1. The Study:

The present day society is very dynamic. For more than eighteen decades Indian society and culture have been subjected to social change. It happened under the British colonial impact with its manifold facts. A number of factors have played an important role in bringing about changes in rural areas during the decolonial period. Yet all the rural areas in India have not equally developed. The students of Sociology find a vast difference between the non-tribal rural areas and tribal areas in different regions. Among the non-tribal rural areas of Gujarat Charotar villages in Kaira district are progressive because of experienced, diligent, educated and well to do farmers or land owners having irrigation facilities and the most fertile and alluvial land. They are busy all the year round with their agricultural activities. The land is cultivated during all the three seasons of the year.

Now agriculture has not remained a repetitive activity but it has moved to the innovative stage. The big farmers are now in fact entrepreneurs, investors, decision-makers, managers, workers, Salesmen—all rolled into one. The progressive farmers have been motivated to adopt new technology and scientific methods.
The labourers are a problem in the economic activities now-a-days. The same is applied to the agricultural sector. Thanks to the migrant tribal farm labourers in the Charotar villages, the land-owners are able to succeed in their agricultural activities. They have smoothly filled the vacuum created by the local farm labour force due to their negative attitude towards the farm-labour work.

The difference in the culture of the tribals and non-tribals, their poverty and hand to mouth economic condition, their migration, their exploitation by their fellow tribemen and non-tribal land owners, social changes that are taking place were sources of working hypothesis and hunches. They were verified on the basis of empirical facts.

As stated earlier in the agricultural based non-tribal villages with traditional socio-economic ties and weakened jajmani system, entry of migrant tribal farm labourers has been proved very useful in Charotar villages of Matar Taluka in Kaira district.

They are neither envied nor opposed by the local traditional farm labourers.
(2) **Loss of Interest of Local Farm-Labourers**:

The interest of the local farm labourers in the work of farm-labouring goes on decreasing day by day. On the other hand the need of the labourers in agriculture-work continues to rise. This need is being fulfilled in three ways: (1) The migrant tribal farm-labourers themselves come willingly to Charotar in search of farm-labour work. (2) The land-owners from Charotar villages go to the tribal areas of Panchmahals, Baroda and Madhya Pradesh to recruit them to work on their farms paying some amount in advance. (3) The Officers from the Co-operative Sugar Factory of Palaj (Tal.: Petlad) go to Dhulia district of Maharashtra and recruit experienced tribal labourers on a contract base to cut sugarcane in the command area of the factory in Kaira District.

Most of these migrant tribal farm labourers live for a short time i.e. for one to two months or maximum eight months. During their stay they often remember their kiths and kins, land and animals.

(3) **Major Changes**:

During their stay they come into contact with non-tribal Charotar rural people. They try to understand and adopt regional Charotari dialect or some limited vocabulary. They are quick
in adopting material cultural. But so far as beliefs, customs, rituals, faith etc. are concerned, it is very difficult to find changes among them.

They get first hand knowledge about the use of insecticides, fertilizers, high yielding improved seeds, modern agricultural tools, etc. In turn as reported by them, they try to put into practice this new knowledge as much they can after returning to their native places. We can find rise of new expectations and awareness as well as widening horizon of world view among them.

Some of the migrant tribal farm labourers, as noted earlier, from Panchmahals, Bharuch and Vadodara have started living and working as bound labourers. They borrow money from the land owners and try to repay the debt by labouring on their farm. They, thus, unknowingly become debt servant and a prey of bonded labour system in this Charotar region.

Keeping these points in view, in a nutshell, the summary and findings are as follows:

(4) Summary and Findings:
(i) Land-ownership of a few castes:

The Charotar villages of Matar Taluka are multi-caste villages. The village land is owned by the different castes.
Yet since decades members of some castes work as landless labourers. It is inferred from the Moje Jarif Records of 19th Century of these villages.

(ii) **Agriculture: a Main Occupation:**

Agriculture has remained the main occupation in these villages. Those who do not have enough land to maintain their families work as local landless farm workers.

(iii) **Weakening Bonds of Jajmani Relations:**

According to the landowners in these Charotar villages, the traditional interdependent structure of labour system based on 'Jajmani' relations goes on weakening as the time passes on.

(iv) **Mobility:**

The villagers from these villages now do not depend on their traditional occupations or farm labour. Geographical and occupational mobility are seen. Transportation and job opportunities in towns and cities have made this possible.

(v) **Tenancy Act:**

Under the Tenancy Act, the landless tenants and peasants like Patanwadias, Barias and Patidars have become the land-owners while Brahmins, Potters, Carpenters, Banias and Patidars - the original land-owners, who did not cultivate land themselves - have lost their hold on land.
As a result the situation has changed. They have been forced to turn to other non-agricultural economic activities like animal husbandry or working as casual farm-labourers or to go to nearby cities in search of work.

