Chapter 2

Socio-Economic Background of the Naikas
This chapter depicts the environmental demographic social economic political and religious conditions of the Naikas in Bamlr Chanwar and Atul. First, it describes the environmental conditions of the Naikas in Bamlr Chanwar and Atul. The description shows how the need to adapt to local environmental conditions has compelled each village to develop its own pristine adjustments, how each village is a product of the interaction of a set of cultural traditions, a set of people, and an environment, and how each village is a representative of a large class of relatively similar villages within the habitat of the Naikas.
The discussion shows that Bamti Chanwai and Atul have their own histories that Bamti and Chanwai are several centuries old while Atul is of recent times. In historical terms, Bamti came to have its present character when a number of Naikas Dhodias and few other tribals and non-tribals established themselves in particular regions of the locality and began to carry out activities which they had learnt as part of their cultural tradition. Technically speaking, Bamti and Chanwai are Dhodia villages. The Naikas comprise only a small part of the Bamti's and Chanwai's populations. Chanwai came to have its present form when the Naikas Dhodias and Dubias besides some non-tribal populations established themselves in a specific locality and began to carry out their activities which they have learnt as parts of their cultural traditions. The Naikas occupy a few parts of the locality in terms of specific wards. Like Bamti and Chanwai, Atul is not dominated by the Naikas. It came into being when the non-tribal populations and tribal groups settled themselves in a place cradled in the hills and elevations and began to carry out their activities which they had learnt as part of their cultural traditions and borrowings. Atul may be termed as an urban agglomeration with the numerical dominance of non-tribal populations.

Second, this chapter examines the demographic, social, and economic conditions of the Naikas in Bamti Chanwai and Atul. The discussion shows that the perpetuation of Naika population in each settlement has become dependent upon the capacity of the Naikas to meet three fundamental requirements: success in establishing productive relationships with the surrounding lands, success in the production of people for performing the tasks on which the survival of Naika population depends, and finally the patterns of relationship among the Naikas that establish the part each is to play in the relationships between the Naikas and between the Naikas and the surrounding lands. In this context, the Naikas have adopted a cultural design that helps production care and feeding of the offspring.
and maintains adequate numbers and varieties of social personalities within the Naika community. The very local social hierarchy reveals the accessibility of the Naikas to different resources to different technologies and to different parts of social environments within and outside the boundaries of Bamti Chanwai and Atul. To the Naikas of Bamti traditional technology proved more effective to deal with the environment hence it remains so. To the Naikas of Chanwai by contrast non-traditional technology proved ineffective in certain areas of life so they have borrowed new ones from the urban centres. The Naikas of Atul have almost abandoned their old traditional technology the new one similar to that of the Naikas of Chanwai. The economy of the Naikas in Bamti is primarily agricultural while that of the Naikas in Chanwai is partly agricultural and partly cash economy and that of the Naikas in Atul is cash economy.

The Naikas of Bamti are in close contact with 3 tribal populations and 4 caste populations those of Chanwai are in regular contact with 2 tribal populations and 14 caste populations besides a few others and those of Atul are in close and constant interaction on both social and economic levels with 2 tribal populations and 16 different non-tribal populations primarily of varied cultures and heritages. All of the citizens of Atul are immigrant populations and are members of the employee community on the industrial complex. Further the location of the industrial complex has facilitated their regular interaction with the neighbouring villagers and physical contact with Valsad town. All these factors are playing an inevitable influence on the life of the Naikas in Atul. The members of the younger generation in Atul having wider social contact and little educational background find it easier to adopt the mode of living prevalent among the neighbouring people with urban contamination and desire to mix with latter on equal terms. Adoption of new dress and new style in some other respects gives them a feeling of dignity and a sense of equality with non-tribals.
Third this chapter deals with the political and religious conditions of the Naikas in Bamti, Chanwai, and Atul. In the past, setting of the three places, the political body of Panch has acted as a factor towards strengthening the feeling of oneness. But in the present setting, it has become almost an ineffective one in Bamti and Chanwai as it has lost the patronage of young members to a great extent because of the growth of the Statutory Gram Panchayats. On the other hand, in Atul, it has become almost a complete non-entity for it has lost the patronage of its members to a great extent on account of the growth of Statutory Nagar Panchayat. The increased decline of traditional authority of the elderly members seems to have affected the family and conjugal life significantly in Atul.

In religious life also, Bamti, Chanwai, and Atul show numerous variations. The religion of the Naikas in Bamti is still based on the worship, propitiation, and praying to various deities and lacking of ancestors and evil spirits. Further, the worship in practice consists of sacrificing fowls and goats with lavish feast. The duration and glamour of traditional religious festivals still persist. The religion of the Naikas in Chanwai is also similar to that of the Naikas in Bamti but the duration and glamour of traditional religious festivals have been much shortened due to little spare time. Even though the people themselves consider economic hardship to be an important parameter, it appears that the lack of stronghold of social forces plays importantly. In Atul, the position of religion is different. The Naikas have adopted several Hindu gods and started worshipping them in Hindu fashion. In the other two places, the Naikas have adopted some Hindu gods and started worshipping in accordance with tribal tradition. The pomp and show of the traditional festivals in Atul exist no more. Festivals of less importance have disappeared. Several Hindu festivals are celebrated as the neighbouring Hindus do. The Naikas in Atul seek the services of a Brahmin priest at the time of naming and wedding ceremonies at home.
Fourth the present chapter discusses the spatial distribution of marriage alliances, material aspects of culture, means and extent of social control, language and attitudes regarding education, especially for girls, modern medicine, outlook on life and solving the problems of community and the individuals. Their language for communication, the Naikas in Bamti is bilingual. Bamti Naikas speak their traditional language Naiki and Naikadi at home and speak Gujarati outside. The Naikas in Chanwai and Atul by contrast have forgotten their mother tongue Naiki and speak Gujarati especially those in Atul speak local Gujarati.

Finally this chapter examines the impact of developmental programmes and voluntary organizations on the social cultural life of the Naikas in Bamti, Chanwai and Atul. The discussion shows how Bamti, Chanwai and Atul like many other tribal villages have a sea change in culture and technology which is called modernization and urbanization and how Bamti to a least degree Chanwai to a moderate degree but Atul to the greatest degree became participants in the modern world and urban environments.

THE NAIKA HABITAT AND SETTLEMENTS

The habitat of the Naikas

The hill tracts known as the Scheduled Tribes Area in the State of Gujarat are the home of several tribes living at varying social economic levels. The Scheduled Tribes Area is contiguous undulating hilly tract spreading across 8 out of the 19 Districts and 35 out of the 189 Taluks of the State of Gujarat. Of the total tribal population of about 4.8 millions in the state, 72 per cent lives in the Scheduled Tribes Area and the remaining one lives in the Plains Area that adjoins the Scheduled Tribes Area and extends across eleven Districts.

1 Shroff 1992
The Naikas are concentrated chiefly in the Southern part of the Scheduled Tribes Area in the districts of Dangs, VALSAD and Surat and the Plains Area. The folk maintain that the Naikas originally inhabited the Champa region in the Plains of Vododara District that they moved towards South and settled in the Plains Area of Valsad and Surat and that from there some of them moved further into the hills and forests of Dangs, Surat and Valsad Districts and to the adjoining area of the Union Territories of Dadra Nagar Haveli and Daman & Diu. Of the total Naika population of 313,481 about 12 per cent (37,617) live in the Scheduled Tribes Areas and 87.9 per cent (275,864) live in the Plains Areas within the State of Gujarat and the remaining 0.1 per cent (503) live in the two Union Territories.

The habitat of the Naikas may thus be defined as the land extending across the Scheduled Tribes Areas in Dangs District, the Scheduled Tribal Areas as well as the Plains Areas in the Valsad and Surat Districts besides the Union Territories of Dadra Nagar Haveli and Daman & Diu. The total extent of the habitat comes to about 40,000 square kilometres. In this habitat the Scheduled Tribes Area is characterized by hills and spurs, rivers and rivulets, ravines and gorges which make the whole terrain geographically very difficult and some of its parts quite inaccessible but the Plains Area is a rolling flat land that is several times larger than the Scheduled Tribes Area. On the basis of the numerical preponderance of the population and the vastness of the habitat the Plains Area may be said to be the stronghold of the Naikas.

The settlements of the Naikas

Within the total habitat there are about 400 Naika settlements. Very few of them are exclusively inhabited by the Naikas and over (98%) by the Naikas besides other tribes and castes. Out of these 400 Naika settlements, 48 (12%) are relatively...
more isolated 272(68%) are semi urbanized ones and the remaining are urbanized ones. The isolated settlements still retain their traditional characters in terms of layout houses, people, and their socio-economic conditions. The semi urbanized settlements may be called urban ones because they have acquired urban features like roads and modern facilities like bus and telecommunication facilities, educational institutions, primary health centres, connections with urban centres mainly through trade, political, and developmental networks, and they have come to possess caste populations besides those of Muslim, Parsi, and other minorities. The three places chosen for the present study are representative of these three categories of the Naika settlements.

**BAMTI : THE RURAL SETTLEMENT**

**Environmental conditions**

Bamti is an isolated village located in the Plains Area of Dharampur Taluk of Valsad District in Gujarat State. It is a multi-tribal village, the tribal population (99.9%) being numerically preponderant over the caste population less than 0.1 percent.

It is about 5 kms North from Dharampur, its Taluk headquarters, and lies on the Dharampur Bansda Road. Both footpaths and cart tracks link the village with its surrounding villages and Dharampur. On the Dharampur Bansda road touching the village, two buses ply. However, the tribal inhabitants, unlike the caste inhabitants of Bamti, rarely make use bus to reach their destination. The nearest bus and railway stations are located at Dharampur the Valsad at a distance of 5 and 30 kilometers from Bamti.

Bamti extends across a plain land of a little over 3 square kilometres. To its South lies a small stream, Man, and to its East is a rivulet, Margam. The village
is bounded on its East and South by the village Asura and on its West and North by village Dulsad.

Bamti received an average amount of rainfall of 145 cms. South West monsoon is the main source of rain. Temperate climate prevails. Within a radius of about one kilometre Bamti has practically no forest except some bushes and tall trees but beyond this there is a scrub jungle with several flora and fauna that are exploited to some extent by the Naikas. Mango sapota (chikku) country blackberry, acacia, jack fruit, banana, eucalyptus and lemon are some of the important cultivated trees in Bamti. People raise livestock like cows and poultry.

Layout and wards

Bamti contains three wards (falias) namely Siswad Falia, Tokkar Falia, and Desai Falia. They are separated by agricultural fields. All the three wards lie hidden under gardens and orchards.

Map 1 shows the geographical distribution of wards in Bamti. The Tokkar Falia contains two rows of houses, the open space between which serves as a street. Away from these two rows of houses there is one house of a Scheduled Caste family. The Naikas, the Dhodias, and the Kolchas, all Scheduled Tribes besides a single household of the caste of Kayasth are the occupants of the two rows of houses.

Situated to the North of Tokkar Falia there is Siswad Falia. A gravel road running across agricultural fields connects Tokkar Falia with Siswad Falia and vice versa. A vast majority of the houses in Siswad form into two rows with a wide open area left between them serving as a broad street. A small number of houses lies scattered to the North of these two rows of houses. The Dhodias and the
MAP 1
ROUGH SKETCH MAP OF BAMTI VILLAGE

INDEX
1 DESAI FALIA
2 SISWAD FALIA
3 TOKKAR FALIA
Naikas live in the two rows of houses while only the Naikas live in the scattered houses.

To the North East of Tokkar Falia lies the Desai Falia. The Dharampur-Bansda road with its characteristic L-shaped bend connects the Desai Falia with the other two Falias. Like the other two Falias, the Desai Falia does not present a picture of a corporate habitation. It includes scattered houses constructed in groups of three or more separated from one another. In each cluster different families have marked out small pieces of land for themselves at a certain distance from one another and constructed their shelters. All the clusters of houses give the picture of scattered group of houses built without any plan. Only the Naikas inhabit the Desai Falia.

It is thus clear that no definite system is followed in the layout of the wards. In the case of Tokkar Falia and Siswad Falia, a sufficiently long and broad space is left and on its two sides and extreme ends the houses are built when new immigrants wanted to build their houses, they sought some space for themselves at the extreme ends of the two rows of houses and built them. The Scheduled Caste people live in a separate cluster of houses in one ward. The lay out of Desai Falia also has no definite system. It presents a picture of a few small groups of houses constructed without any plan. But the difference between the Desai Falia and the other two Falias is that the former does not present the picture of a corporate habitation while the latter does.

All the three wards of Bamti are casually laid out on the rough terrain. The three wards together give Bamti a corporate character. Bamti is nearer to the sources of water and to the scrub forest from which those can have some wild roots, tubers, fruits, small animals, and firewood. Comparatively it is five kilometers
from the tribal market which is held every week at Dharampur. The hills and forests also provide the village a certain degree of seclusion and exclusiveness. Around the village agricultural lands extend across a radius of half a kilometre. Most of these lands are shaded by surviving forest trees long established tamarinds, mangoes and palmyrahs. A few wells were scattered through the agricultural fields. The village is totally dependent on crops.

