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# From Farm to Factory

R. B. Lal



Gujarat Vidyapith  
Ahmedabad-380 014

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Adivasi Samshodhan Shreni-28

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**R. B. LAL**



**Tribal Research And Training Institute**  
**GUJARAT VIDYAPITH**  
**AHMEDABAD-380 014**

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**FOREWORD**

In Gujarat, the opening of giant industrial complex at Vapi in Valsad district by the Gujarat Industrial Development corporation has led to the creation of a vast number of independent industries, nearly four hundred, in a predominantly tribal region. All types of industries, small, medium and big, manufacturing a large variety of consumer goods and other industrial products have come into existence in this complex. For the tribals of this region, industrialization of this region has significant consequences. The process of transformation of an increasing proportion of the tribal population from an agricultural group into an industrial working class is giving rise to several problems.

This study illustrates the extent to which goals of development of the tribal society is consequent of the development of the industrial complex of Vapi.

I hope this meticulous study conducted by prof. R. B. Lal will be of special interest to the planners and administrators engaged in transformation of the tribal society.

**Prof. Ramlal Parikh**  
Vice-Chancellor

## *PREFACE*

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

At the Institute, several of my colleagues gave active help and support in one way or other in the completion of this study. I am grateful to Dr. Siddhraj Solanki, Dr. Gaurish Pandya and Dr. M. I. Masavi for the kind help and cooperation rendered to me. I would also like to thank Shri Prakash Mehta who took immense pain in typing the manuscript.

I shall be failing in my profoundest duty if I forget my indebtedness to Dr. T. B. Naik, Director of the Institute. He has been kind enough to go through the manuscript critically and like a teacher guided me in writing this report. I express my sincere gratefulness to him.

Lastly, but not the least important, I am highly grateful to our Vice-chancellor, Prof. Ramlal Parikh, who always gave me unqualified support and cooperation in my academic pursuits. It is mainly because of his deep concern and active inspiration that we take up studies of this nature at the Gujarat Vidyapith.

**R. B. Lal**

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Industrialization in Vapi :

During the course of about two decades the Vapi region has been converted from a still largely agricultural area inhabited by tribal people, working with the land under a traditional division of labour into a diversified economic unit dependent on, and interlocked with, the worldwide exchange economy. This has necessitated a diversification of the working population, which has occurred through the importation of highly skilled nucleus of non-tribals who have built around themselves a relatively unskilled tribal labour force.

The phenomenal growth of Vapi as one of the biggest industrial estates in the country has given rise to new population clusters which are becoming more and more cosmopolitan and heterogeneous. Members of all communities have been free to participate in the private industrial units of the G. I. D. C. Vapi, but the ownership and management of the industrial firms has in practice lain entirely in the hands of non-tribal entrepreneurs and skilled work has been confined mainly to non-tribal workers, both local as well as from outside. Tribals of this region have lacked the resources and knowledge to establish or manage industrial organisations or to undertake skilled work in them and have had little to contribute beyond engaging themselves where skill is not involved and less frequently, semi-skilled labour. In this region the labour participation for the tribals has increased at a faster rate during this decade and is expected to be even faster during the next decade. The rapid industrialization at Vapi is bound to result into the transfer of many tribal workers away from food production. This has already happened in the villages around Atul Industrial Complex. The proportion of these tribal workers employed in manufacturing and services is increasing quite rapidly. Even though the economic modernization of these people is heavily concentrated at present on agriculture, a substantial movement of workers from agricultural fields to the

factories located in the Vapi's G. I. D. C. Estate is taking place, the tempo of which is being accelerated now.

As a consequence of this the pace of change among the tribals of this area is unusually accelerating which has vast and manifold socio-economic implications for them. Under these conditions, tribal culture traditionally built around primary activities is being gradually replaced by cultural forms built around secondary and tertiary economic activities. The tendency towards urbanization is one of the outstanding characteristics of the present day life of the tribal communities living in the villages around the rapidly growing industrial town of Vapi. Urbanization, as we know well, is not only a demographic and ecological fact, it is a way of life. Both, industrial development and urban way of life are exerting considerable mutual influence in this area and on the tribal population. The tendency is of course not new but its acceleration is recent because of the industrial revolution operating in this tribal tract.

The industrial system of production established here has introduced new occupations and new forms of organizations in the tribal society. This has resulted into increase in income. Accordingly, effects of urbanization in habits, personal life, norms and values are also seen. As a result of this, the entire socio-economic structure of the activities of the tribals living in Vapi region is changing in a variety of ways.

Undoubtedly, industrial units of Vapi have provided a great potential for increased economic changes among the tribals. The gradual induction of an increasing proportion of the tribal workers into an industrial working class has already resulted into changes in the traditional socio-economic structure of these people.

It will be certainly rewarding to understand the implications of the changes being ushered through the industrialization in terms of the economic progress made by the tribals living in the villages within the influence zone of Vapi Estate. What kind of economic gains, in terms of employment, changing occupational characteristics and level of income have been achieved by the industrial workers of the tribal society? In the light of this, what kind of economic future they have in the fast expanding industrial situation? In order to have, as far as possible, accurate answers to these and related questions this study was undertaken.

## Methodology

### 1.2 Selection of Villages :

For the purpose of this study, the area of influence or 'influence zone'\* of the G-I.D.C. Estate of Vapi has been divided into three concentric zones. This has been done on the basis of the distance of the villages from Vapi. The first zone lies in the periphery of 5 kms. from Vapi, the second in the periphery of 10 kms. and third in the periphery of 20 kms. From each of these zones, one village, from where considerable number of workers have been recruited in the industrial units of the Vapi Estate had been selected. Besides these three villages one more village from the region outside the "influence zone" was also selected as a "controlled" village from where it was expected to obtain a picture of tribal's socio-economic life uninfluenced by industrialization. In the selection of the 'controlled' village,† it was decided to select a village from the same geographical direction from which the villages of 'influence zone' were selected. The population in the 'controlled' village was that of Koknas, not of Dhodias but between the traditional economic life of Dhodias and Koknas there is little difference. Thus, the field work for collecting data was conducted in four villages, which are listed below :

TABLE 1  
List of sample villages

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Distance from Vapi (in kms)	Geographical direction from Vapi
1	Tukavada	5	North
2	Karaya	7	East
3	Ambheti	18	East
4	Vadkhambha	33	East

\*By 'Influence zone' it is meant here that the tribal labourers working in the G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi area are largely recruited from the villages within this zone.

† Since this village is not in the immediate hinterland of Vapi, the force of attraction of the G.I.D.C. Estate is very low for the tribals living there.

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The villages covered under this survey are located in the Valsad district of the Gujarat State in which Vapi is located. The first two villages are in the Pardi taluka while the remaining two are in Dharampur taluka. Villages from other geographical directions were not considered for selection for the simple reason that the potential labour catchment area for Vapi Estate is mainly in this direction. Further, in other geographical directions of Vapi, the boundaries of Dadranagar Haveli, Maharashtra State and Daman are quite close to Vapi. The villages of Umbergaon taluka were also left from the purview of this survey as the taluka has its own G.I.D.C. Estate at Umbergaon.

##### 1.3 Research Techniques :

The techniques used in collecting data for this survey have been mainly the survey techniques which provide quantitative data based on a schedule canvassed to the selected households. Changes brought by industrialization have produced such variability of behaviour that it was necessary to assess their relative importance numerically. The survey techniques were, however, combined with the qualitative anthropological techniques based on intensive free or open interviews and participant observation. Since the field work was of short duration the participant observation technique did not prove to be of much use but, nevertheless, the Investigators stayed right in the villages where the field work was conducted and observed the daily life of the tribal industrial workers closely.

##### 1.4 Selection of Respondents :

This survey had been designed to get a broad and general picture regarding the process of industrialization and the problems which the tribal workers have to face in the industrial set-up. On account of this nature of the survey, it was decided to select a small number of industrial workers on random basis from the selected villages for applying the schedules. Altogether 100 households from which at least one male member was in employment in any one of the industrial units located at G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi or outside of G.I.D.C. Estate were selected, 40 each from Tukawada and Karaya and 20 from Ambheti. From Ambheti, 10 more households, from which there was not a single person in industrial employment, had been covered. From Vadkhambha village 30 households were selected. The selection of the household was

done on random basis. For getting response to the different questions put in the schedule, the industrial worker himself from the different households covered under the survey was interviewed, otherwise in case of 10 households of Ambheti and 40 of Vadkhambha, the head of the household was interviewed.

##### 1.5 Field Work :

The field work for this survey was conducted between March and April, 1980. In the first fortnight of the February, 1980 the schedules were constructed and the ground work for the selection of villages was also completed. The two Investigators who had been appointed for carrying out the field work were given a brief training regarding collection of data through canvassing the schedules. The Incharge of this research project also visited the field twice during the field work period. On the basis of interviews with the several informants in the selected villages he made indepth observations regarding the process of industrialization among the tribals of this area.

## VILLAGE PROFILES

Now, before the results of the survey are discussed, let us have a brief description regarding the salient features of the selected villages.

### 2.1 Tukawada :

This village of Pardi taluka is situated between the towns of Vapi and Pardi, 1 km. inside from the National Highway No. 8. The village is spread up in an area of 815 hectares, out of which nearly 750 hectares are under cultivation. There are 433 landowners among whom the cultivable land is distributed in varying sizes as given below :

TABLE 2

#### Distribution of land among landowners of Tukawada village

Size of the land (in Hectares)	Number of Households	Percentage	Land Occupied (in Hect.)
0.4 to 1.2	251	44.82	121.95
1.20 to 2.00	70	12.50	106.27
2.00 to 4.00	66	11.79	217.20
4.00 to 6.00	27	4.82	136.04
6.00 to 10.00	19	3.39	104.61
Landless	127	22.68	...
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>560</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>686.07</b>

The landless mainly belong to the Harijan and Adivasi communities particularly those of the Halpatis (Dublas).

Of the 560 households, 80.4 percent belong to the Adivasi community, 17.9 to caste Hindus and the rest 1.7 percent to Harijans. Thus, it is an overwhelmingly Adivasi populated village, which constituted 76.30 percent of the total population in the village at the time of survey. The total population of the village

## Village Profiles : 7

at present is 3359, out of which 1640 (48.82 pc.) are males and 1719 (51.18 pc.) females. The sex ratio of the population which is 1048 females per thousand males is very much a characteristic of Adivasi dominated village. Amongst the Adivasis, the Dhodia community is the main one, followed by the Halpatis. Among the caste Hindus, the Anavil Brahmins are in majority.

The village has two primary schools, one located in the 'Desai Wad' (the hamlet where Desais' houses are situated) and the other in Dhodiawad (the Adivasi hamlet). The school located in the caste Hindus locality has 4 rooms and the number of teachers is 7, while the one located in Adivasi locality has 5 rooms but only 3 teachers. Altogether 278 children have been enrolled in the former school while in the latter only 140 at the time of the survey.

The dominant occupation in the village, as is obvious from the percentage of households owning cultivable land, is agriculture. Next to it, are the wage-labourers working either in industrial units or in construction work or in agriculture itself. At present, about 200 workers from amongst the Adivasis are working as industrial workers at G. I. D. C. Estate, Vapi.

### 2.2 Karaya:

Karaya, also a village of Pardi taluka, is situated on Vapi-Dharampur (Via Mota Pondha) Road. It has an area of 541.3 hectares, out of which nearly 243.2 hectares is under actual cultivation. The distribution of landowners according to size of holding is as follows:

TABLE 3

#### Distribution of land among landowners of Karaya village

Size of Holdings (In Hectares)	Number of Households	Percentage	Land Owned (In Hectares)
0.4 — 1.2	208	63.03	41.03
1.2 — 2.0	34	10.30	28.03
2.0 — 4.0	39	11.82	35.03
4.0 — 6.0	14	4.24	44.96
6.0 — 10.0	18	5.45	55.89
10.0 — 20.0	9	2.74	38.23
Landless	8	2.42	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>243.17</b>

Of the 330 households, 94.0 per cent belong to Adivasi community, 2 percent to scheduled caste community and 4 percent to caste Hindus. The total population of the village at present is 2254, out of which 1100 are male (48.80 pc.) and 1154 females (51.20 pc.). Here, too, the sex-ratio (1049 females per thousand males) is typical of an Adivasi village. Among the Adivasis, this village is dominated by Naika tribe followed by Dhodias and Halpatis in respective order. The caste Hindus are represented by Patidars and Bharwads.

The village has a primary school upto VII grade in which 211 children are enrolled. There are 7 teachers in the school. It has only three rooms. More than 98 percent of the school attending children are from Adivasi community.