(vi) **Prosperous Farmers:**

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Second, big land owners in these Charotar villages are experienced and progressive. Patidars, Garasias, Barias, Patanwadias among all these villages and Muslims in Undhela as well as Christians in Sokhada may be included in this list.

(vii) **Change in Crops and Increase in Crop Yielding:**

During four decades progressive farmers in these villages have strengthened their economic condition getting full benefits of irrigation facilities, new crop pattern, utilising modern agricultural tools and techniques, chemical fertilizers, manure, high yielding seeds, insecticides etc. They have learnt all about scientific agriculture through radio, TV, magazines, formal education, village level workers, agricultural officers, observation and imitation of other progressive farmers in other districts of Gujarat.

The crop yielding per bigha has increased two fold to three fold in paddy, wheat, millet, tobacco, and ground-nut. Moreover, as these farmers have turned to and intensified growing
cash crops like bananas, potatoes and sugarcane in large quanti' They reap net higher profit.

(viii) **Co.-Op. Milk Producing Societies:**

The villagers including farmers and landless labourers have started earning by selling milk to their respective village co-Operative Milk Producing Societies affiliated to AMUL dairy at Anand.

(ix) **Use of Surplus Money:**

It is told by these well to do farmers in these villages that recently 15% to 20% of them have started investing their surplus money in UTI and Share markets.

(x) **No Schooling for Children:**

The local landless farm-labourers and the migrant tribal farm labourers have to engage their children in economic activities. They can not afford to send them to schools.

(xi) **Physical Proximity:**

The male land-owners belonging to caste Hindus do not maintain much physical and social distance with farm labourers of the Scheduled Castes while working on the farm. They mix with them so much that they develop joking relationships among them and found passing on loose comments and get involved in physical proximity with the female farm-labourers.
(xii) The Migrants:

As indicated earlier, the vaccum created by the local farm-labourers in the Charotar villages has been easily filled up by the migrant farm-labourers from Panchmahals, Baroda Broach and Zabua (M.P.) districts. They have proved themselves diligent, honest trustworthy, faithful, dependable and committed. Their contribution to the prosperity of the farmers of Charotar villages is quite praiseworthy. They also have changed the equation of local labour-system without creating any problem. So they are heartily welcomed. Moreover, they work as farm-labourers on about 20% less than prevailing rate. Moreover, they accept to work on contract base per bight. For all these reasons they are heartily welcomed.

(xiii) Hatred For Migratory Shepherds:

On the other hand the migrant shepherds from Saurashtra indulge in conflict and clash with local farmers by letting their goats and sheep in the fields to graze the standing crops. So they are hated and not welcomed.

(xiv) Adjustment:

The migrant tribal farm labourers from dispersed villages of tribal areas to the nucleated villages of Charotar area try their best to adjust themselves. They have not to worry
regarding labour-work under the leadership and guidance of their group leaders. During their stay, they remain in live contact with the kiths and kins residing in their native places by visiting on and often.

(xv) Land:

Those migrant tribal farm-labourers who own some land in their native places report that it is of inferior quality, rocky, less fertile and without any irrigation facility. So they cannot grow adequate amount of corn enough for their livelihood even during monsoon.

(xvi) Education:

The rate of illiteracy among the migrant tribal farm-labourers is 83%. According to the information from the Joint Secretary, Department of Education, Government of Gujarat (1993-1994) there are 700 hostels, 600 Balvadis, 400 Ashram Schools and 60 Uttar Buniadi Schools in tribal areas of Gujarat. Yet high rate of illiteracy continues to remain among the tribals. According to the respondents, several factors are responsible for this situation.

The group leaders of the migrant tribal farm labourers disclosed during their informal talk about the reasons of not
sending their children to schools:

(a) The tribal labourer parents who migrate twice to thrice in a year in search of work to non-tribal areas move with their children and cannot send them to the schools regularly in their native tribal villages. They need them here to look after their young toddlers.

(b) While their inhabiting in their native regions, they do not send their children to schools because they need their help on the farm for casual agricultural work or in collecting firewood or grazing cattle and goats.

(c) Though they are aware of the Government Schemes of mid-day meal at school, they do not enjoy benefit as their children are not on regular roll-call. Moreover it has also been reported that the scheme is implemented mostly on papers in remote tribal villages. The non-tribal school teachers do not live in the village of their duty due to a number of practical problems like non-availability of residential facility, difficulty in understanding tribal dialect, giving higher education to their own children, fear of thefts, etc. The teachers do not come and open school regularly and teach the children. Even if the school opens, the children are found absent on weekly market days in other villages.
posting of only one teacher in a school makes it very difficult to manage for him to teach the pupils of more than one standard simultaneously. When he is on leave, the school remains closed.

(xvii) Female illiteracy:
Illiteracy among the migrant tribal females is almost 98%, when the parents send their daughters to labour instead of sending to school, how can they get education? They have a desire, if possible, to educate their sons but not daughters. They fear that they will not be able to adjust themselves to hard work in their lives after their marriage, if they are sent to school.