Since 1975 Bamti has become accessible to a little modern influences like bus services between the distant towns of Bansda and Dharampur. Previously Bamti people used to purchase pottery, cloth and a few other daily useful goods in the weekly market and few found no need to go farther. But the situation has slightly changed today. Even then Bamti represents a primitive village going back was much more common of one or even two hundred years past.

The tribes and castes

Table 1 shows the distribution of the tribal and non-tribal households in the three wards of Bamti. The village is predominantly tribal. In the past five decades ago very few caste households migrated into the village and settled there.

Out of the 740 households in Bamti, 60 (8.1%) belong to the Naikas and the remaining 738 (99.7%) belong to other tribes and 2 (0.3%) belong to forward and scheduled castes. Of the total population of about 3920, 1953 are men and 1967 are women.

The Naikas, the Dhodias and the Kolchas are agriculturists. The Naikas are in regular social and personal interaction with the Dhodias and Kolchas. The Dhodia is a major tribe living in the hilly and Plains Areas of Valsad District. Next to the Dhodias, the Naikas are dominant. The Kolchas and Koknas are less
represented by their numbers in all the villages. Even though all are agricultural tribes, the Dhodia form the landed gentry. Each tribe maintains its own culture, language and religion and traditional practices. All are patrilocal in residence and patrilineal in descent, endogamous meat eaters but the Koknas are beef eaters. Hence the Dhodias, the Naikas and the Kolchas do not dine with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St No</th>
<th>Name of the Ward</th>
<th>Tribal</th>
<th>Non Tribal</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Main</td>
<td>Dhodha</td>
<td>Kolcha</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Seawad Faliya</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>(69.6)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokk Faliya</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(19.3)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dabhi Faliya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>(92.6)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

Almost three decades ago, the Dhodias and the Naikas enjoy equal status. The priests among the Naikas and the Dhodias officiated the marriages. However, in recent years some sort of grading has emerged out between them. Even though the Naikas consider themselves at par with the Dhodias, they at the same time admit that the Dhodias by virtue of their preponderance, better possession of agricultural land and wielding of political power consider themselves superior to any other tribe of South Gujarat in general and Valsad District in particular. The Naikas share freely the food of Dhodias and the Dhodias have no objection to eating in the Naika houses. The Naikas do not give countenance to unrestricted social intercourse with
their Dhodia neighbours. Sexual relations between members of the two tribes though considered somewhat irregular and not looked upon with any great horror and the children of mixed marriages find their place in the one or the other tribe. As the marriage priests the Naikas and Dhodias function at many Dhodia and Naika marriages both do not act as priests for marriages of people of any other tribe.

In the local social hierarchy the Anavil Brahmins (caste of priests and landlords) occupy the topmost rank. They are followed by the Dhodia and the Naika who have rival claims about their equality. Below them are the Kolchas. The Kokanas come under the Kolchas. Then there are the Scheduled Castes who are treated as untouchables by the Anavil Brahmins as well as the different tribes. Therefore the line of pollution separates Anavil Brahmins as well as the tribals from the Scheduled castes. Among the Scheduled castes the Dheds occupy the first place, the Chamars or Mochis hold the second place, and the Khalipas occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. There are untouchables among the untouchables. The Dheds consider the Chamar and Khalipa untouchables. Thus in the local social hierarchy the caste of Anavil Brahmin occupies the highest position; then the tribals hold different positions in which the beef eating Kokna are relegated to the lowest position and finally the untouchable Scheduled Castes have their own ranks. There is unity in diversity. All groups maintain esprit de corps when they celebrate festivals common to the whole village community and when they are threatened by natural calamity or by some supernatural agency.

The population of the Naikas

Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas by their age groups in Bamti. All the 60 Naika families contain 309 people of whom 155 are men and 154 are women. There is a concentration of population in the lower age groups and comparatively less population in the higher age groups.
The sex ratios for the age group 0-14 and 15-64 are 101.85 and 101.05 respectively. The sex ratio for the reproductive age group of 15-44 is 100.00. The sex ratio for the age group 65-74 is 80.00. In general, the number of men per 100 women is 100.65. That means the sex ratio in general is unfavourable to women. The sex ratio for the whole Gujarat is 106.10 and for all India is 106.951.

Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas in Barati by their age groups and marital status. Married people constitute 47.9 per cent while unmarried do 47.8 per cent of the population. The percentage of widows or widowers is very less. It may be due to the fact that widow remarriages are permissible.

An analysis of the marital structures by sex reveals that there is a greater proportion of married people among the men than among the women. Widows...
are more in number than widowers. All widowers are above 41 years of age whereas all widows are above 30 years the youngest among them being in the age groups of 30-40 years. In general the boys and girls are married between 21-26 and 18-25 years of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group in Years</th>
<th>Unmarried Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Married Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Widowed Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>55 (17.8)</td>
<td>54 (17.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>109 (35.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>22 (7.1)</td>
<td>1 (5.5)</td>
<td>15 (4.9)</td>
<td>25 (8.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79 (25.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td></td>
<td>34 (11.0)</td>
<td>30 (9.7)</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66 (21.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>1 (5.5)</td>
<td>16 (5.2)</td>
<td>1 (1.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18 (12.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-74</td>
<td>8 (2.6)</td>
<td>3 (1.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18 (5.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77 (24.9)</td>
<td>71 (22.9)</td>
<td>74 (23.9)</td>
<td>74 (23.9)</td>
<td>4 (1.3)</td>
<td>9 (2.9)</td>
<td>309 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in Parentheses indicate percentages.

The dependency ratio for Bamti is 61.78. There are six children; one boy and five girls who are working as agricultural labourers or herdsmen. They are no longer dependents of their parents in the strict sense of the term. The early work apprenticeship of the children in general trains them to be good workers in
the fields and forest. There are two aged couples getting their lands cultivated by
their nearest kin. On the whole 90 men and 77 women comprising 167 people
out of 309 constitute the work force in Bambi. The dependency ratio for the State
of Gujarat is 69.94 which is far more than that of Bambi.

Table 4 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas by their age, sex
and educational levels in Bambi. The Naikas are bilingual. They speak their mother
tongue Naiki/Naikadi amongst themselves while Gujarati to others. The literacy
level among the Naikas of Bambi is very poor. Only 15.8 per cent of the men and
61 per cent of the women are literates. Only the younger generation is more
literate. There is no literate in the population above 51 years. Among the young
aged below 25 years 8.7 per cent of the men and 35 per cent of the women have
primary education and 52 per cent of the men and 42 per cent of the women have
secondary education among those aged between 26-50 years. 6 per cent of the
men and none of the women have primary education and 13 per cent of the men
and 0.3 per cent of the women have secondary education. Only one man has
passed his SSLC examination. None has so far college education. Most of the
literates in the age group of below 25 years are school completed children young
boys and girls. In general in the age group of below 25 years more than 14.9
per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women are illiterates and in the age
group between 26-50 years more than 13.3 per cent of the men and 14.9 per cent
of the women are illiterates.

Appearance, dress and decoration

In physical appearance the Naikas do not differ much from the neighbouring
tribes like Dhodia, Koicha and Kokna4. They are generally of medium stature though
tall individuals are not uncommon. Their bodies are well built and limbs well pro

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4 Shah 1969 75
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group Years</th>
<th>Educational levels</th>
<th>Illiterates</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto 25</td>
<td>27 (8.7)</td>
<td>11 (3.5)</td>
<td>38 (12.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>2 (0.6)</td>
<td>2 (0.6)</td>
<td>4 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td>29 (9.3)</td>
<td>11 (3.5)</td>
<td>40 (12.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.
portioned. Regular work in the agricultural fields in the scrub jungle and in negoti-
atating the ascent and descent of the hills give shapely muscles. A vast majority of
the Naikas are fair in complexion and a few vary from light brown to dark brown.
Their hair is generally coarse, straight, black or dark brown. Wavy and curly hair
is also met with. They have moderate growth of hair on their heads but generally
have scanty growth of moustache and beard and other bodily hair. The eyes are
generally black or dark brown.

Among the Naikas young men look very impressive with shapely, strong
the slim bodies. Of course, they retain some of the shape of their body throughout
in their youth. Women are delicate, comely and beautiful. However, strenuous work
in the field and forest and constant child bearing sap most of the charm of their
youthful bodies and as they grow old, a dull coarseness replaces the freshness of
the delicate features of their youth.

The dress of the Naikas is very simple. When the men are at home, they
put on a dhoti. For social gatherings, they wear a turban (pagadi) or a cap (Gandhi
cap) besides a sleeved shirt (kurtâ) or a sleeveless vest with pockets (banjan) as
upper garments.

The dress of the women is also simple. The women put on only a sari
which is tied around the waist and carried to the right shoulder right across the
breasts. The sari put on in this fashion hangs down only up to the knees. The
legs are left uncovered and free. The women do not put on any bodice or blouse
as a custom.

The young and middle-aged men regularly wear long sleeved shirts (kurtas)
and knickers as upper and lower garments. Those who have something to do with
the outside world sometimes affected more elegant clothing. Young and middle-aged women wear saris and blouses. When they are at work for ease they put on the sari in such a way that it hands down free only up to the knees; otherwise they wear it to cover the legs also.

Young boys wear knickers and generally do not wear upper garments. However, the school-going boys wear sleeveless shirts or full-sleeved shirts besides knickers. Young girls put on petticoats (ghagora) and bodices (choli).

The Naika women put on very few ornaments. Ear rings (lavangiya), a ring round the neck (ganthi), a necklace (manimala), nose ring (phuli), wristlet (kavi), an armlet (kada) and anklets (dola) are the most frequently seen ornaments on the body of women. The ornaments are made either of silver or a mixed alloy. The anklets are mostly silver. Every girl right from the age of twelve to thirteen starts using anklets and nose screw or ear stud of some sort.

Dwellings and material life

The houses of the Naikas are rectangular and square in shape featuring a gabled roof. These houses may be brick walled (pucca) or wattle walled (kutchcha) shelters. Each brick walled house contains one or two big rooms with a verandah in front and another in the back. The family lives only in the big room or room (high partitions separate the rooms) the front verandah serves as a cattle shed and the back verandah house the sheep and goat. Each house has walls made of burnt bricks. There is daubed septum inside into one or two rooms. The walls as well as the floor are plastered with cement. There are no openings in the house except a wooden door or one made of wicker work. The wattle walled houses (kutchcha) have walls consisting of a row of parallel stakes held in place by long horizontal strips of thick and hard bamboo and roughly interwoven in split bamboo.
in the shape of a wattle hurdle frame (thatti) This hurdle frame encloses all the sides leaving room only for the entrance. This hurdle frame is then plastered with mud. When these walls dry up they are smeared with a coating of cow dung mixed with water. They may later white washed red or yellow clay. A vast majority of them have tiled roofs and the remaining ones have thatched roofs. The floor of the living room or rooms inside the house is plastered with mud and every week it is daubed with cowdung mixed with water. The front and back verandahs are kept clean. Dust dung and other garbage is swept and thrown into the pit a recepticle meant for it and the garbage later becomes compost or farm manure.

An open space is usually left in front and back of the house generally a greater portion lies on the backside. This part is invariably used as kitchen garden. The front yard is used in different ways by different families growing flowers raising vegetables or the space left unused.

The Naika houses have few material possessions like few utensils for cooking platters for eating and agricultural implements like ploughs some palmyrah mats for sleeping at night and a few other sundries of everyday use. Aluminium utensils have now become very common to them. There are some hawkers who go from Bansda and Dharampur to make visits to Bambi at regular intervals with these utensils. Utensils made of stainless steel were seen in very few families of the Naikas. A few families possess bullock carts. Bullock carts are used for carrying farm manure paddy firewood and other heavy goods. Sometimes they are used for transporting the people from the village to the weekly market held at Dharampur and back to the village. Barring very few no Naika family uses modern furniture such as chairs, tables, wooden almirahs and wooden cots and some modern necessary items like wrist watches, bicycles and transistors or radios.
Economic life of the Naikas

Table 5 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas in Barai by their sources of livelihood. Agriculture and agriculture labour are the primary means of livelihood for a vast majority of the Naikas. A small proportion of the Naikas works in government offices located in Valsad and Surat, in timber depots and sawmills in Dharampur as a lorry driver in Banskta as contract labourers in carpentry in Navasari city and diamond cutting shops in Surat city and as a conductor in the Regional Transport Company at Dharampur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of livelihood</th>
<th>No of Naikas depending upon it</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>11 (12.2)</td>
<td>6 (6.6)</td>
<td>17 (17.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labour</td>
<td>85 (72.2)</td>
<td>76 (68.1)</td>
<td>161 (163.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Service</td>
<td>2 (2.2)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>3 (3.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conductor in an RTC bus</td>
<td>1 (1.1)</td>
<td>1 (1.0)</td>
<td>2 (2.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in Timber depot and sawmills</td>
<td>8 (8.9)</td>
<td>8 (8.9)</td>
<td>16 (16.9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorry Driver</td>
<td>1 (1.1)</td>
<td>1 (1.0)</td>
<td>2 (2.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract labourers in carpentry and diamond cutting</td>
<td>2 (2.2)</td>
<td>2 (2.2)</td>
<td>4 (4.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90 (53.9)</td>
<td>77 (46.1)</td>
<td>167 (100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in Parentheses indicate percentages.
Further among the 167 workers more than half of them (53.9%) are men and fewer than half (46.1%) are women. More women (98.1%) than men (72.2%) work as agricultural labourers. Since Bamti and its surrounding villages can provide plenty of opportunities for farm work, the Naika find employment as agricultural labourers. One woman (1.3%) and two men (2.2%) are working in Government organisations in the nearby towns. Women are conspicuously absent in certain services like bus and lorry transport contract labour and timber depot organisation because these jobs are traditionally male oriented ones.

