

5.1 INDIAN VILLAGE AND ITS STUDY

Introduction

In one of his famous quotes, the most famous leader of 20th century India, Mahatma Gandhi said "India is not Calcutta and Bombay. India lives in her seven hundred thousand villages". This is what forms a clue to the magnitude of importance the 'village' acquires in the socio-economic sphere in India in particular & the world in general. The cosmopolitan cities of today, London, New York, Mumbai etc. have also had their genesis in being a village once upon a time, though quite long ago.

The studies of social structures of small groups of individuals residing in a hamlet or a small village constitute the first basis of studies of bigger groups e.g. towns & semi-urban areas.

By contrast, Nehru never identified with the idea of the village as the site of future transformation. He considered the notion of "**village republics**" as characterized by various ills. He was critical of caste hierarchies and saw no virtue in reviving the traditional social order.

Ambedkar offered a radical critique of the Indian village. To him, the village is a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and communalism – marked by exclusion, exploitation, and untouchability. It was not representative of Indian civilization.

In the villages of India, the residential quarters are often built based upon a strong caste system. The loyalty a caste/community group feels may not surpass the religious or economic boundaries & tensions may be created.

Significance of Village study in India

Village defined by M.N. Srinivas as 'community which commands loyalty from all who live in it' irrespective of caste affiliation.

Village study deals with study of '**Ideologies of village India**'.

According to D.N. Majumdar, village study includes study of Caste, Kinship, politics, and leadership. **Yogendra singh** added religion and economy.

Indian tradition of village study

Colonial aim of village study was to show villages a 'little republic' and justify British rule.

- Metcalfe's "minutes on village of Delhi" (1930).
- H.S. Maine's "Village Communities in East and West" (1871) show same.
- Grierson: 'Bihar peasant life' (1926).

The year 1955 marked watershed in Indian Village study as many books were published:

- S.C. Dube- Indian Village
- M.N. Srinivas- India's Villages
- Majumdar- Rural profile
- Marriot- Village India

This provided holistic study of villages and its 'complex structure, thus demystifying myth of self-sufficiency.

Significance of village study

Significance was emphasized by M.N. Srinivas in his 'Caste in Modern India and other essay'.

(a) It helps in planning rural reconstruction

- According to M.N. Srinivas village studies provides detailed information regarding various aspects of rural life. It also helps in village planning.

(b) Identifying problems

- According to Oscar Lewis, village studies helps in identifying real problems faced in health, education, housing or social sphere.
- **Example:** Andre Beteille's Shrirampur study highlighted the problem of social segregation.

(c) Book view and field view

- Gives alternative to book view propounded by indologist and suggest field view which give real picture.
- Example: village studies points out that Varna system is not same in actual reality.

(d) Demystifying myths

- Village studies helped to end colonial myths undermining significance of villages in India.
- Example: M.N. Srinivas with his 'India's villages (1955) criticized Dumont and Pocock's view rejecting Village concept as a whole.

(e) Helps to study society that are changing very fast due to modernization, urbanization.

(f) Collect Anthropological details

- **Example:** G.S. ghurye (1960) study on Lonikand village concluded that important role of religion in social change.

(g) Explore direction of social change

- Otter and Simpson's study of Bisipura (Odisha) 50 years after Bailey's study showed disintegration of Jajmani.

(h) Emergence of new concepts

- Concepts like dominant caste, segmented structures, harmonic-disharmonic systems.

(i) Analyzing society

- Example: S.C. Dube's study in Shatripeth shows that despite presence of dozen castes, village displays integration.

(j) Tool for scientific studies

- Srinivas points out that sociologist and anthropologist can collect minute details through village studies to

testify their hypothesis.

- Example: many American anthropologists like Oscar Lewis came to India to study and confirm their hypothesis.

Current relevance

- Its significance in proper implementation of Government programs. Example: Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.
- Participatory governance and feedback mechanism.
- Study behavioural component in implementation.

Thus, village studies in Indian context shifted focus from crude, ethnocentric methods to more participatory, rapid, inter-disciplinary and ethnological methods.

Criticism of Village Studies

S.C. Dube points out that anthropologists should be very critical about validity of village studies.

Dube points out few limitations:

- Village studies are not often representative in nature
- Village studies exaggerate the unity and self-sufficiency of village and ignores connecting links with other units of society.
- Village studies are influenced by alien concepts or blind imitations of western methods, styles and models.

