late Shri B. K. Majumdar, the then General Manager, Shri Siddharth Bhai, Managing Director, Dr. Vimlaben Siddharth Bhai, Shri Bansibhai Shah, General Manager, Smt. Sarojben Shah, Dr. A. R. Naik, Managing Director, Cibatul, Shri (Late) Bhatia, the then Works Manager who had shown keen interest in our work and did give valuable help. I am also very much thankful to Shri Pardiwala, Manager, Atul Guest House for his all kindness. Several other persons had given us very active support when we were

staying in the colony. I thank them all. I must remark that one seldom comes across such organization like the Atul Company where research scholars are given best cooperation and support. We found the management to be extremely interested in our work.

To my informants in the Atul colony and the villages where we did our field work, we are highly indebted. In fact I don't know how to express my feelings for them. In each of the places where we lived we were treated as family members and were given immense love by them. As far as I am concerned, I can say without hesitation that it was one of the most joyful experiences of life for me to live amidst them and share their joys and sorrows. I am really grateful to them, particularly to Shri Ramanbhai of Chanvai, Shri Kalidasbhai of Wadi falia and Shri Ramubhai of Kharedi with whom we stayed in the villages.

At the Institute, several of my colleagues gave active help and support in one way or other in the completion of this study. In the tabulation work, Shri M. I. Masavi, Shri Prakash Mehta and Shri Chhotubhai Patel contributed their might. Shri Prakash Mehta also took immense pain in stenciling the manuscript. Shri Kantibhai Makwana and Shri Somabhai Patel did the cyclostyling of this report. To each one of them I am grateful. They certainly deserve my immense thanks.

Lastly, but not the least important, I shall be failing in my profoundest duty if I forget my indebtedness to Dr. T. B. Naik, this Institute's Director. It is mainly because of his deep concern and active inspiration this work is now brought in light. For completing this work he always gave me the fullest support. He has also been kind enough to go through the manuscript critically and like a teacher guided me in writing this report. Due to his interest I could gain lot of useful insights in analysing the data. I express my sincere gratefulness to him.

R. B. LAL

CONTENTS

PREFACE

CHAPTERS	PARTICULARS	PAGE NO
I	The frame of Industrialization in Tribal Areas	1
I	Atul Industrial Complex	32
III	The Tribal past and Pattern of Traditional Life : The Pre-Industrial Scene	64
IV	The Socio-Demographic Structure of Tribals in the Industrial Setting	91
V	Material Culture of an Industrializing Society	116
VI	Industrialization and Tribal Economy : Occupational Pattern	152
VII	Industrialization and Tribal Economy : Income and Expenditure Pattern	185
VIII	Conclusion	225
	Bibliography	245

CHAPTER- I

THE FRAME OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN TRIBAL AREAS

Economic development in tribal areas has so far been largely associated with improvement in agriculture and animal husbandry. Due to this reason, tribal areas in Gujarat, as elsewhere in the country, are still predominantly such in which agriculture and animal husbandry are pursued to meet the domestic needs of the household and local community. But in recent times, the industrial revolution taking place in several tribal regions has been responsible for bringing great social changes. In such areas where industrial development has taken place, the tribal societies are undergoing transformation rapidly. And in several places, the transition between the traditional rural economy and the full scale urban industrialism is sharp enough. And, in its most general form, the second pervasive characteristic of the tribal communities in industrial area is the discontinuities in the two social systems. Members of tribal societies living in and around industrial centres have to live and work in a world which is marked by a complex network of often unfamiliar and conflicting relationships and roles. Their position in the society and their economic and social relationships are determined in such a situation by what they do as industrial workers. This means that their status in the system of production is now the critical differential rather than kinship, age and sex which have been commonly used as status differentials in the traditional social structures of their communities. On account of the transformation in the determining factor concerning their statuses, social and economic relationship in urban - industrial situation tend to be amorphous, transitory and impersonal. Traditional values, norms and forms of association give way in response to new alternatives, incentives and pressures to new set of values and norms which are completely divorced from the traditional ones. Due to the incompatibility of the transformed values and norms, traditional social forms are threatened to become extinct in course of time. While this is so, no counterparts to the familiar basis of security have as yet

developed for the members of the tribal societies in the urban industrial patterning of social relationships. Thus, when a group of tribals get involved in the development of industrial centres, they come face to face with a social system which is characterized by conflicts in principles of social organization and the absence of traditional forms of security. Thus, the industrialization of tribal regions in our country has initiated and has become focus of particular income of change on localism and tradition, behavioural uniformity, individuality and pattern of social relations.

The development of industrialism in the tribal areas involves changes in several dimensions in tribal's way of life. The primary change is noticed in the occupational sphere which directly induces changes in economic and technological spheres but it is accompanied by associated changes in the field of social relations, customs, habits and values and beliefs. The traditional social life of the tribal societies constitutes an interrelated whole and changes in one section will have corresponding repercussion on the others. This situation, coupled with the lack of security which the traditional social milieu offered, brings lot of strains and tensions while changes in social pattern of life is taking place in the wake of industrialization process. There are many sources of resentments and dissatisfactions rooted in the changing social structure.

Industrialization has had certain broadly similar results wherever it has taken place. It has led to migration from rural areas to towns; to the growth of urban population characterized, in their early stages by a preponderance of youth over aged and men over women; to the development of overcrowding and slum conditions in towns; to the emergence of a labouring class with certain characteristics, attitudes and problems; and to the formation of new types of associations. In India too, all these effects in varying degrees have been felt and noticed wherever industrial development took place. For instance, in Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Coal-belt of South Bihar, Tea gardens in Assam, Rourkela, Bhilai, Chittaranjan,

Asansol, Bombay, Ahmedabad etc., the rapid expansion of industrialism witnessed after the attainment of Independence has brought out the above mentioned results of industrialization in sharp relief. But although these effects of industrialization are widely taken for granted, these tend to be based more on claimant's basic premises than upon specific research; for very few studies of social impact of industrialization have been made in India. With the rise and spread of industrialism in the post-independence period, the Indian rural people, including tribal peasants, rapidly and markedly increased their degree of urbanization. The rapidity of urbanization in most of the industrial belt of this country is surprising. The general picture is therefore one of fast urbanization comparable to that experienced at earlier periods in the new industrialized nations. Since the more recently industrialized areas have tended to urbanize faster once they started than the older areas did, there is reason to believe that the future pace of the currently less industrialized area may be fast indeed.

The pace of urbanization in the backward tribal areas shows that they are anything but static. Sometimes, when one looks at the myriad difficulties and inefficiencies in the pre-industrial areas when it appears that traditional customs still prevail and that there is a vicious circle of poverty breeding poverty, one is tempted to think that the tribal societies are static. But the data on trends of city growth and urbanization show them to possess highly dynamic attributes. Since urbanization is not an isolated cultural trait but is a function of total economy of the country, its rapid growth indicates that fundamental changes are occurring at a rate sufficient to transform these pre-industrial societies within a few decades.

Before the rise of the industrial towns the overwhelming population in the tribal areas consisted of tribal peasants - socially isolated, tenants of the land and illiterate. They had been what is known as 'folk society' which is supposed to be the polar opposite of

urban and industrial society. The folk type of society is characterized by the following :

Such a society is small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call "a culture". Behaviour is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal; there is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular; the economy is one of status rather than of the market".

The growth of urban industrial centres has been a "new element" in tribal's folk societies which could not develop without deranging old institutions and relationships. The urban industrial development gradually tended to bring a system of social life constructed on a wholly new principle, a principle yet vague and indefinite but developing itself by its own spontaneous force; and daily producing effects which no one in the folk society had anticipated. Thus, industrial development in backward areas can be seen as having special significance for cultural development of the folk people. Relative to the life that prevailed in the traditional set-up, it is not difficult to visualize that the industrial centre tends to organize a new structure of behaviour and thought. The industrial centre, as a focus of technological, economic, political, intellectual and esthetic changes, organizes cultural influences from many sources in social process in which the population of folk societies participated. Whatever the influences of the industrial centres, these influences move in the social interaction that arises in city populations, as individuals carry on their occupation, pursue their interests and obtain their satisfactions. In terms of the concept of culture, the industrial centre is, then, a milieu which everywhere has the same general elements and everywhere supports the development of a structure of behaviour and thought from these elements. Because it is a predication of the concept of culture that both behaviour

and thought, although individually expressed, are socially organized, this milieu may be conceived as bringing about, through time, the transformation of the various organizations of behaviour and thought characterizing the historic socio-cultural types - the peasants, the noble and the priest - are transformed into new structures of behaviour and thought, which however different for workers, technicians and entrepreneurs, are nevertheless the common base of their lives.

Some of the aspects of this developing structure of behaviour may be briefly noted. The primary elements are evident in the intricate division of labour, which instead of standardizing and routinizing work as commonly supposed, gives it a manifold variety of form which make the new industrial workers not a 'uniform mass' but a composite of diversified types. In contrast to the folk people, the members of new industrial working class possess individuality in a great variety of forms. This developing structure of thought and behaviour is also evident in new social services, in new amusement, in new intellectual and artistic pursuits, as well as in new technological and economic procedure. Also the new structure of behaviour and thought is embodied in new standards of consumption, in new relationship of the sexes, and the members of the families, in new positions of the several age groups, in new causes of death. For individuals, these aspects are elements of a changing behaviour and mentality for the industrial centre milieu, they are attributes fixed upon individuals coming under its influences.

From the point of view of cultural development, it is necessary to conceive of the beginnings of this structure of behaviour and thought as appearing in the early industrial centres, of its elements spreading and maturing as industrial centres have grown and finally of these elements becoming integrated though as intellectual outlook upon or a feeling for life shaped in terms of frame of reference organized in experience as it goes on among the masses who now live in the industrial centres. This matter may be stated in

another way. If the industrial centres, considered as the social milieu of a new structure of behaviour and thought, in influencing ever larger parts of national population including tribal too, this influence is evident on the one hand, in the dislocation of old forms of behaviour and thought in the several national traditions and on the other hand, in the appearance and spread of new forms. However, at the moment, because the dislocation of the old forms intensifies the emotional attachments to them, the new ones are not recognized. If at the moment such is the case, the prevailing confusion is understandable in the feeling that although the old modes of behaviour and thought no longer serve life, there is nothing to replace them. However, the modes of behaviour and thought of a new culture may be implicit in the industrial centres requiring only recognition and acceptance to become the basis of conscious action. In the words of Lowie "culture, it seems, is a matter of exceedingly slow growth until a certain threshold is passed, when it darts forward, gathering momentum at an unexpected rate". The present situation in the national culture of this country, may be only the approach to such a threshold towards industrial cultures of the western nations.

Before turning to a consideration of some of the aspects of industrial life which may be factors at the threshold of a culture change, it is well to note that no one meant to create the industrial centres, in the pre-independence period. It arose as entrepreneurs pursued their interest-profits and engineers served that interest by technological ingenuity. After Independence, due to the realization regarding the serious weaknesses of the economic structure of the country, several industrial centres such as Bhilai, Rourkela, Durgapur, Hatia (Ranchi) and many others have been created. But, by and large, in majority cases, industrial centres are created by the profit oriented pursuits of the entrepreneurs. Once such centres are created, they become other than centres of business and machine industry, that is they become a milieu having the power to organize socially a structure of

behaviour and thought for those coming under its influence. For this reason, the industrial centres may ultimately react on business and industry, giving them new forms, in spite of the interest of the entrepreneurs. From this point of view, while the intentional activities of the entrepreneurs concerned with making money, they unknowingly created the industrial centres, which as a social milieu, are now the matrix of culture change.

From the foregoing, it should be clear that industrialization should not only mean, as is usually done, the development and growth of "secondary" industries : the extraction of coal, oil, natural gas and other minerals, the construction industry, and most important of all, the manufacturing and mechanical industries. In fact, one of the most important consequences of the industrial revolution everywhere has been the acceleration of urbanization and migration. Again, the sociological concept of urbanization does not stop after identifying urbanism with the physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes ceased to be manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line. The technological developments in communication and transportation which virtually mark a new epoch in human history have accentuated the role of urban centres as dominant elements in our civilization and have enormously extended the urban mode of living beyond the confines of the city itself. Urbanization no longer denotes merely the process by which persons are attracted to a place called the city and incorporated into its system of life. It refers also to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban which are apparent among people, wherever they may be, who have come under the spell of influences, which the urban centre exerts by virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation. The central problem of the sociologist studying an urban industrial centre is to discover the

forms of social action and organization that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals.

The distinctive features of an urban mode of life have often been described sociologically as consisting of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of the bond of kinship, and the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity. The bonds of kinship, of neighbourliness and the sentiments arising out of living together for generation under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent or at best relatively weak in an aggregate, the members of which have such diverse origins and backgrounds.

With such an approach towards urbanism, it is quite possible not only to denote the essential characteristics of urban life but also to discover variations. For example, life in an industrial urban centre will differ significantly in social respects from a commercial, mining, fishing, university and capital city. Similarly a one-industry urban centre will present different sets of social characteristics from a multi-industrial city, as well as industrially balanced from an imbalanced city, a suburb from a satellite and a residential suburb from an industrial suburb. This also makes us realize that industrialization and urbanization should not be considered as identical processes, as one might be tempted to do because of the decisive influence which modern industry has had upon the development of cities in the last century. But cities have been in existence before industrialization began, for instance, Delhi, Agra, Varanasi, Surat, and so on. Another fact is this that not all cities are highly industrialized. Furthermore, much of the industrial development has been a consequence rather than a cause of city growth. In those areas where the impact of industrial revolution has been more forceful and of less recent date, the extent to which urban concentration has proceeded is remarkable. This shift from a rural to a predominantly

urban society which has taken place within span of a single generation in such industrialized area as the united states and Japan, has been accompanied by a profound changed in virtually every phase of social life. It is these changes and their ramifications that invites the attention of Social Scientists to the difference between the rural and urban industrial mode of living.

Thus, while urban life and industrial development exert a considerable mutual influence, they are by no means coincident. Some of the urban centres that have grown up in connection with the development of administration and overseas commerce have so far developed very little industry, whereas certain industries including mining are operated in comparatively small and dispersed units, the workers being housed in camps under semi-rural conditions. In many areas, notable in tea gardens of Assam, coal-fields of Bihar and iron-mines of Madhya Pradesh, there are many wage-earners dispersed over rural areas as workers.

Further, the role of industry in urbanization depends in the first line on the factors that determine its location. Some of these industries are consumer-oriented like bakeries, printing shop, power plants, water-supply and to some extent the construction industry. Their location tends to correspond to the distribution of population, they are to be found in all larger communities and in fairly fixed ratios to the population of the community and its trade area. In case of these industries it is hardly meaningful to speak of a contribution to urbanization or an effect upon urban society. They develop as an urban society develops and they are part and parcel of it. Other industries are either raw-material oriented like steel mills and oil and sugar refineries or labour-oriented like most of the textile industry or other manufacturing industries. Among these two groups are the truly city-building industries, those that draw people into cities and whose growth tends to speed up the growth of an urban people. When we speak of studying process and impact of industrialization, our

unit of study should be primarily concerned with them. An examination of any industrial centre as centre of cultural change may possibly show the general directions in which the urban masses are tending. The shift from a rural to urban society, which has been taking place after independence in such industrialized tribal areas like Jamshedpur, Dhanbad, Ranchi, Rourkela, Bihar, Atual-Vapi region, has been accompanied by profound changes on virtually every phase of social life of the tribals living in and around these industrial centres. The relatively late beginning of industrialization in these areas has significant consequences for the ecological development of small urban centres as well as for the changes in social stratification. The impact of technically most advanced recently developed branches of manufacturing upon ecology and the rather immediate transition from traditionalistic patterns of labour and social relations to more contractual forms represent some of the significant aspects of social consequences of industrialization in that tribal areas. There is now the prospect that industrialization will play a greater role and some of the tribal areas will carry urban concentration still further. The central interest of the Social Anthropologist studying the tribal societies in the around industrial centres is to analyse the forms of social action and organization that is emerging due to such urban concentrations. The object of study therefore is the symbiotic social and psychological relationships which arise in tribal societies under the influence of industrial urbanization. The setting in which they arise is secondary for the purpose of the study.

As discussed earlier, industrialization is associated with urban growth, and the relationships of these two processes as effective means of economic advancement is quite close. But although industrialization and urbanization go usually hand in hand, there is no necessary connection between the two processes. Industries can be and have been established in rural areas and cities have grown up without large industrial plants. The introduction of new technology may sometimes change existing social relations very little

and sometimes subvert them completely. The social relations created by modern factory organization implying new hierarchial relations in the new work situation, discipline, the dependence of the worker on a money wage, the uncertainties and insecurities connected with the proletarian style of life, are not peculiar to urban industry. These same conditions hold in tea plantations in Assam, coal mines in Bihar and iron mines in Madhy Pradesh which are typically located in rural surroundings. The almost automatic association of industrialization with the introduction of factory system made us forget that the advantages and disadvantages of technological change in backward areas may be attributed to different factors and the relative contribution of each of these factors in the overall process of economic development and technological change must be more clearly determined.

On examining the process of industrialization separately it will become at once clear that the first characteristic of industrial centres is that they are new and their newness was doubtless an important factor in their rapid rise. Many industrial cities arose in places where there had been no places of settlement at all or only small village or hamlets. Jamshedpur, which has been called the first industrial city was a mere village. Also other heavily industrialized area of our country - the Hatia region, the Dhanbad - Jharia region, the Bokaro region, the Bhilai region, the Rourkela region, the Atual - Vapi region - were waste land or farmland with few and unimportant settlements upto the end of fifties. The rural character of these regions was very much evident when somebody decided to build industrial centres in these spots. These new industrial urban centres grew faster and ultimately reached larger size than many of the older cities. Rourkela outstripped cuttack. Jamshedpur overtook Patna, Bhilai overtook Raipur, Bangalore overtook Mysore and Dhanbad overtook Gaya, Kanpur overtook Lucknow. But although the new industrial urban centres did not have deep historical roots, they grew up in a cultural environment in which there existed a long urban tradition.

A second common characteristic of the industrial urban centres is that their growth was by and large associated with the demand of labour and that people moved to these centres because employment opportunities existed there. This process was made possible by the often rapid growth of industrial base of these centres expanded there was a further increase in the employment opportunities and growing demand for labour.

A third characteristic of the industrial urban centre is the role it plays in the process of cultural change. Redfield and Singer distinguished two phases of culture change which are mediated primarily by urban centres. One is the phase of "orthogenetic" and the other of "heterogenetic". By orthogenetic cultural transformation they mean the development of a great tradition such as one which took place in the cities of ancient Egypt, China, India, Mayan Yuctan and the Christian centres of the European middle ages. Heterogenetic cultural transformation, on the other hand, is a process in which acculturation - absorption of new culture elements from the outside - takes place and in which predominantly rationalistic tendencies prevail. It is obvious that growth of the industrial centres is a process of heterogenetic cultural transformation. However, the industrial centres were not the spearheads in this process but late comers. The phase of heterogenetic transformation of occidental cities began with the end of the middle ages and the spirit of capitalism and of rationality were well developed and fully accepted into the pattern of social values when the rise of the industrial centres began in the western countries. In other words, the growth of industrial urban centre took place in a cultural climate favourable to the further development of the technical order in which the modern industrial centre could flourish. The industrial urban centre, in turn, soon became one of the chief centres of social change and played an important role in strengthening the new technical order based on rational allocation of resources, competitive markets and pursuit of self-interest in economic action.

It will have become clear from the foregoing that industrial employment and urbanization are but part of the wider overall expansion and commercialization of the nation's economy. But industrial urbanization is correspondingly recent in this country and is therefore still in an early and limited phase of development. This is all the more true for the tribal areas of this country where industrial centres are growing. On the other hand since the development is very recent and traditions of urban life or wage earning economy are generally lacking, the extent of technical, economic and social transformation that has taken place among the tribal communities has in local terms already been very great, especially over the last 20 years. In the course of this rapid change acute problems, both technical and social have already emerged and since the pace is accelerating, the need for closer study of their background and implications promises to become more pressing day by day. The need for systematic study of the social conditions and trends among urbanized and industrialized tribal population has become increasingly apparent now in order to provide guiding principles for developmental planning.

Some exploratory studies on the social consequences of industrialization have been made in India but by and large these have no theoretical blinkers. For example Vidyarthi's study of Industrialization in a tribal setting and Kapadia and Pillai's study of 'Impact of industrialization on the rural economy in South Gujarat serve no more than supply of benchmark data in the process of industrialization in tribal and rural areas. Other studies of industrial towns like Jamshedpur, Chittaranjan and Rourkela have also gone into the effects of industrialization of social and cultural life but these studies too are more of the nature of socio-economic studies in which one finds heavy stress on quantification of data than on qualitative analysis and sound interpretations of socio-cultural changes occurring in an industrial set-up. With the result, the above mentioned studies develop neither the theoretical and conceptual rigour of other studies concerning social change nor the

richness of excellent ethnographies. In these painstakingly volumes neither any identifiable community nor any particular life style emerges. These studies fail to bring out clearly detail patterns and indices of persistence and accomodation regarding family ties, kinship ties, local ties, religion, friendship, adolescence and prejudice. Some insights have been provided regarding the competitive process among individuals and groups for position, status, economic opportunities and influence. However, despite their shortcomings, these studies constitute positive and useful addition to the sparse literature on dynamics of industrialization in this country. They surely make a contribution to our knowledge of industrializing society and succeed in raising many questions for further research.

A recent study by Mark Hclmstrom on a South Indian Factory workers and another made earlier by Nichaff, A - Factory Workers in India - have been able to contribute to a better understanding of the character, causes and effects on the individual of the rapid change in mode of life and social organization and of the possibilities of restructuring social relations. Special attention has been also given to the analysis of changing values and motivations and of the extent to which they were adjusted to technical, economic and other conditions.

Occasional papers like those of Barem De and Gauranga Chattopadhaya's 'Problem of Tribal Integration to Urban Industrial Society', Satish Sabarwal's 'Status, Mobility and Networks in a Punjabi Industrial Town', S.K. Kuthilala's 'Impact of Factory Production on Traditional Societies', Michael M, Arnes's 'Modernization and Social Structure', Raymond Ervens's 'Peasant Entrepreneurs in an Industrial city', Walter C. Neale's 'Social Effects of Industrialization', Martin Orans's 'A Tribal People in an Industrial Setting' and M.N.Srinivas's 'The Industrialization and Urbanization of Rural Areas' do provide valueable insight into the structural and cultural characteristics of the rural and tribal people involved in the process of industrialization. But by the very

nature of their work, the method of description is necessarily illustrative rather than definitive. However, the influences and counter influences born of contact between two groups, rural and urban, and the changes in behaviour of the rural as well as of tribal people due to pressures of various kind have been the dominant themes in these papers. They attempt to describe a social situation in which many problems typically associated with industrialization and urbanization arise.

A review of the above studies showed how great was the diversity in the degree of incorporation of rural and tribal people into industrial employment and urban life. These people differed widely in the rate at which industrial urbanization is taking place among them." Apart from this, it also became clear that the study of the social effects of industrialization in the regions has not yet reached a stage where it is possible to present a synthesis of the knowledge we have acquired. Though there is already available to us the information contained in the sparse literature on process of industrialization in India and its impact, it would be premature to claim that Indian social anthropology or sociology may yet be credited with complete series of conclusions that can be regarded as finally accepted. Far from it, there is still an urgent need to supplement the little known body of material on industrial and urban life in the tribal regions of this country. As a field for theoretical as well as practical problems, therefore, the rapid industrialization of tribal areas should yield a rich reward to programmes of social science research. Moreover, since the urban situation is one in which new social categories and relationships emerge and none of the variables are static, the understanding of the restructuring of the tribal communities, both actual and possible, will be greatly advanced by social researches that have as great a time depth as possible. In view of the tremendous scope as well as need of research in the industrial zones of the tribal areas, our Institute sponsored a study on the dynamics of

industrialization in a tribal region of south Gujarat in order to increase our understanding of how in the process of industrialization, a peaceful, homogeneous and stable tribal society was gradually turned into a dynamic acquisitive society, and in what way form the members of the society have adjusted their behaviour and relationships to new conditions. Focus on social disintegration and cultural loss which usually have their concomitants in the building of new social relations and cultural values was also to be given in this study with an utilitarian aim to provide solution to the practical problems confronted by the tribal people in the process of adjustment to new conditions.

Looking to the process of industrialization in the tribal areas of the country, it is generally observed that this has taken four principal forms, whose relative importance differs from or area to another. These four forms are: (i) the introduction of mining leading to settling of labour in company campus or villages near the mining area (for example the coal belt in Bihar and iron mines in Madhya Pradesh), (ii) the development of plantation involving the employment of a large number of seasonal workers (best example is the tea plantation in Assam), (iii) the large scale development of cash crops grown with hired tribal labour (growing of cotton in Dhulia district of Maharashtra, of Sugarcane and rice in South Gujarat and of tobacco in Kaira district of Gujarat) and (iv) the development of manufacturing industries, transport, and commerce, leading to the growth of diversified wage-earning class, of which a proportion, differing considerably from one area to another, is settled permanently in and around townships (Jamshedpur and Ranchi in Bihar, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh, Rourkela in Orissa and Durgapur and Chittaranan in West Bengal are good examples of this form).

In Gujarat too, all the above mentioned four forms of industrialization have been introduced. Mining is especially important in Chhotaudepur taluka of Vadodara district and Ambaji region in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district. Plantation exists on a large

scale in Surat and Valsad districts of South Gujarat (Banana, Chikoo, Mango and Grass). Cash crops grown on a large scale by non-tribal farmers with hired tribal labour include rice, and sugarcane in Valsad and Surat districts, tobacco in Kaira district and Cotton in Bharuch district. Manufacturing industries have been developed in Valsad and Surat districts while commerce has developed in all the principal towns of the tribal areas of the State. The growth of manufacturing industries in tribal areas has been phenomenal in recent years. Valsad-Pardi-Vapi is the most heavily industrialized region in the tribal regions of the State, Rapid industrialization in this region has meant, primarily, the development of industries, commerce and transport as run by non-tribal entrepreneurs and worked with non-tribal as well as tribals workers. It is also important to note the speed at which industrial growth of this region has been occurring. The opening of the giant industrial complex at Vapi by Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation, about a decade back has led to the creation of a vast number of independent industries, nearly five hundred. All type of industries, small, medium and big, manufacturing a large variety of consumer goods and other industrial products have come into existence in this complex. Generally, the industries are raw material oriented as well as labour-oriented. A couple of more industrial complexes are being planned in Valsad-Pardi-Vapi industrial zone. Prior to the development of the giant industrial complex at Vapi, one big industrial complex at Atul (near Pardi) has already been in existence since more than 25 years. In addition to this big complex, there have also been some medium and small manufacturing industries in the vicinity of Atul. The location of the big industrial plants at Atul and the development of the small and medium sized manufacturing industries have set the pace of rapid industrialization of this region. One of the most important consequences of the rapid industrialization operating in this tribal region of Gujarat State has been the acceleration in the process of urbanization and migration. Due to the concentration of such a vast number and agglomeration of different sort of

industries in the Valsad-Pardi-Vapi region, today there is the certain prospect that industrialization will play an important role in urbanizing the region at a rapid scale. Several urban centres have already been created because of the rise of new population clusters in and around these industrial centres. As the job-creating capacity of several of these industries is high, the direct effect of these industries upon urban growth is quite strong. Again, these are high wage industries which exert a considerable stimulus upon the development of trade and services, and they also tend to attract a variety of auxiliary industries. On account of the dispersed nature of the industrial complex, there appears to be evolving a new constellation pattern of urban communities, consisting of small towns and considerable dispersion of workers in the villages around the complexes. What one finds in this highly industrialized sub-region is the prospect of growth of strings of small towns lined up along the national highway. At present there are no large compactly urbanized areas; even in the more densely industrialized part of Vapi complex. Similarly, the Valsad town, the district headquarter, owe its growth primarily to commerce and transportation. It was never a manufacturing town.

For the tribals of this region, industrialization of this region has significant consequences. The process of transformation of an increasing proportion of the tribal population from an agricultural group into an industrial working class is giving rise to several complications and will aggravate the complications to a great extent. The modern industrial system requires a maximum of interchangeability of workers, particularly in the semi-skilled job. Any factor that impede the free movement of workers from job to job will interfere with the rational allocation of the labour force and therefore appear objectionable to the entrepreneurs. Although industrialization, elsewhere, has tended to break down barriers of caste and status in industrial employment, the supervisory personnel are generally recruited from those classes of non-tribal people who have

traditionally looked upon the tribals primarily as a potential competitor rather than as a servant or employee. These are the people who now have most of the direct personal relations with the tribal industrial workers. They have none of the elements of an aristocratic code of social conduct which was the basis of the relations between non-tribal landowners and tribal agricultural labourers. Consequently, the old paternalistic pattern cannot endure. Restructuring of social relationships, depending on a variety of factors, is in operation now.

Under these conditions, the local tribal culture is being largely replaced by cultural forms built around production and distribution of goods and administration. The growth of industrial urban centres in this tribal region has accelerated the process of 'hetero-genetic'¹ cultural transformation of the tribal culture. However, these industrial centres have not been the spearheads in the process but latecomers. The hetero-genetic character dominates from long back as there has been an emphasis on economic growth or manipulation of economic power by outsiders. The spirit of capitalism and rationality in the economic life of the tribals of this region has already developed. In other words, the growth of the industrial urban centres took place in a cultural environment favourable to the further development of the technical order in which the modern industrial complexes could flourish: Under these conditions, the pace of urbanization of this tribal region has been faster and as indicated earlier, there is a prospect that the future pace will be fast indeed.

In order to conduct the study around a well established and diversified industrial centre, Atul Industrial Complex was chosen by us. This is one of the oldest industries in South Gujarat and the most important in regard to employment truly represents the industrial organization of this region. A detail description of this industrial complex has been given in the next chapter.

As indicated earlier, the main objectives of this study were to assess the effect of industrial urbanization on the tribal society, to contribute to the study of the changing role of the tribals in urban industrial life and to attempt to answer several questions: to what extent are tribals adapting to modern industrial life? What are the areas of special strain and what are the contributory factors? Along what lines solutions can be found? It is not only for practical reasons that industrial urbanism in this region has become a subject for immediate attention. It is representative of a whole series of changes foreshadowing those social and cultural mutations from which the tribal society living in this region will emerge in its modern form. That is why it is of interest alike to the social anthropologist, studying the phenomena of acculturation and to the sociologist who specializes in problems of social evolution". In nutshell, an attempt has been made in this study to estimate the contribution of industrialization to social and culture change among the tribals, such as the effect on the economic development and on structural relations such as system of social stratification. The most satisfactory way of studying such change would be to study the society as it was before it came under the influence of modernizing forces, to study the nature of such influences and then to observe how it differs from the old society. This was unfortunately not possible since the tribal communities living in and around Atul complex have been in contact everywhere with non-tribal people. The nature and degree of contact have however differed in different areas and we have tried to show the changes taking place by comparing the tribal community in three different areas: industrial colony and a town/ villages around the industrial complex and a village far away from the industrial complex. The dominant tribal community living in this region was that of Dhodias/ followed by Naikas. For our study/ we had chosen, Dhodias though Naikas have also been incorporated partly.

The subject of our study was so much complex that we were tempted to spread our investigations over a wide field. The scope and objectives of this study was

formulated to include an investigation of the range of factors contributing to the salient features of the current trend in the social system of the tribal society. It involved the study of the work, family, kinship/ neighbourhood, cliques, associations connected with recreational, religious, political and other activities and of structuring of relationships, and social mobility. At the same time an attempt was made to discover and make analysis of the wide range of factors which might prove to contribute significantly to the social configuration. In other words, the character of technical, economic, political, educational and other forces at work in and around Atul industrial complex, was determined objectively in terms of the relevant institutions and activities and their effects as seen in the social systems and in the attitudes and achievements of various social groups and categories. We could also have wished to measure psychological reactions in these several spheres, it would have been instructive not only to discover the prevalent attitudes, but also to explain their causes, to seek the reasons for satisfactions or the reverse, and to lay bare latent aspirations. But it soon became dear that a few months' field work would not suffice to carry out this ambitious plan in full. Ultimately, in order to make as large a contribution as possible to general sociological study of the process of industrialization and its overall impact on tribal society, we decided to cover all the above mentioned subjects to find out the trends, abandoning the choice of making an in-depth study into a particular topic. This approach seemed to be best suited to the conditions of our research and the object of our inquiry. A profound study of a single subject cannot be undertaken without preliminary experiments as a guide to the most rewarding line of research. As yet, however, very little documentation exists on the industrial urbanism among tribal communities. A second factor complicating an in-depth analysis of the effects of industrialization in tribal areas, is that its introduction has been broadly contemporaneous with the introduction of a new political system in the country, of education and of modern attitudes and customs. One can easily delimit the

effects of industrialization negatively, by pointing out factors which are not directly its result, although the distinction must still be, to some extent, an arbitrary one. For instance, the adoption of Hindu religion by Dhoda and Naikas is not a result of industrialization, but getting involved with separatist sects is a feature of newly industrialized and urbanized population. Again, the powers and functions of the traditional village leaders are most directly affected by the imposition of panchayati raj, but the introduction of wage-earning in a factory and a migrant labour system have also affected their positions. Keeping these limitations in mind, we have tried to focus mainly on the analysis of social processes and on individual and collective behaviour with reference to the restructuring of life under industrial and urban conditions.

Thus, industrial urban centres offer an exceptional range of possibilities of research, but at the same time, they call for methods of investigation which differ from those usually used by social anthropologist in small scale village communities where the process of differentiation is conditioned by unity of the tribe. The system of monographic recording - where the aim is to cover the entire ground - is one of the least suitable for dealing with groups involved in the process of industrialization. From the point of view of research, the industrial urban centres should be regarded as experimental territory. Such centres in tribal setting, owing to the circumstances in which they originated and are at present expanding, must be considered as communities which are stratifying and organizing themselves before our very eyes. They present and solve problems which are peculiar to them, and other problems which arise in all communities during the course of their development; both these types of problem must have a decisive influence on the trend of research.

In view of this, an anthropological approach, based on the concept or in this case, to be more exact, on that of inter-cultural - would prove to be inadequate. In industrializing

areas, individual cultures, after maintaining themselves for varying periods, fade out into a cultural denominator which is at first a very meagre affair for comparison. On the other hand, such important factors as demographic structure, the extension of social relationships, the development of economic relations, and the introduction of industrial techniques call for a detailed investigations during which the methods of sociology must be employed. Guided by the need for and implications of cooperation between sociology and anthropology, we combined social survey with qualitative study of the complexity of industrial urban life among tribals in and around Atul.

Thus, both the social survey technique and techniques of intensive research of the kind associated with anthropological field work have been applied in this study. Social survey technique provided quantitative data, the collection of which was necessary not only because of the large scale of the survey but also because of the variability of social relationships in a rapidly changing tribal society. Anthropological methods provided qualitative data based on intensive 'free' or 'open' interviews combined with direct observation of behaviour by participating in the social activities of the community during our stay in the field. By these standard techniques of social anthropologists, it became possible for us to study the manner in which the tribals have been adjusting to urban life. In our plan of assembling information, we studied as wide a range of social activities as in an anthropological analysis of social structure. But in addition to that, much use was made of schedule for establishing the position of key factors in relation to one another. Such factors are sex, age, size and kinship of the household, tribal origin, education, housing, occupational history, income, expenditure, indebtedness, health and leisure time activities. For statistical analysis of selected items of behaviour too considerable use was made of another set of schedule. In the industrializing type of community, it is expected that members

of it are not able to visualize their social system in any coherent way which has any general validity, and the behaviour of different individuals and groups may be so variable that no description of them can be relied on in forming a picture of the whole. There is the lack of uniformity in behaviour, by contrast with what may be expected in a traditional tribal society. Hence the necessity for some statistical definition of behavioural frequencies and their interrelationships.

In the study of newly emergent industrialized community, it is not easy to concentrate on particular features of the social system, because no assumption can be made as to the relationship of such features to the rest, and their significance in the whole is therefore unknown. Tribalism is another complicating factor. It no longer provides close knit framework for interpretation of social behaviour, yet it remains in some sense key to the situation. An accurate assessment of what tribalism counts for in industrial situation and to what extent it has been superseded, can be made better by application of anthropological techniques. As this was the most important aspect of our study, information on this was collected principally by anthropological technique.

To collect quantitative facts, a set of three schedules had been canvassed. First, the household schedule contained a number of questions concerning the type of house occupied and the modern amenities. There were also entries regarding the persons in the household name, relationship to head, sex, age, marital status, clan of the spouse, educational status, occupation, information regarding birth and death in the household in course of ten years. An inventory of the material culture as well as household asset was also incorporated in the household schedule. In the second set of schedules, questions regarding occupation, income, expenditure, indebtedness had been put. Apart from collecting information on economic conditions of the households covered in the study, it also sought information on health conditions, education, and leisure

and recreation. While the third set of schedules was designed to contain question on family, marriage, group living, attitudes towards social change, and extent of political consciousness.

Apart from these three set of schedules, a questionnaire had been framed to collect informations from the four manufacturing industries in the Atul complex. Barring one, all supplied the necessary information by answering the questions put in the questionnaire. The questions were, mostly concerning employees, nature of their employment, salary-structure, absentism, etc.etc. Frequent interviews were also held with different executives of the four manufacturing industries to discuss in an informal manner about various extra-curricular activities for the benefit of the employees.

Before the schedules were put into actual operation for the survey, these were pretested during a pilot survey carried out in a village different from those which had been selected in this study. During the protesting it was found that not many of the questions framed in the schedules were unwelcome to the informants but some of the questions were framed in such a manner which was not easy for them to follow. In the light of the pre-testing of the schedules, it became possible for us make amendments in the schedules. However, the work of amending th schedules in the light of results obtained thus consisted chiefly of clarifying certain questions and adding others which had been found to be essential.

The formulation of questions presented special difficulties because of complex nature of the study. In order that they must be meaningful to the whole population being studied and they must be significant and applicable to the areas, considerable knowledge of the area and community prior to the drawing up of schedules was necessary. The necessity was, of course, much greater where the answers were to involve attitudes and opinions, almost two months were taken for the preparation of the

schedules. Before preparing the schedules, a couple of visits were made to the area to attain a working knowledge of the community as well as the area. In general to each question, a set of possible answers was drawn up. Further, the questions themselves were designed to provide the maximum cross-check with regard to the key questions, the answers to which would suggest propositions of sociological significance, the same question was asked in different ways.

In the last resort, however, the satisfactory performance of the work and the validity of results depended on the investigators. They must know how to blend familiarity and authority, discretion and curiosity and how to analyze impressions and draw the logical inferences from them. Fortunately all the three investigators who carried out the interviews were trained social scientists and had already gained considerable experience. One of them, the principal investigator, was a trained social anthropologist while among the other two remaining investigators, one was a trained sociologist and the other a trained economist. The team of these three investigators spent altogether about four months in the field beginning from end of March, 1973 to end of August, 1974. As is evident, the field work was not conducted in a stretch but frequent field trips, each of 10-20 days duration, had been made. In some of the field trips, one of the other two investigators, could not accompany the team for field work because of other research commitments. By and large, the team had been able to develop an excellent rapport with the members of the community in the field. No particular problem of new methodological interest was encountered in the course of field operation. Generally speaking, the investigators were extremely well received in each of the villages and urban centres covered in the study. In the villages, the team stayed with tribal families which enabled them to use the technique of participant observation to fullest extent and in a realistic manner. The factory workers, on return from their work were always available to the team for sharing their day's experience in the factory.

Some of the workers would stop to chat with members of the team even during midnight when they came back after doing their job in the second shift (3.30 p.m. to 12.0' clock). Thus, staying right in the village amidst tribal families provided the team excellent opportunity to remain in close touch with the factory workers and their families. which in consequence, helped to observe the minutest details of their daily life.

In the original scheme drawn up at the beginning of 1973, it had been intended to conduct field work in five villages and two townships. At the time of designing the study, it had been decided to divide the area of influence of industrialization into three concentric zone; This had been done on the basis of the distance from the Atul industrial complex. The villages lying within the radius of 10 kmts. from Atul constituted the first zone; those situated with the radius of 25 km. the second zone; while those beyond this but within 50 .kms the third zone. From each of the zones, two villages were to be selected. The study of selected villages from each zone and the two townships had been decided in order to undertake comparative studies of the tribal society whose style of life was changing under conditions of industrialization.

But the original scheme was amended in the light of experience gained in the course of survey of tribal factory employees living in Atul colony itself. It was found that the resources available for the study would not permit to cover all the five villages. It also became evident that to concentrate more on the study of the various aspects of life of the industrial employees of tribal origin living in Atul colony and the villages lying in its vicinity would provide better results in constructing a family accurate picture of the social change resulting as a consequence of industrialization of the area. In view of this, new strategy was developed in place of one which had been suggested in the original scheme, in which both the villages from the middle zone were dropped and from the third zone only one village was selected as the "controlled" village. It was

expected that the material collected from the 'controlled' village would form the base for a comparative analysis of the impact of industry on the social and cultural life of the tribal. For two reasons, even in the ammended scheme, the idea of studying Pardi town was not dropped out: (i) it being an old urban centre of the region, it has retained certain of the social characteristics of 'old colonial town' and (ii) on the other hand it presents in a very marked form, certain characteristics of a new town. Finally, the following villages and towns were selected for bringing the tribals living there within the compass of field investigations :

1. Atul colony
2. (i) Chanvai proper ● 3 kms from Atul
(ii) Wadi Falia ● 2 kms from Atul"- (Although this comes under the revenue village of Chanvai/ for all practical purposes it has an identity of a separate village, and in this study we have treated it so.)
3. Atul village ● (Part of the Dungarwadi village had been incorporated in the Atul complex at the time when settlement of land took place. Although, the land came under the ownership of Atul company, the tribal families living there at that time were not uprooted by the company. Those tribal families have been covered in this study.)
4. Pardi town ● 6 kms from Atul
5. Kharedi ● nearly 50 kms from Atul.

As has been pointed out earlier, the methods of the survey with those of the social anthropologist have been combined in this study. However, in collecting information from the Kharedi village, the methods used in anthropological studies i.e. participant observation and free interview of principal informants had been applied since the

purpose of the selection of a far-away village/ in terms of distance from Atul, was mainly to use the data to reconstruct the way of life and culture, unaffected by the process of industrialization. On the basis of the data on attitudes and beliefs, collected from Kharedi, it would have been possible to see the social change under industrial conditions in a meaningful way. Due to its approach, such socio-economic data as well as data on attitudes to certain form of behaviour arising out of industrialization, which are capable of expression in numerical form have been compiled from Atul colony. Chanvai, Wadi Falia, Atul village and Pardi : The data obtained from kharedi have not been compiled in this fashion.