Of the 60 households, 15 (25%) have no agricultural land. 27 (44.9%) have less than one acre. 22 (36.6%) have one to two acres. 5 (8.3%) have two to three acres. 2 (3.3%) have three to four acres. The maximum being eight acres. Thus 48 (80%) of the Naika households are landowners and 12 (20%) have no agricultural lands. The agricultural labourers and the contract labourers are from the landless as well as those who own less than two acres.

Naikas raise two crops a year. The first crop is mostly paddy (rice and to a little extent wheat or jowar). The second one is usually kidney beans (wax) some may raise Bengal gram (chana) peas (matar) horse gram (luvar) or black gram (mung) as second crop if their fields are fertile. Almost every family maintains poultry. More than two-thirds of the households (68%) possess cattle like draft animals and cows besides goats. Almost every family maintains a kitchen garden where a variety of gourds, country beans, papaya, banana, and so on, are raised.

Most of the yield from their fields is stored for a longer time. However, the farm yield does not last more than four to eight months. A portion of the kitchen garden's vegetables are sold in the weekly market to meet their petty expenses. A major portion of the pulses is sold in the weekly market. Milk and milk products
are consumed. They rear sheep, goat and domestic fowls for sale as well as for domestic consumption.

Food is the most important item in the expenditure of the Naikas. Every year they spend a considerable amount of their earnings on clothes. Liquor is another important item of expenditure too. They extract toddy or palm juice and drink. They also distill sufficient quantities of liquor. Even then they are often required to buy liquor and toddy from the caste contractors and have to pay them a considerable part of their earnings. Special occasions such as childbirth, marriage, death, expiration of tribal offences and so on necessitate them a considerably large expenditure. Anticipating childbirth and marriage, the Naikas begin acting with a little foresight and make small savings from their everyday earnings.

Social life

The nucleus of Naika social life is the family (Parivar). Within the family the husband, the wife and the older male and female children carry out the bulk of the farm work, while the wife and the daughters manage the family. The close cooperation and functional interdependence of the members of a family tend to create a situation that is often indistinguishable from inequality. Women contribute substantially to the family income but their position is markedly inferior to that of men.

Next to the family is the lineage (varsh). It consists of all the descendants in the male line of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It plays significant roles in the lives of the Naikas.

Apart from the lineage, there is another kinship group namely the patr clan. Each clan (kud) is a named group of people who believe themselves to be descendants of the male line from a common ancestor in the remote past. Members
of the same clan do not marry. A lineage differs from a clan in that while usually all the members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical links with other clan members and often clansfolk are widely dispersed.

A number of clans constitute a sub-tribe. The Naikas of Bantli belong to the sub-tribe of Kapadia. The sub-tribe is endogamous. In addition to lineages and clans, there are kindreds which are ego related aggregations of relatives. They form effective groups to fulfil socio-religious obligations on several occasions especially those relating to an individual's life crises, rituals and other ceremonies.

The formation and future history of a family is critically dependent on the process of selecting a hardworking and virtuous wife. The characteristic strategy is to choose a bride from a family in the nearby village. Table 6 shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number of Husbands</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate...
The percentage distribution of the brides by physical distance between their natal villages and Banti. Out of the 74 brides, almost 80 per cent (59) are from villages situated between 0-10 kilometres from Banti. 17.6 per cent (13) are from the villages located between 11-20 kilometres from Banti. 12 per cent (1) are from a place 21-30 kilometres away from Banti, and another 12 per cent (1) are from a place 41-50 kilometers away from Banti.

A successful marriage, where the husband and wife work well together and children are reproduced, is essential to every aspect of the social system. The prevailing pattern of marriage being patrilocal, i.e., bride takes up residence in the family of the groom, the marriage rules have to do with selecting a suitable bride and ensuring that she is satisfactory to the groom and to his family and finally to his community. First, the bride and groom must be properly related; the marriage must not be incestuous. The bride and groom, therefore, should not belong to the same lineage and the same clan though they belong to the same sub-tribe. Second, the bride must be of good character. The most common and obvious implication of this complicated concept is that the bride should be a chaste virgin at the time of marriage. Further implications include a sentiment that the bride is a dangerous external element introduced into the family. Should her habits cause trouble in the realms of infidelity, family dispute and laziness, the consequences for her husband, family, and the whole village could be serious.

In view of these manifold real dangers involved in bringing in a new bride, the Naikas possess complicated techniques and rules designed to ensure proper bride selection. The first line of defense is to arrange as many marriages as possible within the village. In the absence of a suitable bride within the village, one is sought in closely neighbouring or in villages with which many successful
marriges have been arranged in the past. Thus marriages in effect create networks of kinsmen in the neighbouring villages. Such networks are used to secure access to reliable sources of exchanging the goods and services in all crises and times of necessity. Such marriages are a means of continuing and strengthening the existing relationships or expanding the network of kinsmen upon whom the family can call in case of need. The ramified web of relationships creates a situation in which any person visiting another village for the first time can quickly establish his credentials by identifying his own lineage and clan. If his lineage is represented in the village, at least one of his close relatives is likely to be present. If his lineage is absent, he is still likely to encounter a woman from his own village or a close relative of one of his friends or neighbours. It is thus easy to travel from village to village and easy to find known and trustworthy people with whom one can have social interaction.

The Naikas acquire a mate mostly through negotiations and rarely through elopement. Far more than nine tenths (99%) of the mate selections are by arranged while the remaining ones are by elopement (1%). The arranged marriages include the regular marriages (Vivah), the marriages by service (Khandadiyo or gharjama) and widow remarriages. The elopement marriages, although socially recognized, are still regarded as irregular. Therefore this form of mate selection is not popular among the Naikas of Bamti. The custom of serving for a wife also is not very popular among the Naikas. Only those who have very meagre financial resources and are consequently unable to bear the marriage expenses take recourse to such marriages. Among the Naikas all young widows as a rule can marry again. A widow generally waits for about a year after the death of her husband in order to be sure that she does not bear the deceased husband's child in her womb. After that period she becomes the wife of one of the younger brothers of her deceased husband. In case there are two or three brothers then whom can she marry her
she is then asked for her choice. If the man she chooses is not unwilling a date is fixed for her marriage.

In regular marriages the boy's people initiate the talks of marriage with the help of an intermediary a go between (vastadico). When both the parties agree they get the formal consent of the boy and girl and finalize the match. Once the match is finalized they name an auspicious day for betrothal. On the day of betrothal the groom's party carries three sarees, a coconut, and some quantity of sugar and hands them over to the girl's party. Then all the relatives from both the sides entertain themselves to a small scale drinking party (choli toddy or nalli toddy). By mutual consultation they name a date for fixing the bride price transacting the marriage expenses and the like.

The marriage finances centre round the bride price system. Traditionally the amount of bride price (jehaj) is fixed at Rs. 210. In addition to paying this amount of bride price the groom's people offer 120 kg of paddy, 6 kg of kidney beans (wal) and a silver anklet to the bride through her people. The council of elders (panch) stands witness to these marriage payments. Before the bridegroom's people leave for home they fix the time for marriage. Those who can afford the expenditure of marriage immediately name a day within six months to one year. But people have to take sufficient time to work hard in order to save enough money to meet the marriage expenses which are rather high for people of their economic level. This decision it is believed should not be broken. If the groom's people are unable to perform the marriage within the scheduled period generally another suitable date is fixed. Extension of date for one year is permitted provided a new san is presented to the bride. It is not thought proper to shift the date very often. Therefore, the marriage is performed within the date reflected.
One or two days before the marriage both the parties construct marriage pandal (mantap) in front of their respective houses. The maternal uncle brings a pair of new clothes (masalaalana) and presents them to his nephew or niece. After wearing the new clothes, the groom goes in a procession led by the groom’s eldest sister’s husband (andwaria). When the groom’s party reaches the bride’s village, it takes rest at the place which is hardly a few metres away from the bride’s house for about thirty to forty minutes and then moves to the bride’s house. The bride’s elder brother, his wife, two elder members, and two matrons receive the groom’s party at the marriage pandal (mantap) erected at the bride’s house. Then the elders from both the parties exchange greetings.

Following this, matrons bring the bride into the marriage pandal and ask her to stand in front of the groom. The horn blower (turwala) ties the clothes of the bride and the groom. The bride holds some rice grains in her right palm and closes the fist, and the groom has to open her fist either by force or by persuasion. Once this is done, the bride’s brother’s wife hands over the marriage badge (mangal sutra) to the groom and the groom ties the marriage badge around the neck of the bride. Within two or three hours after this, the horn blower (turwala) unties the clothes of the bride and groom which he ties earlier. Then the bride’s people give a warm send off to the bride and then the bride and the groom go together in a procession and reach the groom’s village. After undergoing a few rituals there, the newly weds enter the groom’s family.

Widow remarriages are also simple. They are performed after sunset in the presence of elders (panch) the groom and the widow bride exchange garlands and become man and wife. A widow may preferably marry her husband’s younger brother (junior levirate) or may marry another person as she likes. This is the case when a man marries a divorcee or a widower married a widow. However, this
is not the case when a widower marries a virgin girl or he may marry his deceased wife's younger sister. In either case, he and the bride undergo the same rituals of a regular marriage.

In an elopement marriage, the couple has merely to give a liquor drink and throw an ordinary feast to the council of elders (panch) which is obliged to give recognition to the fact accomplished. If the eloped girl is already a married one, the second husband has to pay to her first husband the bride price which the former husband has paid to her parents earlier. The expenses incurred on his marriage and certain amount fine to the community besides arranging a community feast. No such case has occurred in Bami since the past two generations.

In general, the Naikas are monogamous although one may come across a stray case of polygyny here and there. It is customary for a person to take a younger sister of his wife as his junior wife. Tribal sentiment on the whole is against polygynous marriages. The atmosphere of a home having more than one wife is rarely peaceful.

The Naikas have no formal procedure for divorce. Impotence of husband, cruelty of husband, adultery of wife or barrenness of wife are the grounds for divorce. The council of elders (panch) decides the divorce cases. It asks the defaulter to pay a compensation of Rs 500 to the aggrieved party. In Bami, no divorce case took place in the past thirty years surprisingly.

The tribal custom does not prohibit marriages within the same village settlement, and in fact, there are a good number of marriages have actually taken place within the same settlement. In the settlement itself, there is a tendency in people related to one another, specially those related by blood, to build their houses.
close to one another. The general atmosphere of the settlement is democratic and all the members who constitute it participate on a basis of equality in working out their tribal destinies.

**Political life**

Traditionally the Naikas had a political system in the past which is different from the present one. Almost two or three generations ago the Naika settlements close to one another had their own Panch or Panchayat which was supreme in the legal and socio-religious matters of the members of the tribe living in the constituent settlements. Depending upon the size of settlements, two or three Panchayats had a common hereditary chief called Karbhan (local Chief).

The advent of the British administrative and judicial system dealt a severe blow to the powers and status of their tribal Panchayats. The new administration appointed the Patel (village Headman) and his assistant the Police Patel (police Headman) to handle routine village business. The Patel was responsible for keeping land records. He and the Police Patel together with a kind of bailiff are responsible for the collection of taxes. Both are responsible for keeping order and for receiving and assisting visiting government officials of all kinds. This system continues even today. But the Patel and the Police Patel, formerly hereditary officers, have become salaried employees of the government with limited power.

After independence, Indian Government introduced the Statutory Village Panchayats in the Year 1952. Bamti and another village Rampada have a common statutory Village Panchayat which is technically called Bamti Rampada Joint Gram Panchayat. In the Year 1985 this Panchayat had a Sarpanch, a Deputy Sarpanch and eight Members. This body constituted the following individuals elected from the people of Bamti and Rampada direct.
Sarpanch: Vacant

DY Sarpanch: Bhanabhai Dhodia (elected from Siswad Falia)

Members: Karsanbhai Dhodia Arvudbhai Dhodia (both elected from Siswad Falia of Bamti) Kantilal Dhodia Savita Ben and Premli Ben (all the three elected from Tokkar Falia of Bamti) Jaggubhai Naik (elected from Desar Falia of Bamti) and Gulabhbhai Dhodia (elected from Gugarbati Falia of Rampad)

All those who have the suffix Dhodia are from the tribe of Dhodia. Only one namely Jaggubhai Naik belongs to the tribe of Naika. Savita Ben is a woman representative and she belongs to the tribe of Dhodia. Premli Ben is the Scheduled Caste representative. Only one member a Dhodia hails from Rampad and all others from Bamti. The office of this Statutory Gram Panchayat is located at Rampad. This Panchayat has become the nucleus of village self-government.

