SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE EX-JAGIRDARS OF RAJASTHAN: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MEWAR

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

PRADEEP SINGH CHOONDAWAT

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

1979

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

Gram-JAYENU
Telephone :
New Mehrauli Road,
NEW DELHI-110067

November, 1979

DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled "Social Mobility Among the Ex-Jagirdars of Rajasthan: With Special Reference to Mewar" submitted by Pradeep Singh Choondawat is in partial fulfilment of eight credits out of a total requirement of twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. It is certified that this dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

PROFESSOR T.K. OOMMEN
CHAIRMAN

DR. K.L. SHARMA
SUPERVISOR

PREFACE

The present study is an essay on Social mobility in India.
The particular emphasis, in this analytical paper is on the under-
standing of the patterns of social mobility from a historical
point of view. We have discussed various concepts related to
stratificational mobility. These concepts have been examined in
view of some basic approaches, such as functional and dialectical -
historical.

The review of literature on social mobility in India reveals
that a great deal of emphasis has been put on studying mobility
in the caste system. These studies have been influenced by the
indological and cognitive-historical approaches. The main feature
of these studies is on the understanding of the caste system and
its dynamics as stated in the Sanskritic texts and other Hindu
religious literature. These studies have been influenced by the
ethos of functionalism in particular, however, the application of
dialectical-historical approach to the study of caste stratification
and mobility has not been very much in vogue.

Our analysis shows that most of the studies on social mobility
refer to the movement of individuals, sub-castes and castes. Social
mobility is not confined to status emulation alone, it refers to the
studies of structural factors which bring about the downgrading
of social position of individuals and groups, who are adversely
affected by certain structural changes. We have studied social
mobility among the ex-Jagirdars, Zamindars and Bhomias of Rajasthan
with the view that land reforms as a structural factor have affected
adversely the position of the landed groups and individuals.

- ii -

The analysis shows, that the theory of "Status withdrawal" applies to the ex-jagirdars and Zamindars. The notion of "Status withdrawl" refer to debasing of individuals and groups from their entrenched positions. In case of jagirdars and zamindars the normative system which granted them land rights was abolished and consequently the land-grants were withdrawn from them. This step initiated a process of status consolidation and status downgrading, but not in any case status emulation.

The purpose of the present study is to see those individuals and groups from among the jagirdars and zamindars, who could retain their status by alternate ways and means.

We have to also see those groups and individuals from among the jagirdars and zamindars who could not seek alternate ways and means to retain their status. In the case of the latter the process of downward social mobility begin and some of them reached to the level of a proletariat and manual worker.

Thus, our main interest is to study this particular structural force which has brought about social mobility among the ex-jagirdars and Zamindars and some other intervening factors since the abolition of jagirdari and zamindari system.

I express my gratitude to Dr. K.L. Sharma for supervising the present research work. It would have been difficult for me to complete this study without his guidance and help which I received from time to time.

- iii -

I also wish to express thanks to my friends M/s J.K. Sharma, R.P. Jaiswal, M.K. Brahmachari and B.P. Tomar for their encouragement and help.

Finally, my thanks go to Shri Mahesh Kr. Gupta for quick and efficient typing of the thesis.

Pradeep Singh Choondawat.

PRADEEP SINGH CHOONDAWAT

CONTENTS

CHAPTER - I

THE PROBLEM

In recent years considerable work has been done in the field of social mobility. Sociological researches on social mobility started at the end of the nineteenth century. Sorokin has done a comprehensive study on social mobility. The other notable studies are by D.V. Glass, S.M. Lipset, Bernard Barber, R.K. Merton, James Silverberg, etc.

The studies of social mobility in India are quite different from the studies of mobility conducted elsewhere. Mobility in the caste system has been studied more than mobility in class and power systems. In fact, caste had been an encompassing institution of Indian society, and it was thought that it covered all other relations, namely, economic and political. Recently, studies on mobilities in class and power systems have been done. The emphasis in these studies is on the processes of change in class and power hierarchies and relations between caste and class, caste and power and class and power.

Various approaches to stratification and mobility have been applied to Indian situation. Beteille has examined Max Weber's approach, namely, 'class, status and party'. Marxian approach has been applied by several scholars in their studies of agrarian and industrial structures. First, we shall briefly review some of the studies on social mobility and then see their impact on the studies of social mobility in India.

On the basis of a careful analysis of the available
literature on social mobility Lipset and Bendix have observed that
social mobility is an integral and continuing aspect of the process
of industrialization.[1] D.V. Glass's edited work on social mobility
comprehends the phenomena of social mobility in the Great Britain.
Various areas of inquiry like occupational grading, educational
experience, intergenerational changes in status, methods of mobility
measurement, mobility and marriage, and international comparision
of social mobility have been studied by the contributors of this
volume. These studies have measured amount, rate, direction and
channels of social mobility in the Great Britain.[2]

Barber has measured correlation between social mobility and
different determining factors like family, education work organization,
symbolic justification and political organization. He has given an
account of variability in amount and degree of social mobility in
different types of societies.[3]

Recently, attention has been paid to the understanding of
social mobility as several new factors have brought about changes
in the traditional status system. Factors like education, housing
conditions, social and political statuses leading to social mobility

1. Lipset, S.M. and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society,
    University of California Press : California, 1959.