An extensive preliminary survey of various villages had been carried out in order to select a typical tribal village, inhabited by the Dhodia tribe, which had the least effect of urbanization. The villages covered to get preliminary informations were Nana Pondha, Balchandi, Ambheti, Dhodhadkna, Kharedi and Meghwal. All these villages were located in Dharampur taluka which is considered as one of the most backward of all the tribal talukas in Gujarat State. In terms of distance from Atul, these villages were situated at a distance of about 25 to 50 kms. Our choice fell on Meghwal and Kharedi villages. From Meghwal, however, it was discovered that several youngmen have been frequently migrating to Bombay for jobs. So, that village was struck off and Kharedi was finally selected as the village where one was expected to have a good picture about the tribal culture at the folklevel. None from Kharedi had gone beyond Dharampur, the taluka headquarter, to get a job. Thus, the ethnographic material collected from Kharedi village formed the basis for studying the effects of social change in the region of Atul industrial complex.

Before the actual field work had been started in the selected villages and townships, we visited most of the industrial undertakings and also contacted several

of the contractors who had been employing tribal as labourers. From a rapid observation, it was immediately apparent that there was a large industrial labour force in the area and in the kind, of our survey, it would not be possible to examine the whole labour force within a short period. We, therefore, decided to confine our research to workers in the factories of Atul industrial complex. In view of this, only those households in the selected villages and townships were contacted for interrogation from which at least one member had been recruited on a regular basis by one of the manufacturing industries in the Atul industrial complex. The reason for selecting the industrial workers of these enterprises was that they had the advantage of offering a wide variety of occupations than smaller units and also a great number of workers per establishment.

Employing the above criteria, altogether 205 households from the selected villages and towns have been covered in this survey. The village and town-wise break-up was as follows :

TABLE - 1

Number of households covered in the survey

Name of the village/town	Total No. of household from which at least one member was employed in the Atul Industry		Number covered in the survey		Number which could not be contacted	
	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
Atul Colony	35	100.00	29	82.86	6	17.14
Pardi	51	100.00	48	94.12	3	5.88
Chanvai	52	100.00	48	92.31	4	7.69
Wadi Falia	46	100.00	43	93.48	3	6.52
Atul village (Dungarwadi)	41	100.00	37	90.24	4	9.76
Total	225	100.00	205	91.11	20	8.89

Of those who could not be contacted, some refused to cooperate in answering to the questions in the schedule while others were not found available for recording their responses to all the three set of schedules. At the time of compilation of the numerical data, the schedules of only those households were accounted whose entries in all the three schedules were found in order.

Of the total households covered in the survey, as far as 68.78 were from the Dhodia community. It has already been pointed out that Dhodias were the largest and most dominant tribal community in this region.

TABLE - 2

Community wise classification of households

Name of the Village/town	Name of the tribal Community									
	Dhodias		Koknas		Halpatis or Dublas		Naikas		Total	
	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
Atul colony	24	82.76	2	6.90	3	10.34	-	-	29	100.00
Pardi	33	68.75	2	4.17	7	14.58	6	12.50	48	100.00
Chanvai	41	85.42	-	-	2	4.17	5	10.41	48	100.00
Wadi Falia	43	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	100.00
Atul village (Dungar Wadi)	-	-	-	-	1	2.70	36	97.30	37	100.00
Total	141	68.78	4	1.95	13	6.34	47	22.93	205	100.00

Next to them were Naikas which was also reflected from the figures given in the above table. The other two tribal communities, Halpatis and Koknas, were in fact in great majority in Surat districts and Dharampur taluka of Valsad district respectively. In Valsad and Pardi talukas their number was not much.

Thus, in our study, which is being reported here, the social change affecting the Dhodia community in this specific industrial situation has been mainly stressed.

CHAPTER - II

ATUL INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Atul , the seat of four big production units in the sphere of chemical products, is an industrial township in Valsad district in South Gujarat. Its history dates from the time India gained Independence. Before that there was not even a hamlet on this site, by the name of Atul, what to speak of a township. Around 1947, the area, where the present industrial township with the complex of manufacturing industries have sprung up, was selected by late Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai, an eminent industrialist of not only Gujarat State but the whole country, to start a modern factory for manufacturing dyes, colours, chemicals, pharmaceuticals and allied products. The period between 1947 and 1949 was mainly used in acquiring land for the factory site, in raising the needed capital and in erecting the manufacturing plant. The land acquired for this industrial site came under the revenue jurisdiction of four villages, viz, Haria, Dungarwadi, Chichwada and Parnera. It belonged to different private landowners but the major part was not fit for cultivation and hence there was no problem of displacing cultivators from it. The land was for the most part, rocky and of the type what was popularly known as "Ghasia" (Grass) land where only grass used to grow. On account of the desolate nature of land, the different landowners did not had any resentment or opposition when the company came forward to make arrangement for the acquisition of it. They almost readily parted with it after they were assured of adequate compensation from the company. Through the good office of the then Government of Bombay, the land totalling about 1100 acres, distributed in 312 survey numbers, was acquired by the company. This was done in order to avoid any kind of dispute which might arise in future.

In and around the "Ghasia" land, there were, of course, some pieces of cultivatable land, owned by non-tribal landowners but cultivated by tribal cultivators as tenants. The company did not make any attempt to acquire such plots but, however, managed to purchase

those by paying the prevailing market price. The tribal cultivators who were affected were given preferential treatment in matter of employment in the company. Some of them were even allowed to continue cultivating the land as tenants for some time. Those tribals who had been living in the land acquired by the company were allowed to remain there. Their huts or houses were not demolished. In some specific cases, if due to certain requirement of the company the huts were demolished, the company provided alternative site out of its own land, to erect new houses. Such families were even given adequate financial assistance for erecting new dwelling units.

On account of such a human approach and also because of the significant fact that largely the land was desolate, rocky and 'Ghasia' type, the Company did not evoke any kind of unpopular resistance from any quarter at the time of its establishment. No agitation was directed to the question of adequate compensation as the company did not cut off large number of persons from their agricultural mooring. The company was not faced with the problem of getting the land vacated by tribal cultivators who depended upon their traditional cultivation. As the problem of vacation did not arise, there was no problem of resettlement of the uprooted villagers. Thus, unlike Hatia, Rourkela and Bhilai where mass agitation had been witnessed before the acquisition of land for setting up the industries, the process of industrialization in and around Atul started on a peaceful note and without facing any kind of organized resistance by the tribals. The industrial complex alongwith the township arose amidst small tribal hamlets, without dislocating the population in these hamlets. The newness of this industrial complex-the absence of long urban tradition with market privileges was doubtless an important contributing factor in its rapid rise.

Why this site was selected? There was no specific consideration except that it was to have in a rural location within the Gujarat State. Although, the present State of

Gujarat had not formally come into existence, this site after a careful search was selected as the area was under the cultural region of Gujarat. The company authorities had made a detailed survey of a number of sites but they found this place most suitable for purpose of the location of the industrial complex. It would not be out of place here to mention that in the final decision regarding selecting this site in the rural location, key role was played by the then and the first General late Manager of the company late Shri B. .K. Mazumdar, His farsightedness, imagination and a good understanding of the basic ingredients for successful functioning of such an industrial enterprise singled out this site out of several sites surveyed for building the industrial complex

The site is located on the national highway No.8 linking five States; Maharashtra,.Gujarat, Raj asthan,Haryana and Union territory of Delhi. It also links several of the big as well as industrial cities, of the country - Bombay, Surat, Vadodara, Ahmedabad, Jaipur and Delhi. All these cities are major commercial places.

The city of Bombay is only 187 kms away while the cities of Ahmedabad, Surat and Vadodara in Gujarat State, are at a distance of 305 kms, 76 kms and 193 kms respectively. The main trunk railway line, linking Bombay and Delhi as well as all the major commercial centres in Gujarat mentioned above, passes by the western boundary of the company's land. The district headquarter of Valsad is an important and big railway station on this main line. Valsad is only 10 kms. from the Atul industry. Atul too has a railway station-cum-siding at a distance of about 2 km from the Atul township. This station had been opened by the western Railway in order to facilitate the handling of rail traffic of the company.

The nearest sea-port as well as air port is at Bombay which are used by the company for exporting its products to international markets including those of advanced countries like U.S.A Japan, and U.K.

Thus from the point of view of communication which is a most essential requirement for any industry, this industrial complex is ideally situated. Another essential requirement for such an enterprise manufacturing dyes, chemicals and allied products, is availability of an excellent source of abundant supply of water. It has also to have an outlet for the discharge of the same quantity of water the other way i.e., residual or discharged water. The manufacturing industries in this complex have the requirement of more than 5 million gallons, of water every day for running the various plants. The river Par flowing westwards to the sea and which forms the natural boundary of Atul on the southern side, provides an excellent source of adequate supply of fresh water. A weir, 800 ft. deep has been built across the river, forming a large reservoir with a storage capacity of 300 million gallons. The company has also built up another weir, about seven miles upstream from the site of the first weir, to form a large reservoir with a capacity of 700 million gallons of water, in order to meet the future requirements. The Arabian sea is only three kmts. away from the factory site into which the effluent water is discharged without affecting the health and sanitation condition of the population living in the township as well as in surrounding villages.

The water of the Par river was not worth using by the local population as the tidal waves from the Arabian sea used to flow beyond the present location of the weir, which as a consequence used to make the running water of Par saline and ultimately unfit for human consumption and even for the purpose of irrigation it could not be put to use. On account of this, the local population had to depend upon wells for the source of drinking water supply. After the construction of weir by the Atul company, the tidal waves from the sea are now prevented from spoiling the sweet water of the Par river and hence its water now can be used by the local population of this region for all purposes.

The presence of a large population of the Koli community in the nearby villages, whose members have the reputation of being expert workers, particularly in the erection of industrial plants, provided another advantage for the company to select this site. It is reported that in the erection of the Bhilai and Rourkela steel plant, the services of the Koli industrial workers had been utilized. Apart from this, the availability of cheap labour supply from amongst the tribal communities living in the surrounding villages, was still another advantage. For labour oriented industries like these, regular supply of cheap labour is an essential prerequisite.

Of the four manufacturing industries in this complex, the Atul Products Limited was first incorporated in Bombay in the year 1947. The moving force behind the project was, as mentioned earlier, late Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai who had already promoted several large concerns in textile industry and one also in chemical industry (Anil Starch Products Limited). At the hands of the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the plant was formally inaugurated on March 17, 1952 and went into operation with the production of Azo dyes in collaboration with the world-renowned American Cynamid Company. The company was floated as a joint stock company with an authorized share capital of 50 million. American Cynamid held 10 percent of the capital while the rest was public issue. There was a ten year royalty agreement for know how with American Cynamid on the net sales of dyes. Its benefits under this agreement have now practically been exhausted. Earlier, in 1958, American Cynamid's share of 10 percent of the joint stock was sold out. However, the association with American Cyanamid did not cease thereby. When Lederle, a pharmaceutical division of American Cyanamid started its production unit in this industrial complex in the year 1953, Atul Products had entered into agreement for processing and manufacturing certain products in bulk for Lederle out of raw materials supplied by American Cynamid. These products were Aurecmycin, Achromycien, Sulfadiazine and Pholic Acid. American Cynamid

has given a partnership to Atul in its subsidiary company known as Gynamid India Limited. Now it functions as a joint enterprise with the Atul Products Ltd. The first plant of Cyanamid India Ltd was commissioned on May 23, 1953 at the site of Atul for manufacturing a wide range of Lederle products. In February 1962, it set up its new Antibiotics Fermentation plant for producing Aurecmycin and Ledermycin from the raw material stage. Later, it added an Insecticides plant. These plants at Atul have a most modern control laboratory to test the quality of raw materials as finished products. Unique among the equipments in the pharmaceutical plant is a capsule machine called ACCOGEL, which can turn out one million one-piece capsule per day. This equipment is an exclusive development of Lederle laboratories and only twelve similar machines are in operation elsewhere in the world. According to latest report, Cyanamid India Limited is extending their activity in the field of agricultural products. The manufacturing license for this has already been granted.

Right in the beginning i.e. 1952 itself, the Atul Products Ltd entered into an agreement with Ciba, Basle, Switzerland for the production of certain Azo dyes. Beside this, the former had also an agreement with the latter for manufacture of Sulphathiazol for being supplied in bulk to Ciba India Ltd. Later about 1956, Atul set up two separate plants to manufacture other drugs for Ciba, viz Koramin and Vioform, for supply in bulk. In 1962, Atul started yet another plant for manufacturing raw material for vioform, with the result that no raw material for Vioform is imported at present.

The above arrangements with Ciba, Basle, Switzerland led in due course to the formation of a separate company in December, 1960, known as Cibatul Limited. With the operation of the Sulpha intermediate plant, all raw materials for sulpha drugs was being manufactured in India, After the new company was floated, it has made rapid expansion. In the year 1972, it started manufacturing Pyrazdole Base.

Another plant for the manufacture of formal Dehyde was put into operation in 1973. In the year 1974, one more plant to make Bisphenol was commissioned. It also started manufacturing Epexy resin, through its Epoxy plant.

Cibatul too was a joint stock company with an authorized capital of Rs.20 million, out of which 30 million was issued and subscribed as at 31st December, 1978, consisting of 3,00,000 equity shares of Rs.100/- each, and Rs. 30 million was paid up. Atul had 65 percent of the joint stock, Ciba Limited, Basle (Switzerland) 30 percent and Ciba India Limited, Bombay 5 percent. Ciba Basle had given necessary know-how free of cost as well designed and supplied the plant.

In 1955, as a result of joint venture between the Imperial Chemical Industries Limited and the Axil Products Limited, a new company, Atic Industries Limited was floated, to undertake manufacture of Vat dyes. The first Abie plant to produce Vat dyes of Green Shade which, as is well known, are very costly dyes, was commissioned in the year 1955. A second plant was put into operation in 1960 for manufacturing Vat dyes of other shades. A third plant was installed in the beginirig of 1965 for manufacturing raw materials for Vat dyes viz, etamine and Benzanthrone. It too had an authorized capital of Rs.20 million consisting of 5,00,000 shares of Rs. 100/- each and a paid-up capital of Rs.50 million, consisting of 2,00,000 equity shares of Rs. 100/- each, subscribed equally by the Atul Products Ltd and ICI. Atic with equal partnership was jointly managed by a Board of Directors composed of equal number from either side. Under the agreement, ICI also supplied know-how without any charge on green dyes, but on the other shades of dyes, Atik had to pay a small royalty to ICI. Later, the company also started production of Reactive dyes in 1969. It also commissioned a plant in 1970 for the manufacture of Anthrquinone.

The Atul Products Limited, itself, in course of time, developed and grown up into a large manufacturing concern. A good part of its earning had been ploughed back for

expansion and diversification of production. In 1968, a plant for Fast colour Bases was commissioned. Soon after this in 1970 the Phosgene plant was put into operation. Before these plants were commissioned, the Naphthalene Intermediate plant had also started production. In the year 1974, it erected the Disperse dyes plant and after this plant started manufacturing a wide range of Disperse dyes in micro dispersal granular form was introduced in market.

The trend of development in the Atul Products Limited had all throughout been to start manufacturing of the products and gradually extended the area of operation to raw materials and intermediates with a view to achieving a high degree of import substitution and saving good deal of foreign exchange. This trend would be evident from the large number of intermediates and raw materials which Atul and its associated companies were producing. The list of products manufactured by the Atul Products Limited, as given below, is self explanatory.

I. DYS STUFFS

In the field of dye stuffs it is manufacturing the following products: 1. Acid dyes, 2. Direct dyes, 3. Tula thols, 4, Tula bases, 5. Sulphur-black (grain and powder), 6. Tula genes (Rapid fast), 7. Tula Disperse Liquids, 8. Oil dyes, 9. Food dyes. These products are used for textile, paper, viscose, silk, wool, and man made fibres.

ii. FLUORESCENT WHITENING AGENTS

1. Swetak CT (for paper)
2. Swetak MNA (for textiles)
3. Swetak NR (for Polyamides)

II INORGANIC CHEMICALS

In the sphere of inorganic chemicals, the following products are being

manufactured: 1. Sulphuric Acid, 2. Oleum 25%, 3. Chlorosulphonic Acid, 4. Oleum 60%, 5. Hydrochloric Acid 30%, 6. Caustic Soda Lye (Rayon grade), 7. Caustic Soda Flakes (Rayon grade), 8. Potassium Hydroxide Flakes, 9. Liquid Chlorine, 10. Phosgene gas, 11. Dicalcium Phosphate (Dentrifrice grade), 12. Dicalcium Phosphate (P.P.), 13. Phosphorous Trichloride, and 14. Sodium Thio sulphate (crystal and powder).

IV. WEEDICIDES

1. 4-D Sodium (Technical) and
2. 4 Dichlorophenol

V. PHARMACEUTICAL

1. Quiniodochlor, 2. Nikethamide I. P., 3. Saccharine USP, 4. Saccharine Sodium I.P., 5. Sulfadiazine I-P., 6. Halazone N.F., 7. Sulphathiazole BPC, 8. Menadione I.P., 9. Acetomenadione I.P. and 10. Menadione Sodium Bisulphite.

VI. INTERMEDIATES

1. Methyl Dichloro Acetate, 2. Tolxyl-Sulfonyl Ethyl Carbamate, 3. Para Chlorobenzene Sulfonamide, 4. Orthotoluene Sulfonamide, 5. Paratoluene Sulfonamide and 6. Paratoluene Sulfonyl Chloride,

VII. DYES INTERMEDIATES

1. B.O.N. Acid, 2. Chicago Acid, 3. G. Salt, 4. Gamona Acid, 5. H. Acid, 6. J. Acid, 7. J. Acid Urea, 8. Metanilic Acid, 9. Peri Acid, 10. Phenyl J. Acid, 11. Phenyl Peri Acid, 12. Rhoduline Acid, 13. Schaeffers Acid, 14. Sodium Naphthionate, 15. Sulfanilic Acid. and 16. Tobias Acid,.

Recently, it has commissioned a new Caustic Soda plant with the additional capacity of 10,500 tonnes per annum of caustic soda and has also expanded the plants manufacturing Menadione and Derivatives and Quinodochlor. Expansion has also been made for more production of Tolbutamide. The Ben Acid plant is also to be expanded.

As a result of all these plants for production of end products/intermediates and various kind of raw materials, the Atul Products had within a short span, been able to build a sizeable complex of chemical industries without depending on imports on a large scale. Diversity was the key to Atul's production programme. Alongwith the plants of the associated companies, the whole area had the look of a giant industrial complex. The factory sites at Atul were humming with activities in a variety of interconnected chemical fields. Plants after plants were erected to bring about a whole complex of chemical industries from the raw material stage to end products. It was supposed to be the biggest complex of chemical industries in Asia with modern plants for manufacturing goods. It was an interesting example of global collaboration.

The company had a well developed research and development department. It was first expanded in the year 1977, followed by another expansion scheme implemented last year. It had a further programme of expansion which is likely to be completed this year. Atul company also participated in the research and development activities of the research centre established by Ciba at Bombay. Benefits from research on dyes at this centre went exclusively to the Atul Products Limited.

The company had undoubtedly made steady progress which was corroborated by the figures given below regarding the income and profit of the company during last ten years.

TABLE 3

Operating results during last ten years

(Figures in. lacs)

Year	Income	Gross Profit	Net profit after deducting expenses & taxes	Dividends	Profit retained
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs,
1969	1217.00	197.37	97.76	56.12	41.64
1970	1477.13	261.75	132.59	57.40	75.19
1971	1543.40	236.73	79.06	61.50	17.56
1972	2155.04	302.55	102.76	61.50	41.26
1973	2382.40	411.84	146.37	61.50	84.87
1974	3285.77	602.38	216.93	83.64	133.29
1975	4064.95	708.27	222.75	98.40	124.35
1976	5081.63	681.94	456.38	98.40	357.98
1977	5074.20	934.03	423.22	118.08	305.14
1978	5839.64	995.77	512.58	118.08	394.10

(Source - 31st Annual Report of the Atul Products Ltd, 1978, P.3)

The reasons for the lower profit in the year 1971 was due to substantial loss incurred in the sale of Vat dyes, manufactured by the Atic Industries. The sales of the products manufactured by Atul itself had been higher. Due to the depressed market of Vat dyes, the Atic Industries suffered heavy loss and consequently paid less dividends to the Atul Products Ltd.

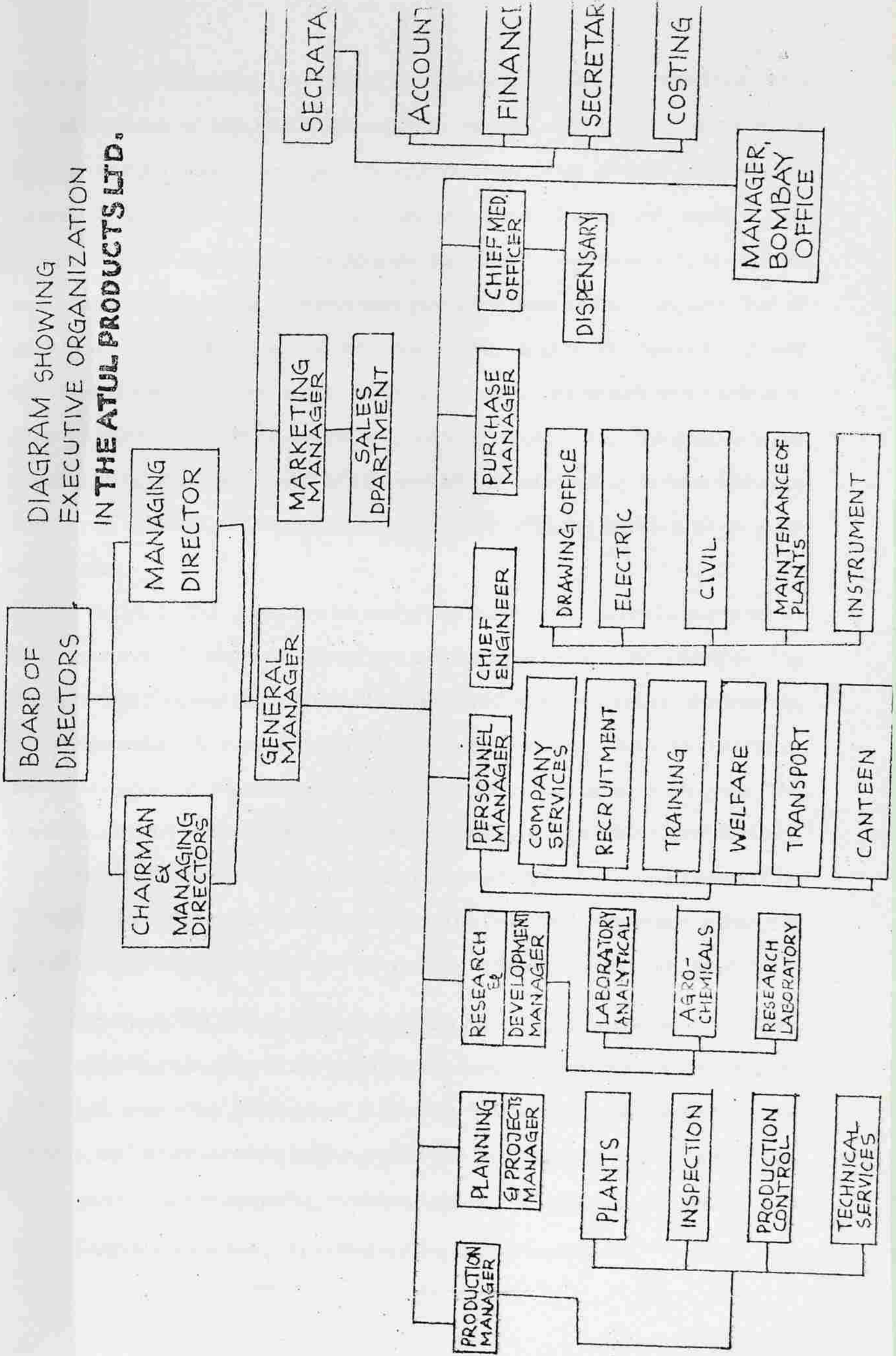
It has been mentioned earlier that Atul has been exporting its products to several countries including advanced countries like U.S, Japan and U.K. The export of the company's products is worth over Rs. 200 lacs in a year. From the figures regarding

income of the Ccmpalay, which in major part is from sale of its products, one can easily comprehend the vastness and importance of this huge industrial complex.

The company had a wide reputation for its social policies and was regarded by many, as a special case it had introduced most of the modern methods of progressive management and had made certain innovations which were very much of its own. The quality of group relations had steadily improved over the past twenty years and it was now accepted generally by its members at all levels as a very satisfactory place in which to work and it was speedily getting better. The capacity of the management to deal with difficulties, as and when they occurred, was one indication of its vitality. It was found that a striking freedom prevailed among the employees to say what they thought without restrained or apparent fear. Because of the security and good morale they were able to voice opinions on many things which they wanted improved, or which caused trouble or anxiety. Accordingly, in spite of the many difficulties that were expressed by the employees, this industrial company was, as indicated above, a fine place to work, in which every one was "treated as human being". The difficulties that arose were broadly of two types; first, those run-of-the-mill difficulties which one would expect to find in any production concern - problem arising out of normal day-to-day adjustments centred around payment of wages, certain special inter-group relationships and certain specific complaints like dissatisfaction with the canteen or medical dispensary or with allotment of housing, and second, those that were related more directly to the attempts in this particular company to introduce a relatively new system of human relationships. This, would be dealt later.

The Atul Products Limited was arranged in nine divisions — (i) General Administration, (ii) Production, (iii) Finance, Accounts and Secretarial, (iv) Planning and Project, (v) Sales, (vi) Personnel, (vii) Engineering, (viii) Research and

DIAGRAM SHOWING
EXECUTIVE ORGANIZATION
IN THE ATUL PRODUCTS LTD.



Development and Analytical Laboratories and (ix) Medical. Each of these departments has an executive of the rank of Manager as its head. Above all the department's Manager was the General Manager who was in charge of the general administration as well. He did not however, have any control over sales, finance and accounts. The General Manager and Managers of different departments meet frequently to organize and integrate the operation of the various production units of the company. And at each level in the executive system, down to the section of supervisor, it was intended that there should be regular meetings of each supervisor with his subordinates, although there were wide variations, in practice in regard to this. The organisational structure, which had been systematically worked out and kept up to date, laid down the lines of authority and has given people a sense of having a definite place in the organization.

At the top of the executive hierarchy was the Board of Directors composed of 9-12 members, of whom all except two or three were non-working Directors. The Board of Directors was headed by a Chairman -cum- Managing Director. Besides him, there was another Managing Director. The Managing Directors, the General Manager and the Managers of different departments constituted the top management group. The Board retained full control over financial policy and capital expenditure and determined the main lines of development, but delegated responsibility for the day-to-day work of the Company as a whole to the Managing Director. The General Manager was in charge of overall general administration of the company except sales, finance and accounts.

Altogether 4750 persons had been working in this industrial complex, employed by the four production units. Of this working force, a great majority of them, 48.8 percent of the total, were in the employment of the Atul Products while the smallest number forming only 7.4 percent of the total was working in the Cibatul. As was evident from the figures given in the following table, the Atic industries and Cyanamid accounted for 24.3 and 19.5 percent respectively of the total working force in the complex.

TABLE - 4

Distributions of working force in the four companies according to ethnic composition

Name of the Company	Working force					
	Tribal		Non-tribals		Total	
	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
Atul Products	758	66.61	1560	43.19	2318	48.8
Atil	169	14.55	987	27.33	1156	24.3
Cyanamid	120	10.54	804	22.26	924	19.5
Cibatul	91	8.00	261	7.22	352	7.4
Total		100.00		100.00		100.00

Looking from the point of view of ethnic affiliation of the working force, more than two-third belonged to the non-tribal community. The tribals were comparatively in much small number farming only 24 percent of the total working force; although they happened to be the dominant community in this region. But as majority of the tribal population in the working age-group was not equipped due to lack of proper education, training and economic backwardness, to find employment in industrial organization, they were represented only in the working force of the Atul complex. A vast majority of them, as could be seen from a look into the figures of next table were working for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. In the Managerial and Supervisory jobs as well as jobs in the category of office and other staff, the tribals representation was extremely poor. Kapadia and Pillai have pointed out that a good number of top-ranking executives in Atul company have been drawn from outside the Gujarat State, from Maharashtra, Kerala, Madras and Punjab and a large portion of its watch-and-ward staff has been drawn from Uttar Pradesh and Nepal.

TABLE - 5

Ethnic-wise distribution of workers in the four companies according to nature of employment

Categories of employment	Atul Products		Atic		Cyanamide		Cibatul		Total		Grand Total
	Tribal	Non-Tribal	Tribal	Non-Tribal	Tribal	Non-Tribal	Tribal	Non-Tribal	Tribal	Non-Tribal	
Skilled	35 (4.62)	110 (7.05)	9 (5.32)	143 (14.49)	7 (5.83)	124 (15.42)	8 (8.79)	13 (4.98)	59 (5.18)	390 (10.79)	449 (9.45)
Semi-skilled	138 (18.21)	358 (22.95)	6 (3.55)	113 (11.45)	5 (4.17)	107 (13.31)	1 (1.10)	3 (1.15)	150 (13.18)	581 (16.09)	731 (15.38)
Unskilled	570 (75.20)	582 (37.31)	143 (84.62)	322 (32.62)	105 (87.50)	270 (33.58)	78 (85.71)	189 (72.41)	896 (78.74)	1363 (37.74)	2259 (47.55)
Office & Other Staff	14 (1.84)	192 (12.37)	6 (3.55)	171 (17.33)	3 (2.50)	137 (17.04)	4 (4.40)	51 (19.54)	27 (2.37)	551 (15.25)	578 (12.19)
Managers & Other	1 (0.13)	318 (20.38)	5 (2.96)	238 (24.11)	-	166 (20.65)	-	5 (1.92)	6 (0.53)	727 (20.13)	733 (15.43)
Total	753 (100.0)	1560 (100.0)	169 (100.0)	987 (100.0)	120 (100.0)	804 (100.0)	91 (100.0)	261 (100.0)	1138 (100.0)	3612 (100.0)	4750 (100.0)

The Personnel Division was responsible for the engagement of all employees. Each new starter was interviewed, a personnel card (confidential to the Personnel Officers) was made out and he then was made to go through an induction training course.

Advancement was based on a general policy, agreed by management and workers; of promotion within. With few exceptions, all vacancies were advertized first inside the company, and only if no suitable candidates were found, those positions were advertised outside. Employment Exchanges were also approached to send names of suitable candidates. The selection for positions of responsibility from section supervisor up was carried out by means of selection boards organized by the Personnel Division.. In case of recruitment of unskilled, skilled or semi-skilled workers, the company has a firm policy to give preferential treatment to local population. However there was no definite quota reserved for members of scheduled tribes. But in fact such a reservation of quota was not needed as there was no deliberate discrimination against tribals in matter of employment in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. This was evident from the fact that as far as 39.7 percent of total persons employed in the unskilled jobs were from the tribal communities. Among the non-tribals, Kolis took away a lion's share in these jobs.

There were three trade Unions - Atul Kamdar sangh, Cibatul Kamdar sargh and Atic Employees Union. These Unions had just been organized by the Employees and as such had no affiliation from outside. It was found that trade Union activities had not much intensify. In the working committees of any of these Unions, there was practically no representative from amongst tribal workers except one in the Atul Kamdar Sangh. Trade Union development in the Atul industrial complex took place in atmosphere of mutual understanding between the workers and the management.

The members of the executive committees of all the three Unions had been elected from amongst the ordinary members. The Atul Kamdar Sangh had a 13 member executive committee! while in the Atic Employees Union there were 15 members in the committee. In the Cibatul Kamdar Sangh, the Committee consisted of 11 members. The subscription fee was Rs. 6.00 per annum.

At the time when this enquiry was being conducted, the Unions had placed a charter demand before the management in which revision of the existing wage structure and increasing the number of paid holidays to 15 were the principal demands. Although the Unions were supposed to fight the individual cases of its members in case of any injustice done by the management by and large, it was reported that the executive committees of the Unions did not pay much heed to settlement of individual cases.

The Unions also organized game competitions, get-together of family members, ran credit societies and also undertook activities concerning health care such as programme for leprosy eradication etc. The Atic Union was also running a canteen inside the factory premises.

Quite recently, the Atul Products and Cibatul have started to undertake rural development programmes in an organized manner. The Atul company had been interested in development programmes of the rural community and in past did appreciable work in this direction. But with introduction of tax exemption under 35 CCA, the company decided to create a trust - Atul Rural Development Fund (ARDF) - which would concentrate on rural development programmes in the right manner. This came into being in 1988. Several programmes in some selected villages have been taken up for implementation.

A well-organized and nicely planned township has been built up with housing and other civic amenities, on an area of 1100 acres (including the factory sites) which

formerly was disolate. This township, located at the foot of the historical Parnera hill, has an enchanting environment which is certainly a tribute to the far sightedness and aesthetic approach of the management. Spacious pucca roads pass from one direction to another lined with shady trees of various plant families. These trees had been planted and grown by the company. On one particular street, one would find rows of Ashoka trees on both sides, while on another street rows of only eucalyptus trees would be there on both the sides of the street and so on. The profound interest which the company's management took in creating a nice township would be understood from the following fact. "Once the company was in search of plant of "Kadamb" trees to emplant within the premises of the township. After making an intensive search, a nursery in Calcutta could be located which had these plants for supply. But the problem of transportation of the plants from Calcutta to Ahmedabad proved to be a big hurdle. If brought by railway or road, the plants would not have survived because of its delicate nature. Ultimately, the company got these plants airlifted from Calcutta to Bombay from where they were brought within few hours to Atul. Out of 200 such plants airlifted, at least 50-60 got destroyed even then. This singular example has been cited to show that the company took immense and genuine interest to turn the barren and rocky landscape into a lush green one. It was difficult to believe that once the land was completely devoid of trees except mango and palm trees here and there.

The township had more than 800 residential quarters to offer to its employees. Sometimes back a group of journalists from all parts of the country toured Gujarat State to have an assessment of the industrial development. They visited Atul too. Besides praising the management of the Atul Products, they singled out (except Mithapur where Tata's factory is located) Atul for providing decent housing, with sanitary facilities, electricity and running water. The residential quarters except in one or two, old "chawl"

were by no means sub-standard. Some of the better houses meant for the top executives have spacious lawns and flower gardens.

There were 19 different types of housing quarters in the township, the allotment of which depended upon the rank of the employees within the company. The quarters were given the alphabets for their identification, from A to Z. D, F, F², B, C and H type quarters were meant for top executive members. Beside these, some of the residential areas were known as Ahmedabad chawl, Bombay chawl, Dargah chawl. The place from where labourers emigrated became an important factor for the identification of some of the 'chawls'. Thus, the labourers coming from Ahmedabad settled down together in one of the 'chawls' and that chawl got the prefix their city's name. Similar was the case of Bombay chawl. It so happened that sometime in the year 1958, the labourers went on an indefinite strike. The management, in order to keep the factories running, brought several groups of labourers from Bombay and Ahmedabad. For their accommodation, rows of one room houses were built at two places, At one place/ the labourers of Ahmedabad were provided with accommodation while at other, labourers from Bombay. In course of time these two places got known as "Ahmedabad chawl" and Bombay "chawl" respectively. Although these labourers were sent back after the strike was over and a settlement took place between the workers and the management, these chawls continued to retain their original name. Owned Panch chawlits name to the fact that in the beginning there were only five residential quarters in this area. In course of time several residential houses were constructed. Dargah chawl, as is evident, got its name as a 'Dargah' of a muslim saint was located there. The mosque of the Atul colony was also situated there.

TABLE - 6

Type of Accomodation available in residential quaters of Atul company

Sr. No.	Number of rooms in the Qurs.	Name of chawl/colony	Number Quars.	No.of Tribals occupants
1.	One room only	M colony, N colony, Z colony, Ahmedabad chawl, Bombay Chawl, Dargah chawl, Atul Station, Kathiawadi Chawl	203	21
2.	One room & Kitchen	A colony, E colony, I colony, L colony,	148	4
3.	One room + Kitchen + bath-room + latrine	R colony	40	1
4.	Two rooms + kitchen + bath room + latrine	G colony, G2 colony, J colony, Q colony	162	2
5.	Three rooms + kitchen + bath-room + latrine	K colony, K2 colony	64	-
6.	Bungalow type	F colony, F2 colony, H colony, D colony, C colony, B colony	69	1
	Total		686	29

* Details of 686 residential quarters only could be obtained.

Majority of the tribal workers living in the Atul colony were having their residential quarters in Bombay chawl/ Ahmedabad chawl and Panch chawl. Few of them had been accomodated in N colony/A colony, L type quarters and M colony too. Only one tribal fellow was occupying a quarter in 'Down' colony, the residential area of top executives of the company.

Regarding the type of quarters occupied by the tribal workers the houses in the different chawls contained only one room-with a small verandah. Provision of drinking water was made through common public taps for one block of houses in a row.

Similarly, latrine facilities were also provided in common through a row of public latrines. There was neither separate kitchen nor provision of bath room in the houses of these chawls. But although these houses were not having these facilities, the chawls did not give an impression of slum type dwelling places. Houses were neatly grouped in different rows due to which there was no congestion in the chawls.

Of all the chawls, the worst was 'Bambai' chawl. The houses were low roofed, its walls were unplastered, the only room in the house was rather a small one, measuring about 8' x 6' in area. One corner of the room was used as a kitchenette, for storing the water and also for bathing purposes by the women of the family. The roof of the houses consisted of aluminium sheets over which country tiles, had been arranged. For 64 families (5 were tribals) in this chawls, at two points water taps had been installed. At each point there were four taps. Water was available for all the twenty four houses. There were two blocks of latrines, each block having four latrines. From the point of view of hygiene, the chawl was having a very bad location as the smoke omitted out from the chimney of the Chlorine plant of the Atul Products used to pollute the air in and around this chawl which consequently affected the residents of this chawl badly. Several of them were of the opinion that lung diseases were common among the residents of this chawl, particularly among the children, Several complaints had been made to the management which had taken a decision to construct more residential quarters in a different locality in order to shift the residents of Bambai and Ahmedabad chawl.

The houses in Ahmedabad chawl were slightly better in look in comparison to those of Bambai chawl otherwise they were more or less same. The walls were plastered and white-washed too. The verandah of houses had been fenced with the help of a wooden frame. The roof of the houses were little bit higher. Even the room was

bigger. Altogether there were 72 residential quarters, arranged in six blocks. Out of the 72 families, 8 were tribals. There was a provision store too, owned privately by a Patidar of Kaira district. The owner himself was in the employment of Atul Products as an industrial worker while the shop was used to be managed jointly by his wife and a teenage daughter,

Both Ahmedabad and Bambai chawls were quite above to the factory site, while the Panch chawl was the farthest, in the north-east-corner of the township. Here too, the houses were having only one room with attached verandah, but the room was somewhat bigger in size. The roof of the houses were tiled ones. In Nehru chawl, the residential quarters were completely pucca ones and each quarter was having a water tap separately. This was a comparatively new colony and as such, the houses were having a fresh and tidy appearance although these too were one room residential quarters.

In the 'L' type quarters, there was a separate kitchen attached with the living room. There was also better and adequate storing facilities. As the houses were built on a high plinth, the verandah could be used for several purposes, as it was closed from all but one side by a low wall. In 'L' type quarters colony, there were 72 units, out of which 2 had been allotted to tribal workers.

The quarters in the 'A' colony were having separate kitchen attached with the living room and a verandah. In 'A' colony, out of 60 units, only 3 had been allotted to tribal workers while in 'M' colony, the houses of which were having only one room with attached verandah but no separate kitchen, there was only one tribal family out of 20.

TABLE - 7

Type of Residential Quarters with their number

Type	Number	Type	Number	Type	Number
A	60	I	14	Z	11
B	16	J	78	Ahmedabad chawl	72
C	22	K	44	Bambai chawl	64
D	4	L	72	Dargah chawl	12
E	12	M	20	Other chawl	44
F	8	K ²	20	H	6
F ²	13	N	20	Total	736
G	32	Q	16		
G ²	36	R	40		

These residential quarters were shared by the three companies, Atul Product, Atic and Cibatul while Cyanamid was having its own officer's colony. For its industrial workers it was having no colony of its own but was allotted some of the quarters of the Atul Products.

Apart from the residential quarters of the companies, there were 106 tribal households in the Atul village. From amongst these households, about 40 families were having persons in employment of the Atul company. Their kachha houses were situated in four hamlets. There were two entrances to come inside Atul township, one was known as 'First' gate (although there was nothing like gate there) and the other as second gate. If one took the road at the first gate to go inside the Atul township, one would find blocks of residential quarters on the right side; while on the left, there was vacant places, gardens, etc. After a while, another road bifurcates from this road on the left side which would go straight to the main gate of the factory complex of the

Atul Products Ltd. The road coming from the first gate would pass through the tribal hamlets. Kachcha houses on both sides of the road immediately gave the impression of poverty amidst affluence. This road, after about three furlong would again bifurcate, the road going towards right side would lead to Atul Railway Station while the one going towards left would lead to the factory complexes of Cibatul, Atic and Cyanamide. Each had its separate entrances, guarded by security men. On both sides of the road leading towards the factory sites of the above companies were houses of the tribals, typical village type houses, having one spacious living room attached with a verandah. The houses were "Kachcha" one, the walls plastered with mud and cow-dung while the roof was thatched either with dry grass or country tiles. None of the houses was having electricity or drinking water facilities. The tribal families living in these houses obtained drinking water either from the nearest public tap installed by the Atul Panchayat or from wells. On the left side of the road leading to the Atul Railway Station, was the Officer's colony of the Cyanamid cand opposite that was one of the tribal hamlets.

The second gate was near the southern end of the Atul township along the national highway number 8. On entering through the second gate one would immediately come into the residential quarters of the middle rank employees in the Atul company. The road leading from the second gate was intersected by a crossing after a few yards from the gate, the straight one going towards Dargah chawl while the left and right ones went to the residential quarters. The left one went to the 'Down' colony, residential quarters of the top executives. This road again met an intersection of crossing and the one bifurcating to the right side would end up at Ahmedabad chawl. On this road was the open air theatre of the township playing grounds for tennis, badminton, volleyball, etc. Another street, passing through the theatre compound

would take one to the Kalyani High School buildings and Ulhas Gymkhana building. Before the theatre, one road bifurcated towards left side which would ultimately end up at the gate of the factory complex of the Atul Products Ltd. On this road a big temple, on the bank of Par river, was located and beyond the temple was the Atul dispensary which supplied free medicines to the employees. Well qualified doctors were available for consultation. It was a well-equipped dispensary. The Atul Main Guest House, where luxurious facilities were available, was located in the vicinity of 'Down' colony. Across the theatre, on the road coming from the first gate, was the Panchayat building of the Atul Gram Panchayat, the library, the police station, the post and telegraph office telephone exchange and the building which housed the Noontan Consumer's Cooperative Society which sold provisional goods and many other household articles on reasonable prices.