Notwithstanding all these changes the traditional Panch or Panchayat wields power mostly in socio-religious matters and a few other disputes. Further over and above the Panch or Panchayat at the level of a cluster of villages close to one another there is the Zilla Panch or Zilla Panchayat at the District Level. For tribal and inter-tribal matters the Naikas like any other tribe have to participate in this Zilla Panchayat. In this Panchayat even other tribes will have their representation. The Zilla Panchayat takes into account traditions and customs of the tribes before coming to their final judgement. It has the powers to decide disputes falling in certain specific categories such as socio-religious matters, rules of inheritance, marriage disputes, divorce, love intrigues, witchcraft and offences of adultery. The Zilla Panchayat has a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and three Members.
The traditional Panch and the Zilla Panch are losing much of their importance after the introduction of the Statutory Gram Panchayat system because many tribals including the Naikas have started approaching the Police and Courts of Law for the settlement of their disputes. Even some marriage disputes such as cases of marriage by elopement instead of being decided in the Panch and Zilla Panch are now taken to the Police. Still a majority of the disputes relating to marriage, inheritance of property, divorce, love intrigues, adultery, witchcraft and so on are settled by the Panch and Zilla Panch. Even the law courts in the District are seeking the opinion of the Zilla Panch for settling divorce cases.

**Religious Life**

The Naikas believe that every being, including man, plant and animal, has a soul (jiv). The children born dead are believed to those to whom God (Bhagvan) did not spare a soul (jiv).

In local thought the departed souls become ancestors (pitr). The ancestors guard their living descendants. Once in a year especially at the time of Makara Sankranthi, they are worshipped by their living descendants. Those who do not worship their ancestor according to tribal belief become victims of the wrath of the ancestors. The ancestors may inflict punishment by way of disease or keep them in poverty for ever.

Rituals relating to birth, cradling, naming, puberty, marriage, and death are performed punctually by the Naikas. Naikas attribute natural and supernatural causes to death. If death occurs to an old person it is attributed to natural causes. While death occurring due to illness it is attributed to the malevolence of the evil spirit or witch called Dakini or wrath of a family deity. If a person takes suddenly ill, shaman (buva) is approached for diagnosis of disease. The shaman casts a spell.
shaman casts a spell on some foodgrains, examines them and depending upon his inference he declares that the cause of illness is witchcraft. An act of Dakini in order to cure the illness of the patient, he performs certain rituals. In this context, he appeases Dakini by way of sacrificing a fowl or a child in the name of the victim of the witchcraft. For rendering this service, the patient pays prescribed amount to the shaman.

The Naikas cremate the dead. In case of children below twelve years they bury. Men and women who die of an epidemic, women who die during pregnancy or die during or after delivery are buried. On the twelfth day after the death, the little obsequies (chota karma, nana divasa or vidhi) are performed. The family of the deceased procures the services of the shaman (bhuva) to perform the little obsequies. The shaman uses his magic bring the departed soul into his grow body in order to know its last wishes, allow it to take farewell from one and all of the family members. In the evening, the shaman collects money as a charity from all the relatives and friends of the dead person who have assembled at the family of the deceased. The relatives and friends drink toddy and enjoy a feast offered by the family of the deceased.

On an auspicious day during the period from December to February, the Naikas perform the final obsequies (bada din). All through the night of chosen day and until almost nine o'clock in the next morning, the shaman sings to the accompaniment of a musical instrument (dolki). After its completion, the family members of the deceased serve food and liquor to all the relatives assembled there. By performing the final obsequies, the Naikas believe that all obligations towards the dead have been snapped off.
In case any one in the family of the deceased falls ill within one year after the performance of final obsequies the family approaches the shaman who will divine any cause of illness as the dissatisfaction of the departed soul. So on his advice the family in trouble erects a memorial called khatri either on the edge of the agricultural land or in the backyard of the house. Four to eight days before Diwali the family worship the memorials by sacrificing a fowl or a goat and offers a feast and serves liquor to the near and dear.

The Naikas believe in a number of spirits. According to them the spirits are mostly harmful to the humans as well as animals. The hills, jungles, brooks and cremation grounds are the haunts. They believe that they often transform themselves into any animal or shape and threaten humans. They are fond of children and women especially women in their periods and pregnant women.

The Naikas have numerous deities. In their belief the supreme God is Bhagwan. All other deities like Baramdev Narayandev Hirwadev Vaghdev Annadevi Brahminidevi and Bhavani Mata rank below Bhagwan. The Naikas worship Hirwadev Vaghdev and Narayandev to ward off the effects of black magic to have better crops and to detect the whereabouts of missing animals and persons. They worship Annadevi for bumper harvest and Nimai Mata for multiplication of cattle whenever difficulties arise they worship Baramdev and many households worship Nimai Mata as their household deity.

There are neither shrines nor idols for their deities. The head of the family worships the household god. Whenever people want to worship the deities they seek the services of the shaman (bhuva) to sacrifice fowls or goats on their behalf to the deities. Some of their deities like Baramdev Narayandev Brahminidevi and Bhawani Mata seem to have originated from Hindu deities but worship is guided
by tribal way. The faith in religion is based on an attempt to gain relief from distress through the intervention of supernatural powers in whose efficacy the Naikas have a firm belief.

CHANWAI THE RURBAN SETTLEMENT

Environmental Conditions

Chanwai is a semi-isolated/semi urbanised village located in the Plains Area of Pardi Taluk of Valsad District. Lying between the Patri Dharampur road and the Bombay Delhi national highway, it is 25 kilometres South West of Banni. 5 km North to Pardi the Taluk headquarters, 5 kilometres North East to Atul, an urban agglomeration and 12 km North to Valsad, the District headquarters. The South Western part of Chanwai lies adjacent to the Bombay New Delhi National highway. Very few buses ply from Dharampur to Patri via Chanwai besides a number of lorries and trucks ply. A few people use bicycles. Almost all make use of the bus facilities.

They come by bus to Pardi or Atul in order to board a train or bus for different distant places. There are a number of footpaths and cart tracks that pass through Chanwai and connect it to several surrounding villages and the towns of Pardi and Atul.

The nearest bus station, railway station, police stations, all government offices and banks are situated in Pardi town and in Atul urban agglomeration. Within Chanwai there are three Elementary Schools, a Primary Health Centre and a Post office. A weekly market is held in Pardi every Monday where people from Chanwai and neighbouring villages go for marketing. Whenever the people of Chanwai want to see a movie, they visit Pardi or Valsad where cinema halls are in plenty. The inhabitants of Chanwai frequently visit the nearby villages to drink indigenous liquor and toddy. Many of them in Chanwai distill their own liquor but the fermentation being infrequent, the quantity being not sufficient to meet gravity of the need. They frequently visit the neighbouring villages for it.
Like Bamti, Chanwai is also a medium-sized village but Chanwai by contrast embraces more castes besides several tribes. Extending across a plain land of a little over four square kilometres almost encircles by a small river the Par, Chanwai is surrounded by the Northern boundary of Pardi town, the Southern boundary of Patni village, the Western boundary of Anajalo village and its Panera hill, and the Eastern boundary of Atul. Its annual rainfall is 130 to 135 mm maximum recording during the South West monsoon. Throughout the year it experiences a temperate climate.

Practically no forest area exists in and around Chanwai due to the woodman's axe and the farmer's plough. Hill sides contain now small bushes and cleumps of tall trees here and there which have somehow survived woodman's axe. People graze their cattle as they have acquired the right to gather firewood in the forest and consequently the effective village boundaries extend some distance beyond the limits of the village cultivated fields. The fields of Chanwai encompass a selection of sandy and loaming soils suitable for summer crops and rice crops. Mango, Sapota, Banana and Lime are the most common cultuvares found scattered in the agricultural fields. Cows, bulls, buffaloes, sheep, goats and hens are domesticated live stock of Chanwai.

Layout and wards

The layout of Chanwai is not much different from that of Bamti. As in Bamti in Chanwai also rows and clusters of houses in the form of wards are scattered with surrounding them fields. The general pattern is one of tightly lined and loosely clustered houses surrounded by fields, bushes and trees.

Map 2 shows the topographical distributions of different wards in Chanwai. Each ward (tahsa) is surrounded by agricultural fields and trees. The wards lay almost on either side of the U shaped Patri Dharampur road. As one enters the
village one can easily notice how the Deepa Falia, the Kodi or Koli Falia, the poultry Farm Falia, the Nanichanwai Falia, and Nisad Falia lay on one side of the Patri Dharampur road and how the Dungri Falia, the Wadi Falia, the Kuva Falia, the Society Falia, and the Dukan Falia lay on the other side of the Patri Dharampur road. Among these, the Dungri Falia and the Wadi Falia are separated by fields stretched across about half a kilometre from the Wadi Falia, the Kuva Falia lies at a distance of one fourth of a kilometre, the Society Falia is about hundred metres from Kuva Falia, and the Dukan Falia is adjacent to the Society Falia, and the Patri Dharampur road. On the contrary, the Deepa Falia and the Kodi Falia are separated by means of a green belt of fields stretching across almost one and a half kilometers. The Poultry Farm Falia is at the distance of one kilometre South of Kodi Falia. The Nanichanwai Falia is to the South of Poultry Farm Falia at a distance of half a kilometre situated to the West of Nanichanwai Falia almost at a distance of three fourths of a kilometre. There is the Nisad Falia. The Nisad Falia is adjacent to Bombay Delhi high road. The Dungri, Wadi, Kuva, Society, Dukan, and Kodi Falias appear to be closer to the other Falias. The geographical distribution of the ten Falias shows that Chanwai is a dispersed village rather than a nucleated village.

The ten wards got their names after certain locational peculiarities. The Deepa Falia gets more light (deep) in contrast with the Dungri Falia which is actually hidden by a hill (dungri) therefore it is named as such. The Kuva Falia is so called because it has a well (kuva) the Nisad Falia is designated as such for it has its beginnings with the establishment of a school (niasad) complex. The Dukan Falia is given that name for it contains grocery shops (dukans). The Nanichanwai Falia is the smallest (nani) and the latest of all the wards hence the name. The Poultry Farm Falia is so called because it sprang up with the construction of a poultry farm there. The Society Falia is called as such for its fair price shop society. The Kodi Falia otherwise known as Kodi Falia is inhabited by the caste of Koli Patel or Kodi.
Patel and the Wadi Falla got its name because it is surrounded by plots of garden crops (wadi).

About 53% of the houses in Kuva Falla, 78% of the houses in Nisad Falla, 90% of the houses in Dukan Falla and all the houses in Koli Falla are laid out in straight rows as in the case of Bamti and the remaining houses in these wards are scattered in clusters of two or more. In all other wads, the houses are constructed in groups of three or more separated from one another. The plans of these wards represent those of Desai Falla in Bamti. The Scheduled Caste people live in separate clusters of houses constructed away from three wards Dungri Falla, Nisad Falla and Nanchanwai Falla. However, these clusters of houses accommodating the Scheduled Caste households though segregated are regarded as parts of the Dungri Falla, Nisad Falla and Nanchanwai Falla. Small footpaths and cart tracks connect one ward with another ward. In general, the layout of wards in Chanwai is similar to that of Bamti but the total layout of the wards in Chanwai gives a dispersed look in contrast with the compact look of the layout of Bamti.

The Tribes and Castes

Table 7 shows the percentage distribution of the tribal and non-tribal households in the ten wards of Chanwai. Like Bamti, Chanwai also is predominantly tribal. Out of the total number of 656 households, 530 (80.8%) are tribal and the remaining 126 (19.2%) are non-tribal. The tribals include the Dhodia, the Naika and the Dubla. The Dhodias are dominant (60.1%) over the Naikas (15.2%) and the Dublas (4.6%). All the three tribes are traditional agriculturists. Among the castes, the Koli Patels (8%) who are agriculturalists are more dominant than the Anavil Brahmins (3.0%) who are landlords and the Patidar Patels (3.0%) who are traditional cultivators. The Scheduled Castes like Dhed (0.9%) and Khaipa (1.2%)
are small farmers and agricultural labourers. The Chamar (0.9%) are the leather workers and farm labourers and the Bhangis (0.1%) though traditional scavengers are agricultural labourers. The Parsis (0.3%) and the Musalmans (0.8%) are the most prosperous traders and agriculturists.

Of the ten wards five are exclusively inhabited by the tribals. These are the Deepa Falia, the Kuva Falia, the Poultry Farm Falia, the Society Falia and the Wadi Falia. There is only one ward, the Dukan Falia, which embraces tribal and forward caste populations. The Kodi Falia includes the tribal and forward caste population besides the populations of Parsi and Musalmian minority groups. Two wards, the Dungri Falia and the Nisad Falia, contain tribal populations and the populations of Scheduled Castes. Finally, the Nanichanwai Falia includes tribal and Scheduled Caste populations and Primary Health Centre and Post office.

As in Bamb, in Chanwai also each tribe maintains its own social cultural identity in spite of common features in terms of partriliny, patri-locality, patrimentality, patronymy and sub-tribal endogamy. All tribals are agriculturists. The Naikas and the Dhodias interdine but both do not accept food and water from the Dublas even though the latter accepts food and water from the former. The Dhodias and the Naikas have rival claims over social superiority over each other. Economically and politically the Dhodias are dominant over the Naikas and the Dublas.