Some other challenges are:

- Mechanical nature of studies- do not add value to existing knowledge about village.
- Village studies tries to study village in biotic frame of reference, thus ignores basic reality that Indian village is synthesized community.

Indian villages are little republic.

India is a nation of villages. While examining essential nature of 'Indian villages' issue of 'Village autonomy' comes into fore.

The issue has been a controversial one.

Colonial scholars like Henry Maine (1881), Charles Metcalfe (1833) and Baden powell (1896) exaggerated notion of village autonomy.

Villages were portrayed as 'closed' and 'isolated' systems.

Metcalfe, in his remark, 'Indian villages were little republics', Independent within themselves, atomistic, monolithic, self-sufficient.

Marx and engles too, while writing in 'The New York Daily Tribune', viewed villages as 'Stagnant'.

Breman point out four core components that characterize Asian village which are as follows

- Political autonomy
- Economic autonomy
- Tenacious immutability
- Social homogeneity

Thus presented 'unchanging, isolated' reality to legitimize colonial rule in India.

Views opposing Autonomy claim

Later researches done by historians, anthropologist, and sociologist have demolished this myth.

Andre Beteille in his study of Shrirampur pointed out that in no way, the villages were fully self-sufficient in economic sphere.

Srinivas, in his 'India's Villages' argues that village was always part of wider entity which shows intracaste solidarity go hand in hand with inter caste and inter village dependence.

Robert Redfield, describing his Little and Great Traditions, points out that representatives of great traditions either visited villages or were residents or peasants went to town which signifies cultural dependence of villages on outer entity.

Oscar Lewis in his Comparative Study of Rankhera (North India) and Tepostalan (Mexico) gave a concept of Rural Cosmopolitanism in which he pointed out that Indian villages were linked to other villages and towns by complex networks of social relations based on caste, kinship, administration and political organization.

Thus, as Indian villages were linked to outer world through:

- Migration and movement of trade
- Pilgrimage, fairs
- Caste networks
- Inter-regional markets
- Village exogamy
- Administrative linkages

Therefore, the **claim of 'Little republics'** stands **rejected**.

Current relevance of Debate

- **Globalization:** villages integrating with global culture.
- **Rurban:** integrating with adjoining cities or urban areas.
- **Digital transformation:** connected to World Wide Web by various schemes of government like Bharat Net project and SWAMITVA scheme for land measurement with the help of spatial technology.
- **Transportation:** migration, village tourism.
- **Awareness campaigns** like Back to villages are the creditworthy initiatives of Government.

The ideas of village has occupied important place in history of contemporary India. It still and will stand important part of Indian Culture as a whole.

'Unity in Indian Villages is Myth'

India is a nation of villages, the village entity is connected by complex system of kinship, family, marriages. The unity of Indian Villages, owing to complex connection is an issue of debate.

Unity in Indian Villages

The ties in villages are of two types

- **Vertical ties** which shows village solidarity
- **Horizontal ties** shows inter village unity

Those who prefer Unity school, stresses on vertical ties in villages.

Views of scholars supporting village unity

Two scholars, **Dube and Srinivas** supports the claim.

Dube: Each village as distinct entity poses corporate unity. Communities inhabiting villages are integrated in economic, social, ritual patterns by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligation.

W.W. WISER, in his '**The Hindu jajmani system**' (1936) conceptualized inter relation in community based on 'reciprocity' representing hierarchical social order. Thus, Wiser argues that interdependence (jajmani) creates unity in communities.

Srinivas: Srinivas was strongest proponent of view of unity.

- Though caste hierarchy creates distinctiveness and difference in each group, it goes along with interdependence of different castes.
- Srinivas rejects Dumont and Pocock's critique by saying: tendency to stress intra caste complementarity is to ignore social framework of agrarian society.
- Thus he views interdependence as force which balances distinctiveness.

Views opposing unity

Some anthropologist recognized conflicts within village and thus argued against village unity.

Dumont and Pocock in journal '**contributions to Indian Sociology**' argued that as caste system is hierarchized rural society of India, the villages, they argued, were not "communities". Thus, it is **idea of inequality, not of community** which characterizes India.

Thus, rejected the concept of village as a whole.