Agriculture is the predominant occupation followed by agricultural labour. As large percentage of cultivators own very small size of landholdings and that too without irrigation facilities, they do not produce enough to see through the whole year. They have to take up subsidiary occupations. One of the neighbouring villages, hardly 2 ms. away, is Degam which is a non-Adivasi village. There the agricultural labourers of the Karaya village get seasonal employment during the agricultural period. Now, one or two members from majority of the Adivasi families have got employment, mostly on daily basis. In the industrial units of G.I.D.C., Vapi, on a rough estimate, about 128 tribals from this village are employed. Since the village is close to Vapi industrial area and on Vapi-Mota Pondha asphalt road, it is not troublesome for the workers to commute to their place of work and back to their residences.

### 2.3 Ambheti:

This village of Dharampur taluka is situated just on the border of Dharampur and Pardi taluka. The village is at a distance of 2 kms. from Mota Pondha which lies on Vapi-Dharampur Road. The road linking Mota Pondha and Nana Pondha is under asphalt construction at present. Till now it was a kachcha road.

This is a reasonably big village, sprawled in an area of 6 sq. km. and having 2011.37 hectares of land. Out of it nearly 1042.47 hectares is under actual cultivation. Unlike the land of Tukawada and Karaya, here the land is mostly of rocky nature. Quite near to this village the hill range of Dharampur taluka starts rising. The cultivable land is distributed among 401 cultivators who own the land in varying sizes as given below :

TABLE 4

#### Distribution of land among land holders in Ambheti village

Size of the landholding (In Hectares)	Number of Households	Percentage	Land Owned (in Hectares)
0.4 — 1.2	213	38.38	132.4
1.2 — 2.0	147	26.49	209.8
2.0 — 4.0	72	12.97	214.6
4.0 — 6.0	39	7.03	247.5
6.0 — 10.0	3	0.54	38.1
More than 10	4	0.72	202.1
Landless	77	13.87	—
			1,042.50

As is evident, a majority of the cultivators own less than 2 hectares of land. On account of the fertility of the land being comparatively much low, coupled with non-availability of irrigational facilities, these cultivators have to seek other avenues for supplementing their income. They have been either agricultural labourers or casual labourers. Taking into account the substantial number of the landless households and alongwith this the big majority of small farmers, it is easy to conceive that quite a large number of households have surplus labour for the labour market.

The village population mainly constitutes of Adivasis. Of the total population of 4075 persons, 78.2 percent is from the Adivasi community. The rest being non-Adivasis, among whom the Koli Patels are in great majority followed by Ahirs and Chamars. Among the Adivasis, Dhodia is the dominant community. In the total population, the number of males and females is 2071 and 2004 respectively. Here, the sex ratio comes to 976 females for thousand males which is contrary to the usual characteristic of a tribal society.

The village has a primary school in which 233 Adivasi children and 56 non-Adivasi children are enrolled in different grades from 1st to 7th. Sexwise, there are 162 boys and 127 girls attending the school education. Apart from this primary school, the village has an Ashram Shala and a post-basic secondary school which are being run under the management of the Gujarat Vidya-

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pith, Ahmedabad. This is a residential school campus where students are also attracted from even far off villages.

Although agriculture is the dominant economic activity of the village population, there is a large number of wage workers too who either find work in the farms of the co-villagers or in the nearby villages of Pardi taluka. About 70 persons from this village are working either in the industrial units of G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi or as peons, drivers, teachers and village level officials. A few households depend mainly on animal husbandry. A few are found engaged as village artisans also.

### 2.4 Vadkhambha :

This village too lies within Dharampur taluka. This is situated on Vapi-Dharampur road. The Par river flows along the boundary of this village. Dharampur, the taluka's headquarter, is only 12 kms. away from this village. As it is at a considerable distance from Vapi, at present the industrial units of the G.I.D.C. Estate of Vapi do not get the supply of workers from this village. But the village is situated on a pucca road due to which it is easily accessible to Vapi, or other way Vapi is within easy access of this village. It does not occupy important position in supplying the work force to Vapi Estate at present but it has all the prospect of supplying labour to industrial units of G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi.

At the time of the survey 3 Adivasis from the village were found working at the industrial units of Vapi. It is a small village, having an area of 310 hectares only, out of which 187.6 hectares is under actual cultivation. As the village is situated in hilly terrain of Dharampur taluka, the land is less fertile because of its being rocky in nature in major part. But some plots of land near to the river Par are quite fertile for paddy cultivation. The cultivable land is distributed among 63 landowners. More than 45 percent of the households are landless. The distribution of land among the landowners is as follows :

TABLE 5

#### Distribution of land among landholders in Vadkhambha

Size of the Holding (In Hectares)	Number of Households	Percentage	Land Owned (In Hectares)
0.4 to 1.2	21	18.10	17.46
1.2 to 2.0	—	—	—
2.0 to 4.0	42	36.21	170.14
4.0 to 6.0	—	—	—
Landless	53	45.69	—
Total	116	100.00	187.60

## Village Profiles : 11

The village is almost entirely inhabited by Adivasis, mostly belonging to Kokna community. Next to them are Kolghas, followed by Naikas. Out of the total 730 persons, the population of Adivasis is 711, forming 97.4 percent. Among its population, the number of males is 366 (50.14 pc.) and those of females 364 (49.86 pc). Here again, there are 994 females per thousand males.

The village has a primary school having facilities for school education upto IVth grade only. The total number of students is only 105, boys being 70 and girls 35.

Agriculture is the principal economic activity in this village. But as indicated earlier, there are a large number of households who do not own any piece of cultivable land. For them agricultural labour is the main occupation followed by labour work in the forest and in the construction activities. Fishing is also an important economic activity of the village. Some households grow water-melon and such other fruits and vegetables which are cultivated in the river bed of Par. Several households also supplement their income by collecting and selling minor forest products, particularly fire-wood. By and large, economic opportunities for earning regular income are quite few.

### 2.5 Agriculture in the Four Villages :

In all the four villages, paddy is the main crop which is grown during monsoon season only. Pulses like 'Tur' and 'Val' are also grown in all the four villages but in greater quantity Tukawada and Karaya villages where the land is plain. Another variety of pulses, 'Urad' is cultivated in Vadkhambha and Ambheti villages. Vadkhambha is the only village where Nagli is grown quite extensively as the land is suitable for this millet.

Wheat is not grown in Vadkhambha but in Ambheti, Karaya and Tukawada it is grown but on a very small scale. The main reason is that in all the four villages, irrigation facilities are extremely poor. Except in Tukawada, where some Anavil Brahman cultivators have installed electric motors on their wells, the irrigational facilities are almost nil in all the villages. Although Vadkhambha is situated on the bank of Par river which is perennial, nothing has been done to use its water for irrigation.

Mango and Chikoo orchards are many in the Tukawada village. A few mango orchards are found in Karaya also, but

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almost none in Ambheti and Vadkhambha. (The Ashram Shala complex of Ambheti has an orchard of mango trees.) Mango trees are, of course, there in Ambheti and Vadkhambha villages.

Dry grass which is also a good source of income, is found in abundance in Ambheti and Vadkhambha.

Cash crops like sugarcane, cotton and groundnut are not grown in any of the villages. At Vadkhambha village the forest department has started experiments in planting cashewnut trees on the hill slopes. Its results are yet to be seen. Water-melon, vegetables etc., as mentioned earlier, are also grown in the river bed of Par.

Animal husbandry as a source of income is also practised to some extent in Tukawada, Karaya and Ambheti villages. However, poultry farming as a means of income has been observed in Karaya village only.

### 2.6 Other Facilities in the Villages :

Except Ambheti, none of these four villages has a telegraph office. For Tukawada and Karaya, the nearest telegraph office is at Vapi while for Vadkhambha at Dharampur.

None of the villages has Government medical dispensaries. The Tukawada people either go to Vapi or Udwada for medical treatment while for Karaya's people, Vapi is the nearest place for getting medical treatment at Government run dispensary or hospital. For Ambheti's population, the nearest dispensary is at Mota Pondha which is just 2 kms. away. The primary health centre located at Nana Pondha is the nearest place for medical treatment for the people of Vadkhambha village.

Except Tukawada, none of the remaining three villages has electricity.

There are approach roads (kachcha) in all the four villages which link them with the State highway or National highway in case of Tukawada.

## PROFILE OF THE TRIBAL PEOPLE OF VAPI REGION

To grasp the actual nature of the process of industrialization among the Adivasis of this region, it will be worth-while to have a short review of the culture of the Adivasi groups of this region. As Dhodias are the most numerous people in this region, the data spelt are more relevant to them.

### 3.1 Ethnic Composition of Population :

Of the various ethnic groups formed in the tribal population of the Pardi Taluka (Vapi region falls mainly within this taluka), the Dhodias, the Dublas and the Naikas are the dominant tribes in this industrial region. Dhodias form 62.71 percent of the total tribal population in this taluka, followed by Dublas (20.08 percent), Naika (15.31 percent) and Warlis (1.23 percent). The other tribal groups in the taluka are those of Konknas, Dhorkolis and Choudharys. In the neighbouring talukas of Umbergaon and Dharampur, the Warlis are in majority. But Both talukas have considerable population of Dhodias also. As given in the Table No. 6, the population of the Dhodias in both Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas constitute 22.23 and 20.42 percent of the total tribal population respectively.

TABLE 6

Percentage distribution of tribe-wise population in Pardi, Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas and Valsad district (1971 Census)

Name of the tribal group	Valsad District	Dharampur Taluka	Pardi Taluka	Umbergaon Taluka
Warlis	14.5	38.04	1.23	51.28
Konknas	16.0	32.29	—	—
Dhodias	34.4	20.42	62.71	22.23
Dublas	19.8	—	20.08	26.15
Naikas	8.4	3.23	15.31	—
Dhorkolis	2.2	5.37	—	—
Others	1.7	0.65	0.67	0.34
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

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But what is important for us is the fact that in both the talukas of Umbergaon and Dharampur, the villages which are within the 'influence zone' of the Vapi Industrial Estate or which are likely to come under its 'influence zone' in near future are predominantly inhabited by the Dhodias. In Umbergaon taluka, Dublas form the next important Adivasi group in the villages lying within the 'influence zone'.

Thus, from all these three talukas, (including the Dadra Nagar Haveli when we take into consideration its villages lying within the 'influence zone') it is the Dhodia community among all the tribal groups which is in the most advantageous position to have a far better share in the workforce in the industrial units located at Vapi. Besides Dhodia, Dubla and Naika are the two other tribal communities who have good chances of getting recruited as industrial workers because of the geographical situation of their villages. Unlike these communities, the Warlis, the Koknas and the Dhorkolis are living in the villages much beyond the Vapi territory. Since these villages are not in the immediate hinterland of Vapi Estate, the force of attraction of the G.I.D.C Estate of Vapi is very low for them. Thus, taken as a whole, from amongst the tribal population the Dhodias, the Dublas and the Naikas, in respective order, are likely to have a high ratio of worker-participation in the industrial units of Vapi.

From the foregoing it should not be concluded that higher concentration of these three tribal groups around Vapi is the only factor responsible for the higher rate of tribal workers recruitment from amongst the Dhodias, Dublas and Naikas. As we will see later, there are other factors too which make these groups to have advantage position so far getting absorbed in the industrial units of Vapi as workers, either unskilled or semi-skilled or even skilled. But nevertheless, distance between the village, from where a tribal worker is recruited, and the Vapi Industrial Estate as well as the availability of communication facilities are important factors to be taken into account to assess the "pull" of the Vapi G.I.D.C. Estate on tribal population of this region.

### 3.2 Historical background :

As the plains of Surat and Valsad districts have been penetrated by different Hindu caste groups, Muslims, and Parsis since 16th century, these tribals, especially the Dhodias, Naikas and

## Profile of the Tribal People of Vapi Region : 15

Dublas, had an early history of contact with such alien population which in course of time became dominant cultural groups from the point of view of their development in socio-economic and political life as well as technology. For the tribal groups too, the socio-cultural systems of the non-tribal communities became models for development. The technologically superior socio-cultural system, the products and behavioural patterns of these non-tribal migrants were frequently emulated by the Dhodias, Naikas and Dublas whose technology and material culture were simple, what we loosely refer as primitive.

After the British rule was established development of this area was rapid. The British Government's policy of allowing the migrants to go where they wished and make their own arrangement for land and the ease with which land could be alienated from the tribals, attracted more non-tribals, and spread them more widely on the very best of the land of this region. As a result, flood of non-tribals, especially Anavil Brahmans, Patidars, Baniyas, Muslims and Parsis arrived to settle in this area. Thus in the land which was populated by subsistence farmers, small town trade boomed, and commercial farming was expanded by the migrants. Means of communication like roads, rail-road etc. were built. Timber from the forest was exhausted and token of industrialization was established.