The Anavil Brahmins are landlords and some of them are employed in white collar jobs in Pardi and Valsad. The Patidar Patels continue to be prosperous agriculturists. The Koli Patels are farmers. The Parsis and Musalmans are prosperous agriculturists and traders. They have business contacts with traders in Valsad, Pardi and Navasari. Some of the Naikas, Dhodias and Dublas work in the industrial complexes at Atul and some of them work in various public and private
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Name of the ward</th>
<th>T basis</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Deepa Falsa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dukan Falsa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dung Falsa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(0.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>K # Falsa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kurja Falsa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>(4.2)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nanchanwati Falsa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nisaad Falsa</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(6.1)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Paulinchar Falsa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(0.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Socina Falsa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(0.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Wadi Falsa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T. la</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(15.1)</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Figures in Parentheses are calculated by subtracting any other numbers from the total.
organizations in Pardi, Valsad, Navsari, Surat, and Bombay. Two Dhodia families and one Musalman family maintain poultry farms every day they transport poultry products from Chanwai to Pardi and Valsad. Likewise they bring poultry feed from Pardi and Valsad whenever they require it for their poultries. Traders from Navasan descend to Chanwai to purchase agricultural produce and transport it to Navasari. The local Parsis and Musalmans purchase agricultural produces at cheaper rates from locals and then sell them at higher rates to the traders form Navasan and Valsad. The people of Chanwai thus maintain economic contacts with several towns and cities.

In the local social hierarchy the Anavil Brahmins occupy the highest rank the Patidar Patel hold the second and the Koli Patel enjoy the third. The Naikas and the Dhodias occupy the fourth and the Dublas hold a rank below that of the Naikas and the Dhodias. The Lohars come next to Dublas. The Parsis and Musalmans fall below the Lohar. The Dhobis, the Nai hold next rank. Falling under the Parsis and Musalmans are the Scheduled Castes of Dhed, Khalpa, Chamar and Bhangi in that order. The Bhangi occupies the lowest range of the social ladder. All tribes and castes though maintain their own diversity they do not fail to demonstrate their unity when they participate in religious and political activities common to the whole village community.

The population of the Naikas

Table 8 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas by their age groups in Chanwai. There are 100 Naika families embracing 475 people of whom 248 are men and 227 are women. As in Bamti, in Chanwai also there is a concentration of population in the lower age groups and comparatively less population in the higher age groups.
### Table 8
Percentage Distribution of the Naikas by Their Age Groups in Chanwai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group in Years</th>
<th>Naika Population</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–14</td>
<td>86(18.1)</td>
<td>70(14.7)</td>
<td>156(32.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15–29</td>
<td>77(16.2)</td>
<td>81(17.0)</td>
<td>158(33.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–44</td>
<td>34(7.1)</td>
<td>31(6.5)</td>
<td>65(13.7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–59</td>
<td>37(7.8)</td>
<td>36(7.6)</td>
<td>73(15.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60–74</td>
<td>14(3.0)</td>
<td>9(1.9)</td>
<td>23(4.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>243(52.2)</td>
<td>227(47.8)</td>
<td>475(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE** Figures in Parentheses indicate percentages

Among the Naikas of Chanwai the sex ratios for the age groups 0–14 and 15–64 are 120.96 and 100.10. The sex ratio for the reproductive age group of 15–44 is almost 100.00. The sex ratio of the age group 65–74 is 400.00. The average sex ratio is 109.00. As in the case of Bami in Chanwai also the sex ratio is unfavourable to women.

The percentage of dependents to the total Naika population in Chanwai is about 51.45. Seven children, two boys and five girls, are earners. They work as agricultural labourers and herdsmen. Out of the 475 Naikas in Chanwai, 248 men
and 227 women comprising 268 people are workers. Compared to the dependency ratio of the State of Gujarat, the dependency ratio in Chanwai is less.

Table 9 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas in Chanwai by their age groups and marital status. There are 48.2% married people and 47.8% unmarried ones. The percentage of widows (1.9%) and widowers (1.4%) besides the divorced (0.6%) is very less because remarrages are permissible among the Naikas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group in Years</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>86 (18.1)</td>
<td>70 (14.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>38 (8.0)</td>
<td>31 (7.0)</td>
<td>3 (7.6)</td>
<td>47 (9.9)</td>
<td>3 (0.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>31 (6.5)</td>
<td>25 (5.9)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
<td>4 (0.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>33 (7.0)</td>
<td>33 (7.0)</td>
<td>4 (0.8)</td>
<td>3 (0.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-74</td>
<td>13 (2.7)</td>
<td>7 (1.4)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>124 (26.1)</td>
<td>103 (21.7)</td>
<td>114 (24.0)</td>
<td>115 (24.2)</td>
<td>7 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in Parentheses indicate percentages.
Further analysis shows that there are more married men than women that widows are more in number than widowers that all the widows above 30 years of age that the youngest widower among them are in the age group of 30-40 years In general the boys and girls are married between 25 and 20 years of age

Table 10 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas by their age, sex and educational levels in Chanwai. The Naikas of Chanwai unlike those in Bamti speak Gujarati at all places. Only four people Nanu Govan aged 48 years Ratna Lallu aged 66 years and their spouses Kesiben Nanu aged 35 years and Ichiben Jaggu aged 52 years known Naik / Naikadi and the other Naikas do not know Naik / Naikadi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Total num level</th>
<th>Widemates</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st try</td>
<td>2nd try</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 25</td>
<td>10 (9)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>11 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>6 (7)</td>
<td>3 (4)</td>
<td>9 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>91 (17)</td>
<td>44 (9)</td>
<td>135 (132)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.
The literacy rate of the Naikas in Chanwai is 42.1 per cent which is almost double to that of the Naikas (23.9%) in Bami. This is higher than that of the Naikas (13.85%) in the State of Gujarat. However, as in Bami, in Chanwai also the younger generation is more literate than the older one. No Naika aged 51 years and above is a literate. In the age group below 25 years, 10.9% of the men and 7.4% of the women have primary education and 4.4% of men as against 2.9% of the women have secondary education. In the age group of 26-50 years, 6.7% of the men and only 1.9% of the women have primary education and 6.5% of the men and 10% of the women have secondary education. Among the illiterates, 13.5% are men and 17.2% are women in the age group up to 25 years. About 3.1% are men and 1.6% are women in the age group of 26-50 years.

Appearance, dress, and decoration

The Naikas in Bami and Chanwai look alike. The dress patterns of the old in Chanwai are similar to those of their counterparts in Bami. The young wear dresses similar to those of the young in the urban centres. Women men go to the town, they wrap neatly pressed chawls of fine cloth around their waists and put on long sleeved shirts (Kurtas) and turbans. A younger man going to the city wears trousers of the latest styles, shoes with socks, and a shirt tucked into his trouser. So dressed, the young men of Chanwai are indistinguishable from urban residents. Young women wear saris with petticoats and blouses with buttons. When dressed for a wedding or a trip to town, the Naika women from Chanwai are indistinguishable from the urban women.

Women wear rings and ear-rings or studs and all married women wear a gold badge (mangala sutra) suspended from a piece of gold wire or thread around the neck. Glass bangles, nose screws, and a wide variety of other jewellery are also worn. Men also wear rings and bracelets. The ease to raise or lower the sari or
waist cloth and to remove shirts or headclothes provides a means of adapting to daily and seasonal changes in temperature.

Dwellings and material life

The houses of the Naikas in Chanwai are similar to those of the Naikas in Bamtí. However, there are more brickwalled (pucca) houses than Bamboo Hurdden framed (Kutchcha) houses in Chanwai. As in Chanwai in Bamtí also, the houses reflect the available materials and special features of the environment. Nearly 90% of the houses are small or two-room houses, often with thatched or tiled roofs providing shelter for small or poor families, while the remaining 10% of the houses with two rooms, verandas, courtyards, shelter extended families consisting of several generations. In contrast with the Naikas in Bamtí, very few Naika houses in Chanwai maintain kitchen gardens. As Chanwai has modernized, cement floors have replaced the traditional clay and mud floor plastered with cowdung. An enclosure built in front of the house for privacy serves as a bath room. Here, a flat stone slab serves as a sink for cleaning the utensils and washing clothes. The walls of the houses are white washed to give a neat outlook to the dwelling.

The household furnishings consist of god pictures hanging on the walls, an improvised or indigenous fireplace, a grind stone, and a mortar and a wooden pestle for pounding rice. Utilitarian pottery and cooking pots of aluminium are most popular. About 98% of the households use aluminium utensils. Besides earthen vessels, 24% use plates, cups, tumblers, spoons and ladles made of stainless steel. Almost 89% use tea cups and plates made of China clay. Little more than 29% use China clay jars for storing pickles, and less than 4% use China clay dishes. Almost every household possesses one or two iron buckets. Nearly 30% of the households use plastic buckets, jugs, glasses, plates, cups, and saucers.
Living rooms of 16% of the houses in Chanwai now contain furniture like chairs and tables and cots nearly 33% of the houses have wooden stools 8% are in possession of wooden benches and only 2% own steel cupboards. More than 89% own bicycles, 15% own wall clocks and 6% are in possession of alarm clocks. Around 30% of wear wrist watches. Only 14% of the households use gas lights for light in the houses at night. 3% of the houses have been electrified. 11% have radios and transistors. Kerosene oil lanterns are very popular. Mill made umbrellas can be found in every house. Cosmetics for domestic use as combs and soaps and oils are used by almost by every household. For keeping clothes several of the Naika households use trunks and leather suit cases. There are kiosks. Chanwai in general and the Naika localities in particular as befit a semi-urban village possess several school buildings transport facilities new occupations such as poultry farming, employment opportunities in many industrial and non-industrial organizations, new styles of dress and decoration and the adoption of Gujarati for speaking and wide contacts with towns and cities for trade, jobs and politics.

Economics life of the Naikas

Table 11 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas in Chanwai by their sources of livelihood. As in Bamlí in Chanwai also agriculture and agricultural labour (77.9%) are the most dominant means of livelihood. As many as 82 (30.6%) men and 127 (47.3%) women are agriculturists and agricultural labourers. Two men (0.7%) work in Government offices in Pardi and Valsad. A considerable proportion of men work in the industrial complex at Atul. Three men (11%) work in the General Industrial Development Corporation. Three Naikas (11%) work as conductors in RTC buses. Ten men (3.4%) work in timber depots and saw mills at Pardi and Valsad. Only one Naika (0.4%) works as a lorry driver and another Naika (0.4%) works as a navy seaman. Twenty-two people of whom 21 (7.8%)
are men and 1(0.4%) is a woman work as a contract labourers in carpentry and diamond cutting industries at Navasari and Surat. Only one woman works as a maid servant. On the whole 268 people of whom 139 (51.8%) are men and 129 (48.1%) are women constitute the work force of Chanwai. No Naika woman is in Government service. Industrial complex at Atul. Government Industrial Developmental corporations. RTC bus transport transport service timber depots and saw mills because they are essentially men oriented ones. Only one Naika woman (0.4%) is working as a contract labourer in carpentry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage Distribution of the Naikas in Chanwai by Their Different Sources of Livelihood</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of Livelihood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service in Atul Industrial Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Industrial Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conductors in RTC bus services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in Timber depots and Saw mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorry driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy Seaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract labourers in carpentry and diamond cutting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maid servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.
Of the 100 Naika households in Chanwai 40% own lands and 60% do not own lands. Among the landowners 20% own less than one acre, 21% own between one and two acres, 1% owns land between two and three acres, and 1% owns over 4 acres. As in Bamti, in Chanwai also the agricultural labourers and the contract labourers are from the landless as well as from those who own less than two acres of land. Further opportunities for employment in several organisations are many for the Naikas of Chanwai in contrast with the Naikas of Bamti. Rainfall is the main source of irrigation. Very few Naikas have wells fitted with electric motors for irrigation.

The Naikas grow rice, kidney beans, sapota, jackfruit and lemon. Almost every family maintains poultry. Almost all those who own lands have cattle and those who own no lands also possess one or two cattle.

The Naika farmers store rice in farms for longer time. Those who cannot get adequate yield from their fields and who have no lands at all get cash by means of agricultural labour purchase rice from the fair price shop and grocery shops in the village. Most of the Naikas consume milk and milk products and only four families sell the surplus milk to the local tea shops. They rear cattle and poultry for domestic consumption and sale. The expenditure pattern of the Naikas in Chanwai is similar to that of the Naikas in Bamti.