(xviii) Ashram Shalas:
The tribal respondents complained about the Ashramshalas. The management gives more emphasis on activities of demonstration on farms, gardening and horticulture units than classroom teaching.

(xix) Borrowings:
The migrant tribal-labourers prefer to borrow small or big amount from traditional and non-traditional sources. i.e.
from money-lender Banias, Bohras or shop-keepers of their villages, relatives, tribal Chiefs or their falia-chiefs, non-tribal land-owners in Charotar villages, where they migrate to work. They avoid to borrow from sources arranged for them by the government because of their illiteracy, harassment by corrupted officers, inability or irregularity in paying instalments, etc.

(xx) Group-living:

As the families of the migrant tribal farm-labourers are found living mostly under one shadow in a group, the young couples complain that they cannot get an opportunity to enjoy sex-life freely in the presence of others. It causes misunderstanding, suspicion and tension among them. The relations get strained between the husbands and wives. Sometimes cash income from love-affairs add fuel to the strained relations. They cannot bear the disapproving eyes of their fellow-workers. There is hardly any social control. The husband cannot tolerate his wife's misconduct and the result is customary divorce. One can say that infidelity and flirtation are the reasons of strain among the families of the migrant tribal labourers.
Ill at Ease:

The young migrant tribal couple labourers—husband and wife—do not get privacy to talk to, to enjoy and at the same to maintain distance. So they wish to return to their native places as early as possible. Moreover, they do not get due respect and status here from the non-tribal local villages, unaware of their social background.

They also do not get enjoyment from drinking, singing and dancing as long as they stay here. They do not cultivate friendly relations of strong bonds with local non-tribal persons. They feel like fish out of water. During their stay in these non-tribal villages of Charotar, they feel to be exiled. They constantly feel that they are forced to migrate because of their poverty and helplessness.

xxi) Hard-Work:

There are no fixed hours for labour-work for those who accept to work on contract base. They earn as much as they work. Their thrift to collect maximum in minimum days make them toil very hard. So most of the migrant farm-labourers do not enjoy any weekly off day except those who work for the Sugar Factory. They get a holiday once in a fortnight.

(xxii) Language Problem:

The migrant tribals try to acquire the language of the place. They speak in their own dialect with their family.
and group members and in broken Hindi or Gujarati with other local people.

(xxiii) **Tribal women as Farm-Labourers:**

The self respecting tribal women do not like to work as household servants. They consider it the work of inferior quality and so reject it. They prefer to do hard work shoulder to shoulder with their husbands as farm-labourers.

(xxiv) **New Setting:**

The migrant tribal farm labourers find themselves in different social setting. They have no king and relatives around them except a small group with whom they come. They have no reciprocal control, and no obligations to fulfil. They feel isolated among the people with different culture. They make adjustments in various aspects of their life. They resist the breakdown to their values. So sometimes because of assimilation and integration, they find themselves in constant stress and strain.

(xxv) **Tribe as a caste:**

The settled migrant tribe in Undhela, a Charotar village of Matar Taluka, for a longer period, has been able to get position in the local stratification of the caste-hierarchy somewhere below the **savarna-castes** and just above the Scheduled Castes. It means that they have succeeded in getting position in the wider Hindu fold labelling their tribe as a
caste. But such illustrations are not many and are not found in many non-tribal villages.

Prof. R.B. Lal has rightly observed:

"On account of wide contact with modern (non-tribal) society the tribal groups are passing through different socio-cultural changes. Their attitudes and aspirations have vastly modified but, in absence of means of attainment, they are, in general, facing a crisis of social cultural, political and economic values. The stigma of aboriginality given to them by the non-tribals and blaming their individual adequacy or inferiority for their low socio-economic status, has become social barrier for their integration into main stream of Indian life." (1)

(33) Exploitation of Tribals by Tribals:

Passing through the process of social change and acculturation an elite class with social, economic and political consciousness has grown among them and they have become the exploiters of their fellow tribesmen. Earlier the shopkeepers, Bania and money lenders had left no opportunity to exploit them. This new tribal elite class has acquired land by hook or by crook from their poor and needy fellow tribals. They have taken full benefit of welfare activities started by the Government
and of the tribal sub-plans. After improving their economic condition and enriching themselves, they have succeeded in establishing relations with the leaders of the political parties and have exploited every mean in their own favour. They keep distance from other fellow tribals and kins. They have become self-oriented instead of collective oriented. So it is a quasi-truth that only the non-tribal people from the plains exploit them. It is a fact that the tribal elites exploit their tribe fellows.

(xxvii) Impact on Family life:

One of the significant changes due to migration in the family system is effect on the family life of the migrant tribal farm labourers. Disintegration in it is found. Their bonds of social relationship become weak due to their long absence.

The general gap widens between the old parents and their grown up children acquiring new world-view. The parents of the migrated youths feel lonely. Those who are very old, they have to live on the mercy of their neighbours, relatives or other co-villagers.

