

KOKNA

A SCHEDULED TRIBE IN DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI

Field Investigation and Draft : *M. L. SAH*
Editing : N. G. NAG

AR GENERAL INDIA
ME AFFAIRS
Delhi

CONTENTS

	PAGES
FOREWORD	iii–v
PREFACE	vii–xii
CHAPTER	
I. Name, Identity and Origin	1–3
II. Population and Distribution	5–14
III. Physical Characteristics	15–16
IV. Family, Clan and other Analogous Divisions	17–21
V. Settlement and Dwellings	23–30
VI. Dress and Ornaments	31–35
VII. Food and Drinks	37–39
VIII. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Disease and Treatment ...	41–45
IX. Language and Literacy	47–55
X. Occupation and Economic Life ...	57–78
XI. Life Cycle	79–95
XII. Religion and Festivals	97–109
XIII. Leadership, Traditional Council and Settlements of Disputes	111–124
XIV. Inter-community Relationship and Social Status	125–128
XV. Social Reforms	129–130
References Cited and Other Bibliography	131–132
Annexure—Framework of Ethnographic Study	133–137

FOREWORD

The tradition of providing ethnographic notes on castes and tribes by the Indian Census goes back to the nineteenth century when it started its operation in the country. These notes, in many cases, provide for the first time an introduction to the customs and manners of various castes and communities as well as throw light on the life of the most backward ethnic groups living in inaccessible areas in the remote parts of the country. After independence, in pursuance of the national government's policy of discouraging community distinctions based on caste, creed and race, the generation of separate data on castes and tribes was discontinued along with the ethnographic studies. After a lapse of a few years the compilation and tabulation of socio-economic data and ethnographic studies were resumed in 1961 at All India level. But these were confined to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with a new orientation to meet the requirements of the Constitution, which *inter alia* provides, "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations".

2. Accordingly, the ethnographic studies by the Indian Census now not only project the cultural profile of the relevant community by providing information on its customs, manners and cultural traditions but lay equal emphasis on the socio-economic aspects relating to the level of education, traditional occupation and the occupational and social mobility. The ethnographic monographs brought out from 1961 onwards also pay equal attention to the Scheduled Castes. These,

however, appropriately focus on their special characteristics like the social status, the present state of untouchability or social disabilities from which they suffer and their social mobility within the common framework adopted for the ethnographic studies. An attempt is also made to cover information on the impact of social legislation and welfare and development measures undertaken during the Five-Year Plans on the Scheduled Castes or Tribes.

3. This orientation was possible as the Census organisation compiled special series of tables on social and economic characteristics of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The analysis of these data helps in understanding the socio-economic trends among the Scheduled Castes or Tribes taken up for study.

4. The other important feature of the ethnographic studies undertaken by the Census organisation is the focus on the social structure of the community in relation to its segments, like sub-castes or sub-tribes and synonyms, local and generic names, etc. This information is helpful in establishing the ethnic identity of the community by way of identification of its synonymous or sub-caste/sub-tribe names by which it is known in different areas. This is also helpful to the government in the matter of verification of the claims to Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe status on such consideration.

5. For providing the necessary base to these studies a number of supporting measures, like compilation and documentation of materials such as preparation of index-cards and bibliographies on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up.

6. The ethnographic studies are being conducted at two levels—Central level and the State level—with the cooperation of the Social Studies Division of the Registrar General's Office and the Directorates of

Census Operations. Shri N. G. Nag, Assistant Registrar General (Social Studies Division) is providing the overall guidance for this project. He is coordinating the studies with the assistance of Shri N. K. Banerjee, Research Officer at the Central level.

7. The present monograph on the Kokna of the hitherto isolated Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, which until two decades ago has been under the occupation of the Portuguese, is one of the monographs on Scheduled Tribes taken up by the Social Studies Division under the Central series on ethnographic studies. Shri M. L. Sah of the Registrar General's Office conducted field investigations under the supervision of Shri N. G. Nag and prepared the first draft. In the light of the guidelines provided by Shri Nag on the basis of his personal visit to the area Shri Sah collected more detailed information and drafted a comprehensive report. While editing, the draft prepared by Shri Sah was revised by Shri Nag. I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to them for their contribution in the preparation of this monograph.

P. PADMANABHA
Registrar General, India

January, 1979

PREFACE

The Census organisation is one of the pioneering organisations in India in the field of ethnographic studies throwing light on economic, social and cultural aspects of the people, comprising a spectrum of ethnic groups. The ethnographic accounts on castes and tribes contained in the earlier census reports have been regarded as some of the most readable and enduring contributions to the study of the people of our country. The *raison d'etre* of undertaking ethnographic studies by the Indian census is found in the then government's conviction that for the proper administration of the country it was necessary to have information on the social structure of the people, their religious beliefs and their customs and manners, besides their ethnic affiliation. The census reports accordingly gave a comprehensive coverage to such information on castes and tribes.

The Census of 1901 under Risley and Gait by all accounts is the first organised attempt to provide ethnographic data on castes and tribes embracing all the important aspects. This pattern was followed with full vigour in the 1911 Census with Gait in charge of the operations. In fact, the 1901 and 1911 Census reports were considered largely anthropological and their chapters on castes and tribes came to be regarded as 'anthropological classics'. The Census of 1921 seems to have paused for breath and laid stress on economic aspects. But the Census of 1931 under the scholarship of Hutton made a lasting contribution in the field of Indian anthropology in general and Indian ethnography in particular. It brought out a special ethnographic volume in two parts—Part B of the volume containing interesting material on important castes and tribes by way of contribution from scholars and Census Superintendents, besides data on physical anthropology. In the 1941 Census the ethnographic investigations did not receive much attention as it was felt by the then Census Commissioner, Mr. Yeatts, that in the then prevailing circumstances the scope of enquiries on castes and tribes could be dissociated from the census. In fact, even the demographic data on castes and tribes were presented on a somewhat modest scale since their compilation was restricted due to World War II. After independence the orientation of census data underwent considerable change to meet the

new requirements of social planning and development. It was also considered by the national Government that it was not desirable to produce data with focus on castes, tribes and races. Accordingly, the 1951 Census gave up the questions on these aspects. Only some demographic data on the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe categories as a whole was provided. It was, however, subsequently appreciated by the planners, administrators and social scientists that economic development was not an isolated phenomenon as it could not be viewed as merely economic investment but had ramifications which necessitated an understanding of the social structure of the concerned ethnic groups. The constitutional obligation in relation to weaker sections, particularly in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, required separate socio-economic data based on survey research for undertaking development measures. Accordingly, the 1961 Census attempted, in a comprehensive manner, generation of demographic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and resumed ethnographic studies on castes and tribes. These were, however, confined to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with focus on such socio-economic data as would be helpful for meeting the needs of administration for the welfare and planned development of these groups. Accordingly, the ethnographic notes prepared by the Census organisation not only project the cultural profile of the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe but also present data on its traditional occupation, occupational mobility, improvements in the levels of education, social reform movements, welfare measures and the development programmes undertaken during the five-year plans and their impact on the community. The Census organisation is particularly in an advantageous position to consider the question of occupational mobility and improvements in the levels of education in the ethnographic studies on Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes in view of the statistical data generated during the 1961 and 1971 Censuses on industrial classification of workers and levels of education, age and marital status, religion, mother-tongue and bilingualism, etc. The interpretation of macro level data collected during the census operations in the light of the field investigations in the representative areas helps in studying the social change and processes at work in respect of the relevant Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe spatially.

The ethnographic notes serve other purposes as well. They meet the operational need of the Census organisation in regard to the study of demographic trends including social mobility among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The social boundaries of the castes and tribes are not always static and

sometimes undergo a change on account of alignment with different groups or realignment of its segments or adoption of a new name in the wake of social mobility, as part of the process of social climbing. It is for this reason that sometimes some communities register fluctuating returns in different censuses which cannot be explained on the basis of natural growth or other factors like out-migration. For instance, the Tiyar, which is a caste of traditional boatmen and fishermen, registered a fall in their population in successive censuses in many areas of West Bengal in the decades between 1911 and 1951. This apparent decline in their population was not due to any actual decrease in their numbers as it was found that in the wake of social mobility aimed at enhancing their social status they started returning themselves by the honorific name of 'Rajbanshi', which was used by other communities as well. The movement for changing the nomenclature of the community has been particularly strong during the period between 1911 and 1951 and even now this trend is manifest, though with a somewhat different orientation, particularly in North-East India from where there are a number of moves for changing the name of a Scheduled Caste/Tribe on one ground or the other. Sometimes it is due to the desire to forge unity or alignment with a different though akin, group; sometimes this kind of unity is forged by realignments of different segments of ethnic groups by a process of accretion. At other times a reversed trend is noticed and some of the segments of the same community due to socio-political or other reasons assert a new identity and break away from the main group by claiming an independent status. These processes reflect on the population returns of the castes/tribes in different censuses. These trends make it rather incumbent for the Census organisation to explain the inter-decadal fluctuations in the population of individual Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is one of the reasons why the ethnographic studies undertaken by the Census organisation lay stress on the ethnic identity of the community, particularly in relation to its social structure in terms of synonyms and generic names, besides its segments—the sub-castes or sub-tribes. The information relating to synonyms, generic names and sub-caste or sub-tribe names is also helpful to the Census organisation for the local identification of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for enumeration and other purposes. Further, in view of the Constitutional benefits accruing to the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes a number of claims, often spurious, are staked identifying a particular community with one or the other Scheduled Caste or Tribe on the ground that it is a synonymous name or a segment

of the latter. The information on these aspects is also helpful to the government in the verification of claims to scheduled status on the ground of synonymity or the like and the matter of revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The approach and methodology of ethnographic studies was evolved during the course of time through various stages. First, in the early 1961 a small format was developed in respect of items on which ethnographic data were required to be collected mainly on the basis of published literature. Subsequently, in the same year, a separate cell, known as Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit (now Social Studies Division) was set up in the Registrar General's Office to undertake social studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys, studies of fairs and festivals, ethnographic studies, etc. It was appreciated that in order to project the latest picture of the socio-economic and cultural life of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and in case of the former for throwing light on occupational mobility and their present social status, and highlighting the changes in the life of these communities, it would be necessary to collect first-hand information on the basis of direct field enquiries in different parts of the State to cover spatial and other diversity. In May and June 1966 two Ethnographic Study Camps were organised at Kurseong and Hyderabad in which the technical staff of the Office of the Registrar General of India as well as the State Directorates of Census Operations participated. During the deliberations various issues relating to ethnographic notes were sorted out and an integrated frame for preparation of ethnographic notes was developed. A copy of this is enclosed as annexure to the ethnographic note. Subsequently, a few field training camps were also organised in different parts of the country where the operational staff engaged in ethnographic studies was provided guidance in field methodology and techniques to meet the objectives of ethnographic studies undertaken by the Census organisation.

As adjunct to ethnographic studies, a number of studies have been undertaken to throw light on special characteristic features of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which have a bearing on their socio-economic and cultural aspects. These includes 'Demographic and Socio-economic Profiles of the Hill Areas of North-East India', 'Social and Economic Processes in Tea-Plantations with Special Reference to Tribal Labourers', 'Social Mobility Movements among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India', 'Survey of Polygynous Marriages in India' and 'Pattern of Rehabilitation of Displaced Tribals of Rourkela', etc. These studies provide understanding of their

general problems which have been profitably used in drafting monographs on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In order to provide some minimal information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe within a short time, two mimeographed volumes entitled 'A Preliminary Appraisal of Scheduled Tribes of India' and 'A Preliminary Appraisal of Scheduled Castes of India' were also brought out in 1968-69.

For conducting ethnographic studies a number of innovations had to be made in the basic approaches and research methods, tools and techniques for collection of data as well as in organisational devices. These *inter alia* include documentation of valuable information by preparing index-cards and taking extracts from publications on Scheduled Castes/Tribes, preparation of bibliographies on these communities as well as other social studies. Ethnographic studies have been undertaken by the staff of the Directorates of Census Operations in the States as well as the Social Studies Division at the Centre. The technical know-how has been provided by the Social Studies Division. The hitherto unknown Kokna of Dadra & Nagar Haveli provided an interesting field of enquiry due to their isolation owing to the occupation of their habitat, until recently, by the Portuguese. The present study presented a unique opportunity to examine the nature of inter-action and its intensity between the Kokna and their counter-parts and other communities in the adjoining areas, having different socio-economic and administrative set up. The land tenure system, which is of prime concern to the agricultural tribal communities of the region including the Kokna varied a good deal in Dadra and Nagar Haveli as compared to Gujarat and Maharashtra. Likewise, Christianity was patronised and policy regarding alcoholic drink was liberal in the Union Territory. These factors naturally provided a different socio-economic setting in the Territory.

Shri M. L. Sah, assisted by Shri A. A. Patel, of the Registrar General's Office made detailed field investigations in a number of villages in the Union Territory and spent quite a few months in the collection of ethnographic data on the community. He prepared a comprehensive draft on the basis of materials collected by him. I also visited some parts of the Union Territory and stayed there for a few days. My first-hand contact with the community was of immense help to me in editing the draft report. I take this opportunity to thank Shri M. L. Sah who collected detailed and useful information on the community and prepared an analytical report. Thanks are also due to Shri K. K. Kalra of this office who prepared the cover design, maps and the chart. Shri A. Mitra, who is responsible for

resuming the tradition of ethnographic studies in 1961 Census deserves our gratitude for enabling us to undertake such rewarding studies. I am grateful to Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, the Census Commissioner for 1971. The encouragement given by him was responsible for undertaking this fruitful enquiry on the Kokna community. Finally, I express my deep gratitude to Shri P. Padmanabha, Registrar General of India, who inspite of his pre-occupation with the work relating to the organisation of 1981 Census, gave considerable thought to the contents of the ethnographic notes and with whom I had a series of fruitful discussions in this regard. The advice and invaluable suggestions given by him have resulted in the proper orientation being given to these studies by focussing on socio-economic aspects, which have much more significance in the present context, rather than merely the cultural aspects.

N. G. NAG

Assistant Registrar General, (SS)

CAPTER I

NAME, IDENTITY AND ORIGIN

Kokna, notified as a Scheduled Tribe in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, vide the 'Constitution (Dadra & Nagar Haveli) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1962', is a community of Western India, mainly concentrated in the coastal areas. According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976, it is also treated as a Scheduled Tribe in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Rajasthan States. But during the 1971 Census only two Kokna were recorded from Rajasthan, where none returned in 1961 and a handful of persons were enumerated in Karnataka. From their distribution pattern it appears that the Kokna form a contiguous belt in the coastal districts of south-eastern Gujarat, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and north-western Maharashtra. The tribe is having its main concentration in Maharashtra, followed by Gujarat and Dadra and Nagar Haveli. In the latter area, it is one of the important communities and rank third among the Scheduled Tribes of the Union Territory, next to the Varli and Dhodia.

The etymological significance of the name 'Kokna' is not very clear; the Kokna informants could not throw any light in the matter and did not recall any legend about the origin of their community's name. But from the earlier published literature on the community it would appear that the name 'Kokna' is derived from 'Kokna' the coastal region along the western ghats of Maharashtra and Karnataka. In this connection, Mead (C.I. 1911, Vol. VII, Part I: 972) has stated that their name suggests that they passed into Gujarat from the Konkan and this view, according to him, to some extent is supported by their language which is a mixed dialect of Gujarati and Marathi. Enthoven (Vol. II, 1922 : 65) and Desai (Vol. XVI, Part I, 1911 : 302) also subscribe to this view. Campbell (Vol. XVI, Part I, 1883 : 221-224) believes that they migrated from the coast to the north of Kanara from Goa which he regards as their former home-land.

At present, the Kokna belt extends from the north-west of Maharashtra to Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Gujarat, in the West. The tribe is mainly concentrated in the western talukas of Thana, Nasik and Dhulia districts in Maharashtra, the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and south-eastern talukas

of Dangs, Valsad and Surat districts of Gujarat. In view of the present distribution of the tribe and its alleged origin in Konkan tracts it appears that over a period of time, it has migrated towards the north and then spread towards the main land. It would seem that from Thana district in Maharashtra the Kokna spread over to Nasik and other adjoining districts in Gujarat and Maharashtra, besides the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. In this regard the district, Gazetteer of Nasik has recorded that the 'Konkani' are immigrants from Thana who have spread into the Dangs and up the western spurs of the Sahyadari hills (Vol. XVI, 1883: 47).

No authentic account of their migration is available. But according to Enthoven (*op. cit.*) they moved northwards by the pressure of the great Durga Devi famine (A.D. 1396-1408). According to another version recorded in the Gazetteer of Thana the Kokna have a tradition that their forefathers were brought from Ratnagiri to garrison the hill fort of Gambhirgad (Vol. XIII, Part I, 1882; 174-175). The Kokna informants however, could not confirm or deny either of the above two traditions.

As stated in the preceding paras the theory of the migration of the community from Konkan is sought to be supported on the ground of their dialect being a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati. Although earlier, Grierson classified Kokna speech as a dialect of 'Bhili', studies conducted by Census organisation indicate that perhaps the name given by Grierson was not the correct transcription of the variety of speech involved and it should have been 'Kokni' dialect (C.I. 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C (ii), Language Tables, 1964: CCXVIII).

Whatever may be, from the subsequent discussion on their present cultural pattern, including the marriage customs and religious observances, such as the worship of *Vagh Dev*, *Hirva* and other popular deities worshipped by the local tribal communities, it appears that they mostly share the regional tribal pantheon in the matter of worship.

It would appear that the name Kokna has a few phonetic variations as the various accounts and scholars have spelt the community's name with slight difference in spellings While Save (1945:257), Campbell (*op. cit.*), Mead (*op. cit*) and Mukherjea (1932:461) have spelt them as 'Kokna' the district Gazetteers of Khandesh (1880), Thana (1882) and Nasik (1883) have recorded them as 'Konkani'. Enthoven (*op. cit.*) and Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency (1901) have spelt the community's name as 'Konkna' while Dalal (1902) has spelt them as 'Kukana'.

In fact, except in Dadra and Nagar Haveli where the tribe is notified as only 'Kokna', in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Mysore 'Kukna' and 'Kokni' are bracketed with 'Kokna'. In Dadra and Nagar Haveli the members of the community, as well as their neighbours refer to them as 'Kokna' and the other phonetic variations are not popular in the Union Territory. It is interesting to observe that there is a tendency among the members of the community to refer to themselves as 'Kunbi' in an attempt at social climbing as apart from being the name of a distinct ethnic group of cultivators 'Kunbi or Kanbi' is also sometime used as a generic term for cultivators, which is indicative of a higher status than that accorded to the tribal Kokna.

In the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli although the Kokna form two territorial units they comprise a single homogeneous group without having sub-tribes or endogamous divisions. The accounts given by earlier writers in respect of Kokna of Gujarat and Maharashtra also make no mention of any sub-tribes or endogamous divisions.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

As stated earlier, in addition to the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Kokna is listed as a Scheduled Tribe in the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Rajasthan. According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes lists (Modification) Order, 1956, the community was notified throughout Gujarat state except Rajkot division and Kutch district, throughout Maharashtra state except Vidarbha and Marathwada regions, in the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and N. Kanara of Mysore state and in Abu Road taluka of Sirhoi district of Rajasthan state. According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Amendment) Act of 1976, the community is now scheduled throughout the state of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Rajasthan and the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The following table shows the sex-wise distribution of the community in different States and Union Territory in the order of numerical strength as per the 1971 Census.

TABLE 1

Sex-wise distribution of the Kokna in different States and Union Territory as per the 1971 *Census*

State/Union Territory	Persons	Males	Females
1. Maharashtra	264,009	134,381	129,628
2. Gujarat	146,768	74,423	72,345
3. Dadra & Nagar Haveli . . .	9,928	5,013	4,915
4. Karnataka	176	81	95
5. Rajasthan	2	2	..

It is seen from the above table that during the 1971 Census only 176 Kokna were enumerated in Karnataka and a negligible number (2) of persons were recorded in Rajasthan.

An overview of the Kokna population shows that the community is mainly concentrated in Valsad district of Gujarat state (124,285), Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and the adjoining districts of Maharashtra, viz., Thana, Nasik and Dhulia. In Valsad

district, they are mainly to be found in Dharampur, Chikhli and Bansda talukas, adjoining the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The population of the community declines when one moves further north in Gujarat. In other districts except Surat (17,183) and Dangs (5,233), viz., Sabarkantha, Vadodara, Bharuch, Mahesana and Ahmadabad, its population is negligible. On moving further south-west, i.e., into Maharashtra state, the Kokna population increases. During the 1971 Census they returned a population of 164,469 from Nasik, 65,470 from Dhulia and 33,003 from Thana district. It is to be noted that in these districts the Kokna population is mainly concentrated in the talukas bordering the Gujarat state. The above mentioned areas of Gujarat and Maharashtra along with the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli form a compact block which may be said to be the 'nucleus' of Kokna territory.

The Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli is located between Gujarat and Maharashtra states. It is surrounded by the Umbargaon taluk of Valsad district and Dhanu taluk of Thana district in the West, Pardi and Dharampur talukas of Valsad district in the East and Dhanu taluk of Thana district in the South. Thus, the Union Territory forms the south-western fringe of the 'nucleus' of the Kokna population.

As stated earlier, numerically the Kokna community is the third largest Scheduled Tribe in the Union Territory. It returned a population of 7611 during the 1962 and 9928 in the census enumeration of 1971, including 5013 males and 4915 females. Their population comprises 15.40 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the Union Territory.

During the 1962-71 period the population of the community registered an increase of 30.44 per cent against 25.72 per cent and 27.96 per cent increase in the overall Scheduled Tribe population and the general population of the Territory respectively The population growth among the Kokna is obviously higher than that of the Scheduled Tribe as well as the general population as a whole of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The seventy two villages in the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli are covered by the ten administrative units, called Patelad. The following table shows Patelad-wise and village-wise population distribution of Kokna in Dadra and Nagar Haveli as per the 1971 Census :

TABLE 2

Patelad-wise and village-wise population distribution of the Kokna in Dadra and Nagar Haveli as per the 1971 Census

Sl. No.	Name of Patelad	Total population of Kokna	Village-wise population of Kokna under each Patelad
1	Amboli	1970	Amboli, 56; Khadoli, 187; Vinoda, 100; Bindrabin, 10; Velugam, 85; Karachgam, 261; Dolara, 100; Parzai, 161; Kherdi, 616; Kala, 394.
2	Dadra	10	Dadra, 10; Tighra, Nil; Demani Nil.
3	Dapada	1314	Dapada, 357; Surangi, 160; Vasona, Nil; Chinchpada 126; Chikhali, Nil; Apti,367; Pati, 304;
4	Dudhani . . .	1795	Dudhani, 89; Karchond, 129; Ghodbari, 1; Bildhari, 419; Gunsa, 124; Kauncha, 362; Jamalpada, 230; Amba bari, 295; Medha, Nil; Vagchauda, 14; Kothar 79; Kherarbari, 53.
5	Khanvel	1510	Khanvel, 475; Chauda, 97; Khutali, 517; Shelti, 73; Umbervarni, 5; Goratpada, 120; Rudana, Nil; Talavali, 223.
6	Kilavani	1242	Kilavani, 190; Galonda, 630; Sili, Nil; Umarkui, 137; Falandi, 285.
7	Mandoni. . . .	704	Mandoni,101; Sindoni, 10; Vansada, Nil; Khedpa, Nil; Bedpa, 429; Bensada, 164; Chinsda, Nil.
8	Mota Randha . .	1301	Mota Randha, 623; Nana Randha, 68; Morkhal, 417; Bonta, 193.
9	Naroli	..	Naroli, Nil; Kharadpada, Nil; Luhari, Nil; Athal, Nil Khandi, Nil; Dhapsa, Nil
10	Silvassa	82	Silvassa, 17; Amli, Nil; Rakholi, Nil; Masat, Nil: Kudacha, 2; Karad, 63; Athola, Nil; Samarvarni, Nil; Saily, Nil; Vagchhipa, Nil.
	Total	9,928	

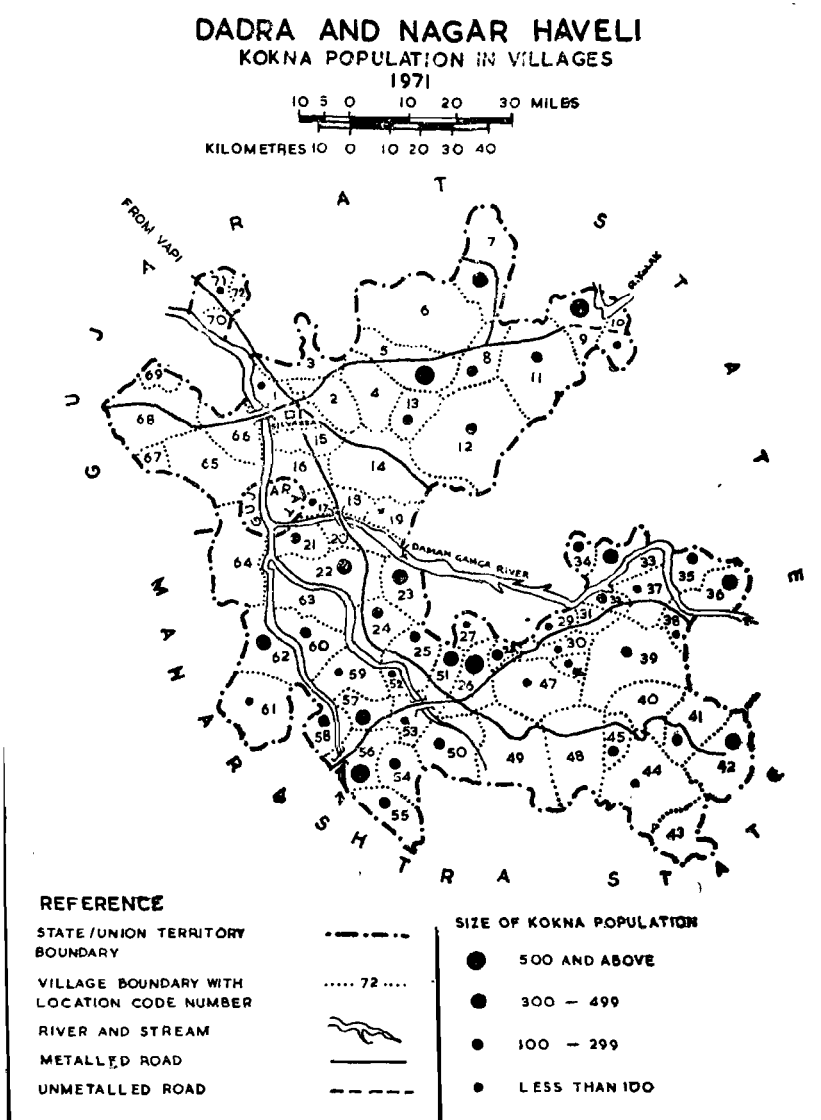
It would appear from the above statement that the community is spread over 49 villages of the Territory. Broadly speaking, their population is higher in the north and north-eastern Patelads of Dudhani, Amboli and Khanvel, and lower in the north-western Patelads, viz., Dadra, Silvassa and Naroli. In fact, they have not at all returned from the Naroli Patelad. Except Jamalpada, a small village in Dudhani Patelad having 230 population and exclusively inhabited by the Kokna, in all the other villages they are to be found living with other communities in varying proportions. However, there are atleast ten villages wherein the Kokna constitutes more than 50 per cent of the total population and may be said to be the numerically dominant community of that village. These villages are Ambabari (81.72 per cent), Bildhari (86.57 per cent) and Kothar (71.17 per cent) of Dudhani Patelad; Kala (70.86 per cent) and Kherdi (59.86 per cent) of Amboli Patelad; Goratpada (65.93 per cent), Khutali (51.44 per cent) and Talavali (78.52 per cent) of Khanvel Patelad and Apti (66.73 per cent) and Pati (51.09 per cent) of Dapada Patelad. On the other hand, as a sharp contrast, there are also some villages having a negligible (less than 20 individuals) Kokna population. These are Bindrabin (10), Dadra (10), Ghodabari (1), Kudacha (2), Silvassa (17), Sindoni (10), Umbervarni (5) and Vaghchauda (14).

Rural-Urban Distribution

The entire Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, comprising 72 villages, has been categorised as 'rural area' as per the 1971 Census. The question of distribution of Kokna population in the urban areas, therefore, does not arise.

Sex Ratio

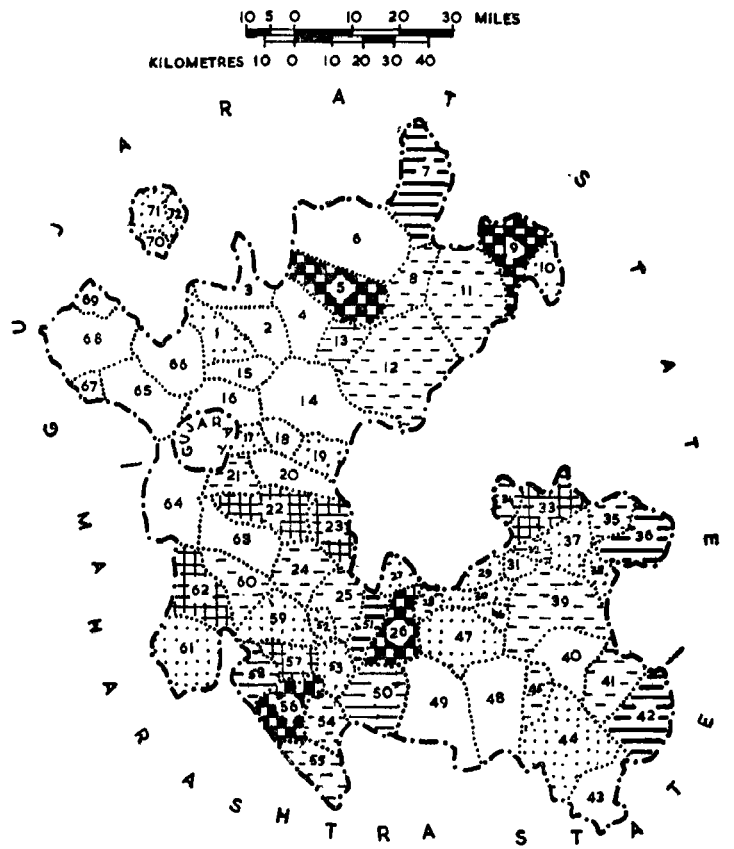
According to 1971 Census out of 9,928 persons, 5,013 are males and 4,915 females, thus having an overall sex-ratio of 980 females to 1000 males. This would suggest that the sex ratio of the Kokna is higher as compared to the general sex ratio of the country as a whole (930). But their sex ratio approximates the sex ratio (982) of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the country and is also in keeping with the trend in the Union Territory where the sex ratio for the Scheduled Tribes as a whole (1015) and the general population (1007) is still higher. It is interesting to observe that these three categories have shown an increase in the sex ratio when compared to 1962—from 963 to 1007 in the general population, from 971 to 1015 in the overall Scheduled Tribe population and from 965 to 980 in the Kokna population of the Union Territory. Considering that there has been a fall in the sex ratio of the country as a whole



2(a)—109 R. G. India/ND/79

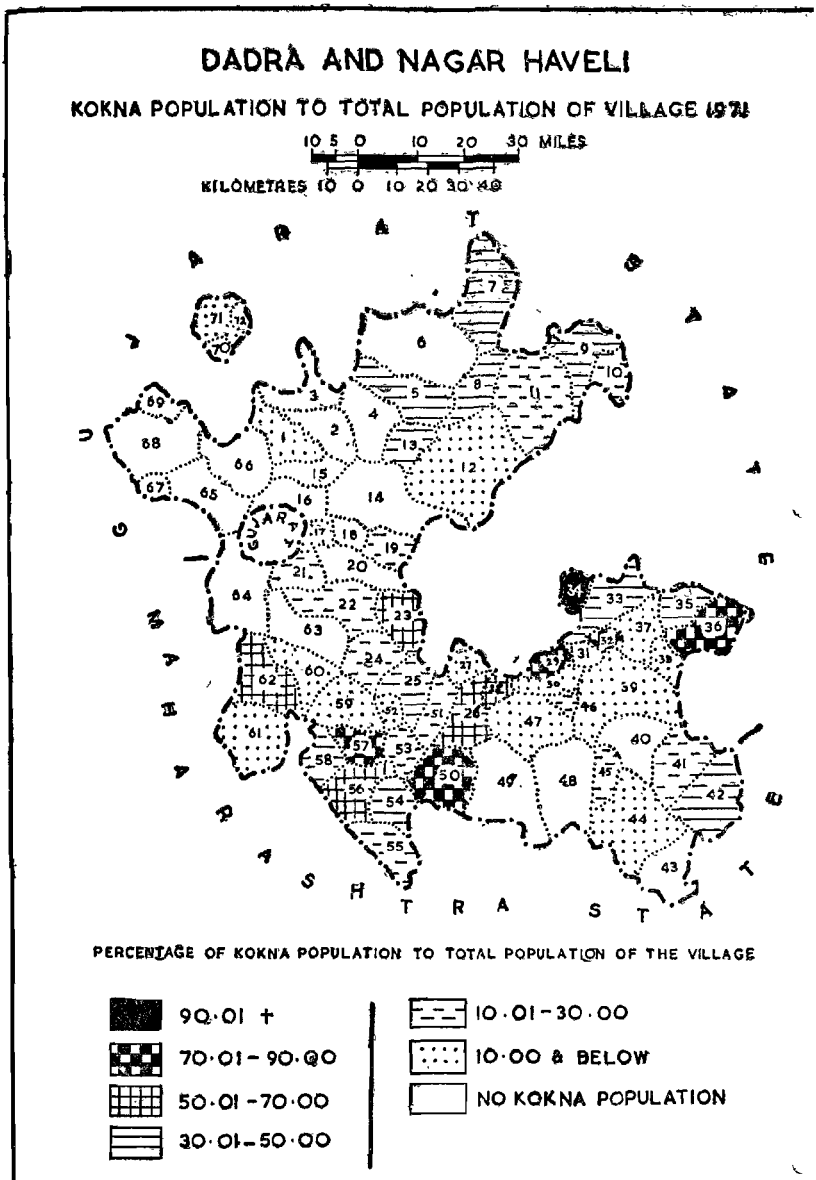
DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI

KOKNA POPULATION IN VILLAGES AS PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL KOKNA POPULATION 1971



PERCENTAGE OF KOKNA POPULATION IN THE VILLAGES TO THE TOTAL KOKNA POPULATION OF THE UNION TERRITORY

- 5·01 +
- 4·01 – 5·00
- 3·01 – 4·00
- 2·01 – 3·00
- 1·01 – 2·00
- 1·00 & BELOW
- NO KOKNA POPULATION



2(b)—109 R. G. India/ND/79

from 941 in 1961 to 930 in 1971 and also in the overall Scheduled Tribe population of the country from 987 in 1961 to 982 in 1971, the increase in sex ratio of the three categories of population in the Union Territory is rather intriguing and cannot be easily explained. One reason for the increase in the sex ratio should be that after liberation from Portuguese domain the Territory has offered more mobility and opportunity for the males to emigrate to the neighbouring areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat in search of employment.