Paul Hiebert in his study of South Indian Village underlines 'deep seated cleavages undermining apparent unity' i.e. caste system which fragmented villages into different social groups.

D.N. Majumdar pointed out assumption that villages as integrated whole has limitations in Indian context. Though kinship ties integrated village at different level, but settlement patterns divided village unity.

However, unlike Dumont and Pocock, he did recognize relevance of studying village.

Andre Beteille, in his study of Shrirampur points out that 'Shrirampur as a whole constituted unit in physical sense, but much lesser extent in social sense' due to division as Brahmins, Non Brahmins, adi-Dravidas.

Lewis, comparing Indian village with Mexican, points out that Caste & Kinship still form core of village social organization which splits village into separate communities with close affiliations across village lines.

Thus, answer to the question of unity will depend on what constituent of village is under consideration. Thus, it is fact with no denial that villages encompasses convergence of common identity, but very basic cleavages dividing common line of unity.

INDIAN VILLAGE AS SOCIAL SYSTEM

Indian villages can be considered as veritable mosaic of different cults and ideologies. It has always been enjoying important place as unit of Indian social structure.

Villages play an important part in Indian life. From the prehistoric times, the village has been enjoying an important place as the unity of Indian social structure. India can rightly be called a land of villages. The bulk of its population lives in the villages. Indian village as a social system comprises of agrarian society, caste system, jajmani system, joint family, power structure etc. Due to various factors such as modernization, westernization, globalization, secularization, land reforms etc. the village social system is changing.

Agrarian Society

- Indian village society is mainly an agrarian society as majority of village population dependent on agriculture for its livelihood. Hence Indian villages are agrarianism.

- **Definition of Agrarian society:** It is a society based on agriculture production and crafts other than industrial production.
- **Beteille's view on agrarian society:** Only peasantry does not constitute agrarian society.

There are two aspects of agrarian society:

- **Technical aspect (economic aspect):** It consists of ecological conditions, agro technology etc.
- **Social aspect:** land, power, land tenure etc.
 - ▶ Economy enmeshed with society.

Village social structure

Caste system

Indian caste system is characterized by caste based social stratification of the population into Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra and untouchables.

Characteristics of Caste System

- **The Innate Nature:** determined by birth
- **Endogamy:** Inter caste marriage is prohibited
- **Hierarchy:** local or regional in nature
- **Commensality:** sharing or acceptance of food and water is governed by set of rules
- **Occupational restrictions:** by birth
- **Disabilities-** untouchable and Privileges - Brahmins & Dwija
- **Caste Councils:** Authority to compel obedience

Jajmani System

- Jajmani system is interdependency among castes resulting from occupational specialization which is an important feature of caste system.
- Under Jajmani system, each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardized services to the families of other castes.
- In general, it involves the exchange of goods and services between land owning higher caste and landless lower castes.
- Here there is Patron- client relationship between Jajman (Service receivers) and Projan /Kamin (service provider). Jajman is the land owning higher caste and projan is landless service castes such as washer, tailor, cobbler, carpenter, barber etc.

Joint family:

Indian village is characterized with joint family. It is a special type of extended family with features such as joint property, common kitchen, a strict patriarch, common roof or house, common place of worship.

Power structure and class, land stratification

- Daniel Thorner divides village population into following types based on class and land stratification as a result of land revenue system
- Proprietor
- Working peasants
- Laborers

Changed terminology

Land Owners (Malik)	Tenants (Kisan) or working peasants	Agricultural Tenants (Mazdur)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Upper caste groups ◦ Tax gatherers, income/ rent from property rights. ◦ Non cultivating land owners - rent or hire laborers ◦ Absentee land lords or small proprietors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Lives by own toil on own land. ◦ Small owners/ tenants ◦ Inferior to Malik ◦ Amount of land - less ◦ Produce - less ◦ Do not employ labor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Livelihood through work on other's land ◦ Very small land holding - so no cultivation ◦ Come from traditionally landless, deprived, untouchable, SCs and Backward Classes ◦ Wages - Money or kind

Gender differences:

Village monographs provided detail account of man relation in village findings. It is based on framework of household & participation of woman women in work.