(xxviii) Religion:

The trios have faith in their oracle and in supernatural power. It continues at the place of migration, too. Their life style and behavioural patterns are shaped by religiousness. Their savings of days and months are spent at a time in performing religions rituals. They try to protect themselves from evil
spirits by wearing a thick black thread with a tavij as a necklace or tying it on the wrist, wearing a copper ring, tying fresh neem-tree-leaves round the necks of their sick children and observing fasts. They express deep faith in their deities, gods and some goddesses during the occasions of distress and mental stress, e.g. disease, accidents, quarrels, etc. They go back to their native place for offerings e.g. killing of a he-goat, a cock, a buffalo. They do so to seek divine protection.

Any how, because of their faith in the religion, they are able to face poverty and unhappiness with patience and fortitude. The religion helps them to preserve their tradition and culture.

Material Culture:

The changes in material culture of the migrant tribals are very apparent. But it is not the same amount their immaterial culture-customs, values, religion, faith, blind beliefs, justice, punishment etc. It has remained the same.

Debt and alienation:

Poverty and indebtedness push them away from their native-place to earn. Those who migrate alone to earn money feel being cutoff from their kiths and kins, spouses and children, their native land and environment, crops and grains,
birds and animals, things of personal use and own cultural life style.

(XXXI) **Standard of Living:**

It seems that the higher income does not turn the tribal towards a quality of life due to illiteracy and some unhealthy habits like smoking, drinking heavily and regularly.

(XXXII) **Unchanged Attitudes Values and Beliefs:**

The attitudes and beliefs are not easy to measure. The migrant tribal farm-labourers are always found in a state of flux. Their beliefs regarding birth, death, health, diseases, destiny, luck, etc. continue to remain and not forgotten in the migrated villages. Their behaviours and lives are governed by them, which act as the fountain heads of attitudes and values.

(XXXIII) **Economic Implication of Sanskritization:**

As mentioned earlier the Vasava Bhils, a migrant tribe from Bharuch district, has settled in one of the five villages under study, have been succeeded in getting a status in local caste-hierarchy. They could do so by Sanskritizing themselves as mentioned earlier. But it has become a costly affair to them. As reciprocity they invite the castes Hindus to have a dinner cooked by a Brahmin cook at their place on the occasion of marriage.
and maintain mutual social relations. For this they undergo some debt.

N.N. Vyasa has quoted G.S. Aurora (book: Tribe, Caste, Class Encounters -1973) P.23:

"There are economic implications of Sanskritization. Hindu forms of marriages and feasts practised by the tribals are more expensive than the traditional tribal marriages. Sometimes, the marriages and deaths performed by such tribals, place them in a life long debt. Depts also lead to alienation of land from the tribals."

(xxxiv) Desire to Show Prosperity and to have Better Life:

When these migrant tribals return to their homes, they buy gifts for their relatives. They want to get prestige by spending money on the occasions of marriage and festivals. By doing so, they bring their economic condition to original water-mark. The younger generation in particular expresses its keen desire for a better life adopting changes in dress, food habits, pattern of recreation, etc.

(xxxv) Power of Money:

The tribals usually spend their saved money to support relatives and on mutual obligations. But those who migrate and adopt changed world view of "power of money" try to save for their personal benefits or to establish their dominance over
other fellow tribes by lending them money.

(xxxvi) Land Reforms:

Those tribes which are not included in the list of the Scheduled Tribes, their land is easily transferred to non-tribals. Really speaking the land-ownership is an important asset to the tribals. So land reforms are necessary for their economic growth. Yet most of them have neither land nor other means of livelihood. Those who are given land by the Government, their ownership is just on paper while land is cultivated and crops are taken by other non-tribal village-men. They have very limited means to bring fallow land under cultivation.

Dr. Harshan Trivedi has given true narration of the painful condition of the tribals with reference to land:

"In all the large-scale irrigation projects, tribals in Gujarat were the losers of their lands as these projects are generally located in hilly and rocky tracts. The tribal lands for dams are compulsorily acquired and they are rendered almost landless and homeless. The fruits of irrigation go to the people living in down stream areas in the plains, and they are usually non-tribals." (3)

Of course, the Government of Gujarat has taken enough care and praiseworthy steps for rehabilitation of the land loser
tribals in the Sardar Lake and Dam near Navagam on the Narmada providing them housing facility, fertile land, recruiting one person in government jobs for each rehabilitated family.

(\textit{xxxvii}) \textbf{Regarding Forest:}

Before the colonial Rule, the tribals used forests according to their desire. They considered themselves the owners of the forests. But the British Government made Laws regarding forests and rights over forests were lost by the tribals. The British Government opened up the forests for exploitation by non-tribals. The forest department gave permission to timber contractors to cut trees and also to prepare Charcoal. The timber was in great demand at higher prices.

The age old unwritten rights of the tribals to use and cultivate forest-land were denied. From hunting and food gathering they could not feed their family members. So they were forced to find labour work out of their region.