Having already suffered torture at the hands of Peshwas and Muslims these tribal groups were stunned and disadvantaged further by the swift expansion and growth effected by these non-tribals. Change became rapid with their induction into a class system where the tribals were at the bottom. Incredible swindling in land became commonplace and gradually the tribals lost much of their land. At the turn of the century, the Dhodias, who were previously masters of the land, turned into tenants of the non-tribal land-owners. One tribal group, the Dublas, proved to be weakest tribe, who in course of time accepted the status of "Bonded Labourers" of the non-tribal land-owners.

On account of the large scale immigration of non-tribals to this area due to the peaceful situation brought about by the British administration and because of the opening of the major rail-road, the concentration of non-tribals in this region became high especially because of the availability of fertile land and good communication net-work of road/rail. As can be seen from the figures given in the following table, at present the tribal population in the

TABLE 7

**Proportion of Scheduled Tribes population in Pardi, Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas (1971 Census)**

Taluka	Percentage of Scheduled Tribe population to the total population
Pardi	58.5
Umbergaon	54.7
Dharampur	92.5

Pardi and Umbergaon talukas constitute only 58.5 and 54.7 percent respectively. In case of the Dharampur taluka, which was a feudatory state during the pre-independence period and which because of the hilly terrain could not be opened by road (Railway is still non-existent in this taluka) the concentration of non-tribal population could not take place there. As a result, 92.5 percent of the total population in this taluka still consists of scheduled tribes. Whereas in the Pardi and Umbergaon talukas even before independence, a large number of migrants had settled down.

In no time these new incomers who were a small minority in comparison to the already settled tribal communities owned most of the cultivable land of this region. Before legislation was passed in 1961 to check the land alienation, heavy alienation had already taken place. Both the Dhodias and Naikas who were the main agricultural tribal communities of this region had lost most of their arable land by this time. They had become settled agriculturists after remaining shifting cultivators for a pretty long time. This happened when they took up growing rice and the tradition of rice-culture had been gradually adopted by them. But due to heavy alienation they were reduced to marginal agriculturists and landless labourers. In a survey conducted in 1956 in the Pardi taluka\* it was shown on the basis of findings in five tribal villages that of the total land in those villages 72.4 percent was under the possession of non-tribal landowners. The ownership of land was reduced to 27.6 percent in the case of tribals though 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, several tribal families who had been reduced to landlessness became owners of land. But because of certain

\* This survey was conducted at the instance of the then Bombay Government by Department of Economics, Bombay University.

loopholes and faulty implementation of the act, major part of the alienated land remained in the hands of non-tribals. This has resulted in the increase of agricultural labourers in the Pardi and Umbergaon talukas. According to the figures presented in the Table 8, of the total workers, 31.5 percent in the Pardi taluka and 42.2 percent in the Umbergaon taluka are agricultural labourers. The corresponding figure in the Dharampur taluka is 24.9 percent. While in Pardi and Umbergaon talukas the percentages of owner cultivators are only 44.4 and 35.5 respectively. In Dharampur taluka this proportion becomes quite high. On the whole, a great majority of the people in Dharampur taluka depend on agriculture but in Pardi and Umbergaon talukas, workers have other avenues for employment.

TABLE 8

**Proportion of agricultural workers to total workers in Pardi, Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas (1971 Census)**

Taluka	Percentage of owner cultivators	Percentage of agricultural labourers	Percentage of total workers dependent on agriculture
Pardi	44.4	31.5	75.9
Umbergaon	35.5	42.2	77.7
Dharampur	69.4	24.9	94.3

Among the cultivators, the poor size of landholding at once fortifies the fact of heavy land alienation. As shown in the Table 9 large portion of the cultivators own not more than 2 hectares of land. In Pardi and Umbergaon talukas the percentage of this class of agriculturists is quite high.

TABLE 9

**Number and area of land held by size of operational holding (Figures given in percentage)**

Taluka	Upto 2.00 hectares		2.00 to 5.00 hectares		5.00 to 20.00 hectares		Above 20 hectares	
	Land Own-ers	Area out of total	Land Own-ers	Area out of total	Land Own-ers	Area out of total	Land Own-ers	Area out of total
Pardi	75.8	27.6	16.9	31.0	6.9	32.7	0.4	8.4
Umbergaon	77.3	28.7	14.1	24.9	8.2	38.4	0.4	8.0
Dharampur	52.2	17.2	31.0	34.3	15.8	43.8	0.4	4.7

Source : Directorate of Agriculture, Gujarat State : 1971

## 18 : From Farm To Factory

The percentage of cultivators owning more than 5.00 hectares (majority of them being non-tribals) in both Pardi and UMBERGAON talukas corner away 41.1 and 46.0 percent respectively of the total land. In Dharampur taluka too, the situation is more or less same with the only difference being that they are from the tribal community. Majority of the cultivators having more than 5 hectares of land are from the tribal community itself.

The higher caste agriculturist probably showed the tribals way for doing permanent cultivation and adoption of rice culture. But with the security of life and property provided to the non-tribals by the British administration, the Dhodias and Naikas were exposed to serious exploitation by the non-tribals. The result is what has been demonstrated in the above two tables.

Although rice was the main crop a good part of the land cornered by the non-tribals from tribals was allowed to revert to grass which was then sold in Bombay and other far-off markets. They were able to derive huge profit without undergoing any botheration and involving much expenditure that was required in paddy cultivation. According to the survey conducted by the Bombay University in 1956 (quoted earlier) more than 53 percent of the total land which was under the possession of the non-tribals was being used for grass cultivation.

So on one hand the land of tribals was usufructed but the tenants were not allowed to use the land for paddy cultivation although in course of time paddy has become the staple food for these people. The acuteness and antiquity of this problem can be judged by a remark made in 1871 by Mr. N. B. Bexts, survey settlement Officer for the Pardi taluka who in his report stated that "with the 'Kaliparaj' (tribals) debt and drink, the Banias and the Parsis are the curses with which they are afflicted and from which a total exemption from assessment would be insufficient to save them."

The economic condition of the tribals became worse with the increase of their debt in this situation and in course of time they became mere agricultural labourers instead of the peasant proprietors they once were. The acute pauperization resulting from such exploitation became so unbearable to the tribals that the otherwise peace loving tribals living in the villages between Vapi and Pardi resorted

## Profile of the Tribal People of Vapi Region : 19

to an organized agitation in the year 1953 which was labelled as Grass-land agitation. The agitation had been started because the Dhodias have been trying to fight the wrongs perpetrated against them by the non-tribal land owners, contractors of liquor shops, money lenders and traders who had been suppressing the tribals to keep them permanently as labourers, for their own benefits. From that very time the process of politicization among these tribal people gathered momentum and the desire to better their lot took its firm root.

### 3.3 Process of Culture Change :

Despite their ruthless exploitation, the tribals of this region gradually learnt the ways of another culture. Due to the long exposure to the new cultural experience, these tribals gradually developed the stimulus to acquire the skill needed to meet the increasingly new and numerous demands of a rapidly changing order. Due to this stimuli, they profited much from the development measures initiated for the scheduled tribes after independence. In the field of education and agricultural development they made impressive progress. The Dhodias, in particular, proved to be most adaptive to changes. They fully realised the need to reconcile traditional agricultural patterns of cultivation with the demand of a system producing crops for marketing purposes. This realization resulted in one of the most far-reaching aspects of culture change among the Dhodias. There was no part of the life of these people, whether economical, political, social or religious, which had not been involved in the dynamics of culture change. In this background of the interplay of acculturative forces, the process of urbanization began. The history of the growth of Pardi and Vapi towns is associated with the history of urbanization in this region. With the expansion of the non-tribals in this region, small towns everywhere became major spots in the tribal cultural landscape. These urban centres were created to fulfil the functions of trade and administration with the hinterland. Before the imposition of non-tribals' control in this region, the institution of large settled community was not found among the tribals living there. And still it is not there to same extent as one finds in non-tribal areas although urbanization, when looked from a sociological point of view and as a significant factor for culture change, has penetrated in every nook and corner of this region.

The tribal people, gradually in course of time, established permanent relationships with these urban centres as the commercial economy took over their traditional subsistence economy. The shopkeepers, the money lenders, the traders, the administrative functionaries, etc. all were generally staying in the urban centres. With the gradual shift to commercial economy, the tribals were having no option but to become dependent upon the non-tribals for the economic functions. The non-tribals, on their part, needed the tribals for economic exploitation. To cut the story short, as these urban centres grew from small to larger ones in size, population and availability of civic and other facilities, the tribals in the hinterland went on becoming paupers. These urban centres, however, did not offer any opportunity to the tribals for their economic betterment as there was not much employment opportunities there.

### 3.4 Urbanization :

The pauperization had led many of them to migrate to Bombay which offered plenty of opportunities for employment as labourers. In course of time sizeable population of Dhodia and Naika community got permanently settled there. Presently there are caste associations of both the Dhodias and Naikas functioning separately in Bombay. In the beginning, they used to migrate to Bombay temporarily for working as labourers in construction works as masons or carpenters, or for making bricks in kilns or in the salt-pen. In several villages of this region, one can find today quite old Dhodia persons (70-80 years of age) who have spent considerable portion of their youth in the city of Bombay.

Thus, due to these early direct exposures to urban way of life because of migration and contacts with urban milieu, their socio-economic life absorbed the impact of urbanism much earlier in comparison to other tribal groups. This is one reason why a good deal of diversification in the occupational pattern of the Dhodias is now observed. As can be seen from the figures given in the Table 10, the percentage of workers engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors are quite high in the Pardi and Umbergaon talukas when compared with Dharampur taluka where the tribals could not come in contact with urban milieu earlier.

TABLE 10

**Percentage distribution of workers in different sectors of economic activities in Pardi, Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas**

Taluka	Primary Sector	Secondary Sector	Tertiary Sector
Pardi	78.2	9.7	12.1
Umbergaon	83.4	6.9	9.7
Dharampur	95.2	1.8	3.0

The Dhodias living in the Pardi taluka lead in this direction. One of the reasons for higher involvement in secondary and tertiary activities in Pardi taluka is the construction work going on in G.I.D.C. area at that time. Besides occupational mobility among them, they have also made progress in commercializing their agricultural economy. With very active governmental support many of them have become small-scale cash crop producers of rice, sugarcane, wheat. They have also become owners of small orchards of mangoes and chikoos which bring them regular cash income.

### 3.5 Educational Status :

On account of their early exposition to strong forces of culture change the hunger for school education also started comparatively much earlier among the Dhodias. The fact that they had to undergo serious exploitation and to accept a low position in the wider society, the realization that education can bring them out of this morass dawned on them at quite an early period of this century. According to the earliest record, in 1900 several Dhodia youths had been initiated into the formal educational system of the wider society. Later several social workers started Ashram type schools in the pre-independence days where Dhodia boys and girls received primary education. After independence, a network of institutions meant mainly to promote education among these tribals has been created. Dhodias among whom process of urbanization started much earlier, took full advantage of the facilities given to them for receiving formal education. In comparison to other tribal groups, their educational development has been quite impressive. Although education through institutionalized system was an alien concept for the Dhodias, they made such a unique adjustment to the wider society's method of giving formal education that today they have the highest literacy rate among all the tribal groups of the state. This

## 22 : From Farm To Factory

is one area where the Dhodias have excelled. It has been reported that from one village alone (Nani Baghchhipa) in the Pardi taluka there are nearly 150 graduates.\* The number of Dhodias who are getting post-SSC scholarship for pursuing higher education is highest among all other tribal groups in the State. Further, as the figures given in the following Table 11 indicate, the progress in education within a decade of 1961-71 by different tribal groups, the Dhodias have made good progress.

TABLE 11

Rate of literacy among different principal tribal groups (1961 and 1971 Censuses)				
Sr No.	Name of the tribe	1961	1971	
1	Bhil	9.88	11.73	
2	Dubla	11.61	13.74	
3	Dhodia	23.94	31.19	
4	Gamit	11.93	14.86	
5	Choudhary	13.43	22.04	
6	Rathwa	4.81	5.65	
7	Dhanka	15.83	17.05	
8	Kokna	8.92	12.56	
9	Naika-Naikda	10.79	9.55	
10	Warli	4.43	5.03	

The literacy rate for the Dhodia is in the vicinity of the literacy rate of Gujarat's population which is 35.79. This clearly testifies that as a tribal group the Dhodias have made remarkable achievement in the field of education. It is quite natural then that in Pardi taluka where they are in majority, the literacy rate among the tribals is higher in comparison to those at Umbergaon and Dharampur.