The following table gives the distribution of the Kokna by broad age-groups along with sex ratio as per the 1971 Census.

TABLE 3

Sex ratio of Kokna by broad age-groups as per the 1971 *Census (figures in brackets are percentages)*

Age-groups	Total	Males	Females	Sex-ratio
0—14	4,693 (47.27)	2,381 (47.50)	2,312 (47.04)	971
15—44	3,816 (38.44)	1,904 (37.98)	1,912 (38.90)	1,004
45 above	1,419 (14.29)	728 (14.52)	691 (14.06)	949
Total .	9,928 (100 00)	5,013 (100.00)	4,915 (100.00)	980

The foregoing data on the distribution of population by broad age-groups and sex show that the community has the largest proportion in 0-14 age-group which accounts for 47.27 per cent of their total population. The 15-44 age-group covers 38.44 per cent of the total Kokna population. On the other hand, only 14.29 per cent persons fall in the 45 and above age-group. As regards the sex ratio in the three broad age-groups it is seen that it is low (971) in the 0-14 age group. But it increases to 1004 in the reproductive age-group of adult population and interestingly registered steep fall (949) in the over 45 age-group. A possible reason for increase in the sex ratio in the 15-45 age-group could be that, as hinted earlier, some of the males in this age-group migrate to the neighbouring areas. In view of the small population involved even a migration of about one hundred persons would alter the sex ratio significantly. Another reason could be that the extension of public health and maternity services in the Territory has reduced the mortality of women during the child birth.

List of Villages of Dadra and Nagar Haveli

Name	Location code No.	Name	Location Code No.
Ambabari	32	Khedpa	43
Amboli	59	Kherarbari	46
Amli	2	Kherdi	56
Apti	62	Khutali	26
Athal	66	Kilavani	8
Athola.	4	Kothar	29
Bedpa	42	Kudacha	17
Bensda	41	Luhari	64
Bildhari	36	Mandoni	45
Bindrabin	52	Masat	16
Bonta	11	Medha	31
Chauda	53	Morkhal	7
Chikhali	63	Mota-Randha	9
Chinchpada	21	Nana-Randha	10
Chinsda	48	Naroli	68
Dadra	71	Parzai	54
Dapada	22	Pati	23
Demani	72	Rakholi	18
Dhapsa	69	Rudhana	49
Dolara	55	Saily	14
Dudhani	37	Samarvarni	15
Falandi	13	Shelti	47
Galonda	5	Sili	6
Goratpada	28	Silvassa	1
Ghodbari	38	Sindoni	44
Gunsa	35	Surangi	60
Jamalpada	34	Talavali	50
Kala	57	Tighra	70
Kanadi	67	Tinoda	25
Karachgam	58	Umarkui	12
Karad	19	Umbervarni	27
Karchond	39	Vagchauda	30
Kauncha	33	Vaghchhipa	3
Khadoli	24	Vansda	40
Khanvel	51	Vasona	20
Khardpada	65	Velugam	61

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The published literature on the Kokna does not throw much light on their physical features. The references in this regard are rather vague and sometimes contradictory. Thus, according to Enthoven, (*op. cit :* 265) they resemble the Varli tribe of Thana in appearance. Campbell (*op.cit :* 221) has recorded that most of the men are fair, tall and wheat-complexioned with well-cut features and look like the Deccan Maratha. The women folk have more delicate features and are fairer than the men. Dallal (*op.cit :* 550), on the other hand, found them black in colour and short statured.

In order to attain some first hand information on the physical characteristics of the Kokna, during the course of field investigation height vertex and somatoscopic observations were recorded in respect of forty three unrelated adult male members of the community residing at Dapada and Dudhani. Their height vertex ranges from 142.24 Cms. to 175.26 Cms. with a mean of 157.70 Cms. Thus, they fall in the category of short statured persons, although individually they showed a fairly wide range in stature and a few individuals would actually fall in the category of 'tall stature'.

As regards the skin colour on the exposed parts of the body or face, most of them were having brown colour of various shades, ranging from brown colour to medium brown colour. But one individual was having light brown colour and two persons a some what darker shade, viz., chocolate. The hair form on the head was invariably wavy. Most of them were having hair with low waves, only two persons were having medium-waved hair and one individual hair with deep waves. As regards the depression at the root of the nose they had mostly medium depression except in case of two individuals, one of whom was having shallow and the other deep depression. Their nose was

mostly medium thick with normal alae or wings. Only one individual showed a tendency for having flaring alae. Their eye slits were invariably straight without the presence of any epicanthic fold. Their faces were mostly oval but two individuals had round faces. Except for two persons who possessed rather thick lips the others had medium thick lips. The cheek bones and the chin were moderately developed. But two individuals had somewhat weaker chin. But a significant number of persons (9 or 21 per cent) betrayed a tendency for prognathism—the projection of jaw—as slight alveolar prognathism was observed in case of eight persons and medium prognathism in case of one individual. The remaining 34 persons (79 per cent) did not betray any prognathism.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY, CLAN AND OTHER ANALOGOUS DIVISIONS

Territorial Divisions

As stated earlier, the Kokna of Dadra and Nagar Haveli do not form sub-tribes or any other endogamous divisions. The earlier literature on the community also does not make any mention of their having any sub-tribes or endogamous divisions. During the field investigation conducted in the Union Territory for the present study, the Kokna mentioned that they form a homogeneous community without segmentation into sub-tribes. But they appear to form two territorial units, viz., the Dungari Kokna and Pathari Kokna or Pathar Kokna. This territorial distribution has been brought about as the north-eastern region of the Union Territory is traversed by wastern spurs of the Sahaydari hills. The area on the periphery of the Sahaydari hills is distinguishable from the plains area. The Kokna inhabitants residing in the plains area, such as Dapada and adjoining villages, referred to their counterparts inhabiting the hilly tracts in Dudhani and adjoining villages as 'Dungari Kokna' and are themselves referred to as 'Pathar' or 'Pathari Kokna' by the latter. The villages inhabited by the Kokna on the western spur of the Sahyadari hills are situated at a distance of 40 to 50 kms. from Silvassa, the headquarters of the Union Territory. Although they are linked by a road from Silvassa, the last stretch of four or five kilometres passes through the hilly jungle area at a higher altitude. The Kokna in the two territorial sections have somewhat limited social intercourse due to difficult terrain. But they acknowledge each other as belonging to the same tribe and have common traditions. They acknowledged inter-marital and inter-dining relations with each other though these are understandingly limited due to the nature of the terrain. In any case, during the field investigation no actual case of inter-marriage involving the Kokna in the two regions could be recorded.

The minor variations in the socio-cultural and economic pattern of the community in the two regions, have been indicated in the relevant account.

Clan organisation

The Kokna of the Union Territory are divided into a number of exogamous units, locally called *kud*. During the

course of field investigation, the following thirty-one *kuds* were recorded:

1. Bagadi
2. Bariya/Barhiya
3. Bhoya
4. Bhusara
5. Borsa
6. Choudhary
7. Chauhan
8. Dhamoda
9. Gabadi
10. Gauli
11. Gaikwad
12. Gavit/Gawit
13. Jadav
14. Kambdi
15. Kanauja
16. Kurkutia
17. Mahakal
18. Mahala
19. Misad
20. Movalia
21. Nihpal
22. Nikolia
23. Padwi
24. Pawar
25. Raut/Rawat
26. Saharia
27. Sinda
28. Thakaria
29. Thorat
30. Vaghmaria
31. Vadu

Most of the above units are common to both the territorial sections of the Kokna. But a few are found exclusively either among the Pathar Kokna or Dungari Kokna. For instance, Bhusara, Padwi, Bagadi, Pawar, Gabadi, Kanauja, Thakaria and Nikolia *kuds,* recorded among the Kokna of Dapada (Pathar Kokna), were not found among the Dungari Kokna, residing in Bildhari, Dudhani villages, etc. On the other hand, some of the *kuds,* such as, Gauli, Jadav, Thorat, Mahakal, Saharia, Vaghmaria, Movalia, Nihpal and Vadu reported by Kokna of Bildari and Dudhani villages (Dungari Kokna), are not found among those residing in Dapada and adjoining villages.

The Kokna could not throw much light on the etymological significance of the names of these *kuds* or narrate any legend with regard to their origin. However, it may be observed that some of these, viz., Chauhan, Chaudhary, Gaikwad, Gavit, Jadav, Pawar, Raut and Thorat are names of known Maratha clans.

The Kokna *kuds* are divided into a few lineages or *kutumb*. The *kutumb* is an important social kin group and the members of the same *kutumb* claim origin from a common male ancestor. The members of the *kutumb* generally reside in the same village and carry common worship of their *kutumb* deities during certain occasions. Even if they reside in different villages on certain occasions they assemble at the headquarters of the *kutumb* to venerate the deities located in the household of a senior member of the group.

Family and descent

The Kokna reckon descent along the male line. A woman, after her marriage acquires her husband's *kud*. They are patri lineal, patronymic and patripotestal. The residence after marriage is patrilocal or neolocal, in the latter case preferably patrivicinal.

Although during the field investigation the Kokna did not claim any preference for extended or joint family and considered it quite normal for a son to set up his own separate household after marriage, from the statistical data given in the subsequent account, it would appear that the incidence of extended type of household, lineal as well as lineal-*cum*-collateral, is quite high. In fact, during the field investigation the Kokna were found to have a very high proportion of extended households, more than any other tribal group of the area.

The household data and actual composition of the households recorded in respect of sixty six households are given in the table below.

TABLE 4

Composition and typology of the Kokna households

Sl. No.	Composition	Typology	No. of households
1	2	3	4
1.	Husband and wife and their unmarried children.	Nuclear	27
2.	Widow with unmarried children	Depleted nuclear	2
3.	Husband and wife and their unmarried children and one separated daughter	Supplemented nuclear	1
4.	Husband and wife and their unmarried children, unmarried brother of the former	do	1
5.	Husband and wife and their unmarried children, unmarried brother of the husband and wife's widowed mother	do	1
6.	Widowed mother and children, including one married son, son's wife, the latter with or without unmarried children	do	13
7.	Widowed father and children including one married son, son's wife, the latter with or without unmarried children.	do	3

1	2	3	4
8	Husband and wife and their children including one married son, son's wife or with or without children	Extended (Lineal)	10
9.	Husband and wife and children including married daughter, her husband (with or without children)	do	2
10.	Two married brothers with their wives and unmarried children	Extended(collateral)	2
11.	Husband and wife and children including two married son's the latter's wives (with or without children)	Extended(Lineal-cum-collateral)	3
12.	Husband and wife, with a married son, son's wife, a married daughter and her husband	do—	1
	Total		66

The above data show that only twenty seven households represent cases of typical 'nuclear' households having a married couple and the unmarried children; two cases relate to 'depleted nuclear' households as they comprised a widow and her unmarried children. The typical 'nuclear' households comprise only 40 per cent of the total number of households covered while 'nuclear' and 'depleted nuclear' together formed 44 per cent of the households.

There are a number of households which can be termed as 'supplemented nuclear' or 'nuclear with adhesion'. These numbered nineteen or nearly 28 per cent of the total households. But their configuration varied a good deal. In one household, the married couple and their unmarried children shared the household with husband's father's unmarried brother. In another case, a separated daughter resided with her parents and unmarried brothers and sisters. Yet in another case, the wife's widowed mother shared the household with her daughter and her husband, the latter's unmarried brother and daughter's unmarried children. In the remaining sixteen households, which could be termed as 'supplemented nuclear' a widowed father or mother shared the household with his or her children, including one married son, the latter's wife (with or without children).

The remaining eighteen households (or 26 per cent) have extended type of orientation. These include twelve 'lineally extended', two 'collaterally extended' and six 'linear-*cum*-collaterally extended' households. But their composition varied

a good deal. Among the twelve cases of extended households, ten were those where a couple shared the household with their children which included one married son, his wife and unmarried children. The other two were rather unusual in the sense that a married couple shared the household with a married daughter, her husband and latter's unmarried children in addition to their own unmarried children. The two collaterally extended households each comprised two married brothers, their wives and unmarried children. The households which showed vertical as well as horizontal extension had different type of configuration. In three of the four such households, the husband and wife shared the household with their children which included two married sons and their wives (with or without children). The remaining one case was interesting in the sense that the parents shared the household with their children including a married son and his wife as well as a married daughter, her husband and the latter's children.

It is noticed from the preceding data that in three cases a married daughter and her husband shared the household with her parents. It is said that this is common due to the prevalence of the *khandadiya* or *khandad* system among the local tribals of the Territory. When a young man is unable to pay bride price, he agrees to serve as an additional hand at his prospective father-in-law's house. After the completion of the stipulated period, which may vary from three to five years, he is married to the daughter and is not required to bear the marriage expenses. Although, he is free to go and set up his own household after marriage, in general practice he mostly stays as *gharjamain*. This practice is by no means restricted only to those households where the wife's parents have no son. As stated above in one of the households, it was found that parents shared their household with a married son, his wife as well as the married daughter and her husband.

From the preceding data on family composition, it is seen that the incidence of extended type of households is very high among the Kokna of the area, as there were eighteen households, or 28 per cent, which showed either lineal extension, collateral extension or lineal-*cum*-collateral extension. In fact, if the nineteen 'supplemented nuclear' households are considered, it is felt that the incidence of extended type of household would have been still higher as some of these households have been obviously reduced to their present composition of 'supplemented nuclear' type due to the demise of one of the married partners in an 'extended' household.

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENT AND DWELLINGS

Settlement

A village in Dadra and Nagar Haveli usually comprises a number of hamlets, locally known as *pada*. In the plain areas a major part of the Union Territory consists of undulating land. The hutments are constructed on an elevated area which is usually either surrounded by, or located in the proximity of the paddy fields. Due to these geo-physical factors, namely, the undulating nature of the terrain and location of the dwellings near the agricultural fields the different hamlets of a village are usually situated at some distance from each other. Sometimes, the distance between two hamlets of the same village may be more than one kilometre. In the hill ranges also more or less the same pattern prevails. There the inhabitations are located wherever some cultivable land is available in the valleys or hill sides with gentle slopes, which permit cultivation of patches of land after proper bunding. Such areas are not uncommon in Sahyadri ranges where natural wide patches of land with gradual slopes are found amidst or along the forest clad hill ranges. In this context it may be mentioned that the term Dungari Kokna, used by the Kokna living in the plain areas for those residing in the so called hilly areas is not very appropriate. The term *dungar* literally means a hill. When approaching Dudhani from Dapada one has to climb up and then go down the somewhat higher hill ranges But after crossing two or three ranges a vast patch of somewhat plain area or table land lies ahead, while the hill ranges continue at one of the flanks or are seen raising in the distant horizon. In this connection it may be added that until recently these hills were rather inaccessable due to the jungle terrain being infested with wild animals and practically having no proper approach roads. As a result there was limited contact between the people who settled in the plains area and those who went further north to the Sahyadri hills. It is likely that due to these factors the residents of plains areas started referring to their counter parts residing across the hill ranges, as Dungri and in turn, themselves were referred to as Pathar by the latter.

As pointed out earlier, the Kokna settlement in Dudhani Patelad are invariably built on level ground. However, it is not

infrequent that one has to climb up and down the hill while going from one settlement to another. As in the case of plains area the various hamlets in the area across the hill ranges are occupied by different tribes. For example, the Kharkoni Pada of Karchond village is occupied by Koli Dhor and Kathodi communities. The former are landless labourers, while the latter are semi-nomadic agricultural labourers who work as labourers during sowing and harvesting periods and as charcoal workers during the non-agricultural season.

In the Union Territory the hutments are usually scattered or dispersed. It was observed that as compared to hamlets across the hill ranges this dispersion is relatively more pronounced in the plain areas may be due to the availability of more space in the latter case. A *pada* or hamlet is usually, though not necessary, dominated by one of the *kutumb* or lineages. It is believed that the ancestors of the dominant lineage settled first in that *pada*, which derived its name from the nomenclature of the *kud* of the dominant lineage group. In addition to the hutments of the dominant lineage a few households may also belong to other *kuds*. During the field investigation it was found that the two hamlets of Dapada village, exclusively inhabited by Kokna, were named after the *kud* of the numerically dominant lineage and known as Mahal Pada and Choudhary Pada; Chaudhary and Mahala being the names of the Kokna *kuds*. Sometimes, the names of the hamlet are also derived from certain prominent objects or landmarks. For example, the Vad Pada derived its name from an old *vad* (Baniyan) tree. It was inhabited by Kokna as well as members of Varli tribe. Similarly, Sadak Pada, is named after the metalled road passing through the hamlet. Here, the hutments of the Varli and Koli Dhor tribal communities are found scattered on either side of the road. In the same fashion, Dungri Pada is so named due to its location on *dungar*, i.e., a hillock. The village Dapada is having a church and a missionary centre; the Varli hutments located near the church comprise the Padri Pada although the inmates of the church refer to it as Dewal Pada (*dewal* in Gujarati means a temple).

The same pattern of naming a *pada* after a natural object also prevails in the settlements across the hill ranges, like Dudhani. In Gunsa village, Chinch Pada is named after *chinch* (tamarind) tree; Bori Pada after *bori* (Indian Plum); Kumbhi Pada inhabited by Koli Dhor community, is named after a local tree called *kumbhi*; Zhari Pada is named after a natural spring and Parsi Pada is so named as the house of the Parsi landlord of the village is located there. The Patel Pada in Bildari is so named as the *patel* or the headman resides there. Similarly, Karbhari

Pada of Bildari village was so named after the *karbhari*, headman of the hamlet, residing there. Sometimes a *pada* may also be named after some deity. The Kalan Devi in Dudhani village derives its name from the shrine of Kalan deity located there. A *pada* may also derive its name from a government institution. Thus, the Chowki Pada in Dudhani village is named after the *chowki* (police post) set up during the Portuguese regime. Similarly, Nishad Pada of Vaghchauda village is named after *nishad* (school) in that hamlet.

The number of hamlets in a village depends on the location and topographical factors. The hamlets are usually connected with each other by bridle paths and, sometimes, by cart road.

The names and distribution of the various hamlets in the five villages covered during the field study in respect of the Kokna community are given below.

1. *Village Kurchond*
   - I Bola Pada
   - II Chikar Pada
   - III Galad Pada
   - IV Inchani Pada
   - V Khadkun Pada
   - VI Mamti Pada
   - VII Parsi Pada
   - VIII Patali Pada
   - IX Patel Pada
   - X Payari Pada
   - XI Ravat Pada
   - XII Savar Pada
   - XIII Upermatha Pada

2. *Village Dapada*
   - I Andher Pada
   - II Chamar Pada
   - III Choudhary Pada
   - IV Dhody Pada
   - V Dungar Pada
   - VI Farar Pada
   - VII Hadal Pada
   - VIII Kokan/Mhal Pada
   - IX Padri Pada
   - X Vad Pada
   - XI Sadak Pada
   - XII Zati Pada

3. *Village Dudhani*
   - I Bori Pada
   - II Choki Pada
   - III Kalan Devi Pada
   - IV Khali Pada
   - V Khori Pada
   - VI Tokar Pada
   - VII Zhari Pada

4. *Village Vaghchauda*
   - I Parsi Pada
   - II Dhody Pada
   - III Dunger Pada
   - IV Nishad Pada

5. *Village Bildari*
   - I Patel Pada
   - II Loha Pada
   - III Karbhari Pada

As stated elsewhere, all the *pada* of the same village are not always inhabited by only one ethnic group. During the field survey carried out in connection with the present study among the Kokna in Dapada village two of the *pada*, viz. Choudhary Pada and Mahal Pada were studied in some details to gain some insight about the actual settlement pattern of the community in the village. Choudhary Pada, comprising 17 households, is exclusively inhabited by Kokna. The majority of the Kokna of this *pada* belong to Choudhary *kud* and claim to be the first settlers of this hamlet. Most of them were reported

to be *kutumbi* or lineage members. Their hutments are built in close proximity to each other and clustered at the centre of the hamlet. In addition to the members of Choudhary *kud,* a few others belonging to other *kuds,* such as Kanauja, Thakaria, Nikolia, Borsa, Bhoya and Padwi, were also found living in this hamlet. Their hutments were located at the periphery of the cluster of the hutments of the Choudhary Kokna. These were reported by Choudhary Kokna as 'late comers'. The claim of the Choudhary Kokna to be the 'earliest settlers' of the hamlet is supported by their centrally located hutments and the fact that only they were having their *kutumb* deities in the hamlet. These deities were installed in the house of Kursan Kadu Choudhary. The Kokna belonging to the other *kuds* were having their *kutumb* deities in other villages. It was stated that except the Kokna of Bhoya *kud,* who migrated to Dapada from a village in the adjoining Dahanu taluk of Maharashtra, the other hailed from different villages in the neighbouring Dharampur taluk of Valsad district of Gujarat. For the worship of their *kutumb* deities the Kokna belonging to Kanauja and Padwi *kuds* visit Madhuban village; Thakaria Kokna, Pansa Kutli village; Kokna belonging to Nikatia *Kud,* Manad village; Bessa Kokna Meghwal village and Bhoya Kokna, Wajharkund village as the other members of these *kuds* were reported to be living in the above villages. The visit to the seat of the *kutumb* deities is generally made only once in a year on the occasion of Diwali. They take along with them a rooster and a couple of bottles of *daru* (country liquor) for offering to their *kutumb* deities which are worshipped by the lineage members collectively.

In the Mahal Pada there are 18 Kokna households. Mahala is the numerically dominant *kud* of this hamlet. The village *karbhari,* Barko Soniy Mahala, also resides in this hamlet. Besides Mahala *kud,* there were some persons belonging to other Kokna *kuds,* viz., Borsa, Gawit, Sinda, Kurkutia, Bhoya, Kanauja and Thakaria. Two of these *kuds* hail from villages within the Territory, two from adjoining Maharashtra State and the remaining three from Dharampur in Gujarat. The settlement pattern of this *pada* is similar to that of the Choudhary Pada, i.e., the hutments of families belonging to Mahala *kud* form the nucleus and those of the others are scattered at its periphery. Only the members of Mahala *kud* were having their deities located in the *pada,* the others visit their respective 'home' villages during annual worship or whenever a vow is to be fulfilled.

The lineage members of Mahala *kud* informed that many generations ago four brothers, viz., Kade, Sonia, Dhakal and Jeewala, came to their present habitat from some unknown

distant land. The eldest settled here and present lineage members trace their descent from him. In this regard an attempt was made to trace the genealogy of a few households. In no case they could recollect the names going back to four generations. But, they believed that they had been living in their present habitat since many more generations.

In addition to these two hamlets Kokna were also living in their *pada* of Dapada village. There were six Kokna households in Vad Pada and one in Dungri Pada where they were living side by side with the Varli. Three Kokna households were located in Padri Pada in the neighbourhood of the Varli. It is interesting to observe here, that the three Kokna households although located within Padri Pada were within the cultural and social ambit of the adjoining Mahal Pada. To wit, they had contributed along with other households of Mahal Pada for the preparation of *pata* (a large fishing net) and wooden masks for their deities. During the present investigation Kursan Sinda, head of one of the three Kokna households was rather insistent that he should be recorded as belonging to Mahal Pada and not Padri Pada. In support of his plea Kursan informed that the Kokna have nothing to do with 'padri-chadharam' (Christianity).

The following table shows the distribution of various communities in the different *pada* of village Dapada:

TABLE 5

Distribution of various communities in the different pada of Dapada village

Sl. No.	Name of the *Pada* (hamlet)	Number of households						
		Varli	Christian Varli	Kokna	Koli Dhor	Chamar	Parsi	Khoja
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Andher Pada	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
2.	Chamar Pada	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
3.	Choudhary Pada	..	..	17	..	..	..	..
4.	Dhody Pada	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Dungri Pada	26	..	1	..	..	..	..
6	Farar Pada	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
7.	Hadal Pada	19	4	..	..	..	..	..
8.	Kokan/Mahal Pada	..	..	18	..	..	..	..
9.	Padri Pada	..	10	3	..	..	..	..
10.	Vad Pada	7	..	6	..	..	..	..
11.	Sadak Pada	11	..	..	13	..	2	1
12.	Zati Pada	42	6	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	151	20	45	13	4	2	1

The above table shows that the Varli are numerically the largest group in the village (comprising 65 per cent of its population). The Kokna rank next, accounting for about 20 per cent of the village population. It is to be noted here that the Varli are considered socially at par with them by the Kokna and *vice versa,* enjoying equal status. Very frequently these two tribes may be found living together in the same hamlet; but never with Koli Dhor, Kathodi or Chamar who have a 'low' social status. The Chamar in Dapada were having a separate hamlet of their own. It may be pointed out here that the Varli and the Koli Dhor households located in Sadak Pada formed two distinct clusters. While the Varli dwellings were close to the adjoining Varli hutments called Andher Pada, the Koli Dhor hutments were located at some distance in the other direction; a few were scattered on either sides of the metalled road.

Dwellings

In the Union Territory, the hutments within a hamlet are usually scattered haphazardly without any particular orientation. A comparative study of dwellings shows that they have a somewhat uniform pattern all over the Territory. This uniformity lies in the rectangular shape of the dwellings with slanting roof, generally with four slopes. As a variation in this respect some hutments of Dubla and Dhodia communities in Dadra Patelad, comprising three villages, were observed having roofs with two slopes only. The size and material of the hutment also betray certain variations depending on the economic status of dwellers. Two extremes in this respect noticed during the survey were the small thatched dwellings of Kathodi on the one hand, and a few somewhat spacious and better dwellings of Dhodia community with tiled roof on the other.

The Kokna hutments studied in the plain and hilly region reflect the same pattern. In shape these are rectangular to square. Their roof is slanting with four slopes. It is interesting to observe here that while most of the Varli hutments were having thatched roofs those of Kokna were having *naria* or country tiles. A few hutments were having roof with Mangalore tiles as well. The Kokna dwellings were studied in Dapada, Bildhari, Ambabari, Kauncha and Talavali villages. Most of the Kokna huts were found having tiled roofs in these villages. However, a few hutments were also having thatched roofs. The latter type were comparatively more in Talavali village. In other villages there were hardly three or four such huts. In fact,

in Bildhari and Ambabari all the Kokna hutments were having tiled roofs.

Before embarking upon construction of a hut, care is taken to select a levelled spot, otherwise the land is levelled as much as possible before construction. First, for foundation, about 2 to 3 feet deep holes are dug up where pillars are erected. Plinth is generally raised upto $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground level. It is smoothened by plastering it with a mixture of clay and cowdung. The beams and pillars are usually made of *sag* (teak), the joints of the beams are simple which rest on the pillars. The pillar, locally called as *med,* and the beam, referred to as *ved,* are generally rectangular in shape. The two central pillars are called *dharana.* The upper beams joining the *dharana* are called *patia.*

When the wooden structure of the beam and pillars is complete, the walls are erected. For this purpose a wattle is prepared separately. It is generally of two types. In one type the stems of *jawar* (millet) called *sata* or *kadu* (a kind of grass with thick round stem) are erected and tied to horizontally placed *tokkar* (bamboo) splits. In another type the horizontal bamboo splits are interlaced in such a way that they pass over and under the vertical bamboo poles the ends being tied with a chord, and the wattle is erected. It is supported by *med,* and tied with chord. It is then plastered and smoothened with a mixture of cowdung and clay. The clay usually preferred for this purpose is called *cheekar mati* found in the low lands.

As stated earlier, most of the Kokna hutments were having roof with country tiles. But when a thatched roof is provided a layer of dried leaves of *sag* tree serves as a base over the wooden structure of the roof, which is thoroughly covered with a grass, locally called *bardi* or *kassar.* A few logs of wood are placed on the thatched roof to check it from being scattered and blown over by a powerful gust of wind.

In the Kokna hutments an attic, known as *mach,* is provided for storage purposes. Generally, the attic is provided at a height of 7 to 8 feet. In smaller huts the *mach* cover only half of the ceiling.

An ordinary Kokna house usually consists of two apartments, viz., the living room and a store room-cum kitchen. The store room, called *ora,* is used for keeping paddy and other food grains, besides being used as a kitchen, with *chuli* (hearth) provided at one corner. In the smaller hutments where *ora*

is too small the hearth is kept in the living room. The household deities are also kept inside the *ora*. The living room is called *wastri* or *wasri*. *Ukhal*, a pit for husking, is usually dug up in this room. Sometimes part of the living room is separated with a wooden fence and used as *gotha* or cattle shed. Separate cattle sheds are also provided in a few hutments. Sometimes a *watta* (verandah) is also provided in the front. It is used for keeping fishing nets and traps, earthen pitchers for storing water and other household goods. A *ghanti* (hand-mill) is also installed in the verandah. Most of the Kokna houses are provided a *dar* (door) with hinges and latch. However, sometimes, particularly in the plains region, only a bamboo wattle is erected during the night.

Kokna dwellings, in general, lack windows or proper cross ventilation. Only a few hutments with windows were observed during the survey. However, in a dwelling with walls made of *kadu* or *jawar* stems, the upper portion of the wattle or wall, about 2 feet wide, is kept unplastered. It serves the purpose of ventilation as well as allows some light to enter inside the apartment, which is otherwise quite dark.

Household Equipments

The Kokna possess only a few household goods; the prominent among these are a few utensils for cooking, winnowing fans, bamboo baskets of different varieties and size, one or two cots and a few lanterns, etc. Only a few households possess furniture, comprising one or two wooden stools and a chair or two. As among many other local communities a *ghanti* (hand mill) and *musad* (wooden pestle) is a must in a Kokna house.

CHAPTER VI

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Dress

The dress of the females comprises two garments the lower garment and an upper garment. The lower garment is called *luguda* by the Pathar Kokna and *fadko* by the Dungari Kokna. Among the Kokna residing in the plain areas or Pathar Kokna it usually falls upto the knee, while among the *dungari* Kokna it falls below the knees. One of its end is tucked at the back by passing it tightly between the thighs.

The upper garment is like a short blouse with half sleeves and known as *choli* among the Dungari Kokna and *dharko* among the Pathar Kokna. The traditional upper garment or blouse put on by the Kokna women is short sleeved with a wide opening in the front and fastened with two laces just below the breasts. Now-a-days a blouse with buttons in front and having a round or 'V-shaped' neck and slightly longer sleeves is more popular, particularly among the younger womenfolk. The dress of Kokna women displays a wide range of colours. But maroon and emerald colours are preferred. The lower garment is invariably of one colour, usually a dark shade of red or green without any patterns but the cloth used for stitching a blouse has designs of dots or spotted ornamental patterns of more than one colour.