Thus by losing rights in forest and forest-land, as the last resort, the tribals began to migrate to non-tribal regions.

(\textit{xxxviii}) \textbf{Settlement of Disputes:}

When the quarrels among the migrant tribals take place regarding theft, elopment of married women, land property, payment
of debts, etc., they rush to their native places and seek the help of the falia panch and the tribal chief to settle the disputes. They also try for mutual compromise.

(XXXIX) Expectations:

When asked to the head of each migrant tribal families what he would do if he could earn money to his expectations. 63% of them wanted to repay their old debt. 17% of them wanted to buy land, 12% of them wanted to invest in having irrigation-facility, and 8% of them desired to buy bullocks.

(XLI) Behavioural Attitude:

The migrant tribal farm labourers sometimes individually and some times in a group show expressions of hatred and disapproval of the landowners strictly supervising them. To show hatred and anger they work slowly. When they feel being insulted, they may return to their native place. If they stay, they may prove harmful. On such occasions the land-owners has to cool down, become humble and show tolerance.

Actually there are some radicals among the migrant tribals farm labourers too. They envy unequal distribution of land and property. They want it to be transferred from exploiters to the exploited. Studies regarding exploitations include economic behaviours and ethical values. Labour of poor farm-workers is purchased cheaply by the rich land-owners, as as feudal lord, used
(Xli) Health:

If we talk about the rate of infant-mortality, the place of Gujarat in India is the third from the bottom. 112 children die per 1000 born children. Each tribal woman gives birth to average 10 to 12 children during her fertility period. Out of those born children about 3 to 4 die. The reasons of child-mortality are birth to too many children and too early children. A wife at forties is an old woman in the eyes of a tribal male. The woman looses her health due to mal-nutrition and frequent deliveries.

(Xlii) Human Development:

These migrant tribal Farm-labourers complaint about their backwardness. Anil Patel wrote, an article in "Gujarat Samachar" (7th June 1993) regarding progress of India at the human resources fund. He has quoted the experts of UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). According to them Human Development includes-increase in longitivty, education, health, facilities of training and ability of the people to buy basic needs of life. As per this principle they have found out Human Development Index. According to the Human Development Report,1993, India's position is 124th among 173 nations of the world.
If we focus our attention on the tribes of India in general and of Gujarat in particular, the picture is that after 47 years of independence most of the poor and backward tribes still live primitive life. To make it clear in most of the tribal areas pure drinking water is not available, Primary Health Centres do not function, sending children to school is considered a luxury. The land is infertile and without irrigation facility. From monsoon farming they can not produce enough for the year, daily food gathering is impossible. During the famines their condition becomes pitiable. So they are forced to migrate, sale labour and earn. If they do not work, they cannot earn. One of them may ask us, "What is the use of independence and democracy if there is no change in the plight of the tribes? Is democracy fit for their economic progress?" If all the tribes join hands and asking for justice turn to rebellion and make demand for their separate tribal state as it happened in Eastern India about Sodoland, what will happen? Before it is too late, their demand for justice, removal of illiteracy, poverty, hunger and exploitation should be given priority.

(XLIII) Poverty and Exploitation:

The base of Indian economy is agriculture. About 75% of Indian population live in rural India and 65% out of them depend on agriculture. The only solution to remove their poverty
is agricultural and rural development. Because of low average agricultural production per acre, most of the farmers are just on the poverty line. Their agriculture depends on mercy of nature. During the drought they get ruined. Whatever progress is seen it is among the rich and middle class farmers. But there is little improvement in the socio-economic conditions of small average land holding farmers, tenants and farm-labourers. They form the major portion of the class of the Farmers. They starve. They are exploited by the big-land owners who are literate and follow commercial agriculture. The policy of the Government is favourable to them. According to the Agriculture Census of 1991, among all farmers, 74.5% farmers have 26.3% of land ownership. About 10% of rich farmers have hold on 55% of agriculture. They have control over 50% of irrigation facility. Their annual income ranges from 2 to 4 lakhs rupees. But the marginal farmers struggle for existence.

Prof. Huseni Atarumbawala observes (Gujarat Samachar 5th October, 1990) that the increasing distance between the rich and poor marginal and landless farmers is not in favour of the nation. The rich farmers have become richer. Majority of the poor farmers follow traditional agriculture. They do not adopt modern agriculture as the rich farmers do.
The bonded labour is an all India phenomenon. The Royal Commission on Labour in India observes:

"The labourer borrows money from the landlord under a contract to work until the debt is repaid. The debt tends to increase rather than to diminish and the man, sometimes his family, is bound for life." This way they become lifetime labourers. They provide cheap labour and get permanent slavery.

Really the exploitation in the villages begins from indebtedness and ends also in it. To get employment, to meet expenses on social occasions or to face crisis in life, the poor tribal land labourers try to find security by putting themselves in the hands of the land-lords.