- Division of labor in family.
- Dominance of men in public sphere.
- Social world of women synonymous with family and kinship (Srinivas).
- Mayer: compared to men, women had less chance to meet people outside family.
- Women were secluded from public places (Dube - Telangana village).
- Rules of patriarchy.
- After caste, gender is most important factor governing division of labor.

Changes in Indian village system:

Due to various factors such as modernization, westernization, globalization, secularization, and land reforms etc. the village social system is changing.

(a) Caste System

- The British rule in India gave a serious blow to the caste system in the villages.
- The economic policy and the laws of British rulers induced the different castes to adopt occupations other than the traditional ones. The hold of caste panchayat was loosened.
- The status of a village man was determined on the basis of his economic position and personal attainments.
- The restrictions on food, dress, mode of living and was weakened.
- Thus caste system has now lost its traditional hold in the villages; other matters imposed under caste system were removed.
- Even untouchability however, casteism is getting strengthened on account of selfish political interests.

(b) Jajmani System:

- 'Social Stratification in India' the "Jajmani" system, a feature of village community in India has now weakened due to the governmental efforts to raise the status of the lower castes and impact of urbanization.

- The occupations adopted by the village people are not entirely hereditary or based on caste system, nor the payment for services rendered by the lower caste is in kind; it is now mostly cash payment.

(c) Family System:

- The joint family system is no longer the peculiar characteristic of the village community. Nuclear families have taken its place.
- The family control over its members in matters of diet, dress and marriage has weakened. The family is no longer an economic unit.
- Several activities which once were carried within the family are now performed by outside agencies.
- The education of village girls has raised the status of rural women.

(d) Marriage System:

- Change can also be seen in the institution of marriage.
- Although inter-caste marriages are rare and parents continue to dominate the mate-choice, yet the boys and girls are consulted by the parents in the matter of mate choice.
- Love marriages and divorces are not non-existent.
- The individual qualities like education, economic pursuit, beauty and appearance of the marriage partners are given preference over the old family status.
- The marriage rites also have been minimized. The custom of child marriage is being abolished.

(e) Economic System

- Change has also taken place in the economic field. The educated rural youth seeks jobs in the cities rather than settling on the land.
- The demand for new scientific instruments of agriculture is increasing. The farmers have been taught new methods to raise their production.
- The rural cooperative societies have lessened the woes and miseries of the village people in getting seeds, fertilizers and credit.
- The 'Sahukari' system is on the wane. More and more banks are being opened in the villages.
- The Government gives financial assistance and other facilities for setting up industries in the villages. The per capita income has increased.
- Economic exploitation has decreased and the farmers get good price for their products.

Thus Indian village system is gradually changing due to various factors and forces.

Limitations of study of village as Social System

- Participant observation was limited to dominant groups in villages.
- Different sections had different perspective of what the village was.
- People studying villages in 1950s and 1960s focused on structures rather than changes.

Thus, village as social system challenges 'book view' and helped people to have actual 'field view' to characterize Indian society as a whole.

Study of village as a social system also challenged 'isolationist' stereotype about villages and brought in villages as basic unit in Indian society.

TRADITIONAL AND CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN INDIAN VILLAGES

In India, village is the unit of rural society. Rural people live in settled villages. Traditionally there have been three types of settlement patterns in Indian villages which are changing due to various factors.

Traditional settlement patterns: Three major types of settlement patterns have been observed in rural areas.

- **Nucleated or clustered settlement pattern:** Here a tight cluster of houses is surrounded by farms of the villagers. E.g. all over India.
- **Linear settlement pattern:** Here houses are strung out each surrounded by its own compound. However, there is little to physically demarcate where one village ends and other starts. E.g. Kerala, Konkan, delta lands in Bengal.
- **Scattered settlement:** It consists of homesteads or clustering of two or three houses. Here also physical demarcation of villages is not clear. E.g. hilly area in Himalayan foothills, high lands of Gujarat and Satpura range of Maharashtra.

Tradition patterns of intercaste relation

- Each caste in villages have its own social rules and regulations.
- These relates to dress, ornaments and even place of living.
- Social distance was maintained between upper and lower castes.

For example: South India- status going down as one moves from North-East to South or Southwest.

Case study:

Tanjore study by Beteille stating declining caste status from N-E to S-W and from North to South.

- Brahmins- North
- Non Brahmins- Middle
- Lower Caste- South

There was a 'segmental' division of society.

D. N. Majumdar (1958) while pointing out at Unity debate in Indian villages, talks about settlement patterns. He observed that though Kinship ties integrate villages but settlement pattern divides villages and thus no unity.

He implied that 'purer' settlement inhabited by higher Caste and 'polluted' quarters owned by lower castes.

This creates wide dissimilarity in ideas, beliefs, practices, education, income, life and living habits.

Changes in traditional settlement pattern

- Population explosion led to expansion of nucleated settlements.
- Earlier uncultivated areas were taken for cultivation leading to emergence of new nucleated settlements.
- River linking/canal projects led to emergence of linear settlement. E.g. Agra canal, Yamuna canal near Delhi.
- New roads & highways gave way to linear settlements.
- Due to urbanization there emerged Urban-Rural fringe leading to joining of urban and rural areas. E.g. Pune and surrounding villages.

- **Conurbation:** A conurbation is a region comprising a number of cities, large towns, and other urban areas that, through population growth and physical expansion, have merged to form one continuous urban or industrially developed area. E.g. National Capital Region of India.
- Conversion of a rural area into suburban town due to urbanization.

Social distance in the form of settlement pattern is decreasing between upper and lower castes. **Example:** Government flats, apartments, private construction etc.

Various studies on changing in traditional patterns

- **S.B. Singh** in his 'Rural settlement'
- **A.K. Sinha (2000)** in his 'A geographical analysis of Rurban centers' observes spacing and development in rural centers in Magadha district due to influence of rural markets and transportation.
- **R.S. Songwan (2003):** 'Rural Urban divide: changing spatial pattern of Social variable'
- **Praful singh (2011)** in his 'Land Use pattern analysis using remote sensing study of Mayurbhanj district and found out changes in distribution of land uses and settlements.

AGRARIAN REALTIONS IN INDIAN VILLAGES

Indian village social system has been existing through a triangle consisting of joint family, caste system and peasantry. A very dominant proportion of Indian population lives through this triangle. Any change in any one of them leads to social change. Agrarian relations in Indian villages are product of this triangle.

Agrarian relations

- Both caste & class are important in agrarian relations in Indian villages. K. L. Sharma says that 'Caste incorporates the elements of class and class has a cultural (caste) style, hence the two systems cannot be easily separated even analytically.'
- Caste relations are manifested through Jajmani system

Jajmani system

- Jajmani system is interdependency among castes resulting from occupational specialization which is an important feature of caste system.
- Under Jajmani system, each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardized services to the families of other castes.
- In general, it involves the exchange of goods and services between land owning higher caste and landless lower castes.
- Here there is Patron- client relationship between Jajman (Service receivers) and Projan/Kamin (service provider). Jajman is the land owning higher caste and projan is landless service castes such as washer, tailor, cobbler, carpenter, barber etc.

Changes in Jajmani system:

- It has now weakened due to the governmental efforts to raise the status of the lower castes and impact of urbanization.
- The occupations adopted by the village people are not entirely hereditary or based on caste system, nor the payment for services rendered by the lower caste is in kind; it is now mostly cash payment.

Class/Power structure:

British land revenue system gave rise to class structure which is summarized below:

Class based division of village society into

Land owner	Tenant	Agricultural laborers
Features - Upper caste groups, tax gatherers, income/rent from property rights, non-cultivating land owners - rent or hire laborers, absentee land lords or small proprietors	Features - lives by own toil on own land, small owners/tenants inferior to Malik, amount of land holding very less, produce is very less, they do not employ labor.	Features -livelihood through work on other's land, very small land holding - so no cultivation, they come from traditionally landless, deprived, untouchable, SCs and Backward Classes, wages - Money or kind

D.N. Dhanangre reclassifies peasantry with including intersection of caste and class lines

Upper caste	Traditional caste	Untouchables
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Landlords ◦ Rich peasants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Middle peasants ◦ Poor peasants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Landless laborers

Significant trends in social structure in post-independence period

- Wide gap between land reform ideology and implementation.
- Land reforms led to economic prosperity of rich peasants.
- Feudalistic tenancy: capitalistic lease labor system.
- A class of rich middle stratum emerged.
- Class inequalities between upper and lower strata increased.
- Tensions in the rural social system increased due to inequalities.

