

**UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF  
SALEMPUR VILLAGE IN RAJASTHAN: A COUNTER  
HEGEMONIC NARRATIVE**

*Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
For the award of the degree of*

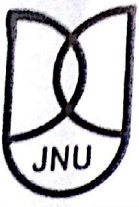
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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled “Understanding the Social Structure of Salempur Village in Rajasthan : A Counter Hegemonic Narrative” submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for the awards of the degree Doctor of Philosophy, embodies original research work done by myself and has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AAJ	Anyan Antoyadaya Yojna
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwifery as health workers
APL	Above Poverty Line
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
BJP	Bhartiya Janta Party
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
BSNL	Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited
CBO	Community Based Organization
CDP	Community Development Project
CHS	Cooperative Housing Society
CIS	Contribution to Indian Sociology
CSSS	Centre for the Study of Social System
EIC	East India Company
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HDI	Human Development Index

HDR	Human Development Report
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Schemes
IT	Information Technology
MBBS	Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery
MANREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NGO	Non Government Organizations
NHRM	National Rural Health Mission
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
OBC	Other Backward Class
PCI	Per-Capita Income
PDS	Public Distribution System
PHC	Primary Health Centre
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RWA	Residents Welfare Association
SC	Schedule Caste

SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SHG	Self Help Group
ST	Schedule Tribe
SBC	Special Backward Class

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# Chapter I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Introduction

This study makes an attempt to capture the perception of Bairwa (Dalits) community about a village in India, particularly Salempur Village of Karauli District in the state of Rajasthan. It aims to address primarily questions such as, what does village means to Dalits in contemporary Rajasthan particularly the Salempur Village of Karauli District. What is the exact location of the Bairwa (Dalit) settlement in today's villages? We would like to identify the location of the Bairwa (Dalit) settlement area because there is an established notion that the localities of the Dalits are in the south of the main village. Through this study the researcher also attempts to understand and analyze the role of different institutions functioning within the village. As we know that every society is composed of different institutions such as family, marriage, kinship, religion, caste, class, economy and polity, without understanding these institutions, we cannot imagine the society. Therefore, to understand the perception of Bairwa (Dalits) about their village, we would also try to understand the existing nature of aforesaid institutions in the present study. Whether Dalits have access to these formal institutions or these institutions are far away from them? This study also attempts to find out the reasons behind it.

In contemporary society, apart from informal institutions, formal institutions like Village Government Offices, Schools, ANM (Auxilliary Nurse Midwifery as health workers), NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) and few others also operate. This study tries to find out the impact of these institutions in the lives of People of the village as a whole and Bairwa community in particular. The study would also like to

understand that in the times of crisis who comes to rescue to the Bairwas in the village. This study would also record the changes in the lives of the Bairwa community. In the end we would like to demonstrate whether it is changes or causticity through few Case Studies of male and female members of Bairwa community.

## **1.2. Indian Villages and different Perspectives**

Indian Village has been enjoying an important place as the unit of Indian social structure. India can rightly be called a land of villages or the Indian villages are the soul of India. According to Census of 2011, out of 121.02 Crore 83.3 Crore population lives in the rural areas which constitute around 68.84 percent of the total population. The estimated number of villages are around 640,867 and the size of the villages varies 236,004 Indian villages have population less than 500, while around 4000 villages have population 1000 or more than thousand. Moreover, joint family, caste system, agriculture as the main occupation, fatalism, primary relation or face to face relations, simple livelihood, isolation and self-sufficiency are the basic characteristics of Indian villages. The villages in India were self-contained, isolated and self-sufficient units in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although, this concept has been contused.

The meaning and understanding of the word ‘village’ varies from person to person. For example, village has not the same meaning for people of city or village, or even for the upper caste persons or lower caste persons. An Indian village is the mirror of the India’s past and present. The nation’s future steps depend on the condition of the villages. We have certain fundamental and pivotal questions to find out about the village. What are the main characteristics of a village? Does it depend only on the number of houses or families only? Does it depend on the population figures? Does it depend on the ways acting and life style of the village people? Does it depend on the domination of occupation of the people? What is the social background of these groups of people?



The understanding of the concept of a village differs from country to country or person to person. For example some of them consider Village as assemble of the families who sharing the same habitation. On another hand the western social scientist defines "Village is an assemblage of houses larger than hamlet and Grama as an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation". Similarly Manu distinguishes among Village, town and the City-Grama, Pura and Nagara. Continuing, according to epics like Mahabharata the village was the fundamental unit of administrative and had as its head the Gramini who was its leader.

Kautilya gives a categorical definition of a village as those areas “consisting each of not less than a hundred families and of not more than five hundred families of agricultural people of an area”. Under the Gupta dynasty the lowest administrative unit was the village. In South India according to historians the largest administrative divisions was the Mandala which was subdivided into Valanadus or into Nadus and Kottams.

The concept of a village differs from country to country. However, there is a common notion of village as location where several families live together sharing the same habitation. Village has been conceptualized differently by various sociologists and anthropologists. Powell tried to analyze the concept of village and he identified two types of villages in India the Joint and the Ryotwari, and he believed that the former type of village had its roots in Aryan social forms and the latter in the Dravidian (Powell; 1892:43).

Further, Dumont identified three broad meanings of the village community, first is village as a political society; second, the village as a body of co-owners of the soil; and third, the village as an emblem of traditional economy and polity. He also deals with other issues, such as village not as a society of equals but as a community of non-equals and it could form a unity based on certain given principles, and these principles

are comprised the hierarchical character of the caste system which was the mainstay of the village social structure (Dumont: 1966: 71).

Cohn (1961) emphasizes on the importance of identity and self-perception to understand the history and reality of a community. He tries to understand how the shared life of people in the same village is a product of several events such as mythical and historical sacred traditions and reminiscence and both of these rooted in the perception of themselves and others. The village is perceived as having plural faces and is a different reality for different people. Similarly, Maine (1990) argued village as the least destructible institution of Indian society. It was clan based and patriarchal. Every villager had a share in the village land and its produce.

Srinivas (1955) argued that “the village is a territorial unit, the smallest, but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village communities. People, belonging to several different castes, are united by some common values and obligations in this unit but caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extend to a fairly wide geographical region” (Srinivas: 1955: 19).

Dube (1954) characterizes features of villages, first one village is a territorial as well as social, economic, and ritual unit and it is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of these settlements are reorganized because of their corporate identity. Sometimes the village acts as a unit. Second feature is that these settlements have a composite population comprising with number of groups belonging to different castes. Further Dube also said that caste is not self-sufficient and for it requires the services of other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and profession. Third feature is that the members of this local group are bound together by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations. These inter-personal and inter-group relations are governed by an established usage and social ethics in several spheres of village affairs. The norms of the community and its established usage are dealt by the village elders or by a village council. The village council of the village has the final

authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions (Dube: 1954:3-5).

Jodhka (2012) delineates that the rural society represent the tradition, it is small in size and its social, economic and political institutions are very simple. Rural economic life is always seen as being organized around agriculture and it also being a source of livelihood. For a peasant agriculture is the way of life and the plot of land that the peasant cultivates along with the members of his family gives him a source of livelihood, sense of identity and belonging. It also connects him to the community and past generations of his kin group. The smaller size of the settlement makes it possible for rural residents to know each other intimately and remember the past histories of every household (Jodhka; 2012: 44). Further, he argues that the village as a convenient entry point for understanding the traditional Indian society and it is also a signifier of the authentic native life, a social and cultural unit uncorrupted by outside influence (Ibid).

On the above basis, we can argue that there are three types of views on Indian villages. One is the views and writings of colonial administrators who have seen the village from their own perspective that is land pattern and revenue collections. The second version on Indian villages comes from European and American social anthropologists and sociologist. Apart from self-sufficiency, village has been analyzed from unity and interdependence perspective. The third perspective on Indian village come from Indian sociologists and social anthropologist which also depicts the overriding presence of unity, interdependence and social solidarity as the dominant value system in Indian villages.

That is why Vivek Kumar (2014:25) demands for a different perspective to understand the social realities of Indian society, by bringing out the relevance of Ambedkar. Ambedkar's views on Indian villages are totally different from the established sociologists and social anthropologists. He quotes the idea of Ambedkar (1989) that 'the Hindu village is a working

plant of the Hindu social order and one can see social order in full swing. He also said that the Indian village is not a single unit, but it consists with the several castes. Further he also argued that the population of the village is divided into two sections, touchable and untouchables and the touchable have a code which followed by untouchables. This code lays down the acts of omission and commission which the touchable treat as offences’.

Another important point is that the punishment for the individual offences is always collective. The whole community of untouchables is punished, though the offence has been committed by an individual. The untouchables always remain on the mercy of the touchable for food in India. There is no place for democracy and there is no room for equality, liberty and fraternity. Further Ambedkar also said that it is a republic; it is republic of the touchable, by the touchable and for the touchable. There is no rights for untouchables because they are outside the village republic and because they are outside the so-called republic so that they are outside the Hindu fourfold system' (Ambedkar; 1989: 19-26).

### **1.3. Statement of the Problem**

In the light of the above discussed perspectives on Indian villages, this study deals with the understanding of the social structure of Salempur Village of Karauli District of Rajasthan through the perception of Bairwa (Dalits). The meaning of the concept of village for the Dalits is the central problem analyzed in this study. To what extent is the village (Salempur) an isolable social unit? And to what extent is it changing in this respect? This study also deals with the analysis of informal and formal organization with reference to social, cultural, religious, economic organizations, local administration and political structure. As far as formal organizations are concerned, the role of NGOs (Non Government Organizations), schools and health workers are examined. In terms of informal organizations, we can observe the ritual practices at the village

level, nature of inter-caste relations within the village and some other general relations of the village to the wider community.

Basically, this study moves around the problem of understanding the structure of a village through the perspectives from below. It is known that meaning of a village is not similar for the Dalits and upper castes with reference to different spheres of life like economic organization, local administration system, ritual structure, accessibility of facilities in that particular village. As we know that some people have accept village as the functional, while on the other side some do not follow this aspect of the village. Similarly the meaning of the village may be differing within the same community people also, if yes then what are the factors behind of this type difference?

In the same vein, we would like to highlight how people still live under the influence of caste, rituals, status, norms, traditional occupations etc. Therefore the following questions are relevant in this regard. In what way, Dalits get influenced by the arrangements of formal and informal structures of the Indian society? What is the over-all perception of Dalits about the accessibility, functioning and influence of these institutions on their village in general and on the lives of the Dalits in particular? How do the Dalits negotiate with issues of exclusion, discrimination, Untouchability, atrocity etc? Have they formed any organization of their own to centre the exclusion faced by them for generations? Is there change in their occupation, and Jajmani relations? What is the level of navigation and education and government employment among them?

#### **1.4. Objectives of the Study**

The primary objective of this study is, understand 'village' through the perception of Bairwa (Dalits) in the 'Salempur' village of Karauli district, in the state of Rajasthan.

Another objective of this study is to know that the exact location of Bairwa (Dalits) within the village. It is important to do so because it has become an established notion that the Dalits are naturally forced to live outside the main village and mostly in the south of the village.

The study tries to understand the roles and status existing in the village. As there is socio, economic, political, educational, occupational changes in the village, this study would like to make up the changes in the roles and statuses in the lives of Bairwa (Dalits). And along with this, what do the Bairwa (Dalits) think about the other social groups about their roles and statuses would also be examined.

The study would like to record the nature of formal and informal structure both. The informal structure includes family, caste, Jajmani, relations, the occupational freedom, access of Dalits to other caste houses etc. And the formal structure would include the access of Schools, the Health Facilities (ANM, PHCs), Village Pradhan's Office, Police Station, or any other Government or Non-Government Organizations to the Dalits.

The study also contains the details about the occupation pattern, income sources and their respective contribution in household economy, asset base, expenditure pattern, status and practices of savings, sources of credit, indebtedness, repayment behaviour, etc.

The study also tried to find out the opportunities of financial interventions for planning a comprehensive business strategy to ensure certain degree of financial stability among the rural Dalit population.

The study also depicts light on the impact and involvement of the Dalits in the different State and Central Government schemes in several spheres particularly the Bairwa Community of the Salempur village. If they do not get profits of these schemes and explore the reasons behind it.

## **1.5. Conceptual Clarifications**

This study uses different theories and concepts to understand and analyse the facts and facets of the village. For doing so, we have used different concepts like Village itself, Dalits, Caste, Class, Social Exclusion, Social Structure, Social Formation, Social Stratification and Hierarchy etc. Therefore, for better understanding the terms and their effective usage in this study, we would at the outset define these concepts in brief and would elaborate them later.

### **1.5.1. Understanding Dalit**

The term 'Dalit' means 'oppressed' in Sanskrit and if we look at politically caste of India it is consider as 'untouchable'. Although, the term Dalit exist before it was dicted by Baba Saheb Ambedkar. It is the group of people exclude from the list of four fold Varna system and they kept in fifth Varna as 'Untouchable'. As, Kumar (2005) also argued that sociologically the term "Dalits has been used for ex-untouchables of Indian society who have faced the worst kind of social exclusion. The term social exclusion defined through the multi-dimensional process in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural process" (Kumar 2005:516).

Further Kumar also (2014) depicts the light on the structural location of the Dalits and the process of their social exclusion is results in the construction of unique consciousness of Dalits, which is depicted through their worldview, their orientation towards life and nature etc. This consciousness cuts across the boundaries of different castes found among the Dalits and cutting across the caste, regional and linguistic identities. Further he argued sociologically, the Dalits can be defined as social groups who have the characteristics like unique structural location in Indian society, face social exclusion on the basis of collective identity, suffer from cumulative social exclusion, long history of social exclusion,

and the construction of consciousness, which is anchored in their structural location, cumulative social exclusion and long history of social exclusion.

Further Kumar also tried to define the term 'Dalit' and he draw that "Dalits are different from Schedule Caste, Schedules Tribe (STs), women and poor persons belonging to caste Hindus" (Kumar 2014: 370). Thus we can say that Dalits as the group of people excluded from the society on the basis of social, economic, political and cultural spheres of the main stream society.

### **1.5.2. Understanding the Concept of Social Formation**

The concept 'social formation' as an entity constituted by the combined articulation of the three levels of the structure as such economic, political and ideological. The economic structure is constituted by various forces of production as well as the economic relations of production. The political structure is made up of the various institutions and practices which constitute the framework within which people try to gain and exercise power in relation to their own interests. The ideological structure is made up of various institutions and practices which constitute the framework within which people relate them to their conditions of existence in relation to their own sets of ideas which have praxiological implication and prescription (Marriot; 1955).

### **1.5.3. Understanding the Notion of Class**

This study uses the term class in the Marxian perspective. Thus to quote Lenin's formulation "classes are large groups of people distinguished by the place they occupy in an historically defined system of production, by their relations in the mode of production, by their role in the social organization, of labour and by the modes of obtaining and the importance of the share of the social wealth of which they dispose" (Gough: 1987: 1). Weber (1948) also argued that "class was determined by reward in the market-place, status cantered on the concept of social prestige and the



crucial variable behind the party in power. As it can be easily seen rewards, prestige and power can be hierarchical and measured along univariate axes and this is probably why Weber despaired that all changes were only superficial” (Weber 1948:120-5).

The concept of class denotes a category of people who occupy the same position in economic structure within the social formation. The position determined by their possession of the most important means of production in the villages that is land. Similarly Ghurye (1969) argued that class is a society, where status is determined by vocation and consequent income. A class has no standing or occasional council, to regulate the conduct and guide the morals of its members, apart from the laws of the community as a whole (Ghurye; 1969; 56). On the other hand Beteille (1969) defined class in the form of categories rather than groups. For him class is a category of persons occupying a specific position in the production system and the economy of the class system comprises with the relations among the different categories such as landowners, tenants and agricultural labourers” (Beteille; 1969; 4).

#### **1.5.4. Understanding the Meaning of Caste**

Different social scientists have defined and understood caste through their own vantage point. Accordingly caste can be analyzed as an endogamous group of people with a set of ritual practices which are adhered to in the main and which separates them from other castes. The caste of a person is determined by the birth (Kolenda; 1991). The term caste came to India with the Portuguese only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It had particular connotation and was developed by the Europeans to make the sense of the native population for their own-self (Dumont 1999).

Bougle (1971) argued that hierarchy, repulsion and hereditary specialization are the three important characteristics of the caste system. Further he also argued that the caste system divides the whole society into a large number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and they are connected together by three characteristics, first, separation in

matters of marriage and contact, whether direct or indirect food; second, division of labour, each group having their own specific occupation determined by birth in theory or by traditions, which departs their members within certain limits; and finally hierarchy is the most important factor, determined caste position in the Indian society, which ranks the relatively superior or inferior to one another. He also said that castes cannot be linked to occupations except in exceptional cases (Dumont: 1966: 21).

Further, the father of Indian Sociology, Ghurye (1969) discussed about the five features of the caste and on this basis he argued that caste system does not permit marriage with a person of another caste, nor to change from one profession or trade to another, nor for the same person to undertake more than one, except when he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of his dignity (Ghurye: 1969). According to him the most important features of caste are segmental division of society, hierarchy, civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different section, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and restriction on marriages (ibid).

Srinivas defined “caste as endogamous, hereditary and localized group and traditionally associated with an occupation, and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed by the notion of pollution and purity and generally maximum commensality occurs within in the caste” (Srinivas: 1962: 3).

Similarly, Beteille also defined caste system as a system of enduring groups whose mutual relations are governed by certain broad principle. Castes as enduring groups can be located with relative ease, since they are named and have fairly well defined boundaries. The principles govern their mutual relations (Beteille: 1969: 3-4).

Further Ambedkar (1936) argued that caste system is not a division of labour but the division of labourer and it is a hierarchy in which the division of labourers is graded one above the other (Ambedkar: 1936: 47).

On the other hand Kumar (2014) has argued that individuals of the rural areas do not have the same meaning of caste as defined by social scientists. They use the term Jati on the place of caste, in a generic sense. In the sense of the term 'Adam Jat' means human species. The term Jat is also used in denoting gender- Mard Jat or Aurat Jat (men and women). It is also used to denote the type of specific job or occupation which people practice.

#### **1.5.5. Defining Village**

Most of the scientist and social scientist defined village as the place has dominant occupation is agriculture. But beyond it village is the group of people reside with the feeling of cooperation and we feelings. Villagers have face to face relations and agriculture as the dominant occupation. Srinivas defines (1955) village is a heterogeneous system on the basis of the caste, occupation and residence areas. The village is a territorial unit, the smallest, but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village communities. People belonging to different castes, are united by some common values and obligations in this unit but caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region (Srinivas 1955: 1). Dube (1954) argued that 'Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways. Ambedkar (1948) also argued that the Indian village was not a single unit but it was divided into sets of populations that are touchable and untouchables. The touchable formed the major community and the untouchables a minor community. The touchable lived inside the village and the untouchables lived outside the village in separate quarters (Ambedkar: 1948: 21).

#### **1.5.6. What do we Mean by Social Structure**

The concept of social structure has been understood by number of sociologists and the social anthropologists from different vantage point.

Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, S.F. Nadel, Talcott Parsons etc, to name just a few, have all defined social structure from structural functional approach accordingly we can argue that the social structure is the order of social relationships, roles, status which constitute the apparent reality and are outside human mind. Further social structure is understood through the notion of system which was a construction and a logical explanatory device. Firth (1951) defined that “social structure is an analytical tool, designed to serve us in understanding how men behave in their social life. the essence of this concept is those social relations which seem to be of critical importance for the behaviour of members of the society, so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form” (Firth :1951).

#### **1.5.7. What do we Mean by Social Institutions**

As we know that society consists with the formal and informal institution. Sociology is the study of society. Institution is the basic unit of the sociology. It consists of various aspects of society which do not change immediately. Family, marriage, divorce, kinship, religion and economy are some of the major domains of society. As Fitcher said that institution as a relatively permanent structure of social pattern of roles and relations in which people are enact in certain sanctioned and unified ways for satisfying basic social needs. Actually social structure of a society has certain roles which regularise interactions among the members of the society. These roles and relations continue for longer span of time and they considered as social institutions of the society (Jha: 1991: 23).

#### **1.5.8. Defining Social Stratification**

The division of the society into classes or strata, which form a hierarchy of prestige and power, is an almost universal feature of social structure. Sociologists have commonly distinguished four main types of social stratification; slavery, estate, caste and social class and status. As we know Davis and Moore and Parsons consider positions and roles as the units of social stratification. Certain attributes are the basis of the

classification of roles and positions. Social classes, elites, status groups or castes are taken as units in the realist frame of analysis. The processes of social stratification are seen as changes in the differentiation, evaluation, ranking and rewarding patterns. Accretion, transformation and replacement are the consequences of the procession nature of social stratification.

According to Gupta (1991) social stratification means the differences that separate human beings on the grounds of the social, political, culture, economy or biology within the society (Gupta: 1991: 1). Similarly Beteille (1977) argued that social stratification is not satisfied with biological differences per se. But these biological differences must be socially amplified with respect to dress, food, occupation residence and mobility (Beteille: 1977: 4-9).

#### **1.5.9. Defining Social Exclusion**

According to Vivek Kumar (2014:105), social exclusion is a contextual concept and if we take dictionary meaning of the term 'exclusion' means to refuse to admit consider once we add 'social' it becomes a process. Accordingly Kumar (2014:105) argues that, "social exclusion can be defined as a process by which, certain collectively or group or individuals are declined access to social, economic and political rights by a dominant group or groups". Further, Kumar (2014) also substantiates it in the context of Indian society and social exclusion with special reference to vaguer/caste. Accordingly to him, the process of exclusion with specific reference to caste is predominantly based on ascribed features. It is based on birth. The exclusion is visible from the 'Purush Sukta' 10<sup>th</sup> Mandal theory of Rig Veda in which ex-untouchable (Dalits) have not been even mentioned. Once they were denied a place in Rig Veda they were also excluded from Ashrama and Dharma and in turn they were excluded from Purusartha and their predestination (Kumar 2014:106-7). These social orders virtually closed all the channels of mobility for Dalits (ibid: 108).

Following Indian social order has given Kumar (2014) six characteristics of social exclusion such as: social exclusion is structural, its collective, multidimensional, social exclusion is dynamics and has historicity, social exclusion has an agency and social exclusion extends to cultural spheres. Moreover, Kumar (2014) has tried to highlighted social, political, economic, religious and educational social exclusion. In the same vein he has tried to highlight four distinct types of social exclusion. First is the one' absence from Rig Veda, second, practice of Untouchability, third, preparation of atrocities and fourth performance of hazardous occupation.

**Table No. 1.1**

**Representation of Social Exclusion of Dalits**

Sr. No	Types of Exclusions	Nature of exclusions
1.	Social Exclusion	a. denial of existence in the RigVeda b. no reference in the Varna scheme c. no right to sacred thread d. exclusion from ashrams e. no prescription of dharma f. exclusion from Purushratha g. exclusion from predestination
	Practices of Untouchability	a. residential exclusion (in the south of the village)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>b. denial of acceptance and access of the water</li> <li>c. denial accepting the food</li> <li>d. restriction on sitting together</li> <li>e. restricting on celebrating together</li> <li>f. denial of entry into house</li> <li>g. denial of entry into kitchen</li> <li>h. denial of entry into temple</li> </ul>
	Atrocities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. rape of Dalit women (a caste act)</li> <li>b. murder of a Dalit</li> <li>c. grievous injury</li> <li>d. arson/loot</li> <li>e. ridiculed in society and scared tests</li> <li>f. denial of wearing of clothes/shoe/turban etc similar to upper caste</li> </ul>
	Hazardous/Stigmatized	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. cleaning human excreta</li> </ul>

	Occupation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>b. scavenging /cleaning manholes</li> <li>c. midwifery role by Dalit women</li> <li>d. removing carcasses</li> <li>e. grave digging/burning/ drum beating at the time of death</li> <li>f. piggery/ butchery/toddy tapping</li> <li>g. cleaning of soiled clothes</li> <li>h. denial of taking out marriage and funeral processions</li> </ul>
2.	Political Exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. denial of participation in election process</li> <li>b. denial of participation in the decision making process</li> </ul>
3.	Religious Exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. exclusion from different structure of religion</li> <li>b. use of legitimacy of religion for exclusion</li> </ul>
4.	Economic Exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. denial of freedom of occupation</li> <li>b. denial access to resources</li> </ul>



5.	Educational Exclusion	a. exclusion from the ownership of educational centres b. exclusion from becoming knowledge seeker c. exclusion from becoming knowledge giver d. exclusion from curriculum
6.	Enemy within	a. oppressors of the same colour b. oppressor of same religion

Source: Kumar (2014:112-113)

## 1.6. Review of Literature

There are so many studies related to village since 1950s in India. There are various sociologists and social anthropologists who have done village studies in India on their own point of view. For instance Dube (1955), Srinivas (1955, 1962), Beteille (1966), Mukherjee (1969), Gough (1981), Bailey (1966, 1980), Sharma (1981), Chakravati (2000), and Anitha (2000), Madan (2002), Berman (2006, 2007, 2009), Brass (2003), Nikita Sud study of Gujarat (2007), Oommen (2000, 2005), Jodhka (2012), Prem Chaudhary (2014). Some of the tribal studies for example Updhaya (2005), Rao (2005), Das (2007) etc. and they have conceptualized village according to their point of view.

So we will use these concepts and approaches to understand the reality of Indian villages through the perception of Dalits. Having defined various concepts to be used in the study we would like to review the existing

literature in the sphere of village studies. This would give us the counters and issues dealt by different authors.

Early studies on the village had focused on the land system and scholars during this period tried to define the concept of village through the help of land or revenue system. Powell and Dumont tried to define the village with the help of the concept of land. As we know that the whole village society moves around the agriculture system, in which there are many instrument used such as land, capital labour and technology, these two authors tried to locate land as the prime factor in the village society.

Powell (1892) asserts that village society is the culmination of the empirical study of the social structure of rural India. He tries to trace the general effectiveness of the land tenure legislations in terms of the collection of the revenue. Powell distinguished village in the form of two types, one is called 'Rayatwari' or 'non –landlord' and landlord or joint village. In the first type of village the cultivators do not have right as a joint or corporate body to the whole estate. The land is divided amongst them and each man owns his own holding which he has bought, inherits and cleared from the jungle. The holders are not jointly responsible to the state for revenue or other obligations (1892, vol.1 pp. 107).

The other type of the village is termed a landlord or joint village. In these villages there is a joint body probably descended from a single head or single family which has pretensions to be higher caste and superior title to the tenants who live on the state. Those who live and work in the village do so only by permission from the joint land holding body (Ibid).

Further Dumont (1966) observed that "The village consists of a body of co-shares of the land and its produce. Everyone consider as the dominant land holding group in the village. This group made all decisions relevant to the village, social and economic. The decisions for and by the village are made in council or the Panchayat. The economy of the village is self-sufficient both in producing what is required and thus needing little from the outside. That means it has most of the crafts and services necessary

for the functioning of the village economy. The village is relatively unconnected to other village or other higher levels in the political system except that taxes are extracted by the government from the village" (Dumont 1966: 71).

Further the concept of village has been defined through the concept of social structure, in which different concepts or institutions are included. For instance, concepts like caste, class, kinship etc have been included in the book 'Untouchability in India' (2006). The authors have tried to document the practices of Untouchability in contemporary rural India. They emphasize that the concept of Untouchability is rooted in economic and political inequality and reproduced by the ideology of caste hierarchy. They mentioned that Dalits who try to assert their rights face the risk of social and economic boycott and even physical intimidation, humiliation and beating up (Thorat et.al 2006: 232).

Similarly Ramaswamy (Periyar) argued that, "village means the dominance of a single wealthy person controlling the rest of the people, and exploiting the villagers. He surrenders the entire village to the town people. Think of it, what else is the condition of the village? What else can we see there, except garbage dump, stench of toilet, any savage, poverty ridden hovel, personifications of disease and the destructive dance of stupidity and superstitions" (Speech of Periyar cited in G. Aloysius, 2013:52).

The fundamental argument is that in Indian villages, there are no such democratic institutions; due to that many problems exist in them. Periyar further says that village reconstruction is a fraud idea where nothing will happen. In rural India, Dalits are often powerless economically, socially, ritually and politically. Quoting Ambedkar (Thorat et al. 2006:166) argued that he had said that in village untouchables have to serve or submit. If someone dares to resist, the entire community becomes the target of punitive action, including economic ostracism and that is what

Dalits continue to be forced to undertake and demeaning tasks in rural India.

Ambedkar (1989) argued about the social structure of a Hindu village that the Indian village was not a single unit but it was divided into sets of populations that are touchable and untouchables. The touchable formed the major community and the untouchables a minor community. The touchable lived inside the village and the untouchables lived outside the village in separate quarters (Ambedkar 1948; 21). Further Ambedkar also talked about the offence and punishment of the village and said that the punishment is collective in the society whether the offence committed by an individual. He also depicts light on the code of conduct village made by the touchable and has to follow untouchables of the village. The untouchables have to live on the mercy of the touchable for food. There is no place for democracy and no room for equality, liberty and fraternity. But it is republic of the touchable, by the touchable and the touchable. The untouchables have no right because they are outsider the village republic and because they are outside the so-called republic they are outside the Hindu fold' (Ambedkar; 1989: 19-26).

Gough (1981) highlighted two types of village structure in South India. The most prevalent is the 'mirasi' village, where the land is owned in small number of patrilineal joint families. The structure of a 'mirasi' village varies according to Brahman or a non-Brahman village. In the Brahman village, the land is owned by the several families of a Brahman street. Sometimes the small land of piece is leased to landless families of non Brahman streets; these are Ahambadiyas, Padayachis, Konar, Muppanar or Vanniyar. Other land retained by the landlords is cultivated directly by labourers from an Adi-Dravida Street situated at some distance from the rest of the village. In the Non-Brahman village, the land is owned by joint families of a street of Non-Brahman usually of one of the higher non Brahman castes of velar or Kollar. Some land may be then leased to other, lower castes Non-Brahman, or more frequently cultivated directly with the aid of Adi-Dravida servants (Gough; 1981: 56-60).

Oommen (1984) has tried to evolve the definition of the term 'village community' through his manuscripts 'Social Structure and Politics Studies in Independent India' (1984). And try to make distinction between micro and macro studies, in which he said that micro studies concentrate on village, caste whereas macro studies deals with urban communities. In this he studies the four villages of Rajasthan and tries to understand the type of leader the community prefers. In other words it is necessary to understand the community image of ideal leadership, the leadership which people are willing to follow. These villages have leadership which exists in contemporary rural India and to measure the gap between the ideal and actual leadership pattern. He attempts to understand the nature of power structure and its relationship to common characteristics. One of the another study (1990) 'Protest and Change' try to find out the sources of deprivation of Dalit's of India and these are low ritual status, appalling poverty and powerlessness. Due to deprivation the Dalits protest in India first crystallized against socio-cultural oppression particularly Untouchability.

Srinivas (1962) argued that Village community is the most celebrated category of Indian society and for anthropologist the villages are valuable observation-centres to study the problems occurring in many parts of India. First of all an anthropologist prepare hypothesis and make a questionnaire, then goes to the village for a year or more than this, not only collect information about curious and dying customs and beliefs, but also to study a theoretical sociological problem. By the help of this process he/she can contribute to the growing body of theoretical knowledge about the nature of human societies (Srinivas, 1962:134).

Mandlebaum tried to define village through the concept of caste or Jati. Mandlebaum argued that village exists on solidarity. A Jati cannot stand alone. Its people must cooperate with people of the other Jatis and they commonly compete with some of them for power and status. The main locale of the both cooperation and competition is the village. The groups involved are primarily families and Jatis groups of the same village, rather

than whole Jatis of a region. A village is far more than just a collection of houses, lanes and fields. For a villager it is a prime social reality, for the observer it is a principal unit for the understanding of the society.

Marriot (1955) in her famous essays on 'Multiple Reference in Indian Caste System' delineates the different levels at which the aspects of the caste system become salient. At the level of the village what is the interaction between Jatis, because it is these groups or categories which predominate the consciousness of the local people. In a closed rural society one's Jati position is known on a very intimate basis. Where family backgrounds and histories are common folk knowledge, local caste customs inhibit as well as condition one's style of life. There is not much scope for the parvenu, nor is there much point in trying to wear a Jati persona that is not traditionally one's own.

Beteille (1969) discussed about the concept of caste, class and power within the village and tried to locate the relation between a single village and the wider social system through the example of the relations between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidians, relations between landowners, tenants and agricultural labourers. These relations are governed by norms and values which have a certain generality. Some of the rules of the village governing different section people apply to the state as a whole. Social relations overflow the boundary of the village easily and extensively. The ties of kinship and affinity link members of every caste to people in other villages or towns. Many of the members of the older families and lineage have become scattered. But they continue to retain some contact with those who have stayed behind in the village.

Bailey's 'Caste and the Economic Frontier' and Epstein's 'Economic Development and Social Change in South India' are the two village studies that focus on social change in village. Bailey (1952) studied an Oriya hill village 'Bisipara' and depicted on themes such as, composition of the village, economic activities of the village people, unity of the village etc. He looks at the caste system in a village in Orissa under a new

economy. The new frontiers are economic, political and administrative. Transfer of the land from the ex-landowners is a significant fact which makes land a market commodity and other occupations which were tried with landlordism also became part of a market situation. He also gave details about new economy, land transactions, services and trade and said that the mercantile economy has impinged on the system of agriculture, because those who profited as merchants, traders and earners of salaries invested their money of land.

Similarly Epstein (1962) also emphasizes on the social change, but from a comparative perspective. The main argument of his study is that a structural innovation consolidates village economy, but it restricts social change, namely migration, contracts, education and politicization etc. They both also focus on the changes in the traditional social structure and hierarchy in the village community. Marriot (1955) also depicts the process of social change in his study of KishenGarhi village in Uttar Pradesh. In her paper entitled 'Technological Change in Over developed Rural Areas' and she has shown that villagers in KishenGarhi in Uttar Pradesh have not opposed all change, but on the contrary, have accepted new crops and new techniques of cultivation.

Similarly Srinivas (1960) tried to define social change in the society with the help of the concept of Sanskritization. According to him society is divided into two groups or strata in which the lower castes follow the upper castes and tried to occupy the higher status in the strata of the society. During this process the lower caste of the society follow the ritual practices and lifestyle of the upper caste. This process is known as Sanskritization. But sometimes it can be happened that the upper castes also acquire the traditions of the lower castes. It could not be achieved only through a ritual and lifestyle imitation and had to be also negotiated with the local power structure. This can be possible by the help of two reasons, first such mobility had the potential of threatening its own ambition if not position. Second it could result in a chain reaction which

could then lead to the suspension of the flow and services and goods from dependent castes.

Villages have segregated settlements of different castes. That means in the village each caste has its separate settlements. It is in this context Kumar (2014) has argued that most of the villages have segregated settlements based on the names of specific Jatis or Varnas. For instance, the geographical space, in the village, where Chammars live will be known as Chamarauti, Chamartolia or Chamakat, etc. Similarly the part of the village where Brahmins and Thakurs live is terms as Bamnauti and Thakuraiah respectively. In the same vein Dhobi, Pasi and Ahir localities are called as Dhubiana, Pasiana and Ahirana respectively. But there is no sociologist has written or analysed the identities of the localities where different Jatis live (Kumar; 2014).

Village is a heterogeneous in terms of caste, occupation and residential pattern. On this point Dumont, Powell, Srinivas and Bailey to name just a few analyze and describe the village on the basis of the division of the village society according to the above criteria. For example Bailey (1952) discussed, there are six streets of the village Kumbarasai, Sudosai, Pasonai, Sundisai, Khodalsai and Hatopodera. In this village the separate street is made for each caste, with the caution that the lower caste street is not nearby the upper caste street.