In different states it is known by different names. As presented by Jan Sreman (Bondage and Exploitation, p.91, 1974) in Orissa it is known as "Vetti or Gothi," in Karnataka as Jeetha, in Bihar as Kahia or Sonkia, in Uttar Pradesh as Lagbandhi or Sanjavat, in Madhya Pradesh as Jegar or Nokarinama, in Gujarat as Hali, in Rajasthan as Sagari in Laxdwip as Nadapu.

A. W. Gouldner writes, "Exploitation refers to social arrangement in which the persons of one status give less and take
more from the persons of other statuses."(7)

H.N. Vyas has also commented,
"exploitation is a recurring historical fact and calls for an explanation which does not refer to the characteristics, of a particular historical period."(8)

Jan Stroman has also written about the bonded labour.
The Sagari (the bonded labourer) lives a life of abject poverty and considers indebtedness to be his destiny and the money-lender his saviour whom he must show unquestioned allegiance."(9)

The debtor labourer comes under the obligation of the money lender or the creditor. His dependence is just expressed in his behaviour e.g. he speaks in a low tone. He stammers in presenting even his reasonable requirement.

Mosca Gaetano, in 'Theory of Ruling class' gives elaborate treatment to the exploiting class. He maintains that

"Exploiters exist in all social strata just as, there are those who are exploited at all levels of economic and social ladder." He further states that "The exploiters and exploited, the two classes, have always existed in the world— in the lower, middle and higher classes also. The history of contact between the tribals and non-tribals based on three factors— the economic, the political and the cultural."(10)
The editor of Sandesh (23rd December 1990) has written:

"Most of the farm labourers are Halpatis in South Gujarat. They seasonally migrate to work as farm-labourers. The rich farmers engage them to work on their farms on less payment. So there is no improvement in their economic condition."

The migrant tribal farm labourers in Charotar villages are given rupees as debt generously whenever they ask for. They are always in need of money. So they are easily trapped into indebtedness. In return, as Prof. R. J. Lal quoted, "the debtor himself or his lined ascendants or descendants (whether or not such advance is evidenced by a document) and in consideration of the interest, if any, due on such advance, renders...labour or service to the creditor,... for a specific period, either without wages or for nominal wages." Such a debtor loses his freedom to earn livelihood by getting employment anywhere else as per his desire till he wipes out the debt. If he wants to go to his native place, he is expected to replace some person to work from his family as a farm labourer till he returns. This type of debt-slavery without coining any name is nothing but a type of bonded labour. Such a situation is found to be prevailed for eleven migrant tribal farm labourers in Radhvanaj, Sandhana and Vansar in spite of "Bonded Labour system (Abolition) Act of 1975"."
(xlvi) **Laws for Farm-Labourers:**

Yaseen Dalal has written in favour of the Farm-Labourers:

"A worker even in a small factory or a workshop gets protection under law. But there is not any protection for the farm-labourers who are key-persons in agriculture. 'Minimum Wage Act' is there in the favour of farm-labourers, but it is just on paper. The rich farmers neglect it. The supporting prices of grains go on increasing but the rates of the labour for farm-workers do not increase. As casual labourers or labourers on contract, they do not get pay-protection. e.g., LTC, Graduity, Dearness Allowance, Medical Allowance, Travelling Allowance, House Rent Allowance, etc.

(xlvii) **Change needed in Agricultural Policy:**

In United States only 6% of the human energy is engaged in agriculture. They produce so much that they throw away the corn into sea to maintain prices. The Government gives them encouragement to cultivate less land. It is reverse in India. When shall we reach to this level? The agricultural policy of the Government needs to be changed. The industrial sector is given protection at the cost of agricultural sector."
It is the complaint of the common tribal farm labourer respondents that the political parties have nursed them as their vote banks only. Actually they have been neglected by the planning Commission also. Relief works are started to save them and their cattle from starvation. On such occasions, the tribals, who are supposed to be the main beneficiaries, get only fringe benefits, while such occasions are used by a callous bureaucracy and clever social workers and political parties in power to feather their own nests. Really for these persons, 'scarcity' in tribal area means 'festivity' and droughts are 'gift' from the government. Their plights have not been solved.

The reports and articles appearing in the important dailies and in a few journals indicate that the tribals have not been able to derive much benefit from various schemes and sub-plans launched for them. It is not the point that the tribals are unwilling to take up schemes for them but more so because many of them are not aware of those schemes e.g. Dry Land Farming Pilot Projects, Rural Works Programmes for Chronically Draught Affected Areas, Crash Scheme for Rural Employment, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL) Agro Service Centres, etc., are chiefly meant for rural areas.
and for the benefit of farmers with small holdings, agricultural labourers and those who are not fully employed. The main reason behind this is unawareness and illiteracy of the tribals.

(5) The Plight of the Local Land-owners:

The marginal land-owners are unhappy with farming. Inspite of irrigation facility they become helpless if the crop fails because of some diseases. Failure in one agricultural season breaks their backbones for the next season.