TABLE 12

Rate of literacy among tribals of Pardi, Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas (1971 Census)	
Taluka	Literacy Rate
Pardi	23.2
Umbergaon	11.5
Dharampur	9.0

\* A Dhodia young man who is doing his Ph. D. in Ecology gave this information

## Profile of the Tribal People of Vapi Region : 23

Looking to the figures given in the next table, it is further testified that the tribals of Pardi taluka are ahead in the sphere of education as the percentage of villages with secondary schools is higher in the case of Pardi and Umbergaon talukas than that of Dharampur taluka.

TABLE 13

Number of primary and secondary schools in Pardi,  
Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas (1973-74)

Taluka	Number of Primary Schools	Percentage of villages with primary school to total villages	Number of secondary schools	Percentage of villages with second- ary school to total villages
Pardi	145	100.00	9	7.7
Umbergaon	117	95.09	10	6.3
Dharampur	255	82.03	7	2.5

Earlier, it has been indicated that the villages in the Pardi, Umbergaon and Dharampur talukas which fall within the catchment area of Vapi's G.I.D.C. Estate are mainly inhabited by the Dhodia people. And the very fact of nearness to the industrial units enable the Dhodias to have an excellent situation so far recruitment in the industrial units is concerned. But apart from this factor, the fact regarding their early exposure to urbanism, adoption of commercial economy at an early stage, a good deal of culture change and their remarkable progress in the field of education, heavily tilt the balance in their favour for participating in the industrial activities at Vapi. In fact they are not to remain confined to Vapi industrial units alone. They now go anywhere. Quite a good number of Dhodias have even migrated to Gulf countries for employment.

### 3.6 Dhodias :

Although a good deal of diversification in the occupational structure is observed, the Dhodias remain mainly an agricultural community. They live in settled villages where permanent paddy fields are viewed as the core of economic life. They are better agriculturists in comparison to other tribal groups. But most of the Dhodia cultivators are not able to produce enough to meet their

requirements for the whole year, because of their poor land-holdings, absence of irrigational facilities, etc. A majority of them live in a state of poverty and have to seek other ways of earning livelihood. Fortunately, due to the rapid industrialization in the area where they live, they are able to find employment as labourers in the industrial units. In fact, in Valsad-Pardi-Vapi region industrial work is gradually becoming the principal means of livelihood for many of the Dhodias residing in the villages lying within a distance of 10-15 kms. from these fast expanding industrial centres. The younger generation have developed a preference for working in factories. The trend in the occupational mobility among them distinctly points out that urban and industrial economy will supersede the agricultural economy and sedentary life.

### 3.7 Dublas :

Although the Dublas have been the worst exploited tribal community, their socio-cultural life has tremendously changed on account of their living under the direct influence of their 'Dhaniyamo' (masters) who normally belonged to the high castes of Hindu community such as Anavil Brahman, Patidars and Brahmans as well as to the Parsi community. On account of this situation they underwent a faster rate of culture change. As a consequence of this there is now a distinct change in their social customs, norms and values. Even their lingua-franca has become Gujarati language, the dialect spoken by their former masters.

But the adaptation to Hindu's cultural norms and way of life did not bring them a higher social status in their area amongst other tribal groups. The non-tribal society too did not accord any better recognition to them. They are still looked down upon with contempt by the non-tribal society. The whole gamut of relationships between the Dublas who were the 'Halis' (bonded labourers) and the landlords had been on a definite pattern and which had also taken an institutionalized form. Although the system of bonded labour is, by and large, no more there now, there is hardly any change in the earlier attitude of the landlords towards them. Due to the industrial expansion in this region, the Dublas found a situation through which they can set themselves free from the clutches of the landlords. In this sense, industrialization of this region helped them to get rid of exploitation at the hands of non-tribal land-owning community. It is quite natural that the Dublas, particularly the younger people of this community, grab

any opportunity which comes forth to them to work as workers in the industrial units. But unlike the Dhodias the Dublas do not have much resources. They are lagging behind in education. As they had not been an agricultural community they lack resources for economic development too.

### 3.8 Naikas :

The Naikas living in this region have been too, like the Dhodias, settled agriculturists but have extremely poor agricultural landholding. In course of time, quite many of the Naikas have become landless. Thus, on the whole in the present situation they have to depend heavily on labour work for sustaining themselves. Like the Dublas, their economic level is of extremely low standard. But like the Dhodias they too had been exposed to influence of urbanization much earlier and this has enabled the community to adjust to the modernizing influence. In fact, Naikas live closely to the Dhodias in the latter villages. Entire village with dominant Naika's population is a rarity in Pardi taluka. As such, as the Dhodias made progress the Naikas too did not remain unaffected. But their poor economic resources have prevented them to catch up with Dhodias. And also, by and large, till recently they remained an inner-directed community. This made them to stick to their tradition for a little longer. Nevertheless, now they are taking full advantage, to their best capacity, of the economic opportunities being created due to rapid expansion of industrial centres in this region. As they have lagged behind in education, they are a little bit handicapped in comparison to the Dhodias.

## TRIBAL INDUSTRIAL WORKERS PROFILE

### 4.1 Social Profile :

The tribal tract of Vapi-Pardi-Valsad which was once predominantly a cluster of isolated tribal villages is now emerging as the most important industrial region of the Gujarat State. The isolation of the villages, even lying at quite a distance from Vapi is now being broken. As shown in the next Table the four predominant tribal groups of the Dhodias, Naikas, Halpatis and Koknas are most benefited by the rapid industrialization taking place at G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi. The fact is being established by observing at Table 14 that 47.14 percent of the total respondents are Dhodias while the corresponding figures for the Naikas, Halpatis and Koknas are 23.57 pc., 7.86 pc. and 21.43 pc. respectively.

TABLE 14

#### Villagewise and communitywise number of respondents

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Name of the community					
		Dhodias	Naikas	Halpatis	Koknas	Total	
1	Tukawada	No.	34	—	6	—	40
		Pc.	85.0	—	15.0	—	100.00
2	Karaya	No.	8	27	5	—	40
		Pc.	20.0	67.5	12.5	—	100.00
3	Ambheti	No.	24	6	—	—	30
		Pc.	80.0	20.0	—	—	100.00
4	Vadkhambha	No.	—	—	—	30	30
		Pc.	—	—	—	100.00	100.00
Total		66	33	11	30	140	
Pc.		47.14	23.57	7.66	21.43	100.00	

All these respondents are staying in their villages.

The Adivasi work force community from the surrounding villages to the Estate come under the influence of two cultures at the Estate viz., rural agro-based culture of their own and urban commerce based culture, brought in by the Estate. They resent the town life where they feel uprooted. It is due to this that they prefer to stay in the village itself.

### 4.2 Housing Condition :

All the respondents have their own houses. Except one worker residing in Tukawada, all the houses have kachcha construction.

Amongst 40 respondents from Tukawada village, 21 (52.5 percent) have electric connections at their houses for domestic purpose.

The housing accommodation does not contain the basic facilities like lavatory, bath-room etc. Like rural houses, most of the respondents have open land around their houses. Only one out of forty respondents has installed water-tap at his house. 25 (62.5 percent) of 40 respondents obtain the supply of drinking water from public tap. The remaining respondents in the Tukawada village either use a public or own well. One of the respondents in Tukawada still obtains water from a stream flowing nearby his house. In other villages, where no panchayat owned water supply is available the public well is the only source for drinking water. In Karaya and Ambheti, only 2 (out of 70) respondents from each have their own wells. The houses of the Dhodia respondents are found spacious and substantial in appearance, rectangular in shape and having tiled roofs. The houses of other tribal groups are comparatively less spacious and substantial but usually thatched with tiles. Some of the houses in Vadkhambha are thatched with dry grass leaves and reeds. Thus the construction and pattern of houses still have rural pattern and do not carry any distinct impact of urbanization.

### 4.3 Demographic Features :

Majority of the respondents themselves act as heads of the households. According to Table 15, 26.4 percent of the respondents,

TABLE 15

#### Relationship of the respondents with heads of households

Sr. No.	Relationship with the Head	Villages				Total No.	Pc.
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha		
1	Self	26	15	24	30	95	67.85
2	Son	11	24	2	—	37	26.43
3	Elder Brother	2	1	1	—	4	2.86
4	Parent	1	—	3	—	4	2.86
Total		40	40	30	30	140	100.00

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who are industrial workers mainly from Tukawada and Karaya, have delegated the headship of the households to their sons.

This delegation of the authority to the sons may be because most of the time the respondents are away from the home scene for work at the Estate. Such change is almost not noticeable in Vadkhambha and Ambheti from where very few assume industrial job at the Estate.

TABLE 16

## Distribution of industrial workers according to their age

Sr. No.	Age group (in Years)	Villages						Total	
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti		No.	Pc.
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.		
1	Below 15 Yrs.	1	1.82	3	6.98	—	—	4	3.25
2	16-25	33	60.00	18	41.87	18	72.00	69	0
3	26-35	20	36.36	20	46.51	5	20.00	45	36.59
4	36-45	1	1.82	1	2.32	2	18.00	4	3.25
5	46 and above	—	—	1	2.32	—	—	1	0.81
Total		55	100.00	43	100.00	25	100.00	123	100.00

As shown in Table 16, majority of the industrial workers covered in the sample are in the age group of 16-25 which means that the younger generation of the tribal society go for industrial employment in greater number. The next age-group in which good number of them are found is 26-35. If the upper limit of the age range is increased upto 35 years, the range 16-35 includes 92 percent of the respondents. As shown in the Table, only 5 of the 123 industrial workers are beyond 35 years of age.

The demographic features of the respondent's household is given in the Table 17. On the basis of the figures, average size of the respondent's household in the surveyed villages will be 7.2 (Tukawada), 5.8 (Karaya), 7.6 (Ambheti) and 7.9 (Vadkhambha).

The sex composition in the population of the respondents' households of Tukawada, Karaya and Ambheti (Table 17) shows distinct dominance of males over females.

## 4.4 Education Profile :

The literacy figures among the members of the respondents' households, as given in the next table, show that in the villages

TABLE 17  
Distribution of family members according to age and sex

Sr. No.	Age-group	Villages												Total		No.	Pc.	
		Tukawada			Karaya			Ambheti			Vadkhambha							
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F			Total
1	Below 1 year	2	5	7	3	1	—	1	2	1	3	8	6	14	1.42			
2	1-5 years	23	76	39	17	13	15	28	19	16	35	72	77	149	15.10			
3	6-14 years	23	28	51	24	27	24	51	23	29	52	97	97	194	19.65			
4	15-60 years	103	85	188	78	74	70	144	76	73	149	331	292	623	63.12			
5	61 & above	2	1	3	—	2	2	4	—	—	—	4	3	7	0.71			
Total :		153	135	288	122	117	111	228	120	119	239	512	475	987	100.00			
Pc. :		53.12	46.88	100.00	52.59	47.41	100.00	51.32	48.68	100.00	50.21	49.70	100.00	51.87	48.13			

of Tukawada and Ambheti, the number of illiterates both among males and females is comparatively less than Karaya and Vadkhambha. One obvious reason is this that in both the villages Dhodias are our main respondents and as indicated earlier Dhodias have progressed much better in the field of education. Between Tukawada and Ambheti, there is only one striking difference. The percentage of those males who have received education beyond secondary level is higher in Ambheti than Tukawada. Even in case of Vadkhambha village the number of males educated beyond secondary level is higher than what is in Karaya village. In this connection field interviews brought into focus the fact that in the villages coming under the influence zone of Vapi, the young persons do not go beyond school education since while studying in schools they start looking for a job in the industrial units. The moment they get the job, they discontinue their studies. Even more, they discontinue their studies and start searching for a job as industrial workers. This is very much evident from the figures regarding the educational status of the workers, given in the Table 18. Majority of the industrial workers covered in the sample have studied upto VIII standard. Only one has obtained diploma in engineering while another one has studied upto higher secondary level. Quite a good many are illiterate, mostly from Karaya village, where the Naikas are the dominant community. The extent of illiteracy or extremely low education (up to IV Std.) is low in both Tukawada and Ambheti villages where the Dhodias are the dominant community.

TABLE 18

**Educational achievement of the industrial workers**

Sr. No.	Education	Villages			Total	
		Tuka-wada	Karaya	Ambheti	No.	Pc.
1	Illiterate	5	14	3	22	17.89
2	I - IV	1	11	4	16	13.01
3	V - VIII	35	12	10	57	46.34
4	IX - X	11	2	3	16	13.01
5	S.S.C.	3	3	4	10	8.13
6	Higher Secondary	-	1	-	1	0.81
7	Diploma in Engg.	-	-	1	1	0.81
TOTAL:		55	43	25	123	100.00

The low percentage among the male population of educated persons beyond secondary school level in the villages of Tukawada and Karaya also corroborate the above observation. This means that under the impact of industrialization higher education among the Adivasis receives a casualty. Lure of job in the industry, an attraction of getting a regular and steady source of income make the young men of the Adivasi community in the villages nearby Vapi industrial area to disrupt their school education.