While the day-to-day dress comprises the *fadko* and *choli*, on ceremonial occasion or while on a visit to the weekly market, the Kokna women put on a wrapper to cover the upper part of the body and, sometimes, the head as well. The wrapper may be put on in different manner. One way is to tuck one of its ends under the *fadko* on the left side of the waist and passing it, from the front, over the right shoulder covering the bosoms. Alternatively, one of the ends is inserted under the *fadko* near the right waist and the cloth is passed, from the back, over the left shoulder covering the bosoms, and tucking the other end under the lower garment in front. When the wrapper has to serve the purpose of a headgear as well, one of its end is inserted below the right waist and passed on to the left shoulder, covering the bosoms and the head; the other end is kept hanging on the right shoulder.

Some Christian Kokna women in Dudhani village were observed putting on a longer lower garment, which falls upto the ankles, as well as a blouse with half sleeves. Some of the Kokna women wear a saree of 5½ meters' length which is wrapped in the fashion of caste Hindu women in the adjoining areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The traditional dress of the males comprises a *langoti* (loin cloth) and *dagla* (waist-coat) without sleeves, apart from a *pagdi* or headgear put on special occasions—such as visit to the weekly market or for attending a social function. The *langoti* or the loin cloth is put on in two ways. It is either worn as a *kachhota* when a band of cloth is inserted in front over a girdle of cotton threads which is then passed tightly between the thighs with a 'tail' hanging on the back side or, alternatively, a rectangular piece of cloth called *rumal* is used as loin cloth. It is wider than the other type and put on in such a manner that it also covers the hips. The latter type is more common among the Dungari Kokna. However, there is no clear cut division in this respect and both these types are in vogue among the two territorial groups. The loin cloth and the headgear are invariably of white colour but the *dagla* (waist-coat) is usually of black colour.

Now-a-days *khaki* or black half-pant and black *bandi* (vest) are more popular among the younger generation. Some well-to-do Kokna young men, particularly among the Christian Dungri Kokna such as those of Kauncha and Bildhari villages, also put on trousers, shirt or bushshirt.

The children in arms or infants of age below three years are usually without any upper garment, wearing a loin cloth only.

Ornaments

The Kokna women seem to be fond of ornaments as the collection of the ornaments of an average married Kokna woman displays a fairly good deal of variety. The ornaments are usually made of *rupa* (nickel or silver) and purchased from the weekly market. The shape and designs of these ornaments are almost the same as found among the other communities of the area. In fact, there is hardly any silversmith or goldsmith belonging to the tribal communities in Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The tribals mostly purchase the ornaments from goldsmiths hailing from the neighbouring areas of Gujarat or Maharashtra. But it may be observed here that certain ornaments popular with one community may not be even found among the other,

although living in the same area. For instance, a necklace of round and thick wire called *sari* and tiers of *pittar* (alloy resembling brass), called *dorla*, commonly worn above the ankle and below the knee by the Varli and Dhodia womenfolk, were absent among the Kokna, Kathodi and Koli Dhor communities.

The more popular ornaments put on by Kokna women are as follows :—

Sibla or ganthla :

It is a necklace made of silver coins. It varies in size depending on the number of coins used in the chain.

Sakhad :

It comprises chains of *rupa* and is worn as a necklace or as a head ornament. In the latter case it is called *kargota* and comprises a hook and a ring attached on either ends. It is worn in two ways, i.e., either the attached ring of two chains are pierced at the auricle and the chains passed around the temples on either sides and hooked, at the centre or it may be fixed over the coiffure making a cross at the back. The *sakhad* is also worn as a girdle by Kokna boys particularly in the plain areas.

Ganthi :

It is a thick necklace made of coils of tiny black or coloured glass beads. It is worn close to the neck. Its thickness depends on the number of beaded threads it comprises. A thick *ganthi* is now no longer popular particularly among the younger generation, and only a few elderly women are sometimes seen putting on this ornament.

Mudi :

It is a pair of small ear-rings worn on the ear lobes.

Fulada :

It is another ornament of the ear and used as ear stud.

Patwali :

It is a sort of ear-ring with a tiny hanging leaf which is put on the auricle.

Nose ornaments :

A variety of the nose rings and pins are worn as nose ornaments.

Armlets :

The Kokna women put on a few varieties of armlets, like the round-shaped *kopper-kado, got* and *eda.* The *got* is made of thin wire, twisted in the form of loops-like springs of about five centimentres width. It is also known as *bajiband* among the Dungar Kokna. The *eda* is particularly worn by the Dungar Kokna women. It is made of thick wire, twisted at one side and having a conical projection on the other. It is, however, not so popular with the younger generation.

Bracelets :

Two varieties are popular—*kado* and *margat-kado.* While *kado* is a thin and flat bracelet of about one centimetre width, the *margat-kado* is made of round thick wire.

Signet ring :

Sometimes the Kokna put on a ring on the finger.

Although all the above ornaments are mostly made of *rupa,* a few glass bangles and beaded necklace of glass or plastic or similar fancy materials are now-a-days becoming popular among the Kokna girls.

The men also put one or two ornaments. The elderly men generally wear *mudi* (ear-ring) on the ear lobe or the auricle. Like other ornaments, it is also made of silver. But well-to-do Kokna sometimes wear ear-rings made of gold. Generally, the young men do not put on ear-rings. But, sometimes, they put on a *sakhad* (chain) around the waist.

Hair Dress

The Kokna women keep long hair on the head which are parted at the centre and tied in a loose knot at the back as a pig tail. The young womenfolk sometimes also use hair clips to keep the hair in position. During the field survey, most of the men were found to keep short hair, trimmed in the prevalent western style. But a few men were found to support long hair with a knot at the back. It was stated by some elderly Kokna in Dapada that in the olden days the men used to keep long hair as cropping of hair was disapproved by the elders who considered it as a practice of the *musad* (Muslims). The Kokna are usually clean shaven. They mostly shave their beard and moustaches. But some young men keep trimmed moustaches. The *bhagats* (medicine-men), like the old men, also keep long hair with a knot at the back. The men help each-other in cutting the hair without requiring the services of a barber.

Tattooing

Tattooing is popular among the Kokna. It is called *gandhar* which literally means beautification. It is, therefore, obvious that tattoo marks are considered as a measure of beauty among them. The Kokna women carry these marks on the foreheads, cheeks, chin, hands and inner side of the forearm. Generally, floral designs are tattooed on the centre of the forehead and inner side of the forearm. The dots are picked over cheeks, chin or hands. Sometimes, the names of the gods or godesses are also tattooed on the forearm.

Like their womenfolk, the menfolk also sometimes carry tattoo marks on the same parts of the body as in the case of women. But the frequency of tattoo marks among the menfolk is much less as compared to the womenfolk. The tattooing is done in the weekly bazars by pedlars who ply in the trade. They are usually caste Hindus hailing from the neighbouring areas of Gujarat. It may be mentioned *en-passe* that the practice of tattooing is more popular among the Dungar Kokna, i.e., those residing across the hilly ranges. In other areas the practice is slowly dying out and particularly the men do not appear to be enthusiastic to have these marks on their person.

CHAPTER VII

FOOD AND DRINKS

The Kokna are non-vegetarians. They take mutton, eggs and fish. But they claim that they abstain from beef and pork. They particularly relish dried fish, called *bomla* or *bombil,* which they purchase from the market. They, somtimes, also go out for fishing in the neighbouring streams and rivulets. Most of the households possess a few fishing nets, traps or baskets. These have been discussed in a subsequent account relating to the occupation and economic life.

The staple diet of Kokna, however, comprises rice and cereals, like *varai, jawar* and *nagli* grown in the region. Among the pulses, *tuer* and *urid* are more popular varieties. After the harvest they store some quantity of cereals and pulses for domestic consumption. They usually take boiled rice and some pulses as one of the principal meals and *rotla* (loaves) of *nagli* or *jawar* and rice with pulse as the other meal during the day. When the quantity of the stored cereals diminishes, the consumption of gruel increases. The gruel may be prepared from *nagli, varai* or *jawar.* The Pathar Kokna referred to the gruel as *kanji,* while the Dungari Kokna call it *ambil.*

It was reported by Kokna in Bildhari and Dudhani villages that generally they take gruel of *varai* and *nagli* as breakfast; *rotla* or *jawar* or *nagli* during noon as lunch, and *bhat* (boiled rice or *varai*) as dinner. However, they make a slight change in the menu during the sowing season, particularly, in the breakfast, as they leave early in the morning for their fields and the meal is brought there by their womenfolk. Sometimes, they have to travel considerable distance from their house and it is not practical or convenient to take gruel to their fields. Therefore, during the sowing season, for breakfast they take *rotla* or *nagli* or *jawar* which is usually taken along with pulse of *urid.* Sometimes, they also take a vegetable like potato, onion, brinjal, etc. along with *rotla.* For cooking *khursani* oil serves as a medium.

Usually, the adults do not take milk or milk products. But the infants and children are sometimes provided milk.

Utensils

The Kokna households possess a few utensils for cooking and storing water. The utensils used by them are more or less

similar to those used by other communities of the region. These are generally made of bell-metal or aluminium and purchased from the weekly market. However, recently some of the Kokna households have also acquired crockery of china clay or glass. But among the poorer section of the Kokna the utensils are mostly made of clay. These include earthen bowls called *kachari*. On the other hand, a few well-to-do Kokna households also possess a few utensils of stainless steel.

For keeping cooked food, baskets, locally known as *sika* and made of toddy palm leaves, are kept hanging on the walls of the kitchen and the earthen bowls containing food are kept in them. Water is stored in a vessel known as *matla* (earthen pitcher) which is kept at one corner of the verandah or outside the house.

Alcoholic Drinks

The Kokna are apparently fond of drinking liquor. They take *daru* (liquor) distilled from *gur* (Jaggery) and *mahuda* flowers. The more concentrated liquor is prepared from jaggery and is called *beudi* or *rasi*, while the *mahudi*, having less concentration of alcohol, is prepared from *mahuda* flowers only. Except in the Dadra region and Naroli, *mahuda* is found almost all over the Territory. But recently there has been a rapid denundation of the forests resulting in decrease in the number of *mahuda* trees. This has caused some resentment among the local tribals who have pleaded that at least the *mahuda* trees should be spared by the Forest Department. The *mahuda* blooms in the month of March/April and young children take active part in collection of the flowers which drop on the ground after rippenning. The dried flowers are also brought to the local market for bartering in favour of some other commodity. The flowers are relished by the local people who also extract oil from the *mahuda* seeds for use as a cooking medium. After harvesting *mahuda* flowers, the Kokna have a good time as they have adequate stock of locally brewed liquor. They consume *mahudi* in fairly quantity and do not have to resort to *rasi*. During the field investigation it was reported by a licenced liquor vendor at Dudhani that for about four months, from March to June, his sale of liquor goes down due to the tribals having their own supply of liquor prepared from *mahuda* flowers. Thereafter, they have to depend more and more on the licenced shops in addition to taking *mahudi* which has less content of alcohol.

In addition to the liquor prepared from *mahuda* flowers, the Kokna as well as other local tribals consume toddy which is mostly purchased from the licenced shops.

Apart from serving as an intoxicant, the liquor also plays an important role in the ceremonial and religious life of the community as it is offered to their deities during worship.

The alcoholic drinks are taken by members of both the sexes including young boys and girls.

Smoking

The Kokna men commonly smoke *bidi* which is either prepared at home by rolling the leaf of *sanghai* plant after putting a pinch of *khakri* (powdered tobacco) in it or purchased from the market. The *bidi* prepared at home is larger in size than the common commercial brands of *bidi* available in the markets. It is said that in the past *bidi* used to be prepared at home mostly. The home-made *bidi* is still popular although they now commonly go in for commercial brands available in the weekly markets. For lighting the *bidi* they make use of the match box which has reached even the remotest part of the Territory. But it is said that the use of indigenous lighter, called *garag* has not been completely given up, particularly by the older generation. It was argued by an elderly Kokna that the *garag* has certain advantages over the match box as unlike the latter it does not become ineffective during the rainy season due to dampness. The *garag* consists of a piece of bamboo of about five inches in length, two *kosera* and silk cotton, obtained from *semal* tree (*Bambux malabaricum*). The *kosera* is a sort of an oval cachet of about three inches in length and has a cocoon-like body formed by the secretions of an insect. It is cut into two halves which are used as lids on the either side of the bamboo piece. These are attached to the main body by a chord. The silk cotton is stuffed inside the bamboo piece which is held in the hand vertically and a small piece of hard stone, called *gar*, is kept at the rim close to the piece of cotton. *Gar* is then struck by a piece of iron for ignition. The sparks quickly ignite the cotton which is used for lighting the *bidi*. When not in use the lids of *kosera* are replaced on either side of the bamboo piece.

CHAPTER VIII

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION, HYGIENIC HABITS, DISEASE AND TREATMENT

Environmental Sanitation and Hygienic Habits

The Kokna dwellings cannot be considered as very hygienic from the modern standards as they lack proper ventilation. They are rather dingy due to poor light, but kept neat and clean as the womenfolk daily sweep the floor and throw out the garbage. Besides, their walls and floor are also plastered with mud and cowdung periodically. The area between the hutments is not always very clean as the garbage is scattered here and there. But due to some open space between the hutments and absence of the problem of water logging in the terrain the environmental sanitation does not present a dismal picture.

As regards personal hygiene, the Kokna usually take bath twice a week except during the busy agricultural season when most of them are said to take a bath once a week or so. It is claimed that they regularly clean their teeth in the morning with the help of thin twigs of certain local trees. They sometimes use salt and ash as tooth powder. For washing purposes, or for taking bath, they go to a river or a well. The womenfolk use the local black clay or pod of a tree, known as *sikakai*, as a shampoo for washing hair. *Aritha* (soap-nut) is mostly used for washing clothes, though a few persons have now started buying commercial brands of washing soaps available in the weekly markets. However, its use is still limited to a few.

Disease and Treatment

The prevalent diseases in the area are said to be malaria, diarrhoea and night blindness in addition to minor ailments and incidences of snake bites. The Kokna as well as their other tribal neighbours believe that the diseases are mostly caused due to supernatural factors, such as the machination of evil spirits or wrath of their deities.

For the treatment of the diseases the Kokna as well as the other tribals of the region mostly depend on the tribal *bhagat* (medicineman or sorcerer) who acts as a sort of a medium betwen the supernatural powers and the patient in addition to a therapist. In this connection it may be mentioned that the

dependence of the tribals on their own medicineman has been brought about by certain cogent factors apart from their psychology and attitude. Until recently, there was hardly any facility available by way of hospitals and maternity centres in the area. During the Portuguese regime the local people were left to their own devices in so far as medical treatment was concerned and whatever was done by way of treatment of diseases and public health mostly related to the activities of the missionaries who used to dispense medicines for common ailments. This appeared to be so as the erstwhile administration was primarily interested in exploiting the forest resources and collecting revenue. The area which was infested with malaria and wild animals and poisonous reptiles remained mostly inaccessible. In the absence of any effort on the part of the erstwhile government to provide medical aid and public health facilities, the Kokna had no option except to have faith on their *bhagat* who was their only solace as he appeased the angry gods and godesses as well as dispensed herbal medicine for various ailments. It would, therefore, appear that the *bhagat* does not merely provide divine aid but possess some knowledge of herbal medicine as well. The Kokna *bhagat* at Bildhari informed that he prescribes the ripened *bel* fruit for curing dysentery, the roots of *khakra* tree for curing eye diseases and *baflit* vegetable—for curing stomach ache. He also claimed that he successfully prescribes the roots of *khasri,* a local tree, for effective cure for snake bite. Similarly, he prescribes the use of a local fruit, known as *bhind,* for stopping bleeding from a deep cut by tying the bark of the fruit to the affected portion.

In Dapada village it came to light that he singes the skin of the belly with red hot iron, called *daam,* for the cure of stomach-ache.

The Kokna informants mentioned that the *bhagat* belonging to their community possesses a very wide knowledge regarding herbal medicine which he strictly keeps to himself as a closely guarded secret. According to one of the *bhagats* of Dapada, the medicine becomes less effective if known by many persons. Besides, he claimed that in order to make the medicine effective he has to invoke the blessings of deities with certain incantations and spells known to him only. Apart from having some psychological effect on the patient, it is obvious that this is an effective device used by the *bhagat* to keep his hold on the people. How strong is the faith of the people in the effectiveness of the treatment provided by the *bhagat* can be known from the following two cases which came to light during the field investigation.

1. It is said that about a few months ago a Kokna girl, aged 12, was brought to the government dispensary at Dudhani for treatment. The persons who accompanied her told the doctor in-charge that the girl had fallen down while climbing a tree in her village (Roipada). Her both legs were broken and the doctor in-charge of the dispensary diagnosed it as a case of compound fracture. He gave her first-aid by using splints and bandages but he could do no more and advised that the patient should be taken to the hospital at Silvassa, the headquarters of the Territory. But there too, the patient was advised to go to Navsari in Gujarat as the hospital at Silvassa did not possess any X-ray apparatus. It is said that eventually the girl was admitted in the hospital at Navsari where plaster was put on her legs. It was rainy season and it is said that her fractured legs became infected. Her condition deteriorated and the doctors gave up hope. After seventeen days she was brought back by her parents to her home with the sentiment that if the poor soul was to die, let her breath her last in her home. The girl's father spent a good deal of money to bring her back. Two of the informants claimed that they saw the girl who was in great agony and was crying due to excessive pain. On reaching the village, her father was reprimanded by some elderly community men for the folly of the girl being denied the treatment of the *bhagat*. Eventually, the Kokna *bhagat* arrived on the scene. He is said to have at once removed the plaster from both the legs with the help of a sickle and thereafter, applied some indigenous herb, having the powedered bark of a tree found in the jungle as the main ingredient. It is said that after sometime the girl fully recovered and it is claimed that she now walks about the village freely although with a slight limp. This incident helped in recreating faith in the efficacy of the local medicine man and the supremacy of the indigenous treatment over the 'sarkari dawakhana'.

2. In another recent case reported from Ambabari village, situated at a distance of two kilometres from Dudhani, a girl aged 8, fell down from a *jambu* tree and got her left leg broken. It is said that when she was brought to the dispensary at Dudhani she had already lost much of blood in addition to having her femur bone broken which was protuding out. After receiving first-aid at Dudhani dispensary she was taken to the hospital at Navsari. There she was treated for fifteen days but although she had not fully recovered, the doctor asked her father to take her back home as there were limited beds in the hospital. He was advised that she should be brought to the hospital after a few days for removal of plaster. Her father had no option but to bring his daughter back to her home. There

the tribal *bhagat* was consulted who removed the plaster and applied some indigenous medicine. The girl is said to have recovered fully after a few days and now walks normally without any deformity. It is not known whether this was so because the bone, being set properly in the hospital early, only required removal of the plaster after sometime, or it was the effectiveness of the *bhagat's* treatment. Whatever may be, this incident, like the preceding one, helped to recreate faith in local medicine man at the cost of government hospital.

From the preceding discussion it is obvious that apart from the knowledge of incantations and performance of rites and rituals for appeasing the deities the *bhagat* has some knowledge of the herbal medicine. This obviously requires study and training. The office of the *bhagat* among the Kokna is not necessarily hereditary. Any member of the community desirous of attaining this knowledge joins the senior *bhagat* as his apprentice. He receives active training for at least three to four months, mostly during the rainly season. During this period the pupil has to strictly observe certain taboos. These include abstaining from drinking toddy or *daru* and refraining from eating certain vegetables as well. In addition, the trainee has to refrain from sexual intercourse and for that matter, he has to keep himself away from women during this period. Apart from receiving knowledge of the divination process and learning various charms he is given knowledge of different kinds of herbal medicine for curing diseases. While it may take three or four months to acquire a working knowledge to work as a *bhagat*, it requires a good deal of experience and devotion to be accepted as an effective and knowledgeable *bhagat* having communion with the super-natural powers and mastry of herbal medicine.

As stated in the preceding account there was hardly any public health or medical facility available during the Portuguese regime. Recently, some efforts have been made to mitigate the condition of the local people and a few health centres have been set up in the Territory. These include dispensaries at Dudhani, Kilvani, Khanvel and Naroli villages, in addition to a maternity home at Naroli and a moderate hospital set up at Silvassa with twenty-five beds. Although primarily the Kokna's still depend on their own *bhagat* for treatment of diseases they sometime make use of the dispensaries set up by the government. In this connection, during field investigation a visit was made to the dispensary located at Dudhani village to have some background of the visiting patients. It was found that a few tribal people including Kokna came to visit the dispensary during the morning hours. They either came for their own treatment or for obtaining

medicine for their ailing children. The visitors to the dispensary came from the neighbouring villages within a radius of about three kilometres or so. They had received medicines such as 'mixture', tablets or injections, as required for treatment of the disease. It is interesting to observe that according to the doctor in-charge recently some of the persons have developed a fancy for the 'white' injection of strepto-penicillin as they had heard that it was most effective against fever or infection. But it was of some interest that most of them who demanded the 'injection treatment' were Christian Kokna or tribals from other communities who had embraced Christianity and were under the spell or influence of the local missionaries. In fact, proportionately more Christian tribals were taking advantage of the dispensary. There were also a few non-Christian Kokna, Varli and Koli Dhor who had come forward for the treatment. Interestingly, the latter particularly their children, were found wearing a *dora* (black thread) or an amulet round their neck. On an enquiry it was found that before visiting the dispensary they had also consulted their *bhagat* who had advised the use of a *dora* or an amulet or a charm as a cure from the disease. It would appear that they had an ambiguous attitude towards tribals medicine and modern medicine and as a result tried the both, particularly in difficult cases. It was also found that some of the tribals after visiting the dispensary for a few days reverted to the treatment by *bhagat* who in addition to prescribing certain medicine sometimes demanded a fowl and two bottles of *daru* as offering to the deity. It is said that the *bhagat* claimed that the sacrifice and the *daru* was necessary as forgiveness was required of the diety as atonement for the folly of visiting the dispensary rather than consulting the *bhagat*.

CHAPTER IX

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism

The Kokna speak a language of their own which is referred by them as 'Kokni'. As mentioned towards the beginning of the monograph, Grierson had earlier classified it as a Bhili dialect. According to the linguistic survey conducted during the 1961 Census it has been classified as a separate dialect, viz., 'Kokna'. Dadra & Nagar Haveli being located between two major linguistic zones, viz., Gujarati in the north-west and Marathi in the south-west the Kokna dialect has been influenced by these languages. In fact, as is seen from the table given below based on 1961 Census data, some persons have returned Gujarati or Marathi as their mother tongue and some speak it as a subsidiary language in addition to the mother-tongue, viz., 'Kokna'. Similar linguistic data on the community are not available in respect of 1971 Census.

TABLE 6

Mother tongue and bilingualism among the Kokna of Dadra & Nagar Haveli as per 1961 *Census (figures given in brackets are percentages)*

Sl. No.	Mother-tongue	Speakers	Persons speaking a subsidiary language in addition to mother tongue	Name of the subsidiary language and number of speakers
1	2	3	4	5
1	Kokna/Kokni/Kukna	6,967 (91.54)	362 (98.10)	English (1) Gujarati (325) Hindi (1) Marathi (34) Portuguese (1)
2	Marathi . .	619 (8.13)	7 (1.90)	Hindi (6) Gujarati (1)
3.	Gujarati . .	24 (0.32)	..	..
4.	Dhodia . .	1 (0.01)	..	..
	Total .	7,611	369	

The Kokna returned four mother tongues. But from the above table it is seen that the bulk of the population had returned 'Kokna', 'Kokni' or 'Kukna' as their mother tongue. The speakers of Kokna dialect numbered 6967 or 91.54 per cent of the total population of the community. This was followed by the Marathi speakers who numbered 619 or 8.13 per cent. Next, came Gujarati with 24 speakers or 0.32 per cent of the Kokna population. One person had also returned Dhodia as his mother tongue.

The linguistic data provided by the census in respect of the community also provide some insight about the extent of bilingualism in the community. It is seen that as many as 369 persons or 4.85 per cent of the Kokna population, speak a subsidiary language in addition to the mother tongue. It is interesting that out of 369 persons who can speak a subsidiary language, 257 are males and only 112 females. As is to be expected, the incidence of bilingualism is higher among the male population due to their more frequent contact with others in connection with business or other matters. Most of the bilinguals are amongst those who have returned 'Kokna' as their mother tongue. They comprise 362 persons or 98.10 per cent population of the bilinguals. They have returned mostly Gujarati (325 persons) as the subsidiary language spoken by them. Thirty four persons returned Marathi. One person each returned English, Hindi and Portuguese. Seven males amongst 619 persons, who returned Marathi as their mother tongue, also speak a subsidiary language, viz., Hindi (6 persons) and Gujarati (1 person). None of the persons who returned Gujarati or Dhodia as their mother tongue returned any subsidiary language. They are fewer in number, viz., 24 speakers of Gujarati and 1 of Dhodia.

Literacy and Education

According to 1971 Census the Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli as a whole returned a very low literacy, viz., 14.97 per cent. This low level of literacy in the Territory may be seen in the light of two factors. Firstly, the erstwhile Portuguese administration had been totally indifferent regarding the promotion of education among the inhabitants of the Territory. Secondly, more than 86 per cent of the total population of Dadra & Nagar Haveli comprises the tribal communities. According to 1971 Census, the scheduled tribes of the Territory recorded only 8.90 per cent literates. This is much below the 11.30 per cent literacy for this category of population for the country as a whole.

From the table given below it is obvious that the Kokna are no exception to the low literacy characteristic of the tribal communities in the area.

TABLE 7

Table showing the sex-wise break-up of literates and illiterates among the Kokna (with percentages) as per 1971 Census

	Number			Percentage		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	9,928	5,013	4,915	100·00	100·00	100·00
Illiterate	9,073	4,283	4,790	91·39	85·44	97·46
Literate	855	730	125	8·61	14·56	2·54

It is seen that out of the total population of 9928, there are only 855 literates, which form 8.61 per cent of the total population. In other words, the literacy among the Kokna is more or less at par with the overall scheduled tribe literacy (8.90 per cent) in the Territory. As regards the distribution of literacy among the male and female population is concerned, it is seen that their literacy is mainly related to the male population, as only 2.54 per cent of the females were returned as literates.

The 1962-71 period shows considerable increase in literacy in all the three levels of the population in the Territory, viz., from 4.98 per cent to 8.61 per cent among the Kokna, from 4.40 per cent to 8.90 per cent among the total scheduled tribe population and from 9.48 per cent to 14.97 per cent for the Territory as a whole. It would be worthwhile to note here that though the tribals of the Territory still lag behind the total scheduled tribe population at the national level in terms of literacy, this gap has narrowed down to some extent during the 1962-71 period. According to 1961 Census, the literacy among the total scheduled tribes for the country as a whole was 8.00 per cent while for the same category in the Union Territory it was only 4.40 per cent. Now the corresponding figures are 11.30 per cent and 8.90 per cent. The increase in literacy during the decade may be attributed to the concrete steps taken in the field of education by the local administration of Dadra & Nagar Haveli, after liberation of the Territory. While viewing the decadal variation in literacy among the Kokna males and females it would appear that among the males it has increased from 9.24 per cent to 14.56 per cent

and among the females from 0.56 per cent to 2.54 per cent. According to the 1962 Census of the Territory there were only 21 literates among the Kokna females. But during the decade their number has appreciably increased by 104. But from the table given below it would appear that the majority of the Kokna literates have not been able to achieve any effective level of literacy.

TABLE 8

Table showing the educational levels achieved by the Kokna in Dadra & Nagar Haveli as per the 1971 Census

Educational levels	Number			Percentage		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Literate . . .	855	730	125	100·00	100·00	100·00
Literate without educational level.	511	435	76	59·77	59·59	60·80
Primary or Junior Basic.	344	295	49	40·23	40·41	39·20
Matriculation and above but below Graduation	..	..	..	..	..	..
Graduation & above	..	..	..	..	..	..

The majority (59.77 per cent) of the literates have not achieved any educational level. The effective literacy among them is confined to the Primary or Junior Basic level only which accounts for 40.23 per cent of their literates. In other words, none among them has been able to achieve the Matriculation level. However, meagre or low, the level of educational attainment by the community it is not insignificant when compared with the position prevailing a decade earlier. In 1962, the bulk (85.75 per cent) of the literates among them had not achieved any educational level and only 13.99 per cent could attain the Primary or Junior Basic level. As regards attainment of educational levels by the males and females of the community during the 1962-71 period the latter show considerable progress. While among the female literates, as per the 1962 Census, 20 (95.24 per cent) had not achieved any educational level and only 1 solitary female could attain the Primary or Junior Basic level, as per the 1971 Census, 76 (60.80 per cent) were without educational level and 49 (39.20 per cent) had attained the Primary or Junior Basic level. As per the 1962 Census, there were 305 males (85.20 per cent) who had not achieved any educational level and 52 (14.52

per cent) had achieved the Primary or Junior Basic level. But as per the 1971 Census 295 (40.41 per cent) have attained the Primary or Junior Basic level.

A review of the above data on literacy would show that there is hardly any effective literacy in the community which can have a bearing on their employment potential in the tertiary sector of the economy. No wonder from the subsequent discussion on occupation and economical life, it is seen that there is no significant distribution of the workers in the 'other services'.

From the foregoing account it would appear that though at present literacy is very low in Dadra & Nagar Haveli, positive efforts appear to have been made to promote spread of education after liberation of the Territory. Prior to liberation, there were only 4 primary schools with a strength of 300 students. No institution imparting secondary education existed during the rule of erstwhile Portuguese regime. In 1962, there were 57 primary and 2 secondary schools functioning in the Territory. During the 1962-71 period 11 more primary and 2 more secondary Schools have been opened. Barring four villages each village of the Territory was having a primary school.

Considering the number of the educational institutions now set up in the Territory the situation does not appear to be discouraging. However, it would appear that education has made more headway in the north-western region of the Territory, viz., Silvassa, Naroli and Dadra Patelads. Evidently out of the 4 secondary schools set up in the Territory, 3 are located in this region, viz., one each in Silvassa, Naroli and Dadra. Being the headquarters of the Territory and also having concentration of the caste Hindus and non-tribal population, the Silvassa region is comparatively more developed and the people living there are comparatively more enlightened.

During the present survey, an enquiry was made from twelve households mostly in Bildhari village and a few in Ambabari to find out the particulars about the children of school-going-age (six to fourteen years). It was enquired whether there was any child of the school-going-age and, if so, what was the class in which he/she was studying. In case the answer was in the negative, an effort was made to enquire about the activities of the child not attending school. It was found that these twelve households covered 33 children, including fourteen boys and nineteen girls. Out of the fourteen boys, six, or 43 per cent, were not attending school; no special reason was given by their parents for not sending their child to the school. Out of the six boys who were not attending school, one had joined school earlier

but left it after one year of schooling. The others did not join the school at all. Some of them helped their parents in agricultural activities or in cattle grazing. As regards the boys who were attending school, three, aged seven, were studying in class I. Two other boys, aged ten and twelve, were studying in class I and class II respectively. Three boys aged eight, nine and fourteen were studying in the mission school at Khanvel in class III, IV and VI respectively.

As regards the nineteen girls, twelve had no schooling at all and only seven had joined school. But even among these seven, one had discontinued her studies after attending school for a few months and at the time of survey only six were regularly attending classes. These include two girls, aged ten, who were studying in class I and class II. Four other girls first joined the government school but after studying there, they discontinued their studies and went to Khanvel to become boarders in the girl's Christian Missionary School located there. The ages of these girls ranged from six to thirteen years. The youngest was studying in 1st standard, another, aged eight, was studying in III standard and two other girls, aged ten and thirteen, were studying in standard IV and V respectively. It would appear that the missionary schools attracted students even from non-Christian communities as they received free boarding and lodging facilities in addition to free dress, etc. This appears to be the reason that after attending the government schools for some time a few children joined Christian Missionary School with free boarding and lodging facilities. In Khanvel there are two separate missionary schools for boys and girls. The Bildhari village, from where most of the above statistics were collected is having some impact of Christianity. Otherwise, in so far as the Kokna community is concerned, Christianity has had very limited impact. One of the two primary schools in this village is run by the Christian Mission. There is no school in the Ambabari village. All the children from that village attend the government primary school at nearby Dhudhani village.

In so far as the medium of instruction is concerned it would appear that Marathi as well as Gujarati is in vogue. Most of the primary schools run by the government have Gujarati as medium of instruction. The Christian Missionary School in Bildhari has Marathi as the medium of instruction. Out of the eight boys and seven girls who were attending school, three boys and two girls were being imparted instructions in Marathi as medium of instruction, while two boys and one girl received education with Gujarati as medium. This is in addition to

three boys and two girls studying in mission schools with Marathi medium. From the above it would appear that the Marathi is more popular medium. But if the position is examined in respect of all the schools in the Territory it is seen that only a few schools impart education in Marathi and they are mostly located in the north-east of Khanvel, while the rest of the Territory is having schools with mostly Gujarati as the medium of instruction.