Srinivas (1955) had argued that village is a heterogeneous system in which some are new comers; some have been here for generations, some are Adivasis some are Oriyas. There are high castes, low castes, outcastes and some Adivasis families altogether outside the caste system. There are craftsmen, middlemen and cultivators. Traders and shopkeepers both compete with one another and with their customers. There are rich and poor. The unity of the village is seen during the time of festivals and ceremonies and occasions when people of the different castes do their own works (Srinivas 1955 & Bailey 1969).



Culture is one of the most important factors, which plays an important role to define the village in India. Dube (1955) argued that unity and diversity as the general features of the village. Nevertheless he argued that Indian village communities have the common features all over the Indian sub-continent. The village settlements as a unit of social organization, represents solidarity between different kin, caste, and the class. Each village is a distinct entity and in which different castes and communities inhabiting as cooperative and their economic, social and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by accepted rules, regulations, traditions, mores, norms and conventions. He also said that village community life is characterized by economic, social and ritual co-operation existing between different castes. Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions inside the settlement, people of the village can and do face the outside world as an organized compact whole (Dube: 1955:17-19).

Further Dube's also studied Telengana village and throw light on the structure of the village as the village constructed on co-operative and communitarian terms and underlined its interdependence and unity. He said that the village community is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and inter-family co-operation and the social system enjoys co-operation between a number of castes in the field of economics and rituals. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on the traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed.

## **1.7. Theoretical Framework**

The concept of 'Village' has been understood through different perspectives, on their own vantage point. These are Functionalist, Marxist and Dalit perspective as the main perspectives to understand Indian village. But this study broadly focuses on the Dalit perspective to

understand the perception social structure of the village among the Dalits of Rajasthan.

### **1.7.1. Structural Functionalist Approach**

The structural functionalist approach defines village through different institutions like family, social order, relationships, marriage, religion, caste, class etc. Further, according to this approach every institution has its own function and its function effect on the other institution as well. Another aspect of functional approach is that it observes institution in relation to one another. That means the approach suggests that social intuitions cannot be analyzed and understood independently on their own. So, if we study the village from this perspective, then we need to focus on every structure of the village in relation to each other. So we can argue that the approach of the functionalist emphasizes the holistic study of a system. Here the village is a system. M.N. Srinivas and Andre Batielle are the exponents of this approach.

### **1.7.2. Marxist Approach**

The Marxist approach focuses on division of village on the basis of ownership of means of production (land) and the landless labourers. The land owners are called as landlords who have most of the lands of the village. The other group is called as share cropper or landless labourer. Both these sections are dependent on the landlord who exploits both these classes. D.P. Mukherjee and Irfan Habib have under taken village studies from this perspective.

### **1.7.3. Ambedkarian Perspective**

Dalit perspective can be called as third approach to study Indian villages. This approach considers village as the exploitative site from different dimensions like caste, gender, religion and occupation. Ambedkar can be called as the pioneer of this approach. This approach saw the Indian civilization as being a Hindu civilization. Most importantly Ambedkar

saw Dalits as not being part of this Hindu society. However, according to him, “the structure of village settlements reflected the basic tenet of Hindu civilization. Quite like the Hindu civilization, village too was divided. The Hindu society insists on segregation of the untouchables. The Hindu will not live in the quarters of the untouchables and will not allow the untouchables to live inside Hindu quarters. It is not a case of social separation or a mere stoppage of social intercourse for a temporary period. It is a case of territorial segregation and of a sanitation putting the impure people inside the barbed wire into a sort of a cage. Every Hindu village has a ghetto. The Hindu population lives in the village and the untouchable live in the ghetto” (Ambedkar 1948: 21-22). That is why Ambedkar called village as a development of ignorance and very anti-thesis of democracy.

## **1.8. Methodology**

The primary data for the study has been collected from the field work conducted in the Salempur Village of Karauli district of Rajasthan. The primary data has been extracted by using the methods of survey, case studies, and observation techniques of data collection. A total number of 220 Dalit households were surveyed and at least one member of each household was interviewed in most cases of the family. Enquiry was made to sketch details about the number of family members, their marital status, gender, education status, age, occupation, type of house, availability of kitchen, types of kitchen, water sources, entertainment sources, current power, land ownership, irrigation system, what they produced in their land, and did they get profit from the production or not. Thus it includes details of the socio-economic aspect of the each household.

For collecting primary data from the field, the researcher used an interview schedule which contains both open and closed ended questions. Though the questions are formulated in English and it was translated into local language during the interview. The researcher does not limit herself

to this method alone, but also had stepped outside the structured interview schedule to probe and cross question in order to clarify responses. Simultaneously, this study also uses the method of observation (participant and non-participant) to collect the further data. The researcher also participated in the everyday life practices of the village to the extent that is possible for her to do.

The method of observation and case study helped the researcher a lot, particularly with respect to the socio-cultural practices of the villagers, in gathering historical information about the village. The researcher also depended on the memories of the elders of the village. For this the researcher has divided respondents into three age categories such as 21-40, 41-60 and above 60 years old. By this the researcher capable to extract ideas from different categories people about the village, so that she/he understood the changes occurs in the society or particularly in the proposed study of village.

The researcher also used the case studies to get the information about the Bairwa (Dalits) of the village. The case study is a descriptive record of an individual experience and behaviour kept by an outsider observer. Researcher explores a single entity bounded by time and activity, for example programmes, events, institutions, social groups and detailed information through the variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. The case studies evolve the information such as experiences about the caste discrimination, social change, mobility, their participation in the political activities, and formation of social relation with the other castes, type of exclusion which they faced in that village or domination of the people etc.

For this study, the researcher also used the method of oral history to collect the information about the history and what level of changes occurred in the village etc. Oral history is one of the interviewing tool in the larger repertoire of methodologies used for research in history, anthropology, and sociology'. It collects information about the past from

observer and participants in that past. It gathers data not available in written records about events, people, decisions and processes. Oral history interviews are grounded in memory and memory is subjective instrument for recording the past, always shaped by the present moment and the individual psyche. It also can reveal how individual values and actions shaped in the past and how the past shapes present day values and actions. By the help of this method, much information has been collected about the history of the Salempur Village.

The researcher also collected data from secondary sources; such as books, journals, magazines, periodical, quarterly magazines related to the village, folksongs of the village people, pamphlets, records of the ration card which have by the dealer of distributor of PDS system, geographical maps, and relevant government documents etc.

## **1.9. Research Setting**

For this study, the researcher chose the village (Salempur) in Karauli district in Rajasthan. Rajasthan is the largest State in terms of geographical in the India and located in the north-western part of the country. It has a geographical area of 3, 42,239 sq. km, constitutes 10.41 % of the country and 5.67 % of the total population of National Population (Census, 2011: Provisional Population Tables). Physiographical, the State can be divided into four major regions, namely the western desert, sandy plains, the Aravalli Hills (running south-west to north-east starting from Gujarat and ending in Delhi) and the eastern plains (rich alluvial soils and the south-eastern plateau). Mahi, Chambal and Banas are the three major rivers of the State. The State has varied climatic conditions ranging from the semi-arid to the arid. It is administratively divided into 7 divisions and 33 districts.

Salempur Village located in Sapotra Tehsil in Karauli District of Rajasthan State, India. It belongs to Bharatpur Division. It is located 35 KM towards west from District Head Quarters Karauli and Lalsot, Todabhim, Hindon, Gnagapurcity are the nearby cities to Salempur. Hindi

and Rajasthani are the local language here. The estimated population of the village, according to the (Census 2011) is about 4773 and the total number of households is around 756. Most of the population of this village, involve in agricultural activities and other daily works. This is a multi-caste village in which Baniyas, Gupta, Brahmins, Thakurs, Muslims, Koli, Nath, Bairwa, and Meena are resided. This village is divided into many small Dhanies far away from the main locality of the village.

## **1.10. Chapterization**

This study consists with the seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. The description of the each chapter has been discussed below.

### **Chapter I**

#### **(Introduction)**

The introductory chapter discusses the meaning, history and theoretical perspectives about the concept of the village. We have tried to analyze the understanding of the concept of the village in Indian society particularly in Salempur village through the Dalit perspective. Different aspects of the study such as the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, conceptual clarification, and review of literature, research setting, methodology, and research questions have been also dealt with in this chapter.

### **Chapter II**

#### **(Social Structure of the Village: A Theoretical Understanding)**

This chapter has been focused on the understanding of village by sociologists and social anthropologists their own point of view. For example some of them tried to analyze to define the village through the

concept of settlement or community feeling among the people. While on the other hand others consider that village as the place where people share common cultural values, norms, mores etc. and they take part in the cultural programmes as their own programme. As Bernard Cohn discussed in his study of the Madhopur Village of Jnuapur District of Uttar Pradesh that all the people of the village take part in the marriage of the girls as their own girls. There are mainly three perspectives which deal with the concept of the village on their vantage point. Basically this chapter tries to reveal the understanding of the village by the sociologists and social anthropologists who belong to different perspectives and how their ideas differ from each other.

### **Chapter III**

#### **(Social Economic profile of the Village)**

This chapter discusses the socio economic profile of the Salempur village which includes research setting of the village, population, number of household, occupational category, caste structure, setting of the household, availability of health services, educational institutions, Anganwadi system, facility of water resources, sources of income and expenditure pattern of the households etc. In this chapter social structure of the village is revealed, consisting with aspects such as social relations, political organization and economic organization as well as institutions like the family, marriage, kinship, community, education institutions and so on. The researcher also tried to highlight the Jajmani relation in the village. As this study deals with the three different localities Bairwa community within the village and what are the problems faced by them and how they differ from each other.

### **Chapter IV**

#### **(Socio-Economic and Cultural Profile of Dalits (Bairwa) in Salempur Village)**

The fourth chapter discusses on the socio-economic and cultural details of the Dalit household within the village and the social and demographic details of them. It makes an enquiry in to exact location of the Dalit households within the village, types of family, occupation, land ownership, techniques of production and what type of production and source of income and what item expenditure much and how they differ from the upper castes on these aspects. Further this chapter also depicts light on the different functions, festivals and rituals of Dalits within in village and how these rituals and functions differ from the other castes of the village also dealt with.

## **Chapter V**

### **(Religion, Rituals and Unity of the Village)**

This chapter discusses on the concept of religion in the rural people specially Bairwa community of the Salempur village. As the researcher record the views of the respondent on religion and they replied their own perspective or their understanding. As religion is the visitation or '*darshan*' of the temple or '*Masjid*' (mosque). As Frank said that religious identity in Rajasthan combines the public practices of temple visitation or darsahn, the viewing of images and relies with private, household based prayer and worship. Further Joseph (2007) defined religion as the religious identity is enacted within family and life stages rituals, as well as in national and local practical party discourse through transnational networks and electronic media and within economic transaction.

## **Chapter VI**

### **(The Change and Continuity in the Village: Dalit Perspective)**

The chapter had the details of the case studies which have been recorded by the researcher during the fieldwork. Through these case studies the



researcher tries to capture the perception of the Dalits about the village and changes (social, economic, cultural and political) occur in the village.

## **Chapter VII**

### **(Conclusion)**

This chapter synthesizes the ideas, perspectives and the information gathered through the study. This village is a multi-caste and they also have the relation to each other. The researcher find that village economy is moves around the agriculture but in this case the livelihood of the villagers particularly Bairwas depends agriculture as well as working in the hills.

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## **Chapter- II**

### **Social Structure of the Village: A Theoretical Understanding**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter tries to reveal the various perceptions about the village by the sociologists and social anthropologists. It also attempts to look into the connection between the earlier studies and the present study and how it is different from and similar to the earlier studies. For getting a better understanding of the village, we have to address certain basic and significant questions about the village. These are: What are the main characteristics of a village? Does it depend only on the number of houses or families? Does it depend on the population figures? Does it depend on the area or relation to the family type, we feelings, face to face relations and predominant of agricultural activities? What are the sociological backgrounds of these groups of people spread in far flung about 10 lakh of known as villages?

The credit for firmly anchoring the 'village studies' in a distinctive empirical mode goes to the twin disciplines of sociology and social anthropology. Indeed, the inauguration and subsequent consolidation of the 'village studies' tradition has been central to the constitution of sociological enterprise in India. The present chapter presents a brief review of the methods and concerns of the sociological/social anthropological studies of the village. It underlines the major shifts in theoretical understandings, methodological approaches and substantive emphasis over the last five decades. Our main endeavour here will be to pull out the characteristic ways in which the village has been conceptualized in these studies.

There are mainly three types of village studies: a) studies brought by the administrators; b) studies conducted by the economists; and c) studies

produced by the sociologists and social anthropologists. In the first category there are some of the important British writings of Indian villages such as W.F. Firminger's the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Common on the Affairs of the East India Company (1812), Charles Metcalfe's A Minute Discussion on the Village of Delhi (1830), H.S. Maine's Village Communities in the East and West (1871), B.H. Powell's 'The Land System of the British India' (1892).

The second category includes the studies conducted by the economists on Indian villages like Patel (1952) who has described the nature of the agrarian crises almost all over India by the end of the First World War, G. Keating and Harold Mann (Mumbai), Gilbert Slater (Madras) and Lucas (Punjab) who initiated intensive study of particular villages and general agrarian problems. The Punjab Board of Economics Enquiry and the Bengal Board of Economics Enquiry organized village surveys in 1920 and 1935 respectively. Besides, J.C. Kumappa, a Gandhian economist, developed Gandhian perspective by conducting survey of Matar Taluka in Kheda district of Gujarat in 1931. While, the third category has numerous village studies done by eminent sociologist and social anthropologist like Srinivas (Rampura, Andhra Pradesh), Dube (Shamirpet, UP), Beteille (Sripuram, TamilNadu), Bailey (Bisipara, Orrisa), Majumdar (Mohaw, UP), Cohn (Madhopur, UP), K.L. Sharma (Rajasthan), Prem Chaudhary (Hariyana), Linch (Jatav of Mathura, UP) etc.

Village studies have their own importance and enriched the knowledge of Indian society in general and particularly about rural India. After the independence, planners in India realized that unless Indian villages were properly studied, no real progress could be made. Gandhi also said that the real growth of India is measured by the village which means if we want to develop India, and then we need to develop the villages because around seventy percent of the population of India lives in the villages.

The village studies in India have been surveyed and reviewed extensively (Chauhan 1974, Mudiraj 1974, Oommen 1985, Singh 1986, Niranjana

1991, Berman 1997, Jodhka 1998, Alexander 2000, Madan 2002). Our objective is to probe the strengths and limits of analytical approaches and methodological strategies which have dominated the conventional village studies. For some of the sociologists and social anthropologists consider that 'village may be a single community' as Dube (1955a: 202-15; 1955b). For him, village communities have a number of common features in Indian subcontinent. The village settlement, as a unit of social organization, represents solidarity and different on the basis of kin, the caste, and the class.

However, each village as a distinct entity has some individual mores and usages, and possesses a corporate unity. It also plays a vital role as an agency of socialization and social control. Moreover, the different castes and communities inhabiting a village are integrated in its economic, social, and ritual pattern by ties of mutual reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by generally accepted conventions. Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions inside the settlement, people of the village can, and often do, face the outside world as an organized compact whole. So, for Dube, the village is a distinct structural entity like the kin-group, caste and tribe in the sense that all these entities control the conduct of the individuals. He, however, cautions that the fundamental similarities of the village do not mean that Indian villages have a similar pattern all over the country.

Likewise, for Marriott (1955a: 176), "the village of Kishan Garhi is like a living thing, has a definable structure, is conceptually a vivid entity, is a system - even if it is one of many sub-systems within the larger socio-politico-religious-economic system in which it exists". Beals (1954: 403), too, believes that the village had existed earlier as an integrative whole. Later, the heterogeneity forces, specifically British administrative conceptions, and the disruptive intervention by the state, seem to have altered its earlier coherence.



Shah's (2002) study shows that the 'village was a primary factor in social organization and a potent social reality, a face-to-face group'. It was much more than a mere human settlement, as its territorial jurisdiction assumes tremendous significance through the ritual 'Dharavahi' on Bhado Ekadashi (Shah 2002: 4). According to him, there are two connotations of the village - the village site and the revenue land surrounding it. In areas of nucleated settlements, village stands not only for the village site but also for the territorial unit recognized for administrative purposes. The latter village has been called all over north India variously as 'administrative village', 'revenue village' or 'survey village' (Ibid.: 13).

Patel (1998) argues that empirical research of the village has been bolstered by the practical need of ethnographers to find a place to stay and a place to study. The village was a locale to do good ethnography, a place which could be called my village. She wonders how space became coterminous with social life, paradoxically in a context when colonial policies and capitalist relations had opened up the so-called relative insularity of villages. She seems to be highly critical of Srinivas, as the latter's emphasis on the village as a unit of ethnographic study helped perpetuate the image of the village as a self-sufficient and isolated unit. She asks why Srinivas laid so much emphasis on the village even though conceptually he did not agree with the position that the villages were close units (Patel: 1998: 49-61).

Further Patel finds major fault with the village on account of its being the basis of ethnographic construction, and its equation as microcosm of India. For her, it is unfortunate that Srinivas' ethnography got bounded in the colonial ideological legacy which made space coterminous with village. Through a series of laboured arguments, she relates Srinivas' thrust on the village to his 'conservative' ideology, and a nostalgic search for the roots. Srinivas' reconstruction of the village gave the village as well as sociology a concrete structure of space, an anchor amidst tumultuous changes. These were the changes having a destabilizing effect on one's received identities. Srinivas wanted to shield himself from these

changes. That is where the roots of Srinivasian conservatism lay. By focusing on the village he seems to deny the role that time plays in the process of change and thereby reinforces colonial ideas about the isolation of the village.

To a very large extent, the concept of the Jajmani system is linked to that of the 'traditional Indian village'. Structural-functionalist studies of the village have highlighted Jajmani as the economic system of the Indian village. Jajmani has been seen as the primary basis of the community characteristic of the village. By presenting Jajmani as universally characterizing the Indian village, the village could be made to stand for India, and the Jajmani system, as the organizing economic principle of this village India, could be exalted to the level of a fundamental civilization concept.

Scholars examining the linkages between the Jajmani and the village have shown how it is incorrect to assume that there really ever was a uniform economic system of the type existing throughout village India. The administrative and political idealization of the traditional village is timelessness and stability; find its economic counterpart in the operation of the Jajmani system. In this context Habib (1999) have emphasized that the village society, in effect, was a caste society and Jajmani relations were quite variable and did not transcend the caste framework.

Thus, in substantive terms, we see the study of the village passing through a number of phases. In the first phase, the village as community is the overarching theme. Subsequently, the studies of the village become part of the growing body of literature on the peasantry. Also, by way of Jajmani, the village becomes a pretext to explain the issues in economic anthropology. However, some of the old themes persist to a large extent. The idea of the unchanging village is coming since ancient time as Ludden (1985: 5) says it, to scholars of political economy, from Karl Marx to Barrington Moore; Indian village society seems stolid in the extreme. To cultural sociologists from Max Weber to Louis Dumont, the

explanation for Indian peasant's inertia lies in village traditions prescribed by the caste system, which persists and resists attempts by capitalist urbanites.

The meaning of the village studies was not simply to add to the empirical corpus of knowledge about the Indian village, but also to further a distinctive understanding of the Indian society and culture. Given this larger ambition of the village studies, it comes as no surprise that, in effective terms, such studies (i.e., studies 'of' and 'in' villages) turned out to be the mainstay of Indian sociology in its initial years of disciplinary consolidation. Indeed, these studies, to a large extent, have shaped the methodological strategies and theoretical contours of the discipline (Chauhan 1974, Oommen 1984, Y. Singh 1986, Srinivas 1996a, Alexander 2000). However, they hardly constitute a unitary tradition of sociological analysis.

There is another angle to the historic importance of village studies that these studies helped establish its credentials and claims as a policy science capable of contributing to the task of national development.

On the other hand, Dumont and Pocock (1957a, 1957b, and 1960) question the sociological reality of the Indian village and proclaim that the village is not the 'social fact which it has for so long been assumed to be.' For Dumont (1959, 1970), village was not a 'social fact of the first order' and it was not 'a social reality transcending caste'. Rather, the territorial factor, the relation to the soil is not, in India as a whole, one of the primary factors in social organization. For Dumont and Pocock, a field worker very often takes the village as a convenient centre for his investigations and all too easily comes to confer upon that village as a kind of sociological reality which it does not possess. They posit the facility of caste to the assumed reality of Indian village. They are convinced 'the substantial reality of the village deceives us into doing what we normally would not do in a social analysis and into assuming a priori that when people refer to an object by name they mean by that

designation what we ourselves mean when we speak of it' (Dumont:1959: 26). Thus, for Dumont, village often becomes the vehicle for the story-telling of the researcher. It is nothing else but a pretext to unfold the prior research agendas and concerns of the researcher.

Despite Dumont, wholeness of the village life continues to be written about. For instance, Rajat K. Ray (1983: 277) writes that 'Rural society and it has a synthetic culture sustained by bonds of interdependence and sentiment between people in different stations of life'. In a different context (of rural livelihood systems), Karanth and Ramaswamy (2000: 7) not merely mention the festival of Palumaru Devara' as a festival of the boundary of the village but state neatly: Members of a village community have a strong sense of boundary of their universe, made up of their physical habitation. It is in terms of such a boundary that they relate themselves to those outside it as 'us' and 'them'. The commitment to the boundaries of the village is celebrated by offering sacrifice to evil forces that are believed to be at work at critical times. It could be a drought, when the tank is full, standing crops are to be harvested or when there is a threat of an epidemic.

The debate centring around the sociological reality of the village has brought many issues to the fore such as the relationship between the state and the village in historical and contemporary terms, the nature, extent and the degree of the self-sufficiency of the village, and more importantly, the relative primacy of caste and the village as the organizing principles of Indian society. The fact that village has a social reality which even in a state of physical absence does not fade away adds extra complexity to the debate. Also, it has been observed that village boundary, apart from its legal-administrative dimension, is often an artificial construct and far from unambiguous. Moreover, the village is not the same village for all its inhabitants.

In the vein, village has been looked at mainly from two angles - as an empirical reality and as a conceptual tool. For instance Dube, Srinivas,

Marriott and Bailey, the village is not an isolate per se, but an isolable entity for the purpose of study. Thus, the village has been caught up in the methodological crossfire on account of its representative character. Also, the village as a concept, from the early little republic characterization to that of the little community, has entertained critical reflections as to its being a community. For some (Dumont 1959 and 1970), the village is merely 'a demographic and architectural entity' and very often the site where relevant phenomena and processes merely find their articulation. Others have seen much sociological reality in the village highlighting its constitution as an overarching community arguing that the presence of dominance and hierarchy does not negate the validity of the village as a community.

Atal (2003), finds most of the village studies, though rich in data, to be discrete, descriptive and discipline specific. The considerable data contained in such studies even now cry for proper stocktaking. He believes that of the three concepts - village, caste, and joint family village is crucial and defines that village as a socio-cultural entity is bound to defy administrative convenience. Also, the obsession of village studies with caste has obscured the much-required theorization of village itself. In most of the writings on the village, the twin conceptualizations of the village - as a republic and as a community - appear to haunt and direct the theoretical frame and method (Niranjana 1991: 378).

Although the advantage of hindsight tells us that the unity, harmony, and coherence of the 'traditional' village were less complete than conceptualized in its representation, it will be difficult to say that the village did not and does not exist, notwithstanding the constructivist school. As argued earlier, one has to be careful in attributing the play of construction only to colonial representations while giving a clean chit to the post-colonial representation as if they depicted the real thing. Also, it will be too much of an imagination to impart a theoretical blueprint to village studies in retrospect, even as the latter passed through various overlapping stages like village colonized, nationalized,

developmentalised, anthropologised, revisited and globalised (Breman 1997).

As Beteille (1996: 242) rightfully remarks: This large enterprise ... moved on its course without any single theoretical master plan. There were no doubt disagreements about concepts, about methods of analysis and interpretation, and about the adequacy and reliability of data. But there was little of the kind of theoretical anguish over 'empiricism', 'positivism' and 'structural-functionalism' that was to torment a later generation of anthropologists. Those who were collecting and presenting materials about villages across the length and breadth of the country felt that they were doing important work, or moderately important work, and they were not greatly troubled by metaphysical doubts about the foundations or purpose of their work. They largely took it for granted that it is possible to write objectively and dispassionately about the life of a community without agonizing endlessly over questions of ontology, epistemology, and metaphysics.

One finds remarkable similarity between the views of Srinivas and Ambedkar on the village. For Ambedkar too, the Indian village was essentially a Hindu village which excluded the untouchables (Rodrigues: 2002). Srinivas concedes the essential Hindu character of the village by locating untouchables and Muslims as respectively 'below' and 'outside' the village. However, he also considers Brahmins as not belonging to the village proper. On this point, Ambedkar differs, as his ideology and politics do not allow him to make the subtle empirical distinctions between the Brahmins as not belonging to the village and dominant castes as properly belonging to the village. For him, caste Hindus ('touchables') own the Indian village and the village is the working plant of the Hindu social order.

Conception of a village differs from country to country. There are several groups who defined village as several families sharing the same habitation. One of the western definitions of a village is that, "Village is

an assemblage of houses larger than hamlet and smaller than town". The earlier Indian literature for example Rig-Veda refers to village, grama as an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation". Manu distinguishes among village, town and the city- grama, pura and nagara". According to the epic like Mahabharata the village was the fundamental unit of administrative and had as its head the Gamini who was its leader.

Kautilya gives a categorical definition of a village "villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families and of not more than five hundred families of agricultural people of an area". Under the Gupta dynasty the lowest administrative unit was the village. In south India according to historians the largest administrative divisions was the mandala which was subdivided into Valanadus or into Nadus and Kottams.

## **2.2. Theoretical Perspective**

There are many perspectives which deal with the understanding of the village through their own point of view. But this study, mainly focuses on the three perspectives namely structural functionalist approach, Marxists approach and the last one, the subaltern perspective which is also known as the 'perspective from below'. Similarly there are several sociologists and social anthropologists belonging to specific ideologies who tried to define the concept of the village through their own vantage point. For example M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube, Makkiom Marriot are the structural functionalists, while A.R. Desai, D.P. Mukherjee, M.N. Dutta are Marxists and the B.R. Ambedkar, David Hardiman are known for belonging to the subaltern perspectives.

### **2.2.1. Structural- Functionalist Perspective**

The first perspective structuralism, considers village as a functional unit in any place and it functions well manner within the village also. Village consist with several elements such as area, population, we feelings among the people of the village, agriculture is the main source of income, dominancy of primary sector, cooperation between the people and face to

face relations. M.N. Srinivas is an eminent scholar related to this ideology. He studied the social structure of the Mysore village and religion and society among the Coorgs of South India. He tries to analyse the understanding of the concept of the village among the people. But, even a single study did not deal with the point from below. So this study tries to draw the attention of people as to what is the meaning village have for the Dalits. Is it same as upper strata as Dalits or if it does not then how does it differ.

Srinivas argues that villages were invaluable observation-centres for an anthropologist where he/she can study social processes and problems in detail occurring in great parts of India. For this an anthropologist goes to live in a village not because he wants to collect information about curious and dying customs and beliefs but to study a theoretical sociological problem and his most important aim is to contribute to the growing body of theoretical knowledge about the nature of human societies.

Further, Srinivas contested the colonial notion of the Indian village being a completely self-sufficient republic. On this Srinivas argued village was a myth and also a part of the wider entity. But in Pre British India villages were less dependent economically on the town than villages are today and it was represented as an important source of identity to its residents. Srinivas argued that individuals had a sense of identification with their village and an insult to one's village had to be avenged like an insult to oneself, one's wife, or one's family. He recognized the existence of vertical ties between landlords and tenants, master and servants, and creditor and debtor, as characteristic features of village social organization, he did not see these relations as being necessarily conflictual or exploitative in nature (Srinivas: 1955).

On the contrary, it was the interdependence of the caste groups resulting from such ties that defined the village. As he wrote, 'when caste is viewed as hierarchy, it is the distinctiveness of each group and its separateness



and distance from the other that receive emphasis. But distinctiveness and distance go along with the interdependence of the different castes living in a village or group or neighbouring village. Thus two are parts of a single village system.'

Srinivas insisted that unequal groups are living in small place as the face to face collectivises could have common interest binding them together and therefore they could qualify to be treated as communities. It may be worthwhile quoting him at length on this "through the essence of caste in the arrangement of hereditary groups in a hierarchy, the popular impression derived from the idea of Varna that arranged groups in an order with Brahmins at the top and Harijans at the bottom was right only partly. The empirical studies pointed out that in fact only two opposite ends of the hierarchy were relatively fixed, in between and especially in the middle region, there was considerable room for debate regarding mutual position.'

Srinivas argued that the way caste operated at the local level was radically different from that expressed in the Varna scheme. Mutual rank was uncertain and arguable and this stemmed from the fact that mobility was possible in caste. Similarly, stressing the significance of role that secular factors played in determining status ranking at the local level.

Attempts to claim a higher ritual status through, what Srinivas called Sanskritization, was not a similar process. It could not be achieved only through a ritual and lifestyle imitation and had to be also negotiated with the local power structure. Ambitious castes or local sections of them tried to borrow the customs, ritual and life-style of the higher castes in an effort to move up. That was the way to be one up on one's structural neighbours. The locally dominated caste was an obstacle to mobility for several reasons. In the first place, such mobility had the potential of threatening its own ambition if not position. Second it could result in a chain reaction which could then lead to the suspension of the flow of services and goods from dependent castes.

According to Dube (1955) “village having links with the outside world and explicating the diversities that marked the rural society of India, it was the unity of the village that was underlined by most anthropologist. The fact that the village interacted with the outside world did not mean it did not have a design of its own or could not be studied as a representative unit of the Indian social life. While villages had horizontal ties, it was the vertical ties within the village that governed much of the life of an average person in the village”. Among those who stressed this idea the most were Dube and Srinivas.

Unity and diversity are the general feature of the village and on this Dube said that Indian Villages varied greatly in their internal structure and organization, in their ethos and world view, and in their life-ways and thoughts-ways, on account of variety of the factors', nevertheless argued that “Indian village communities all over the Indian sub-continent have number of common features. The village settlements as a unit of social organization, represents solidarity different from that of the kin, the caste, and the class. Each village is a distinct entity, has some individual mores and usages, and possesses a corporate unity. Different castes and communities inhabiting the villages are integrated in its economic, social and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by generally accepted conventions. Inside the village, community life is characterized by economic, social and ritual co-operation existing between different castes. Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions inside the settlement, people of the village can and do face the outside world as an organized compact whole.

### **2.2.2. Marxist Perspective**

This approach considers village as a site of conflict between two classes, have and have-not and in which always two groups are constantly in the tug of war for their rights. For example Marx had already discussed the same since the emergence of the history of the world into two classes. Marx said that there is a cause behind this conflict and it is the resources

and surplus value which were snatched by the one class who dominate the other one.

Similarly D.P. Mukherjee attempt to analyze Indian history from the dialectical perspective of Marx. He is interested in understanding the nature and meaning of Indian social reality in the Indian tradition. He also promotes the welfare of the people by adopting the modernity forces to define the Indian tradition. Further he argued that in the Indian history the tradition and modernity, colonialism and nationalism, individualism and collectivism could be seen as dialectical interacting with each other. He calls himself Marxlogist rather than Marxist and attempted a dialectical interpretation of the encounter between the Indian tradition and modernity which unleashed many forces of cultural contradiction during the colonial era. He said that Indian culture and social transformation are characterized by the values of assimilation and cultural synthesis rather than the class struggle as a result of the encounter between the tradition and modernity.

### **2.2.3. Subaltern Perspective**

Subaltern Studies flourished in England at the end of the 1970s, when the conversations on subaltern themes among a small group of English and Indian historians led to a proposal to launch a new journal in India. But Subaltern Studies began in India mainly through the writings about Subaltern Studies primarily in book reviews. And by 1986 an accumulation of writing inside and outside the project had established a distinctive school of research whose adherents came to be called as 'subalternists' or simply, 'subalterns.' In the 1990s Subaltern Studies became a hot topic in academic circles on several continents; a weapon, magnet, target, lightning rod, hitching post, icon, gold mine, and fortress for scholars ranging across disciplines from history to political science, anthropology, sociology, literary criticism, and cultural studies.

The word 'subaltern' refers to the general attribute of subordination, which is expressed in terms of a caste, class, age, gender etc. It also includes the characteristics of defiance and submission. Literally it

conveys the meaning 'view from below' or understanding from the bottom of society or the flow of knowledge from below. The subaltern approach tries to make a balance by highlighting the role of politics of the 'masses' as against the elite politics. This approach is not only focusing on peasant or tribal insurgents as object of history but also treats them as makers of their own history- endowed with a transformative consciousness of their own.

The subalternists always claim that they have unfolded the incapacity of nationalist and elitist historiography to incorporate the voices of the weak into the project of history re-writing. They have focused their attention on the circle of elite politics and have emphasized the insurrectionary activities and potential of the 'subaltern' classes to make these classes possessed self-conscious and coherent conception of resistance that was directed against rich peasants, urban traders or the colonial revenue administrators. The major scholars of the perspectives in India are David Hardiman, B.R. Ambedkar, Ranjit Guha and others.

Ambedkar roused the Dalit consciousness to fight for the eradication of Dalit discrimination, to claim equality of treatment, status and opportunity, to equally enjoy all rights including civil, political, social and economic and respect for the dignity of persons. He was considered a crusader for the human rights of the Dalits in India.

Ambedkar also fought for the rights of workers and peasants. In the late 1920s and especially in the 1930s when he had formed his Independent Labour Party, he took up the cause of tenants (from both the Dalit Mahars and the caste Hindu Kunbis) in the Konkan region of Maharashtra.

In general term Dalit refers to the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and the Other Backward Classes (OBC). But in political sense, term Dalit refers to the Scheduled Castes. This term was first used by the British in Government of India Act, 1935. They were generally considered as untouchables. So Mahatma Gandhi had replaced the term with 'Harijans' which means the man of God. According to Hindu Code

of Conduct untouchables belongs to the lowest rank of hierarchy with different names like Shudras, Chandals, Antyajias etc. Ambedkar's movement had led to the development of the term 'Dalit' which indicates a political and social awareness. Ambedkar had adopted a different approach and philosophy for the emancipation of Scheduled Castes. Ambedkar wanted the liberation of Dalits through creating an egalitarian society. But it was not possible in Hindu social structure, which was quite hierarchical in nature and placed the Dalits at the bottom. So he asserted that the Dalits should come forward and have to fight for themselves, for which Ambedkar provided them with the mantra of- educate, organize and agitate.

According to Ambedkar in Hindu religion the Vedas, Smritis and Shastras were used as a tool to inflict severe punishment against the Dalits or Untouchables. So he viewed that these Vedas, Smritis and Shastras are just a system of rule, which deprived the untouchables from their basic needs and creates the discrimination in the society. So there is nothing wrong in destroying this religion and it is not even irreligious.

Another subaltern figure, David Hardiman's main contributions to the project have been in a number of areas. He has carried out a detailed examination of the Indian nationalist movement at the local level in Gujarat. He has examined the power-structures of rural society, carrying out for example a detailed study of the hegemonic controls exercised by usurers and the limits to that hegemony, as seen in particular in revolts. He has also studied a movement of assertion by Adivasis (tribal people) against liquor dealers who had been granted a monopoly right of supply by the British and who had enriched themselves at the expense of the Adivasis. Further, he studied the power exercised by the usurers on the subaltern classes in rural India in his study of Baniya's. It also has a strong political and cultural influence. It explores the relationship between peasants and Usurers which has been crucial to life in rural India. Hardiman attempts to understand how such a domain of power was forged on the classes over the centuries and how the classes whom they exploited

related to them and also resisted them. The Baniyas always have their own hegemony over the poor people of the village. As being the indebted peasantry feed the Baniya merchants through their never ending demands for agrarian produce, enriching the usurers and themselves getting trapped in a cycle of poverty.