**4.5 Economic Profile :**

In a traditional society receiving the impact of industrialization, it is the change in the income level that first occurs and only then subsequent changes in other spheres of socio-economic culture follow suit. So even though influence of industrialization in the social system of the Adivasis is not observed clearly at this early period, the changes in the occupational pattern and income life cannot be missed to be observed even in the early stages of industrialization in any region. The Adivasi population in this regions have experienced increase in income due to the establishment of industrial units at G.I.D.C. Estate of Vapi.

Now after the advent of industrialization, the scenario regarding the economic activities of the Adivasis began to change.

As can be seen from the figures given in the Table 19 the number of agricultural and other workers have gone down to a great extent in the villages of Tukawada and Karaya. The percentage of agricultural labourer as well as casual labourer is still high in the village of Vadkhambha which is outside the influence of industrial zone. But there too, a small percentage of working force (3 in number) have turned themselves into industrial workers. A close look to the Table will further reveal that the percentage of workers in the G.I.D.C. Estate is highest in Karaya village where the respondents mainly belong to Naika community. Naikas generally own little cultivable land and thus in past had to entirely depend upon the income from working as agricultural labourers or casual labourers. Another community, i. e. Halpatis, who have been landless in a legendary way had also to depend entirely upon their masters to whom they were attached as serfs. The agricultural labourers from both these communities have switched over to the job of industrial workers.

From amongst the Dhodia community too, the percentage of industrial workers is quite higher. A majority of them in Tukawada

TABLE 19  
Occupational division among the members of the respondents' households

Name of the Village	Occupations					
	Agriculture	Agricultural Labour	Casual Labour	Teachers	Government Service	Industrial Labour in G.I.D.C. Estate
Tukawada	42.59	00.93	6.48	—	—	54.00
Karaya	33.33	5.33	1.33	1.33	1.33	57.33
Ambheti	44.30	11.39	10.13	2.53	—	31.65
Vadkhambha	44.44	31.94	18.06	—	1.26	4.17
Total :	41.32	11.08	8.68	0.90	0.60	37.42

are employed in the industrial units. From Ambheti too which is 18 kms. from Vapi, a good number of industrial workers has grown over the years in this decade.

Another fact that also emerges from the figures of the above table is that there are several households both in Tukawada and Karaya and also in Ambheti, from which more than one person have got employed in the industrial units at G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi. The numbers of respondents, working as industrial workers from these villages have been 40, 40 and 20 respectively. But the numbers of persons employed, as industrial workers from their households are 55 and 43 and 25. Obviously, more than one industrial worker from some households are working in the industrial units.

According to figures given in the next table, there are 79 households out of the total 100 households of industrial workers from where only one member is in the industrial employment while 19 households have two industrial workers each. 2 households from the Tukawada village have even three industrial workers each. Both from Tukawada and Ambheti, where the Dhodias are the dominant community, several households have more than one industrial workers.

TABLE 20  
Distribution of households According to number of industrial workers

Name of the village	Number of households having Indl. workers						Total	
	One Number only		Two Numbers		Three Numbers		No.	Pc.
	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.		
Tukawada	27	67.5	11	27.5	2	5.0	40	100.00
Karaya	37	92.5	3	7.5	—	—	40	100.00
Ambheti	15	75.0	5	25.0	—	—	20	100.00
Total :	79	79.0	19	19.0	2	—	100	100.00

From the foregoing discussion it becomes very much clear that a great deal of occupational mobility is taking place among the Adivasis, much more among the Naikas and Halpatis than among the Dhodias. Dhodias, who have been landed peasantry, have choices, whether to continue with agriculture fully or become indus-

trial workers or divert only the surplus workforce to industry. Both choices have their own pull.

Adivasis still consider agriculture as an independent, respectable and status giving occupation. However, as industrial jobs offer more regular and steady incomes than the rainfed cultivation, they enjoy a high pull.

Against this the Naikas and the Dublas who are small or landless farmers have no alternative but to prefer industrial jobs. Besides industrial wages are considered low against the local agricultural income and personal hardship. This also desist the Dhodias from joining the band of industrial workers at the expense of agricultural operations. Thus in the case of Dhodias the industrial jobs are considered as a supplementary source of income to agriculture. Where the wages are attractive, the Dhodias, have gone in an overwhelming number to industrial work. Here they have also simultaneously tried to adjust the agricultural operations suitably.

#### Previous Occupation :

The next table reveals that 26 percent of the respondents were working with industry before joining the Estate professions. The other categories include agriculturists, artisans and students who got attracted to industrial jobs offered by the Estate units. This means that much has been left to attract landless and casual labourers and totally unemployed persons.

17 of the 26 respondents who were previously engaged with industry have come to Estate units because of the closure of the units they served previously. Raise in wage was the second attraction to the Estate units.

#### 4.6 Source of Information For Job :

57 percent of the respondents got the job by their own efforts by approaching someone who is directly or indirectly connected with the units located at the Estate. This indicates that hunger for job has been created now. However, quite an appreciable number, 39 pc. of the total respondents got the present job through the efforts of their near kins. Taken together both these sources, 96 percent of the workers got the jobs in different industrial units through their relatives, friends or personal contacts with the management of industrial units.

TABLE 21

Previous occupation of the respondents (Only 100 respondents considered)

Village	Previous Occupations						Total
	Agri-culture	Agri. labour	Casual labour	Artisans	Studying	Had No Jobs	
Tukawada	9	—	2	9	3	—	40
Karaya	14	3	1	2	2	1	40
Ambheti	6	—	—	5	4	1	20
Total	29	3	3	16	9	1	100
Pc.	29	3	3	16	9	1	26

TABLE 22

**Source of getting the present job (100 respondents)**

Village	Source				Total
	Contractor	Own Efforts	Relatives	Others	
Tukawada	3	20	16	1	40
Karaya	—	29	11	—	40
Ambheti	—	8	12	—	20
Total	3	57	39	1	100
Pc.	3	57	39	1	100.00

Thus in getting the job, information supplied by relatives and friends lead to make their own personal efforts.

#### 4.7 Income :

Regarding the source of income in Tukawada and Karaya villages, major part of income of the respondents' households are derived from the industrial job. In the case of Ambheti and Vadkhambha, agriculture still continues to be the major source, evidently more so among the respondents of Vadkhambha village. As shown in the next table, for the villages Tukawada and Karaya, income from casual or agricultural labour work is almost negligible while in case of Ambheti and Vadkhambha, it is quite substantial, especially in the latter where this stands as the second most important source of income. Both in Tukawada and Karaya, the respondent households' members are, by and large not inclined to earn income by doing agricultural labour or casual labour works. Since opportunities for earning income through agricultural and casual labour work are erratic in nature, they prefer to find a job in the industrial units. Thus, the former types of labour, work is gradually being substituted by industrial work. Animal husbandry and fishery as subsidiary occupations are pursued in Vadkhambha and Ambheti villages by some households whereas in Tukawada and Karaya villages, these do not occupy any worthwhile position as a source of income.

Looking to the figures given in Table 23 it becomes distressing to find that on an average the respondents' households in all the four villages are having an existence which is below the poverty

TABLE 23

## Sourcewise annual income of the household

Village	Source and Annual Income (in Rs.)						
	From Indus- trial work (in Rs.)	Agricul- ture (in Rs.)	Agricultural labour/casual labour (in Rs.)	Animal husbandry (in Rs.)	Fishery (in Rs.)	Others (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
Tukawada pc.	116628 64.93	55741 31.04	2970 1.65	1000 0.56	120 0.06	3160 1.76	179619 100.00
Karaya pc.	85611 86.70	10600 10.73	1400 1.42	—	—	1132 1.15	90743 100.00
Ambheti pc.	42375 39.85	51790 48.71	6700 6.31	1800 1.69	1320 1.25	2330 24.19	106315 100.00
Vadkhambha pc.	3640 4.03	51850 57.38	24420 27.03	6700 7.41	1284 1.42	2466 2.73	90360 100.00

TABLE 24  
Wages earned by the respondents

Sr. No.	Wage group (in Rs.)	Villages								Total	
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti					
		No.	pc.	No.	pc.	No.	pc.	No.	pc.	No.	pc.
1	100 to 150	5	12.5	11	27.5	2	10.0	18	18	18	18
2	151 to 200	14	35.0	16	40.0	10	50.0	40	40	40	40
3	201 to 300	16	40.0	12	30.0	6	30.0	34	34	34	34
4	301 to 500	3	7.5	1	2.5	2	10.0	6	6	6	6
5	More than 500	2	5.0	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	2
Total :		40	100.0	40	100.0	20	100.00	100	100	100	100

TABLE 25

## Average income per household and per capita per month income among the respondent's household

Village	Total Annual income from all sources (in Rs.)	No. of households covered	Average Annual income per household (in Rs.)	Average size of the household	Per capita per month income (in Rs.)
Tukawada	179619	40	4490	7.2	52 (51.97) (623.6)
Karaya	98743	40	2469	5.8	36 (35.47) (425.7)
Ambheti	106315	30	3544	7.6	39 (38.9) (466.3)
Vadkhambha	90360	30	3012	7.9	32 (31.8) (381.3)

TABLE : 26  
Pattern of current expenditure among the respondent households  
(figures given in percentage)

Sr. No.	Items of expenditure	Villages			
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha
1.	Food	61.17	61.83	60.35	66.38
2.	Fuel	2.26	2.95	2.56	2.57
3.	Clothes	18.83	17.21	19.18	14.31
4.	Smoking & drinking	2.91	5.10	3.46	5.14
5.	Entertainment	1.31	1.53	0.89	0.81
6.	Festivals	2.32	2.34	2.72	2.57
7.	Conveyance	2.88	2.36	3.27	0.61
8.	Education	1.28	1.35	1.30	1.61
9.	Medicines	3.99	2.58	3.20	2.43
10.	Others	2.97	2.75	3.07	3.57
Total :		100.00 (Rs. 203614)	100.00 (Rs. 105503)	100.00 (Rs. 141065)	100.00 (Rs. 101635)

line. The income or expenditure criterion of Rs. 62.00 per capita per month has been applied to assess whether the household belongs to the below poverty line. In spite of the additional income earned by working in industrial units, the average household in Tukawada, Karaya and Ambheti failed to rise above 'the poverty line' existence.

Although income earned from the industrial employment definitely augmented the households income, it failed to raise their standard of living to a substantial extent. This was mainly because of the low wages which they earned. As shown in the next table, majority of the respondents earned less than Rs. 300/- per month. Only 8 percent of them earned more than Rs. 300/- by working as industrial workers. The Dhodias of both Tukawada and Ambheti earned slightly better wages in comparison to the Naikas of Karaya village.

However, as shown in Table 25, the per capita per month income was better in the three villages from where the industrial workers are being recruited than in the predominantly agricultural village. In the latter the per capita per month income was still lower because of the average size of the household being 7.9 on one hand and the average annual income per household also being quite low, on the other hand.

#### 4.8 Expenditure :

Major part of the household's expenditure is accounted on food itself. In all the three villages, from where industrial workers are being recruited, the expenditure on food was incurred to the tune of 60 to 62 percent of the total amount of expenditure. As the figures given in Table 26 reveal expenditure on dress (including shoes & chappals) is the second most important item.

In Tukawada, Karaya and Ambheti the respondents spent more on clothing and conveyance than in Vadkhambha.

Due to the impact of urbanization and industrialization, the industrial workers dress themselves in a decent manner. Even their family members are found to put on modern dresses.

The younger people are particular about their distinctive appearances and due to this, use of well tailored terrylene trousers and shirts have been quite common among the industrial workers,

The per capita expenditure per month comes to Rs. 60 in Tukawada, Rs. 38 in Karaya, Rs. 52 in Ambheti and Rs. 35 in Vadkhambha. Here again the poorest standard of living is found to be in Vadkhambha village which is outside the 'influence zone' of the industrial area of Vapi. Looking from the expenditure criteria, an average respondent's household was in the 'below poverty line,' category.

#### 4.9 Indebtedness :

On account of the low income but high expenditure, the respondents' households have to incur debts. According to the figures given in the next table, the average debt per household is Rs. 1372 among the respondents' households in Tukawada, Rs. 169 in Karaya, Rs. 1158 in Ambheti and Rs. 375 in Vadkhambha. The main reason for incurring debt has been to meet expenses for either agricultural operations or for meeting the heavy expenditure at the time of socio-religious ceremonies in the family. In the Tukawada, Ambheti and Vadkhambha villages, loan taken for productive purpose was the most important reason for being indebted.

TABLE 27  
Debt amount of the respondents' households with purpose for incurring debt

Sr. No.	Purpose of taking loan	Amount (in Rs.)			
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha
1.	Meeting household expenditure	2900	2550	1000	2225
	Pc.	5.28	37.72	2.88	18.13
2.	Marriage ceremonies	20500	1950	9950	2550
	Pc.	37.34	28.85	28.63	20.77
3.	Death ceremonies	300	200	—	—
	Pc.	0.55	2.96	—	—
4.	Illness	5000	610	—	—
	Pc.	9.11	9.02	—	—
5.	Being jobless	—	450	—	—
	Pc.	—	6.66	—	—
6.	Construction of house	3000	1000	5000	—
	Pc.	5.46	14.79	11.51	—
7.	Agriculture	23200	—	19800	7500
	Pc.	42.26	—	61.10	61.10
	Total	54900	6760	34750	12275
	Pc.	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Marriage in the household is an occasion when heavy expenditure is required to be made, particularly among the Dhodias.

This is one reason why the proportion of the amount of debt taken for 'marriage' purpose was the second highest in Tukawada and Ambheti, where the main tribal group is that of Dhodias. In Tukawada, the amount of debt taken at the occasion of marriage in the family formed more than 37 percent of the total amount of debt. Among the urbanized Dhodias, particularly among those who are in the industrial employment, a lot of money is spent on pomp and show on the occasion of marriage. Another fact which emerges is that in the villages of Karaya and Vadkhambha, where the main tribal communities are the Naikas and the Koknas respectively, quite a substantial portion of debt amount was for the purpose of meeting household expenditure. In fact in Karaya, this was the single most important purpose. As has been indicated earlier, the Naikas have been economically much backward in comparison to the Dhodias. Even the income earned from industrial employment has failed to mitigate the economic miseries of the Naikas. This observation is true in case of the Halpatis too.

Both in Tukawada and Ambheti, agriculture was the main purpose of taking loans. This clearly points out that although the tribals are attracted to industrial employment, nevertheless, they also give enough emphasis to make their agriculture activities sound. As can be seen from the figures given in the next table, the important sources for securing loans are co-operatives, friends and relatives, moneylenders and employers.

TABLE 28  
Source of getting loan

Sr. No.	Source	Villages			
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha
1.	Moneylender	500	4650	17400	1450
	Pc.	0.91	66.78	50.07	11.81
2.	Employer	3500	910	—	—
	Pc.	6.38	13.46	—	—
3.	Cooperative	21400	600	7050	7200
	Pc.	38.98	8.87	20.29	56.66
4.	Friends	12,600	600	—	100
	Pc.	22.95	8.87	—	0.81
5.	Relatives	16900	—	4500	525
	Pc.	30.78	—	12.95	4.28
6.	Insurance loan	—	—	5800	3000
	Pc.	—	—	16.69	24.44
	TOTAL...	54900	6760	34750	12275
	Pc.	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

In Tukawada village, 'friends' and 'relatives' have become important sources of getting loans. This is more probably because working together in industrial units makes them repose confidence between themselves and hence they are ready to help friends in need. Sense of comradeship is developed due to working together in the industrial units. Both in Tukawada and Karaya, the employers have emerged as a source of securing loan. On discussion with the respondents it was found that the employers mainly advanced loans for the purchase of bicycles.

#### 4.10 Savings :

Of the 140 respondents, 20 reported to make savings out of their earnings. As shown in the next table, it is from amongst the respondents working as industrial workers that the savings were made. For majority of the respondents saving was done for the welfare of the family members and for purchasing property. Adivasi industrial workers are developing a positive attitude towards saving and the concern for the welfare of family member is itself a new attitude.

TABLE 29  
Purpose of making savings

Sr. No.	Purpose for which saving is done	Number of Respondents			
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha
1.	For children's future	2	1	—	—
2.	For purchasing immovable property	2	2	1	—
3.	For the welfare of family members	5	4	2	—
4.	For development of agriculture	1	—	—	—
	Total...	10	7	3	—

In banks and post-offices accounts for the purpose of savings have been opened by 11 of the respondents while 7 still preferred to keep the savings in cash with themselves. 2 did not give any response. Gradually, these modern institutions are being adopted by the Adivasi industrial workers.

From the foregoing discussions it becomes evident that the industrial Adivasi workers have distinctly improved their economic life although in comparison to the non Adivasis they might be lagging behind. Majority of the industrial workers, particularly those belonging to the Dhodia community, have the advantage of earning income from two definite sources, industry as well as agriculture. As is shown in the next table, a large majority of the

industrial workers' households own cultivable land (87.5 percent in Tukawada, 90.0 percent in Karaya and 100 percent in Ambheti) and are pursuing agriculture occupation also. But industrial employment has taken the dominant position in the economic activities relegating agriculture to a second position. It has already been seen that of the total income earned by the respondent households, the proportion of income earned from industrial employment is higher than that from agricultural sector. It has been also observed that the income derived from industrial employment is being used for the purpose of agricultural development. The use of improved seeds, and fertilizers have increased to a good extent among the households of industrial workers. Due to earning regular income from industrial employment, their loan-taking capacity has increased. In comparison to the respondents of Vadkhambha village, the respondents from Tukawada and Ambheti have taken heavier amounts as loans. In Karaya it was of course less but that is because the Naika community members were relied on less by the private moneylenders because of their poor repaying capacity.

TABLE 30  
Distribution of industrial workers according to size of land they own

Sr. No.	Size of the holding (acres)	Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti		Vadkhambha	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	0-2.5	22	55.0	21	52.5	7	23.33	6	20.0
2.	2.51-5	5	12.5	14	35.0	17	56.67	9	30.0
3.	5.1-10	6	15.0	1	2.5	5	16.67	11	36.67
4.	10.1-20	2	5.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.	More than 20 acres	—	—	—	—	1	3.33	—	—
6.	Landless	5	12.5	4	10.0	—	—	4	13.33
	Total	40	100.00	40	100.00	30	100.00	30	100.00

Better standard of living of the industrial workers, in comparison to those who are entirely dependent upon agricultural economy, as the respondents of Vadkhambha, is also reflected in material culture. An inventory of certain household possessions has been attempted, the result of which is presented in the next table. It has been observed that the households of the industrial workers were tidy in appearance, had some furniture, quilts, bedsheets. They were using crockeries and stainless steel utensils and were putting on modern and costlier dresses.

## IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

### 5.1 Changes in the Material Culture :

In comparison to the respondents' households of Vadkhambha village, the material possessions, as reflected from the figures given in Table 31, of the respondents' households of Tukawada, Karaya and Ambheti villages were definitely much more.

TABLE 31  
Material culture of the respondents' households

Sr. No.	Item	No. of respondents possessing			
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha
1.	Bicycles	31	30	11	6
2.	Transisters	14	5	3	2
3.	Sewing machines	5	—	1	2
4.	Wrist Watches	30	15	14	13
5.	Lighters	7	3	—	—
6.	Alarm Watches	3	—	1	—
7.	Tables/Benches	17	7	13	8
8.	Chairs	17	3	10	9
9.	Cots	37	22	38	19
10.	Easy Chairs	6	—	4	—
11.	Cupboard	3	—	1	—
12.	Stainless steel utensils	24	13	20	20
13.	Crockery	39	33	25	—

A careful look to the above table will at once reveal that the respondents' households in Tukawada were quite ahead in possessing such material possessions as are usually considered indications of a higher standard of living. The tribals of Vadkhambha village did not have a higher standard of living judging from the criteria of the material possessions. This means that under the impact of industrialization, the tribals are able to gradually raise their living standard. But here again, the Dhodias were able to raise their level of living standard much more than the Naikas and Halpatis. This was also reflected in the dietary pattern of the Dhodias. They were observed to consume more food items. It has also been shown earlier that at the occasion of social ceremonies, they were

spending more than other tribal groups. Thus the effect of industrialization on the improvement of the economic conditions of the Dhodias is very much evident. The Naikas and Halpatis have also been able to improve their economic conditions from what they were earlier. But since for the majority of the Naikas and the Halpatis paid employment in the industry represented the sole possible means of livelihood, they have not been able to raise the standard of living much as the wages are hardly enough to fulfil the basic needs of an average household. Whereas in case of the Dhodias for only a minority does paid employment represent the only means of livelihood.

### 5.2 Changes in Consumption of Liquor And Smoking :

Due to the impact of industrialization, the tribals have started taking tea regularly but incidence of smoking and consuming liquor has gone down. Although a large number of industrial workers smoke bidis regularly, in comparison to the industrial workers, the proportion of smokers is higher among the respondents from Vadkhambha. Similarly, a majority of the respondents from Vadkhambha regularly consume liquor while surprisingly among the industrial workers the proportion is quite low. But tea is a favourite drink with the industrial workers and they are in the habit of taking tea regularly. From the figures given in the following table an idea regarding these can be had. On a careful analysis the fact which emerges out is that in traditional set-up use of liquor and smoking habits are more prevalent while in the urbanized situation, many persons gradually leave off the habits of taking liquor and smoking. This may be due to the anxiety of the urbanized Adivasis to improve their image in the wider society.

TABLE 32  
Response regarding smoking, taking tea and liquor (Figures given in percentages)

Sr. No.	Item	Response	Villages			
			Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Vadkhambha
1.	Tea	Regularly	97.5	72.5	70.00	6.67
		Occasionally	2.5	25.0	16.67	80.00
		Never	—	2.5	13.33	13.33
2.	Liquor	Regularly	2.5	—	3.33	80.00
		Occasionally	32.5	40.0	63.33	3.33
		Never	65.0	60.0	33.33	16.66
3.	Smoking	Yes	57.5	77.5	63.33	80.00
		No	42.5	22.5	36.67	20.00

### 5.3 Positive effects of industrialization :

A large number of respondents are of the opinion that on account of the establishment of the industrial units in the G.I.D.C. Estate of Vapi, opportunities for getting regular type of employment became accessible to the Adivasis. As shown in the next table, for many of them the problem of unemployment has been solved to a great extent.

TABLE 33

#### Response regarding positive effects of industrialization (only 80 respondents interviewed)

Sr. No.	Response	Villages				Total	
		Tukawada No.	Pc.	Karaya No.	Pc.		
1.	Permanent type of jobs available	23	57.5	16	40.0	39	48.75
2.	Unemployment reduced	9	22.5	11	27.5	20	25.0
3.	Conveyance facilities	6	15.0	13	32.5	19	23.75
4.	Rise in the standard of living	2	5.0	—	—	2	2.5
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	80	100.00

### 5.4 Negative Effect :

Regarding negative aspects of the functioning of industrial units, several respondents are of the opinion that the health of the residents of the area has started deteriorating because of the pollution of the environment. Many are of the view that it has done harm to agriculture, particularly to mango crop. Some complain that they are not getting adequate wages while a few have the grievance that the employers terminate their services abruptly. The responses have been given in the next table.

Several persons are of the opinion that due to the effluents of the industrial units discharged in the nearby streams and rivers, the water of which is consumed by the cattle a large number of milch cattle have gone dry. There is a universal feeling prevalent among both Adivasis and non-Adivasis that industrialization has caused damage to the mango crop. How far this is true it is difficult to ascertain.

TABLE 34

#### Response regarding negative aspects of industrialization (80 respondents considered)

Sr. No.	Response	Villages				Total	
		Tukawada No.	Pc.	Karaya No.	Pc.		
1.	Low wages	6	15.0	5	12.5	11	13.75
2.	Health hazards increased	2	5.0	10	25.0	12	15.00
3.	Termination of job abruptly	2	5.0	6	15.0	8	10.0
4.	Damage to agriculture	24	60.0	—	—	24	30.0
5.	No Response	6	15.0	19	47.5	25	31.25
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	80	100.00

However, a large number of Adivasis of this area have a definite view regarding the advantages brought by the industrialization in solving the problem of unemployment and bringing economic opportunities to earn a regular and steady income. Consequently it has helped to some extent in raising the standard of living.

### 5.5 Distance of Place of Work and Conveyance used :

How much distance the industrial workers have to cover in order to reach the place of work and how they do it-in response to these queries it is found that a majority of the respondents have to cover a distance of 7 to more than 20 kms. As is obvious, the respondents from Ambheti have to cover the longest

TABLE 35

#### Distance covered to reach place of work

Sr. No.	Distance (km.)	Villages				Total	
		Tukawada No.	Pc.	Karaya No.	Pc.		
1.	1-5	9	22.5	—	—	—	—
2.	5-7	21	52.5	—	—	—	—
3.	7-10	9	22.5	16	40.00	—	—
4.	10-15	—	—	24	60.00	14	70.00
5.	15-20	—	—	—	—	6	30.00
6.	Above 20	1	2.5	—	—	—	—
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.00	20	100.00

## 50 : From Farm to Factory

distance in order to reach the place of work. The settlement patterns of the tribal villages are such that several of the workers have to cover actually a longer distance than what the milepost actually shows as the distance of the village from Vapi.