2. Glass, D.V. (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain, Routledge and Kegan
    Paul Ltd. : London, 1954.

3. Barber, Bernard., Social Stratification : A comparative analysis
    of structure and processes, Harcourt Brac & World : New York, 1957.

were taken into account. In most of the studies conducted in western societies the major emphasis is on occupational mobility. The trends mentioned are : mobility from unskilled to skilled, and from lower grade white-collar jobs to professional jobs.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Social mobility is a part of a broader concept, namely, social change. Social change affects the entire society or a part of a given society, but not necessarily in regard to its status-system in a significant way. Mobility whether physical or social is the consequence either of migration or of changes in the positions of individuals, classes and groups. Thus, social mobility refers to a specific and contextual change, namely, in the status system of a society in general, or in a given society. There could be various types of factors responsible for bringing about social mobility. However, in recent times, the growth of cities, factories, bureaucracy and demands for new personnel and talent are the chief factors of the increasing rate of mobility.

Pitrim Sorokin's work on social mobility marks the beginning of systematic sociological study on various dimensions of social mobility. Sorokin defines social mobility as "any transition of an individual or social object or value anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one social position to another".[4] Sorokin classifies social mobility in two principle types, horizontal and vertical. By horizontal mobility is meant the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another

4. Sorokin, P.A., Social and Cultural Mobility, The Free Press : Glencoe, 1959, p.133.

situated on the same level. By vertical social mobility is meant
the relations involved in a transition of an individual from one
social stratum to another. According to the direction of the
transition there are two types of vertical social mobility, ascending
and descending or social climbing or social sinking. Lipset and
Bendix define social mobility as the process by which individuals
move from one position to another. Such a process of mobility has
general consent by the specific hierarchical values of a given
society.[5]

A basic difficulty inherent in most discussions of social
mobility has been the absence of a comparative frame of reference.
The conception of high or low mobility assumes a comparision with
something else which is higher or lower. Three types of comparision
of mobility can be made. The first is the comparision of the
present with the past, i.e., is there more or less social mobility
today than in the past. The second type of comparision is of one
countrie(s) or area(s) with other area(s) or countrie(s). The third
type of mobility refers to comparison with a model expressing equal
opportunity.

Social mobility in some degree exists in every society.
It follows from this that among its factors, besides local, temporary
and specific conditions, there must be conditions which operate in
all societies and in all periods. Sorokin has pointed out towards
some primary factors. These are as follows :

_____

5. Lipset and Bendix, Op.Cit., pp. 1-2.

(i)   demographic factors;

(ii)   dissimilarities of parents and children;

(iii) change of environment, especially of the anthropo-social
       environment; and

(iv)   defective social distribution of individuals within
       social layers.

CHANNELS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

All societies have some channels which permit individuals to
move up and down from their respective positions. These channels
may vary from place to place and from time to time. Various social
institutions such as educational, political, economic, professional
organizations etc., provide specific rules and procedures for their
functionaries to facilitate their promotion to higher positions, and
if fail to abide by the discipline of these organizations they are
scaled down also. Enacted law also plays significant role in social
mobility. Marriage with a person belonging to higher stratum may
also bring about upward mobility and vice-versa. Demographic changes
also operate as channels of mobility.

Thus the totality of the channels of social mobility, even
in a given society would mean a complex system of rewards and punishment.
In fact, channels of mobility are not random or contingent in nature.
They are normatively determined, hence socially accepted. However,
these channels may help some sections of society more than the others.
Such a discriminatory nature of channels of mobility indicates about
the nature of stratification in a given society.

All societies differ in regard to the processes by which social mobility occurs. These differences are found in the amount of population movements, migration and in the institutional norms that influence these processes. Theoritically, an "open society" strongly approves of upward social mobility and puts high value on equality of opportunity for all its members, and encourages everyone to improve his present position. On the other hand, a "closed society" discourages social mobility.

The norms affecting social mobility could be broadly divided into two types, namely, the ascriptive and the achieved. The first refers to rigidity or relatively less mobility as positions are determined by birth and social inheritance. The achievement-oriented norms refer to aspirations of individual members and recognition of their efforts to achive them. Hence, societies having predominance of such norms are relatively less rigid and permit more mobility than the first type of societies. However, no society is completely ascriptive or achivement-oriented. A particular society may have predominance of one type of norms than the other.

FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

It is necessary to understand the nature of social stratification to understand the processes of social mobility. The most common meaning of stratification according to Celia S. Heller is that it refers to an arrangement of positions in a graded hierarchy of socially superior and inferior ranks.[6] These positions are a result of the functions performed by different members of a society. Those who perform the same functions occupy the similar positions.

6. Celia, S. Heller (ed.), Structured Social Inequality : A Reader in Comparative Social Stratification, Collier, Macmillan Limited, London, 1970, p.4.

The theory of stratification as given by Davis and Moore implies three main points :

a) Social stratification (uneven distribution of material rewards and of prestige) is functionally necessary and is therefore a universal and permanent feature of society;

b) stratification is functionally necessary because every society needs a mechanism inducing people to occupy positions which are socially important and require training, material rewards and prestige, and they act as stimuli towards the occupation of such positions; and

c) the existence of this mechanism ensures that the most important positions are filled by the most qualified persons.

Bernard Barber defines social stratification as "a structure of regularized inequality in which men are ranked higher and lower according to the value accorded to their various social roles and activities".[7] Thus, social stratification consists of an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influences among the members of a society. Any organized social group is always a stratified social body. There has not been any permanent social group in which all members are equal.

The feudalistic pattern of stratification has considerably changed since Independence, and the norms of achievement, equality of opportunity and individualism have emerged to some extent in place of

---

7. Barber, Bernard., Op.Cit., p.7.

the values of traditional hierarchy, holism and ascription etc. The new values are found in the form of competition, technical knowledge, efficiency etc., at the level of individual members of a given society.

√ Thus, a theory of social mobility is based on the nature of social stratification found in a given society. The nature of social stratification is determined by factors such as ethnicity, race, economic growth and scientific and industrial development. These factors determine social stratification in terms of various combinations of these and some other contextually important factors. Therefore, there cannot be a single theory of mobility. A structural explanation of social mobility could be found in the nature of stratificational relations as determined by these factors. However, there are also motivational and economic explanations of social mobility. The functionalist view of social mobility refers to social mobility as a process of adjustment between various forces and factors which determine the nature of social stratification.

In India caste is the basis of stratification to a large extent. However, it has not been completely static as we have now evidences of social mobility in the ancient and medieval India. Migration and movements of people from one region to another in medieval India occured due to wars and other factors. In ancient India, status mobility was found due to changes in occupation and loss of status.

Changes in the land revenue systems from 1200 A.D. upto the end of the Moughal empire brought about radical changes in the class structure. The Jagirdari system was a culmination of the Ikta system introduced in 1200 A.D. The Jagirdari System was patronised by the

emperor Akbar in the form of Mansabdari System which gave way to the Zamindari System during the British period. Today we have the reper- cussions of the Jagirdari and Zamindari systems on the class formation.

The establishment of a uniform and democratic legal system serves to weaken the authority of the higher caste people. In a number of ways the present legal and political systems have provide more avenues of social mobility. Industrialization has created avenues for migration and change of occupations. This has also created changes at the level of aspirations of the people.

The studies on stratification in the Indian context can be divided in two categories: firstly, the studies on caste stratification, and secondly, the studies based on other factors such as class, power and 'style of life' along with caste. Classlike distinctions within caste have been the major point of discussion in the multidimensional studies. These studies on stratification include a number of deter- minants of status and rank such as economic position, cultural style of life, educational achievements, occupational status and caste rank. Here caste is considered as one of the factors and not the sole representative of all the factors of status determination.

Beteille's study of a Tanjore village exhibits that the rural social system has acquired a much more complex and dynamic character. He writes about Sripuram village: "the class system overlaps to a considerable extent with the caste structure, but also cuts across it at a number of points".[8] Our study explains that the two hierarchies, namely, Caste & Class do not coincide fully with each other.

8. Beteille Andre, Caste, Class and Power, Oxford University Press : Bombay, 1966, pp. 1-18.

MARXIAN APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOBILITY

The Marxian theory of class structure stipulates first of all the existence of two mutually antagonistic groups involved in the process of production. These are two basic classes. They differ from each other by their relations to the means of production. One of these classes owns them, the other is deprived of them although it operates them. This relation determines the character of the first as an exploiting, and of the second as an exploited class. At one place Karl Marx has pointed out towards three classes, namely, the owners of merely of labour power, the owners of capital, and landowners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and rent. In other words, wage labourers, capitalists and landowners are the three classes. These classes are based on the capitalist mode of production.[9]

Bendix and Lipset say that different classes are aggregate of persons who perform the same function in the organization of production. These classes are distinguished from each other by the difference of their respective positions in the economy.[10] Ralf Dahrendorf observes that the structural determinants of class formation and class conflict are the authority structures of entire society as well as particular institutional orders within society. The specific

---

9. Karl Marx, "A Note on Classes" in Class, Status and Power, Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.: London, 1974, p.5.