Further, this study also reveals the integration of a small-scale agrarian society with a larger capitalist economy. Hardiman investigated the deep meanings involved in the relationship between the villager and the moneylender. It is quite a puzzle that the villages even prefer to take the help from the usurers than taking the help from bank or any formal institution which provides loan at much cheaper rates and without much difficulty. While answering to this puzzle Hardiman says that moneylender was located in a complex web of domination exercised by the local dominant classes. The moneylender himself might not always be the dominating person, but he definitely was the front for the other dominant sections of local society. In so far that there was a society not sufficiently suffused with capitalist relations and institutions, the money lender provided the small-scale agrarian producer with adequate means to relate to the wider capitalist world. Thus it explores the relationship between the peasants and usurers in rural India in a rounded way, examining how states extended support to usurers, as well as how Baniyas exerted a power that was both economic and ideological.

The present chapter has made an attempt for understanding the subaltern approach of understanding Indian Society. It is an approach which basically studies the subalterns or the Dalits or the group those who are marginalized in the society. In understanding this, two major scholars of this perspective are also been included within the chapter. Both Ambedkar and Hardiman have their own and different contributions for studying the subalterns of the Indian Society.

Baba Shaheb Ambedkar argues that the subaltern communities that have been discriminated against for centuries identify themselves as Dalit's.

According to Ambedkar "Dalithood is a kind of life condition that characterizes the exploitation, suppression and marginalization of Dalit people by the social, economic, cultural and political domination of the upper caste Brahmanical Ideology". He graded inequality as the most significance concept at basis of his theoretical interpretation and construction of the Hindu social system. Ambedkar argues that "caste system is not merely division of labour but it is also a division of the labourers".

There are so many studies related to village since 1950s in India. There are various sociologists and social anthropologists who have done village studies in India on their own. For instance Dube (1955), Srinivas (1955, 1962), Betteille (1966), Mukherjee (1969), Gough (1981), Bailey (1966, 1980), Oommen (2000, 2005), Jhodhka (2012), Sharma (1981), Chakravati (2000), and Anitha (2000) etc. and they have conceptualized village according to their point of view.

### **2.3. Details of the Earlier Village Studies**

Dube's study on Shamirpet village at Hyderabad, has basically focused on the functioning of the Villages in India. He founded that the economic system of the rural India is mostly caste based. There are caste's functional specialization, interdependence and also low occupational mobility. His study derived the three major types of religious services and festivals observed in the village. They are family ceremonies, village familial and communal festivals and the Muslims and Hindus interaction with each other during festivals.

Dube has constructed 'village' in his monograph on the Telengana in terms of co-operative and communitarian and also underlined its interdependence and unity. He wrote that there is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and interfamily co-operation, the social system enjoys co-operation between a number of castes in the field of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on the traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional

ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed.

Srinivas (1955) study of the religion and society was among the Coorgs of south India and the Rampura village. Srinivas (1962) argued that Village community is the most celebrated category of Indian society. To the anthropologist the villages are valuable observation-centres where we can study in detail social process and problems to be found occurring in many parts of India. An anthropologist goes to live in a village for a year or even two not because he wants to collect information about curious and dying customs and beliefs, but to study a theoretical sociological problem, and his most important aim is to contribute to the growing body of theoretical knowledge about the nature of human societies (Srinivas, 1962:134). Rampura is a multi-caste village in the Mysore district of Karnataka state in the south India. In this study he represents the caste as in unique form of social stratification.

Srinivas used the intense fieldwork for this study because he does not want to make the mistake which he had done earlier in the study of Coorgs in South India. This study has a full fetch sketch of the Rampura village such as the social structure, physical structure and economic structure of the village. Even he also depicts light on the occupational status of the people of different caste within the village and whether there is any type of change in the occupational category. If there is change then what are the causes behind the change. For example on one page he said that there is the process of Brahmanical under which the changes occur in the village. Then further he also said that division of the labour and relations between the castes also exists. He sketches the whole village picture so it remain in the memory of the researcher, after that he named it as “Remembered Village”.

But further he himself accepts the shortcoming of the study that as a field worker he always has the notion of the high caste and so he did not study the lower caste people such as the Harijans and Muslim. The researcher



quote the lines “my shortcoming as a field worker are brought home to me poignantly when I contemplate the Harijan and Muslim and I realize that mine was a high caste study of village society. I stayed in a high caste area and friends and companions were all peasants and Lingayata (Srinivas: 1976:198).

Gough shows us how the social system of Kumbapettai village is undergoing radical change and how in its declining integration and growing independence on urban or national institutions and a wider economy, this village ceases to be a significant unit of the investigation. Her study of the Tanjore village of Madras state lies in the south-eastern part of India. This is Brahman dominated village as the social structure of the village show that in the centre of the village is a single street containing thirty six occupied and twelve unoccupied Brahman houses. The central theme of the study is that structure of the social relations within the village and at what level the village is an isolable unit and what extent is it changing in this respect. Especially she discusses the social relations with the references to the political organization and economic organization and local administration system and the ritual practice within the village.

Further she also depicts that the economic changes occur within the village by the increase in economic transaction outside the village. For example the people of the village have started to sell their commodity and human labour also outside the village for their livelihood. On the other hand the breakdown of the feudal system and the power of the Brahman declined over the lower castes and the labourers castes of the village. She also emphasize on the other important factor behind the decreasing power of the Brahmans over other castes that is the process of migration.

Thus it is very clear that the social structure of the village undergoing the process of change from the relatively closed, stationary system with a feudal economy and co-operative between the ranked castes and ordained by religious law, to a relatively open changing system governed by the

secular law with an expanding capitalist economy sometimes and competition between castes which is sometimes reinforced and obscured by the new struggle between the economic classes.

Further, Cohn has a study of the Madhopur village in the district of Jaunapur of the Uttar Pradesh state. In this study he tries to focus on the one untouchable caste, leatherworking and agricultural labourers who have stood near the bottom of the caste society according to the vernacular system. He sees that the Chamar caste achieve the high status in relation to change in village and outside the world as well as in relation to the internal social and religious organizations. The Chamar has the relation with Thakur in economic term but after the zamindari system abolition act 1952, affects the economic and political dominance of the Thakur in this village.

Oscar Lewis study of Ranikhera village is a village of eleven hundred people about fifteen miles from the national capital of India Delhi. It is an old village which was conquered by the Jat an ethnic group which is now the dominant caste in the village. Ranikhera village does not have orderly arrangement streets. Lewis describes every aspect of the village such as social, economic, political and cultural.

He talked about the arrangement of houses, land economy and how the social organization constitutes the body of the social structure of the village. In the social organization the kinship has a major role in ordering the human relations and is the basis of the other social, economic, political and cultural relations. Secondly in Ranikhera the caste system divides the village and weakens the sense of the solidarity. Factions also play an important role in the solidarity of the village. Factions mean the group of people who constitute the upper part of the body. These factions follow the caste lines and they have a cooperative and non-cooperative role in the society. It means the factions play their role in both terms as positive and the negative. The village as a community it means that the village plays a role in the form of community at different times like

marriage, festivals and ritual practices of the village like the worship of their goddess or their gods. But there is also notion of the change in the study and the greatest change in the caste system in terms of the occupational structure of the castes.

Bailey (1952) studied an Orriya hill village 'Bisipara' and depicted on themes such as, composition of the village, economic activities of the village people, unity of the village etc. He looks at the caste system in a village in Orissa under a new economy. The new frontiers are economic, political and administrative. Transfer of the land from the ex-landowners is a significant fact which makes land a market commodity and other occupations which were tied with landlordism also became part of a market situation. He also gave details about new economy, land transactions, services and trade and said that the mercantile economy has impinged on the system of agriculture, because those who profited as merchants, traders and earners of salaries invested their money of land.

K.L. Sharma' study of the six villages in Rajasthan, discussed that Rajasthan was not enslaved by Brahmanical values which encompassed through its ideology of pure and impure all other aspects of social life. He quote lines of Satish Chandra study 'the upper caste in Rajasthan were certainly placed in the order commensuality with the caste hierarchy existing elsewhere, namely Brahmins, Khastriyas and Vaishyas but it was more of ritual order rather than an actual one. In fact one could think of these three as different actual evaluations of social ranking. Firstly, the ritual ranking was accepted more as cognitive and nitional ordering of dwij. Secondly, the Khastriyas or Rajputs who were also rulers occupied in actuality the top rank followed by Brahmin and Vaishyas. Thirdly, the Vaishyas enjoyed top position as they controlled finances being trades and moneylenders. In fact an undifferential system of ranking was absent in actual social relation (Sharma: 1997:249).

But in the case of the present study the Meena (Schedule Tribe) and Pathan (sub caste of Muslim) are the dominant caste and these caste

consider them as top of the social ranking system of caste. Although Meena's social position is not so good in other part of India even other palce of Rajasthan also but here they are very rich and they are the moneylender or landlord within the village. Although according to the caste system Meena comes under the Schedule Tribe but in reality they come out under the requirement of the tribe as, tribe is a group of people who reside in the forest or the main occupation of them is collecting the raw material from the forest. But here in the case of present study Meena people's livelihood depend on the agriculture and they are landlords of the village.

## **2.4. Village defined by Concepts: Analysis of Earlier Village Studies**

Further on the basis of secondary data the researcher has drawn some points, and these are the bases to define the concept of village by different Sociologists and Social Anthropologists. These concepts like structure, culture, life style, land and revenue system, social change, group of people, we feelings, dominancy of agriculture and settlement. For example most of the definition of the village, a place where most of the population involve in the primary sector means agriculture and this is the main source of income for their livelihood. Secondly, the animal husbandry also is an important factor to recognition of the village. There are several characteristics of the village like simple way of life, agriculture as the prominent occupation of the rural people, community or we feeling, intimate relationship, role of neighbour, joint family, faith in religion, conservative and their common customs or culture etc.

### **2.4.1. Village Defined Through the Concept of Land**

Early studies on the village had focused on the land system and authors during this period tried to define concept of village through the help of land or revenue system. Powell and Dumont tried to define the village with the help of the concept of land. As we know that the whole village

society moves around the agriculture system, in which there are many instrument used such as land, capital labour and technology. So these two authors have tried to locate land as the prime factor in the village society.

Powell (1892) focused that village society is the culmination of the empirical study of the social structure of rural India. He tries to trace the general effectiveness of the land tenure legislations in terms of the collection of the revenue. Powell distinguished village in the form of two types, one is called 'Rayatwari' or 'non –landlord' and landlord or joint village. In the first type of village the cultivators did not have right as a joint or corporate body to the whole estate. The land is divided amongst them and each man own his own holding which he has bought, inherits are cleared from the jungle. The holders are not jointly responsible to the state for revenue or other obligations (1892, vol. 1 pp. 107). The other type of the village is termed a landlord or joint village. In these villages there is a joint body probably descended from a single head or single family which has pretensions to be higher caste and superior title to the tenants who live on the state. Those who live and work in the village do so only by permission from the joint land holding body (Ibid).

Further Dumont (1966) observed that “the village consists of a body of co-shares of the land and its produce. Everyone consider as the dominant land holding group in the village. This group made all decisions relevant to the village, social and economic. The decisions for and by the village are made in council or the Panchayat. The economy of the village is self-sufficient both in producing what is required and thus needing little from the outside. That means it has most of the crafts and services necessary for the functioning of the village economy. The village is relatively unconnected to other village or other higher levels in the political system except that taxes are extracted by the government from the village” (Dumont: 1966: 71).

### **2.4.2. Concept of Social Structure and Village**

Further the concept of village has been defined through the concept of social structure, in which different concepts or institutions are included. For instance the concepts like caste, class kinship etc has been included. In the book 'Untouchability in India' (2006) the authors have tried to document the practices of untouchability in contemporary rural India. They emphasize that the concept of untouchability is rooted in economic and political inequality and reproduced by the ideology of caste hierarchy. They mentioned that Dalits who try to assert their rights face the risk of social and economic boycott and even physical intimidation, humiliation and beating up (Thorat et.al 2006: 232). It indicates that if Dalits claim for their civil rights they would be beaten up by the dominant castes. Similarly Ramaswamy (Periyar) argued that,"Village means the dominance of a single wealthy person controlling the rest of the people, and exploiting the villagers he surrenders the entire village to the town people. Think of it, what else is the condition of the villages. what else can we see there, except garbage dump, stench of toilet, any sewage, poverty ridden hovel, personifications of disease and the destructive dance of stupidity and superstitions" (Speech of Periyar cited in G. Aloysius, 2013:52).

The fundamental argument is that in Indian villages there are no such democratic institutions; due to that many problems exist in them. Periyar further says that village reconstruction is a fraud idea where nothing will happen. In rural India Dalits are often powerless economically, socially, ritually and politically even to refuse their degraded duties. Quoting Ambedkar (Thorat et al. 2006:166) argued that he had said that in village untouchables have to serve or submit. If someone dares to resist, the entire community becomes the target of punitive action, including economic ostracism and that's what Dalits continue to be forced to undertake and demeaning tasks in rural India.

Ambedkar (1989) argued about the social structure of a Hindu village that 'The Hindu village is a working plant of the Hindu social order. He also argued that the Indian village is not a single unit, it consists of caste. The population in the village is divided into two sections, touchable and untouchables. In every village the touchable have a code which the untouchables are required to follow. This code lays down the acts of omission and commission which the touchable treat as offences.

Another important thing to note is that the punishment for these offences is always collective. The whole community of untouchables is liable for punishment although the offence is committed by individual. The untouchables have to depend on touchable for their livelihood. There is no room for democracy and liberty, fraternity and equality also. Of it is republic, it is republic of the touchable, by the touchable and the touchable. The untouchables have no right because they are outsider the village republic and because they are outside the so-called republic they are outside the Hindu fold' (Ambedkar, 1989: 19-26).

Gough (1981) highlighted two types of village structure in south India. The most prevalent is the 'mirasi' village, where the land is owned by small number of patrilineal joint families. Further the structure of a 'mirasi' village varies according to the Brahman or a non-Brahman village. In the Brahman village, the land is owned by the several families of a Brahman street. Some of this land is leased in small amounts on an annual tenure to landless families of one or more non Brahman streets, usually of the lower non Brahman castes of Ahambadiyas, Padayachis, Konar, Muppanar or Vanniyar. Other land retained by the landlords is cultivated directly by labourers from an Adi-Dravida Street situated at some distance from the rest of the village. In the Non-Brahman village, the land is owned by joint families of a street of Non-Brahman usually of one of the higher non Brahman castes of velar or Kollar. Some land may be then leased to other, lower castes Non-Brahman, or more frequently cultivated directly with the aid of Adi-Dravida servants (Gough; 1981; 56-60).

Oommen (1984) has tried to evolve the definition of the term 'village community' as with the classification of the macro and micro studies and he consider village community as the micro level study. Further he also tries to make distinction between micro and macro studies, and accept that micro studies concentrate on village, caste whereas macro studies deals with urban communities. He studied the four villages of Rajasthan and tries to understand the type of leader the community prefers. In other words it is necessary to understand the community image of ideal leadership, the leadership which people are willing to follow. These villages have leadership which exists in contemporary rural India and to measure the gap between the ideal and actual leadership pattern. He attempts to understand the nature of power structure and its relationship to common characteristics. Another study (1990) "Protest and Change" try to find out the sources of deprivation of Dalit's of Indian like low ritual status, appalling poverty and powerlessness. So the Dalits protest in India first crystallized against socio-cultural oppression particularly untouchability.

Srinivas (1962) argued that Village community is the most celebrated category of Indian society. To the anthropologist the villages are valuable observation-centres to study the process and problems in detail, occurring in many parts of India. For this an anthropologist goes to live in a village for a year or even two not because to collect information about curious and dying customs and beliefs, but to study a theoretical sociological problem, and his most important aim is to contribute to the growing body of theoretical knowledge about the nature of human societies (Srinivas, 1962:134).

Mandlebaum tried to define village through the concept of caste or Jati. Mandlebaum argued that village exists on solidarity. A Jati cannot stand alone. Its people must cooperate with people of the other Jatis and they commonly compete with some of them for power and status. The main locale of both cooperation and competition is the village. The groups involved are primarily families and Jati groups of the same village, rather



than whole Jati of a region. A village is far more than just a collection of houses, lanes and fields. For a villager it is a prime social reality, for the observer it is a principal unit for the understanding of the society.

Marriot (1955) in her famous essays on 'Multiple Reference in Indian Caste System' delineates the different levels at which the aspects of the caste system become salient. At the level of the village what is the interaction between Jatis, because it is these groups or categories which predominate the consciousness of the local people. In a closed rural society one's Jati position is known on a very intimate basis. Where family backgrounds and histories are common folk knowledge, local caste customs inhibit as well as condition one's style of life. There is not much scope for the parvenu, nor is there much point in trying to wear a Jati persona that is not traditionally one's own.

Beteille (1969) discussed about the concept of caste, class and power within the village and tried to locate the relation between a single village and the wider social system through the example of the relations between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidians, relations between landowners, tenants and agricultural labourers. These relations are governed by norms and values which have a certain generality. Some of the rules of the village governing different section of people apply to the state as a whole. Social relations overflow the boundary of the village easily and extensively. The ties of kinship and affinity link members of every caste to people in other villages or towns. Many of the members of the older families and lineage have become scattered. But they continue to retain some contact with those who have stayed behind in the village.

### **2.4.3. Social Change in the Village Society**

Bailey's 'Caste and the Economic Frontier' and Epstein's 'Economic Development and Social Change in South India' are the two village studies that focus on social change in village. Bailey (1952) studied an Oriya hill village 'Bisipara' and depicted on themes such as, composition of the village, economic activities of the village people, unity of the

village etc. He looks at the caste system in a village in Orissa under a new economy. The new frontiers are economic, political and administrative. Transfer of the land from the ex-landowners is a significant fact which makes land a market commodity and subsequently other occupations which were tried with landlordism also became part of a market situation. He also gave details about new economy, land transactions, services and trade and said that the mercantile economy has impinged on the system of agriculture, because those who profited as merchants, traders and earners of salaries invested their money of land.

Similarly Epstein (1962) also emphasizes on the social change, but from a comparative perspective. The main argument of his study is that a structural innovation consolidates village economy, but it restricts social change, namely migration, contracts, education and politicization etc. They both also focus on the changes in the traditional social structure and hierarchy in the village community. Marriot (1955) also depicts the process of social change in his study of KishenGarhi village in Uttar Pradesh. In her paper entitled 'Technological Change in Over developed Rural Areas' she has shown that villagers in KishenGarhi in Uttar Pradesh have not opposed all change, but on the contrary, have accepted new crops and new techniques of cultivation.

Similarly Srinivas (1960) tried to define social change in the society with the help of the concept of Sanskritization. According to him society is divided into two groups or strata in which the lower castes follow the upper castes rituals, traditions and culture to acquire higher status in the strata of the society. This process is called as Sanskritization. But the researcher argued that it could not be achieved only through a ritual and lifestyle imitation and had to be also negotiated with the local power structure. Ambitious castes or local sections of them tried to borrow the customs, ritual and life-style of the higher castes in an effort to move up. That was the way to be one up on one's structural neighbours'. The locally dominated caste was an obstacle to mobility for several reasons. In the first place, such mobility had the potential of threatening its own ambition

if not position. Second it could result in a chain reaction which could then lead to the suspension of the flow and services and goods from dependent castes.

#### **2.4.4. Settlement or Residence and Village**

Villages have segregated settlements of different castes. That means in the village each caste has its separate settlements. It is in this context Vivek Kumar (2014) has argued that most of the villages have segregated settlements based on the names of specific Jatis or Varnas. For instance, the geographical space, in the village, where Chamars live will be known as Chamarauti, Chamartolia or Chamakat, etc. Similarly the part of the village where Brahmins and Thakurs live is terms as Bamnauti and Thakuraiah respectively. In the same vein Dhobi, Pasi and Ahir localities are called as Dhubiana, Pasiana and Ahirana respectively. But no sociologist has written or analysed the identities of the localities where different Jatis live (Kumar; 2014).

Village is heterogeneous in terms of caste, occupation and residential pattern. On this point Dumont, Pawell, Srinivas and Bailey to name just a few analyze and describe the village on the basis of the division of the village society according to the above criteria. For example Bailey (1952) discussed, there are six streets of the village Kumbarasai, Sudosai, Pasonai, Sundisai, Khodalsai and Hatopodera. In this each street is made for each caste specifically. The lower caste street is not near by the upper caste street.

Srinivas (1955) had argued that village is a heterogeneous system in which some are new comers; some have been there for generations, some are Adivasis some are Oriyas. There are high castes, low castes, outcastes and some Adivasis families altogether outside the caste system. There are craftsmen, middlemen and cultivators. Traders and shopkeepers both compete with one another and with their customers. There are rich and poor. The unity of the village is seen during the time of festivals and

ceremonies and occasions when people of the different castes do their own works (Srinivas 1955 & Bailey 1969).

#### **2.4.5. Cultural Dimension and Village**

Culture is one of the most important factors, which play an important role to define the village in India. Dube (1955) argued that unity and diversity as the general features of the village and said that Indian Villages varied greatly in their internal structure and organization, in their ethos and world view, and in their life-ways and thoughts-ways. Further he argued that the village settlements as a unit of social organization, represents solidarity between different kin, the caste, and the class. Each village is a distinct entity, has some individual mores and usages, and possesses a corporate unity. Different castes and communities inhabiting in the villages and they are integrated in its economic, social and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by generally accepted conventions. The community life is characterized by economic, social and ritual co-operation existing between different castes inside the villages (Dube: 1955:17-19).

Further, he argued that village constructed in co-operative and communitarian terms and underlined its interdependence and unity in his monograph on Telangana village. He said that village community has appreciable degree of inter-caste and interfamily co-operation and it is enjoyed by different castes in the field of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on the traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed.

Dube has conducted his studies with the structural- functional perspective and for that Indian villages can be studied from various elements through which the village community is organized. According to Dube “No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized

political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone, he also belongs to a caste, religious group or a tribe with a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. Those units have their own organization, authority and sanctions.”

He also discussed about the study on Shamirpet village in Hyderabad and in this Dube has basically focused on the functioning of the Villages in India. “He founded that the economic system of the rural India is mostly caste based. There are caste functional specialization, interdependence and also low occupational mobility. His study derived the three major types of religious services and festivals observed in the village. They are family ceremonies, village familial and communal festivals and the Muslims and Hindus interact with each other during festivals. Dube had classified the society into four categories based on their standard of living like rich, well-to-do, average and poor. It was based on various aspects of living like household possession, clothing, ornament etc”.

Robert Redfield (1965) define that peasant is a man who is in effective control of a piece of land to which he has been attached by ties of tradition and sentiments. The land and he reports of one this old established body of relationships.

Dube argued that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a uniform organization and structural of values all over the Indian sub continent. He also said that for a proper understanding of their social and structural as well as their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishing types. This classification basis on six characteristics such as, Size of population and land area, Ethnic composition and caste constitution, Pattern of land ownership, Structure of authority and power hierarchy, Degree of isolation and Local traditions.

Further Dube also distinguishes Shamirpet villages between ‘gumpu’, ‘majra’ and ‘grama’ on the basis of rural settlement by their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the folk society; but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self

sufficiency pattern of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significance sociological facts (Dube: 1955: 4).

As the division of labour in the community governed to a very extent by the tradition caste occupations and co-operation labour of a number of different caste is required not only for agricultural activities but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its all population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller village, which in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement.

Caste determines village: the caste constitution determines the village character. Caste is one of the most important factors to define any society or village in this country.

Pattern of land revenue: in an agricultural country land must be greatly prized and with the great pressure of population and the condition of private ownership, possession of land has not only economic but a social and prestige values as well where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords as in the case of joint villages-the organization of village is sure to be different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The land distinguishes between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization.

Political structural authority of village: none of the village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always on unit in a wider sense and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; but also belongs to a caste, religious group which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and

sanctions. Politically the village under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian union and one of its constitute states. For administration references theses village states are divided into districts, later being subdivided into thesis and taluquas.

Cultural dimension: village settlement is governed by certain traditions religious and social. The dress, speech, manners, as well as the layout of the village and construction of the village houses, follow the prescribed pattern of the cultures. Village has a degree of diversity in village organization but apart from these variations. Village has a corporate units and each one possesses an individuality of its own.

Srinivas also depicts light on the cultural aspect of the village to define the concept of sanskritization and argued sanskritization was a 'process by which a low Hindu caste or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, 'twice born caste'. Generally, such types of changes followed by a claim to higher position in the caste hierarchy then traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community' (Srinivas 1972:6).

## **Conclusion**

The concept of village has been dealt by many sociologists and social anthropologists belonging to different perspectives. For example, the earlier studies consider that village is the self sustained concept made by the group of people living in one place with the feeling of brotherhood. The administrators defines it in terms of political while economist in terms of economy. Sociologists consider that village is the place where the primary sector dominant and majority of the population involve in the agricultural activities for their livelihood and they bind strongly with the rules and regulations of the society which attach with the values and norms.

On the basis of above studies the researcher has drawn a few points which are the basis to define Village through their own vantage point. But this

study focuses on the understanding of a Village through the perspective from Dalits especially the view of Bairwas in the Salempur Village. So we will use these concepts and approaches to understand the reality of Indian villages through the perception of Dalits.



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## Chapter III

### Socio Economic Profile of Salempur Village

#### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the socio economic profile of Salempur village of Karauli district in the state of Rajasthan. To begin with this chapter will highlight the demographic profile of the village. This chapter will highlight trends and processes associated with population. This chapter includes description of change in population size, pattern of birth, death rate, literacy rate, age structure. Further, migration and the structure and composition of the population, such as the relative proportion of the women and men in different age groups will also be discussed in this chapter.

Besides, this chapter will also analyse the caste structure within the village. It also examines the pattern of residence, structure of houses, occupation of villagers and source of income. Further this chapter will discuss about the health, economic and educational facilities available for the village people. It also throws light on the nature of Self Help Group (SHG) groups or Non Government Organization (NGOs) presence in the village. The chapter also analysis the role of SHGs and NGOs in the development of the village, whether they produce any employment to the rural people and also spread awareness about the importance of education in the village especially among the women. Further it also describes the climate, language, culture and costumes of the men and women of Salempur village of Karauli District in the State Rajasthan. This chapter also contains the different State and central Schemes for the rural development especially for the development of the Schedule Castes within the villages. And to what extant these schemes paly an important role in the lives of the villagers and the accessibility of thses schemes in their lives. If they do not reach to access the facilities then what are the causes behind of this.

### **3.2. Profile of the village**

This is a multi-caste village, where Brahmins, Baniya, Koli, Pathan, Sakka, Fakir (Pathan, Sakka, Fakir are the Sub Caste of Muslims), Meena, Thakur, Bairwa, Harijan, Nath, Kumhar (Potter), Sunar (Goldsmith) and Khati (Woodcutter) live. As this study especially deals with the understanding of the village social structure and therefore we need to have a wholistic profile of the village.

Before going to the data on the Salempur we would like to analyse district level data related to demographic factors like population, age distribution, literacy, male and female proportion in the population, work participation and population density. Karauli as the district headquarters of the village is situated 35 km from the village.

### **3.3. Demographic Profile of Karauli District**

Karauli district is located in the eastern part of Rajasthan. It shares a border with Madhya Pradesh along the Chambal River in the East, with Dausa and Bharatpur in the North, Sawai Madhopur along West and Dholpur along the eastern boundary. Total numbers of villages are 829 in the Karauli District out of which about 43 villages are uninhabited. Karauli is one of the backward districts of Rajasthan. The population of the District 1,209,665 persons (across 180,512 households) and most of the population live in rural areas. The percentage of Scheduled Castes is 23 and Scheduled Tribes 22.4 of the population of the district. The population density is 218 per square kilometres. The sex ratio stands at 855 females per 1000 male. Overall literacy rate is 63.4% with male and female literacy at 79.5% and 44.4% respectively. Workforce participation rate in Karauli is 40%, nearly 45% amongst males and 34% in females. Of the total workers, 61% are cultivators, 10% agriculture labourers, 2.6% home based workers and 25.7% engage in manufacturing, non-agriculture wage labour and business outside their home (Census, 2011).

The existence of Karauli as a district came after its separation from Sawai Madhopur district on 19th July 1997. The city of Karauli is known for its temples, forts and fairs. It also known for agriculture and stone industries and it is globally acclaimed for its sand stone. The stone industries have blossomed here and historical places like Red Fort, Akshardham temple of Delhi and Jaipur, Fort of Agra Fatehpur, Parliament of India Building are made by this red and pink sand stone. The district has a total of 32 Commercial Banks, 12 Regional Rural Banks (RRB), 5 Cooperative Banks and 5 Land Development Banks. Altogether 54 branches of different banks are located in this block. The Deposit and Credit per branch of Regional Rural Banks and public sector banks as on March 2003 was 64 million and 27 million respectively and the Credit Deposit ratio was at 42% (Census 2011).

Out of the total population of Karauli as per 2011 census, 14.96% lives in urban regions of the district. In total 218,105 people lives in urban areas of which males are 115,454 and females are 102,651. According to the 2011 Census Sex Ratio in urban region of Karauli district is 889. Average literacy rate is 72.77% in Karauli district out of which male and female literacy rate is 84.14 % and 60.05 % respectively. In actual number 134,426 people are literate in urban region of which male and females are 82092 and 52334 respectively. According to 2011 census, 85.04 % population of Karauli district lives in rural areas. The population living in rural areas is 1,240,143 Karauli district out of which males and females are 668,185 and 571,958 respectively. The sex ration in rural areas of Karauli district is 856 females per 1000 males. Literacy rate in rural areas of Karauli district is 65.05 % and male and female literacy stood at 80.93 and 46.52 percent respectively. The number of 671,423 people was literate, of which males and females were 449,812 and 221,611 respectively.

Sapotra is a Town in the district of Karauli and this is the Tahsil of Salempur village. Sapotra has a population of 6,716 of which 3,633 are males while 3,083 are females as per report released by Census India

2011. Population of children within the age group of 0-6 is 868 which 12.92 % of total population of Sapotra Census Town (CT). In Sapotra, Female Sex Ratio is of 849 against the state average of 928. Moreover, Child Sex Ratio in Sapotra is around 867 compared to the state average of 888. Literacy rate of Sapotra town is 77.62 % higher than the state average of 66.11 %. In Sapotra, male literacy is around 88.86 % while female literacy rate is 64.33%. Sapotra town has total administration over 1,229 houses to which it supplies basic amenities like water and sewerage. It is also authorized to build roads within Census Town limits and impose taxes on properties coming under its jurisdiction.

Schedule Castes (SCs) constitute 18.27 % while Schedule Tribes (ST) is 12.42 % of total population in Sapotra (CT). Out of total population, 1,963 were engaged in work or business activity. Of this 1,576 were males while 387 were females. In census survey, worker is defined as a person who does business, job, service, and cultivator and labour activity. Of total 1963 working population, 85.43 % were engaged in Main Work while 14.57 % of total workers were engaged in Marginal Work.

### **3.4. The Research Setting: Geography and Location of the Village**

**Table No. 3.1**

**Village Profile of Salempur**

<b>1.</b>	<b>Name of the Village</b>	<b>Salempur</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Sapotra</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Tahsheel</b>	<b>Sapotra</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Karauli</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Rajasthan</b>

Source: Field Study

**Table No. 3.2**

**Official Distribution of Population of the Village**

Population of Village	4773	2522 (Male) 2251 (Female)
General		1190
Schedule Caste		1233
Schedule Tribe		766
Other Backward Class		1584

(Source: Census 2011)

After discussing the demographic details of Karauli district we will discuss the demographic profile of Salempur village where the field of the study has been located. The Salempur village is a multi-caste village in the Karauli District of Rajasthan. It is situated at the beneath of Arawali hill between the two small towns Kurgaon and Gangapurcity. These towns are the centre point for their daily use things. Salempur village is surrounded by the Arawali hills from all the sides. Most of the population reside beneath Arawali hills and they also get the raw material from the hills, which are used for making building or houses. Salempur is a largest village according to the population within the Sapotra tehsil and it is located 40 km from Sapotra of Karauli district, Rajasthan. According to the 2011 census, there are a total number of 756 families residing and has a population of 4773 of which 2522 are males while 2251 are females as per Population Census 2011.

**Table No. 3.3**

**Population of Salempur village (Census 2011)**

Particular	Total	Male	Female
Number of Household	756		
Population	4773	2522	2251
Child Population (0-6)	790	416	374
Schedule Caste	1233	634	599
Schedule Tribe	459	251	208
Literacy (%)	67.16%	81.58%	50.99%
Total Workers	2266	1346	920
Main Workers	1402	-----	-----
Marginal Workers	864	411	453

Source: Census of India 2011.



**Table No. 3.4**

**How Castes /Communities Addressed Traditionally in  
Salempur**

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Traditional Calling	Number of Households
1.	Meena	Maina	170
2.	Bairwa	Chamar or Bairwa	220
3.	Brahman	Baman	50
4	Baniya/Gupta/Agarwal	Baniya	70
5.	Prajapati/Kumhar	Kumhar	70
6.	Pathan/Sakka/Fakir (Sub Caste of Muslim)	Musalman	220
7.	Rajput /Thakur	Rajput	80
8	Goldsmith (Sunar)	Sunar	3
9.	Harijan (Bhangi)	Bhangi	3
10.	Mahawar ( Koli)	Koli	12
11.	Nath (Jogi)	Jogi	20
	Total		848

Source: Field Study

Table 3.4 above depicts how caste and communities were addressed by resident of Salempur in day to day life. This shows that traditionally stereotyping of particular castes also exist in the village still.

### **3.5. Geographical Location of the Households in the Village**

The Salempur village is a multi-caste village in the Karauli District of Rajasthan. By mere observation the researcher can say that National Highway (NH) 11B divides the village into two parts, south and north. This divides the residential areas of village along the caste lives. Brahmans, Baniyas, Muslims and Thakurs reside on the both sides of the road. However it is noticeable that there is no household of Bairwa community in the north direction, all of their houses are in the south direction. So in this case, the notion of the village that the Dalits reside in the south direction of the village has been found true. Although during the interview with the respondent not even single respondent reveal the reason behind the residence of the Dalits in the south direction. As we know sometimes the lower caste people are pressurise to leave their places by the dominant caste of that village. For example several times we saw on TV news or News Papers that village people left their village after the conflict between two communities or between two villages. However in the present study there was no such case was displacement of the Dalits from Salempur Village.

Brahmins, Baniyas and Rajputs and few families of the Muslims reside on one side of the village and on the other side Bairwa, Koli, Nath, Muslims and four families of the Brahmans live. Except Meenas all other castes live in the village while the former live in the Dandies (small hamlet) or outskirt of the village. Their residences are called as Gokulpura, Govindpura, Hajaro ki Jhopdi and Langde ki Jhopdi. The names of all Dhanies are very different so the researcher was very curious to know the story behind these names. Then a number of the respondents gave the similar answer: first of all one of the elders of the family started living on his fields, he was a school teacher in a private school and had a slight

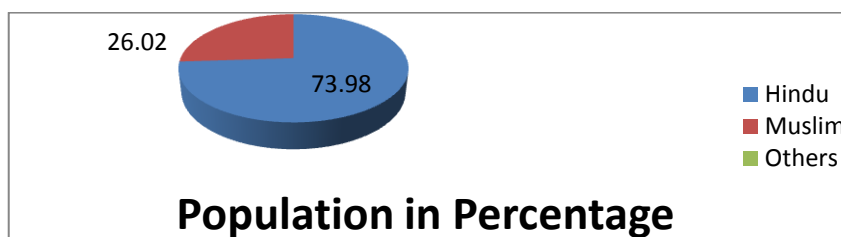
physical problem in his leg. So other people of the village call him as *langde masterji*. After some time few families also started living there. Thus that Dhani began to be called as Langde ki Jhopdi.