The township had well laid roads with adequate street light. Only in Bombay chawl there were no street lights. As mentioned earlier, a group of journalists from all parts of the country toured Gujarat State to assess the industrial development. They visited nearly all the major industrial organizations, including Atul. Besides praising the management of the Atul Products, they singled out the Atul complex for providing decent housing facilities to its staff.

Besides housing facilities, there were many amenities provided such as an open air theatre where twice in a month film-shows were arranged, on Friday and Saturday, one day for the residents of the township while on the other day for the workers and their family members who lived in the adjoining villages. The theatre could accommodate more than 3,000 persons. It was an amphi-theatre type of open stadium with pucca terraces in semi-circular manner. The films were projected on a 35 mm. film projector. Each industrial worker was being charged a nominal fee Rs.4.50 per annum for all

the family members. The township had also a club-Ulhas Gymkhana which promoted in-door as well as out-door sports activities. For indoor games, facilities were available for chess, carrom, table tennis, and billiard besides playing cards. For out-door games, it provided facilities for volleyball, tennis, cricket, badminton, basket ball, hockey and football. It also organized annual tournament of Hard Court Tennis in which the different clubs of South Gujarat region participated. Several other tournament were also organized from time to time amid several outside teams were invited to play friendly matches. The Gymkhana was member of the Valsad Cricket Association and also of South Gujarat Sports Association. Membership was open to all employees of all the four industrial companies, contractors, employees of the local Post Office, secondary school, bank - in fact to all those who were staying in the township. Annual membership Fee was only Rs.2.00 for a couple. In the Gymkhana premises, a T.V. set had been installed by the Atul Gram Panchayat for the public. Everyday, in the evening, after sunset, the T. V. set was switched on for showing the programmes transmitted from Bombay Doordarshan Kendra. On Sunday and Wednesday, when there used to be programmes concerning movies/ there used to be thick crowds to view the T.V. programmes.

There was another organization known as 'Utkarsh' which organized cultural activities, drama shows, cultural tours and also lectures. The membership fee. was Rs.10.00 per annum and was open to all residents' and which organized essay competitions elocution, painting competition, etc.

A 'Vigyan Mandal' was also functioning which organized academic lectures on Scientific topics and also on certain occasions organized tours to places of scientific interest.

An association devoted to the development of women, known as 'Urmi Mandal'

had been started as far back as in 1954. There were about 500 members in 1974, in 1974, when this study was being conducted. The annual fee was Rs.30 and the membership was open to all women residing in the colony. It ran on one-year training course on sewing and embroidery, for which purpose the mandal was affiliated to 'vikas griha' of Ahmedabad. About 10-12 women joined and took training every year. A fee of Rs. 7.00 per term was charged from each trainee. Besides sewing classes, the mandal also organized training classes in recipe, spices making, knitting, etc. For knitting, it provided knitting-wool on concessional rates, the supply of which it obtained from the colour processing unit the Atul Products Ltd., which after testing the colours on Knitting-wools disposed off to 'Urmi Mandal'. The mandal also organized 'Anand Melas', lectures and pleasure tours.

Besides these associations which promoted the interests of the residents of the colony in the field of games and sports/ cultural activities, scientific knowledge and development of women/there was one important organization - 'Atul Kelvani Mandal' (Atul Educational association) - under whose management an excellent school was being run in the colony. The Mandal started the Kalyani School in the year 1953 and gradually it became one of finest secondary school in south Gujarat. The school had facilities of educations, from primary to secondary level although both these sections functioned separately but within the same campus. The secondary school complex consisted of some blocks of one storeysd buildings. In the academic year of 1974, altogether 1424 students were enrolled, in different grades. Out of this number, 174 were tribal students, forming 8.8 percent of the total students. Grade-wise number of students have been given in the following table.

TABL-8

Grade-wise Number of students in Kalyani Scholl (1974)

Grade	Boys		Girls		Grand Total	
	Total	Tribal	Total	Tribal	Total	Tribal
I	68	6	77	8	145	14
II	81	9	71	9	152	18
III	119	21	95	16	214	37
IV	98	17	97	10	195	27
V	82	9	57	3	139	12
VI	81	13	78	6	159	19
VII	67	3	45	11	112	14
VIII	48	5	38	7	86	12
IX	45	3	32	5	77	8
X	56	6	33	2	89	8
XI	31	4	25	1	56	5
Total	776	96	648	78	1424	174
	(100.0)	(12.37)	(100.0)	(12.03)	(100.0)	(8.8)

The school had a strength of 45 teaching staff (including primary section) out of which one teacher belonged to a tribal community. But of the total 12 non-teaching staff, 8 were tribals. The school provided fairly good facilities for games and sports, library and other extra-curricular activities. Due to the excellent facilities/ the school usually achieved nearly 100% result every year

In the year 1958, the colony also constituted a "Gram Panchayat". Although the colony was having distinct sociological characteristics of an industrial urbanized "township, from the census rating, it was still a village.

Even the industrial classification of workers according to different categories pointed out distinct characteristics of urban centres. According to 1971 census figures, there were only 1419 workers out of the total 5294 number of persons in the Atul village. Thus, only 26.80 percentage of the total population were classified as workers which meant that majority of the women and adolescent boys and girls were not engaged in any kind of gainful employment. This was, obviously, a phenomenon not found in villages, at least, not in tribal villages. Further, as could be seen from the figures given below, a large majority of the workers were engaged in manufacturing industries, and other services. Those engaged in agricultural pursuits were very few in numbers, only, 4.23 percent of the total workers. Certainly it was not a characteristic of the rural working force.

TABLE- 9

Industrial classification of workers in Atul Village

Sr. No.	Industrial categories	Male		Female		Total	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	Cultivator	1	00.08	1	00.75	2	00.14
2.	Agricultural Labourers	51	03.97	7	05.26	58	04.09
3.	Animal husbandry forest etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Mining, etc.	3	00.23	1	00.75	4	00.28
5.	Household Industry	1	00.08	-	-	1	00.07
6.	Manufacturing, other than household indu.	959	74.57	10	07.52	969	68.29
7.	Construction	44	03.42	4	03.01	48	03.38
8.	Trade & Commerce	25	01.94	1	00.75	26	01.84
9.	Transport etc.	8	00.62	-	-	8	00.56
10.	Other services	194	15.09	109	81.96	303	21.35
	Total	1286	100.00	133	100.00	1419	100.00

It was a 14 member body, out of which only 2 were tribals. In 1974, the Sarpanch was Shrimati Vimlaben, wife of the Managing Director of the Atul Products Ltd., Shri Siddharth Kasturbhai. The Atul Gram Panchayat looked after the supply of water, electricity and maintenance of roads. It was also running a small library. It also provided financial help to needy students, particularly to those belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, in order to purchase uniform and books. It was also running a Kindergarten school. It also provided help to such needy families who needed financial assistance for cremating the dead body of 3 member in the family.

Several type of taxes were collected by the Panchayat from the residents in the colony. In the year 1973-74, it earned a revenue of Rs.66,487.71 through house-tax, lavatory-tax and factory-tax.

On account of the township, a good number of shops had cropped up across the highway road. Their number had been increasing from year to year. Shops of all kinds, tea stalls, provision stores, shoemakers shop, barber's cabin, vegetable and fruit stalls, cigarette and Pan-bidi shops, cold-drink shops, sweet-meat and Bhajia shops, Sugarcane juice stalls, clothe shops, tailoring shops etc. etc. were available there which catered to the needs of the residents of the townships in a small way. In the forenoon, the fisherwoman also sold fish in this market place. ;

For major purchasing, the residents normally had the practice of going to Valsad city which was only 10 km away and State Transport Buses were available at the interval of half an hour. For seeing movies too, they visited Valsad frequently. As Valsad had a college, many students from the colony commuted daily to Valsad for attending their classes. Another town, Pardi, was also situated at a distance of 4 km. only. Pardi also provided scope for marketing. For tribals, Pardi was an important commercial centre, as many of the shopkeepers who supplied goods to the tribals on credit were stationed there.

Bombay, the metropolitan city, was only 4 hours journey from Valsad by express trains while Surat was one and half hours. Both these cities had been well-known commercial and business centres.

The management of the Atul company attached great importance to the employee's welfare and it sought to maintain a pleasant atmosphere of productivity and creativity in order to keep Atul and its associated companies growing and prospering. No doubt, it had succeeded in gaining its objectives. No wonder then that the industrial workers of Atul generally, felt that it was "a good place to work".

The Atul township provided a cosmopolitan gathering, having persons from all corners of the country as well as from the neighbouring country of Nepal. Kapadia and Pillai in their study had drawn out a sample of the Atul colony in which 65.08 percent were from Gujarat State, while of the remaining, 16.44 percent from Uttar Pradesh, 6.16 percent from Maharashtra, 2.05 percent from Kerala, 2.05 percent from Rajasthan, 2.75 percent from Punjab, 0.68 percent from Tamil Nadu and 4.97 percent from Nepal.

In such a setting, there, were powerful forces of social change in the tribal societies, some visible and some underlying. As a participant in the industrial urban society, which for them was a new society, they were passing through a phase of transformation from tribal-peasant life to an urban-industrial society. But before we discuss the nature and extent of social change taking place among them and their style of life in the new society, let us make an attempt to recapture their past in order to reconstruct their way of life in the rural set-up.

CHAPTER - III**THE TRIBAL PAST AND PATTERN OF TRADITIONAL LIFE :****THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL SCENE**

On the strength of historical evidences, it can be claimed that the main body of the present tribal inhabitants in and around the Atul region, came to settle in its present habitat in the course of successive migration waves starting at least as early as the fourteenth century, and continuing till the region passed into the hands of British rulers in the first half of the nineteenth century. These centuries of migration were also a period of complex inter-tribal as well as tribal - non-tribal contact and fusion. The migrants were drawn from broad groups of peoples which probably exhibited a considerable variety of type in social, political and economic organization, but it would seem that contacts with each other and perhaps even more important, a common struggle for survival in the prevailing environment led, in the course of the centuries, to the establishment of social systems whose principal features are more striking in similarities than in their differences.

It is an undisputed fact that Gujarat has been the home of the Bhils, one of the most ancient tribes of our country and in present times, the second largest tribal community after the Gonds. It is believed that since palaeolithic period, they have been in this region, which before the Christian era was part of Deccan Kingdom and was being ruled by people known as Rastrakutas. Sometimes in the fourteenth century, the hold of the Deccan king was broken and progressively it was absorbed in the Kingdom of Gujarat. Throughout history, this region was exposed to many invasions by land from north, south and east and from the west by sea. In course of time, this region formed the outlying part of Deccan as well as Gujarat. But because of the invasions from time

to time, this region had been a scene of great historical turmoil and upheavals, particularly between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. During this period of history, blood feuds were order of the day in this region. Such a situation must have necessitated the intermingling of different streams of population, particularly the Hindu Marathas and the Bhils. Another ancient group of people, about whom references have been given by Historians, were the Kolis who mainly inhabited the coastal region but gradually got pushed into the mainland. In order to gain peaceful life, both Maratha and Kolis went to the length of adopting the way of life of Bhils who lived in the forests and hills. It is quite plausible that there was a constant reflux of migration on the part of these three important groups of people viz. the Bhils, the Marathas and the Kolis, in this region. Since the Bhils were occupying the hills and forests and thus were comparatively in safer situation, it could have been easier for some groups of people of Marathas and Koli communities to throw their lot with the Bhils for the sake of survival in the event of upheavals and turmoil. But of course., it is really difficult to ascertain in case of present day tribal groups living in the Valsad - Pardi - Vapi region whether these people are some long last branch of Hindu community or Bhil community. But ethnological evidences strongly suggest that they are mostly of Bhil extraction.

According to Enthoven, the homes of the Bhils was the hill country between Atru and A sirgarh, from which they had spread westward and southward in the plains of Gujarat. Local tradition asserts that from a time previous to Christianity, the dynasty in power of the Khandesh region was that of Rajput Chiefs whose ancestors had come from Oudh. The first time of which distinct remains is, however, that of Andhras. The Andharas were temporarily displaced by Satraps. In the fifth century A.D., the Chalukya dynasties rose to power. Local Chiefs followed and the Khandesh was under the Chauhan ruler of A sirgarh when Allauddin appeared. Muslim rule lasted until the Marathas

had captured the stronghold of Asirgarh in 1760. During the Muslim rule, there was a reference about the Khandesh. Bhils by Abul Fazal in the famous 'Aine-Akbari. He had nothing but praise for the Bhils obedience to law and preservice in day to day affairs of life. But the fact remains that the Bhils had made resistance to the extension, first of Mughals and then of Marathas. This had been conferred by several reference to the Bhils in the historical literature of Khandesh region. As the Bhils had been referred by Abul Fazal, it could be safely concluded that the Bhils were living there prior to the onslaught of Muslims in this region which meant, roughly before 1000 A.D. In absence of other evidences, it is of course, difficult to say how long before?

As depicted by Abul Fazal, the Bhils were living peacefully during the period of Muslim rules. The Muslim rulers did not make any attempt to exterminate them. But from 1670, Maratha raids commenced upon the Muslim rulers and it was for more than a century given up to every species of calamity, internal and external. The Bhils were naturally greatly affected and at times they became so desperate that they started retaliating. Their mode of retaliation was to loot the non-tribal villages and to murder the inhabitants and whosoever attempted to enter their habitats or region. In fact, it was not only the Bhils who took recourse to such actions of plundering, In 1670, Shivaji, after his second sack of Surat, sent an officer to demand 'Chauth' (a kind of tax) from Khendesh. The Marathas captured and held several forts and afterwards Khande Rao Dabhade established himself in the western hills (the Bhil country). Henceforward the region was the scene of numerous plundering raids. Shivaji, Sambhaji and the emperor Mirangjeb ravaged it in. In 1720, Nizam-ul-mulk annexed Khandesh and held it through his life. His son was ousted by Marathas in 1760. The Peshwa, on recovering the district, granted portion of it to Holkar and Scindia. In 1802 the country was ravaged by the Holkar army. The Bhils were cruelly treated by the Marathas

and a large number of Bhils were killed. In 1806, a second massacre of Bhils by Peshwa troops took place at Hovrihango. In Khandesh, several Bhil settlements were the scene of inhuman atrocities. When Trimbakji Dangle was in power, he ordered to put down the disturbances created by the Bhils which had again risen to a great height. He commissioned Naroba Takti who butchered the Bhils wherever found and who had any connection with them, without any distinction of caste. It is believed that during a period of fifteen months, 15,000 human beings were massacred. The Bhils became desperate and indulged in plundering more than ever. Their past indeed, has the quality of tragedy that everywhere characterizes the history of broken people such as many American Indian tribes or the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia. The centuries of hostility and extermination to which they had been subjected at the hands of Marathas, Muslims and Britishers, took such a great toll that eventually they lost the position of a distinct race inhabiting this part of the country.

As a result of anarchy, mass scale looting, murder, arson and violence, the Bhils leaving their peaceful callings, joined together in bands, wandering over the country and laying waste the non-tribal villages. In this situation, groups and groups of Bhils as well as several groups of other people living in the plains of Khandesh migrated to the plains and hilly areas of the area which is now known as Surat and Valsad districts of Gujarat State. These people were pushed into this area by the Peshwas who heaped atrocities on these peace loving people who finding no other alternative moved into the forests of the plains and hills of the western region. The original settlements of the Bhils were disbanded and shifting from one place to another place in search of a peaceful life had become order of the day. As a result of this, the Bhils as individual socio-political unit got disbanded and due to compulsion of living in alliance with other ethnic groups, new boundaries were drawn on the basis of similarity of language and social customs.

This also happened with a large number of Hindu caste people who in order to escape the wrath of enemies took shelter in the forests and the hills where groups of Bhils had already arrived. Thus, due to this frequent mobility of settlements, the region comprising of the present Surat and Valsad districts received unprecedented wave of migration from the Khandesh region which has been a contiguous region. In fact, part of the Khandesh region now constitute part of present Surat district. Many of the tribals, even now identify themselves as 'Khandeshi'.

In the last decades of the 18th century, the East India company acquired the district of Surat (which at present comprises the plains of Surat and Valsad districts) by the treaty of Surat while the hilly areas which at present forms part of the eastern region of Surat and Valsad districts, were left under the control of the Gaekwads of Baroda, and other princely States such as Dharampur, Bansda and a few other small feudatory States. The areas under the control of the British witnessed more and rapid cultural change, while those under the control of princely States, due to violances and also partly due to their repressive policies, escaped the process of cultural change on a faster rate. As the plains of this region is fertile, there started concentration of more and more people from outside. On account of this reason, quite a few enterprising communities such as Parsis, Anavals, Vohra Muslims and Brahimans settled down in the villages of different tribal groups in the plain region. In course of time, because of their superior technology and skill, members of these communities became the landed proprietors in the villages of this region. They held almost all land. However, the actual units of cultivation were in most cases, the small parcel of land, largely cultivated for subsistence by the poor and oppressed tribal tenants among whom the Dhodias and Naikas constituted the largest number. The Dublas were reduced to serfdom. They were not the only people who became bonded labourers but many from amongst the Dhodias and Naikas too had to accept such a life on account of the loss of their

land. It is usually assumed that these people were driven to this State of economic degradation because their relative simple technology did not permit them to stand their ground against the better equipped peoples like the Parsis, Anavals, and Patidars who invaded their settlements.

As a result of the process of piecemeal migration, contact and adaptation which the forest imposed on its later inhabitants is found in the multiplicity, fragmentation and dispersal of ethnic groups. The consequence of this process was the emergence of new groups which either took another name or were given a new name by the non-tribal population who migrated to the region somewhat later. This might be one of the many reasons that today we find a number of tribal groups whose names do not appear in the earlier history of this region. The Bhils, the Kolis, the Katkaries are the only tribal groups whose name appear, in the early history as tribal people. The name of Dhodias, Naikas, Dublas who now inhabit in the plains of Valsad district appear only long after the advent of the Britishers in this area. By that time the formation of new social groups had already taken place. In the situation of great mobility of groups, some of the same group of people settled in the hills or on the slopes of the hills while many settled in the plains. It is because of this reason that in this region, the boundary drawn on the basis of similarity of languages alone do not coincide with those drawn on the basis of shared culture traits. The new groups or tribes which emerged in course of time are today generally distinguishable from each other in many details of their institutions and also in speech, even though their techniques and systems of social organization are of a basically similar pattern. Again, the tribal villages of the plains have more in common, linguistically and culturally, with one another than they have with the tribal groups living in the mountains. The tribal groups of the plain region, where perhaps the intermingling of tribal and non-tribal elements took place at a large scale were subjected to the forces of cultural

change more intensely than the groups living in the hilly areas on account of the degree of cultural contact situations. There are number of historical evidences which amply illustrate that these tribal groups, who settled down in the plains after clearing forest patches, had come in contact with Hindus, Muslims and even Parsis much earlier who were the later migrants in this region.

Of the various ethnic groups formed in the tribal population of the plains of south Gujarat the Dhodias are the dominant tribe in the Valsad-Pardi-Vapi industrial zone. Next to them are the Naikas. Apart from these two important tribal groups there are Dublas, Warlis and Kunkaas but they are in small numbers in this industrial belt.. The Naikas once held the place of leader among these groups particularly among the Dhodias, the most modernized tribe in this region, who looked upon the Naikas with respect and at marriage and death ceremonies they were, invited to preside over the ritual so It is believed by the Dhodias that their legendry ancestors, Dhana Khatri and Rupa Khatri, had taken girls from the Naika community as their wives when they first migrated to this region and got settled down. Thus, the Naikas appear to have arrived earlier in this part. The Naikas are an offshoot of the main Bhil tribe as is well known that in pre-contact days the head of a band among the Bhils was known as Naik. As such, the progenitors of the present day Naikas ought to be the petty chiefs amongst the Bhil tribe. If this is accepted then the Bhils must have also contributed to the creation and make-up of the Dhodia tribe as their original ancestors had married girls of Naika community. In similar ways it could be shown that all other major tribes of south Gujarat have in one or other way, resulted from the Bhil tribe. Many of the customs of these tribes have resemblance with those of the Bhils and this lends us further support to the contention made earlier that tribal groups in this region are mostly of Bhil extraction. . . .

All these tribal people, in the past, lived on the same subsistence standard and thought they had the same destiny. They were born and grown up in villages, where their life was interwoven with the lives of relatives, friends and neighbours and in it they achieved their closest association with nature, as well as people. The houses were mostly one big room house with verandah and with or without a separate kitchen. That only room was shared with the catties of the family. Life was mostly lived in the open. People were mystically related to land on which they lived. In the precontact days land belonged to no person. One who cleared the forest and tilled a plot of land within the territory became owner by virtue of having the right of first clearance of forest land. Much of the time was taken up with food producing and food gathering activities. Relatives and friends cooperated in clearing the fields, in planting and even in hunting. There was a sharp division of labour between men and women. They produced and gathered only that much what was needed for the family unit. In case the number of members in the family increased, they cleared another patch of forest. In the past, it was possible to extend one's holding by adding more plots of land by clearing the forest land and thus cultivate previously uncultivable land. What was needed was only human labour. In short, there was no permanent stake in the land and thus, in the traditional frame of economic activities, land never was an issue of dispute or warfare or it evoked any kind of rivalry between members of the community. The character of their socio-cultural systems was strongly egalitarian.

In this situation when the forest tracts of the plains were cleared by them and as a consequence of this more and more land was made available for cultivation, the non-tribal communities gradually started to increase their concentration in this region. Until the late 18th century, there was not much concentration of these non-tribal communities. Only in early 19th century several pockets of non-tribal concentration emerged in this

area and with this the town of Pardi, Valsad and Vapi in this region grew up. Apart from these urban centres several big villages having non-tribal concentrations also sprang up in this region. The history of the growth of these urban centres and big villages is directly related with the process of pauperization of the tribals living in small hamlets. With the coming of non-tribal communities, the process of grabbing the land of tribals also started in the full swing and relentlessly. The new principle of land ownership introduced by the Britishers after introducing the system of survey settlement endowed the right of allotment of land to the government. Now, after this the, tribals could not expand their holdings by adding new land by clearing any strip of the forests. The then British government refused to recognize the right of original settlement and the right of ownership of land by right of first clearance of forest and this deprived the tribals one of the fundamental rights which had been given recognition by the Rajput rulers. In short time the tribals were reduced to a position of most humiliating economic dependency, the process of which had started from the time of Maratha rulers and completed soon after the arrival of Britishers. When incapable of discharging the demands of the rapacious Marathas, they were deprived of the means of subsistence. There were recurring famines also during those times. The land revenue was framed out and offices, great and small, were sold to the highest bidders. The administrative system deteriorated and became disorganized, oppressive and arbitrary. Those in power squeezed what they could out of the unfortunate tribal cultivators, whilst the custom of making 'inam' i.e. revenue free grants of land to officials and followers increased the burden on the already impoverished tribal farmers. The British introduced ryotwari settlement in this region i.e. the actual cultivators of the soil were recognized as proprietors. But it appears that in course of ryotwari settlement, no distinction was drawn between hereditary owners of land and farmers of the revenue (one who used to pay revenue to the government on behalf of the cultivators, of course after collecting from them). This resulted in large scale transfer of

land from the actual owners to others. As the officials for collecting the revenue were non-tribals, they readily accommodated itself in the interest of the members of the non-tribal communities. The cultural inferiority of the tribals was taken for granted by the officials and unofficials thinking which served to justify policies maintaining the differences in opportunity and reward between tribals and non-tribals.

In this manner, the control of the land passed from the indigenous tribals to a group of incomers. As agriculturists, the tribal people depended heavily on the agricultural field. It supplied them with the material needs of life, through which spiritual and mental contentment was achieved. Communion with ancestral spirits was perpetuated through contact with the soil in which the ancestors of the tribe had roots. The land was the most sacred thing above all that dwelt in it or on it. There was a complex of beliefs and behaviour involving the relationships between them and the land that nourished them. In their society, ancestral cult played a primary role for maintaining the well-being of the members of the society. The ancestors were believed to be the connecting link between man and the earth. Their major rituals were directed to increase its field. To lose the land struck at the roots of their economic, political and religious systems.

With the increase of pressure of population (more and more people immigrated on account of the peaceful situation, brought about by the British administration, because of the opening of the major railroads in this region and the abundance of land available for agricultural use), the demand for agricultural land gradually increased as large number of - non-tribal migrants started settling in this region. The then government practice of allowing the migrants to go where he wished and make his own arrangements for land and the ease with which a purchase could be ensured, attracted more non-tribals and spread them more widely on the very best of the plains land. In no time, these new incomers who were a small minority in comparison to the already settled tribal

communities, owned most of the cultivable land of this region. By the turn of this century, the non-tribal landowning communities such as Anavil Brahimans, Kanbi Patidars, Parsis, Banias, and Brahimas became the landlords and the tribals were reduced to subservient status. Many of them lost their land and some of them, such as in case of the Dublas, were reduced to slavery i.e. they became bound to perform services for their masters in return for loans which they could seldom hope to repay.

Before legislation was passed in 1961 to check the land alienation, heavy alienation had already occurred, and tradition of perfunctory treatment of the tribal's interest in land was established. Both the Dhodias and Naikas who were the main agricultural tribal community of the region had lost by this time most of their arable land. Although they had become settled agriculturists and the tradition of rice-culture had also taken root in them, they had been reduced to the status of marginal farmers because of the large scale usurpation of their best land. In a survey done in 1956 in Pardi taluka, it was shown on the basis of findings in five villages of tribals that of the total land in those villages, 72.4 per cent of the land was under the possession of non-tribal Khatedars (A khatedar is an individual in whose name the land has been entered in government records) while only 27.6 per cent of the land was owned by the tribals although they constituted more than 65 per cent of the population in the taluka. After the 'Land to the tillers, Act' was brought into force from 1st April 1957, many tribals who had been reduced to landlessness became owners of land. But because of the many loopholes and its faulty implementation, major part of the alienated land, on a rough estimate, is still in the hands of non-tribals. Major part of the land was put to use by the landowners for a grass, cultivation, from which they have been able to derive huge profit without undergoing any botheration and involving much expenditure that was required in paddy cultivation. Quoting once again the above mentioned survey, more than 53 per cent of the total land which was in possession of the non-tribals was being used for grass cultivation. So, on

one hand, the land of the tribals was usufructured but the tenants were not allowed to use the land for paddy cultivation, although paddy has been the staple food for these people. The acuteness and antiquity of this problem can be judged by a remark made in 1871 by Mr, N.B.Bexts, Survey Settlement Officer for the Pardi taluka who in his report stated that "with the Kaliparaj (tribals) debt and drink the Banias and the Parsis are the curses with which they are afflicted and from which a total exemption from assessment would be insufficient to save them". In the same report he suggested that "the village Patels should be from these people in preference to the "Bhatelas" (Anavils) whose aim in the village seems to be to dispossess these people of the most profitable portions of their land in favour of himself".

Alongwith the process of land alienation, the money economy introduced by the non-tribals also made disasterous impact on a system of agriculture in which produce was grown for their own consumption. The new economy and polity exploited their ignorance and their habit of drinking liquor. A fragmented and ill-organized tribal society was no match against the well-organized land owning class. The tribals lost all powers it had in the begirdng. The ignorance of the people has been most cruelly exploited by unscrupulous interests, the moneylenders and the liquor vendors under the shelter of the very law of the government which were meant to safeguard the life, property and prosperity of the tribal people. As has been rightly pointed out by B.H.Mehta, "the government saved the aborigines from wandering bandits and robbers and handed over their interest into the hands of men who could in broad day light deprive the people of their belongings and their happiness". This situation of extreme exploitation became so intolerable that the otherwise peace-loving tribals resorted to grass-land agitation in the year 1953. This agitation brought into focus their land problem into sharp relief.

As a result of the historical tragedy of ruthless exploitation of the tribals at the hands of non-tribals in this region, the Economic differentiation between the tribals and the landowning communities of non-tribals became extremely marked. Thus, although agriculture remained the mainstay for the Dhodias, the dominant tribal group in this region, there was not enough land with them today to sustain their households on the income of the agricultural produce. But at the same time, agriculture was the predominant occupation. People are genuinely peasantry and are earth-bound in the strict sense of the term. But more than 55 percent of the tribal farmers owned less than 5 acres of land. In a village it was found that of the total land owned by the Dhodias, nearly 60 percent owned less than 5 acres of land, 27 percent 5-10 acres, while only 13 percent owned more than 10 acres. Nearly the same situation existed in other Dhodia villages. But due to living in close contact with progressive non-tribal farmers as well as the variety of development measures being introduced by the government, an impressive development in agriculture had been achieved by the Dhodias and it could be observed that many of them had been making diligent efforts to become progressive farmers in order to raise the agricultural productivity. It has been already pointed out earlier that of all the tribal groups in the Gujarat State, the Dhodias proved to be most adaptive to changes. In comparison to other tribes, they produce much more. They did not put much resistance in accepting changes when they found that this was to their advantage. They were no more conservatives than farmers elsewhere. They fully realized the need to reconcile traditional agricultural patterns with the demands of a system which produced cash crops for a world market and this realization resulted in one of the most far reaching aspects of cultural change among them. There was no part of the life of these people, whether economical, political, social or religious which had not been involved in this.

But in spite of the impressive agricultural development, the fact remains that on an average hardly five to ten households in a village got agricultural yields sufficient to meet their requirements for the whole year. Most families still lived in a state of poverty and had to seek other ways of getting income. Spread of education and post-independence facilities have led them to take employment in government services, and as teachers in schools. Quite many of the Dhodias have been working as peons, vehicle-drivers, clerks, school teachers and even as government officers, both technical and non-technical. Many also supplement their income by working as wage-labourers in construction work as well as in farms.

The Dhodias have perhaps derived maximum benefits of the facilities extended under the government schemes for tribals. Due to this a good deal of change in their socio-economic life has taken place amongst them. As they have remained in contact with the dominant Hindu castes of the region for a much longer period, as they had always lived in the plains of Valsad and Surat districts, as quite a large number of social workers have been working amongst them for uplifting these people as the region where they lived started getting industrialized and urbanized much earlier, as the frontiers of their villages were expanded right in the early part of this century, these people have been witnessing rapid changes when compared to other tribal groups of other regions. The changing economic environment in their area has compelled them to new patterns of life in which an urban economy has penetrated into their agricultural economy. Thus in certain pockets, like the one Valsad-Pardi-Vapi region, they have become participants in two economic systems, which were in sharp contrast, one being a self-sufficient-peasant-economy while the other was full blown commercial economy. The first calls for the particularistic attitude of a small scale and technically backward community, the other for impersonal universalistic standards. The subsistence sector of the economy was

gradually giving place to commercial sector. By and large, the Dhodias and Naikas too appeared to have adjusted to the impact of new economy in ways which continued to offer a satisfactory life, at least to the extent that the villagers still accepted traditional ties and relationships. The contrast, between the traditional economic roles and changing commercial roles might have been expected to bring serious conflict, but this was averted by "situational selection" and for other reason which has been already indicated that the positive attitude towards change remained formulated in terms of agrarian system. With the change from a subsistence to money economy and from self-sufficiency to dependence on cash earnings, the family of the Dhodias of this region has become increasingly dependent on the cash earning of its members. The individual family member has on one hand the opportunity of earning enough to support himself and being completely independent of the family and is confronted on the other hand, by the claims of the family for support. It is, however, a choice that did not exist in the traditional set-up where the self-sufficiency of the family made the cooperating members highly dependent on each other.

Education, too, play a key role in bringing rapid social change among the Dhodias. For this tribal group, education has been part of life for the last two-three decades. In 1900 several Dhodia youths had been admitted, on the initiative taken by the then Collector of Surat, Mr. Slade, to Parekh Technical School at Surat. Several social workers started Ashram type schools in the pre-independence days, where Dhodia boys and girl received primary education, After Independence, a network of institutions meant mainly to promote education among these tribals has been created. Dhodias, because of their openness to change, took full advantage of the facilities given to tribals for receiving formal education. Within a short span, their educational development has been quite impressive which was reflected in high literacy rate among them. It was, 31.2 percent according to 1971 census.

In the traditional set-up, the Dhodia youths were educated for their cultural roles by methods fundamental to learning. Children and youth took part in work, ceremonies and social life of the group, keeping with their maturity. This participation was laid out in sequence to be achieved at particular period of development. Standards were set and each youth was expected to meet them as he or she moved toward assuming his role in the society. This educational process was carried carefully by the elders of the lineage rather than through an organized institution. But although education through an institutionalized system was an alien concept for the Dhodias, they made such a unique adjustment to the wider society's method of giving formal education that today they have the highest literacy rate among all the tribal groups of the State. This is one area where the Dhodias have excelled. In earlier days, schools met with resistance which was due to the antecedent cultural orientations of the community or to misunderstanding. But with time, the resistance was given up, first by a small segment of the Dhodias, then by increasingly large numbers. With the expanding opportunities for secondary and higher education in this region, the number of Dhodia boys and girls in schools and colleges went up proportionately. The demand for more and more educational institutions has been increasing. Today, there was not a single Dhodia village which do not have a school. Due to receiving education in school and colleges, a Dhodia young person got prepared effectively to meet on its own terms the the world that was advancing to his native village, although he was also exposed to cultural stresses. In many cases, the educated Dhodias developed submissive, depressive and defeatist attitudes. But in time, as the Dhodias began to search for and re-examine the values in their own cultures, their schooling enabled them, to weigh the elements derived from both the worlds in which they had been trained, and on certain occasions, due to such a training, there have been individual as well as group revolt against the larger society for their exploitative and oppressive actions.

Both Dhodias and Naikas are endogamous tribes. Among both, there has been clan-system. The Dhodias have been divided into many exogamous clan. The name of the clans were as suchi (1) Bahadur Garasia, (2) Mota Nayak, (3) Palkhi Bhoje, (4) Atara, (5) Baglania, (6) Patel, (7) Hajania, (8) Bamania, (9) Behadia, (10) Nagra Garasia, (11) Konkania, (12) Patda, (13) Suvangia, (14) Nangogara, (15) Joshi Bamania, (16) Nagar Bamania, (17) Delkar, (18) Gaikwad, (19) Thakuria, (20) Desai, (21) Pala Modo Garasia, (22) Dhanu Dharmi, (23) Madan Garasia, (24) Bawihia, (25) Dalvi, (26) Wadal Bhoje, (27) Savkuiya, (28) Bhatda, (29) Lim Garasia, (30) Rupasree, (31) Dumbharia, (32) Nihangdia, (33) Warma, (34) Velbodiyan, (35) Kodariyan, (36) Thakra, (37) Malsini, (38) Kola, (39) Baman Kachhiya, (40) Dhaliya, (41) Harkiniya, (42) Vanrnadiya, (43) Sadhubaman, (44) Hathi, (45) Kalmi Mehta, (46) Unghbedia, (47) Biseria, (48) Garni Garasia, (49) Ravda, (50) Vasvi Garasia and (51) Vel Garasia.

Among the Naikas, the name of some of the clans were as follows :

(1) Masi, (2) Saptu, (3) Murai, (4) Vanjaria, (5) Vansaria Garasia, (6) Kunwar, (7) Valvi, (8) Vo.naakara, (9) Shingodi, (10) Uthena, (11) Fador, (12) Vaghia, (13) Bara, (14) Jhaversing h, (15) Vatthu, (16) .Unt Garasia, (17) Shamlia and (18) Vari.

It was very difficult to trace the name of these clans with totemic objects. Looking to the names of the clans it becomes apparent that some of the clans seem to have further divided into sub-clans but in course of time the sub-divisions became full-fledged individual clan. This might have been necessiated for extending the circle from which brides could have been obtained. There was no hierarchy, based on social or economic status, among the clans. All have been enjoying equal social status. There was no evidence to suggest that the different clans had any territorial or political

basis. They just served the purpose of regulating marriage, in the society. But in former days, because of the migratory character of the group, the clan-name could have also served the purpose of keeping the identity of the members of the community in case some got separated from others. Marriage within the clan was not sanctioned by the society. So for all purposes, clan plays a vital role in the Dhodias society in the marriage, negotiation. Usually, members of one clan were considered as brothers and sisters and no sexual relationship was permitted.

Both the Dhodias and the Naikas are patri-lineal and patri-local but the system of 'Khandaiyo', in which the husband settles down in the family of his wife, suggest that both these tribal groups might once have matri-lineal system. Another significant evidence in this regard was the practice of holding the marriage ceremonies at the bridegrooms place which means the bridegroom's house and solemnized the marriage ceremonies there. Be it as may be, in the present-time both the groups have been strongly influenced by the Hindu culture and as such both the above social customs have gone out of use.

The kinship terms show that Marathi as well Gujarati usages of terminologies have influenced the Dhodia's and Naikas' Kinship terms. The kinship terminologies were of classificatory nature. The kinship terminologies used by them for distinct and different individuals have been the same.

Varieties of marriage connections were possible in the Dhodia's society, restricted by the rule that the partners must belong to different clan. Levirate (Diyarvatu) was also practised which was a preferential marriage between the widow and her deceased younger brother. For this she had not to pay any bride-price. Sororate (Salivatu) was also common among them. On the death of his wife, a man could marry his deceased wife's younger sister. The elder sister of the deceased wife stood in the relationship

of avoidance because she is as good as mother-in-law and hence could not be married. Similarly, younger brother's widow was not sanctioned by the society. There was also a system of exchange of brides between two families and two sisters being married to two brothers.

Dhodias and Naikas were monogamous although polygamy was not unknown among them. Like other tribal groups elsewhere, the system of bride-price too was prevalent among them. Marriage under customary law was not only the union of a man and a woman; it was also a collective contract, an alliance between two families or two lineages. The man and the woman were not isolated beings. Each belonged to specific lineage. When they married, close ties would be formed, not only between the two spouses, but also between each spouse and the other's lineage as also between the two groups. Marriage payment i.e. the payment of bride-price was the essential element which sealed the alliance and signified the consent of the two groups to the union. The payment might be large or small, paid all at once or at different times, in kind or in cash. The payment had to be returned should the marriage break up. The Dhodia's women enjoyed much independence and were free to resort to divorce in case they failed to adjust with the husband or his family. The role of marriage payment was complex. It would seem to constitute proof of the families' consent, and the certificate of the alliance. Three facts were adduced to support this the fact that the sum was handed over in public the fact that the bride's near relatives came together to collect it; and the fact that in case of the break up of the marriage the amount paid as bride-price was to be returned to the bride's father in case the husband took initiative to annul the marriage.

In these tribal societies, although a man or a woman belonged to the father's clan (blood), lineage, sub-lineage, every person had a sufficiently large share in the clan

and lineage of the mother for the rules of exogamy to apply between relatives by parental descent. In fact, since people generally knew less about the ancestors of the clan or lineage on the mother's side than about their ancestors on the father's side, the rules forbidding marriage were, in all good faith, liable to be more frequently broken in connection with the former than with the latter,

Marriage alliance was made usually through negotiation between members of the bride's and bride-groom's lineage elders. Another way of forming marriage alliance, in case the bride-groom was not in a position to pay the bride-price, was to serve the bride's father for a term of one to five years. This was known as 'Khandhadiyo'. There were families with means i.e. better economic position and who did not care to part with their daughter in consideration of the bride-price admitted. Such impecunious candidates for their daughter as 'Khandhadiyo or probationary husband. If the girl did not like the 'Khandhadiyo', she would take the hint to depart. If she liked him, she not only spoke to him but also served him the usual meals. The 'Khandhadiyo' was allowed to live on intimate terms with her before she was regularly married to him. Many a times, the girl conceived and begot children but this was not considered disgraceful. She and her probationer husband sometimes might not agree and separate and even after having lived as man and wife. This event did not come in the refuse to speak to him and he would way of the girl in obtaining a second husband. But the probationer husband could claim payment for his services. When all went well, the regular ceremony was performed. After marriage, husband and wife might live separately or continue to live in the house of the girl's parent. When the girl's father was economically better off, he would generally treat his daughter's husband as his son and would give him a piece of land for his and his wife's maintenance, If the 'Khandhadiyo' died before his probationary period was over i.e before he regularly married to the girl for whom he was kept on probation, the girl was made to go through a ceremony of marriage with his dead

body. This was done by applying 'Pithi' i.e. turmeric powder mixed in oil to the dead body and then making the girl to embrace it.

Like 'Khandhadiyo' system, sometimes a girl was also brought home without marriage with her parent's consent and was kept as a bride-on-approval. If she was approved after viewing her behaviour, capacity to do work, etc. she was allowed to stay on and often got children before the marriage ceremonies were performed.

As indicated earlier, the bride and her friends would go in procession to the bridegroom's house in case of arranged marriages. The party would be received by the bridegroom's mother. While women of the lineage would sing songs, the bride in order to show her wish to be obedient wife would sweep the floor of the bridegroom's house, clasp a pillar and then declare that empty water pots were full. In front of a lighted lamp, four married women, leader being the wife of the eldest brother of the bridegroom, would tie the hems of the bride and bridegroom's clothes. As they fastened the knot, they sang a song, the purport of which was go to market and bring dates and coconuts, eat mutton and fowls together and have no quarrels. If she runs away, give her a kick and bring her back'. When the song was finished a member of the Naik tribe would unite the knot and would strike the heads of the pair. This symbolized that hence forward they were husband and wife.

Authority in the family was generally delegated or assumed by the senior male, reckoned according to the rules of kinship. By tradition, the man was absolute master of all that happened in his home.

Leadership in the traditional Dhodas and Naika societies was not institutionalized in a set of permanent positions. There were not tribal chiefs or clan chiefs in the usual sense but only non-hereditary local leaders at village level who assumed power and performed some political functions. They settled their social disputes at meetings of

all the elders of the village. Breaches of social norms were punished by fines which were spent on purificatory ceremonies for the offenders and on toddy or liquor for the members of the village Panch. The village panch i.e. the assembly of lineage elders and wise men, dealt with the questions such as quarrels between brothers and relations regarding partition of property, right of cultivation and social and moral issues such as enticing away married women, breach of incest rules, and committing theft. Offenders were punished by fines which were spent partly on compensating the aggrieved party and partly on drinks. Cases of conflict or rule violation involving members of the village were brought to the attention of the lineage elders. This term did not refer to a council with a definite membership but a group of elders whose members would depend on the nature of the case being heard. If the case at issue was an inheritance, dispute between two brothers, then several closely related patrilineal kinsmen of their father would sit as the lineage elders. If the case of an assault or witch craft accusation involving two families, then all the older men in the village community would be the lineage elders involved and would judge the case jointly.

The composition of the group of lineage elders involved in adjudication could be expanded beyond village boundaries to the largest unit within which lineage lies and classificatory kinship were recognized, namely the clan; but this, of course did not mean that all the older men of the clan actually heard the case.

Coming to the religious activities in traditional set-up, the entire religious activities could be classified into four separate groups viz (i) worship of nature and natural objects, (ii) worship of ancestors, (iii) worship of gods and deities of tribal origin and (iv) worship of god and deities of Hindu religious pantheon. Like many other groups of tribals in this region, certain groves in the forest, source of water-spring, or rivulet were considered important abode of the spirits and deities. Their life in the

natural environment, the hills and forests had cast an indelible impression in their minds of the hosts of malevolent and benevolent spirits. The fear of the unknown and the unknowable was constantly in their minds and for their safety and security. For an assured and better food supply, these tribals remembered the denizens of the spirits residing in the hills, trees, water sources and others. Periodical worship and sacrifices were made to the innumerable spirits.

Ancestor worship was a common feature among them. It was evident that the ancestors were the most dreaded persons in their pantheon. To appease them to join their favour and good will, the Dhodias and the Naikas offered their due worship and sacrifices on different occasions all the year round. A place was fixed in the *courtyard* of the house for erecting a memorial pillar in the memory of the ancestors. In the worship of ancestors, the head of the family performed the ritual, in which sacrifice of fowl was an important item.

From the worship of ancestors, the idea of gods and deities became important. There were several such gods and deities in the religious pantheon of the Dhodias and Naikas; the important being 'Brahmdev' and 'Naran dev'. The names of the most of their deities appear to have been derived from Hindu pantheon but their worship was guided by tribal thoughts. Their idea about the evil eye, magic and witch craft was important in moulding their religious beliefs. They had an institution of 'Bhagat' (Priest). From Hindus, they also borrowed the system of 'havan'. In short, the Dhodias and the Naikas had derived much from the Hindu religious system although their traditional religion was based on animism. Their main festival has been Holi and Divaso.

In recent times ..several 'Bhakti cult' have made inroads into this community and more and more members were found to be disciples of one or other 'Bhakti Marg'.

The Dhodias were fond of dancing and in former days they used to dance regularly. Their musical instrument was 'tur' - a combination of two headed drum and a brass gong. During marriage occasions, they used to get the services of musicians from the Warli community. Like tribes of Madhya Pradesh, they were not used to adorn themselves for dances but they used to dance with all physical abandon and gusto but without any trace of spiritual exuberance.

As described earlier, the Dhodias and the Naikas had taken up settled agriculture long back. They mainly raised rice and jowar and some variety of pulses. Rice had been their main diet. 'nagli' (an inferior millet) also used to be included in their diet but now they have left growing 'nagli'. By and large, they lead poor economic conditions, but in comparison to other tribal groups, the Dhodias were better off. They also produced 'wal', 'sobi', 'tuer', 'moong' and 'gram' (all pulses). 'Val' constituted an important item in their diet.

The dress of the men folk in distant past was a loin cloth- to cover the genital portion of the body. Later, the 'Dhoti' and 'Bandi' or shirt, known as 'Dhaglo' came into use. The women's dress consisted of 'nihnu' 'Dhadku' and 'dhangli' or 'kachodo'. A sari was split into two parts, one being used to cover the lower part of the body (nihnu) while the other part was to cover the head (Dhadku). The chest was covered by wearing 'dhangli' (a blouse type garment) or kachodo. The kachodo was used by older women. This was a long 'blouse' which remained open in the back. By help of two strings attached to the two flaps, this blouse was fixed on the body. The important ornaments of the women were (i) 'lavangiya' or 'mundi' (in the ear), (ii) 'dola', 'hankdi' (in the feet), (iii) 'hankad' or 'ganthi' or gantho' (in the neck), (iv) "phuli" (in the nose), (v) 'kavdi' or 'bangdi' (in the wrist), (vi) 'daniya' (in the neck), (vii) 'mani mala' (in the neck), (viii) 'Kadu' (in the arm), and 'bala" (in the feet). Men also used to wear one or two ornaments, 'mundi' in the earlobes and 'chula' on the wrists.

Young girls right from the age of 10, started wearing 'nihnu' and 'dhangli'. Young boys used 'langot*' in earlier times but now they were found using half pants and shirts.

The ornaments were made either of silver or of mixed alloy. In *recent times*, the cheap imitations were used. But the 'hankdi' worn in the feet by the young women were made of silver. Every girl right from the age of 12 to 13 started using 'hankdi' and nose-ring and ear-ring of some sort.

A good deal of change has taken place in the cultural life of the Dhodias and the Naikas. As described earlier, they have always remained in contact with high castes of non-tribal community of this region. Since they lived in plains where the growth of communication has been very rapid, even in interior areas the Dhodias did not live an isolated life. During the period of British rule, several Dhodias and Naikas used to migrate to Bombay to work as labourers in building construction work or for making bricks in kilns near Bombay or in salt-pen. Due to these early exposures, their economic life started changing much earlier and today an urban and industrial economy was found to be superseding the agricultural economy and sedentary life. For the 3,58,773 Dhodias in Gujarat (according to 1971 census), the impact of alien culture as well as increasing urbanization has resulted into general district of the efficacy of the established, modes, customs, traditions and institutions.

Although for the Naikas (their total population in Gujarat was 2,34,999, according to 1971 census), agriculture was the main source of livelihood from earlier times, at present a majority of them have to depend upon labour work for sustaining themselves. Their economic level was of extremely low standard. As the spread of education has not very impressive among them, they have remained much behind in the race of taking advantage of development activities. But like the Dhodias they have been also exposed to the modernizing influences since early times, they too were getting adjusted to the change milieu under the rapid expansion of industrial activities in the region.

"The Dublas (3,88,589 in the State, according to 1971 census) were mainly concentrated in Surat district but were also extensively found in Valsad district too. The Dublas have been the most exploited community among tribal groups. Although economically the Dublas have been worst sufferers they have received much impact on their social life on account of living under direct influence of Hindus. As such, their social customs, norms and values have much changed. Even their lingua franca has become Gujarati language. But of course, it did not mean that they have attained a better social status in the area where they lived. On the contrary, they were still looked down by the non-tribals

All these tribal groups have been reacting differently to the influence which is sweeping the Valsad-Pardi-Vapi region due to tremendous expansion of industrial activities. Their historical past and the pattern of life in earlier times, described in the foregoing pages, would help us to understand why one group was much ahead in reaping benefits in terms of economic betterment while other ones were not in a position to exploit the situation to their benefit.

As the plains of Surat and Valsad districts have been penetrated by different Hindu caste groups and Muslims as long back as in 16th century, these tribals the Dhodias, Naikas and Dublas have an early history of contact with alien population which in course of time became dominant one from the point of their development in socio-politico-economical life. For the tribals too their socio-cultural systems became models. The migrant Hindu caste groups had technologically superior socio-cultural system, the products and habits of which were frequently emulated by the Dhodias, Naikas and Dublas whose technologies and material cultures were not so highly developed. All these tribal groups did not undergo similar process of culture change due to the contact situation with socio-culture systems having superior technology. The Dhodias

and the Naikas, living in this region and sharing the same natural environment, reacted in sharply contrastive ways to the same stimuli from the Hindu society. Their reactions were consistent for all new things and ideas stemming from contact with the Hindu caste groups. Whereas the Dhodias were receptive to the new, the Naikas, in the early phase of acculturation, used effective strategies to maintain the status quo. The Naika tribe had been formed out of the group of chiefs of the Bhil people who had resisted change for centuries. Their system even today (one has to look into the cultural life of the Bhils of Dangs and Panchmahals) is tightly organized, inflexible and with strong emphasis on cooperation, the community presented a united front. The Dhodias, in contrast, have adapted to new environments and people in their history of migration from South to West. Their system is more flexible, more loosely organized.

CHAPTER - IV

**THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURES OF TRIBALS
IN THE INDUSTRIAL SETTING**

It may be recalled from the account given in Chapter II that of the total working force of 4750, at the time this study was conducted, working in different industrial manufacturing units of the Atul Complex, 24 percent were from tribal communities. Among the different tribal communities represented in this working force, majority were from the Dhodia community. Of the total 1138 tribal workers employed in Atul Complex 65.58 percent were Dhodias while 22.11 percent were from the Naika community. As would be evident from the figures given in the next table, the Dublas (or Halpatis), constituted 10.55 percent of the total working force belonging to tribal communities.

Table-3

Community-wise tribal workers (Figures given in percentages)

Sr. No.	Name of the Community	Percentage	Population in taluka of	
			Valsad	Pardi
1.	Dhodia	65.58	59.90	62.91
2.	Naika	22.11	17.40	15.31
3.	Dubla	10.55	19.87	20.08
4.	Konkna	1.76	1.03	00.21
	Total	100.00	-	-

The last group was that of Konknas who were in a very small number employed in Atul. On inspection of the percentage of workers against their community population in Valsad and Pardi talukas, from the villages of which nearly all the workers belonged, it was evident that in proportion of the population of Dublas in each of the two talukas, the number of workers from this community was quite low. The Dhodias were in slightly

higher proportion. Naikas, too, were having higher ratio of workers.. Majority of the Koknas working in the Atul Complex were from either Dharampur taluka or Chikhli taluka,. Their number was, quite evidently, small,

It has been explained earlier that majority of the workers, particularly those who have been working as either unskilled or semi-skilled or skilled workers, had been recruited from the nearby villages. As a consequence of this, a large majority of such workers had been in practice of commuting; from their village and back, for attending to their job in the factories. Evidently, a very small number of workers from tribal community, who belonged to distant villages of either Dharampur taluka or Umbergaon taluka for whom it was not feasible to commute daily, were found residing in the residential quarters provided by their employer in the Atul township. Thus, the question of length of residence in the industrial region did not mean anything as a large majority of them had been living in their villages since generations and their region became rapidly industrialized before their very eyes. Those actually living in the township were living there for the last 5-10 years, A few were there for more than 15 years.

On examination of the distance at which the different villages of the tribal workers were lying from Atul Complex, it became clear that in case of 66.33 percent of the total workers, their villages were within 5 kms from Atul. For 15.95 percent, their villages were within 10 kms from Atul. While 8.35 percent of the total tribal workers were from villages which were situated at 11-20 kms away from Atul. The villages of 9.37 percent of workee's were beyond 20 kms from Atul, It could be mentioned here that workers residing even at these villages which were situated quite at a distance from Atul, say 15-20 kms, preferred to commute daily either through bicycle or State Transport. From the nearby villages the workers commuted on bicycles. Thus, hundred of workers pedalling their bicycles was a common scene to view daily at the time of change of shifts. There

were three shifts, (i) 7.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.; (ii) 3.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m. and (iii) 11.30 p.m. to 7.30 a.m. Beside these shifts in the factories, there was a general shift, from 8.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. meant mainly for those doing desk jobs.

Table - 4

Distance of the workers' villages from Atul

	Distance	Percentage of workers
1.	1 - 5	66.33.
2.	6 - 10	15.95
3.	11 - 20	8.35
4.	Beyond 20	0.37

In view of the large number of commuter-workers, problems of migrant labour was not at all conspicuous so far the tribal workers were concerned there. Due to this, the tribals had no need to live in slums which is a common situation in other industrial areas in tribal pockets, such as Hatia, Rourkela, Jamshedpur, Bhillai and Chittaranjan. Quite naturally, the tribal workers had not to face all kind of problems social, health, hygiene, education, etc. which a slum dweller had to face. On account of living right in their ancestral villages, the tribal workers were in their natural physical environment and hence they were relatively tension-free even though working in - modern industrial factory. They had no reason to remain mentally upset because of family problems which a labourer staying in slums have to face in an intense and stark-naked manner. There was no fear of their children turning delinquent which children growing up in slums usually become when they reach adolescent age. In such an environment, let us examine their socio-demographic features, on the basis of the data obtained from the surveyed households.

It has been already demonstrated that amongst the tribal workers, the largest group was those of Dhodias, to the tune of 65.58 percent of the total workers. Amongst the surveyed households too, Dhodia households constituted 68.78 percent of the total households. On comparing the percentage of workers in the Atul complex with the percentage of surveyed households on the basis of ethnic groups, as done in the following table, almost similar figures were there in both the cases pertaining to the different communities. The only exception was in the case of Dublas who were not

TABLE- 5

**Community wise number of tribal workers and number of surveyed households
(Figures given in percentage)**

Name of community	Number of workers in the industry	Number of households covered in the study
Dhodia	65.58	68.78
Naikas	22.11	22.93
Dublas	10.55	6.34
Konknas	1.75	1.95
Total	100.00	100.00

represented in the surveyed households in the same proportion as that of percentage of workers from their community. The reason for this was that in the selected villages and townships, the population of the Dublas had been smaller. However, as indicated elsewhere in this report, our major concentration was first on Dhodia community and then on Naika Community,

Age-Sex Structure

The age-sex structure of the industrial tribal workers has been presented in the next table. It was apparent from the figures given in this table that there was relatively heavy loading of younger adult age groups. With our knowledge of the rate and circumstances of growth of the Atul township, it was not surprising to find this phenomena.

TABLE - 6

Age-structure of the industrial tribal workers household and of the two principal tribal groups (Figures given in percentage)

Sr. No.	Age Group	Male	Female	Total
1.	0 - 5	16.74	15.46	16.60
2.	6 - 14	24.67	24.85	24.61
3.	15 - 25	23.35	21.04	22.21
4.	26 - 40	21.00	20.27	20.64
5.	41 - 60	12.04	13.41	12.72
6.	Above 60	2.20	4.27	3.22
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Community wise, there was some difference in the age-structure between the Dhodias and the Naikas, the two principal communities in this industrial zone. From the figures given in the following table, it was evident that the number of young children in

TABLE - 7

Age-structure of the industrial tribal workers household and of the two principal tribal groups (figures given in percentage)

Sr. No.	Age-Group	Of all the groups	Dhodias	Naikas
1.	0 - 5	16.60	15.99	11.40
2.	6 - 14	24.61	24.85	29.66
3.	15 - 25	22.21	22.21	25.10
4.	26 - 40	20.64	20.34	14.83
5.	41 - 60	12.72	12.11	17.11
6.	Above 60	3.22	4.50	1.90
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

the age-group of 0-5 was smaller among the Naikas than the Dhodias. The proportion of old persons was also less among the Naikas. From our knowledge of the general economic conditions of both the tribes, it could be explained for the difference shown above that as the Naikas had a poorer economic condition, the mortality rate among the persons of two, most susceptible age-groups i.e. young babes and older persons, was higher among the Naikas. On further comparison, there was some increase in the proportion of the young adult population among the Naikas i.e. in the age-group 15-25. Similarly, in the age-group 6-14 too, the proportion was higher among the Naikas in comparison to those of the Dhodia. But the number of persons in the age-group 26-40 was higher among the Dhodias than that of the Naikas. However, in the next age-group i.e. 41-60, the Naikas were having more persons than that of the Dhodias.

The demographic compositions of the three villages and two townships did not show wide differences except in case of Atul colony where the proportion of the persons in the age-group of 26-40 was the highest in comparison to the rest of the villages and Pardi town. As has been explained earlier, the residents of the Atul colony were migrants while the population in the Pardi town and the three villages were settled ones. From our knowledge of the progressive migrations which led tribal persons to the Atul colony we should expect men to arrive there at a later age. Again, as nearly all the persons in the Atul colony, were in the working age-group, the proportion of old persons was quite low there. Further, in the Atul colony, as we would see later, large majority of the households were of nuclear type. The older persons of the tribal worker's family had been left behind to cultivate the land and to look after the cattle wealth of the family.

On further examination of the figures given the next table, it was revealed that the villages of Shanvai and Atul were having lesser number of children.

TABLE - 8

Age composition of three village and two townships (Figures given in percentages)

Age group	Atul colony	Pardi town	Chanvai	Wadi Falia	Atul village
0-5	15.43	21.86	11.63	21.00	11.40
6-14	30.29	18.33	27.62	21.67	29.66
15 - 25	16.00	24.44	23.26	21.00	25.10
26 - 40	32.00	18.01	18.60	22.33	14.83
41 - 60	4.57	15.43	13.37	10.67	17.11
Above 60	1.71	1.93	5.52	3.33	1.90

The possible explanation for this trend might be due to high rate of infant mortality in these villages. The number of old persons was quite small in all the villages and towns which would suggest that in general, the aged persons among the tribal communities of this region did not survive longer.

Except in the Atul colony, in all the villages and the Pardi town, there was a preponderance of men over women. According to the figures given in the next table, it was evident that in this region the male to female ratio was not very high. The higher ratio of women in the Atul colony, at least clearly indicated that tribal industrial workers who as migrant, were staying in the residential quarters of the Atul company, were certainly living with their families, not alone while leaving their women folk in the native villages.

TABLE 9

Sex-structure among the households of the tribal workers

Name of villages/ townships	Men Pc.	Women Pc.	Women per thousand Men
Atul colony	48.00	52.00	1083
Pardi town	51.45	48.55	943
Chanvai	50.88	49.12	965
Wadi Falia	52.33	47.77	910
Atul village	51.71	48.29	933
Total	51.12	48.88	956

In referring to the sex-structure of the surveyed households, one general remark might be made here. The tribal societies, in general, have a balanced sex-ratio, infact women out number men. But the data collected by us clearly suggested that this tribal characteristic of demographic composition was no longer valid. Although the disparity between the two sexes was not at all an alarming one, the fact remained that male ratio was going higher. One simple explanation of this would be that due to living in close contact with the non-tribals for centuries, the tribals were gradually acquiring the demographic features of the wider society.

The disparity of sex ratio between the two principal tribes of the region i.e. the Dhodias and the, Naikas was nominal. As given in the following table, the figures regarding the sex ratio amongst the Dhodias was 939 women per thousand men while amongst the Naikas it was 933 women per thousand men. It was clear then that the Dhodias and the Naikas living in the same ecological environment showed similar trend so far the disparity in the number of persons from both sexes was concerned..

TABLE-10

Sex-structure among the two principal tribal communities

Community	Men Pc.	Women Pc.	Women per thousand men
Dhodias	51.56	48.44	939
Naikas	51.71	48.29	933

Size of the Family

The size of the family in the industrial colony of Atul was found to be smaller in comparison to those of villages and Pardi town, analysis of the figures given in the following table clearly suggested that among the migrant tribal industrial workers living in the Atul township, the family was significantly more nuclear than the family of industrial workers living in their native villages. The number of large sized families having ten and more than 10 members was nil in the Atul colony, even the number of large sized families having seven to nine members was comparatively much smaller. It was the middle sized family, having four to six members, which was dominant in all the places. Another important fact was that there was not a single uni-member family in any of the places. Normally it is assumed that in industrial situations quite a sufficient number of workers live alone while keeping their family in the native village itself. Here, even in the industrial townshi, single member family was not found. This tends us to assume that tribal 'traditional practice of living with family members does not get destroyed under the process of industrialization.

TABLE-11

Number of members in the family

Members	Atul colony	Pardi town	Wadi Falia	Atul Village	Chanvai	Total
Two	3	-	-	-	1	4
Three	4	2	2	1	3	12
Four	3	5	7	3	4	22
Five	7	5	8	7	6	33
Six	5	10	7	4	13	39
Seven	5	5	6	5	5	26
Eight	1	5	4	6	6	22
Nine	1	5	1	5	2	14
Ten	-	5	-	2	2	9
More than Ten	-	6	8	4	6	24
Total	29	48	43	37	48	205

For a consolidated picture of the family size let us examine the figures given in the next table. According to these figures, it is clearly indicated that the small and medium sized family was in majority among the industrial workers' families. This was the trend in the Dhodia's villages of Chanvai and Wadifalia as well as in the Atul township where, as indicated earlier, the small and medium sized family was in great majority. But

TABLE - 12
Sales of the family

Type	Size	Percentage of families					
		Atul colony	Pardi town	Chanvai	Wadi falia	Atul village	Total
Alone	One	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small	Two to Three	24.14	4.17	8.33	4.65	2.70	7.81
Medium	Four to Six	51.72	41.67	47.92	51.16	37.84	45.85
Large	Seven to Nine	24.14	31.25	27.08	25.58	43.24	30.24
Very Large	Ten and Above	-	22.91	16.67	18.61	16.22	16.10
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

in the Naika's village i.e. in Atul village, the large and very large sized family was in the majority. The same situation was in the Pardi town too. In both these places, there was acute shortage of land due to which it was virtually impossible for newly married couples to break off from the parent's family in order to set-up new households. So in both these places the industrial worker's families have to live in a little over-crowded houses.

As shown above, among the Naika industrial workers large sized family was in majority. This is demonstrated from the figures given in the next table. But the number of very large sized families was greater among the Dhodias than the Naikas. This was mainly due to the fact that in the villages of Chanvai and Wadi falia there were several families who owned sufficient agricultural land as well as sent two or three members to work in the industry. In order to manage the family's agricultural operations, these families did remain joint or extended in nature. Among the Naikas the situation was different. They were mainly wage-workers and hence problem of managing agricultural operations did not exist there. But, as pointed out earlier, due to non-availability of land (their

houses are situated in close vicinity of the industrial colony's residential quarters) there was no scope for them to construct new houses. And it was also not possible for them to migrate elsewhere because they did get wage-earning opportunities right there.

TABLE - 13

**Size of the family among the two dominant tribal communities
in the industrial setting**

Size of the family		Number of the families	
		Dhodia	Naika
Alone	One	-	-
Small	Two to Three	46.59	32.70
Medium	Four to Six	49.45	37.84
Large	Seven to Nine	26.38	43.24
Very Large	Ten & Above	17.58	16.22
	Total	100.00	100.00

The average size of the family for all the surveyed families belonging to the industrial tribal workers was 6.8. The largest average size of 7.3 members was found in the Pardi town where majority of the population belonged to Dhodia tribe. The smallest average size of the family was among the industrial tribal workers residing in the residential quarters of the Atul colony. There, it was having 5.0 members. Among the families living in the Atul village too, the average size of the family was comparatively larger. It was 7.2 there. The next table would illustrate the average size of the family in the different villages and townships. It was clear that both, in the villages and Pardi town the average size of the family was much bigger than what was found in the industrial colony of Atul..

TABLE-14
Average size of family

Name of the villages & townships	Average size of the family
Atul colony	5.0
Pardi town	7.3
Chanvai	7.1
Wadi Falia	7.0
Atul Village	7.2
All Surveyed Families	6.8

Looking to the situation in terms of the two major tribal communities of this region, it was found that the average size of the family was bigger among the families of Naika industrial workers than those of the Dhodias. As shown in the next table, it was 7.7 in the case of former while 6.4 in the case of the latter.

TABLE - 15

Average size of family - community-wise

Communities	Average Size
Dhodias	6.4
Naikas	7.7

Composition of the Family

Majority of the families constituted of husband, wife and unmarried children, As illustrated in the next table, as far as 57.08 percent of the surveyed families were of nuclear type. In the industrial colony of Atul, a large majority of the families consisted of only husband, wife and unmarried children. The number of joint or extended type of families was quite insignificant there. Thus, except in case of the families living in the

TABLE - 16

Type of family's composition

Sr. No.	Composition	Percentage of families					
		Atul Colony	Pardi Town	Chanvai	Wadi falia	Atul village	total
1.	Husband & Wife only	6.89	-	-	-	-	0.98
2.	Self, wife & unmarried children	79.31	45.83	54.17	53.49	54.25	55.61
3.	Self, wife, unmarried children & married son, his wife & Children	3.45	4.17	2.08	4.65	8.11	4.39
4.	Self, wife, unmarried children and either unmarried sisters or brothers or both	-	10.42	6.25	9.30	5.41	6.82
5.	Husband, wife, unmarried children and either of the parent	3.45	14.58	4.17	4.65	13.51	8.29
6.	Husband, wife, unmarried children and both parent	-	6.25	10.43	9.30	8.11	7.32
7.	Self, wife, parent, unmarried children and married brother, his wife & children	-	4.17	4.17	-	-	1.95
8.	Self, wife, unmarried children and widowed sister & her children	3.45	-	-	-	2.70	0.98
9.	Self, wife, unmarried children and widowed sister & her children	-	2.08	2.08	-	-	0.98
10.	Husband, wife, unmarried children, married brother, his wife and children	-	6.25	8.33	11.63	5.41	6.42

11.	Self, wife, married daughter, her husband & children	-	2.08	6.25	-	-	1.95
12.	Self, Wife, unmarried children, divorced son or daughter & his or her children	-	-	-	-	2.70	0.49
13.	Self, two wives and unmarried children	-	4.17	-	6.98	-	2.44
14.	Self, his unmarried brother	3.45	-	-	-	-	0.49
15.	Self and widowed mother	-	-	2.08	-	-	0.49
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Attul colony, there was no significant difference between the families living in the rural set-up and those living in the industrial-setting so far composition of the family was concerned. One would more or less get the same picture in a Dhodia's village/ located far away from the industrial influence. Even in the Pardi town the trend was the same as was in the Chanvai and Wadi falia villages.

Type of families.

As seen above, the figures given in the next table have also demonstrated that among the industrial tribal workers the number of nuclear type-of families exceeded that of joint and extended families. The percentage of joint and extended families, however,

TABLE-17
Type of families

Name of the villages & townships	Percentage of families			
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total
Atul colony	86.20	13.80	-	100.00
Pardi town	45.83	37.50	16.67	100.00
Chanvai	56.25	31.25	12.50	100.00
Atul village	54.05	32.43	13.52	100.00
Total	59.16	29.51	11.33	100.00

was not small. It could be seen that 40.84 per cent of the surveyed families had the characteristics of joint and extended families. In fact, in Pardi town, the number of joint and extended families, when combined together, exceeded that of nuclear families. On the whole, there was nothing peculiar regarding the dominance of nuclear type of families over joint and extended types as both Dhodias and Naikas have been found to have similar characteristics in the villages located far away from industrial scene. But the relatively higher percentage of joint and extended type of families in the Pardi town clearly pointed out that due to lack of accommodation and non availability-of land it was increasingly becoming difficult for the tribals living in urban areas to arrange for separate living on the pattern of nuclear type of family. It had also become a costly affair to construct a separate house, in case a married son or a married brother wanted to construct a separate house. In the Atul colony, the tribal families were migrant ones leaving other members of their families behind in the village to look after agricultural operations. Hence, the nuclear type of families was in great preponderance among the tribal dwellers of the colony. Besides, most of them had been allotted one room accommodation in the 'chawl' type locality where it was not possible for the families to accommodate members of their extended families of the village.

Community-wise figures regarding type of families, as given in the next table, did not show any special difference between the two dominant tribal communities in this industrial setting, the Dhodias and the Naikas. Among both these communities, the number of the nuclear type of families was slightly higher than the combined number of both joint and extended type of families.

TABLE-18

Community-wise type of families

Community	Percentage of Families		
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended
Dhodias	54.95	31.87	13.18
Naikas	54.06	32.43	13.51

Civil Status

Figures given in the next table would provide us with an idea regarding the marital status of the surveyed population of the tribal industrial workers families. On an examination of these figures, it would reveal that the proportion of unmarried men and women was high in comparison with the numbers of married persons. The percentage of men and women remaining unmarried after the age of 25 was almost nil in our sample population. The percentage of young persons i.e. below the age of 15 who had married was also nil. In fact, it had been served by us that in case of both boys and girls, the age of marriage was comparatively higher. The reason was not far to seek. Soon after attaining adulthood, the boys started to look for a job in the industry. It took about three to five years to get stabilized in an industrial job and only after achieving stability in the job, they liked to get married. This has certainly resulted in the enhancement of age of marriage among the tribal youths of this region.

STABLE -19

Marital status of the members of tribal industrial workers families
(Figures given in Percentages)

Name of the village/ township	Marital Status							
	Married		Unmarried		Wido/ Widower		Divorced/ separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Atul Colony	21.15	20.57	24.00	32.00	00.57	1.71	-	-
Pardi Town	21.22	22.19	29.58	21.22	00.64	4.83	0.29	0.79
Chanvai	18.53	17.65	30.29	25.00	1.47	5.00	0.59	1.47
Wadi Falia	22.00	22.67	29.33	21.33	1.00	2.67	-	1.00
Atul Village	17.11	18.25	33.08	26.62	1.52	1.90	0.76	0.76
Total	19.94	20.23	29.66	24.55	1.08	3.46	0.29	0.79

A close look to the above table would also reveal that on the whole the ratio of married men to married women was comparatively less in percentage which suggested that almost all the married men have been living with their wives. But in the industrial colony of the Atul and Chanvai village the ratio of married men to married women was comparatively higher which indicated that some of the married men were not living with their wives. In the Atul colony, several of the industrial workers used to send their wives to their villages during agricultural season for working in the fields. Due to this practice, during several month, in a year, they had to remain without their wives. In case of Chanvai village, some of the married men's wives had shown reluctance to settle down in their in-law's house hold. These brides were from the neighbouring villages i.e. from villages lying around Atul. According to several informants, girls from these villages paid little respect to husband's family, and they were less obedient. Due to this, they created problems in settling down with husband's family. We would discuss this phenomena in more detail later.

Coming back again to the table, it was found that the number of unmarried males was in excess of the number of unmarried women except in case of Atul colony. It clearly indicated that there was a great emphasis in early marriages of girls and they were married when they reached the age-group of 16-21. In this respect, the traditional attitude and practice did not appear to have changed much. In the case of Atul colony where the proportion of unmarried girls was larger than unmarried boys, it appeared that the girls raised up right in the colony did not evoke a good image from the point of view matrimony; Moreover, these girls were also bringing regular income to the family by working as housemaids, due to which their parent did not show eagerness to get them married soon. Due to these two factors, a good number of girls of marriageable age in the Atul colony had remained unmarried.

The significance of the above trends in the civil condition, from the sociological point of view, was that the process of industrialization has not resulted in reducing the over-all marriage rates. But there was no denying the fact that industrialization has been responsible for raising the age of marriage for both the young men and women,

Literacy

Tribals in the industrial setting seemed to be very much concerned about imparting education to their children. There was a marked change in their attitude towards education. The figures given in the next table would amply demonstrate that in comparison to those tribals who lived in interior regions, the tribals of this region were positively oriented towards formal education in schools. The high percentage of literacy, as found in all the surveyed villages and townships illustrated that for entering into the industrial labour market, the tribals certainly were trying to equip their children. But it would be worthwhile to remember here that the Dhodias, which was the principal tribal community in this region, had been exposed to formal education since long back and educational development

among them was highest amongst all other tribal communities in the State. According to 1971 census, the literacy rate among them was 31.19 while among the tribals on the whole it was only 14.12. Thus, the Dhodias were having the foremost rank among all tribal communities of the State so far educational development was concerned. Hence, on account of having such a background it was quite in tune that in the industrial setting they further scored in the literacy rate. Among the women too, the literacy rate was quite impressive.

TABLE - 20

Percentage of literacy among family members of the tribal industrial workers

Name of the village/ township	Percentage of literacy		
	Male	Female	Total
Atul Colony	72.62	49.45	60.57
Pardi	62.50	34.44	48.87
Chanvai	71.10	35.93	53.82
Wadi Falia	57.96	39.86	49.33
Atul Village	72.79	28.35	51.33
Total	66.76	36.82	51.12

On a close examination of the table it could be seen that the highest literacy rate was in Atul colony while lowest in Pardi town. In the Chanvai village as well as in the Atul village too, the literacy rate, particularly among the males, was quite high. The Naikas, the principle community in the Atul village, did not lag behind so far literacy rate among the males was concerned. In case of female literacy, they had the lowest rate.

These figures also demonstrated that educational development of the tribal women was lagging behind the men, even in industrial setting. This meant that in comparison with tribal males, tribal females had a lesser chance of entering into school and staying there. In any case, it was quite apparent that the value of education appeared to be

firmly established among the tribal industrial workers, although the factor of industrialization was not the sole one for this.

But although the literacy rate was quite high, the number of persons who received education beyond the primary level had been quite small. As could be seen from the figures given in the next table, less than one-third of the total literates had been able to go beyond primary level. Again, the number of those who could receive education beyond high school was still smaller. Of the total literates only 2.35 percent went to colleges for getting higher education, out of which only one had studied upto post-gradual level. Four persons, two males and two females had received technical education.

TABLE - 21

Educational achievements of the literates (figures given in percentages)

Educational Achievements		Atul	Pardi	Chanvai	Wadi	Atul	Total
		Colony	Town		Falia	Village	
Primary level	M	60.66	67.00	69.92	81.32	94.95	75.53
	F	71.11	84.62	86.67	94.74	97.22	86.80
	Total	65.00	73.02	75.40	86.49	95.56	79.42
Secondary School Level	M	19.67	17.00	20.32	10.99	5.05	14.56
	F	15.56	11.54	13.33	3.51	2.78	9.60
	Total	17.92	15.13	18.03	8.11	4.44	12.85
S.S.C. Passed	M	11.47	13.00	6.51	5.49	-	0.96
	F	-	1.92	-	1.75	-	0.80
	Total	6.61	9.21	4.38	4.05	-	4.83
Graduate	M	6.56	1.00	3.25	2.20	-	2.32
	F	8.89	1.92	-	-	-	2.00
	Total	7.55	1.32	2.19	1.35	-	2.21
Post Graduate Level	M	1.64	-	-	-	-	0.21
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	0.94	-	-	-	-	0.14
Technical Education	M	-	2.00	-	-	-	0.42
	F	4.44	-	-	-	-	0.80
	Total	1.89	1.32	-	-	-	5.55

On further examination of the table it would be noticed that among the Naikas i.e. the tribals of the Atul village, none had gone beyond the primary level which indicated that soon after reaching the adolescent age, the Naika boys and girls entered into working force. Their economic condition entirely depended upon the wages earned by the family members since a great majority of them did not possess any piece of cultivable land. This situation was responsible for the entrance of Naika youths into labour force. Even if some of them were not able to find a job soon, nevertheless they left their school education and remained in search of a job. This was also true for the Dhodias too to some extent. But as majority of them owned some cultivable land/ the search of job for the adolescents of this community was not that urgent. However, the lure of earning regular and steady cash income was certainly a great attraction for the youths of all the tribal communities, irrespective of the fact whether agricultural land was owned by them or not, And to get an industrial job, the sooner one started searching the chances for landing one would be better. With this view in mind, the tribal youths started looking for a job while receiving school education. For getting an unskilled job, the school education was sufficient qualification. The important thing was to have the effective influence channels. For creating this sort of channel, several of the tribal youths rendered their services for personal or household works to those officials who had direct access to the management. Right influence was of decisive importance in getting a steady job in the industry. For many of the youth's it took about three to four years in getting an unskilled job in the industry. Once they started searching a job as industrial worker they discontinued their school education. This was main reason for the low percentage of tribals who received or were receiving college education. There was clear implication that under, the impact of industrialization in this region, higher education among the tribals was a casualty.

Of course, those families whose economic condition was little bit sound did send one or two members for Higher education in colleges. From amongst the tribal industrial families living in Atul colony itself, the percentages of those who had completed S.S.C. as well as those of receiving college education were highest in comparison to other villages and Pardi town. Among those living in the colony, there were several who were in better, jobs either in supervisory or skilled jobs. They wanted their wards to receive higher education in order to qualify for a better paid job in industrial units. Again, due to living in the colony, the tribal families were in close proximity to those non-tribal families who had been sending their wards to college. This factor was also, in a way, responsible for higher percentage of college going tribal youths.

The low percentages of females receiving school and college education from amongst the families of industrial workers, particularly of the villages was mainly because the female members of the families looked after the agricultural operation. Due to employment in industry, the male members did not find sufficient time to pay attention to agricultural works. It was left to the women of the families to manage the agricultural works. The role of the male members who were employed in the industry was mainly that of supervision. Besides this, several of the young women of these village found jobs as housemaids in the colony. This was particularly true for the young women of the Naika families who lived in Atul village which was almost part of the colony itself.

Birth and Death Rate

During our survey, some data had been collected which would indicate the birth and death rates among the population of industrial workers families during the last 10 years from the date of survey. These data as provided in the next table would be of some help in giving an idea about the trend of internal growth of industrial tribal population.

TABLE - 22

Birth, Death and growth rates for population of the surveyed tribal industrial families.

Name of the villages/ townships	Birth rate per 1000 population	Death rate per 1000 population	Growth rate*
Atul Colony	27.40	4.57	29.63
Pardi town	32.00	6.00	35.14
Chanvai	25.48	12.18	15.35
Wadi Falia	31.76	7.06	32.81
Atul Village	27.97	6.75	26.94
Total	29.23	7.41	27.90

* Growth rate has been estimated taking into consideration the total number of births and deaths during the decade.

According to the figures of table the total increase in the population due to birth, when worked out came to 303 which may be called internal growth. The growth rate of State's tribal population had been recorded by Murthy as 35.5 (Nilrimala Murthy: 1978) but she had pointed out that this also included a migration rate of 8 to 10 percent. This meant that the internal growth (by addition of new births and subtraction of deaths) would be somewhere between 25 to 27 percent. Thus, the data collected by us also revealed more or less same trend so far internal growth rate was considered.

But the birth rate in general, was lower in comparison to that, estimated for State's tribal population which was in the range of 43 to 45. This implied that some sort of family planning was being practiced by the tribals living in the industrial setting.

The death rate was much lower in comparison to that estimated for State's tribal population which was in the range of 18 to 20 per 1000 population. In our survey, it

was 7.41 only which meant that tribals here were enjoying better health facilities in comparison to those living in interior regions. Due to this mortality rate was much low among them. But in the absence of data regarding birth and death rates of previous decades, it was difficult to make comprehensive analysis.

CHAPTER - V

MATERIAL CULTURE OF AN INDUSTRIALIZED TRIBAL COMMUNITY

There appeared to be little doubt that the standard of living enjoyed by the tribal, living in an industrial setting was higher than that of the members of the tribal families living in the areas unaffected by the process of industrialization. The living standards of the industrial tribal workers, as revealed in the following pages of this chapter, pointed out that in a short time it would transform the traditional material culture of these people to an extent that there may not remain any trace of the original picture of their material culture. In fact, it became increasingly clear that there would be little chance of the survival of their traditional material culture. The absorption of the modern material culture due to the influence of industrialization and urbanization was on a rapid increase. It was observed that there was persistent effort by the tribal industrial workers to adopt modern material culture. Of course, due to the low wages earned by majority of the industrial workers; the absorption of modern material culture was found to have obvious limitations. Such a situation had given rise to the malapropisms of culture contact in which ludicrous misuse of things did occur sometimes as exemplified by a picture of steel cupboards used for storing potatoes or onions or garlicks. But it was quite clear that the industrial tribal workers were keen on accumulating items or things which were thought as visible proof of progress, such as furnitures, stainless steel utensils, electrical gadgets, wrist watches, expensive clothes, etc. The crave of these things was amply reflected among them, particularly among the industrial tribal workers of younger generation. The older generation of industrial workers however, were found to be keen on modernizing their agricultural operations by using the money earned to purchase modern agricultural equipments. Several of them were also contemplating to erect a pucca houses in place of the old kachcha ones. Let us now see the extent

of changes taking place in the different spheres of the material culture of the industrial tribal workers. It would be seen that although the tribal industrial workers' material culture was changing, they had not become part of the industrial culture. Their roots were in the villages. Seen from this way, it was evident that for the tribal industrial workers of this regions, two world were cooperating in their socio-economic life without knowing each other, without showing keen interest in each other. The worker's rural home and its agricultural surrounding was the one world while the industrial complex at Atul which was a centre of most modern type was their second world. The capital management and skill which kept the industrial complex were almost entirely of modern origin while the tribal's heritage was of rural origin. They lacked the social heritage necessary to compete with the non-tribals living in the industrial colony. Amongst the natural consequence of the superiority of the latter was that every tribal industrial worker aspired for himself and his family' members to 'civilized' or modern status. And to achieve that status, changes in the material culture was sought by the tribal industrial workers. As is generally known, the changes of social scale involved in industrial life take place at comparatively much slower pace than changes in the material aspects of life. Here too, it was found that of all the aspects in which change was taking place in the culture of the tribal industrial workers, the material aspects of their life was changing at a faster rate than the non-material aspects.

HOUSING

It has already been mentioned that majority of the tribal industrial workers covered under the survey were living in their own native villages. It was natural then that an overwhelming majority of them lived in houses in which they had been living as peasants before becoming industrial workers. This implied that they had their own houses. As indicated in the next table, 80.00 percent of the respondents were having their own

TABLE - 23

Percentages of respondents according to ownership of the house

Name of the villages/ townships	Own house	Rented	Sharing with relative	Company's quarters	Total
Atul colony	-	-	-	100.00	100.00
Pardi Town	77.08	22.82	-	-	100.00
Chanvai	97.92	-	2.08	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	100.00	-	-	-	100.00
Atul village	100.00	-	-	-	100.00
Total	80.00	5.37	0.48	14.15	100.00

houses. Except in Atul colony, in all the places the tribal industrial workers lived in their own houses. In Atul colony the workers had been provided with living accommodation by the different industrial units. In Pardi, 11 out of 48 tribal industrial workers lived in rented houses. They were, like the ones living in the colony, were immigrants from distant villages and it was not possible for them to commute daily from their villages and had also not been allotted residential accommodation in the colony. It was only in Pardi town which was about six km. from the industrial complex that rented houses were available. Due to this, these 11 workers had for the time being settled in the Pardi town, from where they could easily commute to the place of work either on cycle or by State Transport Buses. Rented houses were also available near the industrial complex too but the rent was too high there and thus beyond the financial capacity of unskilled or skilled workers. On the other side of the main highway, just opposite the industrial colony, number of residential colonies had come up where houses had been constructed by enterprising individuals for the purpose of giving to others on rent. It was well beyond the means of tribal industrial workers to pay the rent of the houses available there. And there was so great a demand of rented houses there, that it was virtually impossible for

the ordinary industrial worker to get even a room for living. On account of such an acute shortage of living accommodations there, some of the tribal families of the Wadi Falia and Chanvai villages had been contemplating to construct chawl type building (row of one room dwellings) to rent out to industrial workers. In fact in the Wadi Falia, one enterprising tribal had already constructed such a building for earning regular cash by way of rent.

As a vast majority of the tribal industrial workers were having permanent residence of their own in the villages where they had been born, they had not to face the housing problem and were not compelled to live in over crowded settlements like the slum like housing conditions usually noticed in the industrial towns. They belonged to one of the nearby villages from the industrial complex and were not immigrants; had not been brought in from other areas. Due to this, shortage of accommodation had not affected them. It was the non-tribal immigrants who had to face the severe problem of living accommodation. By giving employment to the local tribals in a big way, the industrial units had been able to save themselves from the botheration of providing accommodation to a large number of industrial workers. This in turn, also prevented the growth of slum like housing settlements or shack areas outside the industrial complex.

The dwelling units of the tribal industrial workers were basically the same as was found in a traditional settlement. Of course, the situation was different in the Atul colony where the workers lived in the locations provided by the industrial units. Within the locations, houses differed in type and adequacy and there were quarters, in which the houses were better and others in which the poorest constructed in barrack like rows of one room dwelling unit. The tribal industrial workers were found to occupy one room dwelling units. As could be seen in the next table, but for one, all the tribal workers covered under this study were having one room for the family in the Atul colony while amongst those who had been living in their own houses in the villages and Pardi town, several were living

in houses having more than one room. In fact, in Pardi town, Wadi Falia and Atul villages the percentages of two room dwelling unit was higher. A few had even three rooms in their houses in these places. In Chanvai village, one room house was in far greater number. But the size of the room was much bigger and it also had attached verandah.

.TABLE - 24

Households according to rooms

Name of the villages/ townships	Number of rooms			
	One rooms	Two room	Three room	Total
Atul colony	96.55	3.45	-	100.00
Pardi town	45.83	50.0	4.17	100.00
Chanvai	77.08	20.83	2.08	99.99
Wadi Falia	32.56	53.49	13.95	100.00
Atul village	43.24	86.65	8.11	100.00
Total	57.07	37.07	5.86	100.00

In the Atul colony, the tribal industrial workers had been provided with accomodation in Bambai chawl, Ahmedabad Chawl, Panch Chawl, Nehru Chawl, L Colony and M type colony. Of all these locations, the conditions in the Bombay chawl was appalling. The barrack type room was having a small veranda but the room itself was dull, dark and dank and having corrugated sheet roof and covered with country tiles. At two places in the chawl public water taps had been installed through which the inhabitants get 24 hours water supply. At one end there was a structure having some public latrines. The women used the public taps for washing their laundry and utensils and bathing their children.

The conditions in the Ahmedabad chawl were slightly better. Although here too the rooms were barrack type, these were larger and the veranda too had been converted into

another room by fixing a wooden-frame type structure where the front wall should have been. This location had four public water taps. There was a provisional store and one shop selling bidis, ciggarates, and 'betels'.

The one room living accomodation of Nehru chawl was much better. The rooms had its own piped water supply. These one-room apartment had been recently built. The conditions in the Panch chawl were better than the Bambai and Ahmedabad chawl. The rooms were larger and a veranda was also there to each room. The rooms were not of barrack type.

The living quarters in the L colony were having a separate kitchen, although the living room was only one in number. The plinth of houses were quite high and the veranda too was partially closed. There were fittings inside the room and kitchen for storing household goods. The A type quarters consisted of blocks of two houses, each having two living rooms, separate kitchen and independent bathroom and latrine. Only two tribal industrial workers, one an Asst. Chemist and another a Supervisor had been allotted accomodations in this location. Thus, nearly all the tribal industrial workers, who had been provided with accomodation in the different residential locations in the colony, were found to be living in one room with all their family members. As vast majority of them, had been working as either unskilled or skilled workers, they were entitled for one room accomodation only.

The living conditions were certainly much better in the villages as the houses, although 'kachcha' ones, were spacious with open spaces attached to the house. By living on their own land in the village, they were able to satisfy the full range of social and psychological needs. Their social system provided the fuller set of social institutions and instrumental and expressive cultural vechiles for them. While for those living in the locations provided by the industrial companies, the migrant labour system provided a

situation in which they had to make an uneasy compromise between participating in the economic benefits of multi-ethnic society and in the other benefits of the tribal society. Most of them were found to be poorly adjusted individuals struggling with a situation of inefficient articulation of the tribal society with the modern. It was not that those living in the villages were not finding this situation but it was less sharp there because there the family and community solidarity was compatible with the economic and other institutions of the new society. By combining industrial employment with rural residence, they had not to face a situation for integrating themselves in groups capable of satisfying their emotional and social needs. They did not had to become uprooted and unsettled. In the villages and Pardi-town nearly all the tribal industrial workers were living in kachcha houses. As has been stated earlier there was practically no difference in the type of houses between the industrial workers and the agriculturists. There was variation in size but that depended on the economic status of the family. The kachcha houses were like ones found in the tribal villages of non-industrial region,

TABLE-25
Types of dwellings (Figures in percentages)

Name of the villages/ townships	Kachcha house+	Tiled, mud floor but brick walls	All Pucca*	Pucca having tiled roofs	Total
Atul colony	-	-	13.79	86.21	100.00
Pardi Town	91.67	4.165	-	4.165	100.00
Chanvai	95.83	4.17	-	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	97.67	-	2.33	-	100.00
Atul village	97.30	2.70	-	-	100.00
Total	81.95	2.44	2.44	13.17	100.00

According to the figures given in the next table, except in case of a very small number, all the industrial workers were owning Kachcha house. Only in Pardi and Chanvai, a couple of families were having houses whose walls were of bricks. The entire pucca house was only 1 in number which was privately owned by a tribal industrial worker. The pucca houses of the Astul colony were under the ownership of the industrial company. Thus, for the tribal industrial workers, there was an acute ecological contrast between the tribal hamlets and the industrial colony and the Pardi town - a contrast seen almost daily by the tribals going out to work, though rarely or never by the non-tribals of upper and middle class. While tribal faces were common in the colony and the Pardi town (non-tribal's residential localities), the appearance of a upper or middle class non-tribal face in the tribal hamlets was so uncommon as to draw stares. On the part of these non-tribal persons, occasion and inclination to visit tribal hamlets were lacking. Thus, the effectiveness of Atul industrial complex as a milieu for culture contact in the ordinary sense was limited.

It should be, however, made clear that industrial units did not carry out any policy or rule of segregation between the tribals and non-tribals so far allotment of accomodation was concerned. In the allotment of accomodation in the different locations in the colony itself, the management of the units were not found to neglect the interests of the tribal industrial workers. In case a tribal worker was employed in a supervisory position, he would be allotted same accomodation (subject to, ofcourse, availability of

+ Kachcha house - The houses with tiled roofs, mud walls and Kachcha floor have put under this category.

* Pucca houses - The floor and wall, both are cemented. The walls may be constructed of bricks only. Rood may be either pucca or of abasbestos sheet.houses

of quarters) as was given to a non-tribal worker holding similar rank. An unskilled tribal worker was allotted same accommodation as was given to a non-tribal unskilled worker.

It was apparent that there was little change in the housing type. It still had the same traditional style as was found in non-industrial regions. There were some subtle differences. First, it was noticed that generally the catles were not accommodated in the living room as was the traditional practice. Secondly, the walls of the houses were kept smooth here by plastering it properly. And thirdly, the houses were generally better maintained.

But although they were found to live in traditional type of houses, attitude towards housing was observed to be changed. Majority of them expressed the feeling that kachcha houses symbolized their inferior status in the wider society and in order to improve their status they would certainly like to have pucca houses. But their economic situation did not allow to make the venture of constructing a pucca house. However, some families had already made plans to construct a modern type pucca house. In fact one family in one of the villages had constructed a pucca modern type bungalow with five living rooms, apart from kitchen and bathroom. More such houses were likely to come up in these villages in a couple of years.

Due to staying in the villages and their own hamlets in the did Pardi town the problem of over crowding generally did not exist in the houses of the tribal industrial workers. On an average 4.5 persons were found to be occupying one room. As the figures given in the next table would reveal, it was only in Atul colony that little over-crowding was found in the houses. There one room was found to hold 6 persons on an average. The next location where little overcrowding in the houses was observed was Chanvai where one room was holding 5.5 persons on an average. But in Ghanvai, almost every

house had an attached verandah and also plenty of open space around the house, *Due* to this, the problem of over crowding in the room was mitigated to a large extent. Similar was the situation in other villages and in the tribal hamlets of Pardi town. In Atul colony, there was practically no open space around the quarters which was under the possession of the family occupying those quarters. The verandah in these houses too were small and narrow.

TABLE-26

Number of Persons occupying a room

Name of the villages/town	Average number of persons in a room
Atul colony	6
Pardi Town	4
Chanvai	5.5
Wadi Falia	4
Atul village	4
Total	4.5

- * When the author recently visited these villages, (in 1981), several pucca houses had been built in these villages by some of the industrial tribal workers.

CIVIL AMENITIES

Facility of Electricity

Of the total surveyed households, only 34.63 per cent households had electricity in their houses. Except the Wadi Falia village, all the places had electricity. The residents of the Wadifalia had been making regular effort to bring electricity in their village but were not able to succeed in their effort. Although the sub-station of the Gujarat Electricity Board for supplying electricity in the area was located very near to the village, somehow

or other the village itself did not get electricity. Due to this, naturally none of the residents of this village had electricity in their residence. Like the residents of the Wadi Falia, none of the tribal industrial workers of the Atul village had electricity in their houses although electric wires carrying electricity passed through their residential quarters. It was because of poor economic conditions that the Naikas of the Atul village were not able to afford to instal electric fittings in their residence and also to get electric connections from the nearest electric poles,

From the figures given in the next table, it was evident that less than half of the industrial workers in Pardi town and Chanvai village were having electricity in their own houses. In the Atul colony the story was different. Every tribal industrial worker enjoyed the facility of electricity in their houses. But here, they did not had to bother to get electric connections in their residences. The industrial company had extended the facility of electricity to each quarter, irrespective of the fact whether it belonged to a low salaried unskilled worker or to a high salaried managerial personnel. Thus, even the tribal industrial workers had the amenity of electricity in their one room accomodations. But in Pardi and Chanvai more than half of the industrial workers were not able to install electric connections in their residences. This indicated that their economic situation was not that solid as to enable them to obtain facility of electricity in their houses.

TABLE - 27

Percentage of households having electricity or having no electricity

Name of the Villages/ township	Having electricity	Having no electricity
Atul Colony	100.00	-
Pardi Town	39.58	60.42
Chanvai	47.92	52.08
Wadi Falia	-	100.00
Atul village	-	100.00
Total	34.63	65.37

SOURCE OF WATER SUPPLY TO THE HOUSEHOLDS

Supply of water through water taps, was available only in Atul colony and Pardi town. As mentioned earlier, only a few industrial workers of the Atul colony, those living in L type colony, Nehru chawl and A type colony were having water taps in their individual residences. But majority of them had to get the supply of water from public taps which had been installed in adequate numbers in each locations. Further, water was being supplied throughout day and night. Hence, there was never any shortage in the supply of water. The Naikas of the Atul village also got their supply of water from the nearby public taps. Some of them, however, had to obtain water from a public well constructed by the Atul village panchayat.

TABLE 28

Percentage of households according to sources of water supply

Name of the villages/townships	Public taps	From tap in the house	Water Well	Total
Atul colony	79.31	20.69	-	100.00
Pardi Town	16.67	-	83.33	100.00
Chanvai	-	-	100.00	100.00
Wadi Falia	-	-	100.00	100.00
Atul Village	54.05	-	45.95	100.00
Total	24.88	2.93	72.19	100.00

It could be seen from the next table that for the tribal industrial workers living in Pardi town, Chanvai and Wadi Falia, water well was the chief source for getting water supply, in fact only source in the latter two villages. It was apparent then, that so far supply of water was concerned the rural characteristic was still prevalent among the tribal industrial workers.

BATHROOM FACILITIES

Almost none of the tribal industrial workers' houses had the facility of separate bathroom. As the figures given in the next table indicated, only two families of the Atul colony had this sort of provision in their residential accommodation. Apart from these two families, all others were either using the place around the public tap for taking bath or in the living room itself in one of the corners (where the water was stored) that was being used. In case of women, the latter was mostly used for taking bath. In other places, the family members were taking bath in the open. Men usually took bath at a place earmarked for this purpose in front of the house. There would be a slab of

stone on which the bath would be taken. Women usually took bath in the backyard of the house. In Wadi Falia, young persons usually went to the river Par which flows quite nearby for taking bath.

TABLE-29

Percentage of households according to provision of bathroom

Name of the villages/ townships	Have bathroom	No bathroom	Total
Atul Colony	6.90	93.10	100.00
Pardi	-	100.00	100.00
Chanvai	-	100.00	100.00
Wadi Falia	-	100.00	100.00
Atul Village	-	100.00	100.00

Thus, here again the rural characteristic of daily life was very much evident. On the pattern of rural areas, the river and water wells provided easy accessible places for bathing and also for washing clothes.

LAVATORIES IN THE HOUSES

So far this amenity was concerned, the rural characteristic of the life of the tribal industrial workers was most explicit. In all the three villages of Chanvai, Wadi Falia and Atul, not a single lavatory was available, either publicly or privately. According to the figures given in the next table only 3 families in Atul colony and 1 in Pardi town had their own lavatories in their houses. In the colony, community latrine blocks had been constructed by the industrial company in each housing locations. But conditions of the several latrines in these blocks was such that it was not possible to use those latrines. It was observed that regarding proper maintenance of these latrine blocks,

the needed services were not in operation. It was because of this reason that in some of the housing locations such as Bombay chawl, the tribals were found to use the extensive open spaces behind their location for lavatory purposes. They did not like to wait in queue for relieving themselves in the latrines of the communal latrine block. In all the villages and even in Pardi town, the tribal industrial workers and their family members used, just like in the rural areas far away from industrial scene, the open spaces, and cultivable land for this purpose.

TABLE - 30

Percentage of households having provision of lavatories

Name of the villages/ townships	Have in the house	Use lavatory latrine block	No communal latrine	Total
Atul Colony	10.31	89.66	-	100.00
Pardi Town	2.08	-	97.92	100.00
Chanvai	-	-	100.00	100.00
Wadi Falla	-	-	100.00	100.00
Atul village	-	-	100.00	100.00
Total	1.75	-	98.05	100.00

FACILITY OF KITCHEN

Large majority of the tribal industrial works had no separate kitchen room in their houses. On an examination of the next table, it was amply clear that not even one-fourth of total households covered under the survey were having a separate kitchen in their houses. In the Atul colony, as mentioned earlier, majority of the tribal industrial workers were living in one room accommodation, the important feature of which was a 'kitchen corner'. In the villages and tribal hamlet of the Pardi town too, in the living

room itself, there existed the 'kitchen Corner'. But there was marked difference in the appearance of the 'kitchen corner' found in the houses of the villages and those found in the houses of Atul colony. In the case of latter, the 'kitchen corner' usually consisted of a primus stove, metal and crockery utensils well stocked in an open shelf fixed on the wall, and metal vessels for storing water, everything kept in a tidy way. While in the villages, it usually consisted of a semi-permanent earthen oven, a few small baskets, metal utensils and tea-cups and plates lying at a raised platform near the oven. If there was not a raised platform, these would be kept in a basket. Near the-kitchen centre there would be a few 'kothis', which was used for storing the grains. Now the 'Kothis', made out of a mix of mud and cow-dung, were nowhere in existence in the 'kitchen corner' of Atul colony. Ther tin containers were used to store the purchased grains there.

TABLE - 30

Percentage of households according to provision of kitchen

Name of the villages/town ships	Have kitchen	Have no kitchen	Total
Atul colony	20.69	79.31	100.00
Pardi town	14.58	85.42	100.00
Chanvai	18.75	81.25	100.00
Wadi falia	27.91	72.09	100.00
Atul village	32.43	67.57	100.00
Total	22.44	77.56	100.00

Thus, for cooking their meals, the family of the tribal industrial workers generally cooked it in one of the corners of the living room. In fact, as was prevalent in a traditional village, the living room in these villages too was used for all purposes. It was used for sleeping, storing grains and cooking.

It might be recalled in this connection that 57.07 percent of the total number of households had no separate room other than the living room. But the percentage of those having no separate kitchen was 77.56 percent. This meant that quite a large number of families too lacked separate cooking arrangements even though they had more than one room. Thus both the rooms were being used as living rooms.

The foregoing discussion on housing conditions of the tribal industrial workers made it quite clear that for the present, the typical characteristics of urban life was not being exhibited among them in an appreciable manner. The dominance of the rural characteristics was apparent. It was all the more clear when it was observed that there was no closeness and overcrowding of the houses. As could be found from the figures given in the next table, a big majority of the houses had open space around their houses. Even in the locations of the Atul colony, there had been open spaces either in the front or back of the accommodation although not directly under the control of the households. In the villages and the tribal hamlet of the Pardi town almost each household had open space attached to its accommodation which may be either in front or back or in all the three sides. Thus, it could be easily concluded that the tribal industrial workers were living in Village-like settlement and the problem of closeness and overcrowding usually found in urban and industrial settlements had not yet touched them. Their housing settlement was not poor like those of slum dwellers in a city or of an industrial township.

TABLE - 32

Percentage of households according to having open space attached to accomodation

Name of the villages/town-ships	Have open space	Have no open space	Total
Atul colony	48.28	51.72	100.00
Pardi town	85.42	14.58	100.00
Chanvai	100.00	—	100.00
Wadi falia	100.00	—	100.00
Atul village	91.89	8.11	100.00
Total	87.80	12.20	100.00

HOUSEHOLD GOODS

Furniture: In a household of a traditional tribal village, it was rather difficult to find an object worth the name of furnitures, except one or two sleeping cots (Khatla) which every household possessed. The 'Khatlas' were made by the family members of each household for its own requirement. But usually not more than two or three cots were kept in the houses of villages. Usually two persons slept in one cot. Among the tribal industrial workers, all the households were possessing 'Khatlas' and that too more in number than what was found among the households of traditional villages. In the traditional villages, the Naikas usually slept on the floor but here they too were keeping several 'khatlas' in their house.

Apart from the 'Khatlas', there were several other furnitures found in the households of the tribal industrial workers. The figures given in the next table would reveal the kinds of furnitures found among them. In Pardi and Atul village a few Dubla and Naika families did not own even cots. One or two chairs were found in several of the households in all the places. The use of table had not gained popularity due to which

only a small number of households in each place were found to possess table. But easy chairs (the modern type, Royal brand) had become the symbol of progress and as such several of the households had been found to keep one or two pairs of such chairs. In the Atul colony, nearly half of the households were having such chairs. In Pardi and Chanvai too, this had started to gain popularity. In Wadi Falia and Atul village there was not a single family using easy chairs. In case of the latter, the tribal industrial workers were having poor economic condition while in case of the former, they had been found to squander their hard earned money in other ways which was also true in the case of the Naikas of Atul village.

TABLE - 33

Percentage of households having different items of furniture

Name of the Villages/ townships	Cots	Chairs	Tables	Easy chair Royal Brand	Stool	Steel cup-board	Wooden bench
Atul colony	100.00	37.93	13.79	44.83	37.93	27.59	31.03
Pardi Town	93.75	27.08	6.25	16.67	10.88	14.58	14.58
Chanvai	100.00	27.08	12.50	16.67	33.33	31.25	8.33
Wadi Falia	100.00	20.93	11.63	—	25.58	15.28	20.93
Atul village	72.41	24.32	2.70	—	16.22	2.70	18.92

Another item of furniture which was gaining currency among the tribal industrial workers was the steel cup-board (almirah). Several of them in each place, (including Atul village (where of course only one household had steel cup-board) were found to possess one steel cupboard. A couple of them had even two. Among the Naika of Atul village, this item was found, as stated earlier, in only one household. Due to their poor economic condition, they were not able to invest money for the purchase of steel cupboard which was certainly a costly thing.

Apart from these furnitures, several households were having 'Patlas' (wooden low legged, about 6 to 8 inches in height and used for sitting) and 'Bankdas' (wooden bench) used for sitting. But these items were found among several households of a traditional village too. There nobody possessed easy chairs or steel cupboards or even chairs also.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSIBLS

In the traditional set-up, a pair or two of brass 'thaliis' (dinner plates with elevated rims all around), 'Katoras', 'Lota' (spherical water jugs) and glasses were usually found in a household. All the household utensils were generally of brass metal. For cooking purposes, aluminium vessels or eathen vessels were used. Among the tribal industrial workers, apart from these utensils several other types were found made of stainless steel and china clay. As shown in the next table, stainless steel utensils were gaining

TABLE 34

Percentage of households according to different type of utensils

Name of the villages/ townships	Brass utensils	Alumi- nium	Stain- less steel	Glass	Tea- cups & plates	China clay vessel storing pickles	China clay dishes
Atul Colony	82.76	100.00	51.72	58.62	100.00	41.38	31.03
Pardi Town	91.67	83.33	58.33	58.63	91.07	22.92	4.16
Chanvai	50.00	95.83	50.00	43.75	100.00	29.17	35.42
Wadi Falia	86.05	95.35	67.44	18.60	97.67	39.53	6.98
Atul village	91.89	94.59	24.32	27.02	89.19	37.84	2.70

popularity. In all the places, utensils of brass metal and cooking pots of aluminium were most popular. But in all the places except Atul village, more than half of the households

were in possession of stainless steel thalis, katoras, glass, spoons and one or more cooking pots too. Some of the households were found to possess four to six sets of stainless steel utensils used for eating purpose. Only in Atul village where the Naikas were living, nearly one fourth of the households were having utensils of stainless steel and that too only one or two 'thalis' or glass. The Dhodias of other villages and townships had been rapidly developing a taste for stainless steel utensils.'

Among the crockery utensils, tea-cups and plates and glasses had become a must in each household, particularly the tea-cup and plates which was invariably found among a vast majority of the households. In several households a set of nearly half a dozen cups and plates were found in possession. Offering water in crockery glasses to guests had become a fashionable thing.

For fetching water from the water well or public water taps, they were found to use iron-buckets which almost each household possessed. In some of the households, plastic buckets had also been found in use. Plastic tumblers were also found in several households. For storing the potable water, they still, as was being used in traditional villages, were using earthen pitchers.

The use of basketry for storing baked breads had been lessened in comparison to its use in traditional villages. But baskets of various sizes and shape were also in use for many different purpose. The most common was 'supda' (winnowing fan) to be found in every household.

OTHER HOUSEHOLD POSSESSIONS

For commuting to the place of work and back home, majority of the tribal industrial workers had been found to use cycle, As such cycle was found to be an important household possession among them. In the traditional villages hardly one or two individuals possessed cycle.

Other items which were not in much vogue in the traditional villages were wall-clock, alarm clock and even wrist watches. These items were acquired by the tribal industrial workers in greater number. Particularly the wrist watch was owned by a vast majority of them.

Gas lighter was another item which was getting popularity among them. Quite a good number of tribal industrial workers were found to possess this. In Atul colony, majority of the households had been using primus stove for cooking purposes. In other villages and tribal hamlet of Pardi town, the earthen oven was still in vogue. Fire Wood was used as fuel.

Sewing machine had also been acquired by some households. But it had not gained popularity. Only 7 households out of the total surveyed were in possession of sewing machines. In traditional villages, it had become customary to find a couple of sewing machines because of the implementation of the programme of giving training in tailoring to tribal young persons.

TABLE-35

Percentage of households possessing modern articles

Name of the Villages/ townships	Cycle	Wall clock	Alarm clock	Wrist-watch	Gas lighter	Primus	Sewing machines
Atul Colony	68.97	13.79	24.14	55.17	24.14	86.21	6.90
Pardi Town	56.25	2.08	18.75	72.92	16.67	6.25	4.17
Chanvai	89.58	14.58	6.25	60.42	54.17	-	-
Wadi Falia	81.95	4.65	4.65	67.44	44.19	-	2.33
Atul village	37.84	-	16.22	40.54	37.84	-	5.41

The figures given in the next table would give an idea about the possession of the above mentioned articles among the tribal industrial workers. It was very much clear

that cycles and wrist watches had become articles of daily necessity among them. Except among the Naikas of Atul village everywhere a good majority of them were found to possess these two articles. A few households were having two to three cycles in their households. Similarly two to three wrist watches were found in several of the households. It was obvious that for reaching to the place of work (the different factories in the industrial complex) in time and without much difficulty, these two articles were of great help. For purchasing the cycles, the management of the industrial units had been liberally advancing loans to the workers. In case of wrist watches, these were available in plenty because of the extensive smuggling activities in this region. It was easy to acquire a foreign manufactured wrist watch on cheap rates in this region.

As indicated earlier, four out of the five locations covered in this study had electricity. Let us see whether electrical goods such as fans, iron, heater etc had been acquired by them or not. As shown in the next table, not many households were found to use electrical gadgets. Ceiling and table fan had been installed by only a few households. Heater, tube light and electric iron were also found among a very small number of tribal industrial workers. It was also apparent that the use of electrical goods was on increase among the tribal industrial workers of Atul colony. In Pardi town and Chanvai village, the use of electrical goods was not in much vogue. In the case of other two villages, Wadi Falia and Atul the question regarding use of electrical goods did not arise as there was no electricity in the houses of these villages.

TABLE - 36

Percentage of households using different electrical goods

Name of the villages/ townships	Ceiling fan	Tube light	Electric iron	Table fan	Heater
Atul colony	3.45	3.45	13.79	6.90	6.90
Pardi Town	-	2.08	2.08	--	--
Chanvai	--	4.17	2.08	--	--
Wadi Falia	--	--	--	--	--
Atul Village	--	--	--	--	--

Another household possession which was a non-traditional thing for the tribals was the radio or transistor. As could be seen from the figures given in the next table, several individuals from each place, except Wadi Falia, were in possession of this item. Surprisingly, in Wadi Falia, only one household was in possession of transistor. It was difficult to explain the concrete reason but as stated earlier, the industrial workers of this village were found to spend quite a substantial portion of their income on certain unnecessary things due to which they were not able to raise their living standards in the same way as was found among the tribal industrial workers of Shanvai, Atul colony and Pardi town. But this would just be a conjecture, not a very plausible explanation.

From the foregoing analysis of the material cultural inventory, it could be assumed that although the living standards of the tribal industrial workers were low when compared to the industrial workers belonging to the non-tribal communities, it was by no means lower than the tribal peasants living in the villages of interior regions, far away from the industrial scene. Thus, industrialization of this region has certainly contributed in raising the standard of living of the tribals.

TABLE - 37

Percentage of households possessing transistor, radio and gramophone

Name of the villages/ townships	Transistor or radio	Gramophone
Atul colony	24.14	3.45
Pardi Town	41.67	—
Chanvai	20.83	—
Wadi Falia	2.33	—
Atul Village	24.32	—

Now let us have a consolidated picture of the living standards of these people by looking into the luxury items which they had acquired. Eight items were selected as luxury items (from the point of view of tribal's material culture) which might be diagnostic of standard of living viz. stainless steel utensils, easy chairs, cycle, wrist watches, transistor and radio/ lighter, steel cup-board and wall and alarm clocks. It was found that 53.66 percent had stainless steel utensils, 67.80 percent cycles, 60.39 per cent wrist watches, 36.10 percent gas lighters, 22.93 percent transistors and radios, 20 percent wall and alarm clocks, 18.54 percent steel cup-boards and 14.15 per cent easy chairs (folding). The increase in the acquisition of these luxury items was notable in the two years since this study was started. Cycles have become so common that they no longer served as diagnostic item for wealth. The distribution of luxury items have been shown in table 38. It was found that stainless steel utensils, steel cup-boards, wrist watches, transistors, easy chairs were the most diagnostic items for general level of living. While some households did not own a single luxury item, others owned six of the eight items, Although there was considerable overlapping in the number of luxury items owned by the residents of different villages and townships, the average number of items goes up steadily from what was found for Atul village to what was for the Atul colony.

TABLE-38

Distribution of households (figures given in percentages) according to luxury items

Sr. No.	Items	Atul Colony	Pardi town	Chanvai	Wadi Falia	Atul Village	Total
1.	Stainless Steel utensils	51.72	58.33	50.00	67.44	24.32	53.66
2.	Easy Chairs	44.83	16.67	16.67	-	-	14.15
3.	Cycle	68.97	56.25	89.58	81.95	37.84	67.80
4.	Wrist Watches	55.17	72.92	60.40	67.44	40.54	60.49
5.	Transistor & Radio	24.14	41.67	20.83	2.33	24.32	22.93
6.	Lighter	24.14	16.67	54.17	44.19	37.24	36.10
7.	Steel Cup-board	27.59	14.58	31.25	16.28	2.70	18.54
8.	Wall & alarm Clock	37.93	20.83	30.83	9.30	16.22	20.00

Stainless steel utensils ownership was concentrated in the two villages of Dhodias and the Atul and Pardi township, where again Dhodias were in overwhelming majority. There were few in the Atul village where Naikas lived who owned stainless steel utensils.

Easy chairs and steel cup-boards were even more indicative of the difference in the level of living between the Dhodias and Naikas. All the 29 households having easy chairs were in the three Dhodia's dominated places. None among the Naikas, as indicated earlier, had easy chairs. Of the total number of households owning steel cup-board, only one from amongst the Naikas of Atul village was there. Thus, more than 97 percent of the owners of steel cup-boards were the Dhodias.

OTHER HOUSEHOLD POSSESSIONS

Those who had electricity in their houses had been using it for purpose of keeping the house lighted after evening. In case of those who had no electric connections used

kerosine oil lanterns which were very much in vogue among them. In traditional villages these tribals had been using kerosine oil tin lamps. Lanterns had not yet come into vogue there.

Mill-made umbrellas were found in almost all households. Some of the tribal industrial workers were also found using plastic rain coats.

Fancy goods such as mirrors, combs, soaps, perfumed oils, lady's purse, etc. were very much popular and were used by each household. For keeping clothes, several of them were found to use leather suitcases. Boxes made out of iron sheet was in use in almost all the households.

Almost each household was found to possess a pair or two of mattresses which were used for sleeping purposes. Although quite a large number of households were having 'Khatla' whose frame was covered by interweaving of newarpati (broad cotton strips), mattresses were also spread over the 'Khatla'. These households also used pillows. Bed sheets were also in use and usually a household had three to four such bed sheets which were also used for covering the body during winter season. Many households also possessed three or four quilts (razai) for using these during winter season.

Most of the households were found to be well provided with these items for use during sleeping. Thus, majority of the tribal industrial workers had become accustomed to use mattresses/bedsheets, quilts and pillows for a comfortable sleep during night.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Although some of the tribal industrial workers had started to modernize their agricultural operations by using pump set, fertilizer, improved variety of seeds, insecticides, etc., the agricultural implements possessed by them were almost the same as found

in villages far away from industrial zone. Among all the agricultural implements, 'hal' (Plough share) and the 'datrada' or 'Uhiyo' (sickle) were the most important. The iron ploughs are was fitted i.n the wooden plough. It was this part of the plough which tilled the soil. Other agricultural implements were : (i) 'Panio' or 'Paniya' which was used for levelling the land after making the furrows and sowing seeds into these, (ii) 'Juhar' for connecting the ox, (iii) 'Parai' (for digging earth) which was "an iron rod with a sharp edge, (iv) 'Jygađu' (to cut wood) which was an axe, (v) 'Tikam' (for crushing earthen clods, (vi) 'Pavddo' (for earth work), (vi) 'Ankđi' (for fetching the dry stalks at the time of thrashing) which was made from bamboo, (vii) 'Supda' (for winnowing) which was made from bamboo chips etc.

Majority of the households were still using 'Kothi' made out of a mixture of cow dung and mud and 'Paluđi', made out of strips of bamboo to store grains. For storing the 'tuer' and 'wal' they had been using 'Petiya' which was made from 'Pobnja' (Paddy straws) and plastered with a mix of cow dung and earth. However, several of the tribal industrial workers had been found using drums of various sizes for storing grains and pulse. This was found more among the households of Atul colony where of course, agricultural implements were not found in their houses. Among the Naikas of Atul village too agricultural implements were not available. The non-availability of these among the households of Atul colony and Atul village was because none of them were doing cultivation there.

HUNTING WEAPONS & FISHING IMPLEMENTS

In the houses of tribal industrial workers, no hunting weapon had been recorded. This clearly indicated that these tribals had left hunting for good. In fact, there was no scope for hunting in this region as there did not exist any piece of forest land.

Of all the five places, fishing implements were found in some houses in Wadi Falia and among the Naikas of Atul village. In the nearby Par river sometimes the inhabitants of these two villages went on fishing expedition. But the number of such persons was few and far between. Fishes sold in the market at Atul were easily available and most of the tribal industrial workers preferred to buy fish than to spend time on fishing. Those who went for fishing, did that just as a hobby.

The main fishing implement found among them was the bamboo of one or two kinds and sizes. Some were also found to use fishing nets.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The tribal industrial workers had forgotten their traditional love of dancing and singing. Dancing could be observed only at the time of marriages but not on the tune of traditional musical instruments. They were found to perform dancing on the tunes of popular film songs which was quite different from one performed on the tune of traditional musical instruments. The 'tur' and the 'thali' which were the important musical instruments had lost their significance although not completely disappeared.

Singing of devotional songs (Bhajan) had gained popularity and 'Bhajan' sessions were organized at frequent intervals in some villages. Due to this, harmonium, tabla and tali (cymbals) had replaced the traditional musical instruments.

DRESS

Expenditure on clothes was the only form which the tribal industrial workers desire for civilized status, comparable with that of middle class non-tribais could take. So far dress was concerned, the tribal industrial workers community looked completely different. Due to becoming industrial workers, the desire for clothes had become greater and clothes for them symbolized the claim to civilized status. This was particularly true for the

youths, among whom the idea of announcing what one was through one's appearance had a strong hold. For them, the value of 'best' was carried by the most respectable or smartest western-style clothes, while traditional dress and ornaments were deliberately avoided altogether. Clothing in modern style was displayed by the youths at celebrations of all kinds. The following illustration would give clear indication of this :

"Recently a group of nine tribal industrial workers from the village Chanvai organizing a cycle trip to Virpur (in Saurashtra region, beyond Rajkot) to have a 'darshan' of Jalaram Bapa. On their way back they made halt at Ahmedabad and gave a courtesy visit to me. Each of them was dressed in identical way: White short, white jersey and white sports shoes. The short and jersey were laundered and ironed. After preliminaries I asked them whether they had come to the city to play any Hockey match or what. They then explained to me that they had been on a pilgrimage to Virpur on bicycles."

The influence of urbanization was distinctly seen in the clothing of young men and women among the families of tribal industrial workers. The 'Dhoti' which the men used to wear for covering the lower portion of their body had been almost completely discarded by the tribal industrial workers. In Chanvai village only one person, employed as an industrial worker, was found to wear 'Dhoti' which in the traditional style just reached a little beyond the knee. 'Dhoti' had been replaced by trousers ('full-pant') tailored in the latest style. At home also, they were found to use trousers, made out of thin dress material ('lehnga' or 'pyjama'). The 'Bandi' or 'Khamish' of old-style worn on the upper part of the body had also almost disappeared among them. The 'Bandi' (a sleeveless shirt - jacket type) was no more in vogue. The 'Khamish' (full sleeve shirt) had become stylish and tailored in the latest fashionable style. Bush-shirts were also quite popular among them. The cap which these tribals had been using and were still found using in rural areas had also been no more in use among the tribal industrial workers. As

undergarments they were found to use ready-made under-wears and 'ganjis'. When going to the factory or visiting a town, the youngmen also used pointed shoes, socks and goggles.

They got their dresses tailored in the current fashionable style. More significance was the material of the clothes. As smuggling activities were quite intense in this area, foreign clothes were easily available to them. Their clothes were generally made out of smuggled foreign clothes, mostly of Japanese dress material. Thus most of the young men, when outside their village, were found dressed in expensive clothes. Dresses made out of smuggled dress material had become a great rage. One young boy refused to attend school because his father who had been working as an industrial worker could not buy him foreign clothes for shirt. . .

The middle aged tribal industrial workers had not developed a taste for foreign clothes. As such, they were found using cotton clothes for trousers and shirts.

These industrial workers were getting two pairs of blue jean trousers and bush-shirts which formed their working uniform. None was found to bring these clothes to home. It was the practice in the factories to allot one shelf to each worker where he could keep his uniforms, soaps, towels and other things. On reaching the factory he would change his dress i.e. he would put off his personal clothes and put on the factory uniform. After his duty was over, he would thoroughly wash himself, comb his hair and again put on his personal clothes and then leave the factory premise on his way to home. The factory uniforms were supplied free of cost.

When working in the fields or engaged in some sort of activities connected with agriculture or animal husbandry, these tribal industrial workers would wear underwear and 'ganji' or 'pyjama' and 'ganji'. If the weather was chilly they would also put on a shirt.

Far reaching changes had also been observed in the clothing of women of the tribal industrial workers families. Most of the young girls were found using skirt on the lower part of the body and bush-shirt or shirt on upper part of the body. Fully matured young women were found wearing mill-made Sari and well-tailored blouse. Use of brassaire had become quite common. The traditional dresses 'nihnu' (for the lower part of the body), 'panger' (for covering the upper part of the body and the head) and 'dhangli' or 'Kachoto' (worn by old women), had gone out of use. The 'nihnu' and 'panger' were parts of the same handloom Sari which was split into two equal pieces. These handloom Saris were manufactured by weavers of Gandevi and other centres. Blue colour was very common. These sari were still used by middle aged and old women but not in two pieces as was the traditional practice. They were found to wear the sari as was worn by women in the rural areas of Gujarat. Some women were seen wearing even this one-piece sari in traditional style i.e. one end of the sari would be taken to back through in between the things and then tucked inside at the back of the waist. But this was becoming less and less in practice.

Young women who had been using fashionable sari were also found to use 'saya' (a long skirt type undergarment reaching upto the toe). One or two sari made out of foreign dress material were found in wardrobe of these young women.

For the upper part of body the young women used modern type of blouse (short in length and well-fitted). The women too displayed their clothes at celebrations, such as on the occasion of marriages, or going to a melas, or going to visit movies, or going to markets. Several young girls had been found to wear frocks. These who wore frocks or skirts used panties and brassaire. Tighter clothes and more exposure of legs and arms would go with the 'modern' style which they had adopted. The use of sandals, both heeled and without heels, had become quite common among them. Some old and middle aged women did not use any foot-wear.

The young women who had been wearing sai, wore it in the modern style (after wrapping it round the waist, beneath the naval, it was passed over one shoulder covering the chest). Mill-made cotton saris had also become quite popular. In fact, in daily use, these saris (cheap cotton saris, mostly printed) were preferred. Covering the head by one end of the sari had almost ceased to be in practice. The blouse used by them was half-sleeved. Sleeveless blouse had yet not come into vogue.

ORNAMENTS :

The traditional love of wearing too much ornaments appeared to be on decline among the members of the families of tribal industrial workers. Traditionally, both men and women in these tribal societies were fond of ornaments, although of course, against women's fondness, men's fondness was nothing. Among the common ornaments used by men were 'mundi' which was worn in the ear and 'chula' which was worn on the wrists. Use of both these ornaments had completely disappeared. Even old persons in the villages were not found using these ornaments. For the men, wrist watch was the only thing worn on the wrist, but of course, not as an ornament.

Among the ornaments used by women in the past were 'Lavangiya' and 'mundi' (in the ear), 'mota dola', 'nana dola' and 'Hatkadi' (in the feet), 'hankad', 'Gathi' and 'Gantho' (in the neck), 'Phuli' (in the nose), 'Kavdi', and 'bangdi' (in the hand), 'daniyo' and 'mani-mala' (in the neck again), 'Kadu' (in the arm) and 'bala' (in the feet). Now-a-days among the women of the families of tribal industrial workers, ear-ring of modern fashion had replaced the 'Lavangiyo' and 'Mundi'. Some of the middle aged women were still found wearing 'Mundi'. 'Mota dola' and 'Nana dola' had completely disappeared. 'Hankdi' of old style had given place to latest style of delicately made 'hankdi' usually worn by non-tribal women in the urban areas. The heavy silver 'hankadi' of old days had been abandoned and the

thin silver chain or gold chain had been adopted. 'Gandhi' was still in vogue among the married women, but more fashionable ones preferred the 'mangal-sutra' which was found to gain popularity. 'Gantho' had become obsolete. 'Phuli' was continued to be in the use but 'Nath' (circular ring, either of silver or gold or stainless steel) was also found to become popular among the young girls. 'Kavdi' too was in little use. Glass bangles was the craze. Bangles of different colours were used. Stainless steel bangles had also come into use. 'Daniyo' and 'mani-mala' were still used by middle aged women who showed little conservativeness in these things. But the younger girls would not use these ornaments. In place of these chains of imitation material, of different varieties, were preferred by them. 'Kadu', (silver armlet) had also been abandoned. Same was the case of 'bala' worn on the lower part of the feet. Silver ring or ring made of imitation material was worn in the fingers. This was known as 'Vinti'.

By and large, it was observed that young women preferred to wear only one or two piece of ornaments on their bodies. Married women, of course, were found wearing little more jewellery. But the accent was on putting up smart appearance in which little use of jewellery was made. The women's ornaments if provided by her parents or purchased from her own earnings were her own personal property while those provided by her husband's family on the occasion of marriage were the family's property. She was not permitted, according to the traditional custom which was still adhered to, for disposing such ornaments of latter category according to her own sweet will. If she sold out these ornament given to her by her husband or her husband's family members, it was considered a grave social offence.

Women wore their hair one braid down the back. All sorts of modern hair clips, available in the local shops were used for fixing the hair properly in latest fashionable style. Younger women regularly used face-powder. Nail polish was also frequently used.

Combing of hair was done regularly and the whole person of the young women gave an appearance of tidiness. Use of lip-stick had not become popular. Men too, particularly young men, usually kept themselves clean and tidy. Both the men and women took bath regularly. Soap had become quite common for cleaning the body dirt and hair. While going out, both men and women kept handkerchief with them. They were found to use costly mill made handkerchiefs. Use of Shampoo had not been found as this was a costly item. Men usually got their beard shaved regularly at the interval of two or three days. Men kept shaving stick blades and soap at home. Getting shaved at the saloon was not very popular as this way, they were made to incur much expenses. However, saloon was visited to get their hair-cut at appropriate intervals. Barber's services were also utilized right at home for both shaving and hair-cut by some middle aged men. Keeping long hair was not in vogue among the middleaged men. Some youths were, however, found to grow their hair long.

TATTOOING

Traditionally both men and women of the tribal societies of this region were fond of tattooing which they did to enhance their physical charm. Men usually got the tattooing done on the fore arm, wrist and back side of the head while women on foot, arms, wrists and cheeks, forehead and chest (just above the hollow of the two breasts). The design preferred was just dot marks arranged symmetrically. Men sometimes preferred the design of a flower or a figure of scorpion. But the tribal industrial workers were found to develop a distaste towards tattooing. Among the young men and women of their families, tattooing had completely lost its popularity and seldom such a person got tattooed. Some of the middle-aged men and women were found to wear tattoo designs on their bodies otherwise this was going out of fashion.

By their dress, ornaments and keeping their physical appearance tidy and

stylish, it could be safely concluded that the young men and women of the families of tribal industrial workers had lost their distinctiveness. In comparison to the past traditional material culture, they had much changed and were visibly found to imitate themselves in the fashion of middle class non-tribal neighbours. But these changes in the style of dress, use of foreign clothes and cosmetics along the line of the style prevalent among the urban population in Gujarat was not, however, a special phenomenon for the tribal industrial community of this region. More or less it was the general trend found among the Dhodias of other regions too who had been acculturated rapidly. The rate of their culture change was indeed highest among all the tribal groups of the State. In this industrial region too the vast change in the material culture was more pronounced among them only. The other tribal group of this region, the Naikas, did not exhibit the same kind of change as was observable among the Dhodias too. But it was not because the Naikas were resisting culture change under the influence of industrialization. It was due to the fact, as we would see later, that their economic situation was lower than that of the Dhodias. Due to this, they were not able to absorb the changes in the style of dress and use of costly dress material, etc to the extent the Dhodias were able to do.

CHAPTER - VI

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND TRIBAL ECONOMY OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

PATTERN

During the course of about two decades the Valsad-Atul-Vapi region has been converted from a still largely agricultural area inhabited by tribal people with the land under a traditional division of labour into a diversified economic unit dependent on and interlocked with the world-wide exchange economy. This has necessitated a diversification of the working population which has occurred through the importation of highly skilled nucleus of non-tribals who have built around themselves a relatively unskilled labour force. The phenomenal growth of this region as one of the biggest industrial zone in the State has given rise to new population clusters which was becoming more and more cosmopolitan and heterogeneous. Members of all communities have been participating in the private industrial units of the area. The ownership and management of the industrial units had in practice, lain entirely in the hands of non-tribal entrepreneurs and skilled workers, both technical and non-technical, had been confined mainly to non-tribal workers, both local as well as from outside. Tribals of this region had lacked the resources, knowledge and experience to establish or manage industrial units or to undertake skilled work in them and have had little to contribute beyond unskilled and less frequently, semi-skilled labour. This was also because the level of skill required of most labourers in the industrial units was low which could be reached by wholly untrained men in a few months. The nature of the work in which the unskilled workers were employed required no previous training or experience other than initiation into the job itself. The other important factor was that labour was plentiful among the tribals of this region. The economic necessity was the more universal and certainly the most important reason for the tribals to join the labour force of the industrial units. The economic struggle

which the mass of the tribal society faced in the agrarian structure of their economy was of such magnitude that in participating in the industrial units there was no tribal preferences in occupation chosen..

The labour force participation rate for the tribals had been increasing steadily and was expected to even faster during the next decades. The industrialization of this region was bound to involve the transfer of many tribal workers away from the food production. The proportion of these tribal workers employed in manufacturing services was increasing from year to year. Even though the economic modernization of the tribals of this region was heavily concentrated at present on agriculture, a substantial movement of workers from agriculture to the factories located in this region was taking place, the tempo of which was certainly being accelerated. As a consequence of this, vast and manifold socio-economic implications for them was occurring. Under these conditions, tribal's traditional economic activities based on primary production was being gradually replaced by economic forms built around secondary and tertiary economic activities. The industrial system of production had introduced new occupations and new forms of economic organizations in the tribal society of this region. As a result of this, the structure of socio-economic activities of the tribal industrial workers was changing in a variety of ways. Undoubtedly, the industrial units of Atul complex have provided a great potential for increased economic changes among them. It would be certainly rewarding to understand the implications of the economic changes being ushered through industrialization, in terms of the economic progress made by the tribal-industrial workers.

In a society whose economic structure was changing, the first obvious change was observed in the occupational pattern. But before looking into the-occupational structure of the surveyed households let us first examine the economic statuses of the members; of the families of tribal industrial workers. For the purpose of our enquiry regarding

economic status, the entire sample population had been classified into three different groups. They were : (i) earners, (ii) earning dependents and (iii) non-earning dependents. In the first group were those on whose income other members of the household were dependent. It was clear that that the income of the earning members was the main source or only source of livelihood for the household. The earning dependents were those individuals whose earning supplemented the income of the household but was not sufficient to meet his needs if he lived independently. In some cases, however, a person of this group was found to contribute equally to the income of the earner in the household. To such a person the status of earner had been given. The third group i.e. of non-earning dependents consisted of those persons who did not had any income and were solely dependent upon the earning of other members of the household. In this group were the children and such adult persons in the household who were not engaged in gainful employment.

According to the figures given in the next table, 42.54 percent of the total population in the surveyed households consisted of earning persons and earning dependents. The rest i.e. 57.46 percent did not have any kind of earnings. The percentage of earners and earning dependents was not that high which normally was the case in tribal peasant society where more than 55 percent constituted of working population. Here it was only 42.54 percent which indicated that the characteristics usually found in urban society was gaining ground here too. However, in comparison to urban situation, so far composition of working population was concerned it was still much higher. Usually around 25 percent of population in an urban environment consisted of working population. In fact, here too was the same situation in Atul colony among the migrant tribal industrial workers.

TABLE - 39

Sample population according to earning status in relation to male and female
(figures given in percentages)

Name of the villages/ townships	Earners		Economic Status Earning dependents		Non-earning dependents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Atul Colony	21.14	-	2.29	1.71	24.57	50.29
Pardi Town	14.47	-	12.54	11.57	24.44	36.98
Chanvai	16.47	0.59	9.12	21.47	25.29	27.06
Wadi Falia	14.67	-	18.67	22.66	19.00	25.00
Atul Village	15.21	-	9.12	12.55	27.36	35.74
Total	15.98	0.14	11.09	15.33	24.05	33.41

In traditional tribal society, in the struggle for existence, several members had to earn for livelihood of the household. From amongst the children too several had to contribute his or her labour for earning the livelihood of the household. Among the tribal industrial workers the situation was different as could be seen from the figures given in the next table. From amongst the adult population too 17.28 per cent of the population did not eart. It clearly suggested that quite a good

TABLE- 40

Distribut ion of adult and non-adult mdmbers according to earning status
(Figures given in Percentages)

Economic status	Adult (above the age of 15)		Children (below the the age of 15)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Earners	15.98	0.14	-	-
Earning dependents	11.09	15.33	-	-
Non-Earning dependents	3.96	13.22	20.09	20.09
Percentage of total population	31.03	28.79	20.09	20.09

number of women of these households could afford to be just simple housewives without having any responsibility to contribute towards the earning of livelihood of the household.

Considering the earning status of the adult population of the tribal industrial workers households, only 31.27 percent of the total adult male population, as indicated in the next table, belonged to the class of earners. Figures regarding the economic statuses of women pointed out that a big majority of women (68.34) were not earning, whereas in a typical tribal peasant community a great majority of women would be found assisting the men in earning livelihood for the household. Only 31.37 percent of the total women were contributing towards the earning of the households. Majority of the women were engaged in the agricultural pursuits of the family. As we would see later, quite a good number of tribal industrial workers had agricultural land in possession. But there too, several households preferred to conduct the agricultural operations through paid labourers. In such families too, the women were not very actively occupied even in agricultural work.

TABLE - 41

**Distribution of adult population according to earning status:
(Figures given in Percentages)**

Economic status	Male	Female	Total
Earners	31.27	0.29	16.13
Earning dependents	21.69	31.37	26.42
Non-earning dependents	47.04	68.34	57.45
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

From the foregoing discussion, it was quite clear that contrary to the prevailing situation in the typical tribal villages where both men and women shared the burden of earning income for the livelihood of the household members, the responsibility rested

on the men-folk to a great extent. The low figure of earning adult women belonging to the working age group asserted that women did not share almost equally with their menfolk the responsibility of earning for meeting household needs. There was also clear indication that children were not required to earn for the livelihood of the household. Thus, industrial jobs for the menfolk had enabled the household not to put burden of earning income on children prematurely.

But although the trend towards concentration of the responsibility of earning the livelihood for the households to a few adult persons was observed, nevertheless, it was not the sole responsibility of only one or two persons as prevailed in the urban situation. As agricultural economy was still pursued, majority of the households had to put several members into the agricultural operations. According to the figures given in the next table, it was only in Atul colony that a large majority of the households were having only one earning member. But in Chanvai, Wadi Falia and Pardi where cultivable land was available with many tribal industrial workers, hardly any member of the working age group was spared from work. Agriculture continued to be a family enterprise; those who shared the hearth also shared in agricultural operations of the household.

Apart from agricultural operations, there were also opportunities of earning income by working as housemaids and as daily-wage labourer in construction work, etc. In Atul village, the Naikas, barring a few, did not own agricultural land. But one or two more members of the household did engage themselves as domestic servants or as labourers. The job of domestic 'servants was' very much available in the Atul colony where the workers of the industrial complex lived in different locations. The middle class and upper class factory employees needed domestic servants. The Naikas of the Atul village and the Dhodias of the Wadi Falia did send one or two members from their households to work as house maids.

TABLE - 42

Proportion of earning persons in different households (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Village/ townships	Proportion of earning persons						
	One	Two	Three	Four	five	More than five	Total
Atul	82.76	13.79	3.45	-	-	-	100.00
Pardi	20.83	35.43	20.83	8.33	8.33	6.25	100.00
Chanvai	6.25	33.33	22.92	18.75	8.33	10.42	100.00
Wadi Falia	11.63	4.65	41.86	9.30	11.63	20.93	100.00
Atul village	13.52	40.54	18.92	21.62	2.70	2.70	100.00
TOTA	22.93	26.34	22.93	12.19	6.83	8.78	100.00

As seen earlier, 42.55 percent of the total members of the households of tribal industrial workers constituted of working population. According to the figures given in the next table, a large number of them constituting 41.62 percent of the total were engaged in industrial jobs. Thus, the economy of these tribal was heavily based on tertiary sector, It would mean that land was not the principal source of livelihood,, which was very uncharacteristic of the features of traditional economy. But the fact that agriculture was the second most important occupation among them clearly demonstrated that they were also able to support themselves by cultivation. In fact, for only a minority of tribals were engaged in paid employment represent the sole possible means of livelihood. It was found that 70 to 80 percent of all grades of tribal industrial workers owned had access to or expected to inherit land.

TABLE - 43

Percentage distribution of working population according to different occupations

Sr. No.	Industrial Classification	Atul colony	Pardi	Chanvai	Wadi Falia	Atul village	Total
1.	Job in the industry	86.11	43.85	38.85	33.14	41.41	41.62
2.	Agriculture	-	26.15	43.95	56.80	3.03	34.18
3.	Agricultural labour	-	6.92	4.46	0.59	1.01	3.05
4.	Non-agricultural labour	5.555	20.00	6.37	2.37	29.30	12.01
5.	Teacher	5.555	00.77	-	-	-	00.51
6.	Domestic servants	2.78	1.54	4.46	6.51	23.23	7.45
7.	Not stated	-	00.77	1.91	00.59	2.02	1.18
	TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Non-agricultural labour work and the Job of domestic servants were two other occupations which accounted for the employment of the members of the families of tribal industrial workers. Non-agricultural labour works were mainly provided by the contractors who undertook the contract of undertaking construction works for the Industrial units of the Atul complex. While the domestic servants were as stated earlier, employed by the non-tribal residents of the colony, particularly belonging to Officer's class. The family of these non-tribal residents took on housemaid usually unmarried girls between 12 years and 20 years to clean the house, wash utensils, launder clothes and sometimes also to mind the children when the wife was away shopping or herself was engaged in a job. It was convenient for the tribal girls of Atul village and Wadi Falia to get the job of domestic servants. Sometimes a bachelor resident of the colony, would also employ one of these girls for cooking his meals and also to look after the accommodation.

Among those who were employed in the industry, majority of them, about two-third were working as unskilled workers. As shown in the next table, of the total tribal workers employed in the three industrial units of the Atul complex, 74.06 percent were in the unskilled category while 16.57 were in the semi-skilled category. Only 5.94 percent of the total employed workers were in the skilled category. In the unskilled category were the jobs of coolies, helpers, gardeners, cleaner, etc while in the semi-skilled were the jobs of fitter, coalmen, mason, etc. The skilled job consisted of wiremen, operators, compounders and dressers, legirmen, drivers, etc.

TABLE-44

Percentage distribution of tribal industrial according to the nature of employment

Sr. No.	Categories of employment	Percentage
1.	Skilled	5.94
2.	Semi-skilled	16.57
3.	Unskilled	74.06
4.	Office Staff	2.74
5.	Supervisory staff	0.69

2.74 percent of them were employed as office staff in which category were the jobs of office-peons, clerks etc. A very small number of well educated tribals were employed as chemists, shift supervisor and technicians.

Among the tribal industrial workers covered under the survey, 57.07 percent were employed as unskilled workers while 25.86 percent as skilled workers. Several of the skilled workers informed that for many years they too had worked as unskilled workers but after they gained considerable experience in their work they were graduated to the category of skilled workers. They had not to undergo any sort of training for the job. The job itself trained them in due course. The vast majority of the tribal industrial

workers, as was apparent from table 45, were doing the job of either skilled or semi-skilled or unskilled nature, which accounted for 71.70 percent of the total workers. Persons with specialized manual occupation represented 25.86 percent only. Those doing white collar jobs, for which certain basic educational qualification was normally an essential requirement, accounted for only 1.46 percent. This group constituted a category which was heterogeneous in educational and occupational experience. It was

TABLE - 45

Percentage distribution of surveyed tribal industrial workers according to the categories of employment in the industrial units

Name of the Village townships	Skilled	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Office staff	Technician	Total
Atul Colony	6.70	82.76	6.70	3.44	-	100.00
Pardi	33.33	56.25	8.33	2.09	-	100.00
Chanvai	45.83	54.17	-	-	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	16.28	37.21	39.53	2.33	4.65	100.00
Atul village	16.22	64.86	18.92	-	-	100.00
TOTAL	25.86	57.07	14.63	1.46	0.98	100.0

very much distinct that very few tribals occupied white collar jobs, among them too, almost all were holding clerical jobs. There was none from amongst them who occupied administrative positions. A very small number, who could easily be counted on fingers, was working as technicians which perhaps copresented as a token of localization in the supervisory jobs. The region had, however, reached the stage when many tribal young people on the completion of their formal education were seeking white collar and technician jobs in the industrial units. Since only a couple of them were able to find employment in the industrial units, a feeling of frustration was found to prevail among the educated tribal youths who had been pinning their hopes to get a job there.

Most of the unskilled workers aspired to skilled manual tasks. But when asked about their choice of occupation, mostly expressed the desire to be a farmer. Since they had remained closer to their rural background, often turned their thoughts in that direction. They opined that agriculture would please them particularly because they would then have to work independently and also it brought better status in the wider society. But those who were working as skilled workers, as white collar workers and technician did not prefer agriculture; they had already become too urbanized to be attracted by rural callings.

The unskilled tribal industrial workers liked to hold forth on the handicaps they laboured under in regard to wage earning because we have little education. This was not entirely realistic because schooling would not add anything material to their qualification for a skilled or perhaps even a semi-skilled job. The uneducated tribal's handicap, such as it was, lied in his lesser chance of attaining to one of the skilled or office jobs. Vocational training schemes for tribals were limited. The Atul Industrial complex too had no special training programme for tribals. During employment too, they did not receive adequate training. By their superiors, they were criticized tribals are less interested, less resolute and difficult to motivate", they are not reliable in attendance". But at the same time, several senior officers liked them better on personality grounds. According to them the tribal industrial workers were more respectful! "you get prompt obedience from them; they are not cheeky". The tribal workers were also considered as reliable characters and it was true that even in urban situation the tribal workers cherished the virtue of honesty and truthfulness.

But despite their educational handicaps, the technical manipulations involved in handling complex machines had been learned with relative facility by the tribal workers who had no previous knowledge, even notion of these machines and whose general

standard of literacy and education left much undesired. It was quite evident that both the Dhodias and Naikas had learned the new skills with surprising speed. Although majority of them had not learned that in a wage-economy there was a correlation between wage and effort, they nevertheless worked systematically and well and had acquired a satisfactory degree of skill. They also showed a capacity for training. They worked together well in a team, although their power of cooperation needed to be fortified by strong supervision. Supervision did not mean only training and directing, but above all, planning. The impression recorded as a result of this study was that efficiency of the tribal industrial workers broadly depended upon the quality of administration, supervision and foremen who controlled them. In those departments where they were subjected to strong supervision, they proved to be efficient workers.

PERIOD OF WORK

Majority of the tribal industrial workers covered under this study had been working in the industrial units for more than 5 years. As shown in the next table, nearly two thirds had more than 5 years of experience in working as industrial workers. In fact, if seen little closely it would be found that 41.95 percent of the total tribal industrial workers were having more than 10 years of such experience, out of which 28.29 percent were more than 15 years old hands. Persons who were new recruits, i.e. working for less than 3 years, were only 8.29 percent while those having 3-5 years experience constituted 17.56 percent. These figures clearly spelt out that the Atul Industrial units have been giving employment to tribals since quite long time. Although there did not exist any clearly laid out policy to give preference to tribals in recruitment, the Atul Industrial Units however, gave emphasis in recruiting locally available persons. Since the 'tribals formed a big chunk of the local population, the units also gave equal opportunities to them in recruitment. Due to their low educational achievements, they

were not able to compete for the higher paid jobs of "technicians, white collar jobs and supervisory posts. But, as indicated earlier, the job of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers did not require much education, the tribals did find opportunities to get such jobs. Further, not many non-tribals from amongst the local population liked to get employment in these jobs.

TABLE-46

Period of industrial employment (Figures given in percentages)

Sr. No.	Period	Name of the villages/township					
		Atul colony	Pardi	Chanvai	Wadi falia	Atul village	total
1.	Less than 1 years	-	2.08	2.08	4.65	-	1.95
2.	1 to 2 years	3.45	4.17	4.17	-	5.41	3.41
3.	2 to 3 years	-	4.17	4.17	2.32	2.70	2.93
4.	3 to 4 years	-	16.66	8.33	16.28	13.51	11.71
5.	4 to 5 years	10.34	4.17	6.25	6.98	2.70	5.85
6.	5 to 10 years	27.59	47.91	35.41	37.21	5.41	32.20
7.	10 to 15 years	31.03	10.42	4.17	16.28	13.51	13.66
8.	More than 15 years	27.59	10.42	35.42	16.28	56.76	28.29
	TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Looking back to the figures of table 46, it would be easily observed that except Chanvai and Wadi Falia, in all the remaining three places, more than 60 percent of the industrial workers were old hands. From Chanvai and Wadi Falia, as much as 40 percent were having more than 10 years of industrial employment. It could be possible that in both these villages, tribals were comparatively well-to-do agriculturists and also because agricultural labour work was available in plenty (owing to the presence

of big non-tribal land owners in Chanvai village), the tribals of these villages came on the industrial scene later. Regarding the first reason, it could be corroborated from the figures given in the next table that in these two villages, a great majority of the tribals were owning agricultural land.

TABLE-47

Percentage of tribal industrial workers owning agricultural land

Name of the place	Owning agricultural land	Having no agricultural land	Total
Atul colony	48.28	51.72	100.00
Pardi	64.58	35.42	100.00
Chanvai	81.25	18.75	100.00
Wadi Falia	74.42	25.58	100.00
Atul Village	5.40	94.60	100.00
TOTAL	57.56	42.44	100.00

What was the previous occupation of the respondents before they became industrial workers? In response to this query, quite a large number of them stated that they were doing agriculture, either in the family's agricultural land or as agricultural labourer in others' land. From the figures presented in the next table it was clear that 43.42 percent of the tribal industrial workers were formerly concerned with agriculture. But the highest percentage was engaged in non-agricultural labour work. During the formative period of the different production units, the opportunities to work as casual labourers were vast. For the construction of different buildings for the factories, the residential quarters, office buildings, etc. labour used to be recruited on a large scale in those period. The tribals did join the labour force. Many of them, in due course, got employment in the different production units, but before that they had to work as casual labourers with the contractors.

TABLE 48

Previous occupation of the surveyed industrial workers
(Figures given in percentages)

Sr. No.	Nature of Occupation	Name of the villages/townships					
		Atul	Pardi	Chanvai	Wadi Falia	Atul Village	Total
1.	Agriculture	48.28	27.08	43.75	30.23	8.11	31.22
2.	Agricultural labour	6.90	12.50	6.25	13.95	21.62	12.20
3.	Non-agricultural labour	17.24	25.00	29.17	39.54	70.27	36.10
4.	Jobless	13.79	20.83	14.28	9.30	-	12.19
5.	Studying	13.79	8.33	6.25	2.33	-	5.85
6.	No Response	-	6.25	-	4.65	-	2.44
	TOTAL	100.00	99.99	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

12.19 percent of the respondents were without any kind of job which meant they started their working career in the industry itself. So was the situation with 5.85 percent of them who were pursuing their studies before becoming industrial workers. But it would be unrealistic to take it for granted that those who were having no job previously did not know any trade. It was customary among these tribals to take the assistance of all the family members, whether young or old, in making a living for the family. For instance, in case of agriculturist families, everybody contributed his or her labour in the family's agricultural pursuits. In that way almost everybody, besides the main earner, had the status of earning dependents in the family.

Majority of the respondents left the previous occupation because in the present occupation they got good wages. As the figures given in the next table indicated for 58.14 percent of the surveyed tribal industrial workers, better wages in the present occupation induced them to leave their previous occupation. For 9.28 percent of them,

the low income in their previous occupation compelled them to leave that. Thus, financial gain was the main motive for accepting the present occupation and leaving the previous

TABLE-49
Response regarding reasons for leaving the previous occupation

Name of the villages/ villages/ townships	Reasons					Total
	Got a job having good salary	was feeling uncomfortable	Had low income	Had personal like for industrial occupation	No response	
Atul colony	62.07	10.34	-	-	27.59	100.00
Pardi	50.00	6.25	8.33	20.84	14.58	100.00
Chanvai	47.92	8.33	20.83	10.42	12.50	100.00
Wadi Falia	58.14	30.23	4.65	-	6.98	100.00
Atul village	75.68	10.81	-	-	13.51	100.00
TOTAL	57.56	11.70	9.28	7.31	14.15	100.00

one. Some of them stated that the present occupation was of their liking and in the previous occupation they were psychologically not feeling comfortable. For several of them, agriculture was a boring and monotonous work and hence did not like to pursue it. According to them in industrial employment one had to work for fixed hours and after that he was free to use his time as one wished. For some of them who themselves or their parents might have been working as bonded labourers, industrial employment, where they got regular wages and that too at a much better rate was a great boon and they preferred to do this job in order to get away from the drudgery of the previous employment.

SOURCE OF GETTING THE PRESENT JOB

Quite a large number of the tribal industrial workers governed under this survey secured the present job through personal source. As shown in the next table for 35.12 percent of them, their relatives and friends who were already in the industrial employment arranged through their efforts to get the job for the respondents. The next important source was the group of those senior officials in the production units whose influence could work in securing a job to an individual. 30.24 percent of the total respondents claimed to have secured the present job after coming in contact of the 'Saheb log' (one who commanded good influence) of the colony. Several of the job-seekers in the

TABLE - 50

Response regarding sources of getting the present job

Name of the villages/ townships	Sources						Total
	Through contractors	Personal efforts	Through relatives /frineds	Through employment exchange	Through 'sahebs	No Res-ponse	
Atul colony	-	37.93	44.83	3.45	10.35	3.45	100.0
Pardi	-	12.50	31.25	18.75	29.17	8.33	100.0
Chanvai	18.75	6.25	31.25	8.33	27.09	8.33	100.0
Wadi Falia	9.30	4.65	44.19	2.33	34.88	4.65	100.0
Atul Village	13.50	5.41	27.03	-	45.95	8.11	100.0
TOTAL	8.78	11.71	35.12	7.32	30.24	6.83	100.0

production units first used to collect first hand information about the officials who wielded considerable influence. After obtaining such informations they, through their relatives or friends or through other intermediaries would approach the 'Saheb' and would keep in regular touch with him in one way or other. Ultimately, if that particular 'Saheb' found him

suitable, he would recommend his case to the appointing authorities. The fellow would be further screened by a selection committee but the recommendation of the particular Saheb would be enough for him to obtain the job.

Those (11.71 percent), who had stated that they got the present job because of their own personal efforts were using the same approach as discussed above, with only difference in that they rendered their personal services as domestic servants in household or as gardener in somebody's bungalow or as errand boy. After doing a stint of such jobs with anyone of the influential 'Sahebs' the job-seekers would request the 'Saheb' to fix him as industrial worker in any production units.

Some got their job through the contractors. These persons had been working with any particular Contractor for some time. When the construction project was over, the job keepers would request the Contractor to secure a job for him in any of the industrial units. If the person was closely known to the Contractor (which meant that some sort of personal bond might have been created between the two), his candidature would be forwarded to the concerned authorities. Since the Contractors usually remained in close contact with senior officials they could use their influence to secure a job for those to whom they had been knowing intimately.

Through employment exchange, a very small number got jobs in the industrial units. This clearly suggested that instead of official approach, the personal approach through the influence channel was much better source for obtaining employment in the units of the Atul industrial complex. It was only from Pardi town that a good number of tribal industrial workers obtained the job through the employment exchange. From amongst the workers coming from Atul colony and Wadi Falia a very small number did get their job through this source. While from amongst those of Atul village none got the job through employment exchange.

Analysing the figures of table 50 locality-wise it would become clear that different sources played a key role for the workers belonging to different places in getting industrial employment. For instance, among the workers of Atul colony Wadi falia and Chanvai villages relatives and friends were the major source while for the workers of Atul village the 'Saheb log' proved to be the most important source. However, this source i.e. 'Saheb log' played a key role in securing job for workers of all the places except for those of Atul colony. Those residing in Atul colony were immigrants coming from distant villages and hence it was quite understandable that it was not feasible for them to develop a close relationship with 'Saheb log' of the colony. Whereas for the tribals living in the Atul village tremendous opportunity was there to develop such relationship with particular 'Saheb'. This situation to a good extent also prevailed for the tribals of Wadifalia and Chanvai villages: and even of Pardi town. But clearly those of Atul village were in most advantageous position in this respect.

FEEDING OF SECURITY OR INSECURITY

On the basis of the responses of the workers it would be no exaggeration to say that the arrangements of the different production units had been able to instil internal manpower stability. As would be apparent from the figures of the next table, 80.49 percent of the tribal industrial workers felt secure towards their present jobs. It was this sense of security generated by the managements, apart from other factors, that there was a heavy rush to get employment in the production units of this industrial complex. Only a small percentage (11.22 percent) of them felt insecure towards their work while 8.29 percent were ambiguous regarding this. It was clear that the regulations concerning the service conditions in the production units were always complied by the managements and as such except for serious misdemeanours such as theft, the managements, in general, never abused their positions by harassing the workers. Salary, other allowances and bonuses etc. were paid with great regularity.

TABLE 51

Opinions towards feeling of security or insecurity towards present job
(Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/ townships	Opinion			
	Secure	Insecure	Have no clear idea	Total
Atul Colony	68.97	31.03	-	100.00
Pardi	66.67	14.58	18.75	100.00
Chanvai	93.75	4.17	2.08	100.00
Wadi Falia	83.72	6.98	9.30	100.00
Atul Village	86.49	5.40	8.11	100.00
TOTAL	80.49	11.22	8.29	100.00

Of the total number of the respondents who felt secure in their occupation, 81.21 percent had the feeling of security because of the permanent nature of the job while 18.79 felt confidence in themselves for doing their job efficiently and hence no feeling of insecurity. The figures given in the next table would clearly explain that the different production units of the Atul industrial complex had evolved suitable service rules and regulations by which the workers were made permanent in their jobs in due course.

TABLE-52

Reasons for feeling secure in the present occupation

Name of the Villages/ townships	Reasons		
	Permanent Job	Confidence in self for doing hard work	Total
Atul colony	60.00	40.00	100.00
Pardi	71.88	28.12	100.00
Chanvai	86.67	13.33	100.00
Wadi Falia	86.11	13.89	100.00
Atul Village	90.62	9.38	100.00
TOTAL	81.21	18.79	100.00

Regarding feeling of insecurity majority of the workers felt insecure in their job because of the temporary and casual nature of their employment; they had not completed the probation period, hence were not certain whether they would be allowed to continue after the probation period. Some of them were employed on ad-hoc basis and unless suitable vacancies in regular cadre were created it would have been difficult for them to get absorbed on permanent basis. A few workers felt insecure because of the keen competition in getting employment in the production units, A small number of them could not develop sense of security towards their present job because of low incomes.

But as stated earlier, a vast majority of the workers carried a feeling of security towards their job in this industrial complex. It had been observed that the longer the tribal workers experience of industrial employment greater confidence was developed in them and consequently greater sense of security. The chances of permanent employment tended to rise with each successive and more important job and the desire for change for its own sake lessened as they grew older in their occupation. Further as we would see later, the management had been induced to promote and organize trade unions which also protected the service in a general way of the members. The workers in this industrial complex had received many advantages (they might be thought to be still inadequate, but were by no means negligible) from the production units. There were many administrative regulations on hygiene and safety in the factories. Undoubtedly the different production units were being run by more far sighted, more humane or more competent managements.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORKS

What was the attitude of the tribal industrial workers towards their working life? First and foremost far above all other responses, it was found that the work which they had been doing was pleasant to do. From the figures given in the next table 31.71 percent

TABLE 53

Response regarding attitude towards work (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the villages/ townships	Response						Total
	Pleasant work	Work of my personal taste	Training job	Mechanical and Boring	Hard & full of risks	Does not feel anything	
Atul colony	31.04	13.79	6.90	24.14	10.34	13.79	100.00
Pardi	22.91	12.50	39.58	4.17	4.17	16.67	100.00
Chanvai	25.00	50.00	-	6.25	-	18.75	100.00
Wadi Falia	39.53	18.60	6.98	6.98	-	27.91	100.00
Atul Village	43.24	18.92	10.81	5.41	10.81	10.81	100.00
TOTAL	31.71	23.90	13.66	8.29	4.39	18.05	100.00

of the total respondents subscribed to this view. Next in importance, the work is of my personal taste was stated by 23.90 percent of them. When these two responses which were of positive nature are combined together, it could at once be seen that more than 55 percent of the workers liked their work and in a way appeared to be satisfied with their present work. For 13.66 percent the work was very training type while 8.29 percent found their work of mechanical nature and hence boring. This indicated that for some workers the work which they had been doing did not give them satisfaction. A small number (4.39 percent of the total workers) found their work quite hard and also involving risk to their life. Although industrial accidents did occur now and then, the incidence was quite low. All the production units of this complex displayed all the best features of modern undertakings. Their equipment and the organization of the work were up-to-date and they were conspicuous by the cleanliness of their premises and by their social policy towards the workers. They clearly realized that these were conditions necessary to a stable manpower situation and to secure an output that would reduce

the cost of production. Since the production unit were having collaboration with foreign firms of great repute, the working conditions found in modern undertakings were adopted here too.

Quite a good number of workers (18.05 percent) failed to express their attitude in concrete terms. They were mostly unskilled workers who appeared to suffer more than the others from the lack of interest attaching to their work.

Looking to these responses locality-wise, it would be observed that among the workers belonging to the villages i.e. of Chanvai, Wadi falia and Atul, quite a large number of them were having positive attitude towards their work while among those of the townships of Atul and Pardi it was not so. In the latter case, the number of such workers who expressed negative attitude was also quite sizeable. This suggested that by and large the workers coming from villages had more satisfaction in their work than those coming from the townships.

RELATIONSHIP WITH SUPERVIORS

As have been indicated earlier, majority of the tribal industrial workers were either unskilled or skilled workers. The upper and middle strata in the different production units mainly consisted of educated non-tribals belonging mostly to Kirdu caste groups. Differences in the belief systems of the two groups were most evident and probably functionally, the most important in respect of the rationale for their collective endeavour and in respect of their notions about each other. These beliefs revealed differences in respective definition and evaluation which were only imperfectly compatible with each other and often substantial hinderances to effective collaboration. On account of the great difference which existed between these two ethnic groups with respect to their familiarity with the aims, methods and materials of industry, skills, values and work-

habits, many a times tension arose out of the imperfect adjustments of the caste Hindus to the limitations of the tribal industrial workers and of the latter to the new demands that were made on them to be efficient and disciplined industrial worker. Such a situation often created difficulties in inter-personal relations between the non-tribal supervisory staff and the tribal manual workers. But as the tribal workers were, by and large, submissive and docile, they tried to maintain cordial relationships with their non-tribal superiors. As shown in the next table, 81.46 percent of the total respondents maintained cordial relationships with their various superiors. Only 2.44 percent of them were having difficult relationships with their superiors while 11.71 percent were just indifferent.

TABLE - 54

Relationship with various superiors (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/ Townships	Response				Total
	Cordial	Non-cordial	Indifferent	No Response	
Atul Colony	82.76	3.45	10.34	3.45	100.00
Pardi Town	75.00	2.08	20.84	100.00	
Chanvai	93.75	-	6.25	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	79.67	6.98	2.32	11.63	100.00
Atul Village	75.68	-	18.92	5.40	100.00
TOTAL	81.46	2.44	11.71	4.39	100.00

The most important single attribute determining an individual's social status in the industrial set-up was his ethnicity. The caste Hindus having the highest status and the tribals the lowest. It was abundantly evident from behaviour of the members of the two ethnic groups that ethnicity was the primary determinant of the rank. Such other attributes as the possession of wealth, tenure of an important political position or

achievement of a high educational standard helped to secure the individual tribal a high social ranking in his own community but not social equality with members of the caste Hindu community. Gross discordance existed also between the stereotypes held by members of each ethnic group concerning those of the other group, about their own psychological attributes. The tribals believed the caste Hindus to be rich, powerful, resourceful, clever and polite but contemptuous of tribals and always liable to discriminate unfairly, between a tribal worker and a non-tribal worker. Caste Hindus believed the tribals to be ignorant, untruthful, deceitful, given to drunkenness, lazy and touchy. It was commonly alleged by the tribal workers that the non-tribal supervisors refrained from imparting skills to the tribal workers and deliberately blocked their advancement. It was possible that the non-tribal supervisor's opinion of the tribals as inferior and lazy made him think it a waste of time to try to teach them. But it was unlikely that there was a significant amount of deliberate prevention of tribal acquisition of skill, because of the very contempt of the non-tribal for tribal competition and because any supervisor or middle strata industrial worker behaving in this way would obviously receive short shrift from the management of the production units. In spite of the stereotype, the officers of the management group expressed liking of the tribal workers on personality ground. As mentioned earlier they found the tribal workers to be more respectful, You get prompt obedience from them they are not cheeky.

Tribal workers themselves liked to hold forth on the handicaps they laboured under in regard to wage-earning "because we have little education". This was not entirely realistic, because schooling would not add anything material to their qualification for a skilled or perhaps even a semi-skilled job. The uneducated tribal workers handicap, such as it was, lied in his lesser chance of attaining to one of the skilled or office jobs. Vocational training schemes for tribals were limited. The Atul Industrial complex had no

training programme for tribals. During employment also they did not receive adequate training.

The tribal workers also accused the superior belonging to their own community of being jealous of progress made by his subordinates. But the authority of the tribal supervisor was the least effective. This appeared to be due mainly to the subordinate position of tribals in all spheres of the society. With the reorganization of his social world by the caste Hindus and the persistent encroachment of the non-tribal's valuation upon his thinking, the tribals had come to dis-esteem their own social group. The illustration given below would bring this point in sharp relief.

When I first went to meet a particular tribal supervisor at his residence, I explained to him the purpose of the study and requested him to extend his cooperation to us which would be certainly valueable as he was the most educated tribal industrial worker holding a supervisory position. He listened to me patiently and then asked me "how did you come to know that I belong to tribal community. When I answered him he reported "it is impossiole as I have never revealed to anybody my tribal origin". He further went on "I don't want to get my tribal identity revealed to my fellow-workers as they would start thinking me as uncivilized, stupid and culturally and socially backward". So please excuse me as I won't grant you any interview".

INVOLVEMENT WITH TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

As far as tribal and non-tribal labour behaviour was concerned, there was hardly any possibility of makitag out any distinction between their attitude towards employers. The distinction was only of the degree but they felt alike. Both were unsatisfied with the attitudes, facilities and wages given by the production units. But no direct relation existed between the labourers and the different production units as there were recognized

trade unions between them. Two trade unions (i) Atul Kamdar Sangh and (ii) Attic Employees Union had been active since 1965. Nearly all the industrial workers were members of either of these two unions. None of them had any affiliation with any All India Trade Union.

So far, tribal workers were concerned, it was found that 81.95 percent of the respondents covered in the survey had enrolled themselves as members of the trade union. As shown in the next table, quite a sizeable number forming 18.05 percent of the respondents had not joined any trade union. Even those who had become members, were not very active in the activities of the unions. Infact, in the executive bodies of both the unions there was hardly adequate representation from tribal employees. In the executive body of only one of the two unions, there was a solitary tribal worker. Most of the tribal members had no clear idea about the purpose of the union but they felt that the union leaders were not interested in the problems faced by the tribal industrial workers. Whenever somebody approached, he did not get satisfactory treatment at the hands of the office bearers of the unions.

TABLE-55

Membership of Unions (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/Townships	Response		
	Yes	No	Total
Atul Colony	82.76	17.24	100.00
Pardi Town	85.42	14.58	100.00
Chanvai	93.75	6.25	100.00
Wadi Falia	72.09	27.91	100.00
Atul Village	72.97	27.03	100.00
TOTAL	81.95	18.05	100.00

On being asked regarding the purpose of the formation of unions, 49.27 percent of the respondents opined that the main role of the union was to negotiate with the management for solving the problems faced by the workers. A further look into the next table would reveal that in view of quite a large number of respondents forming 31.71 percent, union was there to safeguard their interests so far their service conditions were concerned. For 14.14 percent, through the Union justice could be obtained from the management. It was clear from the responses of the tribal industrial workers that majority of them had good notion regarding the purpose of the formation of trade union. Only 4.88 percent out of the total respondents were not able to express clearly on this.

TABLE - 56

Purpose of trade union (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/ Townships	Response				Total
	To negotiate with the management for solving workers problems	To safe-guard their interests	To get justice from management for workers	No Response	
Atul Colony	37.92	27.59	31.04	3.45	100.00
Pardi Town	58.33	22.92	14.58	4.17	100.00
Chanvai	16.67	58.33	18.75	6.25	100.00
Wadi Falia	83.72	11.63	—	4.65	100.00
Atul Village	48.65	35.13	10.81	5.41	100.00
TOTAL	49.27	31.71	14.14	4.88	100.00

A large majority of the tribal industrial workers had the knowledge regarding the activities of the trade unions. As shown in the next table, as much as 75.61 percent of them expressed that they were very much aware about the Union's activities. In fact, they

TABLE - 57

Idea regarding Union's activities

Name of the Villages/ townships	Opinion			
	Yes	No	No response	Total
Atul Colony	75.86	24.14	-	100.00
Pardi	83.33	10.42	6.25	100.00
Chanvai	83.33	14.59	2.08	100.00
Wadi Falia	65.12	4.65	30.23	100.00
Atul Village	67.57	18.92	13.51	100.00
TOTAL	75.61	13.66	10.73	100.00

stressed the activities of the Union came to the knowledge of anyone who has some interest in it. Only those who have absolutely no interest in it, do not know about its activities". This appeared to be a right assessment, as only 13.66 percent of them had no idea about the Union's activities while 10.73 percent failed to give proper response.

Although the tribal industrial workers generally knew about the purpose of the Union and were also having good idea about the activities of the Unions, the non-tribal industrial workers felt more closeness rather than tribal workers because of the fact that the former were more conscious for the Union and their own rights and due to the fact that nearly all the leaders in the Unions were non-tribal. Secondly, the non-tribal workers were more money minded and due to this they, approached the leaders of the Unions for every petty matters of their wage, bonus, overtime, etc. In comparison to the tribal workers, the non-tribal workers were politically more alive and had less aptitude for leisure.

Due to all these facts, it appeared that only a small number of tribal workers

were found to have approached the Union to solve' their individual grievances. According to the figures given in the next table, only 5.37 of the total surveyed tribal industrial workers had contacted the Union, when they were faced with some problems. A large number of the respondents forming 82.44 percent had never approached the Union for any help. This implied that by and large, the tribal industrial workers were not able to use the Unions for settlement of their individual grievances with the management. It was only in cases of labour disputes of collective nature that the Unions proved to be useful for all the workers, including the tribal workers. Thus the validity of the Unions were realized by the workers, irrespective of the fact whether they belonged to different ethnic groups. This was reflected in the response of tribal industrial workers regarding the ability of the Unions to solve the problems of the industrial workers. As shown in the next table, 69.76 percent of the respondents gave the answer in affirmative, indicating that the Unions were quite capable of solving the labour disputes of collective nature and they had been doing this job. These people felt that the Unions by and large, depended and fought for their rights. But there were some, forming 16.58 percent of the total respondents, who felt that the Unions were not able to solve the problems

TABLE - 58

Help taken from the Unions (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/ townships	Response			Total
	Had approached the Union	Never approached	No Response	
Atul Colony	3.45	93.10	3.45	100.00
Pardi	6.25	77.08	16.67	100.00
Chanvai	-	97.92	2.08	100.00
Wadi Falia	4.65	76.74	18.61	100.00
Atul Village	13.51	67.57	18.92	100.00
TOTAL	5.37	82.44	12.19	100.00

TABLE-59

Response regarding ability of Unions to solve the problems of workers (Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/ townships	Response			
	Yes	No	NR	Total
Atul Colony	72.41	10.35	17.24	100.00
Pardi	56.25	41.67	2.08	100.00
Chanvai	91.67	2.08	6.25	100.00
Wadi Falia	58.14	162.8	25.58	100.00
Atul Village	70.27	8.11	21.62	100.00
TOTAL	69.76	16.58	13.66	100.00

of labourers. According to them the Unions were not serving their causes well. They further alleged that the leaders of the union and the management had joined hands due to which the interests of the workers were not being safeguarded at the hands of the Union leaders. 13.66 percent of the respondents didnot give precise answers as they were not sure about the usefulness of Unions in solving the labour disputes of collective nature.

TABLE- 60

Participation in strike (Figures given in percentage)

Name of the Villages/Townships	Response		
	Had participated	Never Participated	Total
Atul Colony	13.79	86.21	100.00
Pardi Town	20.83	79.17	100.00
Chanvai	31.25	68.75	100.00
Wadi Falia	13.95	86.05	100.00
Atul Village	10.81	89.19	100.00
TOTAL	19.02	80.98	100.00

Had they ever participated in any strike? To this question, a large majority of tribal industrial workers forming 80.98 replied in negative. According to the figures given in the next table, only 19.02 percent of them had participated in a strike. In fact there had been few labour troubles in this industrial complex which could result in a situation of strike. There had been only one major strike in the year 1958. During that period, not many tribals were in the employment in this industrial complex. This was the reason why only a small number of tribal industrial workers had participated in any strike. Another reason that tribals in general were not militant in their approach regarding settlement of disputes with the management and hence would not prefer to resort to go on strike. They would generally prefer to approach the authorities individually to get solution of their problems. But this approach too was not followed by many, as revealed by the figures of the next table. This implied that by and large the tribal industrial workers were of docile and shy nature and had reconciled with their working situation. Only 18.54 percent of the tribal industrial workers covered in this survey had ever approached their superiors to settle their grievances. This indicated that the tribal workers were not willing to exert themselves beyond the level necessary merely to retain employment. They clearly showed an attitude of passiveness in these matters. The fact that 76.10 percent of them had never come across the occasion to approach the authorities to represent their grievances suggested that they had not been assertive for their rights, privileges and had decent shown behaviour to their superiors. Many had complained that their superiors were 'rough', 'rude', 'too bossy' and 'put too much pressure upon us'. But despite the harsh treatment, they generally did not bring this to the attention of either the management or the Union. Generally, they accepted the situation as part of the job and had accepted the behaviour of the supervisors, foremen or leading hands, without any complain.

TABLE- 61

Response regarding making approach to authorities for redress of grievances (Figures given in Percentages)

Name of the Villages/ Townships	Response			
	Have Approached	Have Never approached	No response	Total
Atul Colony	31.03	58.62	10.35	100.00
Pardi Town	18.75	81.25	-	100.00
Chanvai	29.17	70.83	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	9.30	72.09	18.61	100.00
Atul Village	5.41	94.59	-	100.00
TOTAL	18.54	76.10	5.36	100.00

The degree of human identification on the part of the upper ranks of industry with the tribal workers was extremely limited. This divorce legitimized for the higher ranking group of the superior position and advantages they enjoyed. But in consequences, approaches to the question of improving the productive standards of the tribal workers inevitably became mechanistic rather than humanistic and defeatist rather than optimistic. This was clearly seen in the behaviour of the non-tribal supervisors. Most of them lacked the interest and confidence in their tribal sub-ordinates, necessary to make the best use of their energies. Their indifference was expressed in several ways of maligning the cultural forms of the tribals. In general, the non-tribal supervisors felt that the tribals would never improve; they would remain 'jungle' for ever. Sometimes careless supervision by the supervisor made for the loss of the personal element in the relationship between supervisor and worker important in any cooperating group and especially important to the tribal workers originating from the closely knit social system of small scale tribal society.

CHPATER - VII

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND TRIBAL ECONOMY :
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PATTERN

During the last two decades, the tribals of this region have made sizeable economic gains although they still lag well behind the population as a whole. This progress was evident whether defined in terms of employment/ changing occupational characteristics/ education or income. Nevertheless, tribals in the industrial employment were still heavily concentrated in low-skilled, low paying occupations. In part, this reflects the educational deficiencies and the absence of skills of a sizeable proportion of the tribal population. But ethnic discrimination and limited access to better paying occupations was also in part responsible. The tribals had been forced through economic necessity into occupations for which they had no affinity and no sense of identification. They had to offer their labour service at any price in order to live whilst non-tribals could do without them 'Thanks, to the resources at their disposal. These imperfections in the division of labour in the industrial set-up between the tribals and non-tribals were a function of the inheritance of power and property by birth rather than by merit and 'natural aptitude' In the traditional set-up, the tribal society possessed a state of solidarity of bonds between men, as a result of the similarity of the individuals and segments of society involved. The division of labour and inequality in income were the most profound differences between the traditional tribal society and the industrial society in which the tribals have become participant. The tribal peasantry had created cohesive, family based unit of productions and consumption bound from a self-sustaining unity to a specific geographical location, which led to a very restrictive orientation to economic activity. The economic action was closely interwoven with family relations and the motive of profit maximisation in money terms seldom appeared in its explicit form. Traditionally, the greater part and the most

fundamental part of their economic activities took place in subsistence sector and without the use of much money, whilst a smaller and less basic part took place in the money sector. On account of the subsistence nature of economy, for vast majority of these people, till recently, the use of money remained an irregular and peripheral factor, rather than essential part of living. But on account of urbanization and industrialization, the monetary economy has spread very widely over this region. Due to industrialization, the tribals of this region have become involved as participants in "two-economic system, which were of sharply contrasted nature, one being a subsistence peasant economy while the other was the full blown industrial and commercial economy. The first called for the particularistic attitude of a small scale and technically backward community, the other for impersonal universalistic standards. In the industrial setting the tribals acted in three settings, not only in two. In the third, the urban location, economic relations have a quality of their own. In their traditional economy, he was a subsistence producer and consumer; in the industrial setting, in the capitalist economy, he was an employee and again a consumer, and in the third setting among fellow tribal industrial workers, he acted out economic roles as tenant, landlord, customer, borrower and lender. The third field of activity was ruled by its own standards which partly resembled each of the other two kinds. So far the last two settings were concerned, the wages earned by him as an employee became a significant factor.

PATTERN OF INCOME

As would be seen from the figures of the next table the monthly income earned from industrial employment was low, but it was certainly higher from those who entirely depended upon agriculture for livelihood. Majority of the tribal industrial workers covered in the survey were having a monthly income in the range of Rs.20/- to Rs.300/-. Quite a good number of them, forming 28.29 percent of the total were having a month

income in the range of Rs.301/- to 400/-. Beyond this range an insignificant number of them were found. Taking together the two ranges, Rs.201-300 and Rs. 301-400, accounted for 95.60 percent of the total surveyed workers. Looking to the figures closely, it could be seen that none of the Naikag of Atul village were in the higher ranges of income i.e. in Rs. 401-500 and Rs. 501 - 750. Vast majority of them, to the tune of 89.19 percent of the total workers in Atul village were just earning a monthly income of Rs.201-300. In the higher ranges of monthly income, only a few Dhodias of Wadi Falia and Pardi were found. It was clear, then that a big majority of the tribal industrial workers were in low paying jobs.

TABLE - 62

Percentage distribution of surveyed tribal workers according to their monthly income

Name of the Villages/ Townships	Range of monthly income					Total
	Rs.100 - 200	Rs. 201 - 300	Rs. 301 - 400	Rs. 401 - 500	Rs. 501 - 750	
Atul Colony	6.90	62.07	31.03	-	-	100.00
Pardi Town	6.25	66.67	22.92	-	4.16	100.00
Chanvai	-	62.50	37.50	-	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	-	58.14	39.53	2.33	-	100.00
Atul Village	2.70	89.19	8.11	-	-	100.00
TOTAL	2.93	67.31	28.29	0.49	0.98	100.00

Whether they were getting their pay regularly or not? To this query, 94.63 percent of them, as shown in the next table, replied that they were being paid regularly. Only 5.37 percent reported that they were not getting their pay regularly. These were the persons who had not yet been confirmed in their jobs and were working on ad-hoc basis. Due to this, sometimes they did not receive their salaries in time. But, by and large, the

TABLE - 63

Percentage distribution of surveyed tribal industrial workers according to their responses regarding getting pay regularly or irregularly

Name of the Villages/Townships	Response		
	Getting pay regularly	Getting pay irregularly	Total
Atul Colony	96.55	3.45	100.00
Pardi Town	85.42	14.58	100.00
Chanvai	100.00	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	100.00	-	100.00
Atul Village	91.89	8.11	100.00
TOTAL	94.63	5.37	100.00

tribals workers did not face any problem in getting their salaries regularly, which implied that there was no discrimination between them and non-tribals on this score.

According to the figures given in the next table, a large majority of them, to the tune of 80.49 percent of the total, were not satisfied over their monthly wages. Only 19.51 percent of them expressed satisfaction. It meant that the tribal workers too had become conscious regarding the low income they earned from industrial employment. They could perceive that others were being well paid and the inequality in income was patently clear to them.

TABLE - 64

Response regarding satisfaction over the monthly wages
(Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/Townships	Response		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Atul Colony	31.03	68.97	100.00
Pardi Town	14.58	85.42	100.00
Chanvai	12.50	87.50	100.00
Wadi Falia	23.26	76.74	100.00
Atul Village	21.62	78.38	100.00
TOTAL	19.51	80.49	100.00

On being asked what were the reasons for dissatisfaction over their monthly wages, majority of them replied that due to rising prices it was difficult to meet both ends with this low income. As shown in the next table, 58.18 percent of them gave this reason while 23.03 percent said that with this income they could not maintain the family. Another 18.79 percent reported that as they were having big family the monthly wages

TABLE- 65

Response regarding reasons for dissatisfaction over monthly wages
(Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/Townships	Response			Total
	Due to rising prices difficult to meet both ends	Can't maintain the family with this income	Big family but low income	
Atul Colony	50.00	35.00	15.00	100.00
Pardi Town	43.90	29.27	26.83	100.00
Chanvai	64.28	19.05	16.67	100.00
Wadi Falia	66.67	21.21	12.12	100.00
Atul Village	65.52	13.79	20.69	100.00
TOTAL	58.09	23.09	18.79	100.00

earned by working the industry were quite low; hence dissatisfaction. By and large, the tribal workers, as consumers, were realizing that with this wages they had a very poor purchasing power. This evidently resulted in a low standard of living which they could easily conceive by observing the higher standard of living of other groups. Thus although there had been noticeable improvement in the income positions of the tribals employed as industrial workers, there was great disparity between tribal and non-tribal family incomes.

To bring increase in the amount of monthly wages, several tribals workers were found to work overtime for which they were paid double the amount of daily wages. Working overtime generally meant doing two shifts in a day. if opportunity was provided or working on paid holidays too. As could be seen from the figures given in the next table, not many tribal workers got such opportunities. Of the total workers, only 29.27 percent were able to get opportunity to work overtime but not on regular basis.

TABLE - 66

Response regarding working overtime
(Figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/Townships	Got overtime		
	Yes	No	Total
Atul Colony	10.4	89.66	100.00
Pardi Town	22.92	77.09	100.00
Chanvai	41.67	58.33	100.00
Wadi Falia	34.88	65.12	100.00
Atul Village	29.73	70.27	100.00
TOTAL	29.27	70.73	100.00

However, whenever they got such opportunities, they availed them. This indicated that urge for earning income had certainly increased among them. And the stereotyped

notion that the tribals, in general, did not bother to make efforts to make more money appeared to be wrong. Like industrial workers of any other ethnic group, the tribal workers too had started to use the maximum opportunity to earn as much wages as was possible for them.

Apart from the wages earned as industrial workers, they also supplemented their income through other sources. As had been indicated earlier, a large number of them also owned some agricultural land. In fact, before they became industrial workers, the major source of their livelihood was agriculture itself. Now, for them, agriculture had become subsidiary source of earning income. From several households of these workers, some members of the family did look after the agricultural operations of the household. Of course, the tribal industrial workers, himself too, took keen interest in agricultural activities. It was he who took major decisions in the family's agricultural operations.

Several families also sent one or two and in some cases more than two members to work as casual Labourers. A few of the families of the tribal industrial workers supplemented their family income by raising poultry while a few others kept milch cattle in order to sell milk. In some of the families there were individuals who were working as teachers. They also contributed in the income of their family.

According to the figures given in the next table, for a the large majority of the surveyed households the job in the industry was the principal source of income. Of the total income earned by the families of surveyed tribal industrial workers, 83.78 percent was derived from this source. Next in importance was the income from agriculture which accounted for 12.31 per cent of the total income earned by the surveyed households. Apart from this secondary source, casual labour work, animal husbandry, poultry and professional work were other sources through which 1.99 percent, 0.59 percent, 0.17

percent and 1.05 percent respectively of the total income were derived. It was apparent that animal husbandry and poultry which could become important sources for supplementing the family's income had not been undertaken on a big scale. Due to the rapid industrialization of the region and nearness of big cities, there was tremendous potentialities for earning good income through poultry and animal husbandry. Besides these, vegetable growing could become another major source for earning income. But this too had not attracted the attention of the tribals.

Looking to the figures locality wise, it was clear that for the industrial workers belonging to the Dhodia community (from Atul, Chanvai and Wadi Falia), agriculture was an important source for supplementing the family's income. As had been discussed earlier, Dhodias were better and advanced agriculturists. Even though industrial employment had become the major source for the family's income for them, they continued to maintain agriculture also as an important source. In sharp contrast to them, for the Naikas of Atul village, unskilled casual labour work had been the next important source after industrial employment. It had been indicated earlier that due to living in close proximity of the Atul colony (almost in the colony), the young boys and girls of their families easily found employment as servants and house maid in the colony. Besides, they also availed the opportunities of working as labourers with some contractors engaged in construction activities of the different production units. Due to these reasons, casual labour work had become an important source for supplementing the family income.

TABLE - 67

Annual income of the surveyed households from different sources

Name of the villages / townships		Annual income from different sources (in Rs.)								Total
		From Job in Industry	From Agriculture	From Casual Labour work	From Animal husbandry	From Poultry	From Professional work	Others		
Atul colony		97,784	17,784	-	50	1,380	-	950	1,17,784	
	PC.	82.88	15.10	0.04	0.04	1.17	-	0.81	100.00	
Pardi		1,52,230	15,557	300	44870	-	5,600	-	1,78,557	
	PC	85.26	8.71	0.16	2.73	-	3.14	-	100.00	
Chanvai		1,90,161	39,815	2,415	-	-	3,3350	-	2,35,741	
	PC	80.67	16.89	1.02	-	-	1.42	-	100.00	
Wadi Falia		1,51,416	31,420	500	-	50	-	-	1,83,386	
	PC	82.57	17.13	0.27	-	0.03	-	-	100.00	
Atul Village		1,23,668	526	13,741	104	-	-	-	1,38,039	
	PC	89.59	0.38	9.95	0.08	-	-	-	100.00	
TOTAL		1,05,102	16,956	5,024	1,430	8,950	950	8,53,507		
	PC	83.78	12.31	1.99	0.59	0.17	1.05	0.11	100.00	

As mentioned earlier, Dhodias have the highest rate of literacy among all the tribal groups of the State. They have made continued progress in education. Due to this, a good number of Dhodia men and women had got employment as teachers, Government servants and in other professional jobs. Here too, it was from amongst the Dhodias only that professional jobs of a member in some families had contributed to the family's income. On account of the impressive improvements in education, within the Dhodia community income differentials have tended to widen in recent years, among the Dhodias the gains in income in both absolute and relative terms have been the greatest at the highest level of education.

From amongst the Naikas of Atul village, there was none doing any professional job. The Naikas, in general, were far behind the Dhodias in the progress made in education. They also did not own much agricultural land. As mentioned earlier, only two households in the Atul village had some piece of agricultural land in which they had been raising some cereals. Those Dhodias who had been living in the Atul colony made regular trips to their villages during agricultural season to supervise the agricultural operations. Most of them owned agricultural land. Chanvai and Wadi Falia were basically agricultural villages. There, agriculture still was the principal source of living for majority of the households.

The desire of earning more more cash had pushed some young men into smuggling activities. On pay day, these persons would purchase smuggled clothes in bulk on wholesale prices and later on would dispose it off by selling cut-pieces on retail prices, thus making a net profit of about Rs. 100-150 in a month. Some of them also served as contactmen between the seller, and buyer of smuggled goods and thereby could also earn some money on commission.

Another prominent illegal activity was supplying liquor which mainly took place within a network of people who knew each other, who were related by something more than cash nexus. Money was the medium of transaction but they were not impersonal. They constituted a kind of middle term between the functionally specific relations characteristics of a modern urban economy. On an average Rs.10.00 was earned per day by several families engaged in this enterprise. It was not necessary to distil liquor at home as that posed too many risks. After buying the liquor from a big distiller on a wholesale price basis, they supplied it to consumers after making a profit of Rs. 1 to Rs.1.50 per bottle. This involved little risk because supply was done in known circles.

Craze for fashionable dresses/ cinema shows and other personal wants of some tribal girls could only be satisfied through the medium of money. Most of such keen on clothes to such an extent which a tribal family could ill afford. Such girls who were keen on earning money and buying anything they liked, enter into sexual liaisons with men (mostly non-tribals) in order to have a steady income, It was reported that several tribal girls were very conscious of their moral value and most preferred concubinage to marriage, at least when they were young. Under this arrangement they prepared meals and gave sexual service in return for about Rs.200 to 250 per month and occasional gifts. In some cases a marriage resulted, but that was rare while the women was young. Such women preferred concubinage because of the greater freedom it permitted. The traditional law and custom had no meaning in the new situation. Realities for sexual irregularities which were effective under traditional conditions, did not operate in the industrial setup. Girls, while unmarried and working as housemaids or serving as a concubine had more to spend on themselves than married women and due to this some of these girls did not wish to marry and if got married took recourse to dissolution of marriage.

Howeve it was very difficult to know about the earnings made from the above mentioned illicit economic activities, as nobody would accept that openly..

According to the figures given in the next table, a large majority of the surveyed households had an annual income between Rs.3001 to Rs.5000. Of the total surveyed households, 68.75 percent were in the income groups of Rs.3000~3500. Rs.3501 to Rs.4000 and Rs. 4001 to 5000. In these individual income groups the percentages of surveyed households were 23.44, 24.48 and 20. 83 respectively. The next higher income group of Rs.5001 to 7500 accounted for 11.99 percent of the total surveyed household. There was a couple of households in the groups of Rs 10001 to 15000 and Rs. 15000 and above, In the low income groups of less than Rs.2500 and Rs.2501-3000, there were 2.61 and 7.81 percents respectively.

A closer look to the table would reveal that it was from amongst the Dhodias of Chanvai and Wadi Falia that a couple of the tribal industrial worker's family were in the first two highest income groups. Among the Naikas of the Atul village, as far as 80.00 percent of the total households were in the income, groups ranging from Rs.3001-5000. In the higher income groups of Rs.5001-7500 and Rs.7501-10000, quite a small number of Naikas of Atul village were found, Thus, it was evident that in comparison to the Dhodias of other localities, the Naikas of Atul village earned less income.

TABLE - 68

Percentage distribution of households according to annual income -
locality wise

Sr. No.	Income group (In Rs.)	Name of the villages/townships					Total
		Atul colony	Pardi	Chanvai	Wadi Falia	Atul village	
1.	Less than 2500	10.34	2.44	-	-	2.86	2.61
2.	2501 - 3000	10.34	4.88	4.17	12.82	8.57	7.81
3.	3001-3500	6.90	19.51	22.92	33.33	31.43	23.44
4.	3501-4000	34.49	19.51	27.08	7.95	25.71	24.48
5.	4001-5000	17.24	34.05	20.83	7.69	22.86	20.83
6.	5001-7500	17.24	17.07	8.33	5.39	2.86	11.98
7.	7501-10000	3.45	2.44	10.42	10.26	5.71	6.77
8.	10001-15000	-	-	6.25	-	-	1.56
9.	15001 and above	-	-	-	2.56	-	0.52
	TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The total annual income earned by all the households came to Rs. 853507 It meant that on an average a household among the surveyed households of the tribal industrial workers earned an annual income of Rs.4445 which in terms of monthly income would be Rs.370. As the average size of the household among the surveyed households was 6.8, the monthly income of a person would be Rs.5.5 only. Upon looking into the figures given in the next table, it would at once become, clear that the per capita annual income among the surveyed households was Rs.654 only, which in terms of per capita monthly income as worked out above would be Rs.55 only. This clearly indicated that an average household among the tribal Industrial workers was having an existence of below the poverty line. It has been recommended that an income criteria of Rs.60.00 per capita per month should be applied in deciding whether a household belonged to

below poverty line or not. Those having less than Rs. 60 Per month per capita income should be labelled as living below the poverty line. Thus, inspite of the improvement gained in the economy, due to getting industrial employment, average household of the tribal industrial worker appeared to be living below the poverty line.

TABLE - 69

Annual income per household and per capita per month income

Name of the Villages/ Townships	No. of households considered	Total annual income (in Rs.)	Annual income per household (in Rs.)	Average size of the household	Per capita annual income (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)
Atul Colony	29	117784	4911	6	818	68
Pardi Town	41	178557	4355	6.5	670	56
Chanvai	48	235741	4911	7	702	59
Wadi Falia	39	183386	4702	7.2	653	54
Atul Village	35	138039	3944	7	563	47
TOTAL	192	853507	4445	6.8	654	55

Looking to the figures locality-wise, it could be easily observed that except the tribal industrial workers of Atul colony, in all other locality the per capita per month income was such which suggested that the tribal industrial workers households were on an average, living the below poverty line. In Chanvai the per capita per month income was marginally lower than what was needed for going up above the poverty line. The lowest per capita per month income was among the Naikas of Atul village where it was only Rs.47, much below the poverty line.

Let us now examine the figures of the next table which would give us an accurate assessment regarding the proportion of households actually living below the poverty

line. As the figures suggested 20.83 percent of the households were above the poverty line which meant that a large majority of the households, to the tune of 79.17 percent of the total were having an existence which was labelled as below the poverty line.

Locality-wise, it was in the Atul colony where much more households, in comparison to other localities, were having an economic existence which was above the poverty line. There 37.93 percent of the total households fell into this category. Whereas in localities such as Pardi, Chanvai and Wadi Falia, this percentage was 19.51, 25.00 and 2.56 respectively. In the Atul village not a single household was above the poverty line. Thus, in the Atul village and to some extent in Wadi Falia, the standard of living of nearly all the tribal industrial workers was quite low.

TABLE - 70

Distribution of the surveyed households and its population according to monthly income

Sr. No.	Income group (in Rs.)	ATUL COLONY			PARDI			CHANVAI		
		No. of persons	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)	Percentage of house-holds (in Rs.)	No. of persons	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)	Percentage of house-holds (in Rs.)	No. of persons	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)	Percentage of house-holds (in Rs.)
1.	Less than 2500	14	34	10.34	8	25	2.44	-	-	-
2.	2501 - 3000	17	44	10.34	20	24	4.88	12	40	4.17
3.	3001 - 4000	63	58	41.39	109	43	39.02	136	51	50.00
4.	4001 - 5000	24	77	17.24	95	58	34.15	63	59	20.83
5.	5001 - 7500	22	111	17.24	54	63	17.07	31	67	8.33
6.	7501 - 10000	3	219	3.45	12	54	2.44	50	68	10.42
7.	10001 - 15000	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	70	6.25
8.	15001-15000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTA	143	68	100.00	298	56	100.00	334	59	100.00

TABLE - 70 (Contd...)

Distribution of the surveyed households and its population according to monthly income

Sr. No.	Income group (in Rs.)	WADI FALIA			ATUL VILLAGE			TOTAL		
		No. of persons	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)	Percentage of house-holds (in Rs.)	No. of persons	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)	Percentage of house-holds (in Rs.)	No. of persons	Per capita monthly income (in Rs.)	Percentage of house-holds (in Rs.)
1.	Less than 2500	-	-	-	6	33	2.86	28	31	2.61
2.	2501 - 3000	24	51	12.82	14	52	40.00	87	42	7.81
3.	3001 - 4000	114	50	51.28	137	42	25.71	559	48	47.92
4.	4001 - 5000	18	59	7.69	56	51	22.56	256	58	20.83
5.	5001 - 7500	64	51	15.39	10	47	2.86	181	64	11.98
6.	7501 - 10000	49	57	10.26	27	56	5.71	141	64	6.77
7.	10001 - 15000	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	70	1.56
8.	15001-15000	8	157	2.56	-	-	-	8	157	0.52
	TOTAL	277	54	100.00	250	47	100.00	1,302	55	100.00

However, In comparison to the economic conditions of the tribals depending primarily on agriculture as the main source of living, the condition here was far better. For instance, in two tribal talukas viz., Danta (in Banaskantha district) and Sagbara (in Bharuch district), the per capita per month income were Rs. 42 and Rs. 35 only. Here at least it was Rs. 55. Thus, due to employment in industry the tribals in this region had certainly made economic gains. But the fact remains that in spite of the economic gains made due to participating in the industrial employment, the average household among the tribal industrial workers could not raise its income above the poverty line. However the per capita income of them was certainly better than the tribals of those villages where agriculture was the dominant occupation and had remained outside the influence of industrialization. But income earned by working in industrial units was not the sole reason for having somewhat better income. Had it been so, the Naikas of the Atul village too would have also an economic existence above the poverty line. But as we had seen, none of the households from that village was found to have an above the poverty line existence. Income earned through agriculture by majority of the households in the other four localities, viz Atul colony, Pardi, Chanvai and Wadi Falia contributed a great deal in having a better per capita income. In the Atul village, as we had seen earlier, except two households, none had owned agricultural land. Thus, income earned through both industrial employment and agricultural operations had resulted in having better per capita income and consequently a better standard of living.

PATTERN OF EXPENDCTURE

A major part of the expenditure of the surveyed households was accounted on food itself. According to the figures given in the next table, 72.59 percent of the total expenditure was made on food items alone which included cereals, pulses, milk and ghee, sugar, tea, jaggery, edible oil, mutton, fish, eggs, vegetables and condiments.

Next to food, clothes accounted for second important item of expenditure which was 6.95 percent of the total expenditure incurred by the surveyed households. The third important item of expenditure was fuel and electricity on which 6.28 percent of the total expenditure had been made. Fuel and electricity were two such items on which in traditional setting the tribals have not to spend any amount. But in the industrial setting these, two items together accounted for a substantial portion of the total annual expenditure. In the traditional setting, the ecological situation was such that tribal people got regular and abundant supply of fire wood for fuel without spending a single paisa. Fire Wood had been the principal source of fuel. It still continued to be the principal source in the villages like Chanvai, Wadi Ealia and Atul village. But it was not that easy to get the supply of fire wood smoothly as there was no forest in this region. Hence the tribal industrial workers had to buy wood some-times. In Atul colony and Pardi, most of the families of tribal industrial workers had started using stove for cooking purposes and due to this they had to spend on kerosene. In Pardi, Atul Colony and Chanvai, electricity was available and majority of the tribal industrial workers had electricity in their houses. In Wadi Falia and Atul village, none of the households had electricity.

Apart from these important items of expenditure, tribal industrial workers also spent considerable amount on soap, oil, cosmetics, bidi and tobacco, conveyance and education of the children. Several of these items were such on which little or almost no money was spent by tribals in the traditional settings. Hence, there was a distinct change in the pattern of expenditure among these tribals who had been earning their income mainly by working in the industrial units. But by and larger, it did not appear that they had been making expenditure unwisely except the expenditure on alcohol. On this item, the surveyed households of the tribal industrial workers had spent 2.0 of its total expenditure.

TABLE - 71

Principal annual living expenditure of the surveyed households

Sr. No.	Item of expenditure	ATUL COLONY			PARDI			CHANVAI		
		Total expenditure (In Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage of total expenditure	Total expenditure (In Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage of total expenditure	Total expenditure (In Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage of total expenditure
1.	Food, etc.	67763	2337	67.38	145315	3544	66.99	159710	3327	74.55
2.	Fuel, Electricity etc.	5220	180	5.19	16800	410	7.75	12186	254	5.69
3.	Soap & hair oil etc.	3059	105	3.03	5572	136	2.57	7524	157	3.51
4.	Clothes, shoes & chappal	9793	338	9.75	18536	452	8.64	14035	292	6.55
5.	Bidi & Tobacco	2243	77	2.22	4983	122	2.31	5858	122	2.73
6.	Conveyance	2425	84	2.42	3010	73	1.38	854	18	0.40
7.	Education	2657	91	2.63	2155	53	1.00	2033	42	0.95
8.	Medicine	1850	64	1.84	3966	97	1.84	2957	62	1.38
9.	Religious Functions	1577	54	1.56	3160	77	1.46	1975	41	0.92
10.	Entertainment	978	34	0.98	237	57	1.08	1221	25	0.57
11.	Alcohol	972	34	0.98	3996	97	1.83	4160	87	1.94
12.	Others	2020	70	2.02	7051	172	3.25	1725	36	0.81
	TOTAL	100557	3468	100.00	216918	5290	100.00	214238	4463	100.00

TABLE - 71 (Cont..)

Principal annual living expenditure of the surveyed households

Sr. No.	Item of expenditure	WADI FALIA			ATUL VILLAGE			TOTAL		
		Total expenditure (In Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage of total expenditure	Total expenditure (In Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage of total expenditure	Total expenditure (In Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage of total expenditure
1.	Food, etc.	127852	3196	75.96	108378	3096	78.02	609018	3155	72.59
2.	Fuel, Electricity etc.	11172	279	6.64	7262	207	5.23	52640	273	6.28
3.	Soap & hair oil etc.	6588	139	3.32	4502	129	3.24	26245	136	3.13
4.	Clothes, shoes & chappal	8860	221	5.26	7156	204	5.15	58380	302	6.95
5.	Bidi & Tobacco	3770	94	2.24	3839	110	2.76	20693	107	2.46
6.	Conveyance	825	20	0.49	670	190	0.48	7784	40	0.93
7.	Education	1605	40	0.95	900	260	0.65	9350	48	1.10
8.	Medicine	2105	53	1.25	1410	41	1.02	12288	64	1.48
9.	Religious Functions	1075	29	0.64	800	23	0.58	8587	44	1.01
10.	Entertainment	975	24	0.58	892	25	0.64	6440	34	0.78
11.	Alcohol	4514	113	2.68	3096	88	2.23	16738	87	2.00
12.	Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	10796	56	1.29
	TOTAL...	168341	4316	100.00	138905	3968	100.00	838959	4346	100.00

Looking to the figures .locality-wise, it was found that in the villages of Chanvai, Wadi Falia and Atul, the households of the tribal industrial workers had spent more on food, etc than those living in the townships of Atul colony and Pardi. In the latter case, expenditures on such items such as clothing (including shoes, chappals, etc.) conveyance, education of the children, medicine, and religious observances were more in comparison to those of Chanvai, Wadi Falia and Atul village. Due to the impact of urbanization and industrialization these industrial workers dressed themselves in decent manner, particularly while going to and coming back from the place of work. The younger people were particular for their distinctive appearances and due to this use of well tailored terelyne trousers and shirts had become quite in vogue among them.

The tribal industrial workers of the villages viz. Chanvai, Wadi Palia and Atul spent more on alcohol than those of the Atul colony and Pardi. While the expenditures on Bidi and tobacco were almost same among them of all the five localities. The expenditure on education was lowest among the Naikas of the Atul village.

TABLE - 72

Level of expenditure and per capita per month expenditure

Sr. No.	Expenditure level (in Rs.)	ATUL COLONY							PARDI						
		Average size of the house hold	Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Annual expenditure per house hold (in Rs.)	Per capita annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of House holds	Average size of the house hold	Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Annual expenditure per house hold (in Rs.)	Per capita annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of House holds		
1.	Less than 2500	3.7	11165	1861	503	42	20.69	7.0	3940	1970	281	23	4.88		
2.	2501 - 300	5.7	19472	2782	488	41	24.14	15.0	2971	2971	198	17	2.44		
3.	3001 - 4000	4.8	17878	35766	745	62	17.24	7.6	38138	3814	502	42	24.39		
4.	4001 - 5000	4.7	31698	4528	963	80	24.14	6.3	28742	4790	760	63	14.63		
5.	5001 - 7500	6.0	20344	5086	848	71	13.79	7.2	117907	5895	819	68	48.78		
6.	7501 10000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
7.	10001 - 15000	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.0	10053	10053	1676	140	2.44		
8.	15001 & above	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.0	15167	15167	3792	316	2.44		
	TOTAL	4.9	100557	3467	708	59	100.00	7.2	216918	5291	735	61	100.00		

TABLE - 72 (Cont..)

Level of expenditure and per capita per month expenditure

Sr. No.	Expenditure level (in Rs.)	CHANVAI							WADI FALIA						
		Average size of the house hold	Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Annual expenditure per house hold (in Rs.)	Per capita annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of House holds	Average size of the house hold	Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Annual expenditure per house hold (in Rs.)	Per capita annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of House holds		
1.	Less than 2500	3.7	7405	2468	667	56	6.25	-	-	-	-	-	-		
2.	2501 - 300	5.5	11231	2807	510	42	8.33	5.0	24881	2765	553	46	20.51		
3.	3001 - 4000	5.9	74222	3534	599	50	43.75	6.0	56142	3509	585	49	41.03		
4.	4001 - 5000	7.2	39645	4405	612	51	18.75	5.4	22102	4420	819	68	12.82		
5.	5001 - 7500	8.0	34757	5793	724	60	12.50	11.6	55496	6166	561	47	23.08		
6.	7501 10000	11.3	25580	8527	755	63	6.25	8.0	9720	9720	1215	47	23.08		
7.	10001 - 15000	14.5	21398	10699	738	62	4.17	-	-	-	-	-	-		
8.	15001 & above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	TOTAL	6.9	214238	4463	647	54	100.00	7.1	168341	4322	609	51	100.00		

TABLE - 72 (Cont..)

Level of expenditure and per capita per month expenditure

Sr. No.	Expenditure level (in Rs.)	ATUL VILLAGE							TOTAL				
		Average size of the house hold	Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Annual expenditure per house hold (in Rs.)	Per capita annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of House holds	Average size of the house hold	Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Annual expenditure per house hold (in Rs.)	Per capita annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Per capita monthly expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of House holds
1.	Less than 2500	3.00	1936	1996	665	55	2.86	4.1	24506	2042	498	42	6.25
2.	2501 - 300	5.0	24790	2754	551	46	25.71	5.5	83345	2874	522	44	15.10
3.	3001 - 4000	7.1	51375	3670	517	43	40.00	6.3	237755	3602	571	48	34.38
4.	4001 - 5000	8.1	31194	4456	550	46	20.00	6.4	153381	4511	705	59	17.71
5.	5001 - 7500	10.0	19295	6432	643	54	8.57	8.3	247799	5900	710	59	21.88
6.	7501 10000	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.5	35300	8825	840	70	2.08
7.	10001 - 15000	15.0	10255	10255	684	57	2.86	12.5	41706	10426	834	70	2.08
8.	15001 & above	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.0	15167	15167	3792	316	0.52
	TOTAL	7.1	138905	3969	559	47	100.00	46.7	838959	4370	652	54	100.00

According to the figures given in the next preceding table the per capita expenditure per month came to Rs. 54 only which suggested that from the expenditure criteria too, an average household of the tribal industrial worker was living below the poverty line. Here again an expenditure criteria of Rs.60 per capita per month has been applied to test whether a household belonged to below the poverty line category or not. Those whose level of annual expenditure was below this amount have been taken as living below the poverty line.

From this point of view, only 4.68 percent of the total surveyed households were having an expenditure level which projected them as having an expenditure above the poverty line. While 39.59 percent of them were just on margin showing Rs. 59 as per capita expenditure per month. Leaving aside these households, it was quite clear then, that judging from the expenditure criteria too, the magnitude of the tribal industrial workers living below the poverty line was alarmingly high.

Looking closely to the figures it would become evident that among the tribal industrial workers of the Atul colony and Pardi, majority of them were having an economic existence which could be labelled as above the poverty line. In Atul colony, 55.17 percent of the households, while in Pardi 68.29 percent were found to be in this category. In Chanvai and Wadi Falia villages, 22.92 and 15.38 percent respectively enjoyed this economic existence which implied that a large majority of the tribal industrial workers in these two villages were living below the poverty line. The worst situation was among the households of Atul village from where not a single household was found to escape below the poverty line existence. As, in the case of the testing the below the poverty line existence from the criteria of per capita income per month, here too again the tribal industrial workers belonging to the Naika community emerged out as having lowest per capita expenditure per month.

HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVINGS

Despite large number of tribal industrial workers were living below the poverty line, nevertheless they enjoyed a higher standard of living in comparison to their counterpart who were entirely dependent upon agriculturist! economy. Here in the industrial setting, majority of the tribal earners in the industrial complex had agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. The universalistic standards of wage-labour economy was gradually getting firmer root in the life of these tribals which was amply reflected in their household possessions and in the crave of many tribal industrial workers, particularly of the younger generation, to raise the standard of living. In such families where more than one member was in industrial employment, one could observe costly radio sets, steel and wooden cup-boards, electric iron, mattresses, stainless steel utensils, cycle, etc. Three or four tribal industrial workers also owned scooters. The young men and women in such families were well tailored dresses made out of costly clothes. Such families also sent their children to school and colleges for getting higher education. They had also started to modernize their agricultural operations by using pump set, fertilizer, etc. In one village, one tribal industrial worker had constructed, a pucca modern type bungalow, with five living rooms, apart from kitchen and baths. A few others were contemplating to construct such houses. The greed of earning more cash and to enjoy a higher standard of living had turned a tribal to construct a chawl type building to rent out to industrial workers coming from distant villages and who badly needed living accommodation near the industrial complex. Several other tribal industrial workers of Chanvai village had planned to construct houses for the purpose of subletting on rent.

Marriage had become a costly affair. Inclusion of more pomp and show by hiring loud speakers, by taking out the bridegroom's marriage procession on motor-trucks

and giving costly gifts were becoming quite common. These costed a great deal. Photographing the marriage ceremonies was also becoming quite in vogue. Sending printed invitation cards had also become a must. Costlier gifts to the spouses and their relatives were given.

It was also observed that they had been eating well inspite of the high cost of food. One reason was that majority of the tribal industrial workers were also agriculturists and hence grew their own food (cereal, pulses etc.). Due to this, it was found that their diet was much better than those who were dependent solely on the earnings from industrial employment.

As shown in the next table, the tribal industrial workers were found to spend on items like vegetables, milk and ghee, and non-vegetarian food. Of course, the major expenditure was on food grains. But the proportion of expenditure on edible oil, milk and ghee, sugar/, tea and jaggery and vegetable clearly suggested that in contrast to the tribals living in rural areas among the tribals of the industrial area, much more money was spent on these items.

TABLE 73
Pattern of expenditure on food

Name of the villages/ townships	Percentage out of total expenditure on food, etc.						
	Grains	Milk & Ghee	Sugar, Tea & Jaggery	Edible Oil	Mutton, fish, egg	Vegetable	Condi-ments
Atul colony	31.04	13.79	6.90	24.14	10.34	13.79	100.00
Pardi	22.91	12.50	39.58	4.17	4.17	16.67	100.00
Chanvai	25.00	50.00	-	6.25	-	18.75	100.00
Wadi Falia	39.53	18.60	6.98	6.98	-	27.91	100.00
Atul Village	43.24	18.92	10.81	5.41	10.81	10.81	100.00
TOTAL	31.71	23.90	13.66	8.29	4.39	18.05	100.00

INDEBTEDNESS

Indebtedness which was a feature of the life of the tribal village was intimately associated with farming as the majority of the tribal farmers were in debt. Although tribal industrial workers mainly depended on the earning from the job in the industry, nevertheless, majority of them were indebted. As shown in the next table, 67.81 per cent of total surveyed households were in debt. Among the different localities, it was in Chanvai and Atul village where more than two-third of the households were in debt.

Figures collected suggested that high expenditure rather than low income was the main cause of indebtedness. It appeared that indebted families spent more on food, probably on costlier food stuffs. Semi-luxury items such as clothes, education of children and expenses incurred with religion and marriage ceremonies showed definitely higher expenditure by the indebted than in the non-indebted families. Quite a large number of tribal industrial workers spent more than their earned income. It appeared that indebtedness was due primarily to expenditure which the family of the tribal industrial workers considered essential although it could not be afforded, the process being aided by the ease with which loans at high interest could be achieved.

According to the figures given in the table 75, a large number of the households took loan for meeting expenses towards family's consumption although the percentage out of the total amount of debt was only 9.95 percent. Marriage was another important reason for falling into debt by 33 households. Here again, the percentage out of the total amount debt in this case was 19.86.

TABLE - 74

Number of indebted households (figures given in percentages)

Name of the Villages/Townships	Percentage of households indebted	Amount of debt (in Rs.)	Amount of debt per household among indebted households
Atul Colony	38.97	20485	1024
Pardi Town	66.67	51215	1600
Chanvai	97.17	45455	1196
Wadi Falia	48.84	25575	1218
Atul Village	75.68	20583	735
TOTAL	67.81	163313	1175

percent. It was agriculture for which considerable amount (25.78 percent of the total amount of debt) was taken on loan but by only 16 households. It indicated that for agricultural purpose, an average indebted family was able to get a higher loan. For the purpose of house construction too, 14 households took loan but the share out of the total debt was to the tune of 8.54 percent. On account of falling sick, some families took comparatively bigger amount on loan.

On a closer examination of the figures, it could be revealed that among the tribal industrial workers of Atul village, the main purposes for falling into debt were: house construction, family's consumption and marriage. In the Wadi Falia, 41.06 percent of the total amount of debt was taken on loan by only 4 households. The maximum number, 8 households in Wadi Falia, took loan for the purpose of family's consumption but the percentage out of the total debt was 8.79 percent only. Marriage was another purpose for which 4 household took loan. In Chanvai, the maximum amount of loan was taken by 9 persons for the purpose of celebrating marriage in the family, among the tribal industrial workers of Atul colony and Pardi town, maximum amount of loan was obtained for agricultural purposes.

Figures regarding the sources from which the tribal industrial workers secured loan have been presented, in the table, 76. On an examination of the figures, it was revealed that the most important source was the money lender, followed by the Bank. As far as the former was concerned, it was in tune with the traditional pattern found in the indebtedness of the tribals in rural areas. But in the industrial setting, Bank too has become a major source of obtaining loan which was certainly a big change in the pattern of indebtedness among tribals in general. Next to the Bank was the Cooperative society from which 14.57 of the total amount of debt was obtained. Relatives and friends had also played an important role in advancing loans to the indebted tribal industrial workers. This too was a change in the overall traditional pattern. Apart from the Bank, another public body, the Insurance company too had become a source for obtaining loan by the tribal industrial workers.

TABLE - 75

Reasons for taking loan

Sr. No.	Name of the Village / townships	ATUL VILLAGE											
		For family's consumption		Marriage		Sickness		Agriculture		Education			
		Average size of the house hold	Percentage of total debt	Average size of the house hold	Percentage of total debt	Average size of the house hold	Percentage of total debt	Average size of the house hold	Percentage of total debt	Average size of the house hold	Percentage of total debt		
1.	Atul colony	3	9.03	4	7.81	-	-	4	35.64	-	-	-	-
2.	Pardi Town	7	6.02	7	15.59	3	10.84	5	36.51	1	3.32	1	3.32
3.	Chanvai	11	10.28	9	25.74	3	16.72	3	12.32	3	15.51	3	15.51
4.	Wadi Falia	8	8.79	4	24.83	1	4.30	4	1.06	2	10.46	2	10.46
5.	Atul village	12	21.32	9	23.32	1	5.74	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	TOTAL		9.95		19.86		9.45		25.78		6.99		6.99

TABLE - 75 (Contd...)