Some of the marginal landowners have started giving their land on rent for Rs.1,000/- per bigha per year.

Those land-owners whose land is not in one plot at one place but scattered at different locations in the periphery of the village, they can not cope with agricultural work which needs strict time schedule to be followed.

The waters of Mahi Canal have spoiled their precious land-elements because of salt sprouting on the land surface.

It is their common experience that their crop like paddy fails if it does not rain at the later stage and waters do not flow in the canal at the crucial time.

The literate, progressive and rich farmers only follow
the advices of the agricultural officers and sprinkle insecticides on time to save their crops from diseases. Unless and until all the farmers of the area use insecticides, the crops cannot be saved.

There is negative effect of the poisonous insecticides. They destroy useful frogs, snakes, rabbits, field-cats and foxes. So the environment is imbalanced and pollution is caused. So now some farmers are unwilling to use costly insecticides. They want to save themselves from sin from religious point of view.

The rich farmers who turned to dairy farming have now left it. They have bitter experience. The cows of jeresy-breed could not adjust with the environment physically. Either they gave less milk, stopped giving milk or died. The problem of labourers in connection with milking the cows and buffaloes on time made them upset. The experiment of using milking machines had bad effect on milk-giving organs of the animals.

Those farmers who started growing sugar-cane with insistence of Palaj Sugar Factory, Petlad, complain that their sugar-cane is not cut on time. So important days for preparation for the next season are wasted. They unnecessarily get late.
It is a common experience that all the adult male and female members of all the landowners' families have to be engaged directly or indirectly with agricultural activities and looking after the cattle. They get up before five O'clock in the early morning and go to bed not before ten O'clock at night. They hardly get time to watch useful TV programmes, of their choice for cattle breeding and agriculture.

Farming-occupation has become costly. The landowners have to spend on seeds, manures, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, irrigation, electricity, labourers, agricultural tools, diesel, transportation, etc. Some farmers just pull on to keep their ownership right on land. Almost every farmer is under some debt except about 5% of them who are rich and well-to-do.

The complaint of the farmers is that the prices of grains have not been raised by the government in comparison to prices of fertilizers and other commodities in the market. So they get a very thin profit.

Those farmers who grow tobacco complain that they do not get money on time from the tobacco-brokers. Real cream is eaten up by the middlemen. Still the success of agriculture depends a lot on the mercy of nature.
The social expenses like getting sons and daughters married and spending on after death ceremony keep their economic condition at the average inspite of their working very hard.

Sometimes they are unnecessarily blamed for sexual harassment of the tribal female farm-labourers and asked to give rupees as compensation. Otherwise they give a threat to complain to the police. The rival land-owners instigate the (tribal and local non-tribal) farm labourers in such matters.

Those land-owners, who give advance amount to the tribal farm labourers, have some times to wash their hands off! They neither return money nor come to do labour work.

In brief the village land-owners are not so happy as they look from the layman's eyes.

(6) Suggestions:

During the field-work in Radhvanaj, Undhela, Sandhana, Vansar and Sokhada, on a number of occasions opportunities were available to see local farmers, farm labourers, land-owners, migrant tribal male and female labourers and the progressive farmers in near by villages. Analysis of collected data and
minute observations lead to the following suggestions:

(1) **The Main reason of tribal migration is economic.** Unless and until the problem of their livelihood is not solved, it is difficult to stop them migrating, though unwillingly, in search of labour work. The direct impact of their migration is on their culture. They fail to celebrate their festivals in non-tribal area to their satisfaction. They cannot sing or dance freely. Lack of enjoyment leads them to, in words of Verrier Elwin, "Loss of will to live" and "Loss of Nerves".

(2) **The migrant tribal farm-labourers do not get grains at controlled or at subsidised rates from the Fair Price Consumers' Stores. Steps should be taken to make this provision.**

(3) **The housing accommodations should be provided by the village panchayats to the migrant tribal labourers if they intend to live permanently. Moreover they should be allotted unused extra waste-land for agriculture. It should be insisted that they do get minimum daily wage fixed by the government and they may not be exploited due to their helplessness and illiteracy.**

(4) **Some provisions like 'Cradle house' should be made to look after their young babies when they go to labour on farms.**
So that they can concentrate on work without any worry for their infants.

(5) It should be seen that the benefits of five Year plans and Tribal Area Sub Plans reach to all of them. Their exploitation in any form by the tribal chiefs, government officers, traders, shop-keepers, Kampa walas, contractors, money lenders, Banis, Bohras or land-owners should be stopped.

(6) The adult tribal males and females should be convinced to adopt family planning. They should be explained biological facts regarding birth of a child as well as techniques and methods of family planning. They should be explained that vasectomy does not cause physical weakness, loss of manhood, inability to do hard work, and to enjoy sex-life. These are their wrong notions. The government servants should not force unmarried youths or unwilling married youths for vasectomy, just to reach the predicated target of cases for vasectomy operation.