The name of Gokulpura came up because in 1985 few people came to the village and they performed the Ramlila and Krishnaleela. They lived on the fields of the Muslims. But after one year around two or three families of Meena community started living there. Soon people started calling that part of the village as Gokulpura. While Hajaro ki Jhopdi got its name due to the plants of Hajaro (type of decoration flower). In this case there was a piece of non irrigated land which was covered with the flowers of Hajaro. Due to increasing in population people start to cut the flower plants and start to live on the irrigated which was full of flowers with the name of 'Hjaro'. In this way locality was given the name Hajaro Ki Jhopdi. These are few narratives of the respondents belonging to Dalits who are living in these localities which are outside the main village.

### 3.6. Religious Profile of the Villagers

According to Census 2011 data majority of the population in Rajasthan follow Hinduism. Almost 88.49 percent of people follow Hinduism and followed by Islam i.e. approximately 9.07 percent. A minority of others follow Christianity, Jainism, Sikhism nor Buddhism. As data is not available in government record separately for different religions we have clumped them under others. So Karauli district has 92.00 percent Hindus and only 6.06 percent follow the Islam.

Pie Chart: 3.1

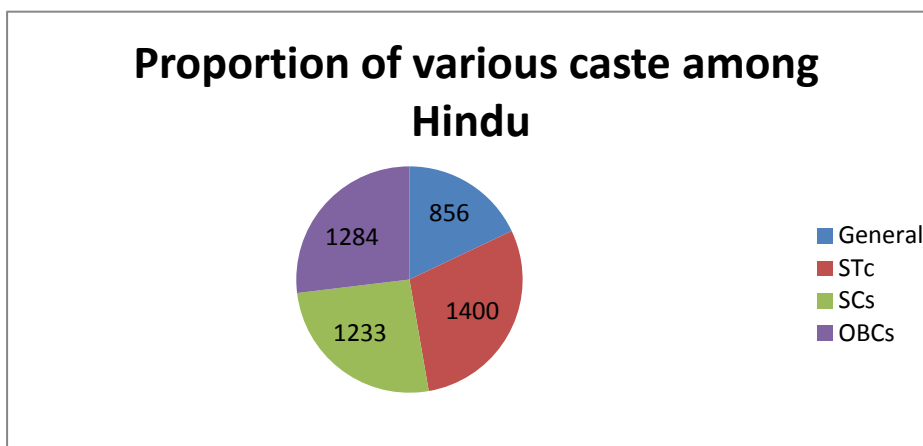


Source: Census of India 2011

The total population of the village is 4773 out of which 73.98% are Hindus and the remaining 26.02 percent belong to Muslim population in the village. At the caste and community level the sub-caste of Muslim community dominate the village. However Meena community dominate in the political and economic sphere. There are three sub castes among the Muslims, namely Pathan, Sakka and Fakir. The main cause behind increasing Muslim population is the known as division of labour. Most of the people of Muslim community engage in the agricultural activities and breaking of the stones. So they think that the more population they have they can produce more revealed one of elderly Muslim.

As the researcher do not limit herself to the interviews with the Bairwa community respondents, apart from this she also interviewed the Muslim people and during the conversation she noticed or recorded that most of the people from Muslim community have the notion that people are the gift of Allah (God), so why we should control it. Further the researcher also recorded the village religious data by interviewing the people of the village and other formal sector holders like distributor of PDS system, Sarpanch of the village etc.

**Pie Chart 3.2**



Source: Field Study

According to the census of the government of India 2011, the caste and community wise data indicates that there were 1233 SCs and 459 STs; however in 2015 the population of the STs has been almost the doubled. Moreover, Sarpanch (administrative head of the village) records shows that the Meena community population is now around 1400 that means at present, the Meenas population are numerically dominant in the village.

Therefore the researcher found that while according to the census data the Muslims are numerically dominant in the village. But the Sarpanch register tells that it is Meenas members hide the number of children during the census. The researcher tried to find out the reason behind this. The government of the Rajasthan decided to relax the two-child policy which was applicable to the state government employees, allowing them to have a third child in case of a remarriage. As per a government notification in June 2000, a candidate having more than two children was not eligible for government recruitment. An employee, whose third child is born after recruitment, he or she is denied promotion for five years, that was the main reason because of which Meenas hide the number of their children during Census.

### **3.7. Sex Ratio of the Village and Density**

The present para shows the sex ratio of the village population. Sex Ratio is a very important demographic indicator in understanding the socio-economic characteristics of population. According to 2011 Census the sex ratio (Number of females per 1000 males) is 821 in 2001. In Salempur village population of children with age 0-6 is 790 which make up 16.55 % of total population of village. Moreover Sex Ratio of Salempur village is 893 that lower than Rajasthan state average of 928 according to the census 2011. Child Sex Ratio for the Salempur as per census is 899, higher than Rajasthan average of 888.

Density of population is one of the important indicators to study population concentration. It is defined as number of persons living in per sq. km. There is no data related to the population density of the Salempur

village separately. According to Census 2011, the density of population is worked out at 200 persons per sq. km. as against 165 persons in 2001. The population density is around 228 per sq. km. which is lower than the district population density of 284. Although there is no official record about the population density of the village but the government has estimated population density for the urban and the rural areas. Accordingly the rural it is 226 while it is 284 for the urban areas.

### **3.8. Work Participation**

According to the 2011 Census, 2266 people are occupied agriculture as their occupation, which 61.87 percent of Main Work, i.e. employed or earning more than 6 months, while 38.13 % are involved in Marginal activity earning for less than 6 months. Of 2266 workers engaged in Main Work, 767 are cultivators (owner or co-owner) while 278 are Agricultural labourers.

### **3.9. Literacy**

Literacy is a predominant factor of demographic characteristic, which is worked out during the course of Population Censuses. According to Population Census, a person is considered literate if he or she can read and write with understanding any language. Salempur village has higher literacy rate compared to Rajasthan. In 2011, literacy rate of Salempur village had literacy percentage of 67.16 as compared to 66.11 % of Rajasthan. In Salempur, male literacy stands at 81.58 % while female literacy rate is 50.99%. The literacy of the village is not specified on the basis of particular village but it is measured on the basis of rural background. So, all rural areas of the Karauli district have the same literacy rate. By the help of interview and interaction with the people the researcher has recorded that at present most of the people in the village want to educate their children. It is on the rise because they know the importance and value of the education the researcher found.

### 3.10. Social Change in the Village

The following sets of questions are relevant in analysing the social change processes taking place in the lives of the people living in the village. The question comes first in the mind of the researcher that which are the sections of village population are most modernized and how far is the structure of this village being differentiated by this process? Moreover the researcher tries to find out the institutions and norms have been taken up in these villages as a result of the recent structural changes in Indian society at large? Further she also tries to locate patterns of stratification are likely to emerge as a result of the process of modernization and what specific hindrances come in the way of modernization becoming a general societal process in the village under investigations?

To test these questions in this study the researcher will further take specific factors such as caste, class, family, occupation, marriage, education, style of life etc. to analyze change taking place in the village.

Urbanization is the process in which people of the village move from rural to urban areas or for the better employment opportunities and quality of life. The main factor which attracts the villagers towards the city is the life style of the people. As Srinivas considers that urbanization is the result of the westernization or the impact of the western values and culture on the urban areas. We know that change is unavoidable in any society; then how can Salempur village remain without change? So there are apparent changes in the life style of the villagers and their values, dressing sense, food habits etc. The main cause behind such changes is the effect of education among them. They are becoming more aware about the benefits of getting educated. They realize the importance of the city culture and accept that it is not harmful for them if they accept it in a positive way.

In the urban areas, there are technological advancement and if they have to improve the agricultural sector, then they need to accept the technology by which they can save time and get increase production. This village area

is very near to the city, as it is surrounded both sides by the small cities of Gangapurcity and Kurgaon. There are plenty of employment opportunities in Gangapurcity. As a result, many people start residing there and buy the land for living purpose in the Salempur Village. Eventually, we can see that one day in future the boundary of the village and the city will merge with each other.

### **3.11. Migration**

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. People can either choose to move (voluntary migration) or be forced to move (involuntary migration). Migration occurs in a variety of ways: migration can occur between continents, within a continent, or within a single country. Migration can even occur when people move out of the city and into the country. The most important thing about migration to remember is that it occurs when groups of people move for the same reason. There are mainly four types of migration rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to rural, and urban to urban. According to the National Geographic Society, there are six types of the migration. These are Internal Migration (Moving to a new home within a state, country, or continent), External Migration (Moving to a new home in a different state, country, or continent), Emigration (Leaving one country to move to another), Immigration (Moving into a new country), Return Migration (When groups of people move back to where they came from), and Seasonal Migration (When people move with each season (e.g. farm workers following crop harvests or working in cities off-season). The process of moving for a period of time in response to labour or climate conditions (e.g., farm workers following crop harvests or working in cities off-season; “snowbirds” moving to the southern and south-western United States during winter) (National Geography Society: 2005).

So we can say that migration is a process or act of moving from one place to another for better opportunities of life. For example, most of the people of the rural areas move toward the city because of the better chances for



employment, good education and life style of the city. So there are always two factors behind the migration - push and pull factors. Lack of employment sources, poor education system, poor health facility etc., are the push factors which compel the people move out from the place. On the other hand better opportunities of employment, good facilities of education and health are the pull factors which attract the people towards the place. But in the context of the village ratio of the migration is very low because the employment sources are in good condition in the village. Most of the population engage along with agricultural labour in hill works like breaking of the stones, while others like Meena and Muslims involve in the farming and business. Thus we can say that there is only seasonal migration.

### **3.12. Occupational Pattern of Salempur**

The agriculture and animal husbandry are the most important occupational opportunities in the village. How in the case of Salempur Village the economy of the village primarily depends on agriculture and labour on the hills of the village. As already discussed earlier this village is surrounded by hills. Mostly people of the Bairwa, Koli and Sakka (one sub caste of Muslim), collect the raw material such as Bajri (sand which is used to connect two stones) and small stones used in the making of the houses and buildings and sell these materials in the market or to the contractor to earn their livelihood.

There are around 15 Brahman's households in the village do not have land. Out of 15, only 2 families have traditional occupation of priesthood. All the families of Baniya community do their own business such as selling of clothes, sweets, grocery and tailoring shops. The bulk of agriculture is done by Bairwa community, considered as the untouchable caste earlier. However they have raised their social status and position. Other agriculture communities are Meena and sub caste of Muslims. They both consider themselves as the landlords and dominant castes of the village. They have their own fields and Bairwa work on these fields.

Sometimes Bairwa also engage in the construction labour in the village. Thus here we can see the change in the occupational status of the castes such as Meena, Bairwa and sub caste of Muslims also.

Further the researcher also tried to ask the respondents to understand how occupation determines the hierarchy in the village. By mere observation one can agree that in Salempur Village like in any other village of India occupation also forms a hierarchy. Butchery is low occupation because the butcher kills animals for his living. In this village only Muslims are butchers. Although the butcher is the one sub caste of Muslims but here in the present study the Muslims in general carry out butcher occupation. It is true that researcher found out that most of the castes who are non-vegetarian occasionally kill animals, but they do not do it for their livelihood. Fishing, also involves killing of living creatures. Working with leather is a low occupation, because handling hide is defiling; such defilement may be related to the taking of life and to the messiness of skinning and tanning. We have found that only untouchables work with leather. Herding swine is a low occupation because swine defile. The tapping and sale of toddy are also considered to be low occupation because of two reasons due to intoxicate and sacred, only low castes drink toddy. Nonetheless, western alcoholic drinks, which are consumed only by the wealthy, are not considered low. Further, agriculture is an occupation common to all, Brahmins in this area do not usually engage personally in agriculture and even the richer non Brahmins get the actual work on the field done by servants who are mostly the Schedule castes.

### **3.13. Land Use Pattern**

In the village the available land can be divided into three parts, such as agricultural, non agricultural and wastage land. So here in the Salempur village around 40% land is covered by the hills and other 30% use for agricultural and remaining 30% wastage land where there are forest where animals graze. The economy of the village is dominated by the agriculture which is depended on the rain. The water level is very low; sometimes the

bore system fails after digging at 80 feet beneath the earth surface. During the interview one of the respondent said that though he has boring system in his own fields, 'Pani Ka level itna niche hai ki assi feet tak nai aya' (the water level is so low that even around eighty feet there is no water). A small piece of land is used for the pastures and nursery (small form of the forest) where the animals of the village are taken by the village people for grazing.

### **3.14. Source of Drinking Water and Irrigation**

There is water crisis in the village but in summer it becomes unbearable because the water level goes further down resulting in lack of water in the wells. There are two wells in the main locality of the village; one is in the middle of the Bairwa settlement and the other one beside the main road which is meant for all village people not for any particular caste.

The respondent revealed that in 1999 a hand-pump was allotted to the village by the government but it took one year to function. There is a story behind it. For the first time, the officials came and checked the land for fixing the hand-pump and then they left with some machines and tools. When the workers had started to dig the land, they came to know that there is no water even after they have dug seventy feet below surface level. They did not give it up and loose hope. They came again after six months with the heavy machinery for digging the land. Finally, water was pumped but after one year water level went down and the hand-pump is not at all working now.

Apart from well and hand-pump the other main source of water for the village is supply from the tap system. But again during the summer the villagers severe water crisis and they have to go around three kilometres for getting drinking water. Most of the households have their own 'kuwi' (small well with cement in the courtyard) for collecting the rain water and storing it. From this they may get water supply only for fifteen to twenty days which is insufficient. Villagers save water in their small well. But on other side, in the Dhanies there is no water crisis because the water level

is comparatively high. People of this area depend on ground water for both drinking and irrigation. So the agriculture condition is also very good in Dhanies. However, Salempur village suffers from water crisis from the years.

### 3.15. Crops in Salempur

As we know by now that the agriculture is the main element of the rural areas or villages in the world. As everywhere the crops are divided into three Ravi, Kharif and Jayad. The village people mainly grow Bajra, Dal, Barley, Wheat, Maize, Sarso, Til, Groundnut and the like; but Bajra is the dominant crop of the village or Rajasthan also because it requires less water. As we know that the Kharib crops are sown in the June-July and cut in October-November while the Ravi crops are sown in October-November and cut in March-April. The Ravi crops are also called as syaadu crops (winter crops) and Kharib crops call as Hunadu (summer crops) in regional or local term or language.

### 3.16. Educational Facility in the Village

Table no. 3.5 below gives us the existence of the available schools in the Salempur village of Karauli district.

**Table no 3.5**

**Number of Schools in the Village**

Type of School	Government	Private	Total number of Schools
Primary	5	1	6
Secondary	4	1	5
Senior Secondary	1	2	3
Total	10	4	14

Source: Field Study

### **3.15.1. Physical Structure of the Schools**

There are fourteen schools in the village. Out of these schools ten schools are government and the other four schools are private. The above table shows that three schools are higher secondary. Out of fourteen schools only four schools in the main locality, two are private and two are government. The other schools are located in each Dhani of the village. The researcher does not find the single student who enrolls the schools of other Dhani. But the people of Dhani send their children to study to the main locality schools as they think these schools are better than the schools which are located in their own Dhanies.

### **3.15.2. Preferences of the People of School**

Most of the children of the village go to the town for better education as parents are know or are conscious about the value of education and merits of providing good education to children. The private schools maintain good standards and it is reflected in the results each year. Many of the children from village are going to the private schools. Because of financial constrains, many of them are not able to go there. On the other hand, the standard of education in the government schools is deteriorating day by day. Here the researcher records the views of the respondents and the respondent elaborate the story that are tell by their children. One of the respondents tells that ‘mera baccha hamesa complain karta h ki meri teacher school ati to bunai ka kam karti rahti h or kabi kabi to apne chote baccho ko bhi le ati hai wo humako padne nai deta’ (my son always complains that my teacher come to the schools and she is weaving, sometimes she take her small kid and he trouble to study us).

### **3.17. Health Facility**

#### **3.17.1 Facility at PHCs/Sub Centre**

There is a sub centre of the Primary Health Centre (PHC) called as dispensary to take care of the health of the villagers. However, facilities in the Primary Health Centre are not satisfactory, despite the presence of an MBBS doctor and two nurses. The nurses go to the village every month to check the health condition of pregnant women and children below five years. They also give to them the iron and calcium tablets; sometimes they also provide the nutrition objects to the children and pregnant women of the village. There is one Ayurved dispensary as well not were. So at the end of this we can say that the health facilities are quite satisfactory in comparison to the other parts of the district. Therefore we can infer this village is known as the well developed village in the context of economic, cultural, social, and educational, health facility in comparison of the other village within the same district.

#### **3.17.2 Condition of PHCs**

In this para the researcher depicts light on the condition of the PHCs by mere observation during fieldwork of the village. As she noted that the building of the PHC is in good condition but it is not properly maintained. In the rainy season, water overflows into the rooms. During summer the rooms become too hot. There is also no proper arrangement for the patients. So people do not prefer to come and they take the patient to the city hospital. Earlier the condition of the PHC was better but now with each passing day it is becoming worse day by day. The main factor was for this deterrence that most of the population do not trust in government hospitals and they take the patient in the private hospitals of the city. Since 2011, more than 400 medicines are declared to be free of cost by the state government under the Mukshaymantri Nisulk Dawa Yojna. In the beginning of the scheme these medicines were available only for the BPL card holders, but now it is available to all patients who opt for

government hospitals. But most of the respondents complain that they do not avail free medicine most of the time, so they prefer private hospitals.

### **3.17.3 Private Medical Facility**

As we know that the young generation do not trust in the government hospitals and schools, they prefer the private facilities. But they do not know that the private facilities are provided fast because there is very few number of people and also they are run on the basis of profit and loss. There are two fake private doctors who started practicing in the village since 20 years ago. But they do not have the MBBS degree, as they had completed only general nursing and midwifery course (GNM). They deal in all cases, from critical delivery issues to common fever. The respondents have revealed that there have been number of newly born babies at the time of delivery. The villagers are sure that it has happened because of ignorance or lack of knowledge of the so-called doctors. But as the villagers are illiterate and god fearing people these so called doctors successfully convince these, because of bad luck of god's will, that they have lost baby. Such frauds survive because of the ignorance and the lack of education among the people, especially amongst the lower caste people.

However, currently as there is more educational awareness and better transportation system the general tendency of the villagers is to take the patients to the city government hospital. It takes only 10 to 20 minutes from the Salempur village to the city by public transport system. However what we can infer from village experiences of people living in the Salempur village is that they have been suffering as far as health facility are concern. In spite of government effort the village lacks infrastructure.

### **3.18. Anganwadi /ICDS Centers**

There are six Anganwadi workers in the village. All of them come from the Dhani and two of them deal with the main village locality. There are

ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) health workers and helpers also who go to the hospital with the patient during the delivery time. At the Anganwadi centre children of the village come to get education because they cannot go to school due to family reason or responsibility of their younger siblings. Here the researcher has notice record of the children in these type of schools and find out that number of children decreasing day by day in these Anganwadi centres. The main reason of this that villagers become aware about the value of education and they also know the educational policies by the government. So they start send their children in the schools.

The Integrate Child Development Services (ICDS) is a scheme run by the government of India sponsored programme and it is also a primary social welfare scheme to tackle malnutrition and health problems among the children below 6 years of age and the mothers of the children are also taken care of. These groups are formed by the Department of Women and Welfare at the habitation level for implementing health, nutrition, and literacy programmes for women. Micro finance is extended to the members for taking up income generating activities as individual or as group enterprises.

### **3.19. Joint Forest Management Groups**

Village communities in notified forest areas are formed into Vana Samrakshana Samithis (VSS) to conserve forest wealth. Social mobilization through the SHG route is being achieved under this programme. Village communities are mobilized to take up alternative income generating activities. There is a nursery which is part of forest land under government protection and various types of animals also sheltered here. The people of the village collect the jadi buti (medicine of ayurvedic) from the forest and specially the 'ber' (type of fruit) at the time of Diwali. The importance of his fruit is on the second day of Diwali call as Goverdhan puja. People put this fruit on the picture of Goverdhan god which is made of cow dung.



### **3.20. Watershed Management Groups**

As we know that Rajasthan has the scarcity of water particularly in the west part of the state. The water level also very deep in Rajasthan due to the desert which constitute 61% of the total area of the state. Farmers in the watershed areas are formed into groups for implementing improved techniques of watershed development with the intervention of a facilitating agency, normally an NGO. While on-farm development activities are funded through grant support, these groups are also encouraged to take up microfinance, with thrift as an entry point activity. Although, there is no group related to watershed formation but people are aware about the need to save water. During the rainy season, village people collect the rain water in small pits of the land and after some time they use it for the animals. They also save water through their roofs of their houses. In this process they make walls on three sides of the house and in the wall of roof they make a hole. At the time of rain, they close this hole with thin clothe so that the rain water is stored on the roof, and they use it for cleaning the utensils and washing clothes.

### **3.21. Public Distribution System (PDS)**

In the village there are two PDS distributors: one belongs to the Jogi (Nath) community. Under this PDS come all households belonging to Dhanies get their Ration. The other PDS shop is run by the Bairwa community. Under this PDS system, all the households of the main locality and one Dhani to collect their Ration. The distribution of items under the PDS system is on the basis of five categories like Above Poverty Line (APL), Below Poverty Line (BPL), Anna Antoydaya Yojna (AAY), Special Below Poverty Line (SBPL) and Kishori Sakti Yojna (KSY). Out of 848 household, only 756 have their Ration Cards and remaining do not have it because they do not live regularly in the village, they come to the village only occasionally or they left the village.

### **3.22. Non-Agriculture Activities in the Village**

As we know that agriculture is the main source of livelihood of the village people. Similarly in the case of present village study agriculture and pastoral is the dominant occupation activities for the villagers. But here in the village of the present study the villagers told that they are also engaged in other works with agriculture. For instance they work as daily wage labourers in buildings, houses and multi-storey buildings, they work in brick kilns and they also work as beldars and collect the stones on the hill and get money to earn their livelihood. The people of the Meena community engage in the agricultural activities as they have low. Moreover Meenas have benefited from reservations in the government sectors and therefore they are in the government jobs also. The respondent said that one Dhani name Govindpura, no one single house who do not have a government job of member. Muslims are involved in agriculture and breaking of the stones on the hills but the female member of the Muslims community are not allowed to work outside their houses even for their daily use things also. The respondent told that the Muslim women do only housework and sometimes they make Bidi, Samaiya, Papad, and Pickle for the selling in market and earn some money.

### **3.23. Role of Government Schemes/Programmes for Dalits in the Village**

As we know that there are several schemes and programmes run under the Central and State Government. But this part tries to insight the light on the few schemes and programmes effect the life of the villagers. Further the researcher also tries to show the impact of the schemes in their life, are they get benefits of these schemes, if they are not then what are the reasons behind it? The Rural Development Department is implementing a number of programmes and schemes in the rural areas of the State. The main goal of these programmes is to reduce poverty, increase the assets among the families belonging to the lowest income category, reduce involuntary unemployment and under employment to negligible levels,

improve access of the poor to social services and infrastructure development of rural areas. The main objectives of various poverty alleviation and employment generation schemes are: Reduction in Rural Poverty, Employment Generation in Rural Areas, Development of Rural Infrastructure, Removal of Regional Imbalances, and Rural Housing for Rural Poor, Community Participation, Reduction of inequality and Promote inter-caste marriages.

At the state level Rural Development Programmes are being implemented through Panchayati Raj & Rural Development Department. On the other hand Zila Parishads implement it at district level. Presently there are 33 Zila Parishads, 295 Panchayat Samiti and more than 9,000 Gram Panchayats in existence in the State. Majority of the works are being implemented by Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) followed by other Government executive agencies like Public Works Department (PWD), Public Health Engineering Department (PHED), Forest, Soil Conservation etc. and Non Government Organisations (NGOs). We are aware that the community development programme started since 1952 for the development of rural areas. Here some of the important schemes and programmes will be discussed which has contributed in the rural development by providing employment, training and financial help to the rural people of India in general and people of Rajasthan in particular.

### **3.24. List of Schemes and Programs for Rural Area**

**Swarnjayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana (SGSY):** The SGSY, which is a credit cum subsidy programme aims at benefiting the families living below poverty line. The beneficiaries of the programme are called “Swarozgaris”. SGSY is funded in the ratio of 75:25 between Government of India and Government of Rajasthan. The basic aim is to identify BPL families and bring them above the poverty line on a sustained basis. The scheme is being implemented by the Zila Parishads with the active involvement of PRIs, the Banks, the Line Departments and

the NGOs. The scheme covers all the districts of the State. SGSY aims at establishing a large number of micro-enterprises in rural areas.

**Ajeevika Schemes:** Rajasthan Grameen Ajeevika Vikas Praishad is for effective implementation of all livelihood projects for the rural people in the State. There are various projects implemented by the government of Rajasthan to help rural people for their development such as Rajasthan Rural Livelihood Project (RRLP), Mitigating Poverty in Western Rajasthan (MPOWER) and National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) Projects. These Projects are funded by various agencies, as RRLP by World Bank, MPOWER by IFAD (International Fund for Agriculture Development) and NRLM by Government of India. The main focus of this mission is to provide employment to earn livelihood to the rural people especially those who come under below poverty line.

**Rajasthan Rural Livelihood Project (RRLP):** this project run with the assistance of World Bank, the Project is being implemented in the 51 Blocks of 18 Districts of Rajasthan. The main object of the project is “to enhance the economic opportunities and empowerment of the rural poor. The main aim of this project is to empowerment of the women and marginalized groups”.

**National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM):** NRLM’s mandate is to reach out to all the poor families, link them to sustainable livelihood opportunities and nurture them till they come out of poverty and enjoy a decent quality of life. The project goal is to reduce poverty by enabling the poor households to access gainful self employment and skilled wage employment opportunities, resulting in appreciable improvement in their livelihoods on a sustainable basis, through building strong grassroots institutions of the poor from SHGs to Federations.

**Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS):** From 1st April, 2008 this Scheme is being implemented in all the districts of the State. From 2nd October, 2009 this Act is

renamed as “Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act-2005.” The objective of the Act is to enhance livelihood security in rural areas by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. At present time the employment increase 50 days so that today it become for 150 days for the people.

**Indira Awas Yojana (IAY):** The primary objective of IAY is to provide housing to members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, freed bonded labourers and non SCs and STs rural poor living below poverty line by providing them grant-in aid. In the year 1999-2000 up gradation of unserviceable kaccha houses and credit cum subsidy scheme have also been included in this yojana. From 1995-96, the IAY benefits have been extended to widows or next of kin of defence personnel killed in action. Benefits have also been extended to ex-service men and retired members of the paramilitary forces who fulfilled the normal eligibility conditions except the income criteria. Three percent of funds are reserved for especially disabled persons living below the poverty-line in rural areas. Under the scheme, assistance for housing is sanctioned to the female members of the households or in joint names of husband and wife. A minimum of 60 percent of funds are to be utilized for construction of houses for the SC/ST people. Sanitary Latrine and Smokeless Chulha are integral to an IAY house. The funds of IAY between Central and State are shared in the ratio of 75:25.

**Credit-cum-Subsidy Scheme:** During the year 1999-2000, the Government of India launched the ‘Credit-cum-Subsidy Scheme’ for rural housing under which funds are shared between the Central and State Government in the ratio of 75:25. Under the scheme, families with annual income below Rs. 32,000 and not covered in IAY, are taken care of. A sum of Rs.15,000 are provided as subsidy and the remaining cost of house is arranged through loan from scheduled and commercial banks repayable by the beneficiaries. The maximum limit of the loan is Rs 50,000.

**Mukhya Mantri Grameen BPL Awas Yojana:** Under this scheme, Below Poverty Line (BPL) families are to be provided housing facilities over the three financial years. This has been made possible by negotiating a loan of Rs. 3,400.00 crore with Housing of Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO). All rural housing scheme beneficiaries will get additional assistance for construction of latrine under Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan and MGNREGS.

**Members of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLAD):** Under this scheme, each MP has the choice to recommend works to the tune of Rs. 5 crore per year to be taken up in the concerned constituency. The main objective of the scheme is creation of social and infrastructure facilities and assets of public utility which are important for the development of the area

**Members of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development Scheme (MLALAD) :** The objective of the scheme is to develop local need based infrastructure, creating assets of public utility and removing regional imbalances in development. The scheme is being implemented in the rural as well as urban area of the State.

**Dang Area Development Programme:** The area characterized by ravines and gorges and infested by dacoits is known as the “Dang Area”. These are backward areas and need investment to augment infrastructure facilities for faster pace of development. For this purpose, the Dang Area Development Programme has been restarted in 2004-05 by the State Government. The programme covers 357 Gram Panchayats of 21 Panchayat Samitis under 8 districts; Sawai Madhopur, Karauli, Dholpur, Baran, Jhalawar, Bharatpur, Kota and Bundi.

**Swa-Vivek Zila Vikas:** In view of the minimum requirement and prevailing conditions, this scheme is being implemented since the year 2005-06 to execute works as per local community need. The works to be taken up are decided by District Collector.

**Grameen Janbhagidari Vikas Yojana (GJVY):** This scheme has been initiated from the year 2010-11 in all 33 districts of the State. The objective of the scheme is to ensure public participation in rural areas for development, employment generation and for construction and maintenance of community assets.

### **3.25. Panchayati Raj**

The Panchayati Raj Department bears the responsibility of implementing the different developmental activities including district plans in rural areas and exercises administrative control over the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). A three-tier set up of PRIs exists in the State i.e. Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the Block level and Zila Parishad at the District level. The major schemes and programmes being implemented by Panchayati Raj department are the following

**1. Thirteenth Finance Commission (TFC):** The duration of this commission is 2010 to 2015. The objective of this grant under TFC is to provide the following services in rural areas: Strengthening and improvement in the rural drinking water supply system, Construction of toilets for providing sanitation facility in social and community institutions, schools etc. and safe solid waste management, provision of street lights etc., Creation of database and maintenance of accounts of PRIs, and Maintenance of assets of drinking water and sanitation facilities.

**2. Allotment of Residential Plots at Concessional Rates:** The Gram Panchayats provide residential land up to 150 sq. yard at a subsidized rate between 2 to 10 per sq. yard as per the provision of Rule 158 (1) & 158 (2) of Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Rules, 1996 to rural shelter less poor families belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, scavengers and backward classes, rural artisans, landless labourers, specially abled person, primitive tribes (gadiya-luhars), flood affected, ex-soldiers and

those who have lost their house or whose houses have become uninhabitable due to floods. Besides this, residential plots are also being provided free of cost to selected families of BPL and wandering shepherds.

**3. Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF):** This scheme is being implemented in 13 districts namely; Barmer, Banswara, Chittorgarh, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Jaisalmer, Jalore, Karauli, Sawai Madhopur, Sirohi, Tonk, Pratapgarh and Udaipur of the State. The objective of this scheme is to remove the backwardness of the district by integrated socio-economic development of the area through effective infrastructure development and capacity building.

**4. Total Sanitation Campaign:** Under this scheme constructing works have been completed in the village for example toilets for APL and BPL families and toilets for schools and Anganwadi Centres have been constructed.

**5. Nirmal Gram Puruskar Yojana:** Under this scheme, 32 Gram Panchayats have been awarded. In recently March 2016 state government declared Bikaner as the total sanitation award and Ajmer's Kayala panchayat as the free for slum area.

**6. Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS):** Basic objectives of scheme are to improve the nutritional status of children in classes 1 to 8 in government, local body, government aided schools and education guarantee centres, to increase enrolment and encouraging students to attend school more regularly and to provide nutritional support to the children of drought affected areas during summer vacations. It covers approximately 73.58 Lakh students studying in classes 1 to 8. In MDMS, different recipes are being served on different days of the week on a rotational basis. The food being served in MDMS contains a minimum of 450 calories and 12 gram protein (for class 1 to 5 students) and 700 calories and 20 gram protein (for class 6 to 8 students). Under the scheme, gas based cooking has been



encouraged. Funds for procurement of cooking devices have been released to the districts to equip all the schools with adequate utensils. Apart from cooking and serving devices, the state has also issues funds for storage devices in schools. Also the NGOs working in the scheme are provided with hot cases so that the food supplied in schools may stay warm and fresh for a longer period. Through this scheme, 6,838 students of 135 centres have been benefited.

### **3.26. Self Help Group**

Self-Help Group (SHG) is a small voluntary association of poor people, preferably from the same socio-economic background. They come together for the purpose of solving their common problems through self-help and mutual help. The SHG promotes small savings among its members. The savings are kept with a bank. It may be registered or unregistered. In this village there is no SHG. Self Help Group is about people coming together with others who are affected by a particular issue (experience, disadvantage, discrimination, etc) to support each other and to work together to change the disadvantage affecting them. SHG is a self-governed, peer-controlled small and informal association of the poor, usually from socio-economically homogeneous families who are organized around for savings and credit activities. Funds for credit activities are coming through regular savings deposited by all of its members on a weekly or fortnightly basis. In the meetings they discuss common village problems and plan solution, share information, make efforts to improve their health and literacy skills.

Self-help groups play today a major role in poverty alleviation in rural India. Many NGOs are promoting the SHG mechanism and linking it to various other development interventions. Whereas there is ample evidence that the SHG approach is a very effective, efficient and relevant tool for organizing and empowering the poor, do arise with design, development and introduction of programmes to promote income generating activities that will generate sufficient, sustainable and regular income.

Empowerment of the poor encompasses three basic dimensions-reduction of poverty, creation of employment, and erasing inequality.

### **3.27. Village Organization**

As there is no political organization within the village but at the time of election it is seen that political organization and the kinship organization within the village are closely intertwined. For example during the election time of Sarpanch, Vidhanshabha and Member of Parliament, the people who associate or belong to different parties, come together for their own candidate in the village. As the respondents said that in the 2005 Sarpanch election time, the seat was reserved for the schedule caste candidate. Then the concern of the whole village was the victory of that candidate from Barh Salempur, a Dhani of the village. But after three days he came to the Panchayat and told the people about his desire to withdraw his name from the list. But under pressure from the people, he narrated the whole story behind his decision to withdraw from the election. The Thakurs of his area did not want him to contest and they threatened him. Hearing the story, the whole village united and took an oath to ensure the winning of the seat by another candidate of their choice.

However, in many situations, caste system divides the village community and weakens the sense of village solidarity. This is due to the fact that casts generally represents distinct ethnic groups with its own history, traditions and identifications and each caste lives in more or less separate quarters of the village.

### **3.28. Administrative Structure**

As per constitution of India and Panchyati Raj Act, Salempur village is administrated by Sarpanch (Head of Village) who is the elected as the representative of village. The administrative system of the Salempur village had been very isolated before fifty or sixty years ago. At the present, there is rotation of the seats on the basis of SCs, STs, OBSs and

general categories and seats are also reserved for women in the posts of Sarpanch, Directory, Jila Parisad, Jila Pramukh and etc.