Social Mobility:

- **Proletarianization**- downward mobility i.e. depeasantization of small and marginal farmers.
 - ▶ K.L Sharma in study of 6 Rajasthan villages observed proletarianization of agriculture laborers and ex-landlords.
- **Embourgeoisement**- upward mobility of intermediate class peasantry i.e. emergence of new landlords as observed in Punjab, Haryana after Green Revolution.
- **According to P.C Joshi (1971)** summarized changes in agrarian social system post-independence period
 - ▶ Feudal and exploitative lease agreements.
 - ▶ New commercial based peasant class emerged.
 - ▶ Decline of old landlords and emergence of new class of rich peasantry.
 - ▶ Depeasantisation of small and marginal farmers.

Ashok rudra: Agricultural development brought **Polarity in society** i.e. class of big landowners and class of agriculture laborer.

Yogendra Singh observes that Feudal Character still persist in agriculture system:

- **Failure of land reforms**- No social transformation in class structure.
- Income gap between rich and poor peasantry widened.
- Capitalist tenancy agreements reflects feudalistic tenancies.
- Increased class inequalities, giving rise to tension in class structure.

A.R. Desai- process of development created setting where large number of people belonging to various categories of poor became poorer as they caught in growing market relation and losing out old securities of social relations.

A.K. Vasari- Incompatibility between ecological conditions and modern agricultural practices as main reason behind suicide.

Thus agrarian relations in Indian villages are changing due to various factors leading to increased inequalities and tensions.

INDIAN PEASANTRY

Peasant as defined by Eric Wolf is small scale producer whose **concern is subsistence, not investment.**

Peasantry or Agrarianism is **set of values** which hold that **agriculture is most natural and desirable vocation** and forms the ideal place to live.

Peasant society as defined by various scholars

A.L. Kroeber, through his 'Anthropology' is credited to introduce peasant term to anthropology. He defined it as 'part societies' with part cultures, definitely rural, yet live in relation to a market town. He recognized their dependence for technological, political, economic spheres on larger society.

George Foster too calls them as 'half society' other half being urban upper class.

Raymond Firth, however, includes other non-agricultural persons also in peasant society as they share social life and values of cultivators being part of same social system.

Robert Redfield, aligning with isolationist approach of Kroeber and wolf, in his 'Peasant society and Culture' (1956), places it between Folk and Urban societies.

He gave three main characters

- Highly reverent attitude towards land.
- Acceptance of agriculture as noblest, best and ideal job.
- Pronounced industrious attitude with firm belief in dignity of labor.

Thus, Redfield confined peasant term to small agriculturist who see agriculture as livelihood, not as a business for profit.

Redfield also proposes that their culture is not autonomous but part of wider civilization. Great and Little traditions interact within it also.

George Foster gave concept of 'traditional culture' which implies that peasant society are resistant to changes.

Shrine: 6 interrelated characteristics of peasantry

- Family farm- Major economic unit.
- A particular peasant way of life distinguished from urban life.
- Peasants are subordinated to non-peasant groups which leads to resistance from them.
- A specific social dynamics involving a cyclical change over generations ironing out differences.
- Influence of outside bodies like agribusiness, market etc. on peasant.

Other features

- Immediate consumption- lack of differed gratification
- Ceremonialism
- Contact and exchange with urban people

- Resistant to change
- Joint family- primary unit of social organization
- Land- main source of livelihood
- Distinct culture
- Domination by outsiders
- Subsistence cultivation
- Owners/Tenants
- Face to face relation
- Primitive technology
- Low production
- Agriculture is a way of life, not an enterprise

Other member of peasant society

- Cultivators
- Traders
- Laborers
- Artisans

All these have economic relations with peasants.

Concepts and approaches used by anthropologists for peasant in India (1990)

(a) F.G. Bailey, based on his fieldwork in Odisha, draw different conclusion which is contrary to Redfield's observation.

He admits to 'cognitive map' of peasantry given by redfield about ethos, worldview, beliefs and values of peasant of particular village but he rejects its universality.

He made two new conclusions:

- Peasants were distrustful of outsiders and look them as enemies.
- Bailey rejects view of rural life of 'certainty and dependability'.

(b) Andre beteille in his 'Social framework of Agriculture' (1974), points out limitations of Redfield's concept in complex Indian agrarian system. He cites example of Brahmin peasants of Agraharam (Srirampur) who hold rent free land but do not cultivate.

- **Beteille** proposes to include categories of persons like agrarian workers who are associated with agrarian work, into definition of peasant society.
- He also took 'Substantivist framework' that economic activity in agrarian society needs to be understood in social framework.

(c) B.B Choudhary criticized redfield's method of comparison of peasant society with that of primitive community and urban society. He questions universality of 'way of life' and 'world view' of peasants as explained by redfield.

(d) Surjit Sinha based on redfield's concepts explains process of change from the isolated, homogenous and unstratified tribal society to caste and peasant society. (Rajputisation)

(e) J.S. Bhandari coined term '**Emergent Peasant**' for tribe which practices settled cultivation without being involved in 'Great Tradition' of wider society.

(f) Goswami (1978) calls them "proto-peasants".

Thus as **L.P. Vidyarthi** says, Redfield provided theoretical and methodological direction towards understanding the folk and peasant communities in India as dimension of Indian Civilization.

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON INDIAN VILLAGES

Globalization is defined as intensification of worldwide social relations linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.

Indian villages which are characterized by triangle of joint family, Caste/Jati system and subsistence economy are both positively and negatively affected by various factors and forces of globalization.

Factors and Forces of Globalization

- Market economy, monetization, mechanization and technological innovations.
- Modernization and westernization, secularization
- Liberalization of economy and capitalistic economy.
- Urbanization and industrialization
- Expanding means of transportation and communication.
- Constitutional provisions, land reforms
- Emergence of associations

Major Changes/Impact

(a) Nature of Agriculture

- More emphasis on cash crops and market oriented agriculture
- Area under cultivation increased but area under food crop decreased causing threat to food security (M. S. Swaminathan)
- Diversification of agricultural activities - poultry, fishery, piggery etc.
- Modernization of agriculture practices - HYV of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc.
- Increased suicidal tendencies (A. K. Vasari) due to increased agricultural input cost and climatic changes in rainfall.

Case study: village study on Patidar in 2013 by D. Tilche: He observed that with green revolution, entrepreneurship, education and especially emigration by different communities for economic opportunities, agriculture is losing its sheen in village.

(b) Feminization of Agriculture

With male selective migration, there is increasing trend of female participation in agriculture as pointed out by Labor studies by **Indian Statistical Institute**.

(c) Social Organization of Agriculture

- Increase in number of owners-cultivators and decrease in tenants-laborers due to land reforms.
- Polarization of pleasant into rich land owning class and poor land less laborers.
- Jajmani system is diminishing as basis of rural economy.

Case study: Olter and Simpson in Bisipara village study in Odisha found disintegration of jajmani system which was similar observation made by F.G. Bailey in 1950's in same village.

(d) Changes in Economy Overall

- Migration of agricultural workers to other states, rural to urban migration.
- Products of rural based craftsmen and women organization superseded by market based imported goods.
- Consumption oriented lifestyle
- Demand for urban machine produced items increased which has become status symbol.

Study: A.K. Vasari

- WTO pressure on curbing subsidies to agricultural sector
- Slow rise in MSP.

These two factors with threat of Climate Change, land owning class who is at core of village system is becoming marginal farmer and bound to commit suicide.

(e) Changes in caste system:

Abolition of untouchability, occupation free caste structure, occupational mobility, exogamy etc.

Rama Rao Gogineni, Shridhar Sharma in their recent Article 'Globalisation of Culture: Impact on indian psyche' (2018) observes change of caste roles, caste boundaries and interaction of flexibility therein.

(f) Family system:

- Joint to Nuclear because of migration of young generation to urban areas.
- As shown by Census 2011, Joint Family is rapidly disintegrating into nuclear.

K.M. Kapadia study on Nevsari town in Gujarat in which impact on Joint Family depends upon social composition of village.

(g) Changes in Rural Attitude:

- Consumerism, individualism and decreasing rural Cohesiveness, decreasing face to face interaction.

(h) Mass Media:

- Positive-Awareness about worldwide happenings such as schemes, MSP etc.

(i) Marriage system:

- Becoming individual affairs instead of group affairs.

(j) Kinship:

- Non-Kin relations becoming more important.

Thus Globalization has caused shift from **Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft** (communal sense of belonging to self-interest) in Indian villages.