Social life

The social organization of the Naikas in Chanwai is similar to that of the Naikas in Bamti. The social life centres round the family (parivar), lineage (vamsh), and clan (kud) and sub tribe. The sub tribe goes by the name Choliwala. As in Bamti in Chanwai also brides are chosen from the nearby villages. Table 12 shows the percentage distribution of brides by physical distance between their natal places.
and Chanwai Out of the 131 brides 90 (68.7%) come from villages located within a radius of 0.10 kilometres from Chanwai 38 (29.0%) come from villages situated at a distance of 11.20 kilometres from Chanwai one (0.8%) comes from a village that is 21.30 kilometres away from Chanwai another (0.8%) comes from a place which is 31.40 kilometres away from the Chanwai and one bride (0.8%) comes from a place which lies at a distance of 41.50 kilometres from Chanwai Among the 90 brides chosen from the villages located within a distance of ten kilometres from Chanwai 43(32.8%) are from Chanwai itself

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance in kilometres</th>
<th>Number of brides</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The marriage rules and regulations and the aims in selecting a bride and the kin networks created by means of marital alliances in Chanwai are similar to those of the Naikas in Bambi. More than nine tenths (97.0%) of the mate selections are arranged ones and the remaining ones (3%) are runaway marriages. The arranged marriages include regular marriages and widow remarriages. Marriage by service is absent. Junior levirate and sororate marriages are few (5%). Monogamy is common. However, there are two cases of polygyny. Polygyny took place because the first wife proved barren and the second wife was the younger sister of the wife thus leading to sororal polygyny.

The procedures in selecting a mate for a regular marriage show patterns of semblance and difference in Chanwai and Bambi. In Bambi, only a Naika man acts as a go-between (kastado) in fixing the alliances but in Chanwai a member of any Forward Caste or any tribe acts as a go-between (kastado) in fixing the alliances. In Chanwai by contracts with Bambi, the parents of the prospective mates do not specifically obtain the latter's consent while finalizing the match. After fixing the alliance, the parents of the prospective couple their relatives and elders of the two villages concerned assemble and entertain themselves to a drinking party (nalli toddy) after which they promise to each other to solemnize the marriage within two years. The maternal uncle of the boy and the girl give gifts of clothes to the latter just three or five days before the actual wedding day. The payment of bride price (jehaj) takes place prior to fifteen days of actual wedding day. The amount of bride price paid to the bride's parents is Rs 110/.

The rest of the marriage procedure in Chanwai is also somewhat different from that followed by the Naikas of Bambi. In Chanwai, the groom accompanied by his relatives and friends go in a procession to the girl’s village on
foot or by truck or by bus depending upon his economic ability and distance between
his village and the girl s village. After reaching the girl s village the groom takes
rest for about half an hour or so then led by his sister s husband (andaria) enters
the bride s house and reaches the place where a mortar (vakli) lies. Similarly the
bride led by her sister s husband and female relatives especially elder brother s wife
(bhabhi) and mother s brother s wife (mami) reaches the place where a hand mill
(vakli) lies. Both the bride and groom sit opposite to each other and grind/ pound
the grain (dhan) brought by both the parties. They are expected to pound/grind as
much grain as possible by turning the hand mill each by seven rounds. Then the
bride and groom are led to the marriage pandal where they are seated on a wooden
stool (palla) and the horn blower (tura) joins the shoulder cloth of groom and the
free end of the sari (pallo) of bride already filled with some rice grains and four
annas. This signifies the union of the two as man and wife. This is followed by a
feast. In the evening the bride is given a warm send off. The bride s elder sister s
husband (andaria) and her one or two unmarried sisters accompany her. The bride
and the groom reach the groom s village. After spending three or four nights at
the groom s house the couple visit the bride s village. This concludes the procedure
of arranged marriages. The procedure of elopement marriages and widow or
widower remarriages besides the procedure relating to divorce in Chanwai are similar
to those in Bamti.

Political life

In terms of its structure, organization and function the traditional political
council of Panch in Chanwai is similar to that in Bamti.

The Statutory Gram Panchayat has been working in Chanwai since 1952.
At no time in its history a Naika was elected to hold any office even though several
Dhodias besides caste members were elected Sarpanch, Deputy Sarpanch and
Because the Dhodias are more in number they have monopolised almost all offices in the Statutory Gram Panchayat in Chanwai.

Religious life

The beliefs pertaining to the concept of soul (jiv), ancestors (pitr) and spirits (bhoot) and deities (devtas) of the Naikas in Chanwai are similar to those of the Naikas in Bambi.

The Naikas in Chanwai and those in Bambi differ to some extent in the performances of some life cycle ceremonies. In Chanwai, in the seventh month of a woman’s first pregnancy, the woman’s elder brother’s wife (bhabhi) accompanied by another female relative of the woman brings a new sari, one coconut and one kilogram of wheat, some sweets and flowers to the woman. The pregnant woman was escorted by her elder brother’s wife and another female relative reaches her natal home. When the pregnant woman enters her natal home, her elder brother’s wife breaks coconut (readily kept at home) and distributes the coconut pieces among the relatives. The broken pieces are treated as sacred food (prasad). This ritual of breaking the coconut may be performed by the pregnant woman’s elder brother’s wife either on the fifth or sixth day after delivery depending upon the sex of the child: female or male respectively. This is the day when the infant is put into a cradle and named. For naming the child, the father’s sister of the infant consults a Brahmin Priest (maharaj) and accordingly she gives a name to the infant as per the name suggested by the Brahmin Priest (maharaj) on the basis of the birth star of the infant. The death rituals among the Naikas of Chanwai are similar to those of the Naikas of Bambi.
ATUL THE URBAN SETTLEMENT

Environmental conditions

Atul is an urban agglomeration. Half a century ago it was a village. The authorities of the State of Gujarat permitted private firms who found themselves in a position to take advantage of the location of Atul. They established four industries at Atul: Atul, Atic, Cibetul and Cynamid and started market their produce, particularly pharmaceuticals, glassware and acids. These industries are adjacent and contiguous. Three types of staff quarters: one meant for executives another for officers and the third for supervisors cum staff were constructed. When the industries started functioning, Atul became an urban agglomeration. Atul is 30 kilometers to the South West of Bantli, 5 kilometers to the South West of Chanwar, 3 kilometers North West to Pardi, 11 kilometers from Valsad, the Taluk as well as District headquarters. The Bombay Delhi Highway crosses the South Western part of Atul.

Atul has a bus station. Numerous busses running from Valsad and Pardi. Atul has a railway station also. Many people from Atul, Chanwar and other surrounding villages board the train or bus at Atul to reach their destination. In addition, from times immemorial Atul has connections with other villages by means of a number of footpaths and cart tracks. On every Monday a weekly is held at Pardi providing the people of Atul with plenty of opportunities to sell some of their cottage produce and purchase some of the necessities of life. The residents of Atul frequently visit Pardi and Valsad for various purposes: for working in some of the governmental and non-governmental organizations for trade for seeing the movies and for political work.

Atul extends a little over 4 square kilometers across a cup-shaped valley with a stretch of plain land. It is surrounded by Chanwar on the East, Haria...
and Dived villages on the West the Par river and Pardi town on the South and Panera Hill and Panera village on the North. Anyone who reaches top of the Panera Hill can easily see the panoramic view of the Arabian Sea to the West. The Arabian Sea on the West covers the entire border of Valsad District.

Atul experiences temperate climate throughout the year. However, January is the coldest month of the year. South West monsoon is active from June to September with an average rainfall of about 143 cms. Air is humid. The surrounding hills are covered with bushes and clumps of moderately grown up trees scattered over the slopes and tops. The bushes and clumps of trees contain a number of small insects, centipedes, reptiles, birds, and animals. Rock pigeons, parrots, and rabbits are trapped for their meat. The streams and streamlets, ponds, and other water sources provide fishing grounds during rainy season. Many households rear fowls.

Layout and wards

Atul is a multi-tribal and multi-caste urban community distributed in seven falias or wards. Atul gate Executive Quarters, Supervisors Quarters, Juna Naikwada, Pipla Falia, and Cynamid Falia. Map 3 shows the physical distribution of different wards in Atul. The seven wards besides the four industrial establishments lie on either side of a H-shaped road complex in which the Bombay Delhi highway forms one part and the T-shaped local road forms the rest of the part.

Atul can be entered from the Bombay Delhi highway. The first ward to be entered is the Officers' quarters with 170 houses. It actually includes three clusters of houses: the Officers' quarters with about 100 houses, the Executive Quarters with about 15 houses, and Atul Gate Area with about 150 houses. The executives serving the Atul Industrial complex live in the bungalows which comprise...
The Officers working in the Atul Industrial Complex reside in the Officers' Quarters. The Officers' Quarters also include a branch office of a nationalised bank, one English Medium Primary School and one allopathic dispensary. The Kalyani Higher Secondary School, a Balwadi, the Nutan Consumer Co-operative Society, a Telegraph Office, a Telephone Exchange, Police Station and the Office of a non-governmental organization that goes by the name Atul Voluntary Organization are almost adjacent one another and almost opposite to Officers' quarters. The Atul Gate Area includes 150 houses of which 20 are provision stores, 6 are hotels and restaurants, 5 are fish and meat shops, 6 are vegetable shops, 4 are fancy stores, 2 are medical shops, 1 is a fire wood depot, 2 are kerosene selling shops, 1 is a High school, 1 is a Primary School and the remaining 102 are residential houses.

After crossing the Officers' Quarters, one comes across a road branching from the main road and leading to the second ward called Juna Naikwada with 35 houses constructed in rows. The office of the statutory Nagar Panchayat is located in this ward. After returning from the Juna Naikwada and moving by the main road towards West, one can enter the third ward namely the Supervisors' Quarters where the officers of lower cadres working in Atul Industrial Complex live. This ward contains 245 houses.

Opposite to the Supervisors' Quarters there is the Pipla Falia, the fourth ward consisting of 45 houses. The houses are scattered in groups of three or four houses. To the west of both Pipla Falia and Supervisors' Quarters there is the Cynamid Falia with 50 houses. About 54 per cent of the houses are constructed in rows on either side of a road and the remaining 46 per cent of the houses are built in clusters of three or four. This ward contains the Dungar wadi Primary School. About two kilometre long road connects the Cynamid Falia with the Atul Railway Station.
The four industries viz Atul Atic Cibatul and Cynamid are situated to the South of the Pipla Falia and the Cynamid Falia. They are adjacent to one another and have four independent entrance and exit gates.

On the whole Atul appears as a planned township so far as the Officers Quarters the Executive Quarters the Supervisors Quarters and the Industrial Complex are concerned but partly planned and partly unplanned township so far as the Atul Gate area the Pipla Falia the Cynamid Falia and the Juno Naskwada are concerned.

The tribes and castes

Table 13 shows the percentage distribution of the tribal and non tribal households in different wards of Atul. The total population of Atul is about 3200 with men numbering 1670 and women 1530. It is distributed in 640 households of which 130 belong to tribals and the remaining 510 belong to different caste groups including Scheduled Castes as well as religious minorities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>STL</th>
<th>STL/1000</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>STL</th>
<th>STL/1000</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atul</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>360</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.
Two wards viz. Officers Quarters and Supervisors Quarters are inhabited by caste people only. The Juna Naikwada and the Cynamid Falia are exclusively inhabited by 35 households and 60 households of the Naikas. The Pipla Falia contains 35 households of the Naikas, 5 households of the Dublas and another 5 households of the Koknas. Among castes Brahmins outnumber. Among the Brahmins different sub-castes have equal numerical representation. Next to Brahmins Marathas are dominant numerically and they are followed by Patels, Prabhus, Lohanas, Raputs and others.

As mentioned earlier the caste people are employed in Atul Industrial Complex. Some of their children are also employed in various organizations outside Atul. Among the tribals, the Naikas are employed in Atul Industrial Complex as well as in Public and Private enterprises located in Valsad, Dharampur, Navasari, Surat and a few other towns and cities. Several of their womenfolk work as maid servants in the houses of the officers and their subordinates residing at Atul. Two Naikas maintain cycle shops, one is a vegetable vendor and several are contract labourers. A vast majority of the Dhodias and Koknas are workers in Atul Industrial Complex and a few of them are employees in public and private organizations at Valsad.

The inhabitants of Atul have no clear picture of the local social hierarchy. The Brahmins occupy the highest rank. Even among the sub castes of the Brahmins which one holds the place of primacy over others is not clear because different sub-castes of Brahmins dispute with each other's claims over their rank amongst themselves. Next in order are the Rajputs but Marathas claim equality with the Rajputs. Likewise Patels and the prabhus claim equal rank even though the Patels disagree with the latter and vice versa. The Lohanas accept a position below the Patels and the Prabhus. Several groups like Musalmans, Sikhs, Jains.
and Christians of small numerical strengths claim a rank below the Lohanas. They too vie with one another over their respective positions in local hierarchy. The Scheduled Castes occupy the last ranks i.e. in the order of Dhed, Khaipa, Chamar and Bhangi. Despite such diversity of opinion over their social ranking, all have a sense of belongingness to the urban agglomeration of Atul.

The population of the Naikas

Table 14 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas by their age group in Atul. There are 120 Naika families with 376 people of whom 189 are men and 187 are women. As in Bampit and Chanwai in Atul also the lower age groups in contrast with the higher age groups hold a higher concentration of population.

Further among the Naikas of Atul the sex ratio is 101.96. This is almost equal to that of the Naikas in Bampiti (100.65) but less to that (108.10) of the Naikas in Chanwai in Atul the sex ratio with reference to age group 0-14 is 106.49 whereas the same pertaining to the age group 15-64 is 96.04. The same for the reproductive age group between 15-44 years is 103.00. The sex ratio for the age
group 65 years and above is 400.00. The corresponding figures for Bamti and Chanwai are 80 and 400.