Caste unity and the authoritative role of the landlords appear again in the village administration. The village forms a local revenue unit under a village headman appointed by government. The headman must collect the revenue from village. In addition the village forms a Panchayat under an elected Panchayat board with a president and seven members. The board controls a fund derived from a small portion of the village revenue; their chief work is to maintain roads and wells and all public resources. The whole village has been divided into eleven wards and every ward is represented by a ward member. The ward member takes the responsibility of the ward's households and represents them in the public meetings. He also raises the voice for the problems of the ward such as lack of water, sanitary system and also try to maintain the peaceful environment in own ward.

### **3.29. Climate of the Village**

The climatic condition of Karauli district throughout the year is sunny with the temperature ranging between high 35 °C and low 23 °C. The Humidity of this region varies from 31 to 35% with a dew point of 11° to 15°. The wind's speed is NW 11–15 km/hr. The chance of precipitation may be 30% to 40%. During the rainy season, the village gets scattered showers. This region is termed to be dry climatic area of subtropical region. There is also distinct winter and long summer season. The recorded highest temperature is 49 C during May–June and lowest temperature is 20 C during January. The average rainfall recorded in this district is 880mm. The monsoon season falls in July to September.

### **3.30. Language of the Rajasthan**

The language of Rajasthan is Rajasthani which consists of five principal dialects like Marwari, Dhundhari, Mewari, Mewati and Hadauti. It is derived from Apabhramsa, with all its linguistic and orthographical

peculiarities. Rajasthani as a language of literature suffered a great set back during the British period. Today hundreds of poets and writers are writing in Rajasthani. Folk literature in Rajasthani is varied and rich and it consists of songs, tales, sayings, riddles and folk-lore which play an eminent role in the making of the culture of Rajasthan.

The dominance of Meenas and Muslims in the Salempur village is akin to the Srinivasian concept of the dominant caste in the study of Rampura village. This village officially is known as the 'Pathano ka Salempur' because of the domination of the Muslims in the village. The concept of the dominant caste is important for understanding inter-caste relations in any area and also for the understanding the unity of the village. A caste may said to be dominant if it outweigh numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields economic and political power. Similarly, a large and powerful caste group can become dominant if its position in that area's caste-hierarchy is not too low.

At the point of hierarchy or ranking the Salempur village is not fit in the ranking of the caste system. According to the Brahminical theory of ranking Brahman should be on the top but in this village it is the Meenas and Muslims are on the top ranking position. As the former studies on Rajasthan, like K.L. Sharma's study of six villages, indicate that Rajasthan was not enslaved by Brahminical values encompassed through its ideology of pure and impure of all other aspects of social life.

As Satish Chandra observes 'the upper caste in Rajasthan were certainly placed in the order compensating with the castes hierarchy existing elsewhere, namely Brahmins, Khastriyas and Vaisyas but it was more of a ritual order rather than an actual one. In fact one could think of these three as different actual evaluations of social ranking. Firstly, the ritual ranking was accepted more as cognitive and notional ordering of the Dwij. Secondly, the Khastriyas or Rajputs who were also rulers, occupied in actuality the top rank followed by Brahmins and Vishyas. Thirdly, the Vaishyas enjoyed top position as they controlled finances being traders

and moneylenders. In fact an undifferentiated system of ranking was absent in actual social relation” (Sharma: 1997:249).

There is a notion of change of the functions of Brahmans. As the Varna system or Brahminical theory, the Brahmans perform the sacred and ritual functions like recite Vedas during the marriage time or birth of a child. But in this village, as most of the respondents stated they do not invite Brahmans during marriage or birth of a child. Instead, Durga Prasad Meena, hailing from Meena community from another village named Meenapara, performs all the ritual activities during the ceremonies.

As Sharma said though Rajputs claim superiority, they never thought of themselves as Dwij in real life situations hence meat eating, alcoholism, disregard for norms relating to pollution purity are allowed as part of their struggle for survival. Despite having third rank in the caste hierarchy vaishyas tried to make a claim for ritual superiority over the Rajputs by observing the eating, drinking on one hand and exhibiting economic prosperity by spending conspicuously on marriage, food, dress and festivals (Sharma:2001:11).

Srinivas (1959, 1969) has conceptualized the concept of sanskritization and dominant caste. According to Srinivas, dominant caste has the elements: numerical strength, economic and political power, ritual status, western education and modern occupations. A caste enjoying all or most of these elements has decisive dominance. Dube (1968: 58-81) has examined the elements of the caste dominance in a study of four villages in Madhya Pradesh. According to him, a caste is dominant when power is diffused in the group and is expressed in the interest of the whole group or at least a sizeable part of it. Pronounced inequalities of wealth, prestige and power are found between the members of so called dominant caste. The dominant people of such castes exploited the non-dominant people or the non-dominant castes.

But beyond both of them, Oommen (1970: 76-78) has raised the point that alternate situations of the dominant caste have not been visualized by

Srinivas, such as, a numerically weak caste owing most of the land and wealth in a village, or numerically caste which is economically deprived and ritually depressed; or a ritually superior and numerically weak and so on. Besides, Oommen also refers two other points. Firstly the context of dominance and secondly the aspect of power, namely, the resources available to individuals and groups for the exercise of power and the act of power exercising.

It is a known factor that joint family is an important element for the study of the village. Joint family is a commensally unit of two or more related married couples plus their unmarried children. They also have common kitchen, live under the one roof with the feeling of brotherhood or we feeling, common property and common residence.

### **3.31. Culture of the Village**

Rajasthan is known for its culture and it represents national and international level. There are many fairs and festivals in the Karauli district which are also followed by the village people. For example Keladevi Fair is famous not only in Rajasthan but in other state as people gather from various parts of the UP, MP, Gujarat. Worshippers also adore Keladevi place as in the form of Durga and Chamunda Devi and they go to the place each year in the month of March to April. This is the Kuldevi of the Salempur village people; particularly Meena and Bairwa community in particular worship this goddess. Various festivals are also celebrated like Diwali, Holi, Rakshabandan, Dashra, Janmastmi, Eid and so on.

The dresses of people have made this landscape simply colourful, especially the majestic headgear of the men folk and the graceful skirts and Odhanis (veil) of the women folk. But the styles of men's turbans vary from region to region and caste to caste. The style adopted by the Rajputs of the former princely states was different from that of the mixed Rajput classes, the Darogas. Generally speaking, the 'safa' style is favoured by the Rajputs and the Pagri by business men. In Marwar high

turbans are used and the same style is found in Sirohi and Jaisalmer. Bikaner has a special type known as the 'Khirkia pag.' Udaipur region style is called Mewari and all the turbans are in bright colours. Women wear long skirts (Ghagra) and Choli or kurti -kanchli and veil on their faces for respect of elders in their families. Like turbans, men have various styles of moustaches. Rajputs sport long and hairy moustaches, a sign of their chivalry. At present there is change in costumes of the village people as they wear pants and shirt for male and sari for the women and the Muslim women wear the Burkha. We can see very rare people who wear dhoti and pagdi in the village.

There are three predominant tribes Bhils, Garasia and Meena in the state, but only the Meena tribe resides in the Salempur village. The Meenas are Rajasthan's largest and most widely spread tribal group. The Meenas are tall with an athletic build, light brown complexion and sharp features. Their settlements are called 'Mewasa'. The Meena community is different from other tribes as they do not have any characteristics which are related to typical tribal communities. In the Salempur village, the situation is totally different. As they live on their fields and they are the landlords they are living in iron of pakka houses not in jhopdi and their rituals and cultural practices are very similar to the Bairwa community.

## **Conclusion**

As far as the location of the Dalit settlement in the village is concerned, it is in the southern part of the village reinstating notions about caste discrimination. On the other hand, most of the earlier studies showed that upper castes are the dominant castes within the Indian villages, but in the case of this village Meenas, who belong to the Schedule Tribe, is the dominant social group. Though the Meenas are also included under the Dalit category, they do not accept themselves this social identity. However they are taking the benefit of Schedule Tribe. Secondly, sub castes of Muslims are also a dominant group in the village and they also belong to the backward minority category.

Although, both the Meenas and Muslims are the dominant groups within the village, it is the Meenas who are exploitive rather than the Muslim community. Muslims maintain and share cooperative relationship with the Bairwas and they help people when they are in need. As the researcher already discussed some cases, where Muslims take the side of the Bairwa community and protect them from the Brahmins and Meena community. At the end one of the important thing occur that how two opposite culture come together at the festivals and marriage time. For example Muslims of the village start to take part in the Hindu culture or festivals as they celebrate the Holi and Diwali. And they also invite the Hindus especially Bairwa people to their houses on the occasion of Eid. During the marriage of a girl they take part in every activity and think that this is marriage of our village girl.

Usually it is the Brahmins who perform the sacred and ritual functions like reciting Vedas during the marriage time or birth of a child. But here the role of the Brahmin priest is replace by the Meena caste because most of the respondent replied that they do not invite Brahmins during marriage, but one who hails from Meena community form the another village. Thus in the case of this study the researcher record that duties of Varna system replace by the other castes as in the above case of reciting mantra during marriage. Thus, there is increasing intermingling of higher caste members with the Dalits as a result of socialisation, but the rivalry between the Meena community and Dalits persists without any indication of change.



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Field sources: talk to Secetary, Sarpanch, Ward member, Dealer of the village

Interview with the people

## Chapter IV

### Socio-Economic and Cultural Profile of Dalits in Salempur

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter tries to understand the social structure and meaning of the village among the Bairwas (Dalits) of the Salempur village. As discussed that this is a multi-caste village located some 200 km from Jaipur, the capital of the Rajasthan. It discusses the demographical pattern of the Dalits within the village. It attempts to find out the exact location of the Dalits within in the village because there is an established notion that the Dalit localities are located in the South direction of the village. This notion is based on the belief that when the wind flows from the west, it may not pollute the so- called high castes people. This chapter will also throw light on the sources of income and way of livelihood among the Bairwas. Further, this chapter also sketches on different aspects of the Bairwa community within the village - sex ratio, literacy ratio, accessibility to the public resources, and the types of discrimination faced by them even today.

It also looks into the dwelling structure of the Dalits and what are the assets that they possess in their houses, and how have they acquired these assets. It also maps out the source of drinking water and how far away is that source from the locality. Further, this chapter would also discuss about the income, expenditure, and saving of the respondents. It will be interesting to note the method of their savings whether they save their income in the banks or they buy gold to save their money. The chapter will record from whom they borrow money whether from banks, landlord, relatives or from moneylender of the village. We would like to find out the interest rates at which they borrow their loans. Last but not least the chapter will record the way they get different types of certificates income, caste and domicile certificates. Moreover we would like to record the

problems face by the Bairwas (Dalits) in getting the ration card and job card in MNREGA.

**Table 4.1**

*Details of Respondents in the Village*

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
	140	80	220
<b>1. Age</b>			
21-40	80	66	146
41-60	36	6	42
Above 60	24	8	32
<b>Total</b>	140	80	220
<b>2. Educational Status of Respondents</b>			
Primary	22	26	48
Secondary	68	30	98
Graduation	22	10	32
Higher	10	4	14
Illiterate	18	10	28
<b>Total</b>	140	80	220
<b>3. Marital Status of Respondents</b>			
Married	44	12	56
Unmarried	88	54	142
Widow	8	14	22

<b>Total</b>	140	80	220
<b>4. Occupational Status of Respondents</b>			
Agriculture	88		
Labor	74		
Government	26		
Private job	32		
<b>Total</b>	220		220
<b>5. Nature of Family</b>			
Nuclear	120		
Joint	78		
Extended	22		
<b>Total</b>	220		220
<b>6. Structure of Houses</b>			
Kaccha	32		
Kachha cum Pakka	92		
Pakka	84		
Jhopdi	12		
<b>Total</b>	220		220

Source: Field Study

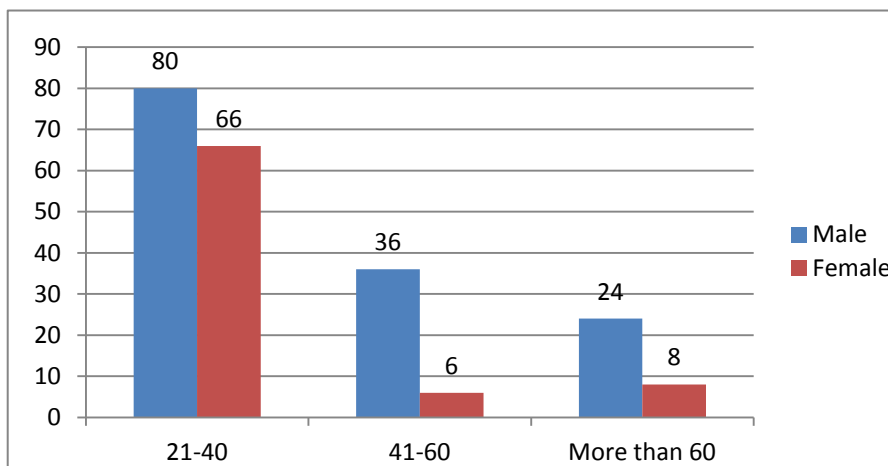
The table 4.1 gives us the demographic profile of the respondents, selected from the universe of the study. As we are aware, that the researcher has collected information from the 220 respondent. There were 140 male and 80 female respondents.

## 4.2. Age Structure

The study divides the respondent into three different age categories. There are 21-40, 41-60 and more than 60. For the study of any village population age is an important factor and on this basis we can understand the ratio of work force and dependent population in a village. If the ratio of work force population is higher than the dependent people, then the economy of the village is much better. Similarly if the dependent population ratio is higher in comparison of young generation then the development is much less than the other villages. In the dependent population we can include the children below eighteen or elders of the family, and others who are not capable to earn anything.

**Graph: 4.1**

**Respondent Distribution According to Age Group**



Source: Field Study

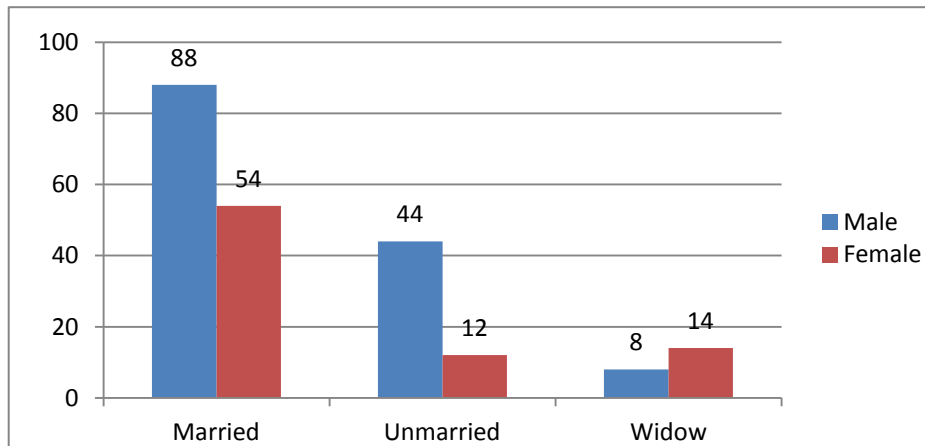
The above diagram shows the distribution of the respondents on the basis of age group. The sample has been divided in three age groups - a) 21 to 40, b) 41-60 and c) above 60. The bar structure reveals that age group between 21 to 40 respondents higher than the other group. This is the case both in male and female. In the second group there is decline in the number of female respondents rapidly because females of this group are doing their work in the fields, caring of their children and other household works. Behind this decline there is one more reason that they are not free to express their views in front of the elder male members of the family.

In spite of the fact, the female population is not very far behind the male population. At the outset one of the most important reasons is that in the male dominated family, in which the culture or society propagated in the male have the females are forced to live inside the four walls of the house or sometimes they are under the male's supervision. For example in childhood they have line domination of father, in the young age under husband and in the old age under the care of her son. Therefore we have found in our sample that there were very few women who were ready to talk without fear of male members of their family.

The second, reason is lack of education among the females of the village. Because of which they were not aware about the rights. Due to lack of education and unaware of their rights they usually hesitated to come in front of the male members or sometimes the male members of the family did not allow come in front of the male or elders of the family. There are many other reasons like bourdon of household works, caring of children or old people of the family and agricultural activities because of which they did not response to our questions. Most of the female population of the village were busy in agricultural activities around six month of the year after that they do labor on building making, construction sides also. After return from the work they have to make food for family members and have to take care of their children also.

**Graph: 4.2**

**Marital Status: Child Marriage and Widow Re-Marriages**



Source: Field Study and Government Sources

The above diagram shows the marital status of the respondents. With the help of this, the researcher to draw the conclusion that child marriage and widow remarriages exist among the people of the village. As it is commonly known that there exist laws against the child marriage. However, when it comes to follow this law people do not follow them in their lives. They are very happy to know that such and such laws exists, however when it comes to follow in their lives they flout it.

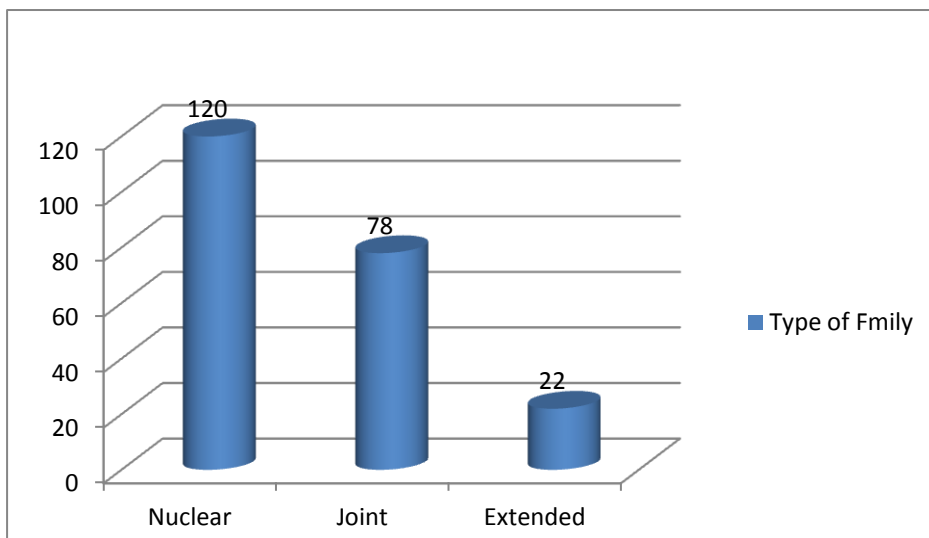
As the data shows, in comparison to the married women or unmarried women, the number of the latter is very less. During the conversation with the respondents, it has been noticed that most of the families are very insecure about the girl child. So marriages are arranged at an early age or even before attaining puberty. Out of eighty women respondents' majority of them fifty four were married and other fourteen were widows. Only twelve women were unmarried. The main cause behind, low number of women respondents were hazitation or sometimes they did not allowed coming in front of the elders of the family. The other important reason was illitrarcy, as most of the women respondents were illiterate.

### 4.3. Family Structure among the Respondents

The following chart reveals the family structure among the Villagers of Salempur village particularly Bairwa community.

**Chart: 4.3**

**Nature of Family**



Source: Field Study

This chart also shows the distribution of the respondents based on the family structure. Through data collection the study has drawn conclusion that 120 respondents belonged to the nuclear family. This also shows the changing structure of families in the village. This is in contrast with the established notion that the joint family is one of the eminent features of the village. Another observation is that 78 respondents belonged to the joint family and 22 to extended family. We can see that there is decline in the joint family system. There are many reasons for the same may be migration, urbanization, modernization, westernization and lack of enough employment opportunities in the village. But in most of the cases, migration has emerged as the main cause behind the disintegration of the joint family system in the villages. Male members of the family migrate to



cities for the employment to earn their livelihood because of the lack of source of income in the villages.

For some time they have to leave their children in the villages but when they are settled in the cities then, they bring their children with them. Some of the respondents mentioned that there is no source of income in their villages and when they migrate to cities. Once they migrate to the village and start leading settle lives they want that their children should get better and quality education. They get influenced by the idea that children in the cities are smarter and more enterprising and hence they try to bring their children along. One of the respondent reveals that ‘gaon me kam hi nai mil pata to humhe kam ki talash me sahar jana padta h or waha hum dekhte h ki city ke bacche kitne acche or padne me hosiyaar hote h to hum apne baccho ko bhi humare sath le jate h’ (we could not get job in the village for their livelihood, so that we have to go to village in search of job. We can see that children of the cities are very intelligent, so that we take our children along us). The number of extended family in the village is also decline. It is because of changing values of family among the people due to the impact of modernization and here we can connect it with the notion of westernization.

#### **4.4. Occupational Distribution of the Respondents**

Most of the Dalits of Salempur village are working on their own fields or on the fields of other caste and communities. By mere observation we can say that the economy of the people of the village is dominated by the agricultural activities. After the season is over they work as daily labourers in the hills to break the stones. Male members of the family go out of the village to engage as workers in construction work. On the other hand women also work on their own fields or the fields of others. On other occasion they are busy in their own household works. They do not do the cleaning of others houses as the earlier studies showed that lower caste people do work as cleaners of the upper caste houses (Field Study).

The growth in employment opportunities of the Bairwa community people indicates that there is change in the structural pattern of their work. For example, now most of the members have education and they are aware of the importance of education also in their lives. Out of 220 households around 30 people are in the government jobs. They are employed as clerks, teachers, medical officers, male nurses, Ayurved doctors, police and a few are in the banking sector. A number of members are employed in private jobs in companies, outside the village and outside the state as well. Around 30 people work in the Nageena factory in Jaipur and also in Chemical Factory in Delhi. Some of them also work as contactors in Delhi, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and such big cities. Thus here we can see the upward mobility or development of the people from their traditional occupation and they do not depend on agriculture alone. There is no government record of work participation, particularly of Dalit population at the village level. However, the researcher has been able to record all these fact with the help of respondents.

The traditional relationship between landlord and tenant is still prevalent in Salempur. These relationships are cemented on strict economic considerations. The lessee of Thakur is called a praja literally meaning subject, dependent or child'. While a man may farm the lands of several Thakurs he has a primary and lasting socio-economic tie with the Thakur on whose land he had originally built his house. The Thakur is considered to be responsible for the welfare of his tenants, and responsible for their care in needs and ill health. Each tenant in turban owes allegiance and support to his Thakur. The landlord tenant tie is dramatized at life-cycle ceremonies, when the tenant performs ceremonial services and is fed in return by his Thakur. At festivals too the tenant receives gifts of food from the Thakur. The tenant ties with Thakur are clear also in disputes: the tenants of each Thakur support him, even to the extent of doing violence to his adversary. The traditional relationships between a landlord and his tenant are the relationship between a Thakur and his agricultural labourers.

#### **4.5. Employment, Income Source and Work Participation**

The researcher has also tried to find out the sources of income, type of employment and the work participation of the Bairwa (Dalit) people. We are aware that there are two areas where the people engage in terms of primary and secondary sector. We have tried to know how they contribute to the household and how many people earn in the family. Further this study mainly focuses on the age group 18-59 years, as they are considered as the work force. The graph which relates to occupational activities depicts the kind of primary and secondary employment pursued by individual within the village particularly by the Bairwa people. It also has sex disaggregated data on employment and the average income from different occupations. Not even one woman is employed in the government sector in Salempur Village from the Bairwa (Dalit) community. Two girls teach in private school in the village. Apart from farming men also engage in non agricultural activities as daily labourers.

#### **4.6. Educational Status of the Respondents**

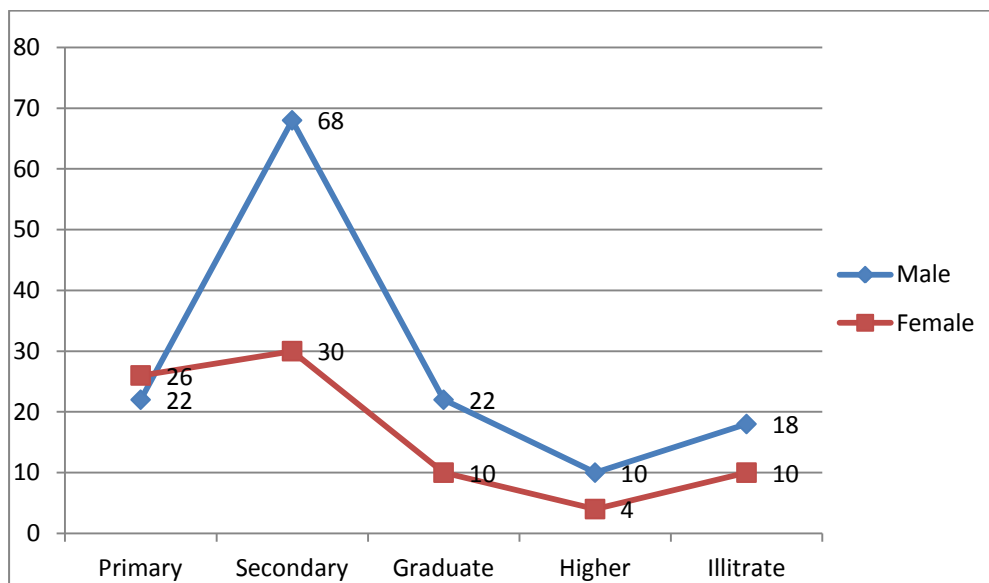
The following table shows the number of schools in the village. As we have already argued that there are both private and government sector schools in the village. Let us see the conditions of the private schools or the government schooling system in the village. It was informed by the respondents that the status of the education can be judged by the low literacy rate within the village.

The above table shows that there are in all fourteen Schools in the village. However, that all range between primary to Secondary. The village lacks higher level of education for men and women. There are at least ten Government Schools in all, out of which five are Primary and four are Secondary. Only one is Senior Secondary. In the Karauli district, except Hindon city Tahsheel, no other area comes under the urban areas. Though, Karauli district has the larger rural population than the urban. The urban literacy ratio is 79.68 percent and for rural is 61.44 percent.

The literacy ratio of Salempur village is 61.44%, male 76.16% and for female 45.80%. However the researcher did not find any separate data on village related to literacy ratio. Government data is available over all rural and urban population not as separately.

**Graph: 4.4**

**Educational Status of Respondents in the Salempur**



Source: Field Study

The above graph reveals the educational status of males and females. Secondly, it also tells us the causes behind the higher rate of drop-out amongst females as compared to males. Skewed mindset of elders towards girls, burden of household work and responsibility of looking after younger siblings, lack of awareness amongst parents, weak economic conditions, distantly located schools are some of the reasons for higher rate of drop outs amongst residents in general and females in particular.

## 4.7. Literacy among Bairwa (Dalits) in the Village

Table 4.2

### Literacy ratio of SCs in Salempur village

Total	Male	Female
61.44%	76.16%	45.80%

Source: Census 2011

The above table shows the educational status among the respondent of the Salempur village. The educational achievement of Dalits living in three localities differs. The educational status of the first locality is much higher than the other two localities because it was found by the researcher that of the Schools were very far from the residence long. The children of the other two localities were supposed to come to the main locality schools for their higher education. There is eighth standard school in the Thakur dominated locality. However, if they want to pursue their studies, they have to rely upon the schools in the village for it. There are many adverse factors which dissuade them to go to schools in the village. Even though there is a pakka road, the route is long. If one has to take shortcuts then one has to travel by amidst the fields. In the rainy season, these routes are not secure or it is impossible to walk in the marshy fields. Especially for the girls travelling a long distance to the school is very difficult because of their safety. Secondly, parents also disapprove girls' higher education because of safety grounds. Therefore, most of the girls drop out after eighth standard. Hence there is low literacy among the girls in Salempur. Although there is no data available for particular village wise but it is available according to the rural and urban areas wise in Government records.

One of the respondents, Durgaprasad who belongs to the Kumhar (potter) caste and works at the PWD office as a Class IV employee, narrated the

story. He has four children, two boys and two girls. The eldest one is a girl. They started going to the school in their locality. The eldest one completed her middle class when her younger brother was in seventh standard. The parents, in order to continue their eldest daughter's education, took away all four children from their own locality school and admitted them to the twelfth standard school in the first locality. They started going to the school; but one day the elder girl told her mother that, "kal se mai school nai jaungi kyoki jab hum gao me se gujrate hai to ladke bahut gandhi nazar se dekhte hai meri taraf" (I will not go to the school from tomorrow because while crossing the village, boys of the village stare at me in a mischievous way). Finally, the parents got worried about her dropout from the school. So this is one of the main causes behind the lower educational status of among girls in other two localities.

But at the present time there is lot of change. In every locality there is School till 10<sup>th</sup> standard. Second there is facility of the transport also. Third, the thinking of the people is also changing who have started sending their children to the schools. Some of the respondent told that now the school bus also comes in our village to pick the student. However they do not sent them in school bus because of lack of money. Moreover this facility is provided by the private schools only not by the government school. Government has launched the scheme of cycle for the girls who score above 70 % in the 10<sup>th</sup> standard exams. For 12<sup>th</sup> standard the government gives providing the Scooty. However, the scheme is only on the paper because the girls did not get cycle even after three years of passing of exams.

#### **4.8. Sex Ratio of Dalits in Salempur Village**

The meaning of sex ratio is number of female against per thousand male. Here the researcher reveals the sex ratio of Bairwa community as it is not recorded in any government data. Total population of the Bairwa is 1233 and among them 634 are males while 599 are females. So we can calculate the sex ratio of Bairwa community in comparison to the general

sex ratio of Rajasthan which stands at 944. This also means that the sex ratio of Bairwa community is higher than the Rajasthan sex ratio as well as the sex ratio of India.

Therefore this study will take cognizable of all the aforesaid factors to understand and analyze socio-economic and cultural profile of Dalits in Salempur the universe of the study.

#### **4.9. The Setting: Geography and the Location of the Dalits within the Village**

There is an established notion about the locality of the untouchable castes within the village that these castes live in the southern direction of the village. This notion of the residence of the lower castes is that their houses are located in the south of the village is very appropriate in the situation of this village. During the interaction with the respondents, more than 150 of them said that they are located in the southern direction of the village and the researcher has herself noticed that most of the houses of the Dalits were located in the southern direction of the village.

Thus the present study re-establishes the notion about the location of the Dalit households within the village. It was found by the researcher that their villages are located in the southern direction of the village. Here on the basis of empirical data we can find a historical similarity with contemporary village studies. On the other hand, earlier studies showed that 'lower caste' localities are in dirty or marshy areas with lack of drainage system. Even if, they had any it was not in a good condition. As far as Salempur village is concerned, it is different. The household constructions of the Bairwa community (an untouchable caste) are well structured. They lie on the both sides of the road. The road is constructed of cement and small pieces of the stones called as Gitti in local terms. The drainage system apparently is in good condition. The drainage is connected with the fields of the farmers so that water can be transferred in the fields. However, during the rainy season, the water from the hill

comes to the lower field and the Nali over-flow water which causes problem for the Dalits as well as other people. It hampers their free movement of Dalits and sometimes it enters in their houses as well, making their day to day living difficulty.

#### **4.9.1. Caste and Community in Salempur**

In sociological and anthropological studies of India, the categories of caste and kinship are the two important elements or dimensions of social structure predominantly used to define social identity. Place of residence constitutes the third dimension. From the perspective of men in the traditional patrilineal and patrilocal context of Northern India, kinship and place of residence are not easily distinguishable, since men do not move, and the former is taken to be primary. As castes are endogamous, kinship is subsumed by caste as the primary social distinction beyond the agnatic kin group. Dumont and Pocock talked about the village as the self contained totality (Dumont: 1957; 1970; Srinivas: 1982). Attention to the characteristics of the village as social universe and more generally to the locality (place, territory) as a component of social identity has been largely neglected.

This is multi-caste and community village. Several castes such as Brahmins, Baniyas, Meena, Bairwa, Rajputs, Sunar, Khathi, Fakir, Nath, Mahawar, Harijan castes live here. In the following table, the number of families belonging to each caste is shown. This data has been collected from the field study. As, we see that Bairwas dominate the village followed by Pathans/Sakka and Fakir who can be clubbed together because they follow Islam. Meenas are the third largest community in the village followed by Rajputs and Thakurs. Brahmins and Prajapati/Kumhar are standing fifth largest household of the village.



**Table No. 4.3**

**Total Number of Household in the Salempur Village**

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Number of Houses
1.	Bairwa	270
2.	Pathan/sakka/fakir (Sub Caste of Muslim)	220
3.	Meena	170
4	Baniya/gupta/agarwal	70
5.	Prajapati/kumhar	70
6.	Rajput /thakur	60
7.	Brahmin	50
8	Nath (Jogi)	20
9.	Mahawar ( koli)	12
10.	Goldsmith (Sunar)	3
11.	Harijan (bhangi)	3
	Total	878

Source: Government Gazettes and Interaction with People

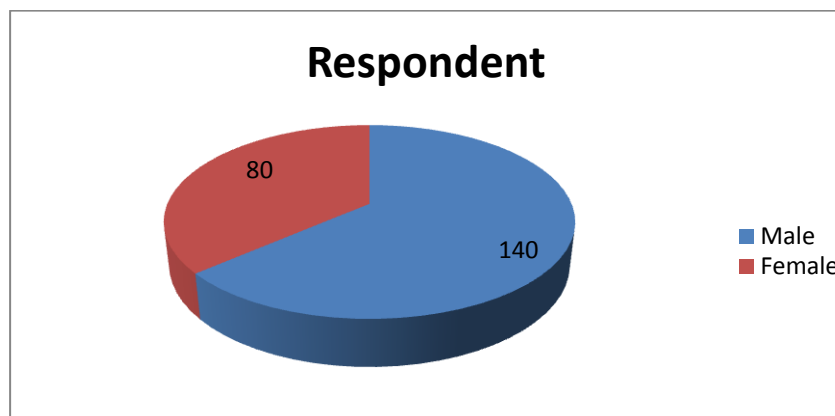
**4.9.2. Population of Dalits in the Village**

According to Census 2011 total population of the Dalits within the village is 1233 of which 634 are males and 599 are females. But during the

interviews with respondents the researcher found that the population of the Bairwa was much more than reported in the Censuses. Here we have to rely on our own data to understand the reality of the village Salempur and Dalits.

**Pie Chart 4.5**

**Number of the Respondents**



Source: Field Study

This pie chart above shows the number of respondent on the basis of gender. This study selected a sample of 220 respondents Bairwa community household within the village. Out of them there were 220 respondents only 80 are the female which is the around 36% of the total respondent. There are several reasons behind the less number of female respondents chosen for the study. For instance, women were hesitant and shy to give interviews. The researcher has observed that in most of the cases women do not come out from their houses in front of their elder of their families to answer the research questions. Sometimes they were not even allowed to come out from the houses in front of the male member of the village although they were willing to answer the questions. Therefore, it was difficult to have more women in the sample. The researcher has also taken care of including respondents belonging to different age group.

### **4.9.3. Locality of Bairwa Community**

The locality of Bairwa community of Salempur village is divided into three parts; around 120 household live in the main locality of the village and the other 70 households locality is called as the Barh Salempur and other 50 houses are located in Tamolipura locality. The problems of these three localities are different from each other. The main difference in these three localities is that there is domination of castes and community in each locality. Further, there are two localities in the Dhani which is the remote area of the village. Here the connectivity is very bad. Although later there is improvement in the transport system. Even then today there is no public transport system. Some private autos and tractors are available so that the residents of these localities can commute and easily go to the village to get their daily usage items. We have argued earlier that the problems faced by Bairwa are different in different localities. And that is because different caste and communities dominate in those areas.

The Bairwas living in the main locality are in conflict and suffer domination of the Muslims because they numerically dominated the area. While the other localities are dominated by the Meenas and Thakurs respectively. However the respondent reveals that Muslims are not as hard hearted as the Meena and Thakur were are. Therefore relations between the lower caste and the upper caste differ from localities to localities in the village Salempur. However in every case it the Bairwas who are at the receiving end.