### 5.6 Conveyance Used :

A large majority of the workers from the villages of Tukawada and Karaya used bicycles to reach the destination of work. As shown in the next table 14 percent of the workers travelled on foot to reach the place of work. One even from Ambheti was found to walk all the distance of about 15 kms. to reach the place of work.

TABLE 36

#### Means of conveyance used for reaching place of work

Sr. No.	Means	Villages					
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	Bicycle	29	72.5	30	75.0	6	30.0
2.	On foot	8	20.0	5	12.5	1	5.0
3.	Bus	3	7.5	3	7.5	13	65.0
4.	Partly bus, partly on foot	—	—	2	5.0	—	—
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	20	100.0

## INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

### 6.1 Union Activities :

88 percent of the informants have no idea about union activities in their industrial units. Regarding the reasons for not enrolling themselves as members of any union, the following reactions have been given : No faith, can't afford the membership fee, have no idea how to enrol and would serve no purpose.

In the industrial units of 10 respondents strike has been once declared but only 5 participated in that.

In case of difficulties encountered, a majority of the workers approached the employers in group. Only 20 preferred to approach on individual basis while 12 through union. It is clear that a large number of Adivasi workers in general are not able to tackle the issues of their grievances by themselves on individual basis. In their traditional set-up, the settlement of disputes is generally effected by the village elders, upon whom they have great trust. The same attitude is also found in case of industrial situation. Here they depended upon the employers in the same way as they depended on their elders to settle the disputes. Another factor is that what ever earning they make is certainly much better than what they have got by working as casual or agricultural labour from which the earning is never steady and regular. This, the tribals do not want to lose and this psychology prevents them in clashing with the employers.

TABLE 37

#### Ways of approaching employers for redress of grievances

Sr. No.	Ways	Villages					
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	In group	19	47.5	36	90.0	14	70.0
2.	Individually	10	25.0	4	10.0	6	30.0
3.	Through union	11	27.5	—	—	—	—
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	20	100.0

**6.2 Employer's Attitude :**

To the query whether their grievances are given due attention by the employers, as many as 85 respondents gave the response in affirmative.

TABLE 38

**Employer's attitude to the grievances of workers**

Sr. No.	Whether given due attention or not	Villages							
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti		Total	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	Yes	30	75.0	38	95.0	17	85.0	85	
2.	No	9	22.5	2	5.0	3	15.0	14	
3.	No response	1	2.5	—		—		1	
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	20	100.0	100	

Majority of the respondents (94 percent) have amicable relations with the superiors or employers themselves. As the figures of Table 39 exhibit only 4 out of the 100 respondents have reported to have non-cordial relations with the superiors.

TABLE 39

**Relationship with superiors or employers**

Village	Relationship		
	Cordial	Non-cordial	Indifferent
Tukawada	No. 38	2	—
	Pc. 95.0	5.0	—
Karaya	No. 39	1	—
	Pc. 97.5	2.5	—
Ambheti	No. 17	1	2
	Pc. 85.0	5.0	10.0
Total	No. 94	4	2
	Pc. 94.0	4.0	2.0

**6.3 Absenteeism :**

In response to the query regarding the extent of absenteeism, a majority of the respondents did not remain absent from their work for more than a fortnight. As shown in the next table, 9 workers never remained absent. On a close examination it can

TABLE 40

**Absenteeism among workers**

Sr. No.	Period of absence from work	Villages			Total	
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	No.	Pc.
1.	One week	22	5	7	34	34
2.	Two weeks	12	22	5	39	39
3.	Three weeks	—	5	—	5	5
4.	One month	—	2	5	7	7
5.	More than a month	—	1	1	2	2
6.	Never remain absent	2	5	2	9	9
7.	Three-four days only	4	—	—	4	4
	Total	40	40	20	100	100

be observed that generally from the villages which are at a longer distance, workers remained absent for a longer period.

About the reasons for absenteeism socio-religious ceremonies and agricultural operations are two important factors. As shown in the next table, illness is the third important reason for absenteeism.

TABLE 41

**Occasions for being absent from work**

Sr. No.	Reasons for Absenteeism	Villages							
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti		Total	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	Sickness in the family	1	1.14	—		2	5.41	3	1.41
2.	Themselves sick	23	26.14	24	27.27	2	5.41	49	23.00
3.	Agricultural work	32	36.36	22	25.00	15	40.54	69	32.39
4.	Social & Religious ceremonies	31	35.23	33	37.50	17	45.95	81	38.04
5.	Others	1	1.14	9	10.23	1	2.70	11	5.16
	Total	88	100.00	88	100.00	37	100.00	213	100.00

**6.4 General Awareness About Industrial Activities :**

The categories in which the Adivasi workers from the three villages have been working have been shown in the next table. The information has been supplied by the informants themselves,

It can be clearly seen that the percentages of skilled workers, Technicians and Supervisors, Clerks and Security Jamadars were higher in both Tukawada and Ambheti villages where the predominant community is the Dhodia. In fact, apart from the skilled workers, in the latter categories there is no representation from Karaya village where the Naikas constitute the main population.

The percentage of unskilled workers is highest in Ambheti village but that of labourers working for contractors is lowest. This suggests that the longer the distance of the villages from Vapi, the tribals prefer to join industrial units in steady jobs, not in contractual employment where scope of being in permanent jobs is less.

TABLE 42

**Workers in industrial units (based on the response of respondents)**

Sr. No.	Type of work	Villages							
		Tukawada		Karaya		Ambheti		Total	
		No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.	No.	Pc.
1.	Skilled workers	53	26.5	28	21.87	16	22.86	97	24.37
2.	Unskilled workers	75	37.5	62	48.44	39	55.77	176	44.22
3.	Technicians & Supervisors	1	0.5	—		2	2.86	3	0.75
4.	Clerks	1	0.5	—		1	1.43	2	0.51
5.	Security Jamadars	17	0.5	—		—		17	4.27
6.	With Contractors (as labourers)	37	18.5	31	24.22	8	11.43	76	19.10
7.	Mukadam/Peon & Others	16	8.0	7	5.47	4	5.71	27	6.78
	Total	200	100.0	128	100.0	70	100.0	398	100.0

**6.5 Awareness Regarding Type of Industrial Units :**

Regarding awareness of the type of industrial units existing in G. I. D. C. Estate, the respondents gave the following response. Communicating with each other, the respondents have acquired the knowledge about the existence of different industrial units.

TABLE 43

**Awareness about the existence of different industrial units**

Sr. No.	Type of Manufacturing unit	Number of respondents having knowledge			
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	Total
1.	Drug	39	17	20	76
2.	Dye	39	33	20	92
3.	Plastic	40	28	19	87
4.	Readymade dress	39	34	19	92
5.	Spare parts	26	5	7	38
6.	Electric appliances	25	5	9	39
7.	Small machines	19	4	5	28
8.	Fertilizers	39	23	12	74
9.	Paper	39	40	20	99
10.	Motor Parts	40	40	20	100
11.	Textile	1	—	5	6
12.	Others	2	—	5	7

On a close look at the above table it becomes clear that some of the industrial units are well known among the respondents while there are several about which a very few respondents have an adequate idea.

**6.7 Awareness Regarding Technical Jobs :**

What kind of technical jobs are available in the industrial units? To this query a good number of informants (39) have no adequate knowledge. As given in the following table, the job of machine operator has been quoted by many respondents.

TABLE 44

**Type of technical job available in factories**

Sr. No.	Type of job	Villages				Total	
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti		No.	Pc.
1.	Machine operator	7	15	3		25	25.0
2.	Supervisor	4	5	4		14	14.0
3.	Turner fitter	2	6	3		11	11.0
4.	Wireman	1	—	—		1	1.0
5.	Skilled worker (Artisan)	4	4	2		10	10.0
6.	No response	22	10	7		39	39.0
	Total	40	40	20		100	

Whether other kinds of jobs are available or not apart from the ones mentioned above, to this query as many as 71 respondents responded in affirmative. Only 8 in negative while 21 have no idea. The results are given in the following table. Some respondents are of the opinion that because of low academic qualifications as well as not being trained, the Adivasis find it difficult

TABLE 45  
Availability of other jobs

Villages	Yes	No	No Idea	Total
Tukawada	28	8	4	40
Karaya	30	—	10	40
Ambheti	13	—	7	20
Total	71	—	21	100
Pc.	71.0	8.0	21.0	

to get a job in the industrial units. But only 12 respondents are aware of this inadequacy on the part of the Adivasis.

#### 6.8 Attitude Towards Work :

Whether the respondents enjoy working in the industrial units or not? To this query a large majority of the respondents have affirmative feeling. The results are given in the following table.

TABLE 46

#### Response regarding liking of the job in the industrial units

Villages	Response		
	Like	Do not like	Difficult to say
Tukawada	31	6	3
Karaya	34	4	2
Ambheti	19	1	—
Total	84	11	5

About the reasons for their above response, those who like the work mentioned. 'one gets regular salary, work is of permanent nature, after eight hours of work one is free, etc.' while those who do not like mentioned, low wages, dangerous work but no alternative, etc.

#### 6.9 Attitude Towards Industrial Discipline :

A majority of the respondents are of the view that discipline in the industrial units regarding work is perfectly all right. Only 11 respondents are of a negative view. This clearly suggests that the tribals are, in general, not averse in coming to duty on time

and performing the work as instructed by supervisors. This also indicates that they are quite aware of the fact that only by working in a disciplined manner, the rate of production in the units can be better.

TABLE 47  
Opinion regarding industrial discipline

Villages	Response		
	Yes, all right	No, not necessary	Cannot say
Tukawada	36	3	1
Karaya	35	3	2
Ambheti	15	5	—
Total	86	11	3

What kind of change is desirable in their interest? To this query, only 12 respondents are able to give answers. Out of which 3 want a control over the units in terminating the jobs all of a sudden (according to their whims), 4 want more benefits for the workers and 5 plead for higher wages. But a majority of the tribal industrial workers are not clear about it.

#### 6.9 Awareness Regarding Need For Training :

Of the 100 respondents, only 22 have received one or another kind of training which is useful for their present work. Of these 22 trained ones, 5 received training in tailoring and one in carpentry while 16 had training on the job itself.

46 of the respondents need training to get better equipped for industrial job while 50 respondents do not require training, according to their own estimate. As the figures given in the next table show only 4 have no idea regarding this query.

TABLE 48  
Response regarding requirement of training

Village	Response		
	Yes, need	No, don't need	Can't say
Tukawada	25	15	— 40
Pc.	62.5	37.5	100.00
Karaya	10	28	2 40
Pc.	25.0	70.00	5.2 100.00
Ambheti	11	7	2 20
Pc.	55.0	35.00	10.0 100.00
Total	46	50	4 100
Pc.	46.0	50.0	4.0 100.00

Further, it is from the Tukawada and Ambheti villages that higher percentages of workers have the awareness regarding the need of training. This means that while the Dhodias show more ambition for getting better employment in industrial units, the Naikas and Halpatis have less ambition. This again implies that for the latter whatever employment they have got, is quite satisfactory.

The nature of training which they would like to undergo is shown in the next table.

TABLE 49

**Type of training needed**

Villages	Advance training in tailoring	Fitter or operator	Supervisory job	Others
Tukawada	1	16	2	6
Karaya	—	8	—	2
Ambheti	1	1	—	9
Total	2	25	2	17

Those respondents who desire to undergo training are of the view that this would help them in doing their job more efficiently and consequently they might get promotion in their job. Further, in case they are thrown out by their present employer they won't have to sit idle for want of work. It will also facilitate them in enhancing their earning capacity.

**6.10 Awareness Regarding Ways of Attracting Workers :**

In order to have a good supply of workers so that the industrial units may not suffer shortage, certain concrete facilities should be provided by the industrial units. About the kind of facilities different respondents mention different things. An idea of their suggestions can be had from the figures given in the next table. Since one respondent has given more than one response, their responses have been classified separately. The most important suggestion, for which 72 respondents plead, is regarding enhancement in the wages paid by several of the industrial units. Following this is the suggestion regarding making transport arrangements for commuting to the place of work. Quite a good number of respondents, from the villages of Tukawada and Ambheti, have suggested for making arrangements for residential quarters for the Adivasi industrial workers.