(7) When the tribals are forced to surrender or vacate their land, homes and villages due to irrigation project or construction of dams, care should be taken in rehabilitation work regarding their feelings and attachment with their native places. The same type dwellings in new inhabitation should be provided to them, so that they may not feel uprooted. Along
with fertile land in exchange, proper compensation in cash, should be given for breakable household materials. Then no provocation will get encouragement on the name of tribal culture and environment or ecological balance.

(8) Laws regarding tribal debt, removal of bonded labour, fixation of minimum labour charge (even for the children above fourteen), etc. are not enough for the welfare of the tribals. In words of D.G. Herbert,

"To try to do this... by means of laws... appears to be like trying to catch a shark with a piece of string." Laws are not enough to bring about changes. Moreover, the targets of development of the tribals should not be measured in terms of the amount spent. It should be measured by how much real welfare is achieved.

(9) To solve the problem of illiteracy among the tribals, the emphasis should be given on primary education. The trained tribal youths should be appointed as teachers in primary schools in tribal areas, who know their dialect and can easily adjust to the environment. There should be quarters for teachers' families. It is not impossible to make changes in school timings and vacation days. Efforts should be made to suit them to their
agriculture work. To avoid extra burden on the teacher, enough posts should be filled up according to the need of classes. To avoid wastage and stagnation among the tribal children, a scheme of evaluation of the teacher should be found out.

The improvement should be made in the management of the Ashram-Shalas. Instead of keeping the children busy on demonstration farms, proper waitage should be given to other subjects including languages, maths and science.

The adult education programme should be implemented intensively in tribal areas. It should include all such items as related to everyday life problems. During the literacy programme, the individual should be prepared to take interest in resolving his problems and meet the needs of his everyday life and make him realize the importance of his ability to read and write, so as to enable him to gain more knowledge to meet his needs. It should be more dynamic, production oriented functional and alive to their burning issues.

If the tribals become literate, indirect benefits will be many e.g. agricultural products will increase, land and animal resources will be far better husbanded, maternal and child health will reduce the death rate, labour would become more productive, voting and political participation will become more
intelligent. They will stop voting for bicycles and cocks, but will vote for persons (i.e. with knowledge and understanding regarding political parties and election contesting persons).

In brief the primary aim of adult education among the tribals is not to provide learning to them, to prepare themselves for jobs, but to help them improving their performance in the jobs they are already involved.

(10) The non-tribals should not show general prejudice against the tribals. They should not express hatred for their aboriginality and assumed primitive mentality, as all these lead to further break-down of social and psychological controls and also lead to exclusion from general social life of the region. At the same we should be cautious in giving advice and sponsor changes and innovations among the tribals. We should not interfere with tribal customs, beliefs and practices.

The non-tribal villagers should respect the tribals as they respect their own villagers. They should not consider them back-ward or unimportant. They are honest, diligent, faithful helpful, enduring and patient. These good qualities of the tribals should be respected.

(11) One of the reasons of the migration of the tribals
is that the trees in the forests have been cut off. The man has not controlled his greed to satisfy his need. It has created ecological imbalance. So the forests should be plant preserved. More trees should be planted and natural environment should be re-established.

(12) Exploitation is a Sociological concept. It refers to social arrangement. It should be examined in connection with present sociological theories and conceptual framework. Of course, some sociologists and economists have made the reference of exploitation to explain class-structure, economic activities and social modernization.

To make the tribals free from bonded labour does not mean to part them from their employers (land owners). It is not a true solution. More important is that the bonded labourers must be able to operate freely at socio-economic plane. It should be approached in a multi-pronged manner.

(13) The Record of Rights of Tribal lands should be made up-to-date and maintained correctly. So that they may claim their rights on their holding of land legally and it may not be transferred easily to non-tribals.
While concluding, it is my feeling that there is no quenching of thirst for research. It is not an end. It is just beginning. There is still scope for further inquiries.

The migrant tribal farm-labourers who have been included in five Charotar Villages of Matar Taluka, should further be pursued in their native tribal villages and first hand data should be collected regarding their land, debt, animal husbandry, agriculture, exploitation, the aged, health, diseases, birth rate and death rate, life span, infant mortality, changes, tribal elites, education, ashram shalas, etc.

I also wish to study the local traditional farm-labourers who have migrated and settled in cities and towns adopting occupational mobility from these Charotar Villages, the problems of their adjustment, habitation, livelihood, activities, education, position in socio-economic structure, clashes in open competition, stress and strain experienced by them in an urban setting.

The same type of inquiry can be made among the migrant tribals working in the urban area.

Attempts should be made to know from the village landowners about the impact of overdozes of chemical fertilizers,
irrigation, high yielding seeds, production of crops, imbalance in environment and pollution. Inquiry should be made about the migrant tribal farm labourers working in non-tribal rural areas, who borrow money in advance from the land-owners and accept to work as debt-servants in the form of bound-labourers and finally being drifted into the stream of bonded labour that has been legally abolished since 1975.