The second locality, calling Barh Salempur has relationship just like Cohn's study of Chamars of Madhopur village, the Jaunapur district in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Cohn had discussed about the changing status of the depressed classes in the village and disclosed that the relationship between Chamar and the Thakur are not that of traditional landlords and tenants. The Thakur is considered to be responsible for the welfare of his tenants and also when they are in needs. Each tenant in turn owes allegiances and support to his Thakur. The landlord tenant is dramatised

relationship. For instance, during life cycle ceremonies like name giving, marriage etc the tenant performs ceremonies services and landlord Thakurs has to feed him in return. At festival time the tenant gets gifts of food from his Thakur (Cohn: 1967:55-56). Here in this case also, to some extent, similar type of relationship between the Thakur and the agriculture labours, Bairwa, the untouchable caste, exists.

#### **4.9.4. Composition or Setting of the Household**

The whole village can be divided into three parts. Around 120 households reside within the main locality of the village while 60 household reside in the Thakur dominated locality and only 40 are resided in Tamolipura locality which is multi caste locality where caste and community like Meena, Kumhar (Potter), Bairwa and Brahmans live. The residents of the first locality have benefit because the transport facility is very near to them. The members of other two localities had to suffer because of the lack of transportation. Because of the availability of the transport the children of the first locality could go to schools for their education while the children of the last two localities have to suffer to get education.

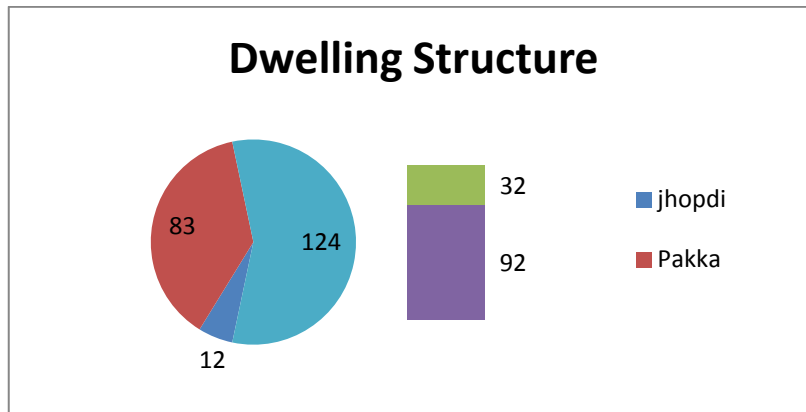
#### **4.9.5. Household Pattern and Internal Structure of Houses**

The village consists of a collection of huts that are circular and have thatched roofs. The houses are fully decorated with paintings on the walls and the walls of the village are also painted. The walls and houses are decorated by creating a texture in the plaster, or by using simple lime colours to create exciting patterns at the entrance and outside the kitchen. These are prepared from a combination of sun backed clay bricks which are enclosed with plaster of lime. The floors are constructed from a mixture of limestone stones, water and pounded lime. The houses of the lower caste people consist with the raw material and they live in the kaccha house or jhopdi called in the local dialect. The following diagram illustrates the dwelling structure of the houses of Dalits. As the researcher recorded that most of the people have both Pkka and Kaccha household

for different usage. For example Pakka house for living and Kaccha for the animals and use in the form of kitchen for cooking. The researcher has also noticed that Brahmins and Guptas have Pakka house. But Mmuslims and Meenas have both types of houses for different usages like Bairwas.

#### 4.9.6. Dwelling structure of the household within the Dalits

Pie Chart 4.6



Sources: Field Study

The diagram shows the dwelling structure of the Dalits within the village. As, it is evident from the pie chart that out of 220 houses eighty three live in the pakka houses, and 12 only in Jhopdi. The people who have kaccha plus pakka houses, use it for different purposes. For instance, they have pakka house for living purpose and kaccha for cooking food and sometimes they use it for the animal's shelter. The main reason behind the higher number of pakka houses are that this village is situated beneath the hill where the stones are easily available for the construction of the houses. Secondly, most of the people engage in the work of breaking the stones in the hills and they get the stones very easily and at a very cheap rate also. The Bairwa community members are working on the hills for breaking the stones for their livelihood. As the researcher recorded in the interview with the respondents that most of the earning comes through this work.

Around 38% of the households have more than three rooms in their houses. It is interesting to note that only around five and half percent of Dalits have jhopdi in their houses. Approximately 60% of the houses are medium size and they have both the kaccha and pakka house; the kaccha is used as kitchen and pakka is used for residence. About 90% of the houses are having cemented roof including stone slabs. The reason behind is same as discussed on earlier page. Majority of the household are made during 1960-70. There is only one reason to sell their household that is education of the children of the family. The collected data shows that around 8 families of the Bairwa community have sold their land for the education of the children. Five families sold their land due to the domination of the Meena. It happened so that their farms are alongside the road or on the side of the Meena farms. Because of domination Meenas steal their crops or they sometimes destroy their crops leaving no alternative than to leave the village. Most of the Bairwa households have the separate kitchen in the form of kaccha ghar.

#### **4.10. Availability of Water Resources**

Water plays an important role in deciding the location of any settlement area or village. Similarly in the case of Rajasthan, lack of water, people of villages have to face many problems in deciding the location of their residence. For example, at some places of Rajasthan, people bring the water around 2 to 3km far from their residence areas. In the east part of the state the water condition is in good rather than other parts of the state. Karauli district in the east part of the state but the present field study area Salempur village is surrounded by the Arawali hills and hence the water level is little bit lower than other parts of the district. Sometimes water could not rise up to the eighty ft level. Source of drinking water is from the tap system but due to the problem in pipe line they have to go to 2 km to bring the water. Now after the 2009 parliamentary election, MP of the Karauli district belongs to the Salempur village. He sanctioned a water tank for animals and drinking water also. He also constructed the new tap

system which connects this huge water tank. So now people of the Bairwa community feel relief from the water crisis.

#### **4.11. Dalits and Toilets facility**

The researcher has recorded that the toilet facility is available in the Dalit houses and they do not accept it because they consider it is part of western culture. Due to this only 12% household of the Bairwa community have the toilet facility in the house while others use the open places. The state government of Rajasthan has introduced the scheme under ‘Swacch Bharat Abhiyan’. Under this scheme government promised to make toilets to the BPL category people of the village. When the researcher talked to them about the government scheme related to the toilets they said that the government officials promised the construction of the toilets two years ago, but thereafter they are not to be seen.

The government also implemented the rule in the Panchayat election that those who do not have the toilet facility are not eligible for contesting in the Panchayat elections. But still majority of the Bairwa people do not have proper toilet in their houses. If few of them have toilets in the houses but they do not use it. During interviews with the elder people of the village the researcher found that most of the people prefer to go out because they relate it with the western culture and they do not want to accept it. Sometimes they also relate it with the religion.

However the respondent claim that 8% of the households have separate cattle shed in their houses. Supply of the electricity and connectivity is good in the village and every house has the meter system but the electricity charges are very high. (Interestingly, such complaints are made by quite a few respondents during the interview because they considered the researcher as a government official.) Six percent of the households have the gas connection but only 12 families’ use the gas facility regularly, others use it very rarely. The main reason is that the accessibility of the fuel is very easily. As we know that sticks of crops they use in the form of fuel like mustard, Arhar, Gwar, etc.

Along with this the most severe and common problem in the village and in Rajasthan in general is the scarcity of water. About 90% of the people have the tap connection for water supply. However the water supply is linked with electricity when there is no supply of electricity and then they face the crisis of water. They have to go to nearby village for fetching the drinking water. It is surprising to note that nearest village is at least 3 km away from their locality. Sometimes, the pipeline is broken by other caste people. But since 2009, the problem has been solved. It is so because a member of parliamentary Karauli and Dhaulpur, having residence in Salempur village has won the election. He has taken initiative in providing new connections and made a huge water tank in the village. So we can infer that it is an individual effort and not an institutional solution.

#### **4.12. Dalits own Livestock**

As the rural area is the natural inhabiting place of the livestock, a sketch of the number of livestock possessed by the Bairwa (Dalit) households is given below. As we know that the livestock is the second source of livelihood of the rural areas people after the agriculture. From the collected data the buffalo and goats are the main animals among the Bairwa (Dalits) people. Cows are reared by 20 percent of the household.

**Table No. 4.4**

**Livestock Details (Number)**

Animal	Total	Number of Households	% of Household
Buffalo	98	90	20.59
Cow	8	8	1.68
Goats	356	58	74.47



Sheep	-----	-----	-----
Camel	2	2	0.42
Bullock	14	7	2.92
Total	478		

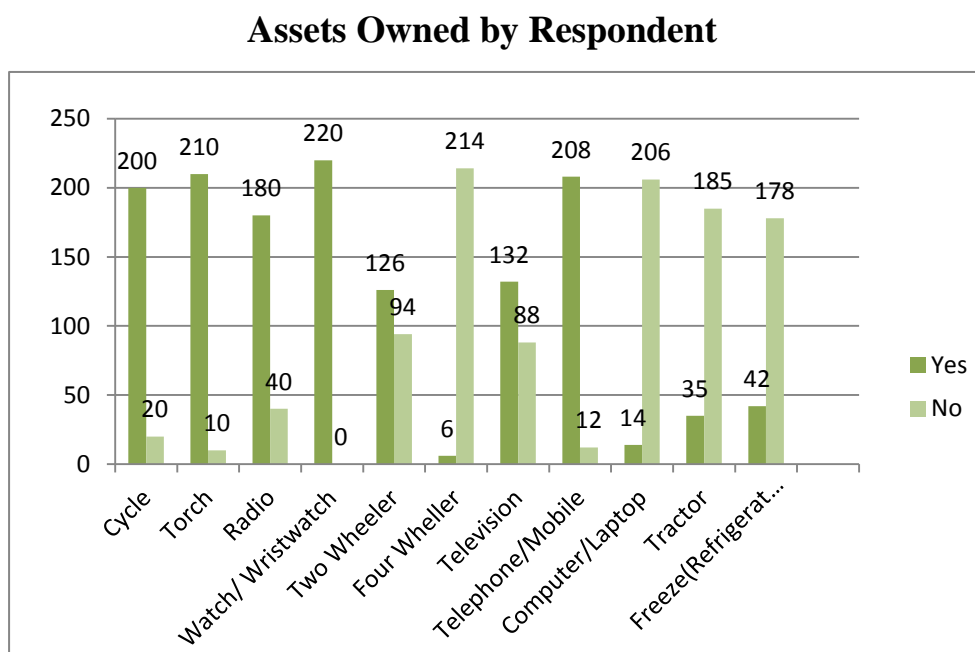
Sources: Field Study

Above table no 4.5 shows the number of animals in possession by the Bairwa (Dalit) household of the village. Here we can see that only seven families have the bullock. As we know that bullocks are the most useful for the farming in the earlier time but now the machinery has taken over the bullock and human labour as well. At present most of the farming is done by the Tractor that is why there is decrease in the number of bullocks. Further, the Camel is known as the ship of desert however number of villagers having Camel very low. The main reason for this is that this village is situated in the eastern part of the Rajasthan and the desert is in the west of the Rajasthan. Another important reason behind the decreasing number of the livestock is the scarcity of water resources in the village.

As the village is surrounded by the hills on all side so that the water level is very low. Mostly Bairwas prefer buffaloes and goats not only for the milk but also they get money by selling the Uple (Cackers), Mattha (chaach) and curd also. The researcher got information on the basis of interview with the respondent that villagers use to get chara from the Rabi and Kharif crops. She also recorded that most of the respondent are very happy in rainy season as there is no scarcity of fodder for animals. Because in this season the hills are covered with greenery and it is very easily for the villagers to get fodders for their animals.

### 4.13. Moveable Property and Dalits

Figure: Graph 4.7



Source: Field Study

The above chart shows that the respondents in the study owned following moveable property like radio, television, mobile, telephone, fan, cooler, refrigerator, tractor, two-wheeler, four-wheeler, cycle and others. Only five households of the Bairwa community are well furnished, among these households one is that of the Member of Parliament and two are of government employees while the other two are of businessmen. The very common articles that were owned by most of the households were cycles, motorcycle and the mobiles. Except one, every family has the mobile. In a few cases, even in one family there were more than three mobiles within a family. That shows how important also cheap a mobile phone has become.

Ownership of the agricultural and irrigation equipments reflects the subsistence nature of agriculture and small land holding. There were only four percent households which have tractors. Borewell and pumps are owned by only one percent of households. About sixty percent of the

households own television and radio respectively. The researcher has found that radio is not a very commonly owned item in the village of the study. This also shows the limited outreach of mass media in the rural parts in the Salempur Village.

#### **4.14. Purchase of the Articles and Access to Capital**

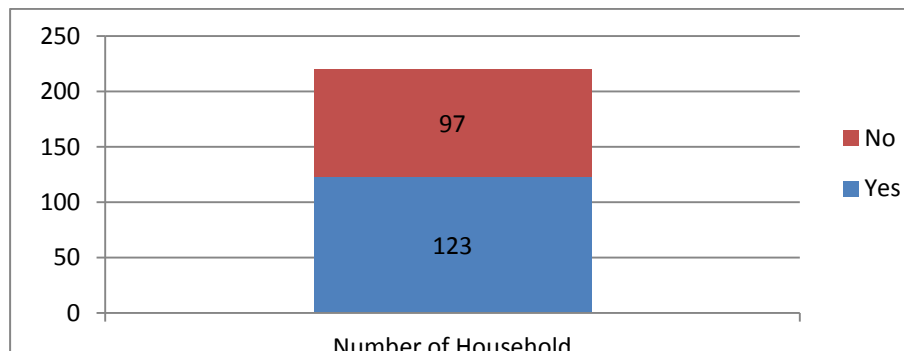
Most of the household items are purchased from one's own capital. Even in case of expensive purchase like two wheeler, tractor, borewell, pump sets the household spend from their own capital. They rarely borrow from banks or money lenders. Some of the household items are given in the form of dowry by the girl's family or parents during marriage. Most of the items like Television, Fan, Fridge, and Cycle are sold by the people and they generally get these from the earlier generation or in dowry at their marriage.

The researcher recorded conversation of the mother and son. The boy has passed 12<sup>th</sup> exam and demand Motorcycle from her mother. His mother said, 'are teri shadi me mil jayegi motorcycle' (you will get in your marriage). We can imagine dowry remain in the attitude and practice of villages, although they are not aware about this. After this conversation the researcher asked her about the Ddahej (dowry), then she said 'hum to dahej ke khilap hai agr hum apni beti ke liye kuch karte hai to apni ikccha se' (we are against the dowry, if we do something for our daughter during marriage own wish). So here we can see people want dowry but they are not ready to accept that is dowry. On an average a household spend about Rs 4500 annually while the average income which includes primary and secondary income sources and cash surplus from agriculture is about Rs 30000. That means the respondent earn approximately Rs 2500 a month and some eight rupees per day. This is less than MNREGA daily wages.

## 4.15. Anganwadi Services

### Accessibility of Anganwadi Services

Graph 4.8



Source: Field Study

The Anganwadi system is mainly managed by the Anganwadi workers, she is a health worker chosen from the community and given four months training in health, nutrition and child care. She is in-charge of an Anganwadi which covers a population of 1000 per 20 to 25. Anganwadi workers are supervised by a supervisor called Mukhyasevika. Four Mukhyasevikas are headed by Child Development Project Officer (CDPO). They provide outreach services to poor families' need of immunization, healthy food, clean water, clean toilets and a learning environment for infants, toddlers and pre-scholars. They also provide similar services for expected and nursing mothers. According to government figures Anganwadi reach about 56.1 million children and 10.23 million pregnant or locating women. Anganwadis are India's primarily tool against the scourges of child malnourishment, infant mortality and curbing preventable disease such as polio, while infant mortality has decline in recent days.

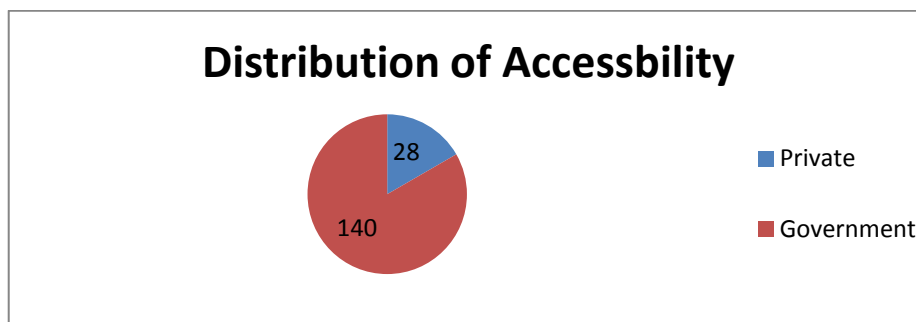
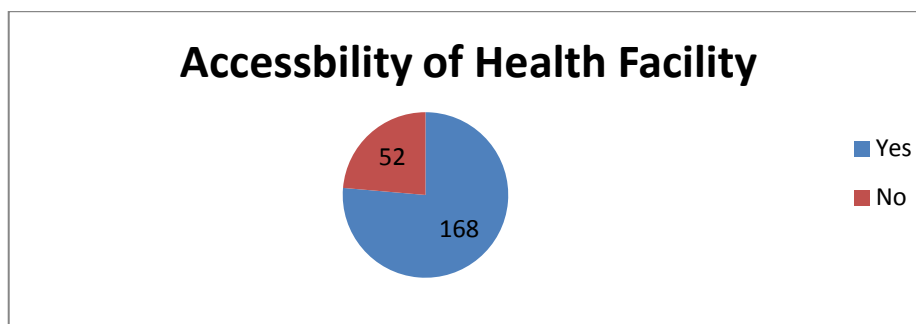
This chart shows of the accessibility of the Anganwadi services by the respondent families. More than 50 percent respondent told that they have access to Anganwadi services and around 44 percent respondent told that they were deprived of these services. The main reasons for deprivation of these services are due to lack of awareness and other burdens. For

example, some of the respondents said that they do not have time to access these services as most of the time they are working on fields or involved in other household chores.

#### 4.16. Health Facility in the Village

There is a PHC sub centre where a MBBS doctor sits to look after the village. There are two nurses to assist him. The nurses take rounds of the whole village at least once in a week. They decide which Dhani they have to cover in each week and make a schedule for such visits. Thus in a week they go to one Dhani and thus the whole village is covered in one month. The Rajasthan government has a free medicine scheme and 600 medicines are issued free at the government health centres and government hospitals. But recently the government has declared that this facility will be given to only those families who have the Bhamashay card. Around 196 household have the Bhamashay Card but they do not use it. Only 50% people get the health facilities to get free medicine from the government health centre through the Bhamashay Card.

**Pie Chart 4.9**



Source: Field Study

#### 4.17. Administrative Set Up of the Village

**Table No. 4.5**

Sl. No	Name		Head of the Area
1.	District	Karauli	District Magistrate
2.	Tehsheel	Sapotra	Tashildar
3.	Block /Panchayat Samiti	Sapotra	Sarpanch
4.	Gram Sabha /Panchayat	Salempur	Sarpanch
5.	Police Station	Kurgaon	Circle officer
6.	Post Office	Salempur	Post master
7.	Court (Regional)	Karauli	Judge

Source: Government and Interview with the Village People

The above table reveals the administrative system within the village; it means that which hold the political power on the village people.

#### 4.17. Language of the Dalits in Salempur

The village people particularly Dalits of the village speak local dialect and to some extent with an impact of the Brij Bhasha. Their language is very close to the Brij language of Mathura because this area is very near to Bharatpur (Rajasthan) and Mathura (UP) where Brij Bhasha is dominant.

#### **4.18. Notion of Migration among the Respondent**

By the help of interviews with the respondent the researcher has record that only two families have migrated to this village. The researcher has also recordd that there is social force behind the migration. As, one of the respondent told to the researcher that *'meri shadi yaha ki ek ladki se hui hai or jisse hui uske koi bhai nai hai. Wo keval do bahene hai. Ek din uske papa ki death ke bad yaha ke logo ne ek riwaj ke anusar mujhe 'pag' pahna di or ye agreement karwaya ki ab se tum yahi ke hoker rahoge. Tab se mai yaha ke her function me gaon ke member ke hisab se ata hu na ki mehman ki tarh'* (he said that my marriage to the girl who belong to this village, and she does not have brother. After her father's death the villagers had convinced to me to hold the 'Pag' and according to the Pag system he has to be member of this village not like a guest). Even only two families who migrate from the other village and cause behind the migration is the social. On the other hand another respondent also migrated under social pressure. As the respondent's father's sister had no child therefore she adopted him.

#### **4.19. Land Holding and Agriculture**

The average land holding size per household is about 3 acres. About 25% of the households are landless, those who have land, the production ratio is very low because of the availability water. And they had to depend on the rain or sometimes they irrigate their agricultural land by the other caste people's borewell systems. Only 6 families from the Bairwa community have the borewell for water and they produce more crops. But they cannot help others because their farms are very far away from the others. So other people have to depend on the other caste.

#### **4.20. Total Expenditure and Income**

Not we will discuss the findings about the total income and expenditure of the household of the respondents. We will also discuss which consumer item more expenditure? Around 12% of the households do not report any

cash income. Though around 20% of the households earn around Rs. 20000-30000 per year, only 5% spend the same amount. Thus most households in this income category earn than their expenditure by the requirements. In contrast, there are households where the expenditure is higher than the income source and so they need to borrow for the basic requirements. This can not be applied to all households but some of the household in which number of the members is higher and the source of income is only one person.

The household earning the amount range Rs 30000-40000 per year, the number of households whose earnings is much less than the corresponding number of those spending the same amount, thus the gap between the cash inflows and outflows poorest of the poor household's quite substantial. Thus these poor people need finance for the basic requirements and sometimes they have to take credit from other sources like banks, relatives and landlord of the village.

Looking at the spending pattern of the village people particularly the Bairwa people, it can be seen that around 50% of the total income is spent on food requirements. Then they spend on the medicine because the rural areas are very prone for the disease than the urban areas. This is followed by animal feed which is the highest in terms of the amount spend. Besides the above expenditure, investment also constitutes a major part of the expenditure. There is also expenditure of the household on education of the children of the family. Around 20% of the households show that after food, education is the second item which requires maximum expenditure. In such cases, they send their children to the private schools till the tenth standard and after that they send their children to the city for further studies.

On the other hand as far as savings of the households are concerned, most of the people of the village prefer to save money in the cash form in their own house. Around 60% of the people save it in the form of jewellery and ornaments.



**Table No. 4.6**

**Preference of Saving by Household**

Serial No.	Name of the source	Number of Household
1	Post office	10
2	Bank	20
3	Cash	70
4.	Jewellery	120

Source: Field study

**4.21. Outstanding Credit/Source of Borrow**

**Table No. 4.7**

S.No	Source of borrowing	Number of Household
1.	Moneylender	40
2.	Banks	50
3.	Loan	10
4.	Family friend with interest	60
5.	Family friend without interest	30
6.	Others	30

Source: Field Study

Such borrowings take place on events and occasions like marriage, birth, health, house, or agriculture and purchase of land and livestock. The borrowings can also be made because someone has to perform death

rituals or someone has to buy irrigation equipments or for their children education. The above table reveals that most of the villagers prefer to borrow money from their family friends, secondly from banks and then from moneylenders. The researcher has found that very few respondents revealed their grievances related to the moneylenders. For example they have not revealed that their land has been confiscated by the moneylenders due to non payments of loan on time.

## **Conclusion**

At the end of the chapter we can draw conclusion that structure of the village organize very well manner and the houses or the Bairwa (Untouchables) situated in the south direction of the village. Although the people said that there is no pre plan for the settlement of the houses, because before coming here they lived alongside the road houses which situated in the north direction of the village. The number of the population of the Bairwa community is similar to the other castes. As we can see that the sex ratio of the Dalits within the village is much higher than the state and it is even higher than the sex ration of India. It means female feticide is low than the other parts or villages of the State or District.

As mostly villager keep pet animals but they prefer buffalos and goats particularly. Very household economy depends on the animal husbandry. As they earn money by selling milk and other products of milk. But the researcher record that these prouduct are bought by the Bairwa community not by other castes. But the other castes can by fodder for cattle from the Bairwas.

By the help of few examples the researcher have recored that the concept of caste remain in the mind of the people but sometimes they do not aware about this. As one of the respondent said that friends of his belong to Brahmins and Meenas share drinking and food when they come to know after coming out the hang over of wine, realise it.

Another things come out by this study that most of the household remains in joint family, that consider as the prominent factor to define the village. Further the rearscher also notice the discrimination between male and female, as the female respondent do not allow to come out in from of the elders of their family and sometime themselves due to their shy nature and hazitation.

Although there is no Self Help Group (SHG) or Village Organization who make them aware about water saving, the people of the village know the concept of water saving. They save the water to make tank in their houses or wall on the roof. They collect the rainy water and after that they use it for washing clothes, utensils and animals also. The people of the Bairwa community also have the notion of unity which saves them from more exploitation. At many times the people fight with the problem of exploitation and they represent the notion of unity. For example at the time of quarrel with the other caste people, practices or access of the public resources and festivals time also.

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## Chapter V

### Religion, Rituals and the Unity of the Village

#### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter tries to extract the ideas of the villagers particularly the Bairwas of the Salempur village about the notion of religion in their lives. Around 70% people of the village consider that religion is helping other human being '*dusro ki seva karna hi asli dharm hain*' (to help of the others is the real religion). Very few people who consider that '*dharm wah he jo alokik sakti hai jo hume acche or bure me bhed karna sikhata hai or vippatti me humari help karta hai*' (religion is made that invisible power that makes human beings capable to distinguish between the good and bad and it help us during the crisis time in different way).

#### 5.2. Myth of Younger Brother as Untouchable

The traditional part of the Bairwa community in religious term is very strong. The Bairwa rituals are different from the other castes to some extent. But these are not entirely different from the upper castes of the village. There are similarities between the Meena and Bairwa at the level of ritual and religious practices because there is an established notion that Meena and the Bairwa are the generation of the same lineage. For example, most of the respondents said that in ancient time there were two brothers named Chandu and Mandu. One day the animal of their family has died and the elder brother said to the younger one to throw it out. Then out of respect for the elder, the younger brother threw the dead animal. Since then the elder told the younger that from now onwards you will be an untouchable. This is the counter narrative of Bairwas about their degraded social position as untouchable in the village.

### **5.3. Kabir Panth**

Some households of the Bairwa community follow the rule of Kabir and accept the Kabir cult. That means they are Kabir Panthies. So they do not allow meat and wine in their houses especially in the room of worship. Sometimes, they do not allow drunkard man even into the house.

### **5.4. Daru Bhai**

Another counter narrative as highlighted by the Dalits in the Salempur Village is that they have declared Brothwaus as '*Daru Bhai*'. The respondents have revealed that there is an established notion in the society in general that Brahmans do not eat meat and drink liquor. But respondent replied that now the Brahman eat in general and meat in particular and drink with us. Now they have become the '*daru bhai*' (wine brother). That means they can sit and drink liquor with us but out in public care but clandestining. This episode of '*Daru Bhai*' counters the established notion that Dalits are sauprilizing and imitate the Brahmins. However, it has been revealed by the Dalits that there is no need for this to imitate the Brahmins because they came and sit with us, eat and drink with us also. Then why should we imitate them. Contrary to that the Dalits argued that instead of we imitating them it looks that they have started imitating us.

There is varying differences in rituals and customs of the Bairwas and other caste people. There is a tale in Rajasthan that '*Rajasthan me pag pag me pani or bhasha badalti hai*' (Water and language in Rajasthan changes at every step). We are aware that Rajasthan divided into four parts south, west, east and north or Shekhawati area. The present study deals with the eastern part of the Rajasthan known as the '*Dang Area*' in local dialect. The culture of the each part is differing from the other one.

### **5.5. Village and Temple**

There are five folk deities or local devtas known as Ramdeviji, Tejaji, Gogaji, Pabuji and Harbuji. Most of the castes in the village worship

Ramdeviji including Muslims, Bairwa and the Meena. They conduct special celebration in the month of Bhadrapad (August) and go to the 'Than' (place of temple) located in Runecha (Pokaran) in the Jaisalmer district of Rajasthan. They consider that if people pray to Ramdeviji on foot then any wish of the seeker (dukhiya man) like birth of a boy child, recovery from disease and prosperity in business, government job etc. would be fulfilled. Muslims of the village accept Ramdeviji as 'Janho ke Peer' (Universal God) or 'Piro ke Peer' (God of Gods), it means that they consider he is the only one who can eradicate the problems and sorrows of our community.

There are also temples which are devoted to the Shiva, Krishna and Rama. However the Bairwa community worships the three of these gods and goddesses but they are mostly devoted to the belief in 'Ramdevji' (local god). Some of the people of the village do not worship others gods rather than their local god and some even do not go to other temples. There occurred biggest crisis in the village of the study when the Bairwa community decided to establish their own temple of 'Ramjevji' in 2015 and accomplished that task. They have to take the decision to make their own temple when the priest of the Hanuman temple did not allow the Bairwa people entry inside the temple.

## **5.6. Rituals and Traditions among the Dalits**

There are three types of rituals among Bairwa community such as birth, marriage and the death rituals. There are several ceremonies procession under these rituals for example, birth ritual like naamkaran, kuawn poojan, annaprasan, etc while death rituals like anthysti, pinddan, mausar. Similarly, marriage rituals like tika, reet, barmala, kanyadan, sath fere and vidai etc.



### **5.6.1. Rituals of Birth**

#### **Nahan**

This is celebrated after two days of the child birth. This ritual both the mother and child come out of the continent after birth. On this day the whole house is cleaned because there is a notion that after the birth of child the house becomes impure. There is a change in this notion, because nowadays delivery takes place in the hospital and here the notion of purity and impurity of house doesn't occur.

#### **Kunwa Pujan (Well Worship)**

After completing of one month after the birth of child, the mother is taken to the well of the village by the ladies of the village. They sing songs called as the 'jaccha geet' and sweet is distributed to the ladies and good meals are also prepared for the near relatives and people. The new mother wears the new clothes send by her mother and father. Sometimes, it is necessary that the clothes should of yellow colour called as 'Pomcha' or 'Odhani' (kind of Dupatta). One of the respondent has told that '*agar kisi mahila ke teen ladkiyo ke bad ladka hota hai to uska bhai kapde dene nai ata wo janam ke tisri rat me kapdo ko fenk kar chala jata hai*' (if a lady gives birth to baby boy after three girls then the brother of the lady does not see her and throws the clothes after three days of the birth at her house).

#### **Naamkaran (Name Giving Ceremony)**

After one month of the birth of the child, the elders of the family approach the Brahman and tell him the date and time of the birth, so that the Brahman looks at the holy Calender and reveals the first alphabet with which the name of the new born baby will begin. Sometimes he may also suggest the name of the child. This ritual differs from the other castes because most of the respondent told that when there is *Naamkaran* of the

other castes child they invite the people of the Bairwa community and their relatives for the feast. However, Bairwas do not do the same.

### **Mundan (Cutting of the Hair of Birth)**

In this ceremony the hair of the child is cut by the barber at the temple of their local deities or goddesses. In this ritual the village people discriminate between the girls and boys. They do not prefer to cut the hair of the child if she is a girl but in the case of boys they perform it always. However, when the first child is girl they are forced to do that.

### **5.6.2. 'Vivah' or 'Byahn' Marriage Rituals**

There are number of ceremonies and rituals involved in the marriage.

#### **Tika**

This ritual is performed by the girl's family at the boy's house. They give special gifts to the boy's family members and since that day they accept that the boy has become part of the family. On this day both families and relatives think that they have family solidarity (*Vo Sab Ab Ek Paribar Ke Ho Gaye Hai*).

#### **Reet**

This ritual is performed by the boy's family and they give gifts, clothes and jewellery to the girl, which in local language is called as the '*Rasm of Godh Bharai*'. In this ritual, the few items such as clothes, sweets and jewellery are kept in the lap of the girl and from now they consider that she has become the part of our family.

#### **Kundali Milan**

After the Reet and Tilak, elder members of both the families take the '*Kundali*' (the Birth Chart) of the boy and girl and give it to the local

pandit (priest), and he matches the 36 traits of the boy and girl and he tell two or three suitable date for the marriage to the both families after then the both family members choose one of them date according to their own suitability.

### **Lagan**

According to the '*Subh Mahurat*' (Auspicious date and time) the '*Lagan*' is performed by both sides. First of all the lagan is performed by the girl's side, and on this day they keep the clothes and '*Abhusan*' (Jewellery) in the lap of the girl in front of the village people. After that the brothers of the girl bring these to the boy's family and the same process is repeated in the boy's family in front of the village people and relatives.

### **Tel Bindori/Tel Pujan/Rat Jaga**

This is the third day of the marriage ceremony, and on this day man and women gather on one place to establish '*Maya*' (one empty pot filled with water) kept in one room where all the sacred activities are performed by the elders of the family. And on the other side, the women take the bride/bridegroom for the '*khejdi puja*' and also sing and dance. After coming there they touch the oil to the Bride or Bridegroom from foot to the shoulder during the ceremony the participating women tease one another. The whole night women engage in singing the holy songs or folk songs related to their gods and goddesses. They also sing songs related to bride and bridegroom. This ceremony is called as '*Ratri Jagran/Rat Jaga*' (Not Sleeping the Whole Night).

### **Mandap/Bhat**

On this day a grand feast is arranged by the father of the boy or girl who is going to get married. At the same day in the night time people come from mother side and bring clothes for the family and also present some

gifts in the form of money, ornament or other valuables to the bride or bridegroom.

### **Barat (Marriage Procassion)**

On this day the relatives and well wishers come from the side of boy's family to the girl's house and they are warmly welcomed by the girl's family in this ceremony.

### **Barmala and Toran Marna**

After reached the bridegroom to the bride house gate bridegroom and bride exchange the mala called as '*Barmala*' ritual. After exchange the garland, the bridegroom has to hit to the wooden made '*Toran*'. Some people show off during this ritual as the Toran made by Siver and they show their prosperity.

### **Fere / kanyadan**

On the day of barat bridegroom and bride take the '*seven steps*'. Each step has its own significance in their life and they take oath to live together and respect their family members and their rules and regulations. On other side kandyadan (girl's father gives the hand of girl in the hand of the boy and say that from today you will take the responsibility of that family and now you are the member of the family) is another important ritual in the marriage. This highlights the prevalence of patriarchy among Bairwas where daughter is gifted to a man after ceremony.

### **Vidai**

The farewell of the marriage party which has com eowth groom is given to the bride on behalf of her parents and all village members, called as '*Vidai*'. The girl is given some money for sagun. Then the brother of the girl takes the bride to bridegroom's home.

## **Kankan dorna**

This ritual is performed in the boy's house by the boy's 'Jija' (sister's husband). One big bowl filled with the turmeric water and 'Doob' (one kind of ghas), and coins are also put in that water. Then both newly bride and bridegroom are told to find the coin. It is belief who so ever gets the coin wins. This activity is repeated seven times, and if any one of bride and bridegroom win the first and the last times, he or she will be declared winner. Further, on eof the important thing the researcher record that participating member of this ceremony except the boy and girl also want that the boy should be winner. Because here they have myth that if the girl wins then she become dominant on her husband and they do not want that. The function of this ceremot is to break the bitch of the newly wed couple and bring them closer.

### **5.6.3. Death Rituals**

There are three main death rituals among the Bairwas as they are prevalent in the other castes as well in Rajasthan, are Antyeshthi, Tiya, Pinddan and Mausar.