10. R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes" in Class, Status and Power, Op.Cit., p.7.

type of change of social structure caused by social classes and
their conflicts is ultimately the result of the differential distri-
bution of positions of authority and their institutional orders.[11]

Class-based inequalities are a universal phenomena. The
concept of class has contributed to the understanding of relationship
between social structure and social change, social change and class
conflict and social mobility.

MEASURING SOCIAL MOBILITY

The measurement of social mobility is not an easy task. The
measurement of social mobility can be seen with the distinction
between intragenerational and intergenerational mobility. Individuals
are said to be mobile -

a) if in their adult lives they shift from one social position
   or stratum to another; or

b) if their social positions or strata are subsequently
   different from those of their fathers.

The first type of mobility that is, intragenerational mobility,
is measured according to individual's own past role, position or
stratum. The second type of mobility is measured according to parent's
social role, position or stratum such a mobility is called inter-
generational mobility.

11. Dahrendorf, Ralf., Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society,
    Routledge and Kegan Paul : London, 1959, p. 136.

The concept of mobility implies a shift from a position of origin to a different social position, or from an original role to a subsequent role. To learn about such individual's shift, or about patterns of such movements, we ordinarily need to have data giving the positions of the persons studied at two points of time. In other words, we look for instances of change in role or position over an interval of time.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE CASTE SYSTEM

The structure of Indian society is based on caste system, and here the process of social mobility is directly related to it. The caste system in India has several unique features. Among which are its tie with Hindu religion its complexity and corporateness. These elements of castes regulate the behaviour of its members.

Studies on social mobility in India have been conducted with reference to two specific frameworks. Some studies have observed changes in the caste system right from its inception itself.[12] Thapar has found both horizontal and vertical mobility in elite groups of Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishya castes in Urban areas, even in ancient India.[13]

---

12. Srinivas, M.N., Social Change in Modern India, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1966, pp. 89-117.
William L. Rowe, "Mobility in the Nineteenth Century Caste System" in Structure and Change in Indian Society, Singer and Cohn (eds.), Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1968, pp. 201-207.

13. Thapar, Romila., "Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups" in Indian Society: Historical Probings, R.S. Sharma and V. Jha (eds.), Peoples Publishing House : New Delhi, 1974.

Silverberg's edited volume[14] containing several papers on
social mobility in the caste system in India comprises some such
studies. It is reported that different caste groups made effort
to claim and acquire the status of castes higher to them in the
caste hierarchy. Such claims have been established on the basis of
adaptation of sanskritic and non-sanskritic styles of life of the
upper castes. Most of the papers included in Silverberg's volume
have reported both 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' efforts of the
lower castes for achieving statuses of the higher castes.

The studies of social mobility conducted in India cover two
major areas of inquiry. These are: (i) changes in traditional occu-
pations; and (ii) changes in the practices and customs connected with
the caste system. However, traditional occupations are still connected
with the caste system.

From the methodological point of view a study of social mobility
in India would be quite different from the studies on social mobility
in western societies. A study of social mobility in the Western
societies includes factors like education, job and income etc., while
a study of social mobility in India would include criteria related to
caste, kinship and family. But a comprehensive study of social
mobility in the caste system in India is possible only if we consider
the effects of all sorts of changes in social, economic, religious
and political spheres.

---

14. Silverberg, James (ed.), Social Mobility in the Caste System
    in India, Mouton Publishers : The Hague, 1968.

THE PRESENT STUDY

In the present study, an attempt has been made to understand the nature and direction of social mobility taking place among the ex-feudals of Rajasthan. The feudal system in Rajasthan has undergone a tremendous change in the recent past, particularly since Independence.

As a result of a series of the land reform legislations, other enacted laws, education, and occupational opportunities etc., social mobility among the various sections of the ex-feudal groups has been of a varied nature. However, all of them have been affected adversely, and some of them after the initial setback, have made efforts to regain their lost statuses to some extent. Some have not been able to restore the lost 'honour' and position. The present study focusses primarily on the direction of mobility of ex-feudals of Rajasthan.

Methodologically, the study is based mainly on historical and other secondary sources. No study of contemporary feudal system is complete unless it takes into account the historical evolution of feudal system in the area of one's concern.

Before Independence Rajasthan was known as Rajputana, and it was divided in twenty-two feudal states. These states were under the rule of princely Rajput clans. In the feudal system three principal systems of land tenure existed in Rajasthan, namely, Jagir, Khalsa and Zamindari.

These systems came to an end with the enforcement of Rajasthan land reforms and resumptions of Jagirs Act, 1952. This Act provided full rights to the tenants by putting an end to the claims of the Jagirdars to any other land but their own. The abolition of Jagirdari system must have significant repercussions on the contemporary feudal

system of Rajasthan. