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**Land Alienation Among
The Tribes of Gujarat**

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235

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Until the late 18th century there was not much concentration of non-tribal communities in the tribal areas of Gujarat. Only in the early 19th century several pockets of non-tribal concentration emerged in the tribal areas. Several towns and big villages having non-tribal concentration sprang up. 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 tribal could not expand their ~~holdings~~ ^{holdings} by adding new land by clearing any strip of forests. The then British Government refused to recognize the 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 soon after the arrival of the Britishers. 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 non-tribal communities. The cultural inferiority of the tribals was taken for granted by the officials and unofficals thinking which served to justify policies maintaining the differences in opportunity and reward between tribals and non-tribals.

In this manner, the control of land passed from the indigenious tribals to a group of new comers. With the increase of pressure of population (more and more non-tribal immigrated on account of the peaceful situation, brought about by the British administration, because of the opening of the major railroads in the tribal regions, 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 tribal regions. 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 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 in the tribal regions. By the turn of this century, the non-tribal land-owning communities 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 of South Gujarat, were reduced to slavery.

Before legislation was passed in 1961 (Notification No. 3961/41509-G dated 4th April, 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. The tribals were reduced to the status of marginal farmers because of the large scale ~~ab~~surpation of their best land. In a survey done in 1956 in Pardi taluka (District-Valsad) it was shown on the basis of findings in five tribal villages that of the total land in those villages, 72.4 percent 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 percent of the land was owned by the tribals although they constituted more than 65 percent 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 owner 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 the non-tribals. Major part of the land in South Gujarat was put to use by the non-tribal land-owners for 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 percent of the total land which was in the possession of the non-tribals was being used for grass cultivation. So, on one hand the land of the tribals was usufructuated 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 ~~which~~ ^{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 "the village Patel 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.

Thus, from the middle of the eighteenth century, confrontation and conflict between the tribals and outsiders have persisted on account of the ~~at~~tempts of the outsiders to grab tribal land legally or illegally. One of the important reasons for the tribal losing command over land is inadequate appreciation of man - land relationship in tribal areas which is the quintessence of tribal existence. Whenever the man - land equation has been disturbed it has proved disastrous to the tribal economy. The basis of right in land is formal-legal, while the tribal draws authority from tradition. The two concepts, therefore, are non-intersecting. In most tribal areas, rights exist in a pyramidal form. At the bottom is the traditional right of the community, followed by the right of the clan or lineage, the family and lastly, the individual. The rights of the family and the individual are generally usufructuary which get terminated on cessation of the existing use. The rights of transfer are limited within a well-defined group, absolute proprietary

rights of individual were hardly recognized anywhere.

The system provided effective protection against alienation wherever it remained undisturbed. But the formal legal system, introduced by the British in India, recognized only the individual proprietorship. Whenever records are prepared, the pyramidal system has been overlooked and individual is recognized as proprietor - which proves to be the starting point of loss of land in favour of other groups.

It is now well recognized that the opening of the tribal areas brought in its wake numerous problems upsetting the economic equilibrium of the tribal people. Many of the development processes following thereupon hurt tribal economy. Land alienation, as mentioned earlier, has been one of the results of non-tribals entering the tribal areas and acquiring landed property. The loss of land from the tribal's hand may be for discharge of loan liabilities incurred as a consequence of perpetual subsistence economy or due to legal lacunae. At any rate, land alienation in tribal areas has been a continuing, unresolved and serious problem since it means loss of the resource base. ✓

Concern about the rights of tribals over their lands was expressed in the early fifties by Jawaharlal

Nehru at the inception of tribal policy for the country. His Panchsheel which epitomises the tribal policy includes the principle that such rights should be respected. In 1961, the scheduled areas and scheduled tribes commission under the chairmanship of Shri U.N. Dhebar made a pointed reference ^{to} land alienation in tribal areas and called for tightening of laws to prevent alienation of tribal land. Moreover, the Fifth Schedule to the constitution provides:

The Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a state which is for the time being a scheduled area.

In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such regulations may

- (a) prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the scheduled tribes in such area;
- (b) regulate the allotment of land to members of the scheduled tribes in such areas;
- (c) regulate the carrying on the business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

In spite of this, depriving the innocent tribal of his land, through fraud or through legal sale at

nominal price, has been a common feature of tribal areas. Thus, land alienation in tribal areas continues to be a big problem, particularly in those areas which are now opened up. Fortunately, at the Central and State level, legislations have been enacted to put a check to this problem and arrest the passing of land from the hands of tribals to non-tribals. In most of the States two types of legislative acts have been enacted in order to protect the rights of tribals over their land: (i) enactment to check the transfer of tribal land into the hands of non-tribals and (ii) enactment to restore and secure the rights of tribals over their land. In recent years, the State governments have also reviewed the laws and taken appropriate measures to plug loopholes. Provisions to restore the alienated land to tribals have also been made by the State Governments.

✓ In Gujarat too, such enactments have been enacted from time to time. In 1901, to safeguard the interests in land of the people of backward areas, the then Government of Bombay passed an amendment to the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879 by including new sections 73A and 79A. Section 73A imposed a ban on transfer of land, without the permission of the Collector in such scheduled villages where survey and settlement were not introduced. Though steps had been taken for survey and settlement of land in the areas directly

administered by the British in the erstwhile Bombay State of which the present Gujarat was a part, barring the areas, under ex-princely states, most of the Scheduled Areas remained untouched by such survey. Section 79A provided for summary eviction of persons unauthorisedly occupying land.

Section 73A prohibited alienation of tribal lands in Scheduled Areas where (i) an original survey and settlement had not been introduced and (ii) the State Government by notification made the provisions of this section applicable. Since almost 16 talukas out of 32 talukas covered under the Tribal Sub-Plan area were treated as surveyed and settled, legal restrictions on transfer of tribal land was not available for them. So far as unsurveyed areas were concerned, they were governed mostly in ex-princely States and were merged with the Indian Union in 1948. In case of such unsurveyed areas, a notification by the Government was a condition before application of section 73A. A separate notification by State Government was issued in 1961 declaring the provisions of the said Section 73A applicable to all those villages in the Scheduled Areas of Gujarat in which survey and settlement had not been introduced and to which the provisions of the section had not earlier been made applicable. The areas covered under the notification were those areas in the districts of Dangs, Surat, Valsad, Bharuch, Vadodara, Panchmahal and Sabarkantha where survey and

settlement were not introduced. Even in these areas there was practically no restriction on alienation of tribal lands during the period of 1948 to 1961. Perhaps a good deal of land transfers from tribals, as indicated earlier, would have taken place during these years, and there was no legal remedy to such alienation.

An interesting court case arose out of the Government notification of 1961. The said provisions were applied to Vansda taluka as it was assumed that those villages were not unsurveyed and unsettled. The Gujarat High Court in Special Civil Application No. 1191 of 1974 declared on 2-2-1978 that the survey and settlement of Vansda taluka done during the period of ex-Vansda princely state should be deemed to have been effected under the Bombay Land Revenue Code and application of 73A could not, therefore, be feasible. So restriction presumed to have been imposed in Vansda Taluka in 1961, notification became ineffective. Such a situation may perhaps also arise in respect of other ex-princely states where survey and settlement were carried out.

These restrictions had, therefore, limited scope and applicability to protect persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes from exploitation. The State Government, therefore, amended the Land Revenue Code 1879 by inserting new sections 73AA, 73AB, 73 AC and 73AD in the said code to impose fresh restriction on

transfer of occupancies held by members of the Scheduled Tribe communities.

Although legislations have been enacted to protect the land owned by tribals from land alienation, these have not been effectively and forcefully implemented. As a consequence of this, till recently tribals went on losing their land. Transactions of land by oral leases, mortgages, usufructeral agreements occur on substantial scale. Previously these types of cases were converted into sale deeds without actual knowledge of the tribals. Cases of fraudulent transfers have been reported in which, the fact that the particular owner of the land is tribal had been concealed to defeat the purpose of law. Earlier, in several cases the non-tribals had got themselves registered as tenants in the land owned by tribals and later managed to get the ownership of land under the tenancy laws. Concealment or defacement of documents by unscrupulous usufructuriers is one of the important methods by which the non-tribals get the possession of land owned by tribals. Thus, land grabbing by non-tribals takes various forms, from the most blatant usurptions to the most camouflaged way of appropriation. Thus, inspite of legislation, land alienation is still reported to be taking place. Of course, there has been some relief, yet the problem continues to grow in the wake of the opening

up of backward areas. This problem affects quite a large number of tribal people as well as it also hampers their economic development. ✓

With a view to work out the magnitude of alienation of tribal land, the Rural Development Department of Ministry of Agriculture, Govt. of India took up a decision to conduct survey in all the States. The Tribal Research Institutes in the country have been commissioned to undertake Land Alienation Study to determine the extent of land alienation in their States. This survey for Gujarat State was entrusted to our Institute. The main objectives of this survey was to find out after the land survey in tribal villages how much and in what ways the tribal land has had passed into the hands of non-tribals and also whether the tribals transfer their land among themselves or not. Thus, it was to be investigated what was the magnitude of land alienation and what were the circumstances and factors responsible for this. In addition, this survey also aimed at obtaining the background of their economic life in order to discover the causation of this problem. Further, on the basis of the findings and conclusions derived from the survey, suggestions were to be made towards the solution of this problem in order to bring a total check on transfer of tribal land.

For this survey, a set of three schedules were prepared. First, the village schedule contained a number of questions for collecting information on demographic, economic, educational, and cases of transfer of land. The village schedule was canvassed to the Talatis in each of the selected village for supplying information in it. In the second schedule, which was household schedule, questions regarding occupation, income, expenditure, indebtedness, amount of land possessed, transfer of land had been put. Apart from collecting information on economic conditions there were also entries regarding persons in family, sex, age, educational status, etc. It also contained questions on sale and mortgage of land done by the household. The third set of schedule was meant for collecting information from Government Offices which were concerned with the rehabilitation of such tribals who had lost land as a result of irrigation projects or setting up of industries.

This survey was taken up during the month of March 1987 and was completed in December, 1987. In the very beginning i.e. in the month of March an exercise had been made to select appropriate villages from different areas under the tribal sub-plan area. Altogether 25 villages had been selected at the first instance after consultation with officials, research workers and knowledgeable persons from concerned areas.

Later, one more village was added. The list of the selected villages was finalized in the second week of April 1987.

In the first week of April 1987, the translation of the schedules (three sets) from English to Gujarati language was taken up. The schedules had been earlier prepared in English in the meeting of Directors of Tribal Research Institute held on 29th January, 1987 at New Delhi. In the third week of April 1987 the Gujarati version of the household schedule was sent to press for printing.

The actual field work in the selected villages was started in the second week of May, 1987. It was rounded up in the second week of August 1987. The data collected was processed and tabulated by third week of October, 1987. Drafting of the report was taken up in the third week of October, 1987.

This survey was conducted in all but one tribal district. The district of Dangs was not included in this survey as there was little scope of land alienation. Apart from the seven tribal districts, the survey was also conducted in one village of Kutch district.

In the selection of villages care was taken to select some villages from tribal pocket area too and

one village to cover dispersed tribals. Thus, out of 26 villages selected for this survey, 21 were located in the tribal sub-plan area, 4 in tribal pocket areas and 1 in Kutch district where the entire tribal population came under the category of dispersed tribals. The following criterion have been kept in mind while selecting the villages: (1) The main population of the village should consist of tribals and the tribals inhabiting the village should have remained in contact with non-tribals for a long time. (2) The village should be near the metalled road and have facilities for transportation which itself might be a factor responsible for land alienation. As pointed out earlier, apart from these criterion, the opinions of the local officials and some research workers were also obtained for the selection of the village.

From each of the selected villages attempt had been made to cover all the tribal Khatedars. Only in one village in Umbergaon taluka, not all the Khatedars could be covered as it was a very large village. Two hamlets were selected from this village and all the Khatedars from both the hamlets were covered. It should be mentioned here that a hamlet in a tribal village is more or less a village by itself.

Altogether 1240 tribal Khatedars were contacted for gathering quantitative data through canvassing of the schedule. The list of the selected villages and

the number of Khatadars covered has been given in the following table.

Table 1

Village-wise distribution of surveyed households

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Name of the Taluka	Name of the District	No. of families
1.	Juni Sarotri	Palanpur	Banaskantha	28
2.	Dhagadia	Danta	Banaskantha	54
3.	Khokhra	Vijaynagar	Sabarkantha	43
4.	Bhedia	Khadbrahma	Sabarkantha	147
5.	Palla	Bhiloda	Sabarkantha	37
6.	Sagtala	Devgadh Baria	Panchmahal	55
7.	Balaiya	Santrampur	Panchmahal	23
8.	Dhankua	Halol	Panchmahal	49
9.	Timla	Chhotaudepur	Vadodara	70
10.	Ganjlavant	Chhotaudepur	Vadodara	18
11.	Namaria	Tilakwada	Vadodara	30
12.	Nagarwada	Sankheda	Vadodara	14
13.	Moriyana	Valia	Bharuch	23
14.	Hirapore	Valia	Bharuch	22
15.	Asa	Jhagadia	Bharuch	30
16.	Ranipara	Nandod	Bharuch	25
17.	Hajat	Ankleshwar	Bharuch	32
18.	Pishawar	Nizar	Surat	14
19.	Rotarwa	Vyara	Surat	150
20.	Balda	Valod	Surat	66

21.	Bhimpore	Bardoli	Surat	65
22.	Kalgam	Umbergaon	Valsad	100
23.	Kocharwa	Pardi	Valsad	27
24.	Kharedi	Dharampur	Valsad	65
25.	Ganesh-Shisodara	Navsari	Valsad	16
26.	Lakadia	Bhachau	Kutch	37
TOTAL				1240

The following villages represented the tribal pocket areas:

1. Dhankua in Halol taluka
2. Nagarwada in Sankheda taluka
3. Hazat in Ankleshwar taluka
4. Ganesh-Shisodara in Navsari taluka.

The village Lakadia was selected in order to know the magnitude of land alienation among dispersed tribals.

Except the Dangs integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) all the ITDPs of the State have been included in this survey. The figures given in the next table would indicate the number of families covered in each ITDP. It should be mentioned here that now the tribal pocket areas also come under the jurisdiction of ITDP.

Table 2

ITDP-wise distribution of surveyed households

Sr. No.	Name of the ITDP	Name of the District	No. of families
1.	Palanpur ITDP	Banaskantha	82
2.	Khedbrahma ITDP	Sabarkantha	227
3.	Dohad ITDP	Panchmahal	127
4.	Chhotaudepur ITDP	Vadodara	132
5.	Rajpipla ITDP	Bharuch	132
6.	Songadh ITDP	Surat	230
7.	Mandvi ITDP	Surat	65
8.	Bansda ITDP	Valsad	208
Total			1203
9.		Kutch	37
Grand Total			1240

Apart from the data gathered from the selected villages, information regarding cases of land alienation detected and settled was collected from the office of the Commissioner, Land Reforms, Gandhinagar. We could get only consolidated statement regarding number of cases detected and settled etc. For getting the actual name of the tribals whose cases have been detected and settled we were asked to contact the Deputy Collectors at the district level who have been entrusted to detect cases of land alienation and to

take necessary steps for restoration to tribals by collecting evidence.

Accordingly, letters were first sent to the concerned Deputy Collectors (LND-8) for supplying names of the tribals whose land alienation cases have been detected and perhaps restored. In the second week of August, 1987, the In-charge of the Project personally visited Him^matnagar to collect the needed information from the office of the Deputy Collector (LND-8) who has been dealing with such cases occurring in the two districts - Banaskantha and Sabarkantha. After collecting some information, a list of about 300 cases was prepared regarding the restoration of land to tribals of Bhiloda taluka in the Sabarkantha district. After this field visits were made in some selected villages of Bhiloda taluka from where cases had been listed and on-the-spot investigation was done in about 30 cases to gain insight into the nature of the detected land alienation cases and to know whether the alienated land has been actually restored to the affected party or not.

As in the Bhiloda taluka, a list of land alienation cases detected in the villages of Danta taluka of Banaskantha districts was prepared after obtaining information from the Office of the Deputy Collector (LND, Him^matnagar). In the last week of August, a

field visit was made in some villages of Danta taluka from where cases of land alienation have been reported and there too, an on-the-spot investigation was done to verify the facts regarding restoration of alienated land to tribals.

CHAPTER - II

TRIBALS OF GUJARAT

The tribal belt in the Gujarat State comprises three distinct ecological zones. The hills and plateaus, characterized by rocky upland with small scattered deposits of minerals and tropical mixed as well as moist forests, make the first. The valleys, dominated by a fertile cultivable land intersected by rivers and streams, make the second. The escarpments and slopes, between the first two zones, marked by luxuriant growth of wild trees, bamboos and other fibrous plants in the major part of the belt make the third ecological zone. It is the latter, the forest covered slopes and escarpments that constitutes the ecological niches of several tribal groups in the State. The entire strip of the eastern part of the State - running right from north to south and cutting across the geographical boundary of three Indian States viz., Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra - is mountaneous as well as covered with forests of varying dimensions. This strip comprises the tribal belt of the State in which the traditional habitat of a number of tribal communities has been formed since centuries. In the north, the tribal region nestles in the Aravalli ranges, in the central east are the Vindhya ranges and Satpura ranges while in the southern east are the Sahayadri ranges. In the valleys consti-

tuting the second ecological zone and on the escarpments and slopes of these hilly ranges comprising the third zone, the tribal settlements are situated in a scatteredly manner. While the width of the land between the eastern and western boundary is very large in north and centre, it becomes very much reduced in the south. As a result of this, the strip of land in South Gujarat lying between the Sahayadri ranges and the Arabian sea is narrow. It becomes still narrower in the extreme south.

In the north-eastern part of the State the Aravalli range of mountains which bound Gujarat on the north and the east and which project numerous branches into the nearest part of the State are steep, craggy and difficult to access. In Gujarat this range cut across the north-east of Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts. This tribal region is marked by a network of forest clad hills enclosing well-watered valleys and table land. This is a land of thousand hills, although possessing no peaks or hills of special interest. In the shoulders of the hills and in the valleys which intervene between the spurs, the tribal villages of the Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts are situated.

In the central region of the tribal belt of the State the hill ranges consist of the outliers of the Vindhyas and Satpuras. Between Ratnamal and Pavagadh

in the Panchmahal district are the Vindhya spurs, 800' high. From Ratnamal there is a line of table land ranging from 800' - 1200'. The spurs are more regular and unbroken lying north and south, separated by valleys between the Vindhyas and Aravallis. In the south of the Panchmahal district, the hills are higher and more connected until along the border of Chhota-udepur taluka of Vadodara district they form an almost unbroken line stretching east and west, forming the watershed between the Mahi and the Narmada rivers. This line forms the extreme western outskirts of the Vindhya range. To the east a similar chain of hills or more strictly a line of table land of an altitude of 235 metres to 366 metres stretches north from the Ratnamal hills forming the water-parting between the Mahi and Banas. From this range many side spurs run west falling in height and importance as they stretch further from the table land. North of the Panam river long lines of hog-backed hills run north-west nearly parallel with the boundary of the Davgadh Baria taluka till they reach Sangeli, to the north of which these chains bend eastwards forming a complete arch. Ratnamal in the Limkheda taluka of Panchmahal district is an important hill which is well-wooded and commands a good view.

The eastern portion of the Vadodara district comprising the Chhotaudepur, Jabugam and Nasvadi

talukas is hilly, although the number of eminences deserving the names of hills is very small. The hill ranges belong to both Vindhya and Satpuda ranges. Towards the south are the extension of Rajpipla hills while in the eastern part are the beautiful volcanic peak of Phenai Mata, supposed to have been one of the active vents within the great Deccan Trap area. The hills of Phenai Mata rises in Chhotaudepur. Beyond it, to the further east, are the spurs of Malwa hills. Towards the north are sundry hills belonging to Chhotaudepur and Narukota. Towards west of the Mahabar peak in Chhotaudepur is the Mural ridge.

In the valleys and hill-slopes of the Vindhya and Satpuda ranges which run through the eastern parts of Panchmahal and Vadodara district, the tribal villages are situated. These form the central zone of the tribal belt in the State.

In the South, the tribal belt has a long range of mountains belonging to the Sahayadri range. This range, about more than 1500 kms. in length forms the eastern boundary of the Deccan and the watershed between the rivers of the peninsular India. In the South Gujarat the hills belonging to this range are found either in continuous or broken hills, like those in Dharampur and Bansda talukas. This range joins the Satpuda range, along the Tapti river. The Rajpipla hills in the Bharuch district which are western spurs of the Satpudas form a water-parting between the Tapti and the

Narmada rivers. Deeply furrowed streams zigzagging through the low hills and plateaus of both Satpuda and Sahayadri ranges are a common sight in this belt. The Satpuda range virtually ends up in the Bharuch district. The Sahayadri range may be said to begin at Kundaibari pass in the south-western corner of the Khandesh. But the hills that run eastward from the pass and overlook the lower Tapti-valley also belong to the same system. From Kundaibari, the chain runs southward with an elevation which seldom exceeds 4000 ft., in a line roughly parallel with the coast of Arabian sea from which its distance varies from 35 kms. to 110 kms. For about 170 kms, upto a point near Trimbak, its direction is somewhat west of south and it is flanked on the west by the thickly wooded table lands of Peon (in Maharashtra), Dharampur (in Gujarat), Mokhda, Jawahar (in Maharashtra) and Dangs (in Gujarat). The table lands of Dharampur, Dangs and the slopes on the western spurs of the Sahayadri range and the plateau on the Satpuda range in the Bharuch district is the country of the tribal communities of South Gujarat. In the course of history, quite a sizeable tribal population has come, to say in the plains, which is the distinct strip of low land, intersected by hilly tracts between the Sahayadri and the coastal line. There is some tribal population on the coastal line too but it is quite thin. Thus, in the southern tribal belt of the State, the main concentration of

tribal population is in the table land of plateaus, slopes of the Sahayadri and Satpuda ranges and in the low land between the coastal line and the Sahayadri range. The flat topped hills, often crowned with bare-wall like masses of basal or laterites are clothed on their lower slopes with jungles of teak and bamboo. Its primaeval forests display the most magnificent scenery. Over all parts of this belt, ranges of small hills starting up on all sides crowd together in wildest confusion, with a general south-western direction towards the valleys of the Daman Ganga and Par rivers. The furrows that lie between the hills and mountains are dominated by rainy season water-courses, the more important ones serving as channels for the rivers of the region: the Narmada, the Tapti, the Par and the Damanganga.

Out of the nineteen districts in Gujarat, eight districts viz., Dangs, Surat, Valsad and Bharuch in southern belt, Vadodara and Panchmahals in the central belt and Sabarkantha and Banaskantha in the northern belt have a sizeable tribal population and from this point of view they are usually referred to as tribal districts. Besides these districts, there are some other small tribal pockets in Junagadh, Kutch, Jamnagar, Surendranagar and Ahmedabad districts where the population of the different tribal groups is of not much significance but culturally it is of much importance as the different tribal groups

living in these pockets display a very colourful and rich heritage. However, for purpose of planning development programmes in the State, only those eight districts of the eastern part of the State has been included in the area under tribal sub-plan. In our this study too, we are mainly concerned with the tribal people living in the forest areas of the State on the eastern border, right from north to south. The tribal people who have settled in hilly and forest areas of the State over the centuries have adapted themselves to the particular geographical features of the region. Although there are no truly primitive people, who used to live primarily by hunting and gathering, left today in this region, tribal people continue to live in all the parts. In the past, however, hunting and gathering economies were found frequently in tropical forests of these areas. In the absence of concrete evidences it is difficult to make any estimate regarding the period when hunting and gathering economies were supreme in these areas. From the recorded history of the upland regions, it would seem that the tribal people living in this region had been agricultural communities, largely practising shifting cultivation form of agriculture.¹ But the

1 See (i) R.E. Enthoven, The Tribes and Castes of Bombay, 1922.
(ii) James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, London, 1857- (Reprint)
(iii) Forbes, Alexander, Kinloch, Rasmala: Hindoo Annals of the provinces of Gujarat in Western India, Oxford Univ. Press, 1924 Vol. I & II.

fact that these people practiced hunting and gathering alongwith agriculture till recently, amply testifies that the former must have been principal sources of getting food in earlier times. And as we know that agriculture is relatively a recent phenomena for the human beings, dating back only about 10000 years, and that majority of the people who had ever lived in this world had been hunter-gatherers², the assumption that these people in the long past were food collectors not food producers, would not be far from reality. But let us, for the time being, leave this discussion here and revert to the brief resume regarding the tribal people living in the forest areas of the State.

Not much is known about the original history of the different tribes which now inhabit in the forest areas of the State. In the absence of studies in archaeology, linguistic, physiology and physical anthropology, it is difficult to find accurate answers to the questions as to from where these people came. It is, however, on the strength of historical evidences, can be generalized that various Hindu and primitive elements have gone in their physical make up.

Historically, it is well known that the Bhils were once supreme in this and contigious areas till driven out by invaders into the forests and mountains. The invaders belonged to communities who had already

2 Richard B Lee and Irven De Vore (eds.), Man the Hunter, Chicago, 1968, p. 3.

established rice culture. 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 of Madhya Pradesh. It is believed that since paleolithic period they have been in this region.³

Another ancient group of people in this State were the Kolis. Later⁴, the Rajputs and Marathas arrived here. Due to great historical turmoils and upheavals, there was a constant reflux of migration on the part of these important groups of people viz., the Bhils, the Rajputs, the Kolis and the Marathas. Since the Bhils were occupying the hills and the forests and thus were comparatively in safer situation, it could have been easier for some groups of people of Rajput, Koli and Maratha community to throw their lot with the Bhils in order to gain peaceful existence. Recent illustration of such a situation can be found in the history of the Kunbis of Dangs district, which after settling in the country of Bhils became a hill tribal community. According to the Bombay Gazetteer - "They seem to be newcomers, many within the last generation and ~~almost within the last generation~~ and almost within the last hundred years. They call themselves Konkan Kunbis"⁴. Several such groups have followed along the ridges, moving from one hilltop to the next. But as the mountains and forests have made transverse

3 Allchin, Bridget, The Stone Tripped Arrow, 1966.

4 See Bombay Gazetteers.

movement across the region difficult, it had tended to separate people who have followed separate paths of cultural and social development. This may be one reason that today we find a number of tribal groups whose names do not appear in the early history of this region. The names of tribal communities like Choudharys, Dhodias, Dublas, Konknas, etc. appear only after the advent of the Britishers in this area. By that time the formation of new social groups had already been taken place. In the situation of great mobility of settlements some or the same group of people got settled in the hills or on the slopes of the hills while many got settled in the plains. It is because of this reason that in these regions, the boundary drawn on the basis of similarity of languages alone do not coincide with those drawn on the basis of shared culture traits. In view of this, to identify culture waves or migrations in these regions with spread of a language is fraught with many dangers. Since there is almost no scientific study of the tribal languages, it becomes impossible to settle questions in regard to the historical origin and distributions of ethnolinguistic groupings in the tribal belt of the State.

There is thus wide variation in the dialects spoken by the major tribal groups. So is the difference in the physical types between the different tribal groups. Life along the lofty ridges and in

forests has been responsible in shaping the various customs, the economic patterns and socio-political structures. These variations have had effect on the cultures which display an equally Kaleidoscopic variety within the broad limits set by long isolation, by the physical environment, by the ecological adaptation and economic organization. It seems plausible assumption that the differences corresponded to geographical barriers on one hand and to the culture contact situation with the low land people on the other hand. Despite a growing distinction between the tribal people living in the hills and forests and the Hindu caste groups living in the low lands, sharp boundaries did not develop between the two. Rather, throughout most of the regions, the former were incorporated into social system, dominated by the latter. They remained "the holders of the wild", "the people of the upland" who rendered periodic obeisance to the Hindu rulers in return for the recognition of their status as the first inhabitants of these lands. These relationships found symbolic expression in rituals involving both Hindu and tribal people. One of the most famous of such symbolic acts was applying 'Raj-tilak' by the Bhil chieftains to the new ruler of a state ruled by Rajputs and presenting him with a dagger. Thus it emphasized that the Bhils were in fact the support of the prosperity of the kingdom and the longevity of the monarch. The very fact that the

tribal people were involved in a royal Rajput ritual signified the Rajput's recognition of the tribal people as the first to tap the fertility of the lands in the realm.

In addition to the symbolic relationship that traditionally existed between many, if not most of the tribal and Hindu caste groups, were more tangible relationships. The tribal people living in the forests provided the Hindu caste people living in the low-lands with the forest products such as honey, beeswax, wild animal hides, herbs, fruits, exotic flowers, etc. From the lowlands, the tribal people obtained metal, salt, pottery, drums, clothes, etc. The tribal people were also viewed by the lowland people as potential labourers, to be acquired through the system of "beith" (without making any payment).

In short, the emergence of Hindu caste civilizations in the lowlands of these regions led to the emergence of new relationships between the tribal and the Hindu caste people. The relationship between them was not everywhere as highly structured as in some cases described above. In some of the more remote hills and thick forest areas, life went on ⁱⁿ tribal villages without much reference to events in the low-lands.

During the British regime no concerted effort to bring the tribal people of its territories under colonial rule was made by the Government until very late in the 19th century. However, colonial rule radically affected the lives of many of them. In some areas the tribal people were exposed to the teachings of Christian missionaries although they could ^{gain} no notable success in converting them. In the Dangs and a few other regions, the British government attempted, insofar as was possible, to administer the hill people separately from the plains people. They allowed the tribal chieftains to continue to govern their territory, although they had to accept a representative of the British government (Political Agent) who was to keep check on their administrative practices. British administration ^{was} also indirect in the hill areas under the control of Indian Princes. In sum, colonial rule did nothing to further the integration of tribal people into national/politics.

Another and perhaps the most significant change that occurred in the highland areas during the British period was economic in character. The forests of these regions were seen as sources of important economic resources that could be profitably exploited. The regions were viewed as sources of teak and other valuable timber. These areas also came to be viewed by a number of enterprising Hindu castes and other

communities for the introduction of new agricultural crops due to which the cultivable lands of the tribal people living on the hill slopes, were alienated on a large scale. With the indiscriminate cutting of forests and alienation of land, the tribal people's subsistence economy suffered great blows which gave rise to a class of wage labourers among them.

After independence the Indian and State governments pushed a policy of assimilation of tribal minorities into the mainstream of Indian life. It promoted programmes designed to improve the welfare and ensure the development of the tribal people. Although not all these policies were pressed with equal vigour or consistency throughout the hilly areas of the tribal belt, the general impact was such as to ensure that life in the hills and forests will never be the same as it was in earlier times.

In the Gujarat State twenty nine tribal groups have been recorded in the list of scheduled tribes. According to 1981 Census, the population of these scheduled tribes is 48.5 lakhs which constitute 14.22 percent of the total population in the State. The Bhils have been the largest tribal community numbering 14,48,692 persons and forming 38.99 percent of the total tribal population in the State (1971 Census). They are found in all the tribal areas in the eastern belt as well as in other pockets too. Apart from the

Bhils, there are several other important tribes in the State, most of whom have retained their language and native culture. Altogether 14 tribes are considered as major ones on the basis of their linguistic, cultural and demographic characteristics. These 14 major tribes account for 97 percent of the total tribal population in the State. The population of these major tribes can be seen from the statistics given in the Table 3.

Table 3

Distribution of tribal population according to major tribal groups (1971 Census)

Sr. No.	Name of the tribe	Total population	Percentage to total tribal population in the State
1.	Bhils (including Dungri Garasias, Bhil Garasias, Vasava, etc.)	14,48,692	38.99
2.	Dublas	3,88,589	10.43
3.	Dhodias	3,56,455	9.59
4.	Gamits	2,76,077	7.43
5.	Naika, Naikdas	2,33,243	6.27
6.	Rathwas	1,89,335	5.09
7.	Choudharys	1,76,090	4.74
8.	Koknas	1,46,728	3.95
9.	Dhanka	1,36,624	3.68
10.	Warlis	1,26,055	3.39
11.	Patelias	48,605	1.31

12.	Kumbis	34,643	0.93
13.	Kolis	29,320	0.79
14.	Kotwalias	12,896	0.35
15.	Others	1,31,070	3.51
TOTAL		37,34,422	100.00

The highest concentration of the tribal population is in the southern zone of the tribal belt, comprising of Bharuch, Surat, Valsad and Dangs districts. As can be seen from the figures given in Table 4, 55.46 percent of the total tribal population is concentrated in the

Table 4

District-wise tribal population in respect to total population (1981 Census)

Sr. No.	Name of the district	Total population	Tribal population	Percentage of tribal population to total population
1.	Surat	2,493,211	1,038,200	41.64
2.	Valsad	1,774,136	968,518	54.59
3.	Panchmahal	2,321,689	969,523	41.76
4.	Bharuch	1,296,451	577,393	44.54
5.	Vadodara	2,558,092	648,372	25.35
6.	Sabarkantha	1,502,284	251,127	16.72
7.	Dangs	113,664	104,918	92.31
8.	Banaskantha	1,667,914	111,936	06.71
9.	Other Dists.	20,358,358	178,599	08.77
10.	TOTAL	34,085,799	4,848,586	14.22

southern zone itself. Another district which display characteristic of heavy concentration is the Panchmahal in the central zone.

According to 1971 Census, the birth and death rate among the tribal population of the State is 41.22 and 13.49 per thousand. As shown in Table 5, the sex ratio among the tribals of the State comes to 974 women per 1000 men. The tribal population has a higher sex ratio in comparison to the general population in the State.

Table 5

Sex-wise distribution of Tribal Population
(1981 Census)

Sex	Number	Percentage	Sex Ratio (per 1000 males)
Male	24,53,566	50.60	-
Female	23,95,020	49.40	-
TOTAL	48,48,586	100.00	976

Among the minor tribes, some of them have been recognized as primitive tribal groups in the State because of their extremely poor and shocking economic existence. These are Kolgha, Siddi, Kathodi, and Padhar. From amongst the major tribes, Kotwalia has been also included in the list of primitive tribal groups. In case of these small tribal groups which have been given the status of primitive communities in the State, now special development programmes, have been or are being devised only after they

acquired the label of primitiveness.

Apart from these primitive tribal groups there are some little known tribal groups. They are: (i) Rabari, (ii) Vaghri, (iii) Pardhi of Kutch, (iv) Phanse, Pardhi, (v) Bavcha, Bancha, (vi) Charan, (vii) Bhils of Kutch, (viii) Bharwad, (ix) Gonds, Raj Gonds, (x) Pomla and (xi) Barda. Some of these are so unknown that sometimes it becomes even difficult to know their exact location and distributions in the State.

The general literacy of the tribals in Gujarat is 21.14 percent. As shown in Table 6, among the male tribal population it is 30.41 percent while among the females only 11.64 percent. As is evident, a vast number of tribal people, particularly the females among them are illiterates.

Table 6

Sex-wise distribution of literates and illiterates among tribal population (1981 Census)

Sex	Literates		Illiterates		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Male	7,46,236	30.41	17,07,330	69.59	24,53,566	100.0
Female	2,78,869	11.64	21,16,151	88.36	23,95,020	100.0
TOTAL	10,25,105	21.14	38,23,481	78.86	48,48,586	100.0

Literacy-wise, the Dhodias are at the top among the different tribal communities while the Rathwas, Kotwalias, Warlis, Kolis and Naika-Naikdas have a poor literacy rate.

From the statistics given in Table 7, it is apparent that while some groups like Dhodias, Choudharys and Patelias have improved their position in this regard at a bitter faster rate, among other tribes, the rate of increase from 1961 to 1971 Census is marginal. Among the Naika-Naikdas, the literacy rate has actually gone down by 1.24 percent from 1961

Table 7

Literacy rate among major tribal groups (1961 and 1971 Census figures; Tribe-wise figures for 1981 are not available)

Sr. No.	Name of the tribe	Literacy rate	
		1961	1971
1.	Bhils	9.88	11.73
2.	Dublas	11.61	13.74
3.	Dhodias	23.94	31.19
4.	Gamits	11.93	14.86
5.	Naika-Naikdas	10.79	9.55
6.	Rathwas	4.81	5.61
7.	Choudharys	13.43	22.04
8.	Konknas, Kumbis	8.92	12.56
9.	Dhankas	15.83	17.05
10.	Warlis	4.43	5.63

11.	Patelias	12.66	18.94
12.	Kolis	2.77	2.87
13.	Kotwalias	4.63	5.00
14.	TOTAL	11.79	14.12

to 1971 Census.

According to 1981 Census, only 40.55 percent of the total tribal population in the Gujarat State are workers who participate in any economically productive activity. Figures given in Table 8 reveals that nearly half of the total tribal population in the State is in the category of non-workers. 9.69 percent of the total tribal population constitute of marginal workers which means that though they have not done any work over the major part of the year previous to the

Table 8

Sex-wise percentage distribution of workers, marginal workers and non-workers (1981 Census)

Category	Male	Female	Total
1. Workers	56.85	23.85	40.55
2. Marginal workers	0.88	18.53	9.60
3. Non-workers	42.27	57.62	49.85
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00

census year, they might have done some work occasionally. From this definition, it seems probable that tribal women workers and children engaged in

labour work might have been labelled as marginal workers.

The low percentage of workers among the female population is little bit puzzling because usually all the adult members in an Adivasi household, irrespective of being male or female, do contribute in the earning of livelihood for the household.

Looking to the figures given in Table 9, it becomes clear that for majority of the tribal people,

Table 9
Industrial classification of Male and Female Tribal Workers (1981 Census)

Sr. No.	Category of work	Male		Female		Total	
		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1.	Agriculture	7,16,189	51.34	1,85,981	32.73	9,03,170	45.94
2.	Agricultural labour	4,54,695	32.60	3,33,840	58.43	7,88,536	40.10
3.	Household industry, manufacturing, processing, servicing & repairs	11,227	0.81	5,055	0.88	16,282	0.82
4.	Other works	2,12,755	15.25	45,442	7.96	2,58,197	13.14
5.	TOTAL	13,94,867	100.0	5,71,318	100.0	19,66,185	100.0

agriculture has been the primary mode of food production. Land is the major resource for employment and

agriculture is the predominant occupation. 45.94 percent of the total working population in the State are engaged in agriculture. Of the remaining 54.06 percent, agricultural labourers constitute 40.10 percent. On combining both these categories we find that for a large majority of the workers, land is the major source of employment for their livelihood. In other categories, of occupation such as animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, household industries, manufacturing industries (other than household), construction, trade and commerce, transport and communication, etc. a very small number of tribal persons are found to be working.

There has been alarming deterioration in the number of cultivators amongst the tribal working population within two decades - 1961-1981. As shown in Table 10, on one hand the percentage of cultivator fell down from 59.14 (1961) percent to 48.34 percent in 1971 and further to 45.94 in 1981. On the other

Table 10

Percentage distributions of cultivator and Agricultural Labouring (1961, 1971 and 1981 Censuses)

Category	1961	1971	1981
Agriculture	59.14	48.34	45.94
Agricultural labourer	31.09	42.33	40.10

hand the percentage of agricultural labourer went up during 1961-71 from 31.09 percent (1961) to 42.33 percent in 1971 but fell down to 40.10 percent in 1981. This has happened owing not only to the change in the concept of labour but also possibly due to eviction of land on account of disguised cases of land alienation.

The participation of the working tribal population in the secondary and tertiary sector has been quite low. But in each of these two sectors, the percentage of tribal workers has increased in 1981 Census from 1971. As the figures given in Table 11 indicate, while the percentage of workers in the primary sector has fallen down in 1981 by 5.00 percent, there has been a perceptible rise in the secondary and tertiary sector. It can be assumed that due to the

Table 11

Sectoral Distribution of tribal workers:
1971 and 1981 Census (Figures given in percentages)

Year	Primary sector	Secondary and Tertiary sector
1971	91.86	8.14
1981	86.86	13.14

development efforts the economy of the Adivasis, which hitherto depended solely on agriculture, is gradually

getting diversified. This is a welcome trend but nonetheless, once again at the risk of being repetitive, land is still the principal source of livelihood but with limited scope of expansion without getting financial support from outside agency. Due to these reasons, the economics of the majority of the tribal people in this State belong to what is known as traditional and backward sector. If these people do have difficulties in maintaining their subsistence economy, the fault probably lies not with their own technology but rather with the expanding industrial civilization that is driving them out of the environment to which they had adapted and destroying the natural resources they had at their disposal. The overall picture that emerges is that of a low income population in which virtually the entire population is dependent on agriculture and wage-labour.

Although cultivable land happens to be the chief source of livelihood for tribals in this State, their land holdings are small and scattered. According to the 20 percent sample survey of tribal households conducted during 1961 census, majority of the tribal cultivators have less than 5 acres of cultivable land. As shown in the Table 12, 80.1 percent of the landholders have been holding land between 1 to 10 acres. Thus, on the whole the number of small and marginal farmers have been ^{large but} owning only one-third of the total

cultivable land in the tribal areas. One can easily imagine that with low fertility of the soil, unimproved practices of agriculture and above all lack

Table 12

Distribution of cultivators (tribals)
according to size of land-holdings
(1961 Census)

Sr. No.	Size of holding	Number of cultivators	Percentage
1.	Less than 1 acre	2,504	4.3
2.	1 - 2.4 acre	12,487	21.3
3.	2.5 - 4.9 acre	15,244	26.0
4.	5.0 - 7.4 acre	11,379	19.4
5.	7.5 - 9.9 acre	5,333	9.1
6.	9.10-12.4 acre	4,367	7.4
7.	12.5 -14.9 acre	1,770	3.0
8.	15 -29.9 acre	4,526	7.7
9.	30.0 -49.9 acre	739	1.2
10.	Above 50 acre	159	0.3
11.	Unclassified	169	0.3
TOTAL		58,677	100.0

(Source - Figures based on 20 percent sample survey in tribal areas during 1961 census. See, Census of India, Vol.V, Gujarat Part V A. - Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

of irrigation facilities how can the subsistence economy, based largely on one crop, be able to feed the family from the agriculture source alone. No

wonder, for a large majority of the tribal families it is a grim struggle to make both ends meet. Securing sufficient livelihood is a constant problem and a never ending concern for them.

Since sole dependency on land for livelihood has obvious limitations, it is necessary to make concerted efforts to increase the scope of non-agricultural sources. The level of income of the Adivasis and consequently their standard of living cannot be raised unless for more and more Adivasi workers such non-agricultural occupations are made within their reach in their own area. Further, adequate stringent measures must be taken to prevent the process of squeezing out small landholder - marginal tribal farmers and converting them into landless agricultural labourers. Land means more to the tribals than a single economic factor.

CHAPTER - III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF TRIBALS

It may be recalled from the account given in Chapter I that altogether 1240 households belonging to different tribal communities have been covered in this survey to determine the magnitude of land alienation among them. Of the total tribal 1240 households, 46.53 percent were the tribal communities of South Gujarat (Valsad, Surat and Bharuch districts). These communities were Choudhary, Vasava Bhil, Dhodia, Warli, Gamit, Dubla and Konkna. All these communities are the major tribal communities in South Gujarat which is the largest tribal belt in this State. From the central tribal belt (Vadodara and Panchmahal districts), the percentage of tribal groups covered in this survey was 20.97 percent. The tribal groups from this region were Naika-Naikda, Tadvi Bhil, Rathwa and Bhil. Of the remaining households, 24.92 percent were the tribal communities from North Gujarat (Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts). The main tribal groups represented from this region were Bhil Garasias and Dungri Garasias. On an examination of the figures given in Table 13, it would be clear that nearly all the major tribal communities of this State have been represented. From the dispersed tribal groups the Koli tribe of Kutch has been covered in this survey which formed 2.98 percent of the total households.

Table 13

Community-wise households

Sr. No.	Name of the tribal community	Number	Percentage
1.	Choudhary	232	19.71
2.	Bhil Garasia	229	18.47
3.	Vasava Bhil	146	11.77
4.	Naika	97	7.82
5.	Dhodia	96	7.74
6.	Dungri Garasia	80	6.45
7.	Tadvi Bhil	71	5.73
8.	Warli	57	4.60
9.	Rathwa	56	4.52
10.	Gamit	49	3.95
11.	Dubla	43	3.47
12.	Bhil	36	2.90
13.	Koli	37	2.98
14.	Kokna	11	0.89
TOTAL		1240	100.00

Of the total population covered in this survey 52.93 percent were males and 47.07 percent females. Although the male population is dominant one their dominance is small. Looking to the figures given in Table 14 it would become apparent ^{that} in some of the districts such as Kutch, Bharuch and Panchmahal the male population was dominating over female population

Table 14

District-wise percentage distribution
of population according to sex

Sr. No.	District	Male	Female	Total
1.	Banaskantha	53.07	46.93	100.00
2.	Sabarkantha	53.04	46.96	100.00
3.	Panchmahal	55.04	44.96	100.00
4.	Vadodara	51.28	48.72	100.00
5.	Bharuch	57.05	42.95	100.00
6.	Surat	51.43	48.57	100.00
7.	Valsad	52.21	47.79	100.00
8.	Kutch	57.21	42.79	100.00
	TOTAL	52.93	47.07	100.00

by 14.42, 14.10 and 10.08 percents respectively. Among the tribal households of Surat and Valsad districts the difference between the males and females had been little. But among the tribals of North Gujarat the difference was more in comparison to the tribals of South Gujarat.

From the figures given in Table 15, it could be seen that according to our sample survey, the sex ratio comes to 889 females per 1000 males. On a close examination of the figures it was evident that in some districts like the Kutch, Bharuch and Panchmahal the disparity in sex ratio was quite high in comparison to the Surat, Valsad and Vadodara

Table 15

Sex-ratio among the population
of different districts

Sr. No.	District	Total No. of Males	Total No. of Females	Sex ratio (per 1000 males)
1.	Banaskantha	406	359	884
2.	Sabarkantha	1089	964	885
3.	Panchmahal	426	348	817
4.	Vadodara	603	573	950
5.	Bharuch	433	326	753
6.	Surat	991	936	945
7.	Valsad	792	725	915
8.	Kutch	115	86	748
	TOTAL	4855	4317	889

districts. The latter districts showed similar trend so far the disparity in the number of persons from both sexes was concerned.

In referring to the sex-structure of the surveyed households one general remark might be made here. The tribal societies, in general, were having a balanced sex ratio, in fact women outnumbered men. But the data collected by us clearly suggested that this tribal characteristics of demographic composition was no longer valid. Although the disparity between the two sexes was not an alarming one, except in a couple of districts, the fact remained that male

ratio was going higher. One simple explanation 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.

Among the various age-groups of the population covered in this sample survey, the sex ratio could be seen in Table 16. The number of females in the lower age group (0-6 and 7-14) was smaller which

Table 16

Sex ratio in relation to various age-groups

Sr. No.	Age-groups	Total number of males	Total number of females	Sex ratio (per 1000 males)
1.	0 - 6	670	576	859
2.	7 - 14	862	784	910
3.	15 - 25	1157	1106	955
4.	26 - 35	882	735	833
5.	36 - 60	1075	967	899
6.	Above 60	209	149	712
	TOTAL	4855	4317	889

suggested that mortality rate among the females was higher than the males among the children of below 14 years. In the next age-group i.e. 15-25 the disparity between the males and females was marginal.

After that, the number of females went on declining in the remaining three age-groups, the decline being very steep among the old people. This meant that mortality rate among the females was much higher than the males among old people. As the figures of the next table showed, more than half of the population fell between 15 and 60 age-groups (68.47 percent) but the base

Table 17

Classification of population according to different age-groups (Figures given in percentages)

Sr. No.	Age-groups	Total No. of males	Total No. of females	Total
1.	0 - 6	7.30	6.28	13.58
2.	7 - 14	9.40	8.55	17.95
3.	15 - 25	12.61	12.06	24.67
4.	26 - 35	9.62	8.01	17.63
5.	36 - 60	11.72	10.55	22.27
6.	Above 60	2.28	1.62	3.90
	TOTAL	52.93	47.07	100.00

consisting of persons below the age of 15 was quite substantial as it constituted 31.53 percent of the total population. In the last age-group i.e. above 60 years, the percentage of population declined sharply to 1.62 percent which indicated, in general, that the Adivasis have lesser longevity. Even in

the age-group of 36-60 the percentage of population was comparatively much less. Thus, demographically, the number of those persons who could be actively working to earn livelihood was quite significant. Again, those who would be thrown into employment market within a decade i.e. persons belonging to the 7-14 age-group also constituted fairly good percentage (24.67 percent).

According to the figures given in Table 18, the rate of literacy among the population covered in the

Table 18

Rate of literacy in the surveyed districts

Sr. No.	Name of the District	Total population covered			Percentage of literates		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	Banaskantha	406	359	765	28.32	7.24	18.43
2.	Sabarkantha	1089	964	2053	31.68	15.98	24.30
3.	Panchmahal	426	348	774	25.59	7.76	17.57
4.	Vadodara	603	573	1176	19.40	5.93	12.84
5.	Bharuch	433	326	759	30.48	15.95	24.24
6.	Surat	991	936	1927	42.79	27.67	35.44
7.	Valsad	792	725	1517	36.36	18.90	28.02
8.	Kutch	115	86	201	11.30	2.33	7.46
	TOTAL	4855	4317	9172	31.78	16.01	24.36

sample survey was 24.36. A closer look to the table revealed that highest literacy (35.44) has been

recorded in Surat district while the lowest (7.46) in Kutch district. In all the districts males have a higher percentage of literacy over females.

Regarding the educational achievement of the literate persons among the population covered in the sample survey, majority of them i.e. 68.71 percent of the total literate persons have received or have been receiving primary education. As the figures given in Table 19 pointed out, 21.98 percent of the literates

Table 19

Distribution of literates among the population covered in the sample survey according to their educational achievement (Figures given in percentage)

Sr. No.	Educational achievement	Male	Female	Total
1.	Primary level	46.28	22.43	68.71
2.	Secondary level	15.76	6.22	21.98
3.	Higher Secondary level	3.80	1.12	4.92
4.	Graduate	2.28	0.49	2.77
5.	Professional	0.94	0.67	1.61
	TOTAL	69.07	30.93	100.00

have received secondary education. Only 4.92 percent have completed higher secondary education. Upto graduation level only 2.77 percent have received education while 1.61 percent have received professional education such as B.Ed. and P.T.C.. The percentage of

literate among the females who have received secondary education was 20.1 percent out of the total female literates. Only 3.6 percent out of total female literates have received higher secondary education. Thus, one could see with satisfaction that tribal women have started receiving secondary and higher secondary education although their number was quite small at the present.

From the foregoing discussion it could be visualized that educational development among the tribal population of Gujarat has gained momentum during recent years. The speed would further increase after the implementation of tribal sub-plan programmes in the sector of education during the VIIth Five Year Plan.

The main occupation of the Adivasis in all the districts was agriculture. Of the 1240 households covered in this sample survey, 90.16 percent have been engaged in agriculture alone. As only agriculturist households had been selected from the selected villages, such a high percentage was found to be engaged in agriculture as a main source, for livelihood. As the figures given in Table 20 indicated after agriculture the next important occupation had been recorded as that of service in which 6.21 percent of the total households have been found to be engaged as main source of livelihood. For 2.74 percent of the total households agricultural labour was the main

Table 20

Distribution of surveyed households according to their main occupation

Sr. No.	District	Category of occupation (Main)					Total
		Agri- cul- ture	Agri- cul- tural labour	Ser- vice	Petty Busi- ness	Ani- mal husb- andry	
1.	Banaskantha	77	4	1	-	-	82
2.	Sabarkantha	212	4	11	-	-	227
3.	Panchmahal	125	2	-	-	-	127
4.	Vadodara	124	8	-	-	-	132
5.	Bharuch	119	3	10	-	-	132
6.	Surat	249	10	35	1	-	295
7.	Valsad	184	3	20	1	-	208
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-	-	37
	TOTAL	1127	34	77	2	-	1240
		(90.89)	(2.74)	(6.21)	(0.16)	-	(100.00)

source of livelihood. A small percentage (0.16 percent) were found to be engaged in petty business as the main source of their livelihood. 9 households from the Kutch district alone reported to be engaged in animal husbandry as their main source of livelihood. Those who had been found to be pursuing non-agricultural occupations had been also doing agriculture too but that was not the main source of their livelihood. As we would see later, agriculture had been the secondary occupation for those who had been engaged in non-

agricultural occupation as their main source of livelihood.

The earnings made from the main occupation was never satisfactory and due to this majority of the households had to resort to take up subsidiary occupations to make both ends meet. It was, of course, not only the head of households who had to take up subsidiary occupation. Either he himself or other members of the households or many a times both engaged in occupation other than the main one. As could be seen from the figures given in Table 21, only 6.21 percent of the total households had been able to maintain their households by the earnings of the main occupation

Table 21

Percentage of households in different main occupations having subsidiary occupation

Sr. No.	Main occupation	Having subsidiary occupation	Having no subsidiary occupation	Total
1.	Agriculture	93.17	6.83	100.00
2.	Agriculture labour	100.00	-	100.00
3.	Service	100.00	-	100.00
4.	Petty business	100.00	-	100.00
5.	Animal husbandry	100.00	-	100.00
	TOTAL	93.79	6.21	100.00

in which they had been engaged. The remaining 93.79 percent had to take up subsidiary occupation to supplement their income. As was apparent from the figures given in the Table 21 nearly in all the categories of main occupations, majority of the households had been pursuing occupation of one nature or other. From the figures given in Table 22, the nature of subsidiary occupations pursued by different households could be known. As the figures revealed, a

Table 22

Distribution of surveyed households according to their main occupation and principal subsidiary occupation

Sr. No.	Main occupation	Principal subsidiary occupations								Total	
		Agriculture	Agricultural labour	Animal husbandry	Service	Casual labour	Others	Skilled labour	Petty business		No subsidiary occupation
1.	Agriculture	-	816	150	43	16	21	3	1	77	1127
2.	Agricultural labour	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
3.	Service	77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77
4.	Petty Business	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
TOTAL		113	816	150	43	16	21	3	1	77	1240
Percentage		9.11	65.81	12.10	3.47	1.29	1.69	0.24	0.08	6.21	100.00

large number of the households having agriculture as the main occupation had been also engaged in the occupation of agricultural labour, animal husbandry, service, casual labour, skilled labour, etc. This clearly indicated that for these agriculturists, the produce which they got by doing cultivation was not enough to pull them through the entire year. They had no other alternative other to supplement their income from other sources too. Of those whose main occupation was other than agriculture, all had agricultural fields too, i.e. they were not entirely landless. But the income gained from doing cultivation was quite meagre and hence they had to take up the work of non-agricultural occupations. Several family members of such families also took up casual labour work such as in construction, road building, forest operations, etc., particularly during the non-agricultural season when there was no employment in the agricultural operations. In most of the tribal areas where only kharif crops were raised by majority of the cultivators, the agricultural labourers must be having hard time during the Rabi season and the summer season. No wonder getting engaged in casual labour remained only alternative for them to ease out the precarious economic existence. Recently due to implementation of the milk co-operative scheme in tribal areas, many of them have taken up dairy as a main subsidiary occupation

Among the subsidiary occupations, dairy occupied second position (12.10 percent) after agricultural labour (65.81 percent).

The household's income has been calculated by adding together the income of the main earner and of the earning dependents. Since a substantial part of the household's income was in kind, gained from the farm production, the expenditure incurred by each household on agricultural operation has been deducted to get an idea of the net income earned. It would be necessary to say a word here about the reliability of the income data as well as about the impossibility of making an accurate assessment of the contribution of the earning dependents who had been found to be engaged in agriculture. It was quite clear by now that an average household in the tribal areas of this State did not earn income in cash, as the main occupation for majority of the households had been agriculture which, by and large, was of subsistence nature. The agriculture produce was mainly used for household consumption, not for sale in the market to earn cash. To measure income in cash of such households called for some critical scrutiny. In the case of income of daily labourers and salaried persons, there had been less difficulty in ascertaining the income. Notwithstanding these limitations, an attempt has been made to estimate as near an accurate picture regarding the income of the surveyed households as had been possible under the circumstances.

It has already been discussed that for a large majority of the surveyed households agriculture was the main source of income. According to the figures given in Table 23 it was evident that this observation was very much in tune with the percentage of income derived from agriculture out of the total income

Table 23

Annual income of the surveyed households in the different main occupational groups

Sr. No.	Main occupation and principal subsidiary occupation	Total income (both main & subsidiary) (in Rs.)	Percentage
1.	Agriculture	366 1520	51.92
2.	Service	142 3600	20.19
3.	Agricultural labour	1267 570	17.98
4.	Animal husbandry	50 6500	7.18
5.	Non-agricultural labour	9 1300	1.29
6.	Others	10 1820	1.44
	TOTAL	7052310	100.00

derived from various other sources, both as main as well as subsidiary ones. Of the total income earned by surveyed households 51.92 percent was derived from agriculture itself, pursuing this as either main or subsidiary occupation. Next in importance was the income from salaried jobs, which accounted for 20.19 percent of the total income earned by the surveyed households. 17.98 percent of the total income was

obtained from agricultural labour. If we combine the income derived from agriculture and agricultural labour, it would at once be clear that about two-third of the total income was gained from the source of agriculture. Besides these, animal husbandry was also a noteworthy source of earning income (7.18 per cent of the total income) among the surveyed household.

Upon calculation of the annual income per household and the per capita per month income as given in Table 24, it was found that an average household

Table 24

District-wise Annual Income per household and per capita monthly income

Sr. No.	District	Total No. of households	Total income from all source (in Rs)	Annual Income per household (in Rs)	Average size of household	Per capita annual income (in Rs)	Per capita monthly income (in Rs)
1.	Banaskantha	82	566800	6912	9.3	743	62
2.	Sabarkantha	227	1299420	5724	9	636	53
3.	Panchmahal	127	496450	3909	6	651	54
4.	Vadodara	132	426300	3229	8.9	363	30
5.	Bharuch	132	640090	4849	5.7	850	71
6.	Surat	295	2273150	7706	6.5	1186	99
7.	Valsad	208	1179100	5669	7.2	787	66
8.	Kutch	37	171000	4622	5.4	856	71
	TOTAL	1240	7052310	5687	7.3	779	65

among the surveyed household had not been able to cross over even the poverty line. Looking to the figures closely it was revealed that except an average household in the Bharuch, Surat and Kutch districts, the per capita per month income of an average household in all the other districts was below the poverty line. The tribals of Vadodara district appeared to be poorest in comparison to the tribals of other districts. As was evident, an average household of Surat district was in far better economic situation in comparison to his counterpart of other districts.

Thus, inspite of the fact that several members of these households were actively engaged in earning livelihood, their earnings were so low that they had not been able to cross over even the poverty line. The economic situation of the tribals of Vadodara, Sabarkantha and Panchmahal appeared to be quite grim.

For the Adivasis of all the districts, expenditure on food accounted for the major share of the total annual expenditure incurred by the surveyed households. According to the figures given in the Table 25, 48.79 percent of the total expenditure was made on food items alone. Next to food, clothes accounted for the second important item of expenditure. More than 13 percent of the total annual expenditure

was spent on clothes by the surveyed households. Social ceremonies such as marriage, birth, death, etc. also accounted for a substantial share of the total expenditure. More than 10 percent of the expenditure was made on social ceremonies. Maintenance of the house or repair of the house also accounted for a good share from the total expenditure, 9.54 percent was spent on this item. Education

Table 25

Principal annual living expenditure per household

Sr. No.	Principal item	Total expenditure per annum (in Rs.)	Average expenditure per household (in Rs.)	Percentage
1.	Food	3865150	3117	48.79
2.	Clothes	1087475	877	13.73
3.	On maintenance of house	756050	610	9.54
4.	Medical expenses	257200	207	3.25
5.	Education	290260	234	3.66
6.	Religious ceremonies	294705	238	3.72
7.	Social ceremonies	837900	676	10.58
8.	On litigation	2800	2	0.03
9.	Other household expenditure	281650	227	3.55
10.	Others	249400	201	3.15
	TOTAL	7922590	6389	100.00

and medical treatment, were two items on which the households had not to spend much. The reasons were obvious for this. Expenditure on education was low because Adivasi children almost got free education, including boarding and lodging wherever it was so. Even dresses i.e. school uniforms were also supplied in most cases. An annual stipend was also given to each child to meet other expenses such as on notebooks, slates, pencils, etc. Similarly, through primary health centres and government dispensaries Adivasis were supplied medicines free.

On litigation the surveyed households had not to spend much. In most of the cases, Adivasis seldom went to court for redress of grievances. Their own traditional panch settled most of the issues. It also reflected that among the surveyed households expenditure on fighting cases for land alienation was also almost nil. In fact seldom an Adivasi would go to court for getting restoration of his alienated land.

Although majority of the surveyed households were having low income, not many of them were found to be indebted. As the figures given in Table 26 indicated, only 18.80 percent of the total surveyed households were found to be indebted. It was possible that the Adivasis now-a-days faced difficulties in procuring loan easily and also awareness had dawned upon them regarding their exploitation at the hands

Table 26

Number of Indebted households

Sr. No.	District	No. of households indebted	Percentage out of total households	Total No. of households
1.	Banaskantha	39	47.56	82
2.	Sabarkantha	59	25.99	227
3.	Panchmahal	20	15.75	127
4.	Vadodara	13	9.85	132
5.	Bharuch	24	16.18	132
6.	Surat	33	11.19	295
7.	Valsad	14	6.73	208
8.	Kutch	31	83.78	37
	TOTAL	233	18.79	1240

of moneylenders and shopkeepers^s. The latter also do not find now the business of giving loan to Adivasis a lucrative one.

Looking to the figures closely, it was revealed that the highest incidence of indebtedness was among the surveyed households of Kutch district. Among the surveyed households of Banaskantha district too, quite a large number of them, forming 47.56 of the total households in the district, were under debt.

The total amount of debt for all these households~~was~~ was Rs. 194200. The figures given in

Table 27 indicated that the problem of indebtedness among the Adivasis was an acute one as the amount of debt per household among them was quite substantial.

Table 27

Amount of debt per household and per capita

No. of surveyed household	Total amount of debt (in Rs.)	Per capita amount of debt	Amount of debt per household	Amount of debt per household among indebted households
1240	194200	21	157	833

The problem becomes more complex as the indebted Adivasis remain indebted perpetually and since the repaying capacity was woefully poor, many a times they would have to mortgage part of their cultivable land for securing loan.

Most of the indebted households among the Adivasis were aware of the ills of borrowings and about the consequences of getting economically ruined. But they became compelled to borrow in a situation of real emergency.

When asked about the rate of interest on which they were given loan, only a few of them could give proper information. But a large majority of them were not aware of the rate of interest which was being charged from them. Those who gave response

(only 22 out of the 233 indebted households) mentioned that they obtained loan at 10 to 15 percent rate of interest.

There were several sources from which loans were obtained. Figures regarding the sources from which the indebted households secured loan have been presented in Table 28. On an examination of the figures it was revealed that the most important

Table 28
Source of taking loan

Sr. No.	Source	Number	Percentage
1.	Cooperative Societies	76	32.62
2.	Bank	62	26.61
3.	Shopkeeper	59	25.32
4.	Friends & relatives	27	11.59
5.	Others	9	3.86
	TOTAL	233	100.00

source was the co-operative society, followed by Bank. Next to the Bank was the moneylender (shopkeeper) which was in tune with the traditional pattern found in the indebtedness of the tribals in rural areas. Relatives and friends had also played an important role in advancing loans to the indebted households. Obtaining loans from

cooperative societies and Banks was certainly a big change in the pattern of indebtedness among the tribals.

On being asked about the identity of the source of obtaining loan in terms of whether that was an Adivasi person or a non-Adivasi or was that an official agency, majority of them replied that they had obtained loan from official agencies such as cooperatives and Banks. Figures given in Table 29 nearly 60 percent of the indebted persons secured loan from official agencies. Of the remaining, 25.32 percent got loan from non-Adivasis (shopkeepers) and 11.59 percent from Adivasis (friends & relatives).

Of the 233 indebted households 10 reported that they had paid back part of the total amount of debt.

Table 29

Identity of the persons from whom loan was obtained.

Sr. No.	Identity	No. of indebted persons	Percentage
1.	Adivasis	27	11.59
2.	Non-Adivasis	59	25.32
3.	Official agencies	138	59.23
4.	Others (not stated)	9	3.86
	TOTAL	233	100.00

Altogether Rs. 41820 had been paid back by these 10 households which meant that 21.53 percent of the total debt had been repaid.

According to the figures given in Table 30, a large number of the indebted households took loan for agriculture purposes and for buying cattle.

Table 30
Purpose of taking loan

Sr. No.	Purpose	Number of households	Percentage
1.	For agriculture	36	15.45
2.	For well & electric motor	40	17.17
3.	For buying cattle	62	26.61
4.	For household consumption	37	15.88
5.	For construction of house	14	6.01
6.	For social ceremonies	44	18.88
	TOTAL	233	100.00

Quite a good number of them, forming 18.88 percent took loan for performing social ceremonies such as marriage and death. 15.88 percent of the indebted household had to fall into debt for meeting expenses towards family's consumption. A small number, 14 households, secured loan for the purpose of house construction.

CHAPTER - IV

EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

The tribal people in Gujarat look upon land under permanent cultivation not only as the main source of livelihood but as the most valuable asset as well. It is quite natural for these people to attach much importance to land because of the agrarian structure of their economic life. Land being the principal source of livelihood, the size of land holding determines to certain extent, the social status of a tribal family. There is not much difference in wealth and landownership by Adivasi households. There is no big land holders in the sense of 'landlords' of the plains and there are no tenant farmers. There is very little of land in the tribal tract being cultivated on tenancy basis. Occasionally some elderly persons or dependent persons who cannot till all their land will rent out some portion of the land to others on crop-share basis. But on all such occasions the land is rented out to a member of his or her lineage. The non-Adivasi farmers have stopped the practice of renting out part of their land to tenants on share cropping basis.

As has been discussed earlier, agriculture is the mainstay of the Adivasis, the people are a genuine peasantry and are earth bound in the strict sense of

term. This is particularly true in case of the Adivasis among whom the influence of agriculture is reflected in every aspect of their culture. In recent times the major hurdle to development of tribal agriculture is the problem of land alienation. In this survey an attempt has been made to assess the extent of alienation of tribal land.

According to the figures given in Table 31, an average household among the surveyed households possessed 5.20 acres of land, most of which were unirrigated dry land. Of the total land amounting to 6423.07 acre possessed by 1240 households, only 16.13 percent of the total (1036.13 acre) was irrigated land. 80.32 percent of the land was of unirrigated type. Of the remaining, 3.26 percent of the total land was around the house, while 0.29 (18.08 acre) was either waste land or under fruit orchard. It was clear that highest amount of land was possessed by the households of Kutch district while the lowest amount of land possessed by an average household was among the surveyed households of Valsad district. Though an average household in Kutch district ^{owned} more land, the very nature of land (desert type) was such that not much yield could be obtained while the land of both Surat and Valsad were comparatively much fertile. Further, in the Surat district a higher amount of land was under irrigation.

Table 31

Possession of land among surveyed households

Sr. District No.	Type and total amount of land (in acres)					Land possessed by an average household
	Unirri-gated	Irrigated	Kitchen garden	Others	Total	
1. Banaskantha	353.67	40.00	42.00	7.06	442.13	5.40
2. Sabarkantha	1000.02	82.19	4.35	-	1087.16	4.8
3. Panchmahal	560.10	30.00	2.02	-	592.12	4.7
4. Vadodara	652.37	-	20.01	-	672.38	5.1
5. Bharuch	896.11	21.00	7.10	-	924.21	7.0
6. Surat	631.05	819.00	11.30	-	1461.35	5.0
7. Valsad	700.05	43.34	73.23	0.02	817.24	3.9
8. Kutch	365.08	-	48.00	11.00	424.08	11.5
TOTAL	5159.05	1036.13	209.21	18.08	6423.07	5.2

On being asked whether they have to mortgage or sell any amount of land to non-tribals or have transferred any amount of land to non-tribals, 231 respondents gave the answer in affirmative. This meant that 18.63 percent of the total surveyed household had lost some land. As the figures given in Table 32 indicated, the highest number (32.58 percent of total surveyed household in the Vadodara district) of tribals lost their land in the Vadodara district. Next in order was Valsad district, from where 28.85

percent of the total surveyed household reported to have lost their land. Among the households of Banaskantha district too as much as 24.39 percent

Table 32

Response regarding transfer or mortgage or selling of land to non-tribals (Figures given in percentage)

Sr. No.	District	Have mortgaged or transferred or sold land to non-tribals?		
		Yes	No	Total
1.	Banaskantha	24.39	75.61	100.00
2.	Sabarkantha	4.85	95.15	100.00
3.	Panchmahal	8.67	91.33	100.00
4.	Vadodara	32.58	67.42	100.00
5.	Bharuch	20.45	79.55	100.00
6.	Surat	17.97	82.03	100.00
7.	Valsad	28.85	71.15	100.00
8.	Kutch	16.22	83.78	100.00
	TOTAL	18.63	81.37	100.00

had lost their land. In the Sabarkantha and Panchmahal districts 4.85 and 8.67 percent respectively of the total surveyed households in these districts had to part away some land to non-tribals. In the Bharuch, Surat and Kutch districts, the percentage of households who lost their land were 20.45, 17.97 and 16.22 percent respectively.

Since how long they have lost their land? To

this question the respondents mentioned the period varying from one year to more than 15 years. As shown in the Table 33, 27.31 percent of those who had lost their land lost it since one to five years.

Table 33

Period since the land had been lost

Sr. No.	District	Period				Total
		Since one to five years	Since six to ten years	Since eleven to fifteen years	Since more than 16 years	
1.	Banaskantha	4	8	5	3	20
2.	Sabarkantha	2	3	2	4	11
3.	Panchmahal	5	3	1	2	11
4.	Vadodara	12	7	14	10	43
5.	Bharuch	7	12	3	5	27
6.	Surat	15	14	8	16	53
7.	Valsad	19	12	9	20	60
8.	Kutch	-	1	3	2	6
	TOTAL	64	60	45	62	231
		27.71	25.97	19.48	26.84	100.00

25.97 lost it since six to ten years while 19.48 lost it since eleven to fifteen years. Lastly 26.84 percent lost it since more than sixteen years. Thus, more than 45 percent of them had lost their land since more than ten years.

How much land they have lost? When enquired about this, these respondents mentioned that not very big plots of land had been lost. As the figures given in the Table 34 indicated, altogether 693.4 acres of land had been lost by them. District-wise figures have been given in this table. In Kutch

Table 34

Sr. No.	District	Amount of land lost (in acre)	Land lost by an average household
1.	Banaskantha	54.29	2.7 acres
2.	Sabarkantha	29.12	2.6 "
3.	Panchmahal	34.16	3.10 "
4.	Vadodara	112.14	2.6 "
5.	Bharuch	82.07	3.06 "
6.	Surat	140.00	2.64 "
7.	Valsad	115.35	2.0 "
8.	Kutch	124.11	20.6 "
	TOTAL	693.4	3.0 acres

district sizeable land had been lost by an average household out of those who had lost their land. In nearly all the districts an average household lost land ranging from 2.00 to 3.10 acres. As most of the land held by tribals was unirrigated type, the land lost by them mostly belonged to this category.

✓ After the enforcement of the amended Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879 Act in 1980 in which 73AA has been inserted, the State Government has issued executive instructions to enforce the existing provisions and to restore land to original tribal holders. Six teams headed by Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars have been constituted to detect cases of such alienation from village to village and to take necessary actions. For restoration of land to the tribals by collecting evidence. These teams also assess the dimensions of the problem of land alienation and also restoration. These teams also indicate tribal holdings by some distinguished marks put against the village land records at appropriate places. Till now 18206 cases of land alienation has been settled by these team. The statement given in next page would give clear indication regarding this. ✓

But in most of the reported cases it was found by us that these reported cases of land alienation were not actually case of land alienation of tribal land by non-tribals but were cases of land disputes among the family members. Only in one case in Sabarkantha district was found that a non-tribal person has made attempts to alienate the land of a tribal but on detection the land was restored to the concerned tribal family.

But in Ambaji area of Banaskantha district, several cases of alienation of land of tribals by

Scheme No. L.N.D.-8 - Scheme for Protection against Unauthorized Alienation of Land held by Tribals.

Progress upto March 1987

Sr. No.	District	Total cases regis-tered	No. of cases posed off in favour of tribals	No. of cases disposed off but not in favour of tribals	Total No. of cases posed off		Pending cases		No. of cases in which possession was restored to tribals	No. of cases in which possession of land has not been restored to tribals					
					No. of cases posed off of tribals	Area (in acre)	No. of cases	Area (in acre)							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.	Bharuch	6008	66610	5685	15676	221	749	5906	16425	102	185	5418	15310	267	366
2.	Panchmahal	6964	20645	5031	13317	18	54	5049	13371	1915	7274	5005	13167	26	150
3.	Vadodara	4031	12183	3596	11029	414	1105	4010	12134	21	49	3469	10769	127	260
4.	Sabarkantha	3062	6765	2226	5411	48	117	2274	5528	798	1239	2204	5332	22	79
5.	Surat	142	375	106	339	20	33	126	372	16	3	89	309	17	33
6.	Valsad	120	210	88	173	1	-	89	173	31	37	69	156	19	17
7.	Dangs	442	3283	429	3225	-	-	429	3225	13	58	414	3138	3	8
8.	Banaskantha	457	1700	265	933	61	215	326	1148	131	552	241	867	24	66
TOTAL		21236	61771	17426	50103	783	2273	18209	52376	3027	9395	16909	49039	505	979

non-tribals was found out. Several plots of tribal land, big as well as small ones, have been grabbed away by non-tribals. In a couple of cases, even the payment was not made to the owners of land. The deal had been settled for Rs. 20,000 and after making an initial payment of Rs. 1,500 only not a single paisa was paid to the tribal fellow who had been owning the land. On this plot of land, a housing society was floated under the auspices of which several houses have been constructed. The person who had grabbed the land from the tribal was a state government employee working in the revenue department. But he too sold the land to some other party after making a huge profit on it and this other party has floated the housing society.

Another plot of land was grabbed away by an industrialist running a marble factory, in the same plot of land. He obtained permission for executing the sale deed of the concerned plot of land from the highest authority in the state government.

Both these cases of land alienation were being investigated by the Mamlatdar of the Danta taluka but there appeared to be little hope of restoring the land to the tribal fellow who had owned the land.

In another case it was reported by the Deputy Collector (LND-8) that alienated plot of land had

been restored to the tribal fellow but when we made the on-the-spot investigation it was found that the tribal fellow was not even aware of this and he had not been given the possession of land.

It was learnt that due to acute pressure of land in the vicinity of Ambaji (due to rapid growth of Ambaji township) many non-tribals are using fraudulent means to grab the land of the tribals as nearly all the land around Ambaji are owned by tribals. As such there appears to be an urgent need to keep strict vigilance over the activities of the non-tribals' designed ~~to~~ to grab off the land of the tribals.

CHAPTER - V

To ~~the~~ question whether the informants knew about the legal provision that land belonging to a Scheduled Tribe cannot be transferred in the name of a non-tribal almost 87% of our informants said that they knew about provisions, the remaining 13 percent some-how did not know about this. Very interestingly every informant in Surat ^{and} Baroda ^{and} all but one in Kutch had this information. The number of informants who had not this information was quite large in Banaskantha, Sabarkantha & Valsad. About one-sixth of the informants in Panchmahals had said no to our query. They show that the legal provisions about land alienation has been very well within the knowledge of the tribal land holders. Some work will have to be done in Sabarkantha, Banaskantha, Panchmahal & Valsad, to inform the tribal peasants about these provisions.

Table 35 gives detail districtwise information about the informants' knowledge or otherwise of these provisions.

We wanted to know whether the tribals who had lost their land to non-tribals did make any attempt for regaining this land specially by contacting Government officers or some other local leaders. Out of the total number of 1240 informants only 25 said that they had made some attempt in this direction.

Table 35

Whether the informants knew about the legal provision that land belonging to a Scheduled Tribe cannot be transferred in the name of non-tribals

Sr. No.	District	Total	Yes	No
1.	Banaskantha	82	59	23
2.	Sabarkantha	227	171	56
3.	Panchmahals	127	104	23
4.	Vadodara	132	132	-
5.	Bharuch	132	124	8
6.	Surat	295	295	-
7.	Valsad	208	155	53
8.	Kutch	37	36	1
	TOTAL	1240	1076	164
	Percent age	100%	86.77%	13.23%

Even this contact was not with any official of the Revenue or other departments of the Government. They contacted only the village Patel or some other local leader.

This shows that eventhough as we discussed earlier the tribals knew about the legal inalienability of their land, they did not know whom to contact for enforcing this provision in their favour. Together with the publicity of this provision the necessity to inform the people concerned about the contact officers for redressal was apparent.

Table 36 gives the above information according to districts in which the study was made.

Table 36

Contact of Government Officers and other leaders for getting land back

Sr. No.	District	Total	Yes	No	Self	Sarpanch	Leader	Patel	Other	No reply
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1.	Banaskantha	82	4	78	4	-	-	-	-	3
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	227	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	127	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Vadodara	132	6	126	-	-	2	2	2	-
5.	Bharuch	132	-	132	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Surat	295	-	295	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Valsad	208	15	193	-	-	5	3	1	6
8.	Kutch	37	-	37	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1240	25	1215	4	-	7	5	3	9
	Percentage		100							

It was necessary to know whether the tribals who had thus lost their lands had gone to a court of law for the alienated land return to them. The Table 37 gives a painful picture about this. As many as 1219 of 1240 informants had not sought the help of the court for getting their land back. This shows that either they did not know the whole procedure for taking their land back or even if they knew about it they had no convenience or courage to do so.

Table 37

Whether the tribals had gone to a court of law for the alienated land return to them

Sr. No.	District	Total	Yes	No
1.	Banaskantha	82	4	78
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	227
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	127
4.	Vadodara	132	6	126
5.	Bharuch	132	-	132
6.	Surat	295	1	294
7.	Valsad	208	10	198
8.	Kutch	37	-	37
	TOTAL	1240	21	1219

It is also very necessary to know that after getting alienated land back, whether the non-tribals had maintained relation with the informants as it was before. Because there is a lot of possibility of

conflict in this type of situation. The Table 38 gives details about above mentioned matter.

The table shows that out of total 1240 informants, 1023 had not replied and 182 informants said only 'yes' but they had not mentioned about their relations with non-tribals after getting land back either it is good or bad.

Table 38

Relation with non-tribals after getting alienated land back

Sr. No.	District	Total	Yes	No	No reply
1.	Banaskantha	82	-	8	74
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	-	227
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	-	127
4.	Vadodara	132	-	1	131
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	132
6.	Surat	295	-	-	295
7.	Valsad	208	182	26	-
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1240	182	35	

Keeping in view the objectives of the study we have prepared family scheduled in which we asked a question about the economic condition of informants before their land alienated by which we can judge some economical factors those are directly or indirectly imposed the tribals to make their land alienated.

Details about economic condition of tribals before their land alienated are given ⁱⁿ Table 39.

Table 39

What was the economic condition of tribals before their land alienated

Sr. No.	District	Total	Good	Med-ium	Bad	No reply
1.	Banaskantha	82	4	2	-	76
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	-	-	227
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	-	-	127
4.	Vadodara	132	4	1	1	126
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	-	132
6.	Surat	295	-	-	-	295
7.	Valsad	208	1	1	12	194
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-	37
	TOTAL	1240	9	4	13	1214

As could be seen from the figures given in the above table, majority of the informants ~~were denied to~~ ^{did not go} give ^{any} reply. Out of total 1240 informants only 26 informants had replied. 9 informants said that their economic condition was good while 4 informants said that economic condition was medium and 13 informants ^{said} ~~that~~ economic condition ^{was} ~~found~~ bad before their land ^{was} alienated.

As far as tribals are concerned most of them are getting their livelihood from agriculture either in the form of agriculture labour or as a farmer. In this study we asked the informants about their economic

condition after getting land back with a view to know that, ^{whether getting} due to ~~get~~ land back ~~whether~~ their economic condition ^{has} ~~is~~ improved or not. ~~Table~~ Table 40 gives districtwise details about the economic condition of informants after getting land back.

Table 40

What was the economic condition of tribals after repossession of the land

Sr. No.	District	Total	Good	Med-ium	Bad	No reply
1.	Banaskantha	82	-	1	1	80
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	-	-	227
3.	Panchmahals	127	-	-	-	127
4.	Vadodara	132	2	2	-	128
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	-	132
6.	Surat	295	-	-	-	295
7.	Valsad	208	-	-	3	205
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-	37
	TOTAL	1240	2	3	4	1231

Looking to the figures given in the above table closely, it was revealed that the out of total 1240 informants, 1231 informants had not replied, ~~some~~ ~~question~~ while 2 informants indicate^d that their economic condition ^{has become} ~~is~~ good, 3 said medium and 4 informants said ^{that even} ~~had~~ after getting alienated land back, ~~their~~ economic condition continued to be bad.

Nowadays people are measuring all things in money. Human became more economical rather than past. So in the process of getting back alienated land whether tribals had expended money or not that we had asked to our informants. Districtwise details regarding this ^{has been} given in Table 41.

Table 41

What is the expenditure incurred for re-possession of the land

Sr. No.	District	Total	Yes	No	No reply	0 to 500	501-1000	1001-1500	1501-2000	Above 2001
1.	Banaskantha	82	3	30	49	-	-	-	1	2
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	227	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	-	127	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Vadodara	132	3	129	-	-	-	-	-	3
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	132	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Surat	295	1	294	-	-	-	-	1	-
7.	Valsad	208	7	201	-	2	-	-	1	4
8.	Kutch	37	1	36	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL		1240	15	917	308	2	-	-	3	10

According to the figures given in the above table, ~~out of total informants 917 informants had not made any expenditure for getting back alienated land while 308 informants had not replied.~~ ^{Only 15 respondents had} ~~Only 15 informants had~~ made expenditure in which ² informants had ^{spent} ~~expense~~ 0 to 500 Rs. 3 informants had ^{spent} ~~expense~~ 1501 to 2000 Rs. while 10 informants had made expense above 2001 Rs., for getting alienated land back.

We also wanted to know that how much time ^{was} taken ~~in~~ to claim settlement. ~~To~~ this question we ~~have~~ got very little response from the informants. Districtwise details are given in Table 42.

Table 42

How much time it has taken to settle the claim

Sr. No.	District	Total	0 to 12 months	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	Other
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1.	Banaskantha	82	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Vadodara	132	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Surat	295	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
7.	Valsad	208	-	-	-	1	1	5	-
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1240	1	2	1	1	1	7	1

The above figures give very clear picture of the process of claim settlement. Out of total 1240 informants only 14 informants had replied. In which in the case of 1 informant the process of claim settlement had taken 0 to 12 months. In the other case the process taken 1 year and in the other 2 cases process taken 2 years, while in another two cases one ~~taken~~ ^{took} 3 years and second ~~taken~~ ^{took} 4 years and 7 cases ~~process~~ ^{had} taken 5 years while one claim ~~is~~ ^{was} still pending.

The following Table 43 gives a faint idea about the period which intervenes between the verdict of the court and the actual possession of the land by the tribal concerned. It shows, in some cases, the period ~~is~~^{was} as much as 4 years and even 5 years.

Table 43

After what period since the court verdict was the possession of the land obtained

Sr. No.	District	Total	1 yrs	2 yrs	3 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs
1.	Banaskantha	82	1	-	-	1	-
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Panchmahals	127	-	-	-	--	-
4.	Vadodara	132	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Surat	295	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Valsad	208	-	-	-	-	1
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1240	1	-	-	1	1

The condition of land alienated cases ~~is~~^{was} very critical so it ~~take~~^{took} time but looking at the time period taken ~~in the~~^{to} finalise the case ~~is~~^{was too} long. The Table 44 gives details about it.

Table 44

How much period has been taken to finalise the case

Sr. No.	District	Total	1 year	2 yrs	3 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs
1.	Banaskantha	82	-	1	-	-	2
2.	Sabarkantha	227	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Panchmahal	127	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Vadodara	132	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Bharuch	132	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Surat	295	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Valsad	208	-	-	-	-	2
8.	Kutch	37	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1240	-	1	-	-	4

According to the figures given in the above table we can see once again a repetition of ~~no~~ reply. Out of 1240 only 5 informants gave reply in which one said that two years ^{were} taken to finalise the case while 4 other informants said that 5 years ^{were} taken to finalise their case regarding land alienation.

CHAPTER - VI

RECOMMENDATIONS : PART

1. Since tribal communities primarily depend on land, relationship of the tribals with land legislative and administrative measures so far taken require to be examined.
2. Frequently, legislative and administrative measures are adopted overlooking the peculiar relationships between tribal communities and their lands leading to complication. A thorough understanding of the customary rights of the tribal communities in respect of land and pattern of land distribution and organization of such rights will be necessary for evolving any programme based on land.
3. After undertaking an assessment of the changes which are taking place in the socio-economic land tenure system in the tribal areas due to social contact between tribals and non-tribals and changes in the government policy, a review of the legislative and executive measures seem imperative.
4. It is suggested that customary rights of tribals in land must be recognized. It is inevitable that many of the customary rights of the tribals would require change in course of time for a

larger national interest. However it must be kept in mind that the tribal interests were not trampled upon.

5. The areas of high incidence of land alienation in each district should be identified and suitable remedial measures taken on a time-bound basis.
6. Necessary inputs to develop the restored land should form a part of the development programme.
7. The highest incidence is not the same throughout the tribal areas of the State. The highest incidence is around the industrial and growing urban centres and areas of intensive economic activity. Special team should be made for identification of alienated land in such areas and its restoration on these high incidence areas should be taken up on a campaign basis to be completed within a period of six months to a year.
8. Tribal Research Institute should be included as a member of the team engaged in the detection and restoration of alienated land to rightful tribal owner.
9. Erring officials must be properly dealt with.
10. Peripatetic training camps in the tribal areas may be organized by Tribal Research Institutes

to make the tribals aware about the legislation regarding alienation of their land.

11. The displace tribals due to the installation of industrial and irrigational complexes should be rehabilitated fully instead of paying cash compensation.
 12. Alienation of land and indebtedness among the tribal people is inter-related. As such credit facilities should be extended to tribals with limited ownership rights on the same terms as to others with full proprietorship rights for which suitable institutional forms may be devised.
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