The dependency ratio for Atul is high because no children below 15 years of age are found supplementing their family with income. These children are still attending school. This is in contrast with the situation in Bamti and Chanwai. The dependency ratio for the whole of Gujarat is 69.94. This is inclusive of younger dependents (64.5%) and older dependents (5.9%). The dependency ratios for Bamti, Chanwai, and Atul are 61.78, 51.45, and 49.80, thus showing a gradual divergence from rural to urban and from that of Gujarat as a whole.

Table 15 shows the percentage distribution of Naikas by their age groups and marital status in Atul. Out of a total population of 501, 233 (46.4%) are married and 239 (47.7%) are unmarried. The percentage of widows (3.2%), widowers (0.6%), and divorcees (2.0%) is less on account of remarriages of widowers, widows, and divorcees.

As in Bamti and Chanwai, in Atul also there are more married men than women and more widows than widowers. The widowers are aged above 44 years whereas the widows are aged above 29 years and less than 15 years of age. The youngest among the widows are concentrated in the age group of 30-40 years. In general, the boys and girls are married between 25 and 20 years of age.

Table 16 shows the marital distance in terms of the geographical distance between the natal villages of the brides and Atul. Out of the 150 marriages studied, 114 brides come from villages situated within a ten kilometres radius from Atul. 24 brides are from those places which are located between 11 and 20 kilometres away from Atul. 9 brides come from the places that lay between 21 and 31 kilometres away from Atul, and only 3 brides are taken from the places that are 31 to 40 kilometres away.
away from Atul Thirty two brides are chosen from Atul itself The pattern of marital
distance is not much different from that relating to Bamti and Chanwai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group in Years</th>
<th>Unmarried Male</th>
<th>Unmarried Female</th>
<th>Married Male</th>
<th>Married Female</th>
<th>Widowed Male</th>
<th>Widowed Female</th>
<th>Divorced Male</th>
<th>Divorced Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>82 (16.3)</td>
<td>77 (15.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>159 (31.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>51 (10.2)</td>
<td>27 (5.4)</td>
<td>41 (8.8)</td>
<td>56 (11.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (1.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>185 (37.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td>39 (7.8)</td>
<td>44 (8.8)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (0.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>79 (15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>28 (5.6)</td>
<td>24 (4.9)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (2.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>85 (16.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>6 (1.2)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (0.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134 (26.7)</td>
<td>105 (21.0)</td>
<td>117 (23.3)</td>
<td>116 (23.1)</td>
<td>3 (0.6)</td>
<td>16 (3.2)</td>
<td>10 (2.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>501 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Figures in Parentheses indicate percentages

Table 17 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas by their age
sex and educational levels in Atul The Naikas of Atul more than those in
Chanwai speak Gujarati They have forgotten their mother tongue Naik Alike in
Chanwai there are only three living representatives in Atul who can speak Naik
The literacy level of the Naikas in Atul is comparatively better than that of the Naikas in Bhami and Chanwadi. Fewer than five tenths (48.1%) of the men and nearly three tenths (24.2%) of the women are literates. Further, there are more literates in the lower age groups than in higher age groups. In the age group below 25 years, more men (31.7%) than women (22.4%) are literates. On the contrary, the number of literate males (14.8%) is four times (3.7%) that of literate women. In the older age group of 51 years and above only men (16%) but not women are literates. The percentages of men who have primary (24.8%) and secondary (23.2%) education are almost equal but the same is not true for women because those with secondary education (8.5%) comprise only half of those (17.1%) with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance in kilometres</th>
<th>Number of brides</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
primary education. There is only one women graduate in B.Com degree. Neither Naika parents nor Naika students themselves are making any effort to continue their education beyond the Secondary level because of their economic conditions, non-availability of higher educational facility within their vicinity, and availability of wage labour first on contract basis and then on regular basis for all boys who complete 16-18 years of age.

**Appearance, dress and decoration**

In appearance the Naikas of Atul are similar to those living in Bamti and Chanwai. In matters of dress they appear to be more urbanized than their counterparts in Chanwai. In fact clothing in Atul follows the urban styles. Men wear fine cotton dhotis, elaborately pleated and folded between their legs. They also wear jewels in their ears and nose, silver anklets and glass bracelets and bangles. Their clothing thus suggests a degree of richness and urbanism not evident in Bamti but evident to some extent in Chanwai.

Especially young men and women are so much influenced by the urban dress patterns that it is well nigh impossible to distinguish them from their urban counterparts residing at Valsad. Young men at home or working in the fields wear knickers and vests. Those who are employees in various organisations, those who go to the towns and cities on some work or the other, and those who visit their relatives and friends wear trousers cut to the latest international style, shoes with socks, and a shirt tucked into their trousers like urban residents. Young women wear short saris with petticoats and blouses with hooks or buttons. They use cosmetics like lipstick, creams and talcum powders and scented oils for hair, especially when they visit the urban centres, weddings and some other occasions. When dressed for a wedding or a trip to town young women from Atul are indistinguishable from their favourite Bombay (Hindi) film stars.
### Table 17

Percentage Distribution of the Santals by Their Age, Sex, and Education in Muri

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group in years</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Illiterates</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto 25</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>83 (16.5)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32 (6.4)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 51</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 (0.8)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>17 (14.0)</td>
<td>49 (23.7)</td>
<td>119 (26.7)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dress patterns of school children are similar to those of their counterparts in the nearby towns and cities. Boys wear shirts and knickers or trousers cut to the latest fashion or in accordance with the uniform of the school. Likewise girls wear gowns, short sans with petticoats and blouses. Boys and girls students use shoes and socks. Some students attending High School wear wrist watches. At home boys wear readymade knickers and shirts and girls wear readymade frocks. The clothes are neatly pressed and used. In general, the clothing of the school going children, young men and women besides others, is neater and tidier, more expensive and more elegant in Atul than of the Naikas of Bamti and Chanwai.

Dwellings and material possessions

Even the dwellings in Atul look urban. Majority of the houses in Juna Naikwada and Cynamid Falia are built in rows along the streets that are lined with trees like boulevard. Even the houses in Pipla Falia, though constructed in clusters of three or four, give an urban look because of their neat and tidy surroundings.

As in Bamti and Chanwai in Atul also, the houses are either rectangular or square in their plan. However, in Atul the two roomed rectangular houses are more in number than those in Bamti and Chanwai. In Bamti, almost 84 per cent and 6 per cent of the houses are square and rectangular in plan. In Chanwai nearly 90 per cent and 10 per cent of the houses are square and rectangular in design but in Atul, 75 per cent of the houses are of square type and the remaining 25 per cent are rectangular type.

In Atul, nearly 90 per cent of the houses are brick walled. The brick plaster, whitewash, and machine made tiles give these houses the look of urban dwellings. Almost 100 per cent of the brick walled houses in Juna Naikwada and
Cynamid Falia have been electrified. The brick walled houses have ventilation by means of one or two shutter windows. Even the remaining 10 per cent of the wattle daub walled houses given an urban look because of the plaster whitewash and machine made tiles.

To the Naikas in Atul, the officers' Quarters and Supervisors' Quarters serve as models for furnishing them with household possessions. Some Naika women also are maid servants in the houses of Officers and Supervisors. They try to keep their houses also as neat and tidy as the women in Officers and Supervisors Quarters keep their houses. Of the 120 Naika houses, 50% use cots (khatlas), 14% have living room furniture like one or two chairs and low legged wooden stools (pattas). The use of table has not yet gained popularity. Only 3% of the houses possess tables. Almost 20% of the houses own wooden benches (bankdas) for sitting purposes. Only 3% of the houses have steel cup boards (almirah) in which family valuables are kept. Every household possesses aluminium utensils for cooking, eating and drinking. The Naikas are rapidly developing a taste for stainless steel utensils. More than 60% of the houses plates, spoons, tumblers and cooking pots made of stainless steel. A little less than 40% of the households use glassware in terms of tumblers for taking tea, coffee and milk. Further, every household uses crockery utensils like tea cups, saucers and plates. Almost all households are in possession of one or two iron buckets, one or two plastic buckets, and plastic tumblers. For storing the potable water every house uses earthen pitchers. Baskets of various sizes and shapes are in use for many different purposes. Winnowing fans are common item in every house. For commuting to the place of work and back home, majority of the tribals in different jobs use bicycle. As such bicycle has become an important possession of about 35% of the households as cheap means of transport. A vast majority of the tribal workers in industrial complex and
those working in several government and non-government organization own wall
clocks 6% of the households have acquired alarm time pieces over 42% of the
households starch has become an articles of daily necessity 17% of the houses
use Kerosene stoves and 6% of the households acquired sewing machines Almost
10% of the houses have electricity In these houses 50% use electric iron for
pressing clothes and 2% use table fans As many as 24% of the houses posses
transistors or radios Umbrellas and plastic rain coats can be seen in every house
Steel trunks leather suit cases and even VIP suitcases can be seen in a quite a
few houses A little more than 6% of the houses possess quilts (razais)

Almost every household keeps soaps for bathing the laundry purposes
All modern cosmetics including mirrors are in the use in general urban
appurtenances have given some houses an urban look

Economic life of the Naikas

Table 18 shows the percentage distribution of the Naikas in Atul by
their means of livelihood Out of a work force of 260 members 171 (65.8%) are
men and 89 (34.2%) are women Out of the 171 working males majority (105)
are contract labourers (40.4%) and employees in Atul Industrial Complex (14.2) few
(14) work in timber depots and saw mills (5.4%) located in Valsad very few (6)
work in government organisation (2.3%) located in Valsad Pardi and Ahmedabad
and those (5) who depend upon agricultural labour (1.2%) hiring of cycles (1.2%)
agriculture cum agricultural labour (0.8%) and vegetables vendor (0.4%) The only
Naika who earns his livelihood by agriculture and agricultural labour owns only half
an acre of land and all others do not own any farm land As an urban place Atul
produces certain pharmaceutical items mirrors acids and other goods

Among the 89 female workers the maximum number work (45) as
maid servants (17.3%) in the houses of the officers and their staff working in and
(40) as contract labourers in carpentry and diamond cutting (15.4%). A few (3) are employed in government service (1.2%) and in a timber depot (0.4%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of livelihood</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Agricultural labour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0.8)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1.2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Service</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service in Atul industrial Complex</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>(14.2)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in Timber depots and saw mill</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(5.4)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract labourers in Cutchery and diamond cutting</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>(40.4)</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycle Shop keeping</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1.2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable vending</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0.4)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mud servant</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>(17.9)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>171</td>
<td>(65.8)</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Figures in Parentheses indicate percentages.

Like the other Naikas, those in Atul also spend most of their earnings on food, clothing, recreating and drinking. However, unlike the other Naikas including children are addicted to drinking. They extract either palm toddy or distill liquor for domestic consumption. Drink is indispensable for all. In the eyes of the
officers and supervisory staff of the Atul industries the Naikas in contrast with the Dhodias do not enjoy good reputation as hard working sincere and regular in their duties owing to heavy drinking habits.

Social life of the Naikas

The Naikas of Atul and Chanwai belong to the same sub tribe Choliwala. As among the Naikas of Chanwai among the Naikas of Atul also social life is interwoven with the family (parvar) lineage (vamsh) and clan (kud). However there are significant lines of variation in the family life of the Naikas in Atul. It is difficult to present these statistically. It could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has been suffering on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism to some extent. Nevertheless notwithstanding the inter household jointness between the families of father and son and also of brother and brother it should be emphasized that the joint living is probably much more inconvenient today in the present socio economic setting.

Regarding the average size of the family the attitude of the Naikas in Atul seems to have undergone significant change. A bigger family is no longer considered an economic potentiality as the source of income does not increase with corresponding increase in helping hands as was the case with agricultural economy.

In Bambi and in Chanwai the formation and future history of a nuclear family is critically dependent on the process of selecting hardworking and virtuous wife by parents. But in Atul the marital union in the younger generation is becoming more a personal affair. Out of the 150 marriages studied in Atul 78 are arranged marriages remaining 69 are marriages in which the spouses are selected by the friends and neighbours and the marriages are settled not by the parents and 3 marriages are those in which the spouses are selected and settled by the friends.
and neighbours. However, as in Balmi and Chanwai in Atul, also the principles of lineage exogamy, clan exogamy and sub-tribe endogamy or agamy followed by all the Naikas.

In Atul, as in Balmi and Chanwai, the brides are chosen from nearby places. The girls and boys in Atul, or for that matter all the young people in every urbanized tribal settlement, have acquired a name that sometimes they are independent of their parents, that they have grown too much sense of individualism and that they cannot get suitable brides. So the girls from Atul have become brides mostly to semi-urban and urban settlements found scattered within a radius of 10 to 30 kilometres from Atul.

In Atul, the procedure for fixing an alliance is different from the existing in Chanwai and Balmi. As per tradition, a boy in Atul accompanied by two or three friends or cousins and middle man visits the girl's house. The boy and the girl see each other and give their consent to their elders. Then both parties name a day for betrothal or Nalī toddy ritual.

In Atul, about 60 per cent of the families personally invite their relatives and friends. However, about 40 per cent of the families get wedding cards printed for distributing. On the wedding day, the groom's party reaches the bride's village. Then the bride's brother's wife (bhabhi), father's sister (fuli) and mother's sister receive the groom's party at the entrance of the marriage pandal and conduct the party into the bride's house. The other rituals to be performed are similar to those performed by the Naikas in Chanwai. Nevertheless, unlike in Chanwai in Atul, a Brahmin priest (maharaj) is employed to officiate at the wedding ceremony. Further in Atul, the groom's people hand over the bride price (jehaj) either on the wedding day or a few days before the wedding day. The bride price paid is only Rs 140 as
against Rs 110 paid by the Naikas in Chanwai and Rs 210 paid by the Naikas in Bantli. The procedures relating to remarriage of widows and widowers, the legalization of elopement marriages and the divorce procedures of the Naikas of Atul are similar to those of the Naikas in Chanwai.

Political life of the Naikas

The political life of the Naikas in Atul is not much different from that of the Naikas in Chanwai. The Panch and the Zilla Panchayat do not wield much power. It is the Statutory Nagar Panchayat or Statutory Urban Panchayat that acts as an effective political body for the whole of Atul. This Panchayat has a Sarpanch (president) and 12 Members of whom 7 are caste Hindus, 3 belong to Scheduled Tribes, one is a representative of the Scheduled Castes and one is a woman representative belonging to the caste of Hindus. All are elected to these offices. The wife of the Managing Director of Atul Industrial Complex is elected the Sarpanch. The seven Members who belong to caste Hindus, the lady representative and the representative of the Scheduled Castes are the dependents of the staff members of the Atul Industrial Complex. Among the three Members representing the Scheduled Tribes, one is a Naika, another is a Dubla and the third one a Kokna. Thus the Naikas have their own representative to deal with matters that pertain not only to Atul as a whole but also to the Naikas in particular. In the past several years the Statutory Nagar Panchayat bestowed its attention on the formation of roads in different wards of the Naikas.

Religious life of the Naikas

The religious life of the Naikas in Atul is almost similar to that of the Naikas in Chanwai so far as the beliefs and practices relating to the concept of soul (jīv), ancestors (pitrās), spirits (bhootās), divinities (devatās) and Supreme God (Bhagavan) are concerned. However, in addition to the divinities worshipped by the Naikas in
Chanwari the Naikas of Atul worship many Hindu deities like Rama, Krishna and Hanuman and the Musalman saints like Haji Malan Baba of Kalyan near Bombay and the other one whose tomb exist on the Panera Hill adjoining Atul.

They make regular visits to the temple of Bhavani Mata located on the Panera Hill they also visit the Darga (tomb) of the Muslim Saint located very near the Bhavani temple there. The Naikas keep the photo frame of Haji Malan Baba of Kalyan in their houses and they visit the Darga of Haji Malan Baba at Kalyan whenever they want to seek relief from distress and ailments.

In recent years the Naikas have become the disciples of Jalaram Bapa of Virpur located near Rajkot. They are slowly adopting the principles propagated by Jalaram Bapa. According to the Naika belief their teacher Jalaram Bapa has great mysterious powers. All those who get their wishes fulfilled on account of the blessings of Jalaram Bapa, abstain from non-vegetarian food for a stipulated period of time.

In Atul there is a mysterious flat granite stone said to be imbued with the power of predicting the success or failure of anything thought of. A person who wanted to know whether what he or she thought of be it an enterprise mate selection or anything is going to be a success or failure has to lift the stone slab, if it is easily lifted the thing thought of cannot be a success. On the contrary if one feels heavy in lifting the stone slab the thing thought of is sure to be a success but with little delay.

So far as the life cycle rituals are concerned those practised by the Naikas of Atul are similar to those practised by the Naikas of Chanwari. There is no shaman in Atul, hence the Naikas procure the services of the Shaman residing at Chanwari or some other place whenever they require his services.
is the blower of pipe (luna) who officiates the wedding ceremony but in Atul it is the Brahmin priest (maharaj) who officiates at the wedding ritual.

The Naikas of Atul celebrate the very festivals that are celebrated by those at Chanwai. In addition to these, the Naikas celebrate several Hindu festivals like Naga Panchami, Rakshabandhan, Dasara, Makara Sankranti, Holi, Diwali, and Mahasivaratri in accordance with Hindu calendar and traditions. As there is tradition and modernity in the religious life of the neighbouring caste and non-caste populations, there is also tradition and modernity in the religious life of the Naikas. As said before, within Atul there are Officers and Supervisors Quarters occupied by the Gujarati, Marathi, and Hindi speaking Hindu caste populations as well as the Urdu, Gurmukhi, Rajasthani, and Gujarati speaking Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, and Christians. The impact of the Hindu caste populations is clearly discernible on the life of the Naikas of Atul. As they are left to themselves to choose their own course and pace for changing their cultural and social conditions, they have chosen to incorporate themselves into the all-embracing framework of Hindu civilization within which they want to persist as a sub-culture retaining some of their specific characteristics while shedding others in the process of assimilation to Hindu populations surrounding them.

**IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES**

Developmental programmes

The State Government of Gujarat first introduced the Community Development Programmes and later they were replaced by Tribal Development Blocks. At present, there are several governmental programmes like the Tribal Sub-Plan, the Integrated Child Development Scheme, and the Small Farmers Development Agency functioning for the development of tribes all over Gujarat, including the Naikas of Bamtī, Chanwai, and Atul.
In addition to these governmental programmes there are two trusts namely the Atul Rural Development Fund set up in the year 1978 and the Atul Rural Development Fund set up in the year 1979 specially meant for the development of the Naikas found distributed in about 40 villages located in Chikli, Valsad, Dharampur and Pardi Taluks of Valsad District. These two trusts are coordinating the efforts of the Government and Non-Government agencies in order to make the Naikas reap maximum benefits by utilizing all the government schemes to the maximum possible extent.

**Voluntary organizations**

Apart from the developmental programmes and the trusts meant for bettering the socio-economic conditions of the Naikas there is a voluntary organization which tried to reform the Naikas. Some of the educated Naikas of the erstwhile Dharampur and Gaikwad States in Surat District had formed an association called Naika Mitra Mandal as far back as on 29 March 1921. The aim of the association was to bring social reformation and unity amongst all the Naikas. In this context, the association was successful in weaning the Naikas from drinking during marriage functions and rituals like death and other social gatherings in removing backwardness among the Naikas and in eliminating the inferiority complex from the minds of the Naikas. Especially the educated Naikas in Pardi Dharmpur Bilmora and Valsad towns and the city of Surat were its trusted agents for carrying out the word of the association all over the Naikas of erstwhile Dharampur and Gaikwad States.

During the First World War the association ceased to exist. So another association known as Naika Samaj Sudharn was formed in October 1969 at Vasiyar village located in Valsad Taluk. Its aim was similar to that of the Naika Mitra Mandal. For sometime it was active in April 1976 at its Chikli Taluk general
meeting it unanimously decided to stop serving liquor during marriage functions and rituals of death and other socio-religious occasions. But it has become inactive since the beginning of the period of national emergency is from 1975 to 1977

**Impact of the developmental programmes**

The different developmental programmes influenced the Naikas and changed their attitudes and behaviours toward family education language achievement secularism democracy social image and group identity. The rigorous campaign undertaken by the Family Welfare Programme has influenced the Naikas to realize the importance of small family and to adopt small family norm. Some Naikas in Bamiya quite a few in Chanwai and almost all in Atul have adopted family planning mostly vasectomy and rarely tubectomy.

Introduction of school education in numerous tribal villages has raised their literacy levels. In this context, establishment of primary and secondary schools in a number of Naika settlements, appointment of teachers from tribals, introduction of mid-day meal scheme for school children, free supply of books, slates and other materials for children and grant of scholarships to all tribal children have helped the Naikas acquire more literacy and encourage education among their female children also. Further the adult literacy programmes, particularly in Atul have also helped the Naika men and women to attend night schools and acquire literacy in terms of reading and writing to a considerable extent.

Under the Housing Improvement Scheme sponsored by the Government, a vast majority of the Naikas were able to construct brick walled houses with tiled roofs. The Naikas submit an application to the Taluk Development Officer after it is being endorsed by the Taluk Panchayat President locally known as Pramukh and get 750 Mangalore tiles free of cost provided they are able to bear
the transport charges. On account of this facility, more than 70 per cent of the Naikas were able to construct brick-walled houses with tiled roofs and nearly 20 per cent of them were able to replace the thatched houses with tiled roofing.

It is significant to observe that under the influence of Tribal Sub-Plan programmes, the Naikas in Bami and Chanwai are able to use improved varieties of seeds and improved methods of farming. In Chanwai, most of the Naikas have realized the importance of regular earning from public and private organizations in cash terms as opposed to dependence on agriculture which is not only unkind but also is uncertain and fluctuating with droughts, pests, and other unexpected conditions. In Atul, the Naikas have completely done away with their traditional agricultural life. They are earning their livelihood by non-agricultural occupations. Many young people feel that they can achieve higher status and better prestige within their own society and also outside it by being employed in some government or private organizations other than the Atul Industrial Complex.

With the introduction of Statutory Gram Panchayats and Statutory Nagar Panchayats, the Naika Panch System has lost some of its importance. Even though panch is socially recognized as a traditional body of all-purpose leaders of the community, it has no formal recognition from the government and hence it has been relegated to the background. The Panch was an exclusive political body to look into the social irregularities and incidents of breach of social norms among the Naikas. Traditionally, Panch was considered to be essential to maintain social integrity and keep the continuity of social traditions through generations. In the present setting, these irregularities are sometimes attempted to be settled by the Statutory Gram or Nagar Panchayat. Sometimes, if the accused or aggrieved party is not satisfied with the judgement, it simply sues in a Court of Law.
In the field of health the developmental programmes have influenced the people to a small extent. Primary Health Centres in the Naika habitat are few and far between. Looking to the vastness of the area these Primary Health Centres provide only meagre medical facilities to the Naikas. The contact of the Naikas in Bamti with the Primary Health Centres is slight but those in Chanwai is somewhat more and those in Atul is better. In Atul the Naikas make use the private dispensanes also. Sometimes they go to Valsad in order to have appropriate medical treatment. Even then the Naikas in Atul have not yet totally changed their ideas regarding the causes and cure of diseases. Divination protective and ameliorating magic chants and spells are still employed to ward off evils, cure diseases and difficulties but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medical and surgical aids. Age old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally still used for fevers and other common ailments in the initial stage. But as it takes serious turn the doctor is consulted for modern medical attention. In complicated and chronic cases they often continue both the traditional and modern treatments side by side.

Thus it appears that respect for tradition on the one hand and fascination towards the better effectiveness of the modern medicines on the other are playing their relative roles both hand in hand in affecting the mind of the Naikas culminating in some changes in the sphere of their religious life also. It is interesting to note the general tendency is still they have more faith in native medicines to tablets or tonics for instant relief.

**IMPACT OF NAÏKA SAMAJ SUDHARN**

The Naika Samaj Sudharn formerly known as Naika Mitra Mandal though inactive today was active for about fifty years before it became inactive since 1976. In its fifty years of long active life it had several achievements to its credit especially with reference to reformation and unity among the Naikas.
The Naikas had been addicted to fermented palm juice (toddy) that was available in abundance in nature. They also drink local liquors distilled by themselves or by their caste neighbours. Ban on home distillation took them to the liquor shops where they had to spend considerable money as they required large quantities of liquor for some of their socio-religious rites and ceremonies. The traders had entered the field to make their economic collapse complete. Most of the families spent money in intoxicants at the cost of their basic needs. Economy of many families has been badly affected because of this pattern of expenditure. Many families had been found to be overburdened with indebtedness and seemed to sink into a dull and hopeless apathy. This situation had stimulated the minds of some of the educated among the Naikas to form a voluntary organisation to check up the situation. Therefore, they took reform and unity of the Naikas as their foci of attention for the betterment of the Naikas.

First, it is only an account of the rigorous campaign of the voluntary organization the Naikas have stopped spending money on liquor even at the cost of basic needs to a considerable extent. Secondly, the organization was able to wean the Naikas from the traders and money lenders and rescue them from indebtedness to a great extent. Thirdly, the organization was able to make the Naikas conscious of their rights for benefits guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. Fourthly, it has impressed the Naikas how the Dhodias who are economically educationally and politically strong are able to get out much of the benefits intended for the Scheduled Tribes and it has propagated the idea that unless the Naikas too acquire economic prosperity, educational benefits, political awareness and appropriate representation in political bodies, the Naikas cannot dream of their socio-economic betterment. Finally, the organization has encouraged the unity of the Naikas and the adoption of the language, food habits, ritualism and social customs.
of the agricultural castes especially the Patels. Consequent upon this the Naikas have tried to imitate the way of life of the caste of Patels. Some of them recently have started adding the caste title Patel after their names. The Naikas now feel that they are agriculturists like Patels, that they like Patels should have their names ending with the title Patel and that they like Patels should adopt non-agricultural occupations befitting the dynamics of Hindu Society. All this has helped the Naikas to build a better social image than their earlier stance vis-à-vis other tribes.