Reasons for taking loan

Sr. No.	Name of the village / townships	ATUL VILLAGE										TOTAL		Total Amount of debt (in Rs.)	
		1 & 3		1 & 5		1 & 4		House construction		No. of house hold	Pc. of total debt	(in Rs.)	Percent-age		
		No. of house hold	Pc. of total debt	No. of house hold	Pc. of total debt	No. of house hold	Pc. of total debt	No. of house hold	Pc. of total debt						
1.	Atul Colony	4	21.89	3	18.31	-	-	2	7.32	20	68.97	20485	100.00		
2.	Pardi Town	-	-	2	3.12	5	21.87	2	2.73	32	66.67	51223	100.00		
3.	Chanvai	-	-	4	12.50	-	-	5	6.93	38	79.17	45455	100.00		
4.	Wadi Falia	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10.56	21	48.84	25575	100.00		
5.	Atul Village	1	9.23	2	15.13	-	-	3	25.26	28	75.68	20583	100.00		
	TOTAL	5	3.91	11	8.66	5	6.86	14	8.54	139	67.81	142730	100.00		

TABLE - 76

Source of taking loan

Sr. No.	Source of the Total amount of debt	Name of the village/townships												Total	
		Atul Colony		Pardi		Chanvai		Wadi Falia		Atul Village		N	P		
		N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P				
1.	Money Lender	6	23.68	12	19.06	87	32.45	8	43.89	10	56.04	44	31.92		
2.	Friends	1	8.22	2	1.76	6	21.13	3	7.04	3	11.90	15	10.07		
3.	Relatives	3	17.33	3	7.91	4	20.35	2	12.51	2	3.40	14	12.71		
4.	Co-operative	2	10.74	5	12.89	3	8.25	4	20.92	6	28.66	20	14.57		
5.	Bank	4	40.03	6	57.60	1	17.16	1	15.64	-	-	12	30.31		
6.	Insurance	-	-	1	0.70	1	0.66	-	-	-	-	2	0.42		
7.	2 & 4	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	6	-		
8.	2, 4 & 5	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	2	2	3	-		
9.	1 & 4	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	7	-		
10.	3 & 5	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-		
11.	2 & 5	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-		
12.	4 & 5	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-		
13.	3 & 5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-		
14.	1, 3 & 5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-		
15.	1, 3 & 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-		
	TOTAL	20	100.0	31	100.0	38	100.0	21	100.0	28	100.0	139	100.0		

N = Number of households

P = Percentage of debt

On a further look into the figures it could be seen that both in Atul colony and Pardi, the maximum amount was obtained from the Bank. Out of the total amount of debt in these two localities, 40.03 percent and 57.60 percent respectively were secured from Bank. But from the point of view of number of indebted households, the maximum number in each locality approached the moneylender for securing loan. In that way the moneylender continued to be the most important source for getting loan. In the Atul village, the maximum amount of loan was obtained by the tribal industrial workers from the moneylender.

SAVINGS

Of the total surveyed tribal industrial workers, 28.78 percent reported to make savings out of their earnings. As shown in the next table, the figures suggested that a large majority of them had not yet caught the habit of making savings. But it was clear that the stereotype held by non-tribals that the tribals were not inclined to make saving, no longer holds true. The indications were that if tribals were to get a regular and steady income, they would be glad to take advantage of such a situation for making savings. Like non-tribals they would like to accumulate the capital for future investment through steady saving, from their own pay-packets. Most of the tribal industrial workers who had formed the habit of saving said that employment in the industrial units had facilitated them in saving money. Saving money had developed into a habit for them, so much so that if they could not put away any money one month, they felt restless and would make a special effort next month to double the amount.

TABLE- 77

Response regarding savings (Figures given in Percentages)

Name of the Villages/ Townships	Do you make savings ?			
	Yes	No	NR	Total
Atul Colony	37.93	58.62	3.45	100.00
Pardi Town	18.75	75.00	6.25	100.00
Chanvai	27.09	70.83	2.08	100.00
Wadi Falia	41.86	48.84	9.30	100.00
Atul Village	21.62	72.98	5.40	100.00
TOTAL	28.76	65.85	5.37	100.00

Of those who had been steadily making savings, majority preferred to deposit the money in a Bank. According to figures given in the next table, 50.85 percent out of those who had been saving had opened an account in a Bank; while 25.43 percent opened a post office saving account..

TABLE 78

Response regarding where savings have been made
(percentage out of 59 respondents)

Name of the villages/ townships	Where saving are deposited						Total
	By making deposit in Bank	By Making deposit in post office	By Purchasing Post Office Saving certificate	With self	Buy ornament	Provi dent fund	
Atul colony	81.82	9.09	-	9.09	-	-	100.00
Pardi	44.45	11.11	-	22.22	22.22	-	100.00
Chanvai	30.77	46.16	7.69	15.38	-	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	50.00	27.78	-	16.67	5.55	-	100.00
Atul Village	50.00	25.00	-	25.00	-	-	100.00
TOTAL	50.85	25.43	1.69	16.95	5.09	-	100.00

For majority of the respondents (who saved) saving was done for the welfare of the family member and for purchasing immovable property. The tribal industrial workers were developing positive attitude towards saving and the concern for the welfare of the family members was in itself a new attitude for them. The modern institutions, Banks and Post Offices, were being adopted by them for the purpose of making saving.

INSURANCE

Majority of the tribal industrial workers had taken insurance policy. It was comforting to know that they understood the significance of insurance. According to the figures given in the next table, 64.39 percent of them were insured while 27.32 had not yet taken an insurance policy. 8.29 failed to give proper response. Looking to the figures -localitywise, it could be seen that in Chanvai, a large majority of them, to the tune of 87.5 percent had taken a policy while in Atul, more than half of them had done so. Quite a big number of tribal industrial workers in Atul were still not insured. This was a new phenomena so far economic life of the tribals in general, was concerned.

Nearly two-third of those who had undertaken an insurance policy had been insured since more than 6 years which meant that insuring one's life had gained popularity among the tribal industrial workers. According to the figures given in table 80, 72.72 percent had been insured since more than 6 years. It appeared that soon after taking up industrial employment they got themselves insured.

TABLE- 79

Response regarding taking an Insurance Policy

Name of the Villages/ Townships	Have you taken an Insurance Policy			
	Yes	No	NR	Total
Atul Colony	68.97	27.59	3.44	100.00
Pardi Town	54.17	31.25	14.58	100.00
Chanvai	87.50	10.42	2.08	100.00
Wadi Falia	58.14	30.23	11.63	100.00
Atul Village	51.35	40.54	8.11	100.00
TOTAL	64.39	27.32	8.29	100.00

TABLE - 80

Since how long Insurance Policy taken

Name of the villages/ townships	Since One year	Since Two year	Since Three years	Since Four years	Since Five years	Since Six years	Total
Atul colony	81.82	9.09	-	9.09	-	-	100.00
Pardi	44.45	11.11	-	22.22	22.22	-	100.00
Chanvai	30.77	46.16	7.69	15.38	-	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	50.00	27.78	-	16.67	5.55	-	100.00
Atul Village	50.00	25.00	-	25.00	-	-	100.00
TOTAL	50.85	25.43	1.69	16.95	5.09	-	100.00

According to the figures given in the next table, most of the insured tribal industrial workers had taken the policy for Rs.3000/-only. Next to that, 18.94 had been insured for Rs.2000.00 only while 17.42 percent for 4000.00. The percentage of insured tribal industrial workers who had been insured for Rs.5000.00 and Rs.10000.00 had been 6.0 and 2.27 percent respectively. This indicated that majority of them had taken

the policy for less than Rs.5000. This was quite natural as it would not be possible for them to pay a high premium per month out of their meagre pay packets. It was due to this reason that those who got low salary got themselves insured for Rs. 1000 only. But apart from the low amount for which majority of them had taken up a insurance policy, the significant thing was the very fact that they had been motivated to take up an insurance policy. This was, as mentioned earlier, an economic phenomenon which was complete departure from the traditional economic structure of tribal societies.

TABLE - 81

**Response regarding the amount for which Insurance Policy
have been taken**

Name of the villages/ townships	Amount Insured							Total
	One thousand	Two thousand	Three thousand	Four thousand	Five thousand	Ten thousand	More than ten thousand	
Atul colony	25.00	10.00	45.00	15.00	5.00	-	-	100.00
Pardi	7.69	-	38.46	34.62	7.69	11.54	-	100.00
Chanvai	16.67	23.81	38.09	14.29	7.14	-	-	100.00
Wadi Falia	12.00	12.00	48.00	20.00	8.00	-	-	100.00
Atul Village	5.26	52.63	42.11	-	-	-	-	100.00
TOTAL	13.64	18.94	41.67	17.42	6.06	2.27	-	100.00

From the foregoing discussions it became evident that the tribal industrial workers had distinctly made progress in their economic life although in comparison to the non-tribals they would be still lagging behind. The tribal industrial workers had the advantage of earning income from two main sources : industry as well as agriculture. As had been shown earlier, large majority of them were owning agriculture land and pursuing farming also. But industrial employment had taken the dominant position in their economic activities, relegating agriculture to second position. It had already been

seen that out of the total income earned by the surveyed households proportion of income earned from industrial employment was much higher than that from agriculture sector. On account of this industrial complex in their region, getting regular type of jobs had become accessible to them. For many of them, the problem of unemployment and economic uncertainties had been solved to a great extent. A large number of them had a definite view regarding the advantages brought by the industrialization in solving the problem of unemployment and bringing economic opportunities to earn a regular and steady income. Consequently, it had helped in raising the standard of living. This was reflected in the material possessions of the households of the tribal industrial workers. Good clothes, transistors, furnitures, stainless steel utensils, crockeries, etc. were being owned by increasing number of them which in a rural set-up would be hardly found in any tribal household. Their diet too had been found to be improved although the menace of alcoholism was also there. The money earned by them from the industrial employment was also partly used for the purpose of agricultural development. The use of improved seeds, fertilizers and modern agricultural implements had been found to increase to a good extent among them. If the menace of alcoholism could have been checked, perhaps there would have been better economic progress for them as they could have used more money for agricultural development. Those who abstained from drinking alcohol had definitely raised their agricultural output as they were able to pump greater part of their earning from the industrial employment for improving their farming. But, all in all, majority of the tribal industrial workers certainly enjoyed better standard of living in comparison to those tribals whose entire dependence was on agricultural economy.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The mass of tribal industrial workers belong to different tribal communities. Of them the Dhodias are dominant and they owe their dominance not only to the fact that they are numerically greater in number but also to the impressive development made in the sphere of economy and education. Due to early exposure to the ways and styles of life of the wider society, they have adapted themselves to the non-tribal's culture to a good extent. The Dhodias naturally regard their own status as being somewhat higher than of all other tribal groups of this region. The other two important tribal communities are the Naikas and the Halpatia. Both these two communities had a lower economic status during the pre-industrial era. Due to this historical background, in the wake of industrialisation in the tribal region of Valsad-Atul-Vapi, the Dhodias have been able to participate in the industrial activities in a far better capacity than the Naikas and the Halpatis. By their education and ability, the Dhodias have responded more rapidly and more graciously to the action context of the industrialization in Atul.

Although a great deal of occupational mobility is taking place among the tribals due to the rapid growth of industrial units in this region, the tribals have managed to combine industrial employment with rural residence where they still go on practising subsistence agriculture. For the tribal population in Valsad-Atul-Vapi region, the urban and industrial conditions are the product of growth rather than that of instantaneous creation. Due to this the influences which the urban, industrial area exert upon existing modes of life have not completely wiped out the previously dominant modes of living and associations. What is occurring among the tribal population of this region is a different type of industrialization and urbanization process one in which the influence of industrialism and urbanism is permeating surrounding rural areas. The tribals have tended

to resist many changes usually occurring in an industrial situation and are attempting to carry on their old systems, retaining the behaviour patterns which they have previously learned. This is possible to some extent as they still have an opportunity to practice agriculture and so are not entirely dependent on participation in the new industrial economy. The tribal workers have the opportunity for steady adaptation to new conditions. Thus, the changes are occurring within an existing and continuing social group. The tribals are not participating, in the industrial activities as uprooted individuals.

As a consequence of this, there has been not much disintegration of the traditional environment. Unlike the process of industrialization which has taken place in Rourkela, Bhilai and Ranchi, where the tribals have been pushed into a social vacuum and a condition of cultural shock, in Valsad-Atui-Vapi area the tribal groups are gradually developing into an urban community with resulting modifications in the behaviour patterns of its individuals. In view of this, it should be a policy matter to make all possible efforts to keep the rural base of the tribal industrial workers strong and stable.

The economic opportunities provided by the growth of industrialism in their own area have certainly been instrumental in raising the level of income of the tribals but still an average tribal industrial workers is having an existence of below the poverty line. Low wages given by the different industrial units is one factor for this situation. As the tribals have generally lower skill for industrial work, consequently the income is lower. This is another factor. There is an enormous difference in standard of living between the tribals and non-tribals. This is correlated with differences in income. But few tribals have started to have savings which is a distinct impact on them due to being industrial workers. However, the obvious poverty of several workers, particularly belonging to the Naika and Halpati communities shows that the income in many cases falls short

of needs. Although quite many of them are indebted, they have accumulated debts for meeting the expenditure on socio-religious ceremonies and for agricultural operations. But there is certainly a better standard of living among the tribal industrial workers than the tribals living in the non-industrial setting. This is very much reflected in the household possessions and the costlier dresses of the tribal industrial workers. The industrial workers from the Dhodia community have even better dietary pattern.

Several tribal industrial workers have found to invest part of their earnings from industrial employment in agriculture. This suggests rise in their ambition for earning more income which can be attributed to the fact of earning regular wages. Further, quite many of the industrial workers, particularly from the Dhodia community have left consuming liquor and the incidence of smoking has also become low among them. This is mainly because (i) they want to get rid of this wasteful habit and (ii) to raise their image in the eyes of the non-tribals.

For the tribal population of this region, industrial expansion in this region has provided economic opportunities to earn regular wages. But at the same time to the agriculturist community, both tribals as well as non-tribals, it has brought in its wake pollution problem which is affecting agricultural productivity as well as their health too. But there is no way to show these negative effects of industrialization in concrete terms.

This study reveals that the industrial workers from the tribal villages commute daily to reach the place of work and vice-versa. The villages from which they are recruited lie within radius of 15 km. from Atul but the catchment area of industrial workers from the tribal community is gradually advancing towards Dharampur taluka in the eastern direction. At present, majority of the workers use bicycles for conveyance in absence of any other means of transport. Although State transport buses play on some routes, the timing of the buses are not suitable for the workers. In fact, there is no special transport facilities for the industrial workers.

Although majority of the industrial workers have cordial relations with their superiors and employers, this is mainly because of the docility and submissive nature of their personality. This also reflects the effect of their traditional social life in which decisions made by authority is not generally disputed. But several of the employers as well as supervisory staff members make frequent complaints about the low efficiency of the tribal workers. It is, however, difficult to make any general statement about their efficiency where no norms have been set-up. It is practically impossible to measure degree of efficiency where there is no absolute standard. In this situation one has to depend on the opinions of the supervisors and the employers for the low output of the tribal workers. It seems likely that the low output is due first and foremost to the fact that the work is meaningless to a tribal worker. He lives from day to day, doing his job like the recruit who sweeps the courtyard of the industrial units. He knows he is working for a wage that is seldom high enough to help him emerge from poverty. The level of skill required of most workers is low and can be reached by wholly untrained men in a few months, thereafter their further potentialities remain undeveloped and it is not employers while to raise wage since labour is plentiful. Thus, a tribal worker has no reason to suppose that his efforts might have any bearing on the improvement of his standard of living. As part of a strictly paternalistic system, his work: is that of a slave rather than a free man. He knows quite well that in practice his earning capacity has no relation to his individual output. He remains literally stranger to his work; he does not identify himself with it, and feels no personal attachment to it. In other words, there is a deep cleavage between his work and the psychological and sociological background of his life. The entire concept of work as we understand it is unsuitable for him.

Coupled with this the degree of human identification on the part of the upper ranks of the industry with the tribal workers is extremely limited. Due to this, the approach

to the question of improving the productive standards of the tribal workers inevitably becomes mechanistic rather than humanistic and defeatist rather than optimistic. This is clearly seen in the behaviour of the non-tribal supervisors, .If any lack the interest and the confidence in their tribal subordinates necessary to make the best use of their energies, their indifference is reflected, among other things, in considering the tribals way of life as a debased cultural form. Such a stereotyped attitude by the non-tribal supervisors and employers makes for the loss of personal element in the relationships between them and the tribal workers which is so important to any cooperating working group. This is specially important to the tribal workers who originate from the closely knit social system of small scale tribal society.

The very structure of the industrial activities at Atul industrial complex lies a certain effect on working conditions and attitude of the industrial workers, particularly to those belonging to tribal communities. The Adivasi workers who mostly work manually as unskilled workers have to, in general, work under poor conditions, both from technical angle and material welfare and obviously this is not conducive to good output. The employers and the supervisors then complain of laziness while the Adivasis feel that they are being exploited and irritation increases on both sides. The very multiplicity of variables in an average Adivasi workers situation makes him less responsive. His natural conservatism, in general and poor economic environment in particular is compounded by the fact that in his realm he is risking his family subsistence when he responds to industrial situation. He wants to be sure of being remunerated enough from the benefits of his response to give a better and efficient productive performance. In not too distant past, the Adivasis lived in a socio-cultural environment that lacked incentives and security for them. It was an environment that rewarded less and allowed to be mercilessly exploited by the non-advasis landed peasantry. All these human and cultural

factors involved in the development of industrial activities in this predominantly Adivasi region will have to be tackled in a competent and efficient manner. In this situation it seems unlikely that technological inputs will have the deserved effects on both increasing output and workers recruitment unless institutional and organizational bottle necks are removed to increase the efficiency of the Adivasi workers.

There is no reason, therefore, for surprise if the Adivasi workers in Atul complex enjoy the unenviable reputation of being less productive. The very structure of the industrial undertakings and the character of the supervisors, etc create a situation highly unfavourable to the progress and stabilization of workers. Yet it would be wrong to think as some do that nothing can be done. One undertaking in the complex itself, run by more far-sighted, more human and more competent employers prove by results that the situation is capable of improvement. Thus, although the majority of the supervisors complain about their Adivasi workers; there are others who profess themselves satisfied. The labour market is open to all on the same footing, it must therefore, be admitted that no purpose is served by blaming the Adivasi workers and that the problem of Adivasi workers is primarily a problem of the non-Adivasi supervisors. The wide cultural and status hiatus between the non-Adivasi supervisors and Adivasi workers are both cause and effect of this problem.

As we have seen earlier majority of the Adivasis have access to or expect to inherit land (except the Halpatis). Since they are able to support themselves by cultivation, and often to supplement their subsistence incomes by growing a cash crop, most Adivasis are able to choose whether or not to enter the industrial economy. Unless the industrial labour is made more rewarding for him than cultivation, he may not opt for taking up industrial work. In the case of Adivasis working as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers/ it has by no means been taken for granted by their

relatives or themselves that they will leave their homes for the industrial colony of Atul. A number of economic and other variables play a part. The present system of commuting daily to Atul for work provides a compromise between participating in the economic benefits of industrial society and in the other benefits of traditional society, particularly in meeting his full range of social and psychological needs.

A large majority of the tribal industrial workers are participating in two economic systems, one, the traditional subsistence economy and the other full blown commercial economy of the industrialized society. Due to this, they are undergoing a process of transition from a pattern of life which exhibited predominantly features of ascription, particularism and functional diffuseness to a pattern in which achievement, universalism and specificity become the basis of socio-economic life. The structure of their society is gradually becoming complex which makes it difficult not only for the social scientists to describe but also for the individual tribal participant to comprehend. But significant sectors of their activity are coordinated with the tribal social systems rather than that of the multi-cultural society. Nevertheless, both in its magnitude and in its causes, the transition is gathering momentum in this region.

In such a transitional situation, any attempt to forecast the economic activities of these tribal groups in the context of the industrialization currently sweeping their region is full of hazard. But it can be safely assumed that during the next decade, the rate of working force participation for these tribals is expected to rise considerably and consequently they will certainly strengthen substantially their relative position in the industrial economy. There is clearly going to be more competition for skilled work between the tribals and non-tribals. The economic development brought in the wake of industrialization is fostering political self-consciousness among the tribals. There is clear indication of a situation which favours the development of tribal politico-economic

movement which will be greatly strengthened by an appeal to ethnocentric sentiments. Industrialization is also putting a heavy burden on the tribal youths to acquire marketable skills. Since a large number of villages of the expanding catchment area from where the workers will be recruited in future to meet the growing demands of industry in this region are tribal villages, the tribal's incorporation in the industrial activities assumes great significance. In spite of the problem of efficiency as highlighted by the non-tribal supervisors and employers, most tribals in industrial employment work systematically and well; they show a capacity for training and have acquired, wherever it was found desirable, a satisfactory degree of skill. These attributes should be further strengthened by strong supervision which means better training, purposeful and clear-cut direction and above all efficient planning.

Marked differences in standard of living and assets, accompanied with education were tending towards the social differentiation among the tribals. A division into middle and lower class, the basis of which was economic level was emerging but a social class was yet not clear, apart from a small, select group of highly educated tribals. This trend was not necessarily due to exclusively industrializing process. Wealth and respect to industrial community was obviously a relative term. In terms of non-tribal capitalists conceptions, wealth did not exist among tribal industrial workers. But there was a group of comparatively prosperous traders and others engaged in commerce, plus the inevitable collection of individuals, the source of whose income was not clearly known. (for instance there were couple of tribal fellows in that area who were involved in the racket of exporting poor tribals as labourers in Arab countries.)

Employment in industries had become the goal for a vast majority of tribals of this region. But obviously all could not get jobs in the industries. Many kept waiting for the opportunity to get an entry into the factory as workers. Such a situation had created a class of tribals who, because of their contact and resourcefulness were approached

by the job-seekers for help in securing employment. Such contact men extracted money from the persons seeking employment, in the name of greasing the palm of the appropriate bosses who have a say in recruiting workers. These persons were known as 'chamcha' of the company and have been a class by themselves.

Although there appeared to be definite signs of passing tribal cohesion, the cleavage between the non-tribals and tribals overshadowed economic differences as well as class distinctions within the tribals themselves.

It is widely believed that industrialization in tribal areas is cause of apathy or despair connected with insecurity and frustration of tribals working as industrial workers. This does not appear to be so far Dhodias are concerned. Naikas do show symptoms of such despair and heavy drinking among them may be direct result of it. On the whole, for Dhodias, the dominant tribes in this region, the change in occupational pattern, from cultivators to industrial workers, has facilitated them to become progressive farmers. The money earned from industry is invested for growing lucrative crops such as rice, sugar cane, etc. and raising mango and chikoo fruit orchards. The process of industrialization has enabled the Dhodias to become small scale cash crops producers. Due to this, they have been able to improve their quality of life inspite of inadequate wages received from the industry. The Dhodias, in general, have proved to be remarkably successful and resourceful tribal community in exploiting the opportunities provided by the industrial situation in their region, though their living standards are clearly much lower than the non-tribal landed peasantry, yet the number of bicycles, transistor-sets, furnitures and comparatively richer diet show that a lot of money is spent on articles which are not of prime necessity. This may be taken as evidence of affluence.

It is true that self reliance and group solidarity for shared production and sustenance under a subsistence economy are little guides to the foresight, economizing

and bargaining required in the new patterns of wage economy, while unfamiliar modes of expenditure for livelihood and display are offered and even enforced. But, while these characteristics appear to be valid for Dhodias, these are not the total picture. They have adjusted to the new economic behaviour and relationship remarkably well. They did not have to face severe complications on account of transformations from subsistence sector to monetary sector. This leads us to generalize that the more homogeneous the industrial workers and the more accessible their rural home and farm, the easier the adoption would be. On one hand, industrialization has opened more job opportunities to these people, especially to the Dhodias, on the other hand there is now developing a permanent, more or less, hereditary class of factory workers among them. Although this is apparent, by and large, it may be said that the Dhodia industrial workers are rapidly developing into what may be called a peasant community, meaning by peasant one who makes a good living from his land. To be a well-to-do peasant is more respectable than to remain industrial worker. As such, since most of the labour in industrial complex is drawn from the local tribes and the total non-agricultural labour is comparatively small in the region, there has been no large scale migrations of labour and the socio-economic problems of the region are still agrarian.

Amidst all the changes that have taken place and are proceeding among the tribals of this industrial region, the family remains the basic social group. It is changing in composition and becoming less like the tribal household. Many families are comprised of only husband, wife and children. A further characteristic of the tribal family in this region, is its greater isolation. It is becoming apparent that between the families themselves there are ties of neighbourliness but none of a permanent and binding nature. The individualism of the tribal family, however, has not reached the degree of aloofness found among the non-tribals middle class.

The functions of family have changed. With the change from a subsistence to a money economy, and from self sufficiency to dependence on wage labour only, the tribal family has become completely dependent on the cash earnings of its members. The individual family member has, on the one hand, the opportunity of earning enough to support himself and being completely independent of the family and is confronted, on the other hand, by the claims of the family for support. It is, however a choice that did not exist in traditional setup, where the self sufficiency of the family made the cooperating members highly dependent on each other. On the assessment of the extent to which economic obligations are honoured or evaded, it is revealed that obligations are more often honoured than evaded.

The small elementary family in the Atul and Pardi town is, in the majority of instances, inadequately equipped to carry out the education function which the large circle of kin performed effectively. In such a situation, the sporadic attempts by parents to exert authority are usually flouted. The parents find that the play group, the cinema and street life in general are the effective forces moulding the development of their children. The parents frankly admit their inability to deal with their children and in many instances, abdicate from any position of authority for fear of antagonizing the children. The rebellious daughter, yearning for nice clothes, may leave school against her parent's wishes to become a domestic servant.

Behavior pattern have also been modified by the increasing values which are attached to attainment of educational attainment and wealth. These new emphases have overlaid the traditional principle of seniority and relative status position of the sexes. A tribal woman is no longer automatically relegated to a sub-ordinate position. There is some evidence that a new form of conjugal relationship in which romantic love, companionship and equal responsibility are important elements.

The family is to summarize being subjected to very considerable stresses in this period of transition of adjustment to an industrial economy.

The strength of kinship bonds, both paternal and maternal, varies greatly in this industrial situation depending on a number of extraneous factors of which geographical proximity appears to be the most important. If relatives happen to live near each other, there will be contacts between them and they will perform reciprocal services irrespective of the actual degree of relationship. This means that the paternal kin do not predominate to the same extent as under traditional conditions. Older usages of kinship terminology have changed considerably. Although customary kinship obligations are seldom observed, the consciousness of kinship persists. Both Dhodias and Naikas will take great financial sacrifices and go to great personal inconvenience to attend wedding or funerals of kinsfolk. Relatives in needs will seldom be refused help. Further, such evidence as is available indicates that the prohibition upon sex relations between certain categories of kin and all clan members is observed. Hence, although the bonds between kinsmen and clan member have greatly weakened, the skeleton structure deriving from that traditional system remains in existence and some times takes on flesh in response to specific situation. It has also been observed that in finding employment in Atul, kin members do extend all possible helps.

The marriage rate is high and probably it has not changed under the impact of industrialization. The age of marriage is, however, gradually rising. The majority of the girls are married in 15-20 age group while among the men, percentage in the age group 21-25 is higher. There has been considerable change in marriage ceremony itself. Invariably, among the Dhodias the marriage procession of the bride used to go to the bridegroom's house and the marriage used to be celebrated there. But now the bridegroom's procession is taken to bride's house and marriage rituals are performed at the

bride's house. However, this is not necessarily due to impact of industrialization as even in interior villages the Dhodias have been found doing the same.

Marriage has become a costly affair. Inclusion of more pomp and show by hiring loud speaker, by taking the bridegroom's procession on motor-trucks and by giving costly gifts, cost a great deal. Photographing the marriage ceremonies is also becoming quite in vogue. Sending printed invitation cards has also become a must.

The tribals of this region regard Atul as a sexually immoral place. The accepted stereotype is that in village, people can control themselves sexually, while in Atul girls and boys do as they wish. Due to this most young men are favour in marrying from villages far away from Atul. The reasons in favour of girls from such village are these: Village girls are more serious and faithful; they respect the husband's family; are obedient; they do the agriculture work of the household with dedication. On the other hands girls from the Atul and the neighbouring villages are said to be 'pig-headed' (difficult to manage) and likely to be unfaithful to their husbands and disobedient. On account of such an attitude, it was discovered that girls of Atul and neighbouring villages increasingly find it difficult to find husbands from this very region, These girls do resent when their marriage is settled in some interior villages. Such marriages, if do take place, are likely to end in divorce or separation.

Traditionally, the religion of Dhodias and Naikas of this region can be described as a system of beliefs in the power of ancestral and supernatural spirits. All such deities are worshipped regularly in order to secure happiness and prosperity in this life. Due to living in contact with the Hindus for a long time there has been steady interaction between the different aspects of Hindu and the Dhodias and Naikas religious way of life. This process has been accelerated in recent times due to the influences of urbanization and industrialization. As a result of this, the belief in spirits and supernatural

powers has declined to a great extent, more so among the young persons of the community. Although the religion of these tribals is not symbolised in religious institution, most of the villages have a temple in which the deities of Hindu religion are installed. But these temples do not have the same importance which one may find in a village of Hindu states. Due to industrial life in the colony, most of the vital aspects of the sacred complex of the tribal religion have lost their importance and meaning because the core of their religious activities always revolved round their traditional economic organization set around agriculture. But although sweeping changes are occurring in the religion of these people, their folk religion is still intact. Their body of mythological and legendary materials is so great that even the most cursory treatment established that the traditional practices are still observed in the neighbouring villages of Atul industrial complex. But at the same time, there are clear indications of the changes in socio-religious practices. The holding of Bhajan sessions during shravan month, during 12 day mourning period in case of death in the family, the performance of marriage ceremonies at the hands of Brahman priest, etc. are surer indications of this trend. The role of the traditional priest is definitely on decline. The loving adoration of a personal Hindu deity like Lord Rama, Lord Shiva and Lord Krishna is also in increase. In case of diseases in the family, the belief in curing power of the medicine men and spirit-possessed men is also on decline on account of easy accessibility of modern treatment. However, the spirit-possessed men still wield some influence and many industrial tribal workers have been found to go to them particularly for treatment, in case of barrenness of their wives and long illness of young children.

Thus, although the tribals of this region have felt the impact of industrial life on their religion with greater intensity, it would be a wrong notion to accept that under such impact they are moving from sacredness to secularization.

Many tribals feel that there has been a marked change in the behaviour of the members of non-tribal community towards them. Those who do not find change in non-tribal's behaviour do not care whether there is a change or not. However, the process of integration of the tribals into the social system of non-tribals is very slow process even in this industrial situation. But many tribals report that they mix with the non-tribals freely and more or less they treat them on equal footing.

The societies which are being formed around face of industrial development in Valsad-Pardi-Vapi region have several features which distinguish them from the longer established, more homogeneous societies of urban centres and of tribal culture. The major sub-grouping are only loosely held together and such articulation as exists is achieved within a few purposeful association rather than through more permeating if less well defined principles or aggregation. Though physically resident in industrial township, some of the major orientations of tribal people are towards their own traditional society and they look to these for much that is vital to their social lives. Significant sectors of their activity are coordinated with the social system in traditional set-up rather than that of multi-cultural society in which they are earning their livings. The distance between the urban and rural style of life is less pronounced among them. The loyalties of these industrial tribal workers is outside the industrial set-up they continue to maintain ties with the region from where they come. While the industrial workers in other areas, once he had reached the industrialized centre and lived there for even a short time, was able to cut himself loose from his old society, because he found a new home with new loyalties in this region, the industrial tribal worker, does not experience such a transfer of loyalty. He continues to belong to the place whence he came and he is never fully and exclusively at home in the industrial colony.

It means also that he seeks as associates only such persons who come from the same kinship group, village or region as he himself. In this way, all interpersonal

relations in which he enters are strongly influenced by the pattern of group formation peculiar to his native culture. In this manner, even in the industrial set-up, he is able to maintain social cohesion and solidarity to a great extent. Industrial set-up has not been able to corrode in this sphere. Whatever changes have come, have been slow and halting. Due to the maintenance of this social cohesion and solidarity, families are not torn asunder and the comforting security of a known and accustomed social environment is not lost.

Like all complex societies, the industrial Valsad-Pardi-Vapi region has not only a dominant culture, but also a series of sub-cultures. Tribal culture is one such which deviate sharply from the main pattern. Because of structural discontinuities with the dominant culture and because of connections maintained with the traditional system from which it derive, the tribal culture in this region exhibit a considerable persistence in this deviation. This is not to say that the tribal cultures in this region are smaller segments or replicas of the parent culture. It is quite evident that it is impossible for the tribals to carry the traditional group norms intact into the new situation.

In order to secure a fuller measure of tribals cooperation in the industrial activities as well as to use their energies in best possible manner, several social welfare measures will have to be planned for them such as in field of housing, transportation, training, health, education and recreation. But these should be organized, as far as possible, in the villages itself from where a great number of tribal workers are recruited. Apart from these social welfare measures, serious attempt will have to be made to develop the agricultural activities.. Unevenness in the economic development in this region consists above all in the fact that an industrial revolution has not been accompanied by an agricultural revolution. If these measures are adopted in all earnestness, there will be less dislocation, disorganization and traumatic disruption in the social and cultural life of the tribal groups.

In view of what has been discussed above some programmes are suggested here for the tribal industrial workers :

1. As pointed out earlier, some of the tribal villages from where a large number of tribal workers commute daily should be developed. To start with, a housing colony for the tribal workers should be created there with all the necessary modern facilities, such as school complex, mini-hospital, shopping centres, post and telegraph offices, provisions for supply of clean drinking-water, electricity, etc. The housing complex would provide residential quarters not only to the workers from that village alone but also to tribal workers commuting at present from distant villages. This will help the tribal workers to live in their own community although away from their village.

Wadi Falia is an ideal village to be adopted for constructing this housing complex. It is a big village and plenty of land is available there for construction of housing complex for the tribal workers. The village is linked with the National Highway No. 8 by an Approach road. This approach road should be converted into an asphalt one, extending it to the site which may be selected for the housing colony.

2. Each of the tribal villages from where a sizeable number of workers are in industrial employment at Atul, should be linked with the State or National highway by pucca road. Internal road system within each of the villages connecting the different 'Fallas' (hamlet) should also be built up so that in all the weather the commuters do not face difficulty in reaching their place of work.
3. All such villages as mentioned in col.2, should be provided with transport facilities, exclusively for the purpose of carrying the industrial workers to Atul and back to their village. Such buses may be run by the management of the Atul company itself and the tribal workers should be charged bus fares on subsidized basis.,

- 4.. In all such villages, the already existing schools should be strengthened by liberal financial assistance from the Atul and associated companies. The school building should be made more congenial. It should also be staffed with more qualified teachers. Financial assistance to the dependents of the tribal workers should be provided with for studying such courses which may ultimately lead to their absorption in the industry. This scheme for providing financial assistance to tribal students may be undertaken right now covering all the industrial workers from tribal community.
5. All such villages should also be provided with small dispensaries, manned by a qualified nurse and a compounder. A full fledged mini hospital should be built exclusively for the tribals in the Wadi Falia village, with all the necessary medical staff. The Doctors of this mini hospital will be required to visit the dispensaries located in other villages, on a regular basis, say three times a week to each one.
6. In all such villages, a small library should be made available for the benefit of the tribal industrial workers. It has been revealed earlier that most of the tribal youths seeking industrial employment leave their studies much before completing their school education. To keep them literate and also to enable them further to equip themselves better, a library in their village will prove to be of greatly useful. Apart from stocking the library with books, some news papers dailies, weeklies, etc. in the vernacular language should be made available at these libraries.
7. In all these villages recreational centres should be established for the benefit of industrial workers and their family members. Such a centre should provide necessary facilities for some indoor and outdoor games as well as T.V. and radio sets. A small subscription fee from each family may be realized but it must be very low. In fact, all these facilities will have to be provided to the tribal workers almost freely

from liberal financial assistance from the Companies located in the Atul Industrial complex.

8. Opportunities must also be given for more frequent and closer contact with non-tribal workers, especially the supervisory staff outside the work situation. This can be done by officially organizing tribal fairs in the region, 'Anand Melas', (Fun & Fair), 'Shibirs' (Exhibition-cum-debate meetings or camps), and also picnic and educational tours. Both the industrial companies and the tribal leaders should chalk out an advance programme for the entire year.
9. One of the most essential things to raise the efficiency and skills of tribal workers is to arrange training facilities. Here again, the training camps should be organized in different tribal villages itself. This is very much conducive for the wholehearted and frank participation of the tribal industrial workers as well as the potential ones. Such training camps may be organized in villages which at present lie out of the influence zone of Atul. For instance, in village like Dumlav from where only three workers are in industrial employment. It will serve the purpose of motivating the tribals to join industrial employment which in turn will mitigate the problem of labour shortage which may arise in future.
10. The 'Astul Rural Development Fund' should make concrete efforts towards the agricultural development in this region. This agency has taken up several programmes but there is ample scope to expand its activities. We have already seen that a large majority of the Industrial workers have cultivable land. They, at present, raise only food crops. Financial and technical assistances should be given to these industrial workers to raise their agricultural production and also to encourage them to raise cash crops, vegetables, etc. If due to these efforts, production of vegetables is taken up on a large scale, much of the problem of supply of vegetable to the urban population of Valsad-Pardi-Vapi can be overcome.

In similar way, all encouragement must be given to the tribal industrial workers for undertaking poultry farming and animal husbandry on a big scale. There is bound to be a great demand of milk, and its products, eggs, chickens, Vegetable and fruits in the towns of this region. The tribal farmers are well suited to undertake these activities. But of course they need financial and technical help as well as marketing facilities. The 'Atul Rural Development Fund' can play a major role in bringing an agricultural revolution in this region.

Now this is not going to detract the tribals to join industrial employment. Since the land is always subject to partition between brothers and there will always be enough surplus hands in the individual tribal families to be absorbed in industry. In the villages surrounding Atul Industrial complex, both the industrial and agricultural revolution can be ushered simultaneously without causing hinderance to each other. In fact it will industrialize agriculture itself.

All the above suggestions have been made in order to stimulate tribal efforts and participation by direct encouragement and by increased interest in them as human beings and by the provision of opportunities for tribals wherever they deserve them.

Sooner or later, the tribals of this region are bound to have a very effective participation in the industrial economy (due to rise in political participation) and hence the sooner the management equip them to play that effective role, the better not only for them but in particular for better production in the industrial units as well as for the industrial peace in this region.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ames, Michael M. :
Economic and Political Weekly 4.28, 29,
30, 1969
2. Bhattacharya, S. N : Rural Industrialization in India, Delhi, 1980
3. Brown, David and : A Sociology of Industrialization, An
Michael Harrison Introduction, London, 1978.
4. Census of India, 1961 : Social Processes of Industrialization of
Rourkela (B.R. Royburman Ed.),
New Delhi, 1968
5. Dasgupta, P.R. : Impact of Industrialization on a Tribe in
South Bihar, Calcutta, 1978
6. De, Barun and : Problem of Tribal Integration to Urban
Gaurang Chattopadhyaya Industrial Society; Economic and
Political Weekly, 27 December, 1969.
7. Gadgil, D. R. : Industrial Evolution of India, Oxford, 1954
8. Gaikwad, V. R. and : Socio-Psychological Factors Influencing
R. N. Tripathi Industrial Entrepreneurship in Rural Area.
A Case Study in Tanku Region of West
Godavari, Andhra Pradesh; NTCD,
Hyderabad, 1970.
9. Hatt, Paul K. and : Cities and Society, Illinois, 1951
Albert Reiss Sr. (Ed.)
10. Holmstrom, Mark : South Indian Factory Workers,
Cambridge University Press, 1976
11. Joshi, V. H. : Economic Development and Social
Change in a South Gujarat Village, M.S.
University, Baroda, 1966
12. Kapadia, R. M. and : Industrialization and Rural Society :
Devdas Pillai A Study of Atul - Bulsar Region,
Bombay, 1972

13. Kuthilala, S. K. : Impact of Factory Production on
Tribal Societies; Modernization, Some
Alternative Views on India; British Journal
of Sociology, 22:2, 1971
14. Lal, R. B. : Social Change among Urban Oraons;
Bulletin of Bihar Tribal Research
Institute, Renchi, March, 1963
15. Lal, R. B. : Social Implications of Industrialization in
Tribal Areas; Journal of Gujarat
Research Society, Bombay, July, 1975.
16. Mamak, Alexander : Colour, Culture a Conflict : A study of
Pluralism in Fiji, New South Wales,
Australia, 1978.
17. Mazumdar, D. N. : Social Contours of an Industrial City,
Bombay, 1960.
18. Mayer, Philip and I : Townsmen or Tribesmen, Capetown, 1961
19. Mayer, Philip (Ed.) : Black Villagers in an Industrial Society -
Anthropological Perspectives on Labour
Migration in South Africa, Capetown, 1980.
20. Nash, M. : Some Notes on Village Industrialization
in South and East Asia : Economic
Development and Cultural Change, 3,
1954-55
21. Neale, Walter C. : Social Effects of Industrialization;
Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay,
1956
22. Niehoff, A. : Factory Workers in India, Milwaukee,
1959
23. Orans, Martin : A Tribal People in an Industrial Setting;
Journal of American Folklore Society,
1958

24. Owens, Raymond : Peasant Entrepreneurs in an Industrial City, in Milton Singer (Ed.), Entrepreneurship and Modernization of Occupational Cultures in South Asia, Duke University, 1973
25. Patel, Kunj : Rural Labour in Industrial Bombay, Bombay, 1965
26. Pillai, S. Devdas & C. Bajs (Ed.): Winners and Losers, Bombay, 1979
27. Prabhu, P. N. : Social Aspects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers Migrating From Rural Areas to the City of Bombay. Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, Unesco Research Centre, New Delhi, 1956
28. Ray, Rajak R. : Industrialization in India, Bombay, 1979
29. Redfield, Robert & Milton Singer (Ed.) : The Cultural Role of Cities; Man in India, Vol. 36, No.3, 1956.
30. Sabarwal, Satish : Status Mobility and Networks in a Punjabi Industrial Town, in Satish Sabarwal (Ed.), Beyond the Village : Sociological Explorations, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1972.
31. Seth, N. R. : The Social Framework of an Indian Factory, Manchester, 1968.
32. Seth, N. R. & P. J. Patel : Industrial Sociology in India, Jaipur, 1979.
33. Spodeck, Roward : Traditional Culture and Entrepreneurship, A Case Study of Ahmedabad; Economic and Political Weekly 4 : 8, 1969.