Some particulars of education were also recorded in Dapada village where two primary schools are located. One of these is run by the Mission and the other one by the Administration. Both have Gujarati as the medium of instruction. The school run by the Administration is called 'Sarkari Prathmic Gujarati Shala'. It was set up in January, 1955 and imparts education to children up to V standard. The school hours are from 11.00 to 17.00 hours during winter and from 7.30 to 12.00 hours during summer. According to the school register, sixty two students were enrolled. The sex-wise distribution of these students with respect to each ethnic group is indicated in the table below.

TABLE 9

Community and sex-wise distribution of the students of 'Sarkari Prathmic Gujarati Shala' in village Dapada

Sl. No.	Caste/Tribe of the Student	Students	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
1	Varli	41	35	6
2	Kokna	9	9	..
3	Koli Dhor	7	7	..
4	Khoja	2	2	..
5	Brahmin	2	1	1
6	Ahir	1	..	1
	TOTAL	62	54	8

The largest number of students come from Varli community which has 151 households. This is in addition to twenty households of Christian Varli. There are forty five households of the Kokna which have contributed only nine students. The seven Koli Dhor students are out of thirteen households. Although the Chamar have four and Parsi two households, no student from amongst these communities is enrolled in the government school.

The table below indicates the sex-wise and community-wise break-up of the students studying in the Primary School run by the Mission.

TABLE 10

Community and sex-wise break-up of the students of the primary school run by the Mission

Sl. No.	Caste/Community	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
1	Varli	64	49	15
2	Kokna	9	9	..
3	Dhodia	2	2	..
	TOTAL	75	60	15

The school covers seventy five students which out-number the sixty two students enrolled in the government school. Proportionately, the female representation in the mission school is also higher as fifteen of the seventy five students were females against only eight females out of sixty two students enrolled in the government school. It is seen from the above statement that the largest number comes from Varli community which has largest number of households, followed by Kokna (nine students) and Dhodia (two students). In all, eighteen students belonging to Kokna community are enrolled in the two schools—nine each in the mission school and government school. It is, however, interesting that only one out of nine Kokna students in the mission school comes from Dapada village, while the rest come from Meghval village located in the neighbouring taluka of Gujarat. None of the Kokna household is converted to Christianity in Dapada. It may be mentioned that prior to 1953 the mission school was having classes up to third standard only. But after 1963 the number of students started rising gradually with addition of two more classes—IV and V standard.

The table 11 gives the community-wise and sex-wise break-up of the students enrolled in different classes in both the schools located in the village.

TABLE 11

Community, educational standard and sex-wise break-up of the students of the two primary schools in village Dapada

Tribe/Caste	Educational Standard										Total			Percentage to Total
	I		II		III		IV		V					
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	P	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Varli	33	16	20	5	10	1	12	..	9	..	84	21	105	76·64
Kokna	13	..	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	18	13·14
Koli Dhor	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	7	5·11
Dhodia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	1·46
Brahmin	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1·46
Ahir	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0·73
Khoja (Mohammedan)	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	1·46
TOTAL	55	18	26	5	12	1	12	..	9	..	114	23	137	100·00

It may be mentioned that but for the functioning of these two schools, the literacy would have been very low in the village. Besides the school-going children mentioned in the preceding account, there are only seventeen persons in Dapada village who claimed to be literates. None amongst them was a female. Community-wise, seven were Christian Varli, four Hindu Varli, one each Koli Dhor, Parsi and Khoja and only three Kokna. It may not be out of place to mention here that a Kokna boy, aged fourteen, is undergoing training in carpentry in the vocational training school at Silvassa.

CHAPTER X

OCCUPATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

Workers and non-workers among the Kokna

The following table gives the sex-wise distribution of the workers and non-workers among the Kokna of Dadra & Nagar Haveli :

TABLE 12

Table showing workers and non-workers among the Kokna (as per the 1971 Census)

	Number			Percentage		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Workers	4,787	2,710	2,077	48·22	54·06	42·26
Non-Workers	5,141	2,303	2,838	51·78	45·94	57·74
TOTAL	9,928	5,013	4,915	100·00	100·00	100·00

It is seen from the above table that a fairly large population, viz., 4,787 persons, comprise the working force, which constitutes 48.22 per cent of the total population of the community. It is noticed that the proportion of the workers among the Kokna is slightly less than that for the scheduled tribe population (49.00 per cent) of the Union Territory as a whole. However, it is higher when compared with the general population of the Territory (47.17 per cent) and the scheduled tribe population (38.47 per cent) as well as the general population (32.91 per cent) of the country as a whole. In other words, if the working force in Dadra & Nagar Haveli is compared with that for the country as a whole, it is found that among the general population as well as scheduled tribe population, the proportion of workers is more in the former as compared to the latter. As regards the sex-wise distribution of the working population among the Kokna, it is seen that among the males 54.06 per cent and among the females 42.26 per cent population constitute the working force. The working force among the Kokna males is slightly less when compared with the male workers among the total scheduled tribe population of the Union Territory (55.92 per cent) and the country

as a whole (55.87 per cent). While the working population among the Kokna females is more or less at par with the female workers among the total scheduled tribes (42.17 per cent) of the Union Territory, it is considerably more, (more than double) when compared to the female workers among the scheduled tribe population at the all India level (20.75 per cent).

It would be worthwhile to note here that the percentage of working force during the 1962-71 period has gone down at all the levels, i.e., from 60.56 per cent to 48.22 per cent among the Kokna, from 61.87 per cent to 49.00 per cent among the total scheduled tribe population of the Territory and from 61.03 per cent to 47.17 per cent for the total population of the Territory. But this trend is manifest in the country as a whole from 56.64 per cent to 38.47 per cent among the total scheduled tribe population at the country level and from 42.96 per cent to 32.91 per cent in the general population of India. This decline in working force mainly appears due to change in the concept of 'worker' in 1971 Census. In 1961 a person was categorised basically as a 'worker' even if such a person's contribution to work was comparatively marginal. In respect of seasonal work like agriculture or household industry, if a person had put in an hour's work a day during the major part of a working season, such a person was treated basically as an economically active worker. This concept of 'worker' was considered as a liberal one.

Industrial Classification of Workers

The following table shows distribution of the working force among the Kokna of the Union Territory in the different industrial categories as per the 1971 Census :

TABLE 13

Sex-wise industrial classification of workers among Kokna

Sl. No.	Economic Category	Workers		
		Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
1	Cultivators	4372 (91·33)	2478 (91·44)	1894 (91·19)
2	Agricultural Labourers	275 (5·74)	131 (4·83)	144 (6·93)
3	Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities	45 (0·94)	36 (1·33)	9 (0·43)
4	Mining and Quarrying	..	..	..

1	2	3	4	5
5	Manufacturing, Processing and Repairs			
	(a) Household Industry	1 (0·02)	..	1 (0·05)
	(b) Other Household Industry	52 (1·09)	29 (1·07)	23 (1·11)
6	Construction	6 (0·13)	6 (0·22)	..
7	Trade & Commerce	1 (0·02)	1 (0·04)	..
8	Transport, Storage & Communication	2 (0·04)	2 (0·07)	..
9	Other Services	33 (0·69)	27 (1·00)	6 (0·29)
	TOTAL	4,787 (100·00)	2,710 (100·00)	2,077 (100·00)

It is obvious that, like the other tribal communities of the region, the Kokna is primarily an agricultural community which sometimes supplement its income for livelihood by carrying on certain subsidiary occupation(s) of secondary importance, such as forestry, which includes collection of minor forest produce, cutting of grass and firewood, fishing and hunting.

It is noticed that almost the entire working force (97.07 per cent) is dependent on agriculture—91.33 per cent as cultivators and 5.74 per cent as agricultural labourers. The significant number of agricultural labourers among the community indicates that many persons have either no land or have only small land holdings not sufficient for eking out a livelihood and, as a result, have to primarily depend on agricultural labour as their main source of livelihood. The non-agricultural sector accounts for only 2.93 per cent workers. The largest proportion of the workers in the non-agricultural sector depends on 'other household industry' as 52 persons or 1.09 per cent of the workers were returned in this category. The next important category is that of 'livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting etc.' which accounts for 45 persons or 0.94 per cent of the workers. In the tertiary sector of economy there are 33 workers in other services who contribute only 0.69 per cent of the working force. A negligible percentage of workers (0.21) is engaged in the other industrial categories.

As regards the sex-wise distribution of the workers, it is noticed that in so far as the agricultural sector is concerned, the female workers are evenly distributed in the same proportion as

in case of male workers. Against 91.44 per cent male cultivator workers, there are 91.19 per cent female cultivators and against 4.83 per cent male agricultural labourers there are 6.93 per cent female agricultural labourers. The economic category of 'other household industry' engages 29 or 1.07 per cent of male workers and 23 or 1.11 per cent of the female workers. The participation of female workers in the remaining economic categories is far less or altogather absent. As is to be expected, in the category of 'livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, etc.,' the majority of the workers, 36 or 1.33 per cent, are males these being mostly men's job. Only 9 or 0.43 per cent female workers are primarily engaged in these occupations. Similarly in 'other services' also the female participation is expectedly much less, 6 or 0.29 per cent females against 27 or 1.00 per cent males, due to perhaps comparatively much lower literacy among them.

The 1962-71 period shows no marked variation in the proportion of workers in the different sectors of economy. The agricultural sector claimed for 95.67 per cent of male and 98.93 per cent of female workers or 97.24 per cent of the total workers during 1962. According to 1971 Census 96.27 per cent of male and 98.12 per cent of female workers or 97.07 per cent of the total workers are engaged in this sector. Apparently a minor, but not insignificant, change is noticeable in the two categories under the agricultural sector. In 1962 the proportion of cultivators and agricultural labourers was 89.91 per cent and 7.33 per cent respectively, which has slightly changed to 91.33 per cent and 5.74 per cent in the 1971 Census. It would be interesting to note here that in the non-agricultural sector while the participation of the male workers has decreased from 4.33 per cent to 3.73 per cent, it has increased from 1.07 per cent to 1.88 per cent in case of the female workers during the decade.

Almost the entire working force of the Kokna is engaged in the primary sector of economy, agriculture being the main source of their livelihood. In addition to agriculture, a significant number of Kokna have been dependent on forestry particularly in the past. The minor forest produce provided supplementary source of livelihood to a number of Kokna households which have been mostly dependent on agricultural economy. The primary sector of their economy comprising chiefly agriculture and, to a certain extent, forestry, however, has registered a marginal decrease and corresponding increase in the secondary and tertiary sectors, during the 1962-1971 period. Among these occupations, while agriculture has shown a marginal decline (0.17 per cent) the industrial category III, which in their case mainly relates to

the occupation of forestry, has registered somewhat more pronounced decline (1.27 per cent) during the relevant period. In 1962, data were provided for the combined broader industrial category, 'mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and allied activities', which accounted for 2.21 per cent of the Kokna workers. In 1971 Census the above category was split into two groups, a separate category of 'mining and quarrying' being carved out from the broad category. However, among the Kokna not a single worker was recorded in mining and quarrying activity, showing thereby that Kokna were engaged in the other components of the industrial category, viz., livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting etc., the specific occupation being forestry. In 1971 however, the percentage of Kokna workers in this category was only 0.94 against 2.21 in 1962 which shows that there has been a significant decrease in forestry as a primary economic activity among the Kokna. This decline is apparently due to the restrictions imposed on the access to forest produce and hunting as a forest conservation measure. The local tribals complained that the restriction on the use of forest produce has created problems for them in meeting some of their day-to-day necessities of life, such as fuel, timber and a few food and miscellaneous items obtained by them from the forests. This had an adverse effect on their livelihood. This adverse effect is more pronounced and evident in the case of such communities as Kathodi which have been mostly dependent on the forest produce, like catechu and charcoal making, for their livelihood. This finds substantiation in the decline of workers among Kathodi tribe in the Territory in the relevant category from 76.40 per cent in 1962 to 29.84 per cent in 1971.

The secondary and the tertiary sectors of economy have obviously a negligible proportion of the workers. However, both of these sectors interestingly show emergence of female workers during the period. While in 1962 there were 11 (0.46 per cent) males and only 1 (0.04 per cent) female in the secondary sector, the 1971 Census shows 35 (1.29 per cent) males and 24 (1.16 per cent) females engaged in this sector. The tertiary sector of economy in the 1962 Census accounted for only 13 (0.55 per cent) of the male workers and had no females. While the 1971 Census shows 30 (1.11 per cent) males and 6 (0.29 per cent) females engaged in this sector accounting for the categories of 'Trade and Commerce', 'Transport, Storage and Communication' and 'Other Services'.

Land and Agriculture

As the economic life of the community is centred on agricultural pursuits, it would be worthwhile to give some important

particulars relating to the land tenure system and agricultural practices followed by the Kokna in the area.

Land tenure system and reforms

Before the year 1898 the cultivable land was leased out annually and the revenue collected in kind from the lessee. The first survey was carried out during the years 1898-1904 and village maps were prepared on the same lines as in the adjoining areas of Gujarat State (then a part of old Bombay Presidency).

Prior to 1912, land was given on annual leases only. But this system was discontinued with the introduction of *alwara* system in 1912, when a law called 'Organizacao Agraria' (Agrarian Organisation) was enacted by the Portuguese regime. It was considered as a reform over the previous system. Later, some amendments were brought about in 1917, 1936 and 1965. While during the first survey (1898-1904) the records were kept in Gujarati with the standard of measure as 'bigha' and 'acre', after 1912 the land was measured in hectares and the record kept in Portuguese. The *alwara* deeds (agreement between the government and the person to whom the land was assigned) were also issued. The *alwara*, it is understood, were issued to the persons who expressed loyalty to the Portuguese government and no price of land was charged from such persons.

However, the entire land was not given on *alwara* basis and a small measure of land was given to cultivators on one to nine years short term leases. In such cases the land usually did not exceed five hectares. This system of leasing the land on short term was referred to as *teram*.

The *alwara* and *teram* could be revoked by the Portuguese government any time on non-fulfilment of the conditions on which these were issued.

The *alwara* holders either cultivated land themselves or passed it on to the tenants who paid rent to the former. It may be mentioned here that no fresh *alwara* has been issued after the end of the Portuguese rule but the existing *alwara* have not been revoked. The rent is required to be paid by the following systems:

1. *Rokar ganat system:* In this case the rent is required to be paid in cash.

2. *Bhag system:* In this case the yield is divided with predetermined ratio between the *alwara* holder and the tenant. The expenditure incurred on the agricultural operations is borne by the tiller. It is stipulated that he would inform the landlord one

week before he starts harvesting. A variation of this system of paying in kind is where the tenant has to pay a predetermined quantity, irrespective of the yield. It is called *khand*.

After liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli the Union Territory Administration undertook a fresh survey in 1961. The main purpose of the revenue survey was the regulation of the customary land tax to secure an adequate revenue for the government, and to maintain the progressive development of the agricultural resources and preservation of all proprietory and other rights connected with the land. The survey was completed in 1964. It was carried out throughout the Territory on the same lines as in the Gujarat State and the village areas were divided into 'Survey Numbers'.

These Portuguese Law (Organizacao Agraria and the Decree of 1956) provided that an illiterate *alwara* holder cannot transfer his interests in land without permission of the Administration. In other words he could not lease out (practically sell) his land to another person without prior permission. This was done to safeguard the interests of poor and illiterate tribals. But during the Portuguese times, the tenants were at the mercy of the *alwara* holders who could at any time throw out the tenant and take the possession of land or lease out the land to a new tenant. After liberation of this Territory, with a view to ensuring security of land tenure and safeguarding the interest of the tenants, various reforms were notified from time to time and were ultimately consolidated by the administration in Ordinance No. 2 of 1961. These mostly sought to protect the tenant from the exhorbitant rent claimed by the *alwara* holders. The salient points of the notification are given below :

(i) No landlord can ask for the return of his land for personal cultivation without prior permission of the Administrator. The breach of the order is punishable by a fine up to Rs. 1,000/-.

(ii) Appearance of a pleader on behalf of the *alwara* holder without prior permission of the *Mamlatdar* or the Administrator is prohibited.

(iii) The tenancy cannot be terminated by the landlord simply on the reason of expiry of the date of tenancy agreement.

(iv) In case of unlawful dispossession of the tenant by the landlord, the land is required to be restored to the former.

Prior to the merger of the Union Territory with Indian Union the annual rent was fixed irrespective of the yield and sometimes it happened to be ½ of the total crop. After merger it was reduced to ¼th of the main crop (and not the total produce). Then it was further reduced to 1/6th by September, 1962. Hitherto it used to be paid mostly in kind. But according to the orders issued in March, 1968, the rent which has been reduced to 1/8th of the principal crop, is required to be always paid in cash. It is further stipulated in favour of the tenant that he should pay Rs. 35/- per hectare or 1/8th of the principal crop, whichever is less.

However, it was observed during the survey that the rent in most of cases was still being paid in kind. There were also certain cases where it was paid partly in cash and partly in kind. Most of the lessees were aware of the fact that some reductions have been ordered by the Administration regarding payment of the rent. But only a few knew what exactly these were. But most of those who were fully aware of the latest rate of rent did not dare to displease their landlords by insisting to pay the fixed rent as they could not take the risk of offending the landlord who could cause them trouble.

Agricultural practices: The Kokna's agricultural season starts from the month of March when it is time to prepare the nursery for sowing paddy seeds. For this, they select a patch of land in the vicinity of paddy fields. They first prepare land for manuring. Next, the women and children collect dried leaves and twigs which they spread over the patch of land and then ignite it for using the residual ash as manure. They sometimes also spread some cow dung over it to strengthen the manure. With the onset of the monsoon, the nursery is ready for sowing. It may be mentioned here that the preparation of the land by the above process, known as *adar* or *rab*, is not confined to the Kokna only and the other communities of the region, including the caste Hindus, also practice this method. It, therefore, appears to be a regional practice. Now-a-days, chemical fertilisers have also been introduced in the region through the agency of C. D. Blocks but their use is limited and these have yet to become popular. According to the Kokna cultivators the ash and residue, provided by burnt dried twigs and leaves etc., serves as a good manure. Besides, the insects hidden under the ground are also killed. Simultaneously, the bunding of the paddy fields is also carried out mostly by menfolk as it is a laborious task.

With the onset of monsoon around the last week of June, the paddy seeds are sown in the nursery. Ploughing of the

fields also starts after one or two showers. It has been reported that it is a usual practice with the tribals in most parts of the Union Territory to hire bullocks from the caste Hindus of Naroli and Dadra, etc. for this purpose. During the field investigation the caste Hindu cultivators of Naroli confirmed that usually the tribals, among whom the Varli are foremost, residing in Mandoni, Cheesda, Dapada and Dhudhani villages, visit them during the first week of June to hire drought cattle for three to four months. They return them after Diwali, in October or November. Some Kokna also visit them for the hiring bullocks although their number is reported to be much less than that of the Varli. The rates for hire are usually eight *fara* of paddy for one bullock (One *fara* is approximately equivalent to 14 kgs.). But sometimes the payment is made in cash and ten rupees are paid instead of one *fara* of paddy. The landlords give bullocks on hire to only known families or those introduced to them by some reliable known person. Sometimes, instead of hiring the bullocks on cash or kind, the same are obtained for a stipulated period in return for manual service rendered by the tribals. It is uneconomic to feed the drought cattle during the off season. Therefore, if a landlord has large number of cattle, he usually engages a tribal for grazing them. For a batch of 10 to 12 cattle-heads given for grazing, he gives one bullock to the employee for 3-4 months for ploughing the latter's field as remuneration for his service. Under the agreement the tribals themselves have to visit the landlord's village for hiring the cattle and returning them. If any cattle is lost or dies during the hire period the tribal or the loanee has to pay compensation to the landlord.

In addition to paddy sown in the *adar* fields, *nagli, varai, tuer, urid* and *khursani,* which are inferior varieties of millets and pulses, are sown in separate fields. Sometimes, these crops are sown mixed in the same plot of land. For instance, *khursani* may be sown with *urid* or *tuer* to raise a mixed crop.

The paddy seedlings are transplanted in the fields in the month of July-August. All the members of the family are fully engaged during the sowing and transplantation of the paddy seedlings. September is the time for weeding. The actual harvest time varies with different varieties of paddy. A few coarser varieties of paddy, like *halaki khadasi, bhari khadasi* and *hari,* rippen early and are ready for harvesting in the month of October, while the superior varieties, viz., *kolam* and *kasbai,* take more time and are harvested in November or December. At the same time, *nagli, varai, urid* and *tuer* are also ready for harvesting. After the kharif season is over some Kokna go out

of their village to work as labourers. This is so because most of the Kokna harvest only kharif crop due to lack of irrigation facilities. During the field study, a number of Kokna were found in favour of raising *rabi* crops in addition to the *kharif* crops but they were frustrated in their desire due to lack of irrigation facilities. However, now-a-days a few of them have also taken to sowing *rabi* crops as well. Wheat and *rai* (mustard) are the main crops sown during the month of November/December. A few fortunate ones, whose land is having irrigation facilities, also raise some vegetables. like brinjals, chillies and tomatoes, in addition to *kharif* and *rabi* crops.

It is noticed that paddy is the main crop of the area and according to the Kokna informants they raise a number of local varieties of paddy. As stated above, *kalam* and *kasbai* are reported to be the most superior varieties. The medium varieties are *kada, dangi* and *halki vankvel.* The inferior varieties are *hari, tokiyo, halki-khadasi* and *bhari-khadasi.* Generally speaking, the inferior, medium and superior varieties are harvested in the last week of September, October and November-December respectively. A few Kokna cultivators informed that they get improved varieties of seeds from the government agency. According to the Gram Sewak of Dudhani Patelad, the Development Block Agency supplies them paddy seeds of 'tychung', 'nalivel' and 'farmosa' varieties as well as NP 824 variety of wheat seeds.

As indicated earlier, a significant number of Kokna workers are engaged as agricultural labourers. These are either those who are landless or have small land-holdings. Even a fairly large proportion of those who have shown cultivation as their primary occupation go in for seasonal agricultural labour with the *sethiya* or the landlord, particularly, during the sowing and harvesting seasons. The remuneration for transplanting paddy seedlings in an area measuring 12 sq. feet is 1 kg. of paddy or thirty seven paise.

Agricultural implements : Like the other farm practices pursued by the Kokna, their agricultural implements are few and simple indigenous varieties used locally. Due to the nature of terrain there is a marked difference in the type of ploughs used by the Kokna in the hilly and plain regions. The plough used in the latter region is heavier with a pointed iron-share. Its total length is about eight feet and height about three feet. The iron-share. called *parai,* is two to three feet in length. On the other hand. the plough in the hilly areas is lighter and its share, called *fal,* is a flat piece of iron which is fixed to an iron ring called *hasu.* Its digging end has an edge instead of a point

as in the case of plough used in the plains and can penetrate only a few inches deep. This is a device to avoid deep digging in the hilly terrain so that the plough-share may not hit an underneath stone or boulder. Usually, the bullocks are used as drought cattle for ploughing. But in the plain areas sometimes buffalo is also used for pulling heavier plough.

They use a leveller, called *anavat,* which is made of a wooden plank. For digging the irregular corners of paddy fields, where ploughing is not possible, they use long spades called *tikam.* The sickle, used for harvesting or cutting grass or smaller branches of fuel wood, is known as *koyata* or *ila.* In the hilly areas it also serves as a protective weapon against wild animals. An axe is used for cutting wood; the smaller axe is called as *kuradi* and the longer as *kurado.*

All these implements are purchased locally from the blacksmiths.

Forestry and Allied Activities

As stated elsewhere, some Kokna primarily depend on their livelihood on forestry and allied occupations. Besides, most of them who have returned agriculture as their primary source of livelihood take up forestry and allied activities as ancillary or subsidiary occupations for supplementing their income. This includes such activities as grass cutting, wood-cutting and preparing charcoal, besides hunting and fishing.

Grass cutting : A considerable area (about 21,000 hectares) in the Union Territory is used for growing grass by the landlords as it fetches a handsome profit without much investment and effort. The local grass has considerable commercial value because of its long blade which is suitable for packing goods, besides serving as fodder for cattle. In fact, grass after cutting and drying is sent to far off places in Gujarat and Maharashtra including Baroda, Surat and Bombay cities. In the Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli, the main grass growing centres are located at Naroli, Silvassa and Dadra villages which attract Kokna as hired labourers for cutting grass. The Kokna also go out of the Union Territory in the neighbouring areas of Gujarat, like Lavachha, Dungri and Bhilad and a few places in Maharashtra, like Nasik and Chibbad Kachh as hired labourers for the purpose. The time for grass cutting is December, after the harvesting of *kharif* is over. The period is cut short to about three weeks to four weeks as the grass is cut when fully grown yet green. If it is delayed the grass withers

away quickly and falls on the ground. Therefore, the cultivating landlords try to ensure that in the limited grass cutting season, there is no shortage of labour. This they do by extending some advance money to the Kokna and other tribal labourers who agree to cut grass for them during the season. The labourers are sometimes hired through a contractor who is known to the villagers. He usually approaches the headmen of the Kokna in different villages. During field investigation it came to light in Dudhani village that the *sethiya* collect the labourers in the adjoining villages and carries them to the site or forest grass land in a truck.

The Kokna labourers are usually engaged in the occupation of grass-cutting for twenty to twenty five days. Men, women as well as children are engaged as hired labourers. But their wages vary—the men receive Rs. 2.00, women Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 1.75 and children (ranging between the ages 10-16) 50 to 75 paise for which they have to work nine hours per day from 8 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. with a break of 1½ hour for lunch and from 2 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. According to the Kokna of Dudhani, on an average a male labour prepares one *ganji* of grass per day. A *ganji* comprises five hundred *pudis* or small ricks. When the labourers are engaged through a contractor he recovers remuneration equivalent to one *pudi* per *ganji* from each labourer as his commission.

Wood cutting: Despite denudation of forests, a fairly large area of the Territory is demarcated as 'Forest Area' due to the fact that about forty per cent of the Territory comprises forests which are considered as the main wealth and important source of revenue for the Territory. It is claimed that during the Portuguese regime there was indiscriminate exploitation of forests through the contractors and others. But after the liberation of the Territory, it would appear that efforts have been made to regulate the exploitation of forest produce on scientific lines. With this view, the forest area of the Territory is divided into eight areas called' 'Rounds'. Each 'Round' comprises eighty jungle coupes.

The forest plays an important role in the life of the tribals of the area as it is a source of livelihood providing them their day-to-day need for housing and timber in addition to food supply from the minor forest produce and the game available in the jungle. The collection of minor forest produce is particularly important to the tribals. While laying down the regulations for the use of forests, some efforts have been made to safeguard the interest of the local tribals. With this view two forest

labourers cooperative societies have been set up which are given priority in allotment of forest coupes which are otherwise auctioned to the contractors. The forest labourers cooperatives of the tribals are given first preference when the forest coupes are due for cutting. The coupes are put to auction but before doing so the two cooperative societies are asked to select the coupes they want to take up. Keeping in view their working capacity, location of coupes and the wealth of the coupe, a few coupes are allotted to the cooperative societies and the rest are put to auction. The idea is to eliminate, as far as possible, the middle men—the forest contractors—so that the local tribals could derive benefit. But as in the case of some other cooperatives, the forest cooperative societies do not appear to benefit many tribals, particularly those who remain outside its hold. The cooperative movement as a whole has to make an impact in the area as it is comparatively of recent origin.

The Kokna labourers are also engaged on wages for different purposes by the Forest Department or contractors. Each labourer is required to work for eight hours and given a daily wage of Rs. 2.00 per adult, Rs. 1.50 per youth (between the ages of 12 and 17) and Re. 1.00 for a child below 12 years. Though the exploitation of forest is mainly carried on by contractors, the wages are fixed by the Forest Department. The main tasks in which the forest labourers are engaged are felling of trees, preparation of logs and loading or unloading of the logs on the trucks or the bullock-carts.

Charcoal making: The branches of the tree which cannot be used as timber because of their size or irregular shape are used for making charcoal. In Dadra & Nagar Haveli a few private contractors who are engaged in preparing charcoal, hire local tribals including the Kokna as labourers. In their case also the labour rates have been fixed by the Forest Department. But the labour charges in preparation of charcoal vary according to the different types of work involved. Where the labourer has to first cut irregular branches and off shoots to fashion out some straight logs, chop the branches into smaller pieces according to the requirement of the *bhatti* (charcoal kiln) and prepare the *bhatti* itself, the labour charges for all these processes are Rs. 2.75 for a bag of 142×80 cms. size, Rs. 2.25 for a bag of 127×80 cms. size and Rs. 1.50 for a bag of 112×69 cms. size. The wages include packing of the coal in the bags as well. In case the labourer is not required to straighten the log the labour charges are reduced by twenty five paise. If the task involved is only arranging the chopped wooden pieces into the kiln, then the wages are Rs. 1.50, Rs. 1.25 and 87 Paise according to the

size of the bag. But generally, the contract includes all the processes involved, viz., cutting the branches, chopping down the logs into pieces according to the requirement of the kiln and preparation of kiln for making charcoal.

Sometimes, the Forest Department allots contracts for preparing plant nurseries in the jungles. Before sowing seeds, the labourers including the Kokna are engaged by the contractors on daily wages for preparing *rab* i.e., spreading the dried leaves and twigs etc. over the plot of land earmarked for the nursery.

Hunting: It provided a good source of amusement and recreation to the local tribals, besides some food of nutritive value. It is claimed by the Kokna that in the past hunting in the forests played an important role in their life. But due to indiscriminate exploitation of the forests the game has become scarce in the 'shrinking pockets' of the forest, particularly in the plains area. But even now the Kokna of Dapada and adjoining villages make occasional visits to the forest area near the adjoining Pati, Khadoli and Lohari villages. The Kokna residing in the hilly areas are somewhat better of than their counterparts in the plains as even now they find a variety of game in the forests. This includes such animals and birds as *shashala* (rabbit), *bhenkar* (deer), *boul* (wild cat), *raan murgi* (jungle fowl), *tittar* (partridge), *lawi* (a bird), *hola* (dove) and *maur* (peacock). It is rather curious that the Kokna refrain from killing or eating *undar* (field rat) which is otherwise relished by Varli, Koli Dhor and other tribal communities of the region. No plausible reason could be found for this restrain.

Although tiger is rare, leopards still prowl around the hilly areas. In the past, for hunting animals they used to make liberal use of bow and arrow but its use is on decline. Some Kokna, possess single barrel guns which are, sometimes, used for killing wild animals in the forest. But the most common way of hunting an animal is to trap it and kill it with sticks. A small net, called *baghoor*, is used for trapping small animals, like rabbit or, sometimes deer. The birds are mainly hunted by the young boys with a *rabbad* (catapult). It is also used to kill rabbit and squirrel. It was reported that the Kokna are very fond of eating squirrel. A Forest Ranger of Dudhani Pateiad narrated an interesting anecdote in this regard. He mentioned that once a few Kokna tried to kill a *khari* (squirrel) with a *rabbad*. But it was very ellusive and went up and down the tree jumping from one branch to another beyond the range of their shots. In desperation they burnt down the tree to bag the poor creature.

The Kokna of Dudhani region observe holiday on Tuesday and amuse themselves by hunting or fishing. Although during the non-agricultural season they go for fishing or hunting on any day of the week Tuesday is their favourite in so much so that according to the local forest officials and cultivating landlords, who engage tribal labourers, it is difficult to persuade them to work on Tuesday. Some of the local Kokna informants stated that Tuesday is favourite day of their deities, who are pleased if the former refrain from work and amuse themselves by hunting and fishing. The abstension from work on Tuesday and indulgence in sport is by no means a practice peculiar to the Kokna and some other tribes of the region, like the Varli and Koli Dhor, also observe holiday on Tuesday. But the Kokna appear to be more particular about it, especially in the hilly region.

It is said that the person or group of persons who locate an animal first have the first right over it. In this connection an interesting anecdote was narrated by a few persons. Sometime ago, on a Tuesday when most of the Kokna of Dudhani had gone for hunting and fishing in separate groups, a few youths residing in Khori Pada of Dudhani village also went out for hunting with their catapult and sticks. After a hectic search, they located lair of a hare at some distance from their hamlet. When the boys approached the hole, the hare bolted away and ran in panic towards Zari Pada, another hamlet of the same village, and was soon out of the sight and could not be located. Next day, the youth of Khori Pada came to know that the Kokna of Zari Pada had later spotted the hare and bagged it for themselves. Thereupon, the former accused the latter of pilfering and behaving as thieves. The small matter of a minor dispute over the jurisdiction over a hare created so much tension and heat that it was referred to the tribal council of the village which imposed a fine of Rs. 5/- against the Kokna of Zari Pada. The right to capture or kill an animal, therefore, rests with the person or persons who first locate it. Similar is the case with beehives. If a person locates a beehive he has the right to take out honey and others have no right over it.