#### **Antyeshthi (Cremation)**

When a person dies; he or she is taken in a funeral procession to the cremation ground. If the deceased was quite old, a band leads the procession. The eldest son, or a near relative, lights the funeral pyre. The mourners then throw 'fagots' (Pieces of Rice colored by termaric) in the fire as a symbol of active participation in the cremation. When a rich person dies, coins are thrown on the body throught the procession all the way from his residence to the cremation ground. Beggars and the poor people pick up the coins. This is called 'Bakher'. It is mainly a Rajasthani custom. The bereaved family goes into mourning for twelve days. Professional weepers cry everyday at the residence of the deceased person. In Rajasthan there is a class of professional weepers who can be called to weep wherever a death occurs and they called as 'Rudali'. But in

the Bairwas this is not happened. During this procession of this ceremony Bairwas of the Salempur village have the compition and they try to much more than the other family have done during this ritual. For example one of the respondents revealed to the researcher that ‘at the death of my father, the villagers pressurise me to do funeral of my father with the ‘*Chandan Lakdi*’ (*Sandel* woods) and I did also because of the social pressure.

### **Tiya**

On the third day after the death, the relatives go to the cremation ground and collect the ashes which they later immerse in Pushkar Lake or the Ganga. On this day, relatives and friends assemble at the dead person's house and perform Sacrifice (Haven) while Vedic hymns are recited by the family priest. Mostly Bairwas take the ashes in the Ganga not Pushkar lake.

### **Pinddan (Pitra Pooja)**

After the tiya, the sons and daughter-in laws of the dead person collect the teeth and nails form the ash of the dead person and take these to the Hridwar and throw these in the Ganga River. Behind this there is a notion that after doing this the spirit of the dead person lives in peace and it travels to heaven. During this ceremony the Bairwas of the village cook food for the *Kanya* (Unmarried Girls especially who do not get puberty) to worship their elders of the family in the Shrad month.

### **Nukta/Mausar (Death Feast)**

On the twelfth day, a grand feast is organized in the honour of the dead. Hundreds of people and relatives of the family are invited and this costs the family a good deal of money. Sometimes the poor have to take loans and incur heavy debts which they are unable to repay. Now there are many step are taken by the government and non government institution to stop rituals like this because due to this the level of poverty increasing day

by day. Now the young generation often refuse to give this feast which they consider wasteful. So, some old men and women give their death feasts in advance for fear that their sons and relatives may not hold it after their death. The state government has banned death feasts because they considered it a curse for the poor. But here in the case of present study this ritual is abolished, as the respondent revealed that they tried to stop this so many times, can not success due to lack of solidarity among the Bairwas of the Salempur village.

### **5.7. The Notion of Unity among the Dalits of the Village**

The unity of any village can be observed on different occasions like festivals, marriage, elections and conflicts with the other village. For example one important point noticed by the researcher is that the festivals of the Hindus are also celebrated by the Muslims and Muslim people also invite the Hindu friends on their special occasions to their homes. They treat them as they are also part of their community. The unity of the village is also reflected when villages is pitched in a conflict with neighbouring villages. Sometimes, conflicts arise as a result of boundary disputes and in this case all the castes of village act as a unit and fight with the opponent. But the most important role is played by the Muslims community especially the Pathans of the village. Here we can see the decline of the position of the Brahmins due to the numerical strength and lack of economy capacity. Hence, on the basis of this study we can observe and infer that Brahmins are not the dominant caste in this village as there were in other village studies.

Salempur is a well defined structural entity which gives an identity to all people who live there. The villager possesses the feeling of community and brotherhood and gives respect to different castes of the village. Although there are number of barriers in physical boundaries which separate these castes, yet they show solidarity. For example the Brahmins reside alongside the main road, while lower castes Bairwa, Koli, Harijans and Nath reside at the bottom the hills. And one of the castes Meena lives

in the dhani (Pura) or their own fields. Yet they show solidarity in difficult times.

Each village is a tightly knit little community in which everyone is known to everyone else and in which a great deal of experience is common to all. Agriculture activities are important activities which the vast majority of the villagers are engaged in the the same type of activity also brings the people together from the different castes.

A drought or excess of the rain, attack from outside is also common concern to all. Formerly, people of the Bairwa Mohalla say that around forty years ago there was a rumour that Muslims were very aggressive and there would be an attack by them on this village. Then, all the people ran away from the village and hide in the nearest village. Only one family remained because there was a pregnant woman who was supposed to deliver and her husband who was suffering with paralysis. At that time all the villagers have one common concern to fight them. But there was no attack. Everyone returned to their houses after two days. Since then things have changed and both them live in solidarity.

### **5.7.1. Festivals and Unity of the Village**

The unity of village is also visible at the time of festivals. The chief festivals are Diwali and Holi of the Hindus and Eid of the Muslims that bind the people of the village together. At the time of Diwali; the Muslims also celebrate and lights Deepak. In the similar way on Eid Muslims invite their Hindu friends to their homes and celebrate Eid with them. Sometimes, they send sweets to the houses of the Hindus. On the occasion of Holi festival, all caste people come together on a fixed place and then sing and dance with their instruments and go around the whole village.

### **5.7.2. Election and Unity of the Village**

The unity of the village is also seen during the time of election. In 2009, the election of member of parliamentary constituency was held. At this



time the seat was reserved for the SC candidate in the area of Karauli-Dhaulpur parliamentary constituency. There were two candidates contesting for this post, one was from the Salempur village, another from the Basedi Tahsheel of the Dhaulpur district. The first candidate was contest in the Congress Party ticket and another from the Bharatiya Janata Party. During election the whole village acted as a unit, all castes supported the Congress candidate except Meena. The Meenas take part in election but they promised to other castes that they have support of their candidate in the legislative election. Although it is happened, that both candidate won their seats. Through this incident we can draw the conclusion that there is also give and take relation between the different castes. But on the other hand during the election time we can see the conflict between the two groups also.

### **5.7.3. Unity of Village and Marriage of Daughter**

Another example of village unity which researcher herself saw while doing her fieldwork was marriage of a Dalit girl in the village. The respondent told the story that at the time of marriage of the girls; the Barat (Barat from bridegroom side) came to the village, especially the Bairwa caste. However, the Barat, the marriage processions have passed through the localities of Muslims and Brahman. Both the communities welcomed the marriage procession respectfully without raising any objection that a marriage procession of Dalits can not pass from their localities. This again proves the solidarity of the village which cuts across caste and community boundaries. Similarly, the same procession of the marriage Cohn also discussed in her study of Madhopur Village in Jaunpur district of the Uttar Pradesh. He also told that the people of the different caste take part in the marriage of the girl and they also accept that his/her own girl marriage.

#### **5.7.4. Village Functionaries**

Every village has the hereditary headman, an accountant, servant belonging to the untouchable castes and watchman. These functionaries act for the whole village not for any one section of the village. There are multiple castes in which Brahmin, Baniya, Rajputs are the higher caste within the village. But this study particular focuses on the Bairwa schedule caste profile within the village. Schedule castes come under the servicing castes in the Hindu Varna System, but here Bairwa caste does not come under this section.

#### **5.7.5. Dalit V/S Brahman**

This para reveals cases which show the unity between Dalits and Muslims of the Salempur village. On the other hand, if the case of quarrel arose, concerning between upper caste and the lower caste, then the Muslims of this village come forward to the support of the lower caste especially the Bairwa community. Here, in this study the researcher would like to quote two such incidences to substantiate her point. One is related to a school teacher in the government school. He borrowed some money from a Brahman man, but he was beaten by the Brahman's companions due to the fact that he could not return the money in time. Victim was one of the respondents of the researcher, and the whole story was told by him personally. He said that one day the man of Brahmin came to Bairwa Mohalla and took him. Victim initially do not have doubt them. But after he was taken to the oppressors victim in his house, there were some other people who tied him with a tree and was forcibly made to drink liquor and was beaten. He was also detained in the oppressors' house. When he did not returned till late night his wife raised an alarm that her husband was taken away by Dammo Brahmin. Then the whole village gathered with. Men, women and children gathered sticks, lathies, danda etc. While they were crossing the locality of the Muslims, the elders of the Muslims also come to know the matter and they also joined the party. When Brahmins saw that Muslims were also in the group, they ran away from their houses

and hide from view. So the Dalit man was helped to before from the clutches of Brahmins. This is usually not heard in any other village of the country. After that no such case has been reported from the village.

### **5.7.6. Dalits and Temple**

The practice of access to temple is another case to show the unity between Dalit and the Muslims of the village. Dalits were not allowed to enter the temple. This was simple case of practice of untouchability. This practice was opposed by Muslims. But the Brahmins did not listen. Therefore some Muslims youths became very angry. They became so angry that they broke the Mike and Speakers of the temple and they were ready to damage the building of the temple also. Here the situation becomes very ugly. The Brahmins lodged a Police complain. Hence with the police interference things were brought under control. But one thing became very clear that is solidarity between Dalits and Muslims again came to fore. It is again a unique case of counter narrative of Hindu solidarity in the village.

### **Conclusion**

At the end of the chapter we concluded that Salempur village organized very well manner and the houses of the Bairwa (Untouchables) situated in the south direction of the village. Although the people said that there is no pre plan for the settlement of the houses, because before coming here they lived alongside the road houses which situated in the north direction of the village. The number of the population of the Bairwa community is similar to the other castes. As we can see that the sex ratio of the Dalits within the village is much higher than the state and it is even higher than the sex ratio of India. It means female feticide is low than the other parts or villages of the State or District. Although there is no SHG who make them aware about water saving, the people of the village know the concept of water saving. They save the water to make tank in their houses or wall on the roof. They collect the rainy water and after that they use it

for washing clothes, utensils and animals also. The people of the Bairwa community also have the notion of unity which saves them from more exploitation. At many times the people fight with the problem of exploitation and they represent the notion of unity. For example at the time of quarrel with the other caste people, practices or access of the public resources and festivals time also.

Other important finding revealed by the respondents that there is degradation of the ritual of the Brahman and these rituals are performed by the lower castes themselves. As the vernacular system or Brahminical theory, the Brahmans perform the sacred and ritual functions like reciting Vedas during the marriage time or birth of a child. But here it is replaced by the Meena caste because most of the respondents stated that they do not invite Brahmins during marriage, but one of the people named Durga Prasad Meena, hailing from Meena community from another village named Meenapara; perform all the ritual activities during the marriage and the birth of a child. Here we can see that for earlier time which caste exclude from the religious text but at present they perform all the religious activities at occasions like birth of children, marriage, inauguration of the new house etc. They do not depend on Brahman for these activities. Here change in the occupational category as we consider that do the religious activities consider the Brahman then now the Bairwa also include in the higher caste because they perform all the religious activities.

The unity of the people of the village is noticeable at different occasions like festivals and fairs, marriages, Panchayat meetings, dispute with other villages and so on. This unity brings the people out of the caste boundary and brings them together as one community. Second important factor bringing people belonging to different castes is the educational system. Children get education in the same school or institution. The children of the village say that upper caste children take part in each activity and mingle with them freely but they are afraid of their parents. But we can imagine that these children become liberal at the time of their children

and they try to erase the caste boundary. Young generation of the village particularly Bairwa community hold that their friends circle includes the upper caste peer group as well and they do not exhibit any inhibition in eating and drinking together. Here we can say that 'rasta chahe bura ho par result accha hai' (the way is bad but the outcome of result would be good).

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## Chapter VI

### Change and Continuity in the Village: The Dalit perspective

#### (Details of the Case Studies)

#### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter contains twenty case studies which have been conducted during the fieldwork to understand the meaning of a village through the Dalit perspective. Moreover, through these twenty case studies this chapter tries to understand the change and continuity in the village through the Dalit Perspective. The researcher has tried to collect twenty case studies of dalits belonging to different age groups and genders. The researcher has taken equal number of the male and female cases for the analysis in this chapter- ten from each category. The age wise distribution suggest that there are only eight cases belonging to age group between 51-74 years. Rest twelve case belong to age chart of between 30 to 50 years. The researcher has tried to get the oldest and youngest member in the case studies. Via the eldest respondent who is 74 year old the researcher envisages to get a sustained and historical perspective of village more effectively. The youngest respondent is only 22 years old. By taking such young respondent the researcher is of the view that such respondent can tell us the recent changes taking place in the village. By knowing the village from two time period we could understand change in the village through their perspective. As the ethics of the researcher suggests, we have also changed the real names of the respondents.

Second, the researcher has found in her study that this village under study does not have four fold stratification system of a typical north Indian with the hierarchal structural. We have already discussed in detail that this is a multi-caste and multi religious village with Meena tribals dominating the political and economic sphere.



**Table No. 6.1**

***Distribution of Case Studies along Age and Gender***

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
1.	71 onward	1	0
2.	61-70	1	3
3	51-60	3	1
4	41-50	1	2
5	31-40	3	2
6	21-30	1	2
	Total	10	10

Source: Field Study

Let us now discuss the case studies in detail. These case studies were collected during the fieldwork by the researcher.

## **6.2. Case Studies of Male Respondents in the Salepmur Village**

**Sometrya Bairwa** aged 74, is the head of the family with six children; three girl and three boys. All children are married and the elder two boys live separately and the third one live with the parents. All three are doing farming in the fields of others because they do not have their own fields. The respondent said that his father's sister does not have any children so he was adopted by her. Originally his village was Bhuri Pahadi in the same district. He came here when he was four years old, so he remembers little about his own village.

Now Sometya Bairwa is not working in fields but he remembers: “When we were working in the fields of other castes, they exploited us in many ways, like financially, physically and mentally. Sometimes they used to force us to do the work but did not give any wage for it. They gave only one time wage. They also did farming at the wage of ‘Batai’ (a type of wage) in which the labourers do all the work ... and at the end labourers have to give half of it to the landlord.”

One of his sons works in the field owned by a landlord belonging to Meena community. He works on the basis of an arrangement called as ‘bejh’, a type of contract. In such arrangement some amount is deposited with the landlord for a period of one year. This amount is based on mere estimation. When the money is deposited by the tenant to the landlord, the farm will be under the management of the person who deposited the money. He grows crops like Ravi and Kahrif and at the end the whole crops belongs to him. It means the loss or profit, whatever the case is share by him only. When the researcher talked to Sometya’s son he said: “This is the best for me, because I escape from the daily exploitation and harassment of the landlord, even if it is a loss.”

This case study breaks the myth that in villages people live in joint family. But the researcher has found Dalits live in nuclear families in the village. Second Meenas who have been notified as tribal by the state and central government own agricultural land which they lease out of Dalits.

**Bhambhal Patel**, aged 70, has little education. He has six children; three girls and three boys. All are married and all got education till tenth standard. The respondent said that they did not study further due to their own carelessness and apathy towards pursuing higher education. This highlights the fact that they lack motivation which is general complain among Dalits. Bhambhal Patel claims that he was keen about his children’s education, “but the boys did not go to the school and even now I did not know what they do.” The girls were sincere in studies but there was no school facility for them after the tenth standard in the village and

in his opinion sending them outside the village was not at all feasible as it involved safety concern of the girls. He borrowed money from a moneylender belonging to Meena community and could not repay on time and lost his land.

He recollects the tragic incident of the death of his youngest daughter after only two years of her marriage. “All the family members were taking tea in the morning, when a call from the sasural (In-laws house) of my daughter came that the girl is very serious and wants to meet you people. We all were shocked and immediately hired a car. When we reached there we saw that people of the village were preparing for a cremation. For a moment I did not accept that she is my daughter. We became somewhat doubtful. We felt that something is wrong and these people are hiding something from us. Suddenly we heard the voice of a weeping child - ‘chacha ne chichi ko mar diya.’ Thus, it was confirmed that she has been murdered. We called the police and police took the statement of the child. On grounds of suspicion police arrested the husband of my daughter and her in-laws. After two days they accepted that the husband was beating her but did not anticipate that she will die. That incident taught me that God is there and he can appear in any form as I saw in the form of that child.” He defines village as that place where people who live together with the feeling of brotherhood. Again from this case study we can infer that the Dalits defy two child norms as do the most of the Dalits. Secondly, girls dropout rate from higher education because of the safty. Third Dalit women suffer from domectic violence.

**Om Prakash Bairwa**, aged 58, is a middle school teacher and head of his family. He got married but has no children from his first wife. Yet around fifteen years they lived together without a child. Because of the mounting pressure from the parents and others and with the consent of his wife, he was compelled to opt for a second marriage with a widow for having children. After one and half years, the second wife gave birth to a child. The whole family was so happy beyond anyone’s imagination. But later conflicts started between both the wives because the ladies of the village

instigated the second wife against the first wife. So they started quarrelling with each other and one day the first wife took the first child among the four children from the second wife and started living separately. At present the first child lives with the first wife and he does not have so much attachment with his real mother. This study shows that's widow remarriage can take place among the dalit in the village. Second, polygamy is also possible change the dalits. Thirdly adoption is also possible among the Dalits in the village.

Om Prakash revealed another story which is worth meaning here. There are four teachers in the government school where the respondent is teaching. One is a female from Baniya caste and the other three are male teachers, two belonging to SC and one belonging to Meena community. One day the SC teacher beat a girl student from Baniya caste. The girls complained about that teacher to her family. Next day her mother came and scolded the teacher and threatened him. She warned the teacher that they will see him whenever he comes to the market. After three days the teacher with the respondent reached the market. Unexpectedly, some people came near and surrounded the teacher and started beating him. But the helpless respondent could not do anything for him.

**Kailash Bairwa**, aged 58 is a widower. He works as a labourer at building site in the city as well as in the village also. He has four children one boy and three girls. But his wife had died at the age of 25 and since then he is bringing up of the children. He says that "I gave love of both the mother and the father to my children and I never want them to feel the absence of their mother." Now all his children have got married. The elder daughter takes the responsibility of the other younger siblings and she takes care of them like a mother. The whole livelihood of the family depends on the agriculture and the daily wage of the respondent. He does the work either as a contractor and a daily labourer within the village or in the city.

Earlier days he could not earn enough so that he went to Delhi for work as the wages are high in Delhi. In his village and neighbourhood he was getting only Rs. 100 per day but in Delhi he was getting Rs. 250 per day. So he found profitable staying in Delhi. But after a few months, his elder daughter asked him to come back to village and stay with them. But she did not tell the details and he also noticed the change in her behaviour and hesitation in opening up.

After persuasion, she said: at the end that “Had our mother been at this time with us, she would have been able to understand our feelings.” It took some time for Kailash Bairwa to understand what was happening with the children in the absence of him. The elder daughter was a grown up girl and the boys of the village were looking at her with bad intention. The girls are not educated but the boy themselves did not studied although he gave them opportunity. We send him to the school but he did not go to school. We came to know about this matter when one of his teachers across our Mohalla met me and narrated the story about him that your son comes to school very rarely and was not regular. Gradually he lost interest in the studies and dropped out.

Kailash Bairwa says: “When I asked to my son he said that I do not want to study because I cannot remember anything that is taught in the class so that the teacher always beats me.” The father of the child tried many times but could not succeed to teach his child. This case study shows that the life of children become vulnerable in the absence of their parents specially the girl child’s. Another thing which came across in this interaction with the respondent is that the discrimination between girls and boys exists in every family or society, sometimes it is visible and sometimes it is invisible. He said that ‘gaon wo hota hai jisme log ek dusre ke sath hil-mil kar rahte hai’ (village is the place where people live together with cooperation) and ‘dharma vo hota hai jis kisi bhi bhagwan ko log pooja karte hai or usi dar se sahi or galat me fark karte hai’ (religion is the devotiona towards invisible and due to the curse of that people distinguish between the right and wrong deeds).

**Kamal Nayan**, aged 52, studied till 10<sup>th</sup> standard, has four children; two boys and two girls. He and his wife both work as daily labourers in others fields and also in construction of buildings. But now they do not work because their sons earn. The elder son is a compounder and the younger teaches in a private school. The girls are doing Graduation in the government college, 9 km away from their native residence. Their land was sold for the education of the children and now they think that their land is their children. In Kamal Nayan word's, "agar tab hum sochte ki jameen nai bechna to aj mere bête kaise padh pate ab kam se kam wo apne rojgar me lag gaye to jameen to fir se kharidi ja sakti hai" (Had we not sacrificed the land at that time, we would not have been able to bring the children as they are now. Now, they can buy the land). Here we can see the change in the thinking Dalit in the village towards education. The respondent prefers to educate his children at the cost of his land which is very rare in the village. Moreover, he is keen in providing education to his daughters also.

**Pratap Singh**, aged 48, has studied till BA final year. But now he is doing agriculture because when he was in BA final year, his father had died and there was no source of income for his family. He is the eldest son of the family and all the responsibilities of the family fell upon his shoulders. He has to leave the studies in between and thought that along with the responsibility of the agriculture he can complete his BA degree. He completed his BA degree but cannot get any job. He defines village as the place where a group of people live with the feeling of belongingness and cooperation. He also talk about the religion and said that its principles are ways of life.

**Kamlu Bairwa**, aged 38, is the son of the former Sarpanch (Village Head) of the village. His source of income is agriculture and has around 20 bigha land. He said that village people pass comment on his family that they got rich due to the Sarpanchi (Village Headmanship). During the period when his father was Sarpanch, we bought the tractor and a small piece of land. So the people thought that the money has come from the

government funds which we used for our personal use. But it is a known fact that each one lives on one's own livelihood. Therefore one should be clear that Sarpanchi was not the source of livelihood of our family at that time. In spite of this allegations and blame put by villagers he remains indebted to the villagers. At the election time the whole village people of the Bairwa community and the Muslims supported him because of which he won the election. So village is known for the feeling of cooperation and we-feeling with each other which the researcher has noticed at the election time. However, one has to understand that the other castes cannot do much because seats are reserved for Scheduled Caste (Dalits) in the Panchayat System. However, it is interesting to note the Dalit Muslim solidarity in the village Salempur.

**Rampal Bairwa**, aged 36, studied till 8<sup>th</sup> standard. He along with his wife and two children stays in a kaccha ghar. He got married at the age of seventeen and now he has three children; one girl and two boys. All the children are going to the private school. He said that he does not send them to the government school because he himself studied in the government school till 8<sup>th</sup> standard and knew that the government schools provide very low level of education. He left his education due to lack of money in the family. His father was the only earning member in the family.

The respondent works as a carpenter in the village and outside also. He earns Rs. 3000 per month for 8 months in the year but in the rainy season there is no work because during the rains the wood gets affected with water. He believes in God and considers that God exists in every part of everything and he is the only one who judges our deeds and also gives us punishments. Further he also considers that 'gaon se matlab ek place se hota hai jahan par kethi ka kam jayada kiya jata hai or log ek dusre ke sukh dukh me kam ate hai. Jabki shahar me aisa nai hota hai ki waha ke log ye tak nai jan pate ki pados me kaun rah raha hai' (the village is a place where most of the people involved in the agricultural activities and people also help each other in difficult times ... whereas in the city it does

not happen like this sometimes people even do not know who live in their neighbourhood). From this case study we come to know two very important aspect of change in the village. One is that the dalits in the village are realizing the value of education. Now they do not rely only on school education their children. Second, the Dalits are almost involved only in agriculture for their livelihood.

**Rajesh Kumar**, aged 34, has completed B.Sc and B.Ed. He has 25 bigha of agricultural lands. He is the only one respondent who follows Ambedkar's ideas and work as a social worker also. He spreads awareness among the people related to issues like the discrimination against the Dalits by the upper caste people. He also celebrates 14<sup>th</sup> April, the birth anniversary of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. He does not celebrate traditional Hindu festivals such as Holi, Diwali and etc. He talks about the dharma and advocates the idea that there are only two gods for Dalits; one is Ambedkar and the other is Buddha. He narrates the incident during the marriage of his cousin brother. According to him, "When the barat (marriage procession) reached at the place of the bridge, we had begun the 'Chadai' (type of tradition, bridegroom come to the bridge place and before react to the bridge house, people of bridegroom side have dance, singing and fireworks); the upper caste people stopped them and did not allow the bridegroom to sit on the mare and they fought with in the marriage-party. So we called the police and then completed the traditional celebrations with the help of them. This case study reveals there is the beginning of ideological association among the Dalits in the Salempur village. This association is similar to association now formed in up.

**Rakesh Kumar**, aged 28, has a degree of ITI (Industrial Training Institute). But he did not get a job commensurate to his qualification. As he is the eldest son in his family and his father is no more. Therefore the whole responsibility of the family has fallen on his shoulders. He has two younger sisters and he is worried about their marriage. It has been his concern that being the only male member of the family, if he goes for work outside from the village, then who will take care of his sisters.



Hence, he started working in the fields of others. Now he has become a labourer and farmer due to the circumstances even though he has an ITI degree which is not easy thing and one has to spend lots of money for this degree.

### **6.3. Case Studies of Dalit Women**

**Sampati Devi**, aged 68, is a widow and works as a labourer in others fields. She is head of the family after the death of her husband. She has four children of whom three are married and one is unmarried. She brought up the children by earning money from her daily labour as there was no other source of income. She said that ‘gaon me sabhi log acche se rahte hai par aisa gaon abhi raha hi kaha hai’ (village is the place where people live with the notion of brotherhood but now there is changes in the concept of the village). According to Sampati Devi, earlier people of the village knew each other and had face to face relations; but now all are busy with their own works and they focus on their goals.

**Santo Devi**, aged 65 is an illiterate widow. She said that the livelihood of her family depends on the agriculture and animal husbandry. She has two buffalos and earns money by selling the milk, ghee and other milk products to the village people. It was noticed that she is really fond of her animals. It has been noticed that she covers the buffalos with clothes to save them from cold in the winter. She also said that “beta, mere se bedbhav karta hai apne baccho ke liye to fal fruit lata hai par mujhe nai deta so mai to apni roti alag bananne lag gai” (My son discriminates me while he brings fruits and sweets for his family but he never gives it to me, therefore i have started cooking separately).

The respondent asked to her details about the buffalos and then she revealed that “Janwaro ke rate dino din badta jar aha hai, lakin mai to shriru se ‘Chokhado’ (pet animal, whose milk we can consume, buffalo, goats and cow) rakhti hu or bina dudh dahi ke rah nai sakte (the price of animals increasing day by day, we keep animals all the time because i can not live without the milk and curd). She also add that “mera to gujara isi

ki amdani se hota hai, *Dudh-Dahi* or *Uple* bechkar, or sal me ek bar to janwar ke bacche ko bhi bech deti hu. Isme bhi agr baccha *Padiya* (female) hota hai to pahle wali janwar matlb uski maa ko hi bech deti hu to accha dam milta hai lagbhag 30000-40000 tak. Agr isko biyane ke bad bechti hu to 50000-70000 ke bich me kimat mil jati hai (my livelihood depends on the selling of milk, curd, dungs and sometimes the baby of the animal. If the baby is female she got more money rather than the male animal especially the buffalo. She got around 30000-70000 money by selling the buffalo. At least once in a year she sells the animal).

Through this case study we understood the importance of the animals in the lives of the villagers. It also shows the change in the cost of the animals and the livelihood of the villagers depend on the animals. They had used the dungs for cooking food in the form of fuel in their houses.

**Ugnathi Devi**, aged 62, is a farmer and daily labourer who has four children - one daughter and three sons. Her husband attends the temple related to Ramjevji (Kuldevta) situated in the middle of the Bairwa settlement. She has a thatched hut and two rooms; the thatched room used for the food making, in which she has the chulha (fireplace). It is a joint family, having common kitchen and property and all the three sons reside in one house with their wives and children. They live happily under the same roof each one caring for the other till now.

Ugnathi Devi narrated the story related to the humiliation during the marriage of her second son. In her words, “Everything was going so well...All the rituals of marriage were performed till the tel puja. But on the day of mandap, suddenly the police came to the house and told us that the marriage could not take place as it is a child marriage. We were shocked and absolutely confused, not knowing what to do. We pleaded for mercy and told them that they are acting upon wrong information. The police did not listen to us and asked for the birth certificate of my son. We gave the mark sheet of 8<sup>th</sup> standard of my son, but coincidentally he was 20 years and 8 month at the time of marriage’.

Then the family approached the Muslim elders and they sympathized with them and assured that the marriage would be taking place at the same time and the same place that have already fixed. She said: “The whole situation was handled well by the Muslims and with their cooperation we could manage the business fine. But we did not bring the bride with us. We left her there to show the village people. Later, the respondent and her family came to know that the complaint was given on record by their own community people who had a fight with the elder son due to certain reasons.

Ugnathi Devi said “We had been under the impression that the other caste people were behind the complaint and they are our enemy. But we were wrong.” She also told, “koi apna nai hota, jo dukh me kam aye wahi apna hot aha chahe wo caste ka ho ya other caste or even apna real bhai ho ya other” (no one is our, who stands with us in every step either pleasure or sorrow time, whatever caste he/she belong does not matter).

**Kesanti Devi**, aged 58, is a farmer and labour in the hills. She has four children two daughters and two sons. The three children have already got married. The elder two girls are (Judwa) twins. On the occasion of marriage of these two girls, the bridegrooms came from the two different places. One belongs to the city while the other belongs to the village. Further, she also narrated the whole story of the marriage of the daughters and what happened during the marriage. This was the first time when the bridegroom came on the back of a mare, Dalit are not allowed to sit on the mare in front of the upper caste.

Kesanti Devi narrated that my brother-in-law went to the houses of the other castes and asked them to cooperate at the time of the arrival of the Barat. Only the people of Muslim community came ahead to help us. The Meenas did not agree with our proposal and Brahmans were very few in number and therefore had no strength to play a role. On 13 may 2003, Barat came to the village, the bridegrooms was sitting in the Hans Car (The specially decorated car used during the marriage ceremony in which

the bridegroom sits when he comes to the home of the bride) and suddenly some of the Meena boys dared to throw cow dung on the Barat party. When the Muslims noticed this they warned those boys to leave the place and the boys immediately left as they were afraid of the Muslims.” Kesanti Devi acknowledges that the village is a place of the people where they live with the notion of brotherhood and cooperate during the difficulty times. She also reminds us that ‘asli dharma to manav sewa hai’ (real religion is the service of the human, when they are in need help the other).

**Kanta Devi**, aged 50, got married when she was 13 years old. Her source of income is agriculture and daily labour by her husband. When she got married her husband was studying in 10<sup>th</sup> class and he continued his studies. Still he could not get government education and started working as labourer in the construction of buildings. Recollecting her early married days, Kanta Devi said: “My mother in law harassed me a lot. My husband was living in the city to study. My mother in law used to abuse me regularly and one day I retorted back in high voice and then she tried to burn me by putting fire in the jhopdi in which I was sleeping.” This is unique case of domestic violence by a woman against woman.

**Meera**, aged 45, is a farmer and her husband works as a contractor in Delhi. She has three sons. Around 80% of their income is spent on education and others needs of the boys. The elder son is doing nursing course in a private institute and the second one is doing graduation course and the third one is in the 12<sup>th</sup> standard. All live in the city 9 km away from the native place. In the village she lives alone with her grandmother-in law. However she has to face physical as well as economic problems. Sometimes she does not have money for treatment of her grandmother-in law. She has to borrow from others. Sometimes she has to face humiliation by the other caste people most of the time Muslim and Meena. But she does not cut down the expenditure on her children facilities.

So in this case also we can witness awareness about the education among the villagers especially women as we have seen among the men in the case studies earlier. When the researcher asked to her that why did she not go with her children or her husband? But she replied that ‘kuch samay ki bat hai jab mere bacche kuch ban jayenge or kamane lagege to sab kuch accha ho jayega. Aur main ye manti hu ki jab insane dukh jhelta hai to usko bad me bahut such milta hai’ (it is for a while, when my children will become something and they earn money then everything will become normal. And I think that if a person had to suffer initially then later he/she will live happily). In this case also the same thinking that education is the real wealth of their family comes to fore.

**Barfi Devi**, aged 34, is a daily labourer. She has four children who all are girls. The eldest girl is studying in 9<sup>th</sup> standard in the ‘Ambedkar Hostel’, second is in 5<sup>th</sup> and the third is in 4<sup>th</sup> standard. The last one is too young to go to school. There are two wells in her village; one is in the midst of the Bairwa settlement area and the other one is beside the main road from where the whole village collects water whenever the Nal (tap) system is not working. Barfi Devi had gone to the road side well to collect water. When she was drawing the water from the well her rope had touched with the pot of another lady who belonged to the Nath community. The former started abusing the latter and said that her pot has become impure. There was vernal clash between the two for some time. Once when her niece (husband’s brother’s daughter) had come to visit her and saw the exchange of abusive words, she got very agitated and held the pot of teh Nath community women and threw it on the ground saying that “let the ground also become impure so she won’t use it.” Barfi Devi recalls:”The girl is of very aggressive and daring nature...After that incident no one dared to fight with me or my family. However she also narrated that she overheard the Nath women saying that, “Chamaro ke bhav bad gaye hai ajkal to” literally translated it would mean, ‘Chamar have developed attitude now a days’.

**Seema**, 32, ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) studied 12<sup>th</sup> standard. She is the only ASHA worker who comes from the Bairwa Community. She always goes to the hospital with the lady patients. ASHA are local women trained to act as health educators and promoters in their communities. They are supposed to spread awareness on health and its social determinants and mobilize the community towards local health planning and increased utilization and accountability of the existing health services. ASHA are also meant to serve as key communicators between the healthcare system and rural population. She said that when she goes with other caste patient, they discriminate with me but they do not know that the doctor may be a Dalits. She gets 300 rupees for each patient. She has no children after ten years her marriage. So now the women of village do not prefer to go to the hospital with me. Sometimes they hide their children from me. They are superstitious. She said that village is the place where a group of people live together and their livelihood depends mainly on agriculture. He thinks that dharma (religion) is “wah cheeze jo hume sahi marg ki or agrasit kare or bure or acche me bhed karna sikhaye” (that thing which takes the people towards the right path and make human beings to understand the difference between the right and wrong).

**Khemkala Bairwa**, aged 28, has studied the 5<sup>th</sup> standard, has two sons, one is in 12<sup>th</sup> standard and the other in 10<sup>th</sup>. The respondent did not study much, because of the double burden, first she is the eldest child of her parents. So she has to work on the fields with her parents as well as care her younger siblings also. But she always encouraged her younger brother and sister and helped them as much as she can. She showed the researcher her art as in the form of making of Khat (Charpai), Bijana (fan made by sticks of wood) and rope also. On this basis we can understand that she is so talented but she can not use that because of responsibilities. Now she said that I do not want that my children suffer which passed with me. So she emphasises on the education of both girl and boy. Therefore, she works hard to provide better facilities for her children. She said, that “I do not want that there should be any shockness from my side as far as the

education of her children is concerned.” The researcher asked to her about the difference between city and village. She replied that there is difference between city and village on the basis of life style and the bhasha (language) of the people. Cities have more facilities in the comparison of the villages.

**Guddi Kumari**, aged 22, got married at the age of 10 years of age along with her elder sister. Being very poor her father could not afford the expenditure of two marriages separately. She tells that village is not having many facilities while the city is full of with various facilities. ‘Or dusri taraf city me bhasha achi hoti ahi jabki gaon ke log khadi bhasha me bat karte hai and gaon me logo ka rahn-sahen or khan-pan toda city se kam hota hai. Saf safai ka dyan nai diya jata (On other hand, cities have better life style in comparison with the villages ...language also good and food habits also better in the city rather than in the village).

## **Conclusion**

On the basis of above case studies we can draw few inferences atleast for Salempur village. One important inference we can draw is that most of the villagers think that village is the place where people live with the notion or feeling of brotherhood and they have face to face relation also. Second, we can also infer that main source of the income in the village is agriculture and the daily labour on the fields of the others caste. Some of the respondents think that there are changes in the village concept, as changes in the values, attitude, life style and culture of the people. For instance earlier villagers preferred to celebrate the festivals and occasions with the family member and the villagers. However now they are turning towards to the city. They prefer to live with the family members, and do not want any involvement of the other villagers. There is less migration. People want to live in the same village but they want the facilities of the city. Around six families migrated to the city but they have not broken the ties with village and do not migrated permanently. They live there and on special occasions like on the occasions and festivals come to the village.