IMPACT OF MARKET ECONOMY ON INDIAN VILLAGES

Villages are basic units of Indian Social structure. As Andre Beteille in his '**Social Structure of Agriculture**' (1974) points out, the economic system is interwoven with other social institutions in villages.

Phases of economy in Indian villages



Indian villages are in a state of flux. Change is coming into all the areas in villagers' lives. Agriculture and allied activities are the basis of village economy and they require the active participation of all caste groups.

- Urbanization, industrialization and democratization are breaking up the traditional structure of Indian villages in caste, economy and political organization etc.
- There has been an **economic change** in village life from the expansion and spread of the market economy. The economic frontier has some important consequences on village organization. It is seen in several studies that money economy has permitted some castes to move quickly up the status ladder and forced traditional high caste to move downwards.
- The spread of money and new opportunities tend to reduce the role of large kinship and place more emphasis on smaller familial units.
- Production of cash crops have reduces the nutritive value of food and reduces the connection between the farmer and his land. There is over exploitation of natural resources, resource disagreement and pressure politics to secure use of resources all that have affected social organization of a village.
- The market economy has brought changes in other ways like opening up consumer product markets in rural areas, service provision and other symbols of modernity that may not require land and hence are open to more people. This changes the social equation within the villages. The village organization is thus undergoing metamorphosis in the wake of its exposure to a highly competitive market economy.

A.R. Desai in his pioneer work has identified four major trends:

- Rapid transformation of agrarian society from subsistence economy to market economy.
- Introduction of modern technology.
- Abolition of intermediaries like Zamindars
- Emergence of associations and institutions having linkages with urban and national organization.

Case studies

- **A.K. Vasavi (1989)** - analyzing phenomenon of suicides among peasants points out that lack of compatibility between ecological specificity and commercial practices of agriculture in region is reason for agrarian distress.
- **Sandhya Rani in her "Globalization & Indian Women"** (2010) points out how introduction of market economy led to change in gender roles within rural family. Thus changes within family structure.
- **Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS) in 2013:** Impact of market forces on caste linkages and observed that these are weakening, but differential trend depending upon occupational structure of village.

INTERCASTE RELATIONSHIPS

Caste relationships and social interactions are very crucial for social structure in Indian villages. Caste interactions takes place in variety of forms:

Purity and pollution

Untouchability-

- Prohibition of contact with any particular caste.
- Creates strains in intercaste relations resulting in agitation by lower strata.
- **Example:** Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra.

Jajmani System

- It is system of reciprocity where goods and services are exchanged between castes which creates interdependence.

W.H. Wiser in his 'The Hindu Jajmani System' (1936) argues that such interdependence leads to unity in community.

Patron Client Relation

M.N. Srinivas, referring to post British scenario argues that caste relations were patron Client relations.



FIG: PATRON CLIENT RELATION

Patterns of Changing

(a) Dilution of Occupational rigidity

- Upper castes also entering in so called impure jobs.
- Example:** footwear shops in shopping malls.

(b) Intercaste marriages

- Showing dilution.
- But, resulting in strained relationships between castes.

(c) Caste politics

- Lower castes getting dominance over to numerical strength and dilution of subordination-dominance relationship.

(d) Emergence of new dominant castes

- Changing caste equations in society.

(e) Changing settlement patterns

- Flat culture in urban areas which is eliminating social segregation.

(f) Dilution of 'unity-Reciprocity'

- F.G. bailey stresses on coercive aspect of caste relationship which shows coercion by dominant caste controls intercaste interactions.

Case studies

Satnamis of Chattisgarh

Scarcity of labor → Chamars → entered in cultivation class → rise in hierarchy

Social mobility envisaged by Ghasi Das

Mahars of Maharashtra

- Adopted wankar sect but failed to upward mobility
- Adopted Lingayat Sect but failed to upward mobility
- After Muslim invasion adopted Islam but failed to upward mobility
- Later adopted Christianity but failed to upward mobility
- Finally in 1956, adopted Buddhism and they got rid of caste hierarchy.
- But tensions increased with Hindus.
- Dalit Panther Movement.

Thus, caste system and caste relationships from time to time have undergone changes. Not one, but many factors were responsible for it. Thus, we can say that intercaste relationship is evolving with evolution of social structure in India.