Fishing: The Union Territory abounds in small streams and rivulets besides being intersected by river Daman Ganga and its tributaries viz., Sakaltod, Pipri and Varna. The Daman Ganga passes through rockey terrain and is quite deep at certain places during the rainy season. The Kokna go in for a good deal of fishing to catch fish for domestic consumption. According to the Kokna of Dapada, a variety of fishes are found in the local rivulets and rivers. Besides, the flooded paddy fields

also provide another source for breeding and supply of fish. The more commonly known varieties of local fish are ***roi,*** *sekh, podar, singhara, maraha, araarh, made, vadi, kanje, poplet, aglu, handia* and *dhaku* etc.

Fishing is carried on at the household level as well as on a communal basis, when a group of persons in the village organise a fishing expedition. But the catch is generally small and apportioned equally by the persons for domestic consumption; it has hardly any commercial value.

As stated earlier, each Kokna household has at least a few fishing traps or baskets. The smaller ones are usually kept inside the house while the bigger ones, often owned by the village as a whole, are kept outside of the house or pegged on the side of the walls. The fishing outside nets and traps display a wide variety in shape and size. Most of the traps are made of bamboo splits or reed. The most common among these are *the madaido, madai, chap, sata, tondia* and *sarpalli.* Besides, there are fishing nets which are small as well as large in size, the larger one are known as *pata* and the smaller *sogia.* Sometimes, women catch fish by using their *luguda* or *fadko* (lower garment) as a net, while they go out to the bank of a river or stream for taking bath or washing clothes.

A few more important fishing implements recorded during the field investigation are described below.

1. *Madaido :* It is a large fishing trap. It is cylindrical in shape and five feet in length with a diameter of one foot and six inches. It is made of reeds and provided with two valves which operate in the same direction. When placed in running water against the current the fish enter the trap along with the flow of water through its wide open anterior end which serves as the 'mouth'. The trapped fish is taken out of the *madaido* through the shutter at the posterior end which remains closed during the operation. The posterior end of the trap has a provision for sliding it open with a chord. It is generally used for catching somewhat larger varieties of fish in running water of rivers and streams.

2. *Madai :* More or less resembles the *madaido* in shape and functions. But it is of a smaller size. It is also made of split bamboos. Its length is only fifteen inches with a diameter of six inches. It has a removable valve, called *choga,* which serves as a 'mouth' or entrance for the fish. The *choga* is eight inches in length and is inserted at the anterior end of the trap.

3. *Sata :* This trap is of a small size, the length being less than twelve inches and a diameter of five inches. It is also cylindrical in shape and made of fine bamboo splits. Its posterior end is closed and the anterior end though fixed can be folded in the middle. The *sata* is mostly operated by children during the rainy season when shoals of fish enter the rice fields or streams with flood water. For catching fish the *sata* is kept below the over-flowing water around the margins of the bunds of the paddy fields, etc.

4. *Chap :* This trap is of a slightly different type and shape than the automatic traps described above and manipulated differently. It is made of wide bamboo splits and its shape is conical and not cylindrical. The length is about three feet and the diameter at the upper end six inches and at the wider lower end one and a half feet. Both the ends are kept open while catching fish in shallow water. It is held vertically with both hands, the narrower end being kept on the upper side. When a shoal of fish is seen on the river bed it is quickly pushed down so that its anterior end rests over water containing fish and the posterior end remains above water level. The trapped fish is collected from upper posterior end. Thus, it is not an automatic device or trap for catching fish and requires constant manipulation and skilful handling by the operator.

5. *Tondia :* It is a small trap having a length of thirteen inches only, but is similar in shape and manoeuvred in the same way as the *chap.* But being smaller, it is used in still shallower water, in the rice fields or shallow streams.

6. *Sarpalli :* It is a fishing net comprising a circular rim made of bamboo or cane. The diameter of the rim is about two feet. A net is woven around the rim somewhat in the fashion of a net used for catching butterflies. The net tapers at the bottom to form a pouch having a diameter of five inches and a length of two feet. When catching fish it is held in two hands and dipped in water. When small fish enter inside the rim, it is scooped out of water and the fish caught inside the pouch are taken out.

During the field study, there was an occasion to record two cases of fishing operations being carried out by the Kokna. The same are briefly discussed below :

A group of fourteen Kokna, hailing from Patil village in the neighbourhood of Dapada, were seen heading towards Daman Ganga river for fishing. The group comprised entirely of males including old and young men as well as boys. It was seen that

four younger and stout men were carrying a heavy log each of twelve feet length. After travelling half the distance, the four persons carrying the logs were substituted by four other members of the party. Two young boys carried in a bundle the big fishing net, the *pata*. An old man carried a knitted bag for keeping the catch of fish. A boy was carrying a small bundle. The party proceeded through Vasona village which is on the shorter route to Daman Ganga. In all they covered a distance of four kilometres from Pati village to the actual site of fishing. On the way they halted only once to take some rest. Eight persons actively participated in the actual fishing operation. When the *pata* was taken out from the bundle and spread out, it was found to be circular in shape with a diameter of 35 to 40 feet. It was having four ropes tied to the outer fringes at equal distance. Two boys held a rope each and swam to the other side of the river. On reaching the other bank of the river they securely held the ropes and stretched them. Two boys on the other side also held the two ropes and stretched them in a manner that the circular net occupied the middle of the river. Next, four men sitting on the four floating logs paddled towards the centre of the stream near the net. On reaching the net each of the four ropes was passed over the log so that the net was tightened and held in position. Then the boys on either sides of the banks, after pressing the ropes under heavy chunks of stone, jumped into the river. They first swam away from the *pata* and then moved towards it splashing water with their hands and feet. An elderly member of the fishing party explained that this was done to drive the fish towards the net. After sometime, the boys resumed their position on either banks and the ropes of the *pata* were loosened simultaneously and the fringes of the *pata* were closed and folded with precaution. The *pata* was then pulled out of water and brought to the bank. Alas ! all their efforts were in vain as not a single fish was found in the net. After sometime, they made another attempt repeating the process described above. But this time too they were frustrated as they could not catch even a single fish and could get hold of only a small *singudi* (crab). The other members of the party who did not take active part in the fishing operation busied themselves in collecting small dead fish washed on the bank of the river. They had brought with them a frying pan and *coprel* (coconut oil). They fried the fish adding a pinch of salt and spices. They also roasted a *kasu* (tortoise) which they had brought along with them. Before leaving the fishing site the members of the fishing party explained that they failed to catch the fish for the reason that apart from being the lean season for fishing, the area was apparently earlier used by some other fishing party, who used floral

poison for catching the fish. Fishing by floral poison gives quick results as the fish come up on the surface due to suffocation and are easily collected. But it is a destructive system as it poisons a large number of fish and scares away the others.

The cost of the *pata* used by the Kokna in this expedition was approximately Rs. 300/-. The whole village contributed in buying yarn for the net from Dahanu located in Maharashtra. Each member of the Kokna household in the village had contributed Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- for buying the yarn. But the net was knitted by the community members voluntarily. It was stated that the *pata* was knitted by five to six persons who had worked at least four to five hours per day for nearly a month.

Another case of group fishing, comprising thirteen persons residing in Kokna Pada of Dapada village, was observed at Sakaltod rivulet near Dapada village. In this case *sogia,* the small fishing net, was used for fishing in the shallow stream which was only three feet deep at that time. Four members of the party stood in the midstream against the current and made a sort of barrage with their net by standing in the stream and holding the *sogia* each side by side with their stretched hands. The *sogia* was kept in position in water as a few pieces of lead, attached at the lower fringes, prevented it from moving with the current. Thereafter, six persons entered water at some distance, (about 15 meters) from the net and started wading towards the barrage made by the *sogia.* They were accompanied by two boys, who held a long rope having strips of toddy palm leaves knotted at intervals of two feet from each other. This was done to drive away the fish towards the net. When they reached the net, it was droped suddenly and then carefully lifted out of water and the trapped fish were taken out. The same process was repeated at four different places in successive operations, each being carried out further down stream. The aged members of the party sat on the river bank watching and directing the operation. They helped in collecting the trapped fish from the net and keeping them in a knitted pouch. The entire operation took more than two hours for a meagre catch of one to one and a half kilogram of small sized fish.

The Kokna and the Weekly Markets

During the Portuguese regime the Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli apparently remained more or less isolated. Although the network of communications is now being extended to the Territory, the area still remains comparatively isolated. The local tribals, however, have had some contact with their

counterparts in the nearby areas in neighbouring States of Gujarat and Maharashtra for the exchange of commodities and purchase of daily necessities of life, apart from having some limited social ties in terms of marital relations, etc. Besides, the Kokna and the other tribals have been attending fairs and festivals in the adjoining areas of the two neighbouring States.

Although a few vendors and petty shopkeepers sell their merchandise to the tribals in their villages, for the purchase of daily necessities of life as well as sale of minor forest produce, the Kokna and other tribals are mostly dependent on the weekly market or *adhwara* as it is locally known. These markets are held in different villages of the Territory as illustrated in the table below.

TABLE 14

Villages having a weekly market in Dadra & Nagar Haveli

Sl. No.	Name of the village	The day of the week *adhwara* is held	Nearest Town and distance (in kms.)	
1	2	3	4	
1	Talavali	Sunday	Vapi	(35)
2	Khadoli	Monday	Vapi	(33)
3	Naroli	Tuesday	Vapi	(26)
4	Silvassa	Wednesday	Vapi	(18)
5	Dudhani	Thursday	Vapi	(52)
6	Rakholi	Friday	Vapi	(24)
7	Khanvel	Saturday	Vapi	(40)
8	Kilavani	Saturday	Vapi	(29)

If necessary the Kokna as well as the other tribals of the Territory also visit the weekly markets at nearby places located in the adjoining areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat. During the field investigation the commercial activities were observed in two *adhwara* at Rakholi and Dudhani villages located in two different geocultural region of the Territory. The weekly market

at Dudhani is held on Thursdays while that in Rakholi on Fridays. These are held for three to four hours only, from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in winter and 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. in summer. The shopkeepers and hawkers bring their merchandise either in bullock-carts or on their back. Now some of them have started using the government transport bus from the nearest point of communication. Two buses are plying between Dudhani and Vapi—one in the morning and the other in the evening. The shopkeepers and pedlars, etc., reach Dudhani by bus one day earlier in the evening so that they can start their business very early next day. Generally, the tribals within a radius of eight kms. or so visit the *adhwara.* It was also observed that the tribal women take more active part in these markets. The shops are improvised structures of bamboo poles with thatched roofs. In most cases the markets do not function during rainy season as most of the areas are out off due to the swollen Daman Ganga river and its tributaries. In the *adhwara,* the grocery shops outnumber the others. They provide salt, turmeric, coriander seeds, chillies, onion, garlic, tobacco, jaggery and pulses, etc. The vegetable shops are also there which mostly sell potato, onion and brinjal. The cloth merchants sell cloth as well as ready-made garments. The fish hawkers also ply their trade selling various varieties of fresh fish in addition to dried fish, which is very popular. The silversmiths sell silver and other ornaments in addition to the idols and images of gods and goddesses. The potters are also on the scene along with their earthen wares. The iron mongers sell nails, tools, used by carpenters, as well as latches and hinges and similar other steel and aluminium wares. Besides, a few sell fancy items, such as coloured ribbons, combs, mirror, bangles and necklaces of glass, hair clips, etc. A few sweetmeat sellers sell *bhajia* and *ganthia* (preparations of gramfloor, etc.). Besides, a few tattooers and barbers also find their way in the market as they attract a lot of customers.

Apart from the items purchased by the Kokna for daily consumption they also sometimes sell a few commodities such as *jawar, nagli, varai* and paddy as well as *tuer* (pulse). Besides, they sometimes sell small quantities of forest produce. like *kardai, mahuda* flowers, gum, tamarind and honey. They sometimes, also sell a few herbal medicinal plants. Some of the Kokna womenfolk also sell mats, prepared by them from the leaves and toddy palm, locally known as *sadadi.* The transactions are made in cash as well as by barter system. The following table provide illustrations of a few items in which trade is carried on barter basis.

TABLE 15

Commodities sold and received in barter by the tribals

Sl. No.	Commodities sold by the tribals on barter basis	Commodity received in barter and its quantity
1.	Gum	Onion (two times or Garlic (same quantity)
2.	Tamarind	Garlic (same quantity)
3.	Jawar (millet)	Onion (same quantity)
4.	Chinothi	Onion (same quantity)
5.	Kardai	Potato (same quantity) or Onion (two times)
6.	Jawari Nagli, Warari	Bomla (dried fish—¼ times)
7.	Karanjia	Onion (same quantity)
8.	Warai, Wal	Salt (same quantity)

It came to light that in most transactions the Kokna and other tribals are cheated because of their ignorance. The traders pay much less for the commodities purchased by them from the tribals in the *adhwara,* while they themselves get a huge profit on the commodities they sell. It was reported that the tribals are particularly cheated in the sale of herbal roots and leaves as they receive a nominal amount, while the traders resell it in cities like Ahmedabad and Bombay, at a huge profit due to medicinal properties of the herbs. Besides, the tribals are by and large unaware of the prevailing rates of the commodities they sell, They are also cheated in weighing the commodities. One of the tradesmen interviewed as Dudhani about these matter got annoyed and retorted "why should we not take huge profits? We have taken all the trouble to reach such far off places. Moreover, business is business after all. We should make most of it".

It is interesting that the standards for measure is *tokri* and *paili* which are baskets made of bamboo used since Portuguese times. Although these have been declared as unauthorised measures, they are still in vogue. A *tokri* approximately contains one kg. and *paili* about two kgs. of cereals.

CHAPTER XI

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

It would appear that the Kokna are not much inclined to limit the number of children. Although they are said to prefer male children, they also welcome female children. In Dapada it was stated that no doubt a male child is somewhat more desirable than a female one as he is a great helping hand in agricultural pursuits, particularly to the father. But the female child is not undesirable as the mother gets a helping hand from the daughter for carrying on domestic chores.

The mother-to-be continues to attend her domestic chores and even lighter out-door work, until the time of actual travail. She does not take any special diet and shares the usual meals with the other members of the family. It is not an unusual event when a parturient working in the paddy fields is escorted to a nearby hutment or shed for delivery.

The delivery usually takes place in a separate quarter or corner of the larger apartment. Care is taken that the parturient is not kept near the hearth or in the apartment where the household deities are kept. Generally, she is assisted by a Kokna midwife, called *suarin*. Otherwise, the local midwife belonging to any other tribal community of the area, viz., Varli, Kathodi or Koli Dhor is sent for. She asists the mother and the baby for five days. She cuts the umbilical cord with an arrow-head and buries the placenta in a pit dug up in the cattle shed. It is said that among the Dungari Kokna the pit may be dug up by the *suarin* or any female relation of the mother. But the Pathar Kokna were insistant that it is dug up by the midwife only. The pollution period usually lasts for five days. Generally, on the fifth day *panchora* or *chhatti* rites are observed which mark the end of the ceremonial pollution period. Sometimes, this ceremony is performed on the tenth day. During this period the mother is confined to the delivery apartment and does not attend the household chores or goes outside the house. She also does not touch the household deities. The question of visiting shrines or sacred places outside the house does not arise at all.

The midwife gives a bath to the mother and the child with lukewarm water on the spot where placenta has been buried. Next, she keeps a piece of stone and two earthen pitches containing some grains on that spot. Thereafter, she draws the images of tribal deities on the pitcher and the stone with *sindur* (vermilion) and worships them. Next, she ties an amulet containing a few charmed seeds kept in a piece of cloth which is folded before tying it around the neck of the mother and the child as a prophylactic against the evil eye.

On the same day an important ceremony is performed in front of the earthen pitcher. The new born baby is laid on a piece of cloth which is usually the *lugda* or *fadko*, i.e., the lower garment of the mother. Two women of the community—usually close relations or neighbours—stand on the opposite sides and lift the baby with the cloth forming a sort of cradle and place it in front of the earthen pitcher. Then, the midwife addresses a few sermons to the child. These sermons exhort it to be thrifty, abstain from excessive alcoholic drinks and avoid the company of bad or evil persons. It is believed that the child on growing up imbibes the virtues contained in the sermons. It is interesting that one of the sermons entreats the child to always heed the father and even ignore the mother. It was explained that this is done more in a lighter vein to evoke laughter. But some of the informants thought that it is the assertion of the male or father dominance in a patrilineal society. It is said while the sermons are being read or addressed, one of the female relations beats a *thali* (a large metal platter of brass or bronze). While among the Dungari Kokna, the *thali* is beaten with a coin, the Pathar Kokna use a twig or stick for the purpose. Thereafter, the *suarin* performs a ritual which is supposed to ward off the influence of the evil eye. In this ritual the mother is made to sit on the floor with her legs stretched in front. The *suarin* then 'weaves' white cotton yarn around the waist of the mother several times, passing it through her neck and toes. The 'tying' of the mother with cotton yarn is supposed to serve as a barrier for the evil spirits. After this ritual the mother and child take rest. Among the Pathar Kokna, the *suarin* prepares a *jholi* (cradle) on the fifth day—the day which marks the end of the pollution period—in case of a male child and on the fourth day in case of a female child. But among the Dungari Kokna a *jholi* is prepared by the father on the fifth day for the child, irrespective of its sex.

After performance of the above rites and rituals at home the *suarin*, followed by the children of the hamlet, goes to the bank of a nearby river, stream or pond. In case these natural

water sources are not available in the vicinity, a well serves the purpose. The *suarin* applies a coating of vermilion over a stone, sprinkles some grains around it and covers it with a layer of soil before watering it. She waters it regularly for twelve days. The children receive boiled rice from the *suarin*. Next, a feast is arranged in the house in which only women and children participate. It was reported in Bildari that in addition to the close relations the wives of important village functionaries or important persons like the *patel, karbhari* and *kathiya* are also invited. They all partake meals from the same *thali*. In fact, it is said that *suarin* shares meals from the same unless she belongs to Koli Dhor or Kathodi community, which are lower in status. But in case she belongs to Varli community she also shares meals from the same *thali* because of the equal status enjoyed by her. Whatever may be, during the field investigation, no single case came to light in which the midwife serving the Kokna belonged to the above mentioned communities, although, they claimed that this role can be performed by any experienced woman, irrespective of her caste or community.

As a remuneration for her service, the midwife receives twenty to twenty-five paise daily for five days. Besides at the end of *panchora* ceremony she receives one rupee in cash and grains kept in earthen pitchers. If possible, a bottle of liquor is also given to her. The other elderly women who sometimes assist the *suarin* also receive twenty-five paise each.

Tonsure Ceremony

The tonsure ceremony, locally called *zulu utaru*, is performed for children of both the sexes, usually after the completion of one year. The 'hair-cut' is done by the maternal uncle in the house itself. In case he is not well-versed in it he first symbolically cuts a lock of the hair and the remaining hair are shaved off by any other close male relation. If the child does not have any maternal uncle any other close uncle may perform this job. The hair clippings are tied in a piece of cloth and immersed by the mother in a nearby stream or river, preferably on the on-set of the monsoon. It is believed that by doing so the child also grows rapidly as a river or grass during the monsoon. On this occasion a feast is also arranged in which apart from the close relations the village dignatories, like the *patel* and *karbhari* are invited. The invitees are expected to present some cash in the form of small coins to the child.

Name Giving

The Kokna do not perform any particular ceremony for naming the child. In Dapada the usual practice since the days

of *fanga* (Portuguese) has been that the father along with some close relations takes the child to the Patel Talati's office in the village and asks him to record the name of the child after giving a suitable name on the basis of consensus arrived at among the close relations. The Patel Talati maintains the birth and death record of all the villages under his Patelad. Sometimes, even he may suggest a name for the child which, if accepted by his relations, he records in the register. Among the Dungari Kokna it was reported that usually the father or the maternal uncle names the child which is recorded. There is no fixed time for naming, though usually the child is named within one year of the birth.

In Bildari where a few of Christian Kokna reside, it was found that the Christian Kokna perform the birth rites in the fashion of the other Kokna as described above. But on a convenient day usually within one month after the birth, they take the child to a church for baptism.

Thread Tying

It was noticed that most of the Kokna children were having a black thread tied around their waist. It came to light that this is tied by the *suarin* after the birth of the child. The Pathar Kokna call it *sitodi* while the Dungari Kokna call it *kargota*. Among the former it is usually of red or white colour, while the Dungari Kokna always have it in red colour. There is no fixed day for tying the thread but usually it is tied within six months after birth. It is supposed to act as a protective 'charm' against the evil eye. In case of females, it is worn up to the age of two or three years but the males are supposed to wear it throughout the life. During the adulthood it also serves the purpose of suspending a loin cloth.

Sex and Marriage

Pre-marital and extra-marital relations: On being questioned about their attitude towards pre-marital and extra-marital relations, the Kokna claimed that they strongly disapprove of such relations and maintain a strict code of behaviour in these matters. But it would appear that in actual practice they do not observe a very strict code of behaviour regarding sexual relations outside wedlock. They appear to be fairly tolerant in these matters. But it is not that the wayward behaviour relating to extra or pre-marital relations goes unnoticed and uncensored. The reactions vary according to the circumstances and nature of the offence. The illicit sexual relations of a Kokna woman with a person of the same community is not considered as a

very grave offence, unless it involves members of the same *kud* and can be settled over a cup of toddy or payment of fine. But it results in serious difficulties for the offender, in case he or she is involved in illicit relations with a non-Kokna, particularly when the latter belongs to a caste or community having a lower social status. The punishment may involve ostracizing the offender, who is accepted back in the community only after performance of certain purificatory rites. While undergoing penance in this way would entitle a person to be received back within the folds of the community, the punishment of performing the purificatory rite itself is considered a serious disgrace as it comes to the notice of all the community men who do not easily forget such incidences.

Because of the disgrace involved in many cases, it is said the "out-cast" member of the community prefers to stay out. In cases of extra-marital relations involving the members of Kokna community, normally an attempt is made to iron out the matter by mutual dialogue over a cup of toddy or *daru*. It is not infrequent that such cases are hushed up after receiving some cash amount from the defaulter, which is spent by the complainant and community elders of the parties involved in consuming *daru*. In case where a married woman elopes with her paramour, she may continue to live with him without any serious stigma attached, provided the latter pays back the *dawa* (claim) of her husband. The *dawa*, is discussed in details in subsequent account relating to divorce.

Age at marriage: Marriage is referred to as *warad* or *lagan* by the Kokna. The latter term shows Gujarati influence and is used by the members of the community residing in the plains region only. According to earlier published literature on the community the Kokna marriage may be adult, performed on attainment of puberty or solemnized at an early age. According to Campbell (*op. cit.*) the male Kokna of Kanara are married between the ages 14 and 18 and females between 8 and 12 years. This would suggest that marriage, particularly in the case of females, takes place at an early age, even before the attainment of puberty. But most other earlier writers have indicated that marriage takes place after attainment of puberty. Thus, according to Enthoven (*op. cit.*) the Kokna marry their boys between the ages of 16 to 20 and their girls between 15 to 18. This is also substantiated by the Gazetteer of the Bombay-Presidency (1901) as well as Desai (*op. cit.*) and Mukherjea (*op. cit.*). In fact, Mead and Macgregor (*op. cit.*) are categorical in saying that marriage of Kokna is adult. The majority of the Kokna informants stated that according to

their traditional norms, a boy is expected to get married at the age of 15 to 17 years whereas a girl between 12 and 15 years. However, they also mentioned that in actual practice the marriage is delayed. From the ages at marriage recorded during the field investigations, it is also seen that in most of the cases the marriage of the females were celebrated between 17 and 18 years and in case of males between 18 and 19 years. This appears to be substantiated by the 1971 Census data on age and marital status of the community as it is seen therefrom that in the age group 0.14 only a few persons—21 (0.88 per cent) males and 50 (2.16 per cent) females are recorded as married. On the other hand, in the age group 15-44, 405 males (21.27 per cent) and 197 females (10.31 per cent) were recorded in the category of unmarried persons showing thereby that a large number of males remains unmarried on crossing the age of fourteen. In case of females too, a significant number remains unmarried on attaining the age of 15 years. But their number is obviously less than that of males as they comparatively marry early (about two years).

Marriage distance: The Kokna do not observe village exogamy. Their 'mating circle' is obviously narrow in terms of physical distance. In fact, a significant number of spouses are residents of the same hamlet of the village. During the course of field investigation for the present study specific data relating to marriage distance was gathered from the Kokna hamlets of the Dapada village which substantiates that the range of marriage is narrow as indicated in the table below.

TABLE 16

Range of marriage among the Kokna of Dapada village

Sl. No.	Range of marriage	Number	Percentage
1	2	3	4
1.	Marriages within the hamlet	22	25·88
2.	Marriages outside the hamlet but within the village	17	20·00
3.	Marriages outside the village but within the Union Territory.	32	37·65
4.	Marriages within the villages in the neighbouring States of Gujarat or Maharashtra	11	12·94
5.	Marriages within the villages whose names could not be ascertained.	3	3·53
	TOTAL	85	100·00

It is evident from the data contained in the foregoing table that a majority of marriages (39 or 45.88 per cent) were celebrated within the Dapada village itself. Of these, the majority (22 or 25.88 per cent) were solemnised within the same hamlet. One of the reasons for the large number of marriages within the same hamlet is obviously found in the distribution pattern of the Kokna. They tend to form a hamlet or two of their own in the village. In Dapada they reside in two hamlets, viz., the Kokna Pada and Choudhary Pada. In case of only thirty two, or 37.65 per cent of the marriages, the spouse belonged to another village. This is obviously a small number even for those ethnic groups which form close 'mating circle' and marry in the same village. In only eleven or 12.94 per cent cases, the spouse resided out-side the Union Territory, in the nearby villages of adjoining States of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Broadly speaking, the Kokna of Dapada seek their spouse from the villages within a radius of 25 kms. or so. In the data gathered, there were only a few cases wherein the villagers of Dapada had inter-marital ties with villages located at a distance of 30 kms. But there was no case of inter-marriage with a village located beyond a distance of 30 kms. from Dapada. As stated earlier, village Dapada is located in the central plains region of the Union Territory. The villagers have inter-marital relations with the neighbouring villages mostly located south of Dapada. These include, Khadoli, Tinoda, Surangi, Amboli, Kala, Apti, Velugam and Karachgam, the last three being located at the border of the neighbouring Thana district of Maharashtra. A few of the villages which fall in the 'mating circle' of the Kokna of Dapada lie north of the village. These are, Chinchpada, Karad and Galonda. Of these Galonda village is located on the northern periphery of the Territory. Although no case of inter-marriage involving the Kokna residing in the plains region (Dapada) with those residing in the hill ranges was recorded in the above data, it would appear that the Kokna in the two territorial regions do inter-marry. In fact, as stated above, the Kokna of Dapada also have inter-marital relations with those in the neighbourhood talukas of Thana district in Maharashtra or Dharampur taluk of Valsad district in Gujarat State. A similar enquiry was conducted among the Kokna of Dudhani region located in the hilly region. They also appear to form more or less a close 'mating circle' with surrounding villages, like Kauncha, Ambabari Bilhari, etc. This 'circle' extends northwards and embraces a few neighbouring villages in the Dharampur taluk of Valsad district of Gujarat as well. A few villages appear in both the 'mating circles' of Dapada and Dudhani. This substantiates that

sometimes the Pathar Kokna residing in the plains area and Dungari Kokna in the hills, may inter-marry.

From the inter-marital ties and the 'mating circles' of the Kokna it is seen that although Dadra & Nagar Haveli remained a separate Portuguese enclave for many years, the people residing there have had social intercourse with their counterparts across the border. These relations included affinal ties as well.

Avoidance and preference in marriage: As stated in the preceding account, the Kokna are divided into a number of exogamous *kuds*. Marriage obviously does not take place between the members of the same *kud* as they are supposed to have descended from the same ancestor. Therefore, sexual relations within or outside the wedlock between the members of the same *kud* are considered incestuous.

According to the Dungari Kokna residing in Dudhni village they prefer cross-cousin marriage. The Kokna of Dapada reluctantly stated that they too have cross-cousin marriage. Their reluctance in admitting cross-cousin marriage appears to be due to their being influenced by the values and norms of the caste Hindu Gujaratis in the neighbouring region who do not have cross-cousin marriage as in addition to the parallel-cousins, the cross-cousins are also regarded as siblings. In this connection it is interesting to observe that the term *mama* is used for a set of relations among the Kokna. These are, mother's brother, wife's father, wife's father's brother, husband's father and father's sister's husband. In the like manner the term *fui* is used for father's sister, mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, wife's mother, wife's father's brother's wife. Thus, the wife of a person who stands in the relationship of *mama*, would be considered as *fui* of the same relation. A marriage with the daughter or son of the *mama* would be a cross-cousin marriage. The same term of reference for one's wife's father and mother's brother would indicate that mother's brother's daughter is one's potential mate. However, from the data on marriage recorded in the two regions, it is seen that although normatively cross-cousin marriage may be preferred, particularly by the Dungari Kokna, the incidence of such marriages is rather low. Apparently, there are other factors as well which have bearing in the matter of marital alliances.

Mode of acquiring the mate among the Kokna: Marriage among the Kokna takes place mostly as a result of negotiations and on payment of bride price. As soon as a boy or a girl attains the marriageable age, the parents start looking out for

a suitable match. The qualities desired in a bride for a boy is that she should be intelligent, sincere and possessing a good moral character. For a life partner for a girl the main considerations are that the boy should be healthy and possess cultivable land or otherwise should be in a sound economic position. In many cases the parents of the boy and girl know each other very well as they may be residing in the same hamlet or another hamlet of the same village. They would be even related in case the marriage is being performed between the cross-cousins. Otherwise, a person, who knows both the parties, acts as a go-between. The initiative is always required to be taken by the boy's parents, who are supposed to first formally approach the girl's parents with the proposal. But before formally approaching the girl's parents the attitude of the girl's parents in the matter is known informally through common relations, friends or the go-between. In case they are found willing only then the formal proposal, known as *bol karovo* or *nani peen*, is made. If the girl's parents appear to be willing the boy's parents visit the girl's house along with a gift of eight bottles of *daru* or Rs. 7/- in cash. In case the boy and girl are living in two different villages, the boy's father has to spend more money as expenditure on transport and food served to the close relations and village dignitaries who accompany him. If the village of the girl is situated at some distance, then the boy's party stays over-night in the girl's village, otherwise, they return to their home on the same day. In the girl's house they are entertained with dinner which usually comprise boiled rice and pulse of *tuer* or *urid*. On this day the date for the formal betrothal ceremony, known as *moti peen*, is also fixed.

Betrothal ceremony: On the date fixed for betrothal the boy's parents and other close relatives make another visit to the girl's house. On this occasion a set of clothes, including a saree, *choli* and *fadko*, is presented to the girl by the boy's father. Among the Pathar Kokna, a necklace of tiny glass beads, called *peenani ganthi*, is also presented along with the set of clothes. The ceremony is observed by the elders of both the parties including the headmen. Generally, the marriage takes place after a year of the betrothal. But there is no such hard and fast rule and in some cases the marriage actually took place after two or three years. If both the parties are in sound economic condition and it is convenient, *nani peen*, *moti peen* and marriage takes place within a gap of few days.

Dhan dej or payment of bride price: Between the betrothal and actual marriage another ceremony, known as *dhan dej* takes place. Actually, this is the occasion fixed for the payment of the

bride price. On this occasion, the boy's parents visit the girl's house along with their relatives and village elders on any convenient day except Tuesday and Saturday, which are considered inauspicious. Although the *dej* or bride price is generally referred by the Kokna as the cash given by the boy's father to the girl's father, it would appear that the bride price comprises cash as well as presents in kind since the former presents some foodgrains as well to the latter. Among the Dungari Kokna, these comprise sixty kilograms of rice, two *paili* of pulse, (approx. 4 kilograms) of *tuer* or *urid* and one *paili* of *varai*. Among the Pathar Kokna, however, usually eighty kilograms of *nagli* and four *paili* of *tuer* are given. As regards the cash, although the traditional amount was fixed at twenty one rupees, in actual practice the amount varies according to the economic status. The amount of bride price has been raising during the recent years and now as much as two hundred and two rupees are paid by the boy's father. In an average marriage, the total expenditure of the boy's father varies from rupees five hundred to rupees seven hundred and fifty, depending on the actual cash paid as bride price. Among the Dungari Kokna, it is reported that some elderly person or headman of the boy's hamlet functions as *gol-kathiya* or the chief witness during the occasion of payment of bride price. He precedes the boys party holding a wooden stick in his hands. This practice is, however, not found among the Pathar Kokna.