In the context of this study, it can be said that there are changes in the life style, food habits, and other things but they also follow the village traditions and rituals. For example, there is facilities related to the city, but they accept these without any degradation of the rural traditions.

There are two important occasions that create solidarity among different community people within the village. The first occasion is like, festivals and fairs, and marriage, Panchayat meetings. It has been observed by the researcher and also had revealed by the respondent that these festivals bring solidarity among the villagers. This unity cuts across the caste boundary as earlier discussed. The second important event that brings solidarity among villagers is conflict with other villagers. Further important inference which can be draws from these case studies is that, we can observe the loosening of caste boundaries.

The important factor is educational system. Caste children take education in the same school or institution. The children of the village say that upper caste children take part in each activity with them but they are afraid of their parents. But we can imagine that these children become liberal while they are young and they try to erase the caste boundary. Young generation of the village particularly Bairwa community discuss with the researcher that our friends belong to the upper caste eat and drink with us. Here we can say that 'rasta chahe bura ho par result accha hai' (the way is bad but the outcome of result should be good).



## Chapter VII

### Conclusion

This study has made an attempt to understand the perception of Bairwa (Dalits) community about a village in India, particularly Salempur Village of Karauli District in the state of Rajasthan. It aims to address questions such as, what does village means to Dalits in contemporary Rajasthan particularly the Salempur Village of Karauli District. What is the exact location of the Bairwa (Dalit) settlement in today's villages? The study has tried to identify the location of the Bairwa (Dalit) settlement area because there is an established notion that the localities of the Dalits are in the south of the main village. We know that every society is composed of different types of social institutions such as family, marriage, kinship, religion, caste, class, economy and polity and without understanding these institutions, we cannot understand the society. Therefore, this study has discussed the role of different formal and informal institutions functioning within the village. We have also analyzed and explained their impact on the villagers in general and particularly in the lives of Bairwas of Salempur village.

Further, this study also reveals that in contemporary society, apart from informal institutions, formal institutions like Village Government Offices, Schools, ANM (Auxilliary Nurse Midwifery as health workers), NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) and few others also operate. Therefore, to understand the perception of Bairwa (Dalits) about their village in a wholistic perspective, the study has tried to understand the existing nature of aforesaid institutions in the present context by looking into the accessibility of these institutions to Dalits.

We have started the thesis with an introductory chapter that is Chapter I. at the out se we have argued that arguing how a work of this kind requires a conceptual clarification. This chapter tries to understand the meaning of the concept of village for the Dalits. It also has discussed the objectives of

the study. The study has shown the exact location of Bairwas in the village in the backdrop of an established notion that Dalit localities reside on the South direction of the village.

This chapter reveals also that primary data for the study was collected from the field work conducted in the Salempur Village of Karauli district of Rajasthan. The primary data has been extracted by using the methods survey, Case Study, oral history and observation methods of data collection. A total number of 220 Dalit households were surveyed and at least one member of each household was interviewed in most cases of the family. Enquiry was made to sketch details about the number of family members, their marital status, gender, education status, age, occupation, type of house, availability of kitchen, types of kitchen, water sources, entertainment sources, current power, land ownership, irrigation system, what they produced in their land, and did they get profit from the production or not. Thus it includes details of the socio-economic aspect of the each household. The researcher also collected data from secondary sources; such as books, journals, magazines, periodical, quarterly magazines related to the village, folksongs of the village people, pamphlets, records of the ration card which have by the dealer of distributor of PDS system, geographical maps, and relevant government documents etc.

Salempur village is a well defined structural entity which gives an identity to all people who live there. The villager possesses the feeling of community and brotherhood and gives respect to different castes of the village. Although there are number of barriers in physical boundaries which separate these castes, yet they show solidarity. For example the Brahmins reside alongside the main road, while lower castes Bairwa, Koli, Harijans and Nath reside at the bottom the hills. And one of the castes Meena lives in the Dhani (Pura) or their own fields. Yet they show solidarity in difficult times. Hindi is the local language here. The estimated population of the village, according to the (Census 2011) is about 4773 and the total number of households is around 756. Most of the

population of this village, involve in agricultural activities and other daily works.

Chapter II deals with the different themes and concepts, and several perspectives of sociologists and social anthropologists on their understanding of village form their vantage point. For example some of them tried to define the village through the concept of settlement or community feeling amongst the people. While on the other hand, some consider that village as a place where people share common cultural values, norms, mores etc. and they take part in the cultural programmes. In this chapter, we also see the connection between the earlier studies and the present study and how the latter is different from and similar to the earlier studies.

There are mainly three types of village studies: a) studies done by the administrators; b) studies conducted by the economists; and c) studies done by the sociologists and social anthropologists. In the first category, there are some of the important British writings of Indian villages such as W.F. Firminger's the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Common on the Affairs of the East India Company (1812), Charles Metcalfe's A Minute Discussion on the Village of Delhi (1830), H.S. Maine's Village Communities in the East and West (1871), B.H. Powell's 'The Land System of the British India' (1892). The second category includes the studies conducted by the economists on Indian villages like Patel (1952) who has described the nature of the agrarian crises almost all over India by the end of the First World War, G. Keating and Harold Mann (Mumbai), Gilbert Slater (Madras) and Lucas (Punjab) who initiated intensive study of particular villages and general agrarian problems. The Punjab Board of Economics Enquiry and the Bengal Board of Economics Enquiry organized village surveys in 1920 and 1935 respectively. Besides, J.C. Kumappa, a Gandhian economist, developed Gandhian perspective by conducting survey of Matar Taluka in Kheda district of Gujarat in 1931. While, the third category has village studies done by eminent sociologists and social anthropologists like Srinivas

(Rampura, Andhra Pradesh), Dube (Shamirpet, UP), Beteille (Sripuram, TamilNadu), Bailey (Bisipara, Orrisa), Majumdar (Mohaw, UP), Cohn (Madhopur, UP), K.L. Sharma (Rajasthan), Prem Chaudhary (Hariyana), Linch (Jatav of Mathura, UP) etc.

Some sociologists and social anthropologists tried to define the term village in terms of land or land system as Powell and Dumont. Secondly the concept of village has been defined through the social structure. Finally Baily, Srinivas, Vivek Kumar and Powell tried to defined village on the basis of settlement or residence.

Further, the Chapter III talks about the socio- economic profile of the Salempur village which includes research setting of the village, population, number of household, occupational category, caste structure, setting of the household, availability of health services, educational institutions, Anganwadi system, facility of water resources, sources of income and expenditure pattern of the households etc. In this chapter social structure of the village is understood. The researcher also tried to highlight the Jajmani relation in the village.

It has been observed that this is a multi-caste village which has Brahmins, Baniya, Koli, Pathan, Sakka, Fakir (Pathan, Sakka, Fakir are the Sub Caste of Muslims), Meena, Thakur, Bairwa, Harijan, Nath, Kumhar (Potter), Sunar (Goldsmith) and Khati (Woodcutter) live. The researcher has studied only 220 household of Bairwa community. The total numbers of household, according to 2011 Census are 756. However, during filed study the researcher found 848 households in the village. Numerically Bairwas and Muslims are strong but socially, politically and economically Meena more dominant within the village. The total population of the village is 4773 out of which 73.98% are Hindus and the remaining 26.02 percent belong to Muslim population in the village. Sex Ratio of Salempur village is 893. It is lower than Rajasthan state average of 928 according to the 2011 census. Child Sex Ratio for the Salempur as per census is 899, higher than Rajasthan average of 888. According to the

2011 Census, 2266 people have agriculture as their occupation. Out of this, 61.87 percent of them are involved in Main Work, i.e. employed or earning more than 6 months, while 38.13 % are involved in Marginal activity, i.e. earning for less than 6 months. Of 2266 workers engaged in Main Work, 767 are cultivators (owner or co-owner) while 278 are Agricultural labourers.

According to 2011 Census, literacy rate of Salempur village is 67.16 as compared to 66.11 % of Rajasthan. In Salempur, male literacy stands at 81.58 % while female literacy rate is 50.99%. Most of the population of the village engaged in agricultural as well as working on the hills and thus there is only seasonal migration. There are around 15 Brahman's households in the village who do not have land. Out of 15, only 2 families have traditional occupation of priesthood. All the families of Baniya community do their own business such as selling of clothes, sweets, grocery and tailoring shops. The bulk of agriculture is done by Bairwa community, considered as the untouchable caste earlier. However they have raised their social status and position. Other agriculture communities are Meena and sub caste of Muslims. They both are the landlords and dominant castes of the village. They have their own fields and Bairwa work on their fields. Sometimes Bairwa also engage in the construction labour in the village. Thus here we can see the change in the occupational status of the castes such as Meena, Bairwa and sub caste of Muslims as well.

There are fourteen schools in the village. Out of these schools ten schools are government and the other four schools are private. The three schools are higher secondary. Out of fourteen schools only four schools are in the main locality, two are private and two are government. The other schools are located in each Dhani of the village. The researcher does not find the single student who enrolls the schools of other Dhani. But the people of Dhani send their children to study to the main locality schools as they think these schools are better off than the schools which are located in their own Dhanies.

There is a sub centre of the Primary Health Centre (PHC) called as dispensary to take care of the health of the villagers. However, facilities in the Primary Health Centre are not satisfactory, despite the presence of an MBBS doctor and two nurses. The nurses go to the village every month to check the health condition of pregnant women and children below five years and they also provide them the iron and calcium tablets. There is one Ayurved dispensary as well. Therefore, we can say that the health facilities are quite satisfactory in comparison to the other parts of the district.

There are six Anganwadi workers in the village. All of them come from the Dhani and two of them deal with the main village locality. There are ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist) health workers and helpers also who go to the hospital with the patient during the delivery time. At the Anganwadi centre children of the village come to get education because they cannot go to school due to family reason or responsibility of their younger siblings.

Further, this study also depicts light on the nature of relationship among the different castes within the multi-caste village. It was found that villagers also follow the landlord-tenant relationship, but here the major change is in the caste structure. For example, the former studies concluded that the higher castes dominate the lower castes, but in the context of this study the pattern is different. Here the schedule tribe Meena is the dominant group and they exploit the other lower castes of the village and they are the landlord class of the village. As we consider that the schedule tribe is the backward class in the context of social, cultural, economic and political spheres, in contrast to that, in this village they consider themselves as superior in all these spheres.

The Chapter IV tries to understand the social structure and meaning of the village among the Bairwas (Dalits) of the Salempur village. As discussed Salempur is a multi-caste village located some 200 km from Jaipur, the capital of the Rajasthan. It discusses the demographical pattern of the

Dalits within the village. It attempts to find out the exact location of the Dalits within in the village because there is an established notion that the Dalit localities are located in the South direction of the village. It also looks into the dwelling structure of the Dalits and what are their assets that they possess in their houses, and how have they acquired these assets. It also maps out the source of drinking water and how far away is that source from the locality. Further, this chapter has also discussed the income, expenditure, and saving of the respondents. It will be interesting to note the method of their savings here, whether they save their income in the banks or they buy gold to save their money. The chapter will record from whom they borrow money. The chapter has also looked into the interest rates at which they borrow their loans. The chapter has also mentioned about the different ways and difficulties faced in acquiring different types of certificates: income, ration, job card for MNREGA, caste and domicile certificates. By the help of observation the researcher concluded that the Bairwa households resided in the South direction of the village. Although many of the respondents narrated that there is no pre-plan for this.

The growth in employment opportunities of the Bairwa community people indicates that there is change in the structural pattern of their work. For example, now most of the members are educated and they are aware of the importance of education. Out of 220 households around 30 people are in the government jobs. They are employed as clerks, teachers, medical officers, male nurses, Ayurved doctors, police and a few are in the banking sector. A number of members are employed in private jobs in companies, outside the village and outside the state as well. Around 30 people work in the Nageena factory in Jaipur and also in Chemical Factory in Delhi. Some of them also work as contactors in Delhi, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and such big cities.

Around 38% of the households have more than three rooms in their houses and five and half percent of Dalits have Jhopdi in their houses. Approximately 60% have both the kaccha and pakka house; the kaccha is

used as kitchen and pakka is used for residence. About 90% of the houses have cemented roof including stone slabs. Ownership of the agricultural and irrigation equipments reflects the subsistence nature of agriculture and small land holding. There were only four percent households which have tractors. Borewell and pumps are owned by only one percent of households. About sixty percent of the households own television and radio respectively.

Secondly most of the people of the village are engaged in the agricultural activities as daily laborers. As the data shows, only 12 person of the village, particularly from the Bairwa sub caste are engaged in the government sector while others are dependent on the agriculture. The number of men reported as non- agricultural laborers (nearly 37%) is more than that reported as farmers (about 29%).The average income from non-agriculture labor is around Rs.13, 000 per annum. Very few people work in the government and private sector outside the village.

The study has also found that the average land holding size per household is small and each house possess only 3.5 acres. Landlessness is quite high. About 10% of the land owning households own irrigated land and of them about 47% have irrigated land size of 3.1 acres and more. Mostly animals and especially buffaloes are owned by 66% of households, only 5% of them own bullocks. Nearly 29% own a second house possibly because they live on field sites during yielding season. For purchase of assets, households resort to their own capital in 66% of the cases, with very rare incidence of borrowings from banks (1% of cases) and from moneylenders (in 5% of cases). In 17% cases assets are either inherited or gifted. Even in cases of bigger purchases viz. tractors, bore well, pump sets, two-wheelers households spend from their own capital and rarely approach banks for finance. As mostly villager keep pet animals so they prefer buffalos and goats particularly. Every household's economy depends on the animal husbandry, as they earn money by selling milk and other products of milk. But the researcher record that these products



are bought by the Bairwa community and not by other castes. But the other castes buy fodder for cattle from the Bairwas.

Although there is no Self Help Group (SHG) or Village Organization who make them aware about water saving, the people of the village know the concept of water saving. They save the water to make tank in their houses or wall on the roof. They collect the rainy water and after that they use it for washing clothes, utensils and animals also. The people of the Bairwa community also have the notion of unity which saves them from more exploitation. At many times the people fight with the problem of exploitation and they represent the notion of unity.

This Chapter V has discussed about the notion of religion and ritual practices related to the birth of child, death and marriage rituals prevalent among the rural people belonging to the Bairwa community of the Salempur village. Religion is the visitation or '*Darshan*' of the temple or '*Masjid*' (mosque). As Frank (2002) said that religious identity in Rajasthan combines the public practices of temple visitation or *Darsahn*, the viewing of images and relies with private, household based prayer and worship. Further Joseph (2007) defined religion in terms of the religious identity, enacted within family and life stages rituals, as well as in national and local practical party discourse through transnational networks and electronic media and within economic transaction.

The important finding revealed by the respondents that there is decline of the ritual of the Brahman and these rituals are performed by the lower castes themselves. As the vernacular system or Brahminical theory, the Brahmans perform the sacred and ritual functions like reciting Vedas during the marriage time or birth of a child. But here it is replaced by the Meena caste who perform all the ritual activities during the marriage and the birth of a child.

There are many things which bring people from different community together, within the village. These are occasions like festivals, festivals, fairs, and marriage, Panchayat meetings, and conflict with the other

village etc. This unity brings the people out of the caste boundary as discussed earlier. Second important factor is educational system, as the children, belonging to different castes, gain education in the same school or institution. However, the children of the village said that the so- upper caste children take part in each activity with them but they are afraid of their parents. Young generation of the village particularly Bairwa community made a point that their friends belong to the upper caste eat and dine with them.

The Chapter VI consists of case studies which have been recorded by the researcher during the fieldwork. Through these case studies the researcher tries to capture the perception of the Dalits about the village and changes (social, economic, cultural and political) that occur in the village. At the end researcher conclude that most of the people think that village is the place where people live with the notion of feeling of brotherhood. The main source of the income in the village is agriculture and the daily labour. Some of the respondents think that there are changes in the values, attitude, life style and culture of the people. Earlier people prefer to celebrate the festivals and occasions with the family member and the villagers. Now they are turning to the city values. They prefer to live with the family members, and do not want any involvement of the other villagers. There is less migration. People want to live in the same village but they want the facilities of the city. Around six families migrated to the city but they have not totally broken the ties with village. They visit village on special occasions like festivals. In the context of this study, it can be said that there are changes in the life style, food habits, and other things but they also follow the village traditions and rituals.

The researcher extracted three narratives with the help of these case studies. First, the traditional part of the Bairwa community in religious term is very strong. The Bairwa rituals are different from the other castes to some extent. But these are not entirely different form the upper castes of the village. There are similarities between the Meena and Bairwa at the level of ritual and religious practices because there is an established

notion that Meena and the Bairwa are the generation of the same lineage. For example, most of the respondents said that in ancient time there were two brothers named Chandu and Mandu. One day the animal of their family has died and the elder brother said to the younger one to throw it out. Then out of respect for the elder, the younger brother threw the dead animal. Since then the elder told the younger that from now onwards you will be an untouchable. This is the counter narrative of Bairwas about their degraded social position as untouchable in the village. Some households of the Bairwa community follow the rule of Kabir and accept the Kabir cult. That means they are Kabir Panthies. So they do not allow meat and wine in their houses especially in the room of worship. Sometimes, they do not allow drunkard man enter the house.

Another counter narrative as highlighted by the Dalits in the Salempur Village is that of '*Daru Bhai*'. The respondents have mentioned that there is an established notion in the society in general that Brahmans do not eat meat and drink liquor. But respondent replied that now the Brahman eat meat and consume alcoholic drinks. Now they have become the '*daru bhai*' (wine brother). That means they can sit and drink liquor with us but out in public care but clandestining. This episode of '*Daru Bhai*' counters the established notion that Dalits are sausprilizing and imitate the Brahmins. However, it has been revealed by the Dalits that there is no need for this to imitate the Brahmins because they came and sit with us, eat and drink with us also. Then why should we imitate them. Contrary to that the Dalits argued that instead of we imitating them it looks that they have started imitating us.

The practice of access to temple is another case to show the unity between Dalit and the Muslims of the village. Dalits were not allowed to enter the temple. This was simple case of practice of untouchability. This practice was opposed by Muslims. But the Brahmins did not listen. Therefore some Muslims youths became very angry. They were in so much rage that they broke the Mike and Speakers of the temple and they were ready to damage the building of the temple also. Here the situation becomes very

ugly. The Brahmins lodged a Police complaint. Hence with the police interference things were brought under control. But one thing became very clear that there is solidarity between Dalits and Muslims. It is again a unique case of counter narrative of dominant solidarity in the village.

Chapter VII has synthesized the ideas, perspectives and the information gathered through the study. This village is a multi-caste and they also have the relation to each other. The researcher found that village economy moves around the agriculture but in this case the livelihood of the villagers particularly Bairwas depends on agriculture as well as working hill atop. At the end of the chapter we concluded that Salempur village is well organized and the houses of the Bairwa (Untouchables) are situated in the south direction of the village. Although the people said that there is no pre-plan for the settlement of the houses. Before settling down, it is believed that they lived alongside the road houses which situated in the north direction of the village.

The number of the population of the Bairwa community is similar to the other castes. As we can see that the sex ratio of the Dalits within the village is much higher than the state and it is even higher than the sex ratio of India. It means female feticide is low than the other parts or villages of the State or District. The people of the village know the concept of water saving. They save the water to make tank in their houses or wall on the roof. They collect the rainy water and after that they use it for washing clothes, utensils and animals also. This study observed that most of the household remains in joint family, which is considered as the prominent factor to define the village. Further the researcher also brings out the discrimination between male and female, as the female respondents are not allowed to come out in front of the elders of their family.

The unity of the people of the village is noticeable at different occasions like festivals and fairs, marriages, Panchayat meetings, dispute with other villages and so on. This unity brings the people out of the caste boundary

and brings them together as one community. Another important factor of unity is education. Children get education in the same school or institution. The children of the village said that the so-called upper caste children take part in each activity and mingle with them freely but are afraid of their parents. Young generation of the village particularly Bairwa community hold that their friends circle includes the upper caste peer group as well and they do not exhibit any inhibition in eating and drinking together.

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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX - 1

#### Details of Respondents of the 'Salempur' Village

Sr. No	Male	Female	Total
	140	80	220
<b>1. Age</b>			
21-40	80	66	146
41-60	36	6	42
Above 60	24	8	32
<b>Total</b>	140	80	220
<b>2. Education Status</b>			
Primary	22	26	48
Secondary	68	30	98
Graduation	22	10	32
Higher	10	4	14
Illiterate	18	10	28
<b>Total</b>	140	80	220
<b>3. Marital Status</b>			
Married	44	12	56
Unmarried	88	54	142
Widow	8	14	22
<b>Total</b>	140	80	220

<b>4. Occupation</b>		
Agriculture	88	
Labor	74	
Government	26	
Private job	32	
<b>Total</b>	220	220
<b>5. Type of Family</b>		
Nuclear	120	
Joint	78	
Extended	22	
<b>Total</b>	220	220
<b>6. Dwelling Structure</b>		
Kaccha	32	
Kachha cum Pakka	92	
Pakka	84	
Jhopdi	12	
<b>Total</b>	220	220



### **Social and Personal Background of the Respondents**

1. Name of The Respondent:
2. Gender                      Male                                      Female
3. Age
4. Marital Status
5. Education
6. Source of income
7. How much land have you?
8. Type of Family              Nuclear                      Joint                      Extended
9. Caste

Do you have any caste certificate?  
If No, Why

### **Household characteristics**

1. What type of dwelling structure?
2. Household size: one room                      two room                      three room  
more than three    no room
3. Do You Have Your Own House?

<b>Possession Of Assets By The Household</b>		
<b>Item</b>	<b>Possession</b>	
Cycle	Yes	No
Torch	Yes	No
Radio/Transistor	Yes	No
Watch/Wristwatch	Yes	No
Scooter/Motorcycle	Yes	No
Car/ Jeep/ Van	Yes	No
Television	Yes	No
Telephone/Mobile	Yes	No
Computer/Laptop	Yes	No
Tractor	Yes	No

4. What is the source of drinking water? And how far away from their locality?

5. Is there toilet facility?

Yes, Government                      Your own

No, then why

6. What is the source of lightening?

7. What is the source of cooking?

8. What is the source of income?

## **I. Understanding of a village through Dalit perception**

1. What do you understand by the term village/Gaon?

## **II. Roles and Status of Dalits**

### **Educational status**

1. Till which standard you have studied?
2. Do you think education is important?
3. Opinion about the education/Shiksha:  
Boys  
Girls

### **Social Status**

1. Where do you live in the village?
2. How are you addressed by the so-called upper caste villagers?
3. Have you heard about the term 'Dalit'?
4. What do you mean by term 'Dalit'?
5. Have you ever faced discrimination?
  - a.) Eating with you
  - b.) Drinking water from your houses
  - c.) Drink water
  - d.) Barat during marriage of your children
  - e.) Are they come in your invitation for food
  - f.) Taking of dead body
  - g.) Abusing to you and which word they used



6. Which caste (s) discriminates against you?
  
7. How many types of discrimination?
  - a.) Snatch your land
  - b.) Take your land forcibly on rent
  - c.) Cut your crop
  - d.) Plough your fields
  - e.) Cattles on your fields
  - f.) Theft of water from your fields
  - g.) Caught you in lie police case
  - h.) Getting PDS quota
  - i.) Denial of accepting water
  - j.) Denial of access to water resources
  - k.) Denial of accepting food
  - l.) Restriction on sitting together
  - m.) Denial enter into houses
  - n.) Restriction on celebrating together
  - o.) Denial of entry into kitchen
  - p.) Denial of entry onto temple
  - q.) Denial of wearing clothes/ornaments similar to upper caste
  
8. Is your residence is in separate locality from the so-called upper caste residences?
  
9. Are you allowed to enter the houses of the so-called upper castes?
  
10. Does upper caste eat/ drink water with the Dalits?
  - a.) Allowed food to you with them
  - b.) Accept water from your houses
  - c.) Allow to you drink water from their houses
  - d.) Accept water from your utensils/pot in your houses
  
11. How do you interact with upper caste?
  
12. Are Dalits segregated at marriage /community feast?
  
13. Have you faced any opposition when Dalits cooks are hired /employed in mid- day schemes schools kitchen?

14. Have do Dalit women faced sexual assault?

15. Have you faced any kind of ostracism? If yes when and why?

**Political aspect**

1. Name of the Panchayat.

2. Are you member of the Panchayat?

Yes,

No, why

3. Where do Dalits sit in village Panchayat meetings?

4. Do you vote freely?

Yes,

No,

5. Whom do you vote for and why?

6. What types of problems you face in exercising your franchise?

7. Is the information regarding Panchayat meeting and works are provided to you?

8. Are you allowed to express your views in village Panchayat?

9. Has there been any case of mass mobilization by you (Dalits) against upper caste in Panchayat?

10. Do you have any organization to counter exclusion faced by them in Panchayat?

11. Did the Panchayat do your work?

Yes,

No, why

**Occupational status**

1. What is your main occupation?

2. What are the other types of occupations Dalits perform?
3. How much do you earn per day?
4. How many days of work you get in a week/month/year?
5. How much spend and on what?
6. How much you are able to save monthly?

### **Economic status**

1. Are you in the Jajmani relation?
2. Are you the owner of the land/tenant/cultivator?
3. What is the nature of land
  - A.) Irrigational Land
  - B.) Non Irrigational Land
4. Land holding pattern.
5. What is your source of credit: moneylender                      banks
6. How do you repay?
7. What is the interest rate at which you repay?
8. Have you/ ancestors ever held land jointly with others?
9. Does your family come under BPL?
10. Has your land ever captured by so-called upper caste?
11. Are you given the same wages equal to others?
12. Have you been subjected to forced labour by the so-called upper caste?
13. Do you migrate? If yes, why?

Causes: Social  
Economic

### **B. Religious aspect**

1. What do you understand by religion/ dharma?
  
2. What are the rituals and practices you follow concerning:
  - a) Birth of child
  - b) Health/disease
  - c) Cattle
  - d) Marriage
  - e) Death
  - f) Festivals
  - g) Agriculture
  
3. Have you ever face any resistance in entering temples in your village?
  
4. Do Dalits participate in cultural and festival activities at par with the other caste?
  
5. Do Dalits and so called upper caste have the same crematorium in your village?
  
6. Do you touch the feet of so-called upper caste to show respect?
  
7. Do you stand up in respect for so-called upper caste?

### **III. Accessibility to local Institutions**

1. Do you have ration card?  
Yes,  
No, why
  
2. Do you avail PDS?  
If, Yes, then what are the articles you get:
  - a. Wheat

- b. Rice
- c. Suger
- d. Kerosene
- e. Dal
- f. Any other

No, then why

3. Whether you get all of these or few or one or two?

4. Do you have job card?

Yes,  
No, why

5. Do you avail MNREGA?

Yes, how

No, why

6. Do you access Aganwadi services?

Yes, how  
No, why

7. Do you access health facilities?

Yes, how

No, why

8. What are the certificate do you have?

- A. Income Certificate
- B. Caste Certificate
- C. Domicile
- D. Death Certificate
- E. Birth Certificate
- F. Marriage Certificate

9. How do you get these certificates?

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

What is the understanding of the village among the Dalit community?

What does the social structure of the village look like in terms of roles and statuses existing in the society?

Do they feel excluded from the main structure of the village?

Do Dalits face discrimination in the village even today?

What is the nature of Dalits discrimination?

In which spheres of life they suffer the discrimination the most?

What are the sources of domination of the other castes on Dalits?

Is there impact of socialization of the Dalits which makes them feel that they are dominated?

How do Dalits earn their livelihood in the village?

What are the changes in the occupational profile of the Dalits in the village?

Do they enjoy freedom of occupation?

Do they have access to different localities of the village?

Can they participate in cultural and festival activities at par with the other caste persons?

What is the structure of administrative system and who is the head of the village and how they control the village society?

Is there any effect of religious beliefs on the agriculture, economic, political, social and cultural structure of the village and how they affect them?

What is the status of Dalit women within the family and in the village?

What are the main types of atrocities perpetrated by so-called upper castes on Dalits?

What are the reasons of migration of Dalits from village?

What are the main sources of social changes in the village and in the lives of villagers?

### **Proverbs: As the Means of Communication**

The following chapter discusses the proverbs that are used by the rural people within the village. The proverbs record by the researcher during interaction with the villagers of the field study particularly the Dalits of the 'Salempur' village in Karauli district of Rajasthan. Proverbs are the means of communication. In this chapter also we will analyse how are these proverb used as the means of communication among the rural people especially when the Dalits interaction with the upper caste. As we know that the means of communication differ from person to person or region to region. For example the people of city have has multiple means of communication rather than the villagers. Here in this chapter the researcher also tried to find out the proverbs that the Dalit people use to counter the upper strata people against their exploitation.

A proverb is short pithy saying in general use, held to embody a general truth. It is also called popular saying. These proverbs are used to bring the beauty and lively for the literature and language. The mother of these proverbs is the social problems of the human beings means the proverbs shows the pity condition of the people specially the rural people. For example the Brahmin has use the slogans of Geeta and Vedas to effect over the general people similarly these proverbs also describe the situation of the people properly and most interesting way. The researcher has found the some proverb during the interaction with the people of the village. These proverbs are used by village people during the conversation with the other caste people or sometimes within the caste people. The proverbs are very situational comment which may be use by a male person to a female person. The proverb is short sentence that people often quote and that gives advice or tells you something about human life and problems.



*'Bander kya jane adrak ka swad'* (what does a monkey know the taste of ginger). Means someone who can't understand can't appreciate. Here the researcher writes down this proverb when she was interviewing the Somyatya a headman of the family. He elaborate the problem of his, sudden his son came there and deny all those things which are spoken by his father. Sudden the person said to his son that *bander kya jane adrak ka swad*.

*'Dur ke dol dur se suhane lagte h'* (the drums sound better at a distance), we tend to like the one's we do not have. In this context the people of economically strong do not agree with the people who suffer the exploitation by the upper caste people. Because the people treat with the people, meet once in a while very well manner. Some people of the Bairwa community said to other people that the other caste people do not always agree with the people. But, when the poor people and backward people on the basis of educationally, socially or economically tried to mingle with the upper caste. They become angry and at this point these people use this proverb.

*'Jal me rahkar magr se bar kya'* (living in water and being an enemy of the crocodile is not good). Here the researcher said that when she talked to the respondent, he elaborate about the problems faced by the Dalit people within the village especially when they are working on the fields of the dominant caste of the village that Meena and Muslims. At this point the researcher tells them to complain of the people who exploit and harass them or they form the group of people who raise the voice against the exploitation. But the respondent said that *sahib 'jal me rah kar magar se bair kya rakhna menas hume is gaon me hi rahna h to q ladai mol lena'* (we have to live in the village then why we would fight with them)

*'Garjane wale badal baraste nai'* (those who make the most thundering seldom do anything). This proverb uses them very frequently, when the two people are fighting with each other. One said I will kill you then other say that *'garjne wale badal kabi baraste nai'*.

*'Jitni chadar utne hi pair pasarne chaiye'* (stretch your legs only till the size of your blanket) means limit your spending to your earnings. A respondent tell to the researcher that I borrow money from the Brahmin colleague to buy car, but accidently I count repay his money. One day I was passing nearby of the house of them, some people came and caught me, take to their house. They tied me to the tree. This news spread to the people of my Mohalla, came and fights with the Brahmin people. At this point people are starting to say that *jitni chadar utna hi pair pasarne chaiye*.

*'Okhali me sir dalna to muslo se kya darna'* (if you have put your head into the mortar then why fear of the pounders). It means if you started a difficult task; don't bother about what's going to happen. A female respondent said to the sweeper of the village, when a female sweeper came to clean the houses of the Bairwa community. One day she cover her face with her saree when she is cleaning the cat toilet place, then the female respondent comment to her that *'okhali me sir dena to muslo se kya darna'* means you born in the caste where you have to do like that deeds.

*'Sar slamatto pagadi hajar'* (if your head is intact you can have thousand turbans) it means if the troubled times save your head first, your possession should not be your priority, you can buy worldly things anytime after. At the election time of sarpanch within the village, the seat for SC candidate. As the respondent describe that the village divided into the different localities. The Bairwa people reside in the three localities, one locality dominated by the Thakur, other by Muslim and the third one by the Meena. One candidate contested from the community dominated by the Thakur, and one from the main village locality by Muslim. There were conflict between the two groups, one hand the Muslims and other Thakur and Meena. At the time of declaration of the election result, some people of the Meena community came to the candidate and start to humiliate him, then the candidate said *'sar salamatto pagdi hajar'* means

if I have the honor, then the lot of success will gain. If I lost my dignity then no one respects me as the post of Sarpanch.

*'Andha ka tandura ramdevji bajasi'* (means god take care of the helpless person). One respondent, Gyatri after 2 years of her marriage her husband died in an accident. But at the time of death her husband she has three months pregnant. She has give birth of baby boy, and the older women of the community use this proverb because everyone knows that god take care of the helpless person.

*'Kare kun bare kun'* there are times when some other person commits a crime and an innocent person has to bear the result. The crimes are committed by the upper caste people but in many cases the lower caste people become victimize. For example one of respondent elaborates an incident about his son that his son and his son's friend drink wine and caught by the police. The family of their bring them and they left mu son, even they did not inform us. Here this proverb suitable.

*'Abhago tabr tyohar ne ruse tere'* are person who are tunable to make the proper use of the available chances. People of the upper caste use the lower caste people as they can. They do not led go the chances to exploit them.

*'Unth ko rog rewari jane'* only an expert person in the field can know the real fault. Those who suffer or live the conditions they can understand.

*'Asojan ka padya tabda jogi bangya jat'* during the rainy season when there is no rain the farmer community has to undergo monetary loss. No one control the natural calamity, means situations can make a person from rich to poor or poor to rich.

*'Randya roti rahsi or panwda jibat'* means essential work will go on even if someone opposes it. In 2003 the tender passed for the road and nail for the both side within the village particularly in the Bairwa mohalla. Not only the other caste people but also the people of the same mohalla do not

agree to support the government people. After the opposition of the people the work is continue and finally the road is made properly.

*'Ni mama se to kana mama chokho'* rather than having nothing at all, it is better to get something or other sense something is better than nothing.

*'Ghar ka jogi jogna aan gaon ka sidh'* a wise man is only acknowledged after he goes away for is livelihood outside his home town or his village.

*'Ghar ki khan krakari lage, pela ka gud mitha lage'* people always want what is out of their each and disregard what they have in hand. People of the rural community also uses this proverb, we always ignore the things what we have but always prise the others things. For example the relation between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, they always praise neighbors.

*'Jiski lathi uski baish'* might is right means one who is powerful in the village is always considerable. If a person economically and socially strong he governs the village. Here in the case of the present study if Sarpanch of the lower caste, but actually the rule of the Meena or Muslim people.

A fog cannot be dispelled by a fan means if we want to get great achievement then we need to do great work or effort.

*'Chor chor mosere bhai or ek hi thaili ke chhate batte'* means birds of the same feather flock together. When the one person do the wrong thing and another person take side of that person, it is always that same feather flock together.

*'Pure gold does not fear the flame'* means a true person needs not to fear anyone. Most of the people of the village used this proverb very common way for example small conflict between two people of the same family or between two families. As we know that in our epic books also teaches us that *'sacche adami ko nai darna chaiye sach ki humesha jeet hoti h'* (a true person does not afraid, because a truth always wins).

## **Number of Case Studies**

**Male** 10

**Female** 10