TABLE 50

**Suggestions to attract workers**

Sr. No.	Response	Villages			Total
		Tukawada	Karaya	Ambheti	
1.	Job should be made permanent	4	9	3	16
2.	Efficient supervisor should be recruited	3	1	3	7
3.	Wages should be increased	23	38	12	72
4.	Residential arrangements for workers	15	1	11	27
5.	Bonus should be paid	6	12	3	21
6.	Arrangement for giving loan to workers	—	10	1	11
7.	Transport arrangement	12	4	16	32
8.	Earned leave should be granted	2	3	1	6

In case the Adivasi workers find difficulty in getting employment what steps should be taken by the industrial units? To this query 9 respondents suggest that advertisement should be put in by the industrial units and other 9 respondents want the industrial units to give more economic benefits to the Adivasi workers. 2 respondents surprisingly suggest increase in the industrial production.

What changes they suggest in the present job they are doing? Although the response is not encouraging on this issue, some of the suggestions made by the respondents (49 in number) are as follows:

- (i) Improvement needed in the treatment meted out to Adivasi workers by persons of Officer class.
- (ii) There should be increase in the recess hours.
- (iii) Separate working arrangements for men and Adivasi women.
- (iv) Uniform and boots should be supplied by units.
- (v) The present job should be made permanent.
- (vi) Contractor system should be abolished.
- (vii) Holidays should be paid ones.
- (viii) Promotion in the present job should be given.

On account of the great differences which exist between the non-tribals and tribals in respect of their familiarity with the aims, methods and materials of industry, skills, values and work habits, many a times tension arises out of the imperfect adjustments of the non-tribals to the limitations of the tribal industrial workers and of the tribal workers to the new demands that are made on them. Such a situation makes for difficulties in interpersonal relations between the non-tribal supervisory staff and the tribal workers. This is the reason why the latter desire change in the treatment meted out to them by the former although as the tribal workers, by and large, are submissive and docile they try to maintain cordial relationships with their superiors. But, nevertheless, they grudge the superiority of the non-tribals.

In their traditional economic activities, the tribals have never been bound to work in a routine manner. After doing some hard labour, they used to have relaxation for as much time as they wished. Now in their new occupation it is required for them to work for hours with a small break. They have not yet fully adjusted to this sort of routine in the work and hence some of them clamour for more recess hours.

Some respondents feel that in the industrial society, their womenfolk are exposed to exploitation by the members of the wider society. In order to put a restriction on such exploitation and consequently in the growth of sexual immorality among the tribal girls working in some industrial units, they have suggested to have separate working arrangements for men and Adivasi women.

## CONCLUSION

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

Although a great deal of occupational mobility is taking place among the tribals due to the rapid growth of industrial conditions at Vapi, the tribals have managed to combine industrial employment with rural residence where they still go on practising subsistence agriculture. For the tribal population in Vapi region, the urban and industrial conditions are the product of growth rather than that of instantaneous creation. Due to this the influences which the urban industrial areas exert upon existing modes of life have not completely wiped out the previously dominant modes of living and association. What is occurring among the tribal population of Vapi region is a different type of industrialization and urbanization process—one in which the influence of industrialism and urbanism is permeating surrounding rural areas. The tribals have tended to resist many changes usually occurring in an industrial situation and are attempting to carry on their old systems, retaining the behaviour patterns which they have previously learned. This is possible to some extent as they still have an opportunity to practise agriculture and so are not entirely dependent on participation in the new industrial economy. The tribal workers have the opportunity for steady adaptation to new conditions. Thus, the changes are occurring within

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

The economic opportunities provided by the growth of industrialism in their own area have certainly been instrumental in raising the level of income of the tribals but still an average tribal industrial worker is having an existence of below the poverty line. Low wages given by the different industrial units is one factor for this situation. As the tribals have generally lower skill for industrial work, consequently the income is lower. There is another factor. There is an enormous difference in standard of living between the tribals and non-tribals. This is correlated with differences in income. But a few tribals have started to have savings, which is a distinct impact on them due to being industrial workers. However, the obvious poverty of several workers, particularly belonging to the Naika and Halpati communities shows that the income in many cases falls short of needs. Although quite many of them are indebted, they have accumulated debts for meeting the expenditure on socio-religious ceremonies and for agricultural operations. But there is certainly a better standard of living among the tribal industrial workers than the tribals living in the non-industrial setting. This is very much reflected in the household possessions and the costlier dresses of the tribal industrial workers. The industrial workers from the Dhodia community have even a better dietary pattern.

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

For the tribal population of this region, industrial expansion at Vapi has provided economic opportunities to earn regular wages.

But at the same time to the agriculturist community, both tribals as well as non-tribals, it has brought in its wake pollution problem which is affecting agricultural productivity as well as their health too. But there is no way to show these negative effects of industrialization in concrete terms.

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

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

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Coupled with this, the degree of human identification on the part of the upper ranks of the industry with the tribal workers is extremely limited. Due to this, the approach to the question of improving the productive standards of the tribal workers inevitably becomes mechanistic rather than humanistic and defeatist rather than optimistic. This is clearly seen in the behaviour of the non-tribal supervisors. Many lack the interest and the confidence in their tribal subordinates necessary to make the best use of their energies. Their indifference is reflected, among other things, in considering the tribal's way of life as a debased cultural form. Such a stereo-typed attitude by the non-tribal supervisors and employers makes for the loss of personal element in the relationship between them and the tribal workers which is so important to any cooperating working group. This is specially important to the tribal workers who originate from the closely knit social system of small scale tribal society.

The very structure of the industrial activities at G.I.D.C. Estate, Vapi, of which the main features appear to be the large number of small undertakings, their instability and heterogeneous nature of the employers as a class, has a certain effect on working conditions and attitude of the industrial workers, particularly to those belonging to tribal communities. The Adivasi workers who mostly work manually as unskilled workers have to, in general, work under poor conditions, both from technical angle and material welfare and obviously this is not conducive to good output. The employers and the supervisors then complain of laziness while the Adivasis feel that they are being exploited and irritation increases on both sides. The very multiplicity of variables in an average Adivasi worker's situation makes him less responsive. His natural conservatism in general and in poor economic environment in particular is compounded by the fact that in his realm he is risking his family subsistence when he responds to industrial situation. He wants to be sure of being remunerated enough from the benefits of his response to give a better and efficient productive performance. In not too distant past, the Adivasis lived in a socio-cultural environment that lacked incentives and security for them. It was an environment that rewarded less and allowed them to be mercilessly exploited by the non-Adivasis landed peasantry. All these human and cultural factors involved in the development of industrial activities in this predominantly Adivasi region will have to be tackled in a competent and efficient manner. In this situation it seems unlikely that technological inputs will have the desired effects on both, increasing output and workers' recruitment unless institutional and organization bottlenecks are removed to increase the efficiency of the Adivasi workers.

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

As we have seen earlier majority of the Adivasis have access to or expect to inherit land (except the Halpatis). Since they are able to support themselves by cultivation and often to supplement their subsistence income by growing a cash crop, most Adivasis are able to choose whether or not to enter the industrial economy. Unless the industrial labour is made more rewarding for him than cultivation, he may not opt for taking up industrial work.

In the case of Adivasis working as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers, it has by no means been taken for granted by their relatives or themselves that they will leave their homes for the industrial town of Vapi. A number of economic and other variables play a part. The present system of commuting daily to Vapi for work provides a compromise between participating in the economic benefits of industrial society and in the other benefits of traditional society, particularly in meeting his full range of social and psychological needs.

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

are co-ordinated with the tribal social systems rather than of the multi-cultural society. Nevertheless, both in its magnitude and in its causes, the transition is gathering momentum in this region.

In such a transitional situation, any attempt to forecast the economic activities of these tribal groups in the context of the industrialization currently sweeping their region is full of hazard. But it can be safely assumed that during the next decade, the rate of working force participation for these tribals is expected to rise considerably and consequently they will certainly strengthen substantially their relative position in the industrial economy. There is clearly going to be more competition for skilled work between the tribals and non-tribals. The economic development brought in the wake of industrialization is fostering political self-consciousness among the tribals. There is a clear indication of a situation which favours the development of a tribal politico-economic movement which will be greatly strengthened by an appeal to ethnocentric sentiments. Industrialization is also putting a heavy burden on the tribal youths to acquire marketable skills. Since a large number of villages of the expanding catchment area from where the workers will be recruited in future to meet the growing demands of industry in Vapi are mainly populated by tribal groups, the tribals' incorporation in the industrial activities assumes great significance. In spite of the problem of efficiency, as highlighted by the non-tribal supervisors and employers, most tribals in industrial employment work systematically and well, they show a capacity for training and have acquired, wherever it was found desirable, a satisfactory degree of skill. These attributes should be further strengthened by strong supervision which means better training, purposeful and clear-cut direction and above all efficient planning.

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

## 7.2 Suggestions :

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

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

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

Such a housing colony will prevent the tribal workers to become slum dwellers at Vapi.

2. Each of the tribal villages, from where a sizeable number of workers are in industrial employment at Vapi, should be linked with the State or National highway by pucca road. Internal road system within each of the villages, connecting the different 'falias' (hamlet) should also be built up so that in all kinds of weather the commuters do not face difficulty in reaching their place of work.

3. All such villages as mentioned in col. 2, should be provided with transport facilities, exclusively for the purpose of carrying the industrial workers to Vapi and back to their village. Such buses may be run by the G.I.D.C. itself and the tribal workers should be charged bus fares on a subsidized basis.

4. In all such villages, the already existing schools should be strengthened by liberal financial assistance from G.I.D.C. The school building should be made more congenial. It should also be staffed with more qualified teachers. Financial assistance to the dependents of the tribal workers should be provided with for studying such courses as may ultimately lead to their absorption in the industry. This scheme for providing financial assistance to tribal students may be undertaken right now covering all the industrial workers from tribal community.

5. All such villages should also be provided with small dispensaries, manned by a qualified nurse and a compounder. A full fledged mini-hospital should be built in the Tukawada village, with all the necessary medical staff. The Doctors of this mini-hospital will be required to visit the dispensaries located in other villages, on a regular basis, say three times a week to each one.

6. In all such villages, a small library should be made available for the benefit of the tribal industrial workers. It has been revealed earlier that most of the tribal youth seeking industrial employment leave their studies much before completing their school education. To keep them literate and also to enable them further to equip themselves better, a library in their village will prove to be greatly useful. Apart from stocking the library with books, some dailies, weeklies, etc. in the vernacular language should be made available at these libraries.

7. In all these villages recreational centres should be established for the benefit of industrial workers and their family members. Such a centre should provide necessary facilities for some indoor and outdoor games as well as T.V. and radio sets. A small subscription fee from each family may be realized but it must be very low. In fact all these facilities will have to be provided to the tribal workers almost freely from a liberal financial assistance from the G. I. D. C. and Vapi Industrial Association.

8. Opportunities must also be given for more frequent and closer contact with non-tribal workers, especially the supervisory staff, outside the work situation. This can be done by officially organizing tribal fairs in the region—'Anand Melas' (Fun & fair), 'Shibirs' (Exhibition-cum-debate meetings), and also picnics and educational tours. Both the G. I. D. C. and the Vapi Industrial Association should chalk out advance programmes for the entire year.

9. One of the most essential things to raise the efficiency and skills of tribal workers is to arrange training facilities. Here again, the training camps should be organized in different tribal villages itself. This is very much conducive to the wholehearted and frank participation of the tribal industrial workers as well as the potential ones. Such training camps may be organized in villages which at present lie out of the influence zone of Vapi. For instance, in villages like Vadkhambha from where three workers are in industrial employment; it will serve the purpose of motivating the tribals to join industrial employment which in turn will mitigate the problem of labour shortage which may arise in future.

10. A 'Rural Development Fund' should be created by the G. I. D. C. for making concrete efforts towards the agricultural

development in this region. We have already seen that a large majority of the industrial workers have cultivable land. They, at present, raise only food crops. Financial and technical assistance should be given to these industrial workers to raise their agricultural production and also to encourage them to raise cash crops, vegetables, etc. If due to these efforts, production of vegetables is taken up on a large scale, much of the problem of supply of vegetables to the urban population of Vapi can be overcome.

In similar way, all encouragement must be given to the tribal industrial workers for undertaking poultry farming and animal husbandry on a big scale. There is bound to be a great demand of milk, and its products, eggs, chickens, vegetables and fruits in Vapi itself. The tribal farmers are well suited to undertake these activities. But, of course, they need financial and technical help as well as marketing facilities. Both the G. I. D. C. and Vapi Industrial Association can play a major role in bringing about an agricultural revolution in this region.

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

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

Sooner or later, the tribals of this region are bound to have a very effective participation in the industrial economy (due to rise in political participation) and hence the sooner the G.I.D.C. and the Vapi Industrial Association plan effectively to equip them to play that effective role, the better not only for them but in particular also for better production in the industrial units as well as for industrial peace in this region. Both the G.I.D.C. and VIA will have to play a very responsible and effective role so far as tribal industrial workers are concerned.

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