Marriage ceremony : The actual marriage is generally celebrated in winter, from January to March. However, a few marriages are solemnised in June in summer when agricultural activities are slack. Four to five days before the actual date of marriage, a paste of turmeric is applied daily over the body of the bridegroom and the bride in their respective homes by a close female relation, who is usually their father's sister. The paste, called *telavan,* is washed off one day before the marriage. A woman relation who is a good singer assumes the role of *ganarin.* She, along with other four women of the community, sings song suitable for the occasion. The theme of the songs is the veneration of gods Mahadeva, Himai, Khandoba, Munjoba, etc. whose blessings are evoked on the occasion. One of the four women accompanying the *ganarin* holds a metal pitcher filled with *abot* (unpolluted) water. The *ganarin* dips the *kandh* (stem of *jawar*) in water and sprinkles it five times over the bride or the groom at their respective homes. Thereafter, sweetened balls of powdered rice or *nagli,* called *unda,* and boiled pulse of *tuer* are distributed among the invitees. Next, they indulge in merry-making, singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the musical instruments—the *kahadi, sur* and *sambhar.*

On this occasion, before the turmeric paste is washed, two persons from bridegroom's side visit the bride's house with a set of clothes, preferably of green colour, and a *basing* (marriage crown) which is required to be put on by the bride during the marriage ceremony. They are received by the bride's mother. The *bhagat* examines these articles to ensure that they are not harmful due to the possible black magic which might have been performed by some enemy. The visitors are entertained to meals and *daru*. They may stay overnight if the bride's village is located at a distant place, otherwise, after being entertained, they return back to their village on the same day. The bride and the groom observe fast on *telavan* day and do not eat or drink unless the *telavan* ceremony is over. Among the Pathar Kokna, however, they are permitted to take sweet toddy called *neeru*. On the *telavan* day, a *mandap* (marriage booth) is also constructed in front of the bride's house. A coconut and an earthen pot is kept under the booth which is decorated suitably with mango leaves, buntings, etc.

The marriage rites are usually performed at the bride's house. However, in some cases these may be held at the bridegroom's house if the economic condition of bride's father does not permit it. The marriage party generally arrives at the bride's hamlet in the evening. It is received by the bride's relations at the boundary of the hamlet to the accompaniment of music and offered *daru*. Men and women on both sides sing songs. Next, the bridegroom's party is taken to the marriage booth and the bride and bridegroom are given coconut and sugar to eat. Thereafter bridegroom's party is served dinner. After the meals, they are served liquor. Then both the parties join in singing and dancing which continues till late in the night. The actual marriage rites start on the next morning. A senior member of the bridegroom's side officiates during the marriage ceremony. The main rite comprises tying the knots of the hems of the bride and bridegroom by the person who officiates at the marriage ceremony while tying the knot he recites incantations invoking the gods and goddesses. Next, the bridegroom ties a *ganthi* around the bride's neck. As stated earlier, *ganthi* is a necklace made of black glass beads. It may be mentioned here that the *ganthi* put on at marriage is always of black colour. Afterwards, the married woman may put on a *ganthi* of any other colour. After the marriage ceremony is over, dances are arranged. The bridegroom and the bride are lifted over the shoulders by their respective brothers first. Thereafter, the other relatives lift them by turns.

After the rejoicing is over, the bridegroom's party returns to its village along with the bride. On reaching the village the couple is escorted inside the bridegroom's house by his parents. Here, one or two ceremonies are performed and the bride undergoes a test in a lighter vein. She is asked to make some heaps of rice or *nagli*. These are then collected in a *topli* (basket). It is expected that some grain should remain surplus. The idea being that if there is surplus grain, the bride would manage the household properly. After being rested, the couple is given bath by groom's elder brother's wife or his father's brother's wife. On the next day again there is a good deal of rejoicing, drinking and merry-making with dances and music. Sometimes a party of professional singers is also called. The leader of singers is known as *rarmali*. The party members cut jokes, perform acts of mimicry and dance and sing to the beats of *madad* (drum) and jingling anklets, called *gagari* or *gungar*. But among the Pathar Kokna only drum is played. The members of the dancing party are provided toddy and *daru* as their remunerations.

An important ceremony is performed on the third day after arrival of the bride. On this occasion, the relations and elders of the hamlet are invited and a fowl is sacrificed. The bridegroom makes his appearance in the gathering of relatives and other community men. He keeps a cup of green leaves filled with *daru* in his hands and greets the gathering thus, "since now I am a married man, I bow to you my fellow community members". He then utters "Ram—Ram" and sips *daru*. The others also join in uttering Ram—Ram. It is explained that this practice is observed to accord the due status to the person on getting married. A person acquires a respectable status and position in the society only after his marriage. Unless this ceremony is performed the bride and bridegroom do not eat or drink. But after the ceremony is over, they are the first to be offered meals.

After a stay of about four to five days in the bridegroom's house, the bride is escorted back to her parental home by her brother, father's brother and his wife, etc. who visit the bridegroom's house for the purpose. On their return they are given twenty one loaves of *nagli*. Normally, after a lapse of four or five days the bridegroom, along with his parents and close relations, again visits the bride's house to bring her back to permanently settle as husband and wife. In some cases, however, particularly if the girl is a minor, she may stay on with her parents for sometime more before she is brought to his house

by the husband. When she departs from her parent's house, she is given ten leaves and some quantity of rice and one or two rupees in cash.

Khandadia: Although marriage among the Kokna generally takes place by negotiations and on payment of bride price, in some cases, like poverty it may be difficult for a person to arrange *dej* or payment of the bride price. In such cases, the boy is required to serve the girl's father for a stipulated period, which may vary from three to seven years depending on the circumstances and the wishes of the girl's father. On completion of the stipulated period, he is married to the girl with performance of full marriage rites but without his payment of bride price. Although after marriage the boy, who is called *khandad* or *khandadia,* is free to take his wife along with him to stay in his village, more often than not, he stays with his father-in-law as a *ghar-jamai.* This type of marriage, known as *khandadia,* is usually performed in those cases where the girl is the only child of her parents or her parents have no son and need a man to look after their household and agricultural land.

Marriage among the Christian Kokna: It is interesting to observe that the Kokna converts to Christianity solemnize their marriage in the same manner as the other Kokna. They first marry according to the tribal customs and ceremonies but later the married couple along with their close relatives visit the Church at Khanvel or Dudhani where the priest unites them in matrimony according to the Christian rites. The husband and wife also exchange rings. The priest records them as husband and wife in the marriage register maintained by him.

Widow marriage: The Kokna permit the widower, widow and divorcee to remarry. While the first marriage is referred to as *warad* or *lagan,* the remarriage is called *natra* or *patkar.* A woman undergoes *warad* or *lagan* only once in her life time. The second marriage of a woman even if it is solemnized with a bachelor, is in the form of *natra.* However in case a widower or divorcee marries a virgin, the marriage is solemnized in the same manner as the first marriage or *warad.* In the *natra* form the marriage ceremonies are limited to a few essential rites and a feast.

Divorce: The Kokna society permits divorce which is locally called *farkat.* Either of the parties can seek divorce on such rounds as infidelity on the part of the husband or wife and ill-treatment or impotancy on the part of husband. In many cases, a Kokna woman simply deserts her husband if she is ill-treated

by him; she goes to her parents and refuses to come back to stay with her husband. This results in separation. But in case she remarries later on, her second husband has to pay *dawa* (claim) to the first husband. The amount of *dawa* is in lieu of the bride price paid by the first husband as *dej* to the father of his wife and is equivalent to the actual amount paid. After receiving the *dawa* money the husband breaks the *ganthi* (necklace of black beads) put on by his wife during the marriage ceremony. The one of the *panch* or community elders breaks a twig into two halves. This is referred to as *kadi mudi*, indicating the close of a dispute. As a slight variation to this practice, in Dapada it was gathered that the husband tears a piece of his garment while the wife tears a piece from her *fadko*. This is known as *chhuta chheda*. This is done in the presence of elderly persons of the community or *panch*. Afterwards, *daru* is consumed. Both the parties bear the expense on *daru* for their respective *panch*. Sometimes, the amount of *dawa* is reduced by the *panch* if they find that because of his poor economic condition the defaulter is not in a position to pay the full amount paid by the husband as *dej*. But by and large, the community elders are interested in receiving as much of *dawa* money as possible since they get a share in it by way of alcoholic drinks.

In some cases a married woman elopes with her paramour. In such cases her guilt is condoned and she is granted divorce by her first husband if her paramour pays the *dawa* due to her first husband. Generally when a married woman elopes with her paramour, she offers toddy and *daru* to her community elders. But later her husband with the support of his community *panch* claims *dawa* from the person with whom his wife had eloped and eventually recovers the amount. According to the community norms, theoretically, a married women cannot marry a second time unless she has obtained a formal divorce from her husband. But in actual practice she continues to live with her paramour provided the latter eventually pays the *dawa* to her husband. During the field survey some cases came to light where *dawa* was recovered after four to five years and the wayward woman was living with another man during all this period.

Death Rites

According to the earlier authors, like Enthoven, (*op. cit.*), the Kokna dispose off the dead bodies by cremation and only bury the body of children below the age of eight to ten years. However, during the course of field investigation for the present study it came to light that Kokna practise burial as well as cremation. In fact, the disposal of the dead body by

burial is more common and claimed to be an old practice by the Kokna. It was reported that pregnant woman and children below the age of two years or so and persons who succumb to epidemic and contagious diseases are always buried. It was reported at Dudhani that in case of death of a pregnant woman the foetus is always taken out of the womb and buried separately. The operation of removing the foetus from the body of the dead woman is performed by the members of the Koli Dhor community at the burial ground who receive a remuneration of five rupees for their labour. It is a fairly wide spread belief among the Kokna that if the unborn child is not taken out from the dead woman's womb it 'cries' and becomes a ghost and haunts the family and other members of the community. But according to Kokna of Dapada of the plains region, it is not necessary that the unborn child or foetus should always be separated from the womb of the dead woman. It is first ascertained by the *suarin* that the child is not a *rakshi* (an evil spirit or demon) as it is believed that sometimes a demon enters into the womb of a woman resulting in her death. It is said that if the child is found to be a demon, certain protective measures are taken to ensure that it is not reborn so as to cause harm to the community. In such a case two wooden pegs with sharpened ends are inserted on the sides of the womb by the *suarin* before the corpse is laid to rest in the grave.

The news of death is conveyed to the relations through some relation or community man of the hamlet. On hearing the news of the death, the members of the community in the hamlet of the village stop their activities for the day and assemble at the house of the deceased for making preparation for the disposal of the dead body or joining the funeral procession. No meal is prepared in the house of the deceased on that day and the children and other members are provided meals by the relations or neighbours. The hamlet resounds with the mourning chants and lamenting of the wailing women mourners. In case the deceased is a married man, the *ganthi* of his widow is removed. Among the Dungari Kokna, it is said, *ganthi* can be broken by any family member or relative excepting the widow's father-in-law or her husband's elder brother. But according to the Pathar Kokna, the *ganthi* of a woman is broken only by the person who ties it during the marriage, i.e., her husband. In case a married woman's husband dies, her deceased husband's brother or paternal uncle holds the deceased's hand and hooks it to the *ganthi* and breaks it with a jerk.

The dead body is laid down on the ground over a mat, the head being always kept towards the South. Before carrying

the body to the funeral ground it is first bathed with luke warm water and then dots of turmeric are applied to the forehead, shoulders, hands and toes. It is then shrouded with a piece of cloth which is usually the lower garment or *fadko*. put on by women. A layer of *paral* (dried grass) is spread over the bier before placing the dead body over it. Some coins of 25 to 50 paise are kept by the relatives near the body. Thereafter, the bier is lifted by any four persons, who may be the near kins of the deceased and the funeral procession proceeds to the burial ground. But according to a few Kokna elders of Dapada, the bier is prepared only in such cases where the deceased has limited number of relations or friends to attend the funeral, otherwise, the relations and friends carry the body over their hands. The women also follow the funeral procession but return from a spot called *visama* which is generally situated half way to the burial ground. On reaching *visama* the body is placed on the ground where certain rites are performed. The mat on which the dead body was placed is rolled out and left behind at *visama*. The close relations of the deceased offer some coins which are taken away by other members of the funeral party. This money can be spent only on buying *daru* and not for any other purpose. The women return to their village after taking a bath at a nearby tank, well or river.

The Kokna have their own burial or cremation ground. In case of burial they dig up a three feet deep pit. The grave is prepared in north-south direction as the head of the deceased is always to point towards the South. In case the deceased happened to be a woman, her valuable ornaments are removed and only cheap ornaments are left to be buried along with her. The Kokna of hilly region claimed that only gold ornaments of the deceased woman are removed and rest are buried with her. But according to the plains Kokna they remove silver as well as other ornaments, particularly the necklace made of *rupa* or silver. It may be clarified here that as mentioned in the discussion on dress and ornaments the Kokna hardly possess any gold ornaments and most of their ornaments are made of silver and other alloys. After the corpse is laid into the grave, the close relations initiate in covering it with earth. While doing so they customarily utter the words, "we are throwing soil not over you (deceased) but on your enemies". They keep a few thorny bushes and heavy chunks of stones over the grave lest the corpse is not dug up by wild animals. While covering the grave or igniting the pyre in case of cremation, the relations request the dead person to take rebirth in the womb of some other woman of the Kokna community. This suggests their belief in rebirth

and transmigration of soul. It may be mentioned here that in case while digging the grave if their progress is hampered by big stones or boulders, the Kokna take it as indication of the bad deeds performed by the deceased person during his or her life time.

When the body is disposed off by cremation, the mourners collect wood from the nearby jungle for arranging the pyre. They offer some boiled rice, water and a rupee to the deceased before keeping the body over the pyre. Before igniting the pyre the chief mourner, who is usually the eldest son or the brother of the deceased, takes an earthen pitcher having a small hole at the bottom, fills it with water, then places, it over his bent shoulder and circumambulates around the pyre. Another person follows the chief mourner and sprinkles the water falling from the hole in the pitcher over the corpse. This process is repeated five times while the chief mourner takes five anti-clock-wise circumambulations of the pyre. After performing this rite the earthen pitcher is broken on the ground and the pyre is ignited by the chief mourner from both the sides, i.e., head as well as feet of the corpse. When the body is partially consumed by fire, the mourners go to a nearby water source and take a bath and rest for a while under a shadow of some tree. Thereafter, they return to their homes. After a few hours the close relations revisit the cremation ground and collect the ashes and residual bones and the chief mourner immerses them in a nearby river or stream. Next, all the persons who attended the funeral procession visit the deceased person's house where they are offered *bidi* and *daru.*

The Kokna observe certain obsequies, called *kanj,* within a year of the demise, according to one's convenience. But generally these are performed in winter in the month of December or January. On this occasion they invite the *bhagat* who may belong to their own community or sometimes, to Varli community. The *bhagat* beats a *dhank* (drum) and recites mourning chants. He also worships the tribal deities and makes the offerings of boiled rice and *daru,* along with the sacrifice of a goat or a fowl. Sometimes, he erects a stone or wooden slab, called *cheda,* on the outskirts of the hamlet. A few *cheda* observed during the survey showed carvings of human figurines, sometimes in combination with certain abstract motifs. Sometimes, if it is not possible to perform the *kanj* for an individual deceased relation, the Kokna perform collective *kanj* for the lineage members who died during the preceding year.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION AND FESTIVALS

According to the 1962 Census except a handful of persons (12 or 0.16 per cent), who returned themselves as Christians, the other Kokna of Dadra & Nagar Haveli returned themselves as Hindus. But according to the 1971 Census, 155 persons returned themselves as Christians. These comprise 1.56 per cent of the total population of the community, indicating thereby that during the 1962-1971 period the number of Christians in the community has gone up significantly. It may, however be mentioned here that Christian Kokna do not conform to the orthodox Christian beliefs. Although they occasionally visit the Church, they have not completely divorced themselves from their traditional religious beliefs. Particularly, in the moments of stress and strain, they appease their traditional deities and also utilise the services of the Kokna *bhagat* (medicine man-cum-sorcerer).

In addition to their own tribal deities, the Kokna worship regional as well as some of the Hindu gods and goddesses of all India spread. Their day-to-day life, however, is geared to the worship of the tribal and other village or household deities some of which are also popular among the other tribes of the region. Among these *vagh dev* and *hirva* are more popular. The worship of *mahadev,* an important god of the Hindus, is also popular among them. It may be mentioned here that the earlier writers, like Enthoven (*op. cit.*), have mentioned that *brahm* and *vagh dev* are their most important deities. During the field investigation the Kokna acknowledged both as the deities worshipped by them, but *brahm* was not given any special importance as in the case of *vagh dev.*

The deities of the Kokna can be broadly grouped into two categories, viz., *dev* or benevolent deities and *bhuttar* or malevolent deities. Their beliefs and practices are primarily centered on the appeasement of the deities of both the categories with the offerings and performance of rituals. It is believed that if the *dev* are displeased, they cause natural calamities, like the famine and floods. But the malevolent deities are always harmful and are to be avoided. They are particularly harmful to the individuals and can cause havoc by inflicting diseases, resulting in the death of people and the cattle alike.

Among the malevolent deities *mota cheda* is considered as the most powerful *bhuttar*. Its evil influence or spell on a person manifests in such signs as accompaniment of the blood along with the stools. As a remedy the *bhuttar* is appeased by erecting a stone or wooden pole, having engravings of human figurines at the out-skirts of the village and offering worship there. The *ran bhut* is a very important and mighty *bhuttar*. It is believed that it keeps long hair and roams about the forests during the night. According to the local belief, the children are more susceptible to its evil influence. The *chaura bhuttar* causes high fever while *dhujari bhuttar* causes fever accompanied by shivering. *Lipatiya bhuttar* also causes disease and fever, while *marghi cheda*, as the name implies, is the killer of hens and destroys poultry birds in large numbers when displeased. The Kokna believe that due to certain factors, like unnatural death caused by an accident, such as fire or drowning in water, etc., a person after death may become a *bhuttar*. A person who is too much attached to an individual or a household is also likely to become a *ghost* or a *bhuttar* after death. *Bhuttars* hover around the house or locality. It is believed that such *ghosts* of the deceased persons may cause harm even to the family members.

The Kokna try to keep the *bhuttar* in good humour by offering worship and sacrifices. For the appeasement of the *bhuttar* and performance of other religious rites, the *bhagat* plays an important role and acts as a 'medium' between the super-natural beings and the members of the community. The *bhagat* is called upon by the Kokna to divine the cause of illness or misfortune in the family. For divinition, the *bhagat* goes into a trance and shakes his body violently to the accompaniment of *mantras*. The violent shaking and shrieking is indicative of the *bhagat* being possessed by the offended deity or *ghost*. He drives away the *bhuttar* to the jungle with his *mantras*. In case, the *bhuttar*, who haunts a house, is 'very strong' and cannot be driven away easily, the *bhagat* advises the inmates to desert their house and build a new one at some other place. As stated elsewhere, the office of the *bhagat* is not hereditary and any one who is interested can learn the craft by becoming an apprentice of the *bhagat*.

Benevolent deities: The *dev* or the benevolent gods and deities are of two categories, the household deities and the village deities. The former are worshipped jointly by the members of the same lineage on certain important occasions or at least once a year. These are installed inside the house of the senior-most member of the lineage.

The village deities are known as *gaon dev* and are worshipped jointly by the Kokna residents of the village along with the other

ethnic groups of the village. The shrines of the *gaon dev* are generally located at the periphery of the hamlet, mostly in a grove. It may be mentioned here that the term *gaon dev* is also used in a generic sense to represent a set of deities which are worshipped collectively by the villages. It was reported in Dudhani village that the *gaon dev* are worshipped on the 12th day of the second half of the month of *aswin* (July-August) and again on 15th day of the month of *margshirsha* (November-December).

During the field investigation in connection with the present study there was an occasion to observe the communal worship of tribal deities by the Kokna of Dapada village. It was noticed that a few Kokna residing in Kokna Pada and Choudhary Pada of the village had gathered near the bank of Sakaltod rivulet near the village. The Kokna *bhagat* prepared figurines of deities with kneaded rice flour. Two elderly persons assisted him. Each deity was represented by a specific symbolic form and the *bhagat* arranged idols of various deities in a set sequence over a winnowing fan and performed certain rituals. When the rituals were over, he distributed toddy and liquor to the community members and threw the figurines in the rivulet. The Kokna explained that every year on the *pancham* or the fifth day of the Holi festival, their tribal deities are worshipped by the *bhagat*. On this occasion they collect contribution from each household of the two hamlets for buying toddy and liquor.

Among the household deities, *himai/mihmai, hirwa, munja* and *kanesari* are regarded as more important. The household deities are kept in a bamboo basket called *salad*. The basket is first filled with rice over which the deities are kept. The *salad* is kept in the *ora* or *kholi* (the store room) of the house referred to as *devsthan*. Before entering the *devsthan* the Kokna remove their shoes. They take care that the deities are not polluted. Women during their periods keep away from the *devsthan* to avoid pollution of the deities. These deities are represented by different objects. For instance, *himai* is represented by a small oval or round pebble which is coated with *sindur* (vermilion). According to the Kokna the round pebble or *baghur*, as the Kokna call it, which represents the deity is a rare object. They believe that it is 'vomitted' by cows and found in the cattle shed or forests by chance. *Hirwa dev* which is another deity of the tribe, is represented by a small piece of silver or brass bearing the image of the god. It is usually purchased from the goldsmiths in the weekly markets. However, among the Kokna of Bildari, the *hirwa* is represented by peacock feathers wrapped up in a piece

of red cloth which is further covered by a large cloth of black colour and hanged over the roof just above the *salad.*

Naran dev, which is a popular deity of the Varli, is worshipped by only a few Kokna households in Dapada village. According to the Varli of the Dungari Pada of the village, a few Kokna residing in the Mahal Pada join them in the annual worship of the deity. A few Kokna families which worship *naran dev* explained that one of their ancestors had taken to its worship when he was asked to evoke its blessings for the boon of a son. Since then, his descendents worship *naran dev,* particularly twice in a year—during Diwali festival and on the new-moon day in the month of *magh* (January-February). During diwali, vermilion is applied to the deity and in the month of *magh* a goat is sacrificed in its honour. *Hirwa dev* and *mihmai* are also worshipped on diwali to the accompaniment of sacrifices of a fowl which along with toddy or *daru* is distributed to the villagers, as consecreted food and drink. Some of the village deities are also worshipped separately at household level, particularly when directed to do so by the *bhagat* at the time of some misfortune or calamity. In such cases, the worship is accompanied by sacrifice of fowl and offerings of a bottle of *daru.*

Vagh dev or *vaghiya* is one of the most important deities of the Kokna as well as the other tribal communities of the region. It was stated by the Kokna that if properly worshipped *vagh dev,* who represents tiger, protects them from wild animals in the jungle.

Makhar dev is another deity of the Kokna which is represented by two wooden pillars erected at the entrance of the village, towards the east. This deity is supposed to be the protector of the village. *Kanesari* is regarded as the deity of wealth and safeguard their food grains or produce in the fields. *Gira dev* is associated with wind. *Ghorpi dev* is the patron-deity for fishing. *Bhawani dev* protects them from harm from the demons and ghost. It is to be noted here that *bhawani* has been given a male status against the female *shakti* among the caste Hindus. *Agasi* deity is associated with rain and, particularly worshipped during the rainy season.

As stated earlier, *mahadev* is an important god of the Kokna. However, during the survey only a solitary shrine of the god was seen in village Dapada. It was located near the bank of Sakaltod rivulet. The *mahadev* or *shiva* was represented by a symbol of a phallus placed near a bull of stone in squatting posture, as is the case among the caste Hindus. It is said that the shrine was built by the Kokna of Mahal Pada. But it was noticed that it was not being maintained properly.

Some of the Kokna deities are said to reside in the jungles. These include *baniyada, sanvar, kotharni devi, bhonsi devi, gau devi, ganiyada sanvar, dudhagin devi* and *vanjari devi.*

Most of the deities discussed in the preceding account are worshipped with the offerings and sacrifices. During the worship at community level mask dances are also performed. The following table indicates some of the deities worshipped and the offerings made to them by the Kokna.

TABLE 17

Deities worshipped and the type of offerings made to them by the Kokna

Sl. No.	Name of deity	Offerings made
1	2	3
1	Mahadev	Coconut, *abil* (insence), camphor, turmeric powder and a lighted earthen lamp.
2	Bahari	Goat and turmeric powder.
3	Khanderai	Fowl and *sindur* (vermilion)
4	Munjia dev	*Poha* (powdered rice) and vermilion
5	Bhawani dev	Fowl and vermilion
6	Satiyasara	Liquor and vermilion
7	Hiroba	Fowl or goat, coconut, pulse of gram and vermilion
8	Chitoba	Fowl and vermilion
9	Paradhi dev	Toddy and vermilion
10	Kanesari	Goat, vermilion and coconut
11	Himai/mihmai	Goat, vermilion and coconut
12	Kali Lakshami	Goat, vermilion and coconut
13	Bhuteshwar	Goat, vermilion and coconut
14	Baram dev	Goat, vermilion and coconut

It is observed that during worship turmeric is offered to *mahadev* and *bahari* while vermilion is offered to the other deities.

The above religious beliefs and practices of the Kokna are spread over both the regions, viz., Dapada and Dudhani. It was observed that in both these regions most of the above mentioned gods and goddesses were worshipped. There were only few minor deities which were worshipped in either of the two regions.

Ancestor worship : An important feature of the religion of the Kokna is ancestor worship. They keep a few silver pieces, bearing images, on a wooden seat called *pidi,* which is kept on a wooden plank along with the other household deities. These images represent their ancestors and are jointly worshipped by the members belonging to the same lineage. The *pitra* or images are discussed in details in the subsequent account of the festivals of the Kokna.

Festivals

The Kokna observe a number of festivals which include some of those observed by the caste Hindus of the region. A few of the more important festivals are discussed below.

Tuerna dev : It is observed in the month of *kartik* (October-November) or *margshirsh* (November-December). The Kokna do not start consuming new *tuer* (a variety of pulse) before celebrating this festival. On the day of the festival, they bring the pods of *tuer* from the fields and prepare the dish from its seeds. They also prepare loaves of rice flour on which they put some cooked *tuer* and offer it to the family deities along with *daru.*

Sankrant : It is celebrated in the month of *paush* (December-January). On this day, sweet balls of *gur* (jaggery) and *til* (sesamum seeds) are prepared and distributed among family members. The men folk make merry by drinking liquor.

Holi : As among the neighbouring caste Hindus, Holi is an important festival of the Kokna which is celebrated by them with lot of enthusiasm and gaiety. It is celebrated on the full-moon day in the month of *phalgun* (February-March). The young boys of the village arrange bonfire in their hamlets in the night, several days prior to the actual day of the festival. The day Holi is celebrated, the young boys of the village collect fuel from the jungle and arrange it around a bamboo pole which is erected at an open place. The Holi (bonfire) is ignited by the patel/karbhari or any other elder of the community. Sometimes, a fowl is also sacrificed. Men and women drink liquor and toddy and dance around the bonfire.

The day following Holi is called *dhuleti.* On this occasion men and women drink and dance, to the rhythmic beats of *sagad* (drum) and melodious notes of a *sarnai* (flute). They throw mud, dust, ash, and water on each other. The fun and frolic continue for five days after Holi.

Akhatrij : This festival falls on the third day of the *sukla-puksh* (bright fortnight) of the month of *chaitra* (March-April).

Paddy, *nagli, tuer, urid, varai, kodra, chola* and *banti* are sown in a bomboo basket filled with soil fifteen days before the festival and watered every day so that the seeds germinate properly. On the day of the festival, this basket is carried on the head by some elderly woman of the community who visits each household of the community in the hamlet. The head of the household in each house plucks some seedlings which are put over the auricle of the ear by the members of that household. In return the head of the household presents ten paise to the woman carrying the basket. The Kokna worship and pray to their household deities for a good harvest in the ensuing season. The men drink and women sing for entertainment.

Kuveri or kumali bhajino tehevar: The Kokna consume a number of vegetables found in the jungle during the rainy season. But they cannot do so without observing this festival which falls in *krishna puksh* (the dark fortnight) of the month of *ashadh* (June/July). They gather leaves of *kuveri,* a tuber resembling onion, and prepare a dish from it and offer it to the households deities along with some drops of liquor. Thereafter, they are free to take the various varieties of local tubers and vegetables, such as, *dhehgad, sewalu, tera, khadak, etc.* which abounds in the adjoining jungles. It is believed that if these are not offered first to the deities, their consumption would result in illness among the community men.

Bail poda: This festival is held in the honour of bullocks as a token of gratitude for the service rendered by them as draught animals. It is held in the month of *shrawan* (July/August). A day before the festival, they take out bark of a local tree known as *kawesa* and prepare a chord from it which is hanged over the roof. The male members of the hamlet dance together to the beats of *dhol,* until late in the night.

Next morning, the chord prepared earlier is tied around the neck of bullocks with *chhungar* (small bells of brass). Then, the head of the household and his wife keep some boiled rice and *sindur* and a pitcher containing water over a winnowing fan. The head of the household touches the horns of the bullocks with a *koita* (sickle), applies *sindur* on the horns and sprinkles water over the head of the bullocks and offers some boiled rice to them. The process is repeated in respect of other cattle possessed by the household. Some well-to-do Kokna also decorate their bullocks with *basing* (decorative coloured papers) and paint their horns. Then all the cattle heads of the village are gathered at one place and the herd is taken out for grazing.

Pitra : It is observed on the last day of the month of *bhadon* (August/September) for the worship of the ancestors. It is customary among the Kokna that after the death of an elderly member of the lineage, a *pitra* is prepared and kept on a wooden seat called *pidi,* which is carved out from the chopped trunk of a tree. It is kept beside the household deities and covered with red cloth. A *dewa* (earthen lamp) is lighted near the *pidi* on all the important festivals. *Pitra* is a thin piece of silver having etching of figurines and prepared by the goldsmith at Jawhar in the neighbouring Maharashtra State. One would normally expect to find a good collection of the *pitra* in the household of the senior member of the lineage. But at Kokna Pada of village Dapada, in the two households of the senior-most members of the two lineage groups only a few pieces of *pitra* were found. It was explained by the head of one of the households that since they cannot afford to prepare a new *pitra* every time at the demise of an elderly person, they melt one of the old *pitra* and get a new one prepared from the metal. On the day of the festival, the *pitra* are washed with milk by the head of the household. It is to be noted here that like the household deities, *pitra* of a lineage are kept at one place. These *pitra* are offered boiled rice, pulse, liquor and water and an earthen lamp is lighted in front of them. It was reported that during worship each head of the household belonging to the *kutumb* (lineage) brings two bottles of liquor and one fowl. These fowls are sacrificed and then cooked and consmued along with liquor. A portion of the cooked fowl is spared and kept back for the other lineage members residing in other villages. The consecrated food is later distributed among the children of the hamlet.

Poda : It falls in *shrawan* (July/August). This festival is the signal for the consumption of rice from the new harvested crop. During this occasion some unripened paddy plants are brought from the fields and offered to the household deities. Some seedlings of the new crop are put in the pot while boiling rice for meals. Thereafter, the rice from the new paddy harvest can be taken without any restriction. The festival culminates with dances in which men and women of the hamlet join together. This festival is also celebrated by the Varli who refer to it as *navakhane.*

Balev : It falls in the month of *shrawan* (July/August). On this day, sticks of *kapoas* or *semal* (silk cotton) tree, about three feet in length, are erected in th paddy fields over which earthen pots of black colour are hanged. It is believed by the Kokna that this measure protects their crop from the evil eye or machinations of evil spirits.

Nag Panchami : This festival falls on the fifth day of the bright half of *shrawan.* The head of the household or an elderly male member draws some drawings on the wall of *devsthan* where household deities are kept. These wall drawings include peacock, birds nestled over a tree, serpent, etc. as well as human figurines. Thereafter, the head of the household worships *nag* or the serpent deity.

Deshera : It falls in the month of *ashwin* (September-October). It is celebrated by the Kokna in their own style. On this day, a long bomboo pole is erected in front of the house of the headman of the hamlet and peacock feathers are tied at the top of this pole and an earthen lamp is kindled at its bottom. The tribal *bhagat* worships the deities while two persons beat *daka* (drum). *Bhajan* (devotional songs) are sung in the evening.

Diwali : It falls on the last day of the dark fortnight of the month of *ashwin* (September-October). On this occasion they wash their household deities and apply *sindur* over them. An earthen lamp is kindled and the lineage members prostrate before the household deities and pray for the welfare of their families, timely rains and good crops. Fowls are also sacrificed and liquor is offered to the deities.

Gaon dev or the village deities are also worshipped on Diwali. A goat is sacrificed at the shrine of the village deities. A contribution of 25 to 50 paise is made by various households for purchasing the goat for sacrifice. It was reported that the different communities living in a village join in the worship of the village deities.

Bhanwada : The *Bhanwada* is a social-cum-religious festival of the Kokna which is celebrated annually. This is an occasion for gaiety and festivities which are marked by dances and music. The characteristic feature of the *bhanwada* is the performance of mask dances. The masks represent various gods and goddesses as well as demons and beasts. *Bhanwada* is usually held for three days, after the Holi festival. There is no fixed day and the festival may be celebrated on any three days by different villages in the months of March and April.

According to the Kokna it is a traditional festival of their community which they have been celebrating since the times of the Portuguese. The *bhanwada* is also performed by the Kokna in the neighbouring Thana and Nasik districts of Maharashtra where too they make use of wooden masks during the dances. The Varli and other neighbouring communities in Dadra & Nagar

Haveli and the adjoining areas of Gujarat and Maharashtra also celebrated the *bhanwada*. Dudhani, Mandoni and Dapada are the main centres of *bhanwada* festival in the territory. But at present it has become popular in the other areas also. The festival begins with the procession of the gods and goddesses taken out in the night.

During the field investigation, observations were made on the masks possessed by the Kokna in Dapada village. These masks were kept in the store room of an old issueless Kokna couple of Kokna Pada. There were altogether 27 masks representing the following gods, goddesses, deities, demons and animals :—

(1) Krishna, (2) Bram, (3) Nedolba, (4) Ambabai, (5) Marut, (6) Raktai, (7) Rajachi topi, (8) Ganapati, (9) Datta, (10) Mahadev, (11) Chandar (moon), (12) Dis (sun), (13)Satway, (14) Khanderai, (15) Bhawani, (16) Insu, (17) Kadoba (18) Bahraoba, (19) Pancha Pandawa, (20) Kaiwar, (21) Rawana Lankachar (king of Lanka), (23) Hedamb, (24) Soindey Deit (demon), (25) Bhasiya (buffalo), (26) Dukkar (pig) and (27) Vagh (tiger).

It is seen that some of the masks represent Hindu gods and goddesses. But it was found that their concept was often different. For making these masks, the Kokna of Kokna Pada had requisitioned the services of a Kokna *sutar* (carpenter) from Khambada village in the neighbouring Jawhar taluk in Maharashtra. The Kokna *sutar* in the hamlet took 45 days for carving out the 27 wooden masks. Each household made a contribution of ten rupees. Some well-to-do Kokna households made more generous contribution.

According to the Kokna of Dapada, prior to 1964 they did not possess any masks. For celebrating the festival they used to hire these from the Kokna, of the adjoining Jawhar taluk of Thana district in Maharashtra, on the payment of forty to fifty rupees for four days. Now that the Kokna of Dapada are proud possessors of the masks they are in a position to rent out the masks to neighbouring villages, such as Kilavani and Surangi at the same terms at which they used to hire them, viz., forty rupees for four days. Whenever the masks are transported from one place to another they are carried on the heads or shoulders by the villagers who organise *bhanwada*.

During the field investigation for the present study there was an opportunity to observe *bhanwada* festival in a few villages, such as Dapada and Kauncha.

The *bhanwada* in Kokna Pada of Dapada village was celebrated for three days in the second week of April. For holding the celebrations, a path, about 80 meters in length and 10 meters in width, was cleared in the vicinity of the hamlet. It was decorated on either sides by hanging mango leaves. A few petty traders had set up small stalls of sweetmeat, watermelons and fancy ornaments on either side of the path. The festivities were observed by the members of all the castes and communities of the area including, Varli, Christian Varli, Koli Dhor and Chamar—the Scheduled Tribes/Castes of the area—in addition to some Gujarati caste Hindus, Khoja and Parsi. In so far as the Kokna are concerned, not only the local villagers but a few of them from the nearby villages had also come to attend the *bhanwada.*

The festival started at 8.30 in the night and continued till the very late hours of the night. First of all, the wooden masks were paraded in a procession on the decorated path. The procession of ganapati, the popular Hindu god, was led first. The mask representing the god was put on by a Kokna boy aged fourteen. As the mask was quite heavy, it was supported by a young man from behind who was wearing a half pant and vest of black colour, a favourite dress among the Kokna boys. The boy who was wearing the mask had worn a loin cloth only. The mask was painted with bright colours and depicted the usual form of the god. The boy and the young man were followed by musicians and a few persons who were holding kerosene torches. The boy and the young man were dancing to the accompaniment of the rhythem of drum. After *ganapati,* a young boy, putting on peacock feathers came on the scene and danced. He was followed by a few other dancers wearing masks. It was learnt that during the period of three days, all the twenty seven mythological characters and gods and goddesses are paraded one by one.

Another *bhanwada* festival was witnessed in Kauncha village. It was organised by the Kokna of Chikhli Pada of the village, located at about two kilometres north-west of Dudhani village. Like the *bhanwada* in Dapada, this one was also celebrated for three days. During this period uninterrupted melody of the mixed notes of *sarnai* and *sur* to the accompanying beats of *sagad.* could be heard in the calm night of April from quite a distance. At the time of the visit (10.00 p.m.) the procession of *khanderai* was being taken out. As usual, a boy had put on the wooden mask representing the deity. The boy had put on a *bandi* (vest) and half pants. He had also put on *ghangaria* (anklets with tiny

Jingling bells) for dancing to the tune of music and rhythmic beats of *sagad*. *Khanderai* danced with set steps brandishing a wooden sword in both hands. *Khanderai* was followed by musicians which included one *sarnai* and *sur* player each and two *sagad* beaters. They were accompanied by a person who was carrying patromax lamp on his head.

The next mask brought in the procession represented Lord Krishna. His mask was somewhat different from the other masks. It was a wooden mask with semi-circular arch made of coloured paper. It was also put on in a different manner. Unlike other masks which were put on the face by the dancers, this mask was put at the back of the head. The face of the person representing Krishna, which was painted with zinc, was visible from the hollow dorsal side of the mask. Krishna danced with set steps with occasional whirls. Krishna was cordened by six dancing 'maids' who represented his *gopis* (milk maids). Four of the six 'maids' were married women and the other two unmarried girls. The last mask taken out in the procession related to goddess *bhawani*. It is customary that *bhawani's* procession is taken out at the end. After the conclusion of the *bhanwada* one of the organisors put on the mask of *raktai* and visited each household of the hamlet and received a contribution of ten to twenty paise.

It was observed that near the site of the festival a shopkeeper had opened a small stall, selling sweetmeats and aerated water. Most of the persons participating in the *bhanwada* were young men and women who were obviously full of fun and frolic. They chit-chatted and cracked jokes with each other. A few elderly persons were also witnessing the *bhanwada*. The scene of free mixing of two sexes was not uncommon. The *bhanwada* offers an occasion for the young men and women to have some intimacy. For instance, it was noticed during the festivities that two young boys, who were walking with unsteady steps were dragging two girls away from the arena of festivities. The girls were also in a gay mood and laughed and shouted and only made a pretence of resistance. After a bit of pulling and pushing, the boys were able to drag the girls towards the open field without any serious resistance from the latter. The other persons present either laughed at or ignored the incidence.

It may, however, be observed that the free mixing of the persons of opposite sexes during the *bhanwada* is limited to the members of the same community. It was reported by a few

Kokna elders that they keep a constant vigil to ensure that the outsiders do not take undue advantage of the situation and molest the Kokna girls. In fact, they claimed that while they permit intimacy to a certain level, they do not permit complete sexual freedom to the persons of opposite sexes. They claimed that if they find a Kokna boy and a girl indulging in sex play, they fine them although they ignore minor teasing, patting and frivolity.

The *bhanwada* is mostly organised collectively by the inhabitants of the Kokna hamlet. Sometimes an individual may also take initiative. In the latter case, he does so in fulfilment of a vow made to a deity. For instance, the *bhanwada* at Kauncha village was organised by a Kokna cultivator who incurred an expenditure of rupees one hundred mainly by way of payment to the musicians and purchase of kerosene, *toddy* and *daru*. A part of the total expenditure was met by collection of contributions from other households of the hamlet. In case of *bhanwada* held at Dapada, the expenditure was to the tune of about Rs. 200/- and shared jointly by the inhabitants of the hamlet for honouring of their deities.

Bhanwada is indeed an occasion for rejoicing and gay abundance for the tribal youths. It provides them an occasion to find joy in dancing to the rhythmic beats of *sagad* and melodious notes of *sur* and *sarnai*. The occasion is made livelier by the consumption of alcoholic drinks.

CHAPTER XIII

LEADERSHIP, TRADITIONAL COUNCIL AND SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Village Functionaries and Leaders

Traditionally, three village functionaries have been operating among the Kokna and other tribal communities of Dadra & Nagar Haveli. These are the *patel* (headman), the *karbhari* and the *kathiya*. They were employed by the Portuguese for performing certain duties and functions at village level. Their main duty was to assist the erstwhile Portuguese government officials during their visits to the village and to act as a medium between the government and the villagers. The *patel* was responsible for the village as a whole, while the *karbhari* for a hamlet within the village. The number of *karbhari* varied according to the number of hamlets in a village. The *kathiya* acted as a messanger at village level.

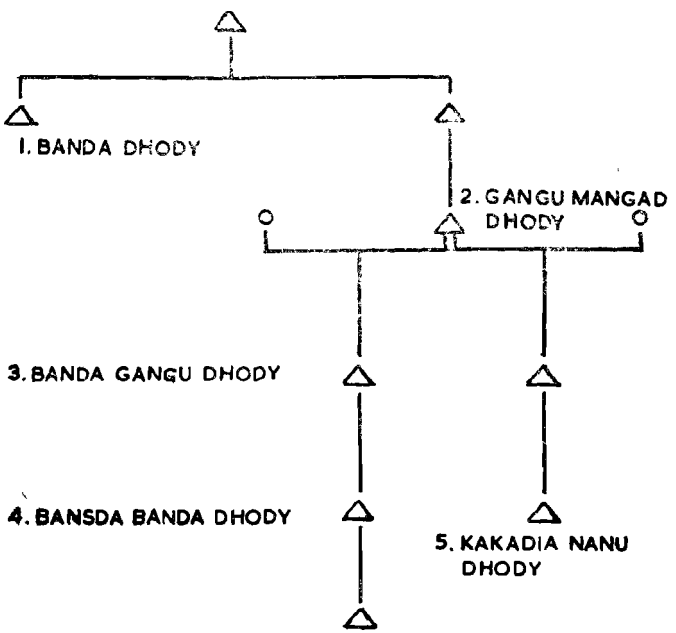
It is said that in the earlier times, the *patel* and *karbhari* used to be nominated by the villagers but in the course of time, these offices became hereditary and on the death of the *patel* or the *karbhari*, usually his eldest son succeeded to the office.

The seventy-two villages in the Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli are covered by ten administrative units, called Patelad, comprising about seven villages each. For instance, the Dapada Patelad includes Apti, Surangi, Pati, Wasona, Chinchpada, Chakhali and Dapada. These villages are generally multi-ethnic having predominance of tribal population of Varli, Kokna and Koli Dhor. There are only a few households of Scheduled Castes and other communities, like the Khoja and the Parsi. The village patel usually belongs to numerically dominant ethnic group. For instance, in Dapada which is a multi-ethnic village comprising the Varli, Kokna, Koli Dhor and Chamar communities, the Varli is the dominant group. The village *patel*—Kakadia Nanu Dhody—is a Varli residing in Dungari Pada of

the village. In four of the seven villages under Dapada patelad, viz., Wasona, Chinchpada, Chikhali and Dapada, the *patel* belongs to Varli community which is numerically dominant in these four villages. The *patel* in the remaining three villages, viz., Apti, Surangi and Pati, hail from Kokna community. The same principle holds good for the *karbhari,* who represents the dominant community of the hamlet. But as stated earlier, in majority of the cases the hamlet is inhabited by persons belonging to one of the tribes. In the past, there used to be a *karbhari* for each hamlet. But in view of decline of his importance as a village functionary, each hamlet may not be represented by a *karbhari.* For instance in Dapada village, out of the eleven hamlets only six are represented by the *karbhari.* Out of these, three hamlets viz., Dhody Pada, Zati Pada and Andher Pada have Varli *karbhari,* while Choudhary pada, Mahal Pada and Vad Pada have a Kokna *karbhari* each.

However, the *kathiya* generally belongs to a community which stands low in social status as his role of a messanger is considered of menial nature. In the villages covered during the field investigation, no *kathiya* was found to belong to Kokna community. Only a solitary case was noted in Vaghchauda village where a Varli was employed as a *kathiya.* Otherwise, most of the other *kathiya* belonged to Koli Dhor community.

As stated in the preceding para, although it is said that in the past the *patel* and *karbhari* used to be nominated by the villagers on the basis of concensus, it would seem that these offices have been operating on a hereditary principle for quite sometime and usually the eldest son became a rightful heir for assuming the office of *patel* or *karbhari* on the demise of his father, unless he was physically or mentally handicapped or he was a minor. The fact that the office of the headman is functioning on a hereditary basis for quite sometime, is substantiated by the genealogy of Kakadia Nanu Dhody, the present *patel* of the village Dapada, which is reproduced below.



Genealogy of the *Patel* of village Dapada

It is noticed that there have been at least five *patel* in four generations of the present *patel*. Starting from the descending order, in the first generation the office of the *patel* was held by Banda Dhody (No. 1) who died issueless. On his demise his younger brother's son, Gangu Mangad Dhody (No. 2), succeeded to the office of the headman. After the latter's demise his eldest son from his first wife, Banda Gangu Dhody (No. 3) became the *patel* who in turn was succeeded by his son, Bansda Banda Dhody (No. 4). When the last headman died his son was a minor and the present *patel* (Kakadia Nanu Dhody) who is last *patel's* father's step-brother's son, succeeded to the office of the *patel.*

The strong hereditary character of the office of the *patel* is substantiated by the fact that whenever a *patel* is nominated or selected in the absence of a son of the *patel* or in the event of his being a minor, the nearest male relation (adult) is selected to the office. In any case, he belongs to the same lineage. The present *patel,* belonging to Dhody clan, was nominated after about two months of the demise of the former *patel.*

It was reported by the Varli and Kokna in Dapada village that the new *patel* or *karbhari* is 'nominated' either during the *chamasa* (rainy season) or *margashirsha* (January-February). After the death of the *patel,* the elders of his lineage group meet at a place and 'elect' a new *patel.* There is no fixed place for such meetings, but generally these are held near the shrine of *gaon dev* (village deity) or a temporary shelter erected near the paddy fields. After completing the formality of 'electing' the new *patel* from amongst the lineage members, his nomination is conveyed to the villagers. The *karbhari* and other elderly persons from each hamlet are invited to pay their respect to the new headman.

The newly appointed *patel,* accompanied by some village elders, visits each household of the village and collects contributions for a feast. The contribution usually varies from 25 paise to 75 paise according to the economic status of the household. But *sethiya* (landlords) generally contribute one or two rupees. From the amount collected by way of contributions toddy or liquor is purchased, and on an appointed day the villagers assemble at the shrine of the village deity, where the elected *patel* offers liquor to the deity, called *dhar dena,* (literally pouring of stream). Thereafter, all persons join in a feast which must include liquor.

It would appear that there are two possibilities regarding the functioning of the institution of the *patel* and *karbhari* in the Union Territory.

1. It seems that during the Portuguese regime, the erstwhile government selected certain local loyal and trustworthy persons to function as their agents for collecting revenue from villagers and ensuring regular tribal labour for wood cutting and transportation and other work, besides assisting the officials during their visit to the villages. These persons were granted some land by the Portuguese for the services rendered by them. It is possible that during the course of the time, due to their importance as agents of the government and status acquired, these functionaries came to be recognised as leaders by the villagers and, eventually the office of headman became institutionalised in the social structure of the village.

2. The other possibility is that the *patel* and *karbhari* traditionally performed the role of the leaders in the tribal society and the Portuguese used them as their agents because of their influence over the fellow community men.

But after liberation of Territory the importance of the office of the *patel* and *karbhari*, particularly of the latter has considerably declined. This is not because they have been cold shouldered by the fellow community men but because of the appointment of the Patel Talati at Patelad level by the government. As a result the former no longer function as the representatives of the government. The Patel Talati, who is generally an outsider belonging to a non-tribal community, keeps a record of births and deaths as well as agricultural yield for the purpose of revenue. He is a subordinate officer of the Revenue Department of the local Administration and also assists the government officials during their visit to the area under his jurisdiction. In the past, during the Portuguese regime, in case of theft or murder in the village the leadman was expected to report the matter to the authorities. How this duty has been taken over by the Patel Talati. But in community matters regarding settlement of minor disputes and other such affairs the *patel* still commands respect as an important person in the community. Sometimes, the government officials also take help from him in an informal way, particularly while dealing with the local tribals and matters in which he enjoys the confidence of the villagers. Otherwise, it is not obligatory for the *patel* or *karbhari* to render assistance to the government officials. He does it as a social leader of the community who wishes to cooperate with the authorities.

It may be mentioned here that there has been no change in the functions of the *kathiya* after liberation of the Territory from the Portuguese. He has now been employed by the present Administration as a peon or a messanger to assist the Patel

Talati. Until recently he received a salary of rupees ninety nine per month. The position of the *kathiya* has, in fact, improved somewhat as he is now assured of a regular employment. This has, however, not affected his status to any appreciable extent as his functions and duties are still of menial nature.

Other functionaries: The setting up of Community Development Block in the area has also introduced a new functionary, viz., the Gram Sevek (VLW). He comes into direct contact with the villagers and gives them assistance in such matters as applications for grant of tacavi loans. But although no special qualifications have been laid for the appointment of the VLW, in most of the cases, he belongs to a non-tribal community, particularly, the Brahmin or Rajput, who generally hail from Naroli region or adjoining Gujarat. Only two or three Gram Seveks have been reported to be from amongst the local tribal communities. They mostly belong to Dhodia tribe. They do not appear to have any local standing in the village in so far as the community affairs are concerned.

School teachers: The school teachers are generally respected for their knowledge. They are also sometimes helpful to the illiterate villagers in explaining the content of their letters and drafting their applications for grant of assistance sought from the government. But most of them are outsiders and a few belong to Dhodia community. Only one or two school teachers were found to belong to Kokna or Varli community. But they were mostly Christian converts employed as school teachers in missionary schools. They are not regarded as community leaders and do not seem to enjoy any privileged status.

Settlement of Disputes

The tribal council deals with minor disputes and matters concerning violation of community norms, sexual lapses, minor quarrels and disputes involving the members of the community. There is no fixed number of *panch* nor are there any special office bearers. The council does not have an elaborate institutional set up. There is generally a tribal council for each village. There is no apex body which operates at a higher level, like the Patelad or the Union Territory as a whole. However, in case of disputes involving persons belonging to two different villages, members of the concerned villages are represented in the deliberations of the council. Though the *patel* and *karbhari* play their role in solving disputes, they, by no means, enjoy a special authority or status in these matters. In case of a dispute between members of two households belonging to the same community residing in the same hamlet, the *karbhari* and other *mota manas*

(the elderly respected persons) of the hamlet discuss the matter among themselves and try to arrive at a solution agreeable to both the parties. But if they fail, a larger gathering of the council is convened which includes the *patel* and the *karbhari* of other hamlets of the village. This is also the case when a dispute involves persons residing in two different hamlets. The council in such cases is represented by senior members of the community residing in both the hamlets.

It is interesting that in ordinary cases, the *patel,* even if he belongs to another community, is also invited to participate in the meetings of the tribal council deliberating a dispute between Kokna. For instance in Dapada the Varli headman of the village is invited to the meetings of the council not only by Varli but by Kokna and Koli Dhor of the village as well. The services of the *kathiya,* who belongs to Koli Dhor community, are availed in transmitting messages regarding meetings of the council, to different persons who are invited to participate in its deliberations.

In case a Kokna and a person belonging to another tribe are involved in a dispute, the council operates as a village council or panchayat. Thus, the village council operates at two levels, viz., intra-community level, in matters involving the members of the Kokna community, and at inter-community level, if the dispute involves members of different tribal communities. This is, perhaps, the reason that the council is not a rigidly structured body and is fluid enough to adjust itself to the exigencies of the situation.

In the meetings of the council the discussions are held freely and the disputants have freedom to present their case or produce witnesses in support of their case. After hearing the case, the council members deliberate among themeselves and arrive at a decision which is announced by the *patel* or *karbhari,* as the case may be. The punishment in most of the cases is payment of fine in cash, determined according to the magnitude of the crime. The amount realised is consumed in serving liquor or toddy to the *panch.* As in the case of divorce the settlement of the dispute is marked with the performance of the ritual called *kadi mudi.* The contestants or the opposite parties sit on the ground facing each other. The headman or some other elderly person, breaks a stick into two which signifies the end of all the disputes or ill feeling between the two persons, who are asked to sip liquor from the same leaf cup and greet each other in the traditional way. But serious caste offences such as commitment

of adultry by a Kokna woman with a person belonging to another 'community, sometimes evoke the extreme punishment of ex-communication from the community.

There is no fixed place for holding the meetings of the council. But it was reported by the Kokna that they take some care in this matter to ensure that the *panch* hold the meeting at some distance from the hamlet so that its decesions are not influenced by the presence of spectators or supporters of the involved persons residing there.

During the course of field investigation for the present study a few case studies were recorded to have an idea about the actual functioning and the nature of cases dealt with by the tribal council.

Case Study-I

It is said that a few years ago an incident occurred when *bhanwada* festival was being celebrated by the Varli in Vaghchauda village, neighbouring Dudhani. As stated earlier, *bhanwada* is an occasion of rejoicing and gay abandon which provides opportunity for mixing of the opposite sexes. During the festivities two young men belonging to Dhodia community were accused of beating a Kokna boy and molesting a Kokna girl. The accused were resident of some other village and employed as school teachers at Dudhani. According to one version, both the accused came to attend the *bhanwada* in Vaghchauda village at about 11 in the night. They were in a rowdy mood as they are said to have consumed large quantity of liquor. It is said that one of them, who was 'tipsy' and walking with unsteady steps, dashed against the Kokna youth. The latter got annoyed and shouted, "have you got no eyes?" This led to an exchange of hot words and eventually the Dhodia grabbed the Kokna boy and gave him some blows. The Kokna boy was also a visitor from a neighbouring village, viz., Ambabari. A fairly large number of his fellow community men were also present during the festivities. They immediately surrounded the Dhodia youth with the intention of beating him. But before they could resort to violence, some of the elderly persons belonging to Vaghchauda village intervened and allowed the Dhodia youth and his companion to leave on the plea that the latter were not responsible for their action as whatever they did, it was under the influence of liquor. They argued that otherwise both of them being school teachers were respectable persons. Though the Kokna visitors were in a mood to punish the 'culprit' they did not take any serious action at that moment and grudgingly allowed the Dhodia accused to go away.

According to another version of the same incident, the Dhodia youths were no doubt drunk but not oblivious of their actions. According to this version, the Dhodia youth noticed two boys and two girls slipping out of the arena of festivities and proceeding towards the nearby paddy fields in the late hours of night. It is said that the Dhodia under the influence of liquor thought that they should also join in the fun. This ensued a scuffle between the Kokna and the Dhodia boys. As a result the Kokna girls ran back to the *bhanwada* where they complained to their friends about the excess committed by the Dhodia youth. When the other Kokna youths came to know of this, they thought of teaching a lesson to the Dhodia youth by beating him. But the former were desisted from doing so by some elderly persons of Varli community who had arranged the *bhanwada*. The matter was closed on that occasion but it errupted later on. It is said that the schools were to close for summar vacations from the next day and the Dhodia youths, who were school teachers, planned to leave for their home by the morning bus. But it is said that they could not do so because the Kokna of the Ambabari village had deputed some persons at the bus stops at Dudhani and Vaghchauda villages which are *en route* to Vapi.

According to some other persons the Dhodia youth had no intention of catching the morning bus and did not go to the bus stop at all. Whatever may be, they did not or could not leave the village in the morning. But on the same day, during the afternoon, a group of Kokna of Ambabari village reached Dudhani along with a few senior members including a *karbhari* of their community. They gathered behind a house belonging to a Varli of Vaghchauda village which was under construction. The Kokna held a meeting there and the *panch* of the visiting party called the accused in the meeting and charged him for attempting to molest a Kokna girl and beating her brother when the latter tried to stop him. The girl in question, escorted by her mother, had also accompanied the party to substantiate the charges. The Dhodia youth admitted that he had beaten the boy under the influence of liquor but strongly denied that he tried or even touched the girl. As the Dhodia youth hailed from a distant village there was no *panch* to plead his case. The Kokna were adament and wanted to punish the Dhodia youth. In the meanwhile, some members belonging to Varli and other communities had also collected there. The Kokna of Ambabari demanded fifty rupees as fine from Dhodia youth. The other persons present there intervened and pleaded the case of Dhodia youth. An influencial Varli of Vaghchauda village, who was on a visit to the village for construction of a house, and some other persons felt that the matter required reconsideration and pleaded that the

punishment should be reduced, particularly in view of the fact that Dhodia youth was not properly defended and did not or failed to commit any serious offence. At first the Kokna were rigid in not accepting less than fifty rupees but after persuasion they agreed to reduce the fine to thirty rupees. The Dhodia youth somehow arranged the amount which was spent on buying *daru*, served to the *panch*. The *kadi mudi* (ceremony signifying the close of the dispute) was also performed on the spot.

The Varli who was one of the persons who had defended the youths was asked as to what would have happened if the Dhodia had declined to pay the fine. He stated that it could have created a serious situation which might have led to a grievous physical assault on the Dhodia youth. The Kokna would have also stopped him from visiting the village as a school teacher. There was also the possibility that the matter might have been reported to the police resulting in registration of a case of assault against the Dhodia youth. But he thought that the first course of action was more likely.

There are certain other factors having a bearing on this case which need to be mentioned here. As stated earlier during the *bhanwada* festival, the elderly persons ignore the sexual intimacy, teasing or suggestive remarks made to girls by the youth of the same community. But a vigil is kept by the members of the community, particularly by the youth, that the outsider do not take undue advantage of the situation. But it appears that in this particular case, even the alleged misbehaviour by the member of another community towards the Kokna girl would not have led to such a serious situation being developed under normal circumstances. It is believed that the reason for the strong reaction on the part of the Kokna youth of Ambabari was due to the aggressive attitude developed by some of them under the influence of a political party in the neighbouring State of Maharashtra, which exhorted them to fight for justice and their rights. Some of them have been participating in the meetings of the party which were addressed by a woman who is said to be a committed member of the party. They believed in fighting for rights and defending their honour. The members of the party tie a red handkerchief around their neck. It may be pointed out that significantly the Kokna youth of Ambabari alleged that the persons, including the Varli who defended the Dhodia youth, were against their party and wanted to please the government officials, including teachers, because of their vested interests.

There appears to be yet another consideration, viz., the rivalry between Ambabari and Dudhani villages which has had

a repercussion in the matter. The villagers of Vaghchauda have closer relations with those of Dudhani village, which is resented by Kokna of Ambabari.

Case Study-II

A few years ago, the Kokna council dealt with a case similar to the one described above. But this time it involved an issueless married Kokna woman aged 27, and a Muslim residing in the village. It is said that the Kokna woman, who was living with her husband in Sukali Pada of Mandoni village developed intimacy with an unmarried Mohammedan trader, aged 30, who was residing in the adjoining hut for sometime. The intimacy between them soon developed into a passionate love affair and after sometime the whole village was agog with the news of the adultery on the part of a married woman with a person belonging to a different community. After watching the situation for sometime and gathering enough evidence, the members of the Kokna community decided to act. They convened a meeting of the tribal council in which the Kokna woman and the Mohammedan youth appeared as culprits. At first both of them denied any illicit sex relation between them. But when confronted with witnesses and undergoing cross examination, the woman broke down and confessed her guilt. The *panch* considered it as a grave sacrilege and a blow to the prestige of the community. They forced the man to pay a fine of one hundred sixty rupees. But the guilty Kokna woman was ex-communicated from the community for her grave offence. However, soon after she was taken back in the community after she had undergone the purificatory ceremony, an ordeal, known as *bat khana*. This involved performing certain rites and rituals by a senior *bhagat* or priest known as *kamadi*. He constructed three hutlike structures of hay or grass at the river bank. The woman was first asked to take a bath in the river and then enter the first hut which was immediately ignited by the *kamadi*. Thereupon, she rushed outside and entered the second hut which was also earlier ignited by the *kamadi*. In the same fashion she went in and came out of the third hut. It may not be out of place to mention here that Dalal (*op. cit.*) has also recorded that if a Kokna commits adultery or eats the forbidden food he is required to pass through seven burning grass pits as an ordeal for purification and penance. After the guilty Kokna woman had performed the above ordeal, the *kamadi* burnt incense and broke a coconut which was distributed among the persons present on the occasion. These comprised adult males of Varli and Kokna communities of the village. Women were not present as they are not supposed to witness these purificatory rites. Thereafter,

the *kamadi* handed over some cowdung and cow's urine to the Kokna woman who touched it with her tongue. Next, she again plunged herself in the river for another bath. This signified that she had undergone penance for her sin and was purified by undergoing the ordeal of going through burning huts of grass.

The use of cowdung and cow's urine as items for purification is significant. Generally, these are used by the caste Hindus for performing purificatory rites. It is not unlikely that the Kokna, who like the Dhodia and Varli also try to emulate the caste Hindus, too have adopted this practice from the latter.

As usual, the completion of the ordeal was followed by consumption of *daru* by the senior community men.

It is to be noted that the Kokna do not allow the matters involving the adultery on the part of a married Kokna woman with a person of another community to rest without giving due publicity to the incident with the intention of discouraging others from committing such offences. This they do by sending one rupee from the amount realised as fine, to the headmen of the Kokna hamlets in the adjoining villages. This practice is known as *paidasi* or *sindaki* and its purpose is to convey the news of the incident to the community men, both about the ex-communication of the offender and his or her eventual pardon after having undergone the necessary ordeal.

Case Study-III

This case involves the illicit relations of a Kokna boy with a Varli girl residing in different villages. It is said that the Kokna boy a resident of Khutali village, met the Varli girl in Dudhani village, where they were employed as labourers in a road construction work. The news of their illicit relations spread like wildfire in the community. The members of the Varli community decided to keep a close watch on the boy and the girl. It is alleged that one day, late in the evening, the Kokna boy visited Dudhani. But his movements were watched by a few youths belonging to Varli community. It is said that the Kokna boy stayed on in the village on the pretext of spending some time with his friend, belonging to Chamar community, who was employed as a store keeper by the P.W.D. It is said that earlier the Kokna boy and the Varli girl had pre-planned this visit so that they could meet together. It is understood that during the night one of the youths reported to his co-villagers that the Kokna boy and the Varli girl had entered the store together and locked it from inside. It is also claimed that the Chamar friend of the Kokna who was living in the adjoining

quarters of the store, left his quarters purposely as he had connived by providing a safe place for the amorous adventures of his friend with the Varli girl. Soon a few Varli youths gathered in front of the building. Somehow the Kokna boy smelt the imminent trouble and climbed up the wooden partition between the store and the adjoining room and jumped in the other room. There he removed a few tiles from one of the corners of the roof and escaped unnoticed. In the meanwhile the Varli girl hid herself behind a few gunny bags which were lying in the store. The group of Varli who had surrounded the store did not take any precipitate action during the night as they thought they would catch the couple when they come out of the quarter in the morning. But when nobody came out, the door was forced open and the girl was traced behind the gunny bags.

The Varli of the village convened a meeting of their tribal council in which the *patel, karbhari* and a few elderly members of the community participated. As the Kokna boy had escaped to his own village they realised that they were hardly in a position to take any serious action against him. But as the Chamar friend of the Kokna lived in the village in the capacity of the store-keeper of P.W.D., they singled him out for punishment and asked him to pay a fine of forty rupees for connivance at the illicit relations between the Varli girl and the Kokna boy. The girl's father was fined only five rupees for not exercising proper control over the conduct and activities of his daughter. As usual, the money realised from the fine was spent on drinking liquor. Later, it came to light that after a few months of the incident the girl was married to a boy of her own community, residing in the same hamlet. But after staying with him for one or two years, she deserted her husband and at the time of the survey was residing with her father.

The above case study indicates that in the matter of sexual offences involving Varli and Kokna boys and girls, the community to which the boy belongs does not take any serious action in the matter. But the community to which the girl belongs considers it as an affront to its prestige and try to punish the guilty party. It is also noticed that while the sexual lapses on the part of an unmarried girl is not condoned and punishment is given, it does not result in serious stigma which would stand in her marriage. This is obvious from the above case. Although the whole village knew about the incident, a Varli boy of her own village married her. It is a different matter that she deserted him after sometime.

Case Study-IV

This case relates to an incident of a minor theft involving members of two different communities living in the same hamlet of Vaghchauda village. It is said that once a Kokna resident of the village noticed that one of his fowls was missing. He made enquiries from his neighbours, but no one could give him any clue. The Kokna suspected a Varli residing nearby. In order to force the hands of the culprit he tried to put the fear of God in the culprit and publicly announced his intentions of consulting a *bhagat* to flush out the thief and expose him to the villagers and the wrath of deities. It is said that within a few hours of his declaration the suspected Varli came forward and confessed his guilt. Thereupon, the Kokna convened a meeting of the village panchayat in which members of both the communities participated. After some discussion the Panchayat unanimously decided that the offender (Varli) should pay a fine of ten rupees. On the payment of fine, the usual ritual of *kadi mudi* was performed and the money realised as fine was spent on purchasing *daru*, which was consumed by the *panch*.

Here, it is to be noted that the punishment of the payment of the fine was not designed to compensate the complainant for his loss but to punish the offender for his criminal act. This case also focuses attention on the local tribal's faith in the *bhagat* and fear of divine punishment. If it were not so, the thief would not have admitted his guilt.

From the few case studies given above, it would seem that the Kokna have a differential attitude towards sexual lapses on the part of the members of the community. In general, they do not take a serious view of the lapse of a Kokna man having relations with an unmarried girl of the community. But they take a serious view of adultery if it involves a married Kokna woman, particularly with a person belonging to another community.

CHAPTER XIV

INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP AND SOCIAL STATUS

The pattern of inter-community relations among the tribal communities of the area, including the Kokna, need to be considered in the light of the special historical, geographical and cultural background of the area. The Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli, having a large concentration of tribal population—nearly 90 per cent—has been under the occupation of the Portuguese till about two and half decades ago. The main tribal communities of the area are. Dhodia, Dubla, Kokna, Varli, Kathodi and Koli Dhor. A significant proportion of the remaining population belongs to Scheduled Castes, such as the Bhangi, Chamar and Mahayavanshi. There are only a few households of the caste Hindus in the area which too are mainly concentrated in the Naroli and Dadra regions, around Silvassa. The majority of villages of the territory lie in the Nagar Haveli area where most of the field investigation has been conducted. These villages do not have a significant number of caste Hindus. Some of the caste Hindus live as individuals in the capacity of traders or landlords and make frequent visits to Naroli or Gujarat where they are having their permanent homes. A few government servants, such as the Patel Talati and VLW, also generally come from caste Hindu communities—mostly the Gujarati Brahmin, Rajput or Bania. There are also a few non-Hindu ethnic groups, such as the Parsi and Khoja (Muslims) which have been residing in the area for quite sometime. The Parsi are generally land owners and have mostly leased their land to the Kokna and other tribals for cultivation. Khoja, on the other hand, are mostly engaged as petty shopkeepers or liquor sellers. There are also a few Christians who either belong to the staff of the Christian missions functioning in the area or, in a few cases, they are tribal converts to Christianity.

In the adjoining States of Gujarat and Maharashtra, Dhodia and Dubla, in particular, and Kokna have been under the influence of the caste Hindus for quite sometime and due to their physical proximation and more enduring contacts have been imbibing the cultural practices of the latter. The Kokna of Dadra & Nagar Haveli, however, have had comparatively limited direct inter-action with the caste Hindus for the reasons

mentioned above. Further, the occupation of the area by the Portuguese isolated the area and did not permit the dominant caste Hindus in the adjoining areas to acquire much influence as they did not enjoy any social, economic or political patronage at the hands of the Portuguese. The Portuguese generally did not employ caste Hindus and primarily depended on tribal officials like the *patel* and *karbhari*, in dealing with the local tribals. Therefore, unlike in the adjoining Gujarat and Maharashtra where the caste Hindus acted as their reference group, they could not act as a model for the Kokna. Not that the Kokna have been impervious to the Hindu ideas and culture but these could penetrate to them slowly and indirectly through those residing in the adjoining areas. The point which needs to be emphasised here is that the process of 'sanskritization' or social mobility has been rather slow among the Kokna of Dadra & Nagar Haveli because of the isolation of the area until recently.

Nevertheless, over a period of time, the tribals of the area have acquired some of the values of the caste Hindus and have also been influenced by the hierarchial model of the latter. The hierarchy among the tribes of Dadra & Nagar Haveli can be viewed at two levels, viz., at the level of Union Territory as a whole and the areas where the Kokna have their concentration. In the Union Territory as a whole, the Dhodia rank first, closely followed by the Dubla. The Kokna and Varli rank next to Dhodia and Dubla, followed by Katkari or Kathodi. The Koli Dhor are ranked the lowest among the local tribes. In fact, except Koli Dhor, all the other tribes regard the Scheduled Castes of the area, such as Chamar, Mahayavanshi and Bhangi, below them. This ranking is accepted by the latter. The Kokna also regard the Parsi and Khoja as having a lower status than themselves. On the other hand, the various tribes, including Dhodia and Dubla accept the higher status of caste Hindus, such as the Brahmin, Rajput and Bania. The Kokna also acknowledge that the Dhodia and Dubla have a higher social status than that of their own.

As mentioned earlier, there is a clustering of different ethnic groups in the Union Territory. The Dhodia and Dubla generally reside in the same area along with a few persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and a few caste Hindus. On the other hand, the Varli and Kokna reside together. The Koli Dhor are scattered throughout, in all the areas. Only in a few Kokna villages, such as Vaghchauda, there were a few households of the Dhodia who too were neo-settlers. In these villages, the Kokna and Varli enjoyed the highest ranking. It may be mentioned here that although these two communities mutually acknowledge each

other as having the same status, it was apparent that Kokna were in a slightly elevated position because of their better economic condition, enterprising nature and comparatively more exposure to Hindu beliefs and ideas. According to a Christian Missionary residing in the area for years, and who is in constant and close contacts with the local tribals, the Varli never bother for the marrow, while the Kokna does.

The local tribals do not appear to suffer from any serious social disability or discrimination. During the survey it was observed in Dapada village that Varli, Kokna, Koli Dhor, Parsi and Khoja were drawing water from the same well which belonged to the Parsi landlord. Each community had its own priest and the services of Brahmin priest were not sought. Traditionally there is some restriction in commensal matters between the persons belonging to different ethnic groups. As stated earlier, the Dhodia enjoy the highest social status among the tribals of the Territory. Normally, they do not accept food or water from other tribal groups. The Kokna do not accept food or water from Katkari and Koli Dhor, while the latter two accept these from the Kokna. But if a Katkari or Koli Dhor asks for water from a Kokna's house, the latter hands over a tumbler which is rinsed after use. According to a Khoja landlord of Dudhani village, in the olden days the Kokna and Varli did not accept food or water from him. When in need they would borrow a tumbler from him and themselves fetch water from the well. They would never accept water from a *matla* (earthen pitcher) of a Khoja. But these distinctions have slowly disappeared. This was confirmed by the Parsi landlord of the village.

In case of Koli Dhor or Kathodi attends a Kokna marriage, he generally sits aloof from others. On the other hand, if a Kokna attends a marriage of a Katkari or Koli Dhor, which is rare, he accepts only the raw items of food, like rice and pulse, which are handed over to a Kokna household for cooking for him.

It was reported by the Kokna of Dudhani and Bildhari villages that Kathodi or Koli Dhor may enter their house, but only upto *wasri*, i.e., the living room. They are not allowed entry in the *ora*.

The common habitat and similar status enjoyed by Kokna and Varli bring them closer in the community affairs. As mentioned in the preceding account also the Kokna and Varli are generally found residing in the same village, although they generally occupy different hamlets. They inter-act with each other fairly closely in the community affairs. They accept food or

water from each other without any discrimination. They also smoke *bidi* together and accept each others' *garug* (bidi lighter made of bamboo). In fact, as discussed in the preceding account, in a dispute involving members of both the communities, they hold a common Panchayat. Even in disputes involving members of Kokna community only, the Varli *patel* and Varli *karbhari* are invited in the meetings of the tribal council and their views ascertained.

The Dhodia Gram Sevak of Dudhani Patelad felt that there is now closer inter-action among the Kokna and other communities and the past restrictions have generally disappeared to a good deal.

There are certain occasions when the members of different communities come still closer. The feeling of caste hierarchy among the different tribals and other groups recede in the background during certain festivals and common worship of the village deities. The ceremonial offerings are shared by all irrespective of the community. During the field study in connection with the present monograph, the observance of Holi festival was noted. It was found that although each hamlet lits bonfire separately, the main function is performed at village level and the 'Holi' bonfire is burnt for the village as a whole. It was seen that the Kokna from Mahala Pada and Vad Pada, Varli from Vad Pada and Koli Dhor from Sadak Pada participated in the function. These included the Varli *patel* as well. Besides, Bheeku Bhai, the local school teacher who is a Brahmin by caste also participated in the festivities. He brought a coconut and some sugar for distribution among the participants.

Observation was also made regarding participation of other communities in the marriage of a Varli girl residing in Andher Pada. Among Varli there is a ceremony in which close relations of the bride and bride-groom apply turmeric paste and present some cash to the couple. In the marriage the wives of the Khoja and the Gram Sevak (Brahmin) also participated as invitees and presented some cash to the bride though they did not apply turmeric as was done by her close relations. It is said that the wife of the Khoja who runs a petty shop in the village has close relations with the mother of the bride. It would seem that member of other communities participate in marriage functions of Kokna or Varli at individual level and it does not necessarily reflect the pattern of inter-community relations as such. But the senior members of various tribal communities and functionaries, like the *patel, karbhari* and *kathiya* are invited to participate in marriages by the Kokna, Varli and Koli Dhor communities.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL REFORMS

As stated earlier, the Kokna, particularly those residing in the plains region, refer to themselves as 'Kunbi', obviously with a view to elevate their social status. The 'Kunbi' or 'Kanbi', apart from being a distinct ethnic group, is considered as a respectable term for cultivators. This tendency has also been noted among the Kokna of Maharashtra as well (Ed. Chari, 1972:59). However, there has been no specific movement among the community men for adopting their community's name as 'Kunbi'.

There does not appear to be any organised movement for introducing social reforms in the community. But at the initiative of a few individuals stray attempts have been made for introducing certain reforms in the community. A few years ago in Bildhari village a Kokna convert to Christianity, employed as a school teacher, and an active young man of the community, took initiative in convening a meeting of the tribal council which attracted a large gathering of the elders and young men of the community. In the meeting, the two young men put the proposal that their community should give up consumption of large quantity of alcohol as it caused unnecessary expenditure resulting in economic hardships. They also exhorted their community men to encourage the education of their children and improve methods of cultivation for increasing the yield. They also suggested that they should give up the practice of putting on a loin cloth as a lower garment and instead should put on half pants. Likewise, their women folk should dress 'decently' by putting on a longer *jadko* and blouse.

It would seem that initially there was good response from the community men as instead of usual eight bottles of *daru* accepted during *nani peen* ceremony (formal marriage proposal) six bottles were accepted. However, after sometime, the community elders reacted adversely as they thought they were being deprived of their share of *daru* which they received from the present of eight bottles of *daru* offered by the boy's father to the girl's father. With the decrease in number of bottles they found that their entertainment and traditional rights were being curtailed. After sometime, the elderly persons of the village openly

raised their voice against the so called reform. This resulted in heated arguments among those who were for introducing the reform—generally the young men—and those who resented it. After a few days, the elderly persons of the village disregarded the so called reform and condemned it as a violation of the traditional norms set up by their forefathers. As in the past, at present eight bottles of *daru* are offered by the boy's father to the girl's father during *nani peen* ceremony. Though this matter is sometimes discussed among young men and the elderly persons of the community, there does not appear to be any hope of the revival of the reform and the young men of the community seem to be reconciled to the old ways.

Here it is to be noted that the above issue of reduction in consumption of liquor became a conflict between the old and the new. The elderly persons considered it as a revolt against their traditional rights and strongly opposed the movement started by a few reformists belonging to the new generation.

REFERENCES CITED

Ballal, K. D. — Census of India, 1961, Vol. XVIII, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, 1967.

Campbell, J. M. — Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XII, Khandesh, 1880 : 105.

Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIII, Part I, Thana, 1882 : 174-175.

Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XV, Part I, Kanara, 1883 : 221-224.

Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVI, Nasik, 1883:47.

Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX, Part I, Gujarat Population Hindus, 1901:321-322.

Chari, R. B. — Census of India, 1961, Vol. X, Maharashtra, Part V-B, 'Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra', Ethnographic Notes, 1972 : 47-60.

Dalal, J. A. — Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVIII, Baroda, Part I, Report, Bombay, 1902 : 505.

Desai, G. H. — Census of India, 1911, Vol. XVI, Baroda, Part I, Report, Bombay, 1911:302.

Enthoven, R. E. — Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol. II, Bombay, 1922:265-266.

Gandhe, S. K. — Census of India, 1971, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, District Census Handbook, Series 26, Part X-A and X-B, 1973.

Mead, P.J. & Macgregor, G.L. — Census of India, 1911, Vol. VII, Bombay, Part I, Report, Bombay, 1932:272.

Mukerjea, S. V. — Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I, Report, Bombay, 1932:461.

Nigam, R. C. — Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C(ii), Language Tables, 1964 : CCXVII-CCXVIII.

Save, K. J. — 'The Warlis', 1945:257.

OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bharatiya, L. K. — Adivasis of Dhadgaon in Akrani, (A study of their socio-economic condition), Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3/131, 1971:171-189.

Ganesh Dass — Socio-economic Profile of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, C.I. 1971, Series I, Miscellaneous Studies, Monograph No. 2, Controller of Publications, Delhi, 1974.

Ganesh Dass and Sah, M. L. — Dapada: A Village in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, (Socio-economic Survey), Census of India. 1971, Series I, Monograph No. 2, Controller of Publications, Delhi, 1974.

Koppar, D. H. — Tribal Art and Gujarat, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXXI, No. 4/124, 1969:171-279.

Death and Disposal among the Primitive Tribes of Dharampur, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXIX, No. 2/114, 1967:98-103.

General Ethnographic Study, Research carried out in Dharampur, Surat district, Gujarat, India, 1955-1959.

Primitive Tribes of Dharampur, Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. I, 1956:8-24.

Lal, R. B. — Impact of Industrialization on Tribals in Southern Gujarat, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3/145, 1975:26-30.

Masavi, M. I. — Problems of Land Alienation among the Tribals of Gujarat, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3/145, 1975:39-45.

Naik, T. B. — Aboriginals of Gujarat, Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1950:42-51.

Aboriginal Festivals of Gujarat, Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. II, No. 1, 1948:16-21.

Labour Problems of Tribal Gujarat, Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. III, 1949:22-28.

Sah, M. L. — *Athwara*: Its Role and Functioning in a Tribal Region, A Study of Weekly Markets in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Vanyajati, Vol. XXIII, No. 2-3, April-July, 1975: 29-38.

Wandrekar, D. N. — Educational progresses of the Adiwasis in the Konkan tract of Bombay province, Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. III, 1949:3-7.

ANNEXURE

FRAMEWORK FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

I. NAME, IDENTITY, ORIGIN AND HISTORY

1. Name: Synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and is in other published sources such as census reports, monographs, etc., grouping with other castes and tribes during various censuses. Affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.
2. Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.
3. Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.
4. Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

II. DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION TREND

1. Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.
2. Numerical strength in 1971 and population variations during 1901-1971; sex ratio; age-groups and rural-urban distribution in 1971.

III. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Racial stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

IV. FAMILY, CLAN, KINSHIP AND OTHER ANALOGOUS DIVISIONS

1. Family: size (observed and published), types, residence after marriage, descent, lineage and its economic and religious functions.
2. Clan/gotra and sub-clans, names, etymological meaning clustering of clans, belief and mythology about origin, status among clans, clan and regulation of marriage (preference and prohibition), occupation and clan, clan and rituals, clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions etc.).
3. Others; phratry, duel organisation, like moieties etc. as in 2 above.

V. DWELLING, DRESS, FOOD, ORNAMENTS AND OTHER MATERIAL OBJECTS DISTINCTIVE OF THE COMMUNITY.

1. Settlement: village site, location, settlement pattern, agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, (amorphous, star-shaped, horseshoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped etc.) and variations; regional pattern vis-a-vis pattern of the community.

2. Neighbourhood : pattern on the basis of religion, castes (caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes etc. with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.
3. Dwelling unit : compound, entrance, source of water, the use of the different parts of the house (latrine, cattle-shed, isolation huts etc.); shape (square, round, irregular etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth, wall, roofing, thatching, ventilations and doors; materials used decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.
5. Ornaments; use; material used; from whom obtained; variations according to sex and age.
6. Personal decoration : tattooing; mutilation (chipping of teeth. etc.); hair cutting, how done, purpose, attitude and variations according to sex and age.
7. Food and drink : materials (staple and other), prescriptions and prohibitions, fuel, utensils, and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food and rituals, if any.
8. Equipments connected with economic pursuits, religion and ritual, how procured, material used, construction, manipulation and purpose.
9. Other household equipment. As above.
10. Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use. As above.

VI. ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION, HYGIENIC HABITS DISEASE AND TREATMENT

1. Environmental sanitation, settlement, disposal of nightsoil, garbage, etc.
2. Hygienic habits : cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses. utensils, etc.
3. Diseases : incidence; local names, interpretation of the causes; symptoms, diagnosis and cure-persons and methods involved.
4. Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

VII. LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

1. Ancestral Language : classification according to Grierson, persistence of ancestral language and literature.
2. Mother tongue : classification according to Grierson; bilingualism and multi-lingualism, regional language.
3. Information collected during 1961 Census on language and literature.
4. Education and literacy : traditional and modern attitude information collected during 1971 Census-literacy and levels of education.

VIII. ECONOMIC LIFE

1. Economic resources : land, community land, individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilised.
2. Forest wealth : flora and fauna; nature and extent of right in the forest, forest utilisation.

3. Fishery, livestock and others.
4. Working force : sex-wise urban and rural variations and comparisons of the same with the region.
5. Non-workers.
6. Industrial classifications : details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1971 Census figures; traditional occupation and changes in the pattern main and subsidiary occupations.
7. Forced labour, bonded labour, patron-client relationship (Jajmani), mode of payment.
8. Seasonal migration connected with occupation : recruitment, formation of working groups.
9. Nomadic movement : cycle and occupational pattern.
10. Shifting cultivation : method, implements and equipments, produce, participation, cycle of rotation, measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.
11. Terrace cultivation : As above.
12. Income and expenditure : sources of income, extent, expenditure on food, clothing, house, education, social functions and others.
13. Other aspects of economic life.

IX. LIFE CYCLE

A. *Birth*

1. Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.
2. Pre-natal and natal practices : residence, diet, work taboos etc., delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.
3. Post-natal practices : confinement and segregation, ceremonial pollution, diet for mother and child, rituals.
4. Protection and care of child and training.
5. Attitude towards birth of child, preference about sex, preference about number, segregation of sex etc.

B. *Initiation*

1. Initiation ceremony : descriptions.
2. Pre-marital sex relations within the community and outside the community, sanctions and taboos.

C. *Marriage*

1. Age at marriage for both sexes : prohibited degrees of relationship; preferences, widow marriage (preferences and taboos).
2. Civil status and social status.

3. Types of marriage : **monogamy,** polygamy (polyandry and polygyny).
4. Selection of spouse : qualities valued (for bride and groom), mode of selection, procedure.
5. Modes of acquiring mate : by negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.
6. Terms of settlement : payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption etc.
7. Ceremonies connected with marriage : details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.
8. Statistical data as per 1971 Census.
9. Divorce : reasons and procedure.

D. *Death*

1. Concept about death, measures to ensure future well-being of the soul, measures to avert harm by the spirits.
2. Methods of disposal : burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water, etc.
3. Preparations for disposal of dead, informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit etc. for disposal, how carried, who carry, who accompany, place of disposal, methods of disposal, norms and taboos.
4. Ceremonies connected with disposal.
5. Death rites : details.
6. Monuments : tombs, megaliths, etc.
7. Pollution : duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life, etc., removal of pollution.
8. Mourning : mourners and duration.

X. RELIGION

1. Deities : supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras, etc.
2. Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.
3. Rituals and concepts associated with the pantheon.
4. Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.
5. Religious functionaries.
6. Calendar of festivals and their observance.
7. Concept of soul : hell, heaven, rebirth, transmigration of soul, etc.
8. Sects and denominations : name, distribution, beliefs and practices, etc.
9. Statistical information.

XI. LEISURE, RECREATION AND CHILD PLAY

1. Use of leisure time : (male, female, children and adult) seasonal variation in leisure time.
2. Recreations : mode and extent for males, females and children.
3. Leisure and recreation with reference to work.

XII. RELATION AMONG DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

Recognised segments : name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social prestige, religion, sect, education, age etc.), inter-relationship among various segments, status of the segments, status of women.

XIII. INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

1. Ceremonial relationship : service by Brahmins, traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen, etc.
2. Pollution by touch or proximity to high caste Hindus, use of well, admission to temple.
3. Secular relationship : model for other communities, dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.
4. Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

XIV. STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL, PRESTIGE AND LEADERSHIP

1. Social control : levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries etc., social control by other agencies.
2. Mode of acquiring offices.
3. Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders functionaries of statutory bodies of the region, powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.
4. Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.
5. Leadership : for social change, for technological change, for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.
6. Social prestige : method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association etc.), symbols of social prestige.

XV. SOCIAL REFORM AND WELFARE

1. Social reform movements : intensity, reason (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.). history and import of the movements.
2. Social welfare : agency, religious organisation, community as a whole, Government officials and non-official, role of the social welfare, measure and impact.

XVI. REFERENCES CITED AND OTHERS

KOKNA

PHOTOGRAPHS

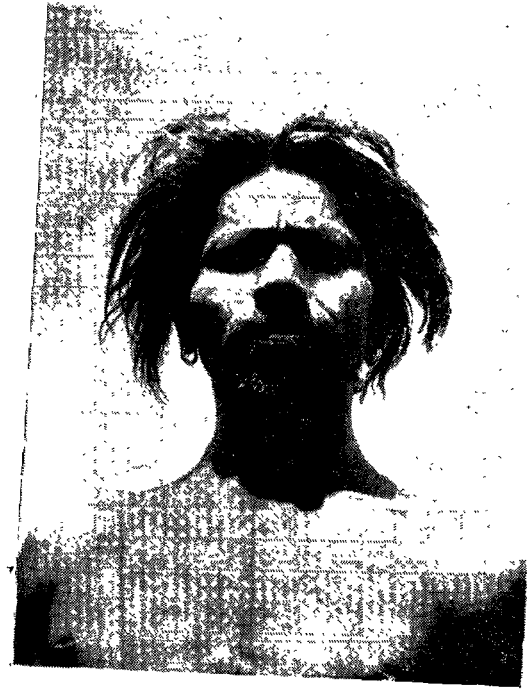


FIG. 1: *Front view of a male Kokna*



FIG. 2: *Profile of a male Kokna*



FIG. 3: *Front view of a female Kokna*



FIG. 4: *Profile of a female Kokna*

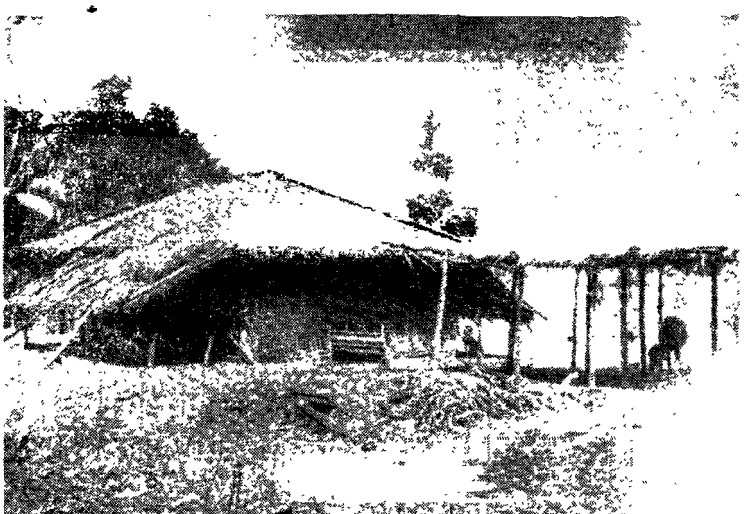


FIG. 5: *A typical Kokna hut with tiled roof*

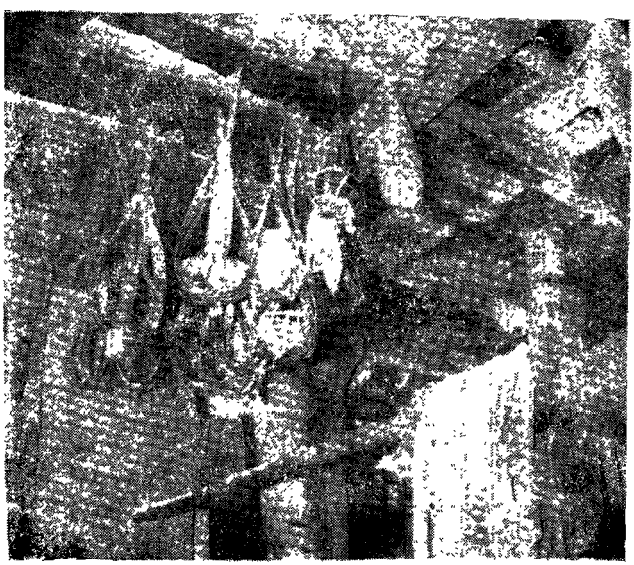


FIG. 6: *Interior of a Kokna hutment*

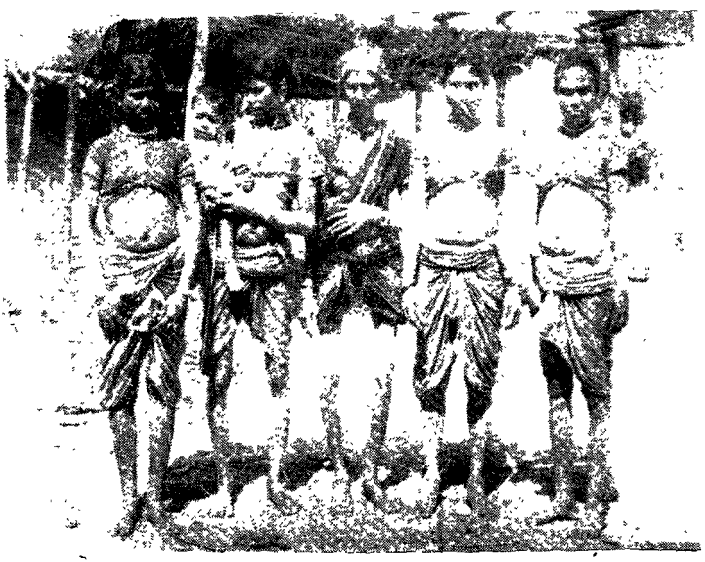


FIG. 7: *A group of Kokna women in their day-to-day dress*



FIG. 8: *Two Kokna women in their best attire at a weekly market*



FIG. 9: *Knitting and mending fishing nets during leisure hours*



FIG. 10: *Fishing in a rivulet*



FIG. 11: *The day's catch—collecting the trapped fish from the net*



FIG. 12: *Wearing bracelet at the weekly market*



FIG. 13: *Purchasing earthen pitcher*



FIG. 14: *A Kokna mother swinging her child*



FIG. 15: *The Shiva shrine at Dapada village*

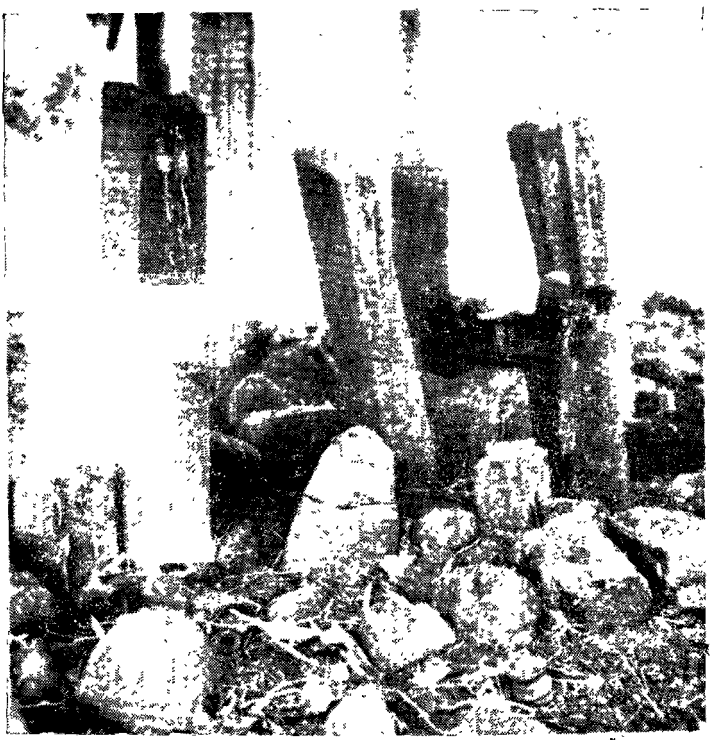


FIG. 16: *The village deity at Dapada*

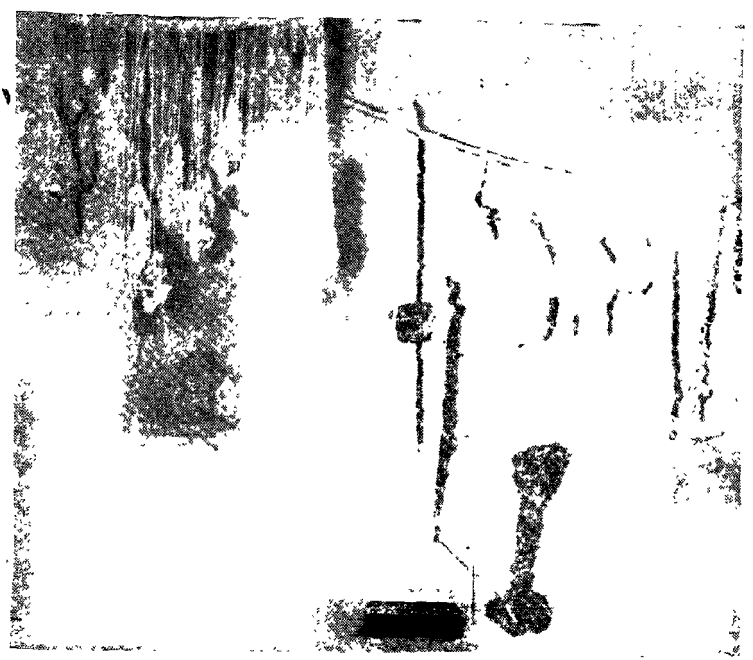


FIG. 17: *The household deities in a Kokna house*

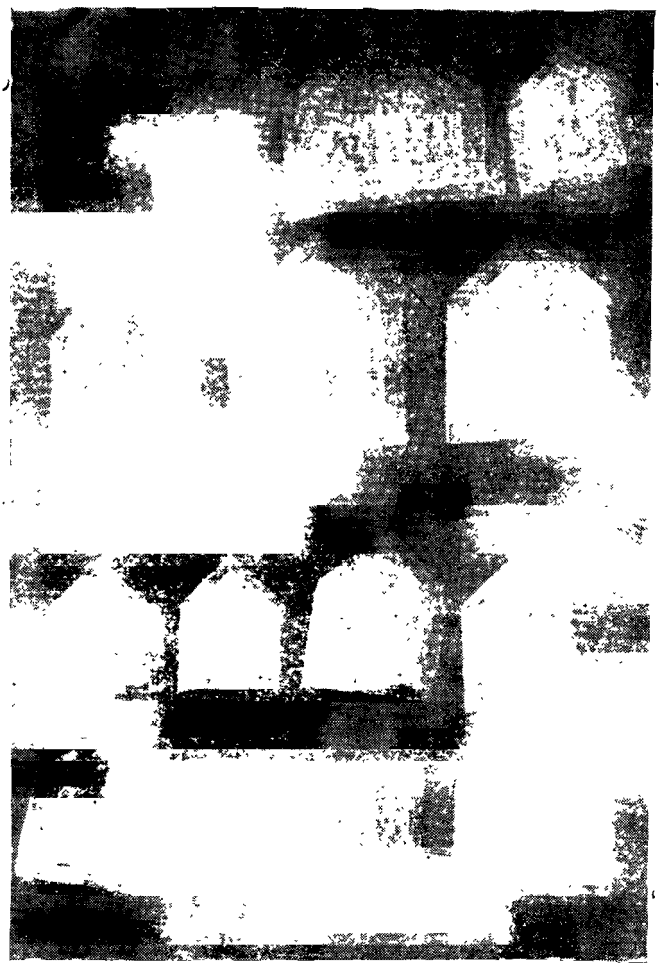


FIG. 18: *A few silver embossed plaques, representing the various tribal deities, in the stall of a silversmith at a weekly market*



FIG. 19: *A Kokna boy displaying a wooden board, carried over the head during the ritual dances. The jutting human figurines represent the Pandavas*



ORGI Library
44733

FIG. 20: *A few wooden masks put on by the Kokoa during the ritual dances. These represent, from left, Dis (Sun), Ganapati, Narsingh and Satway deities*

GIPN—S9—109 R. G. India/ND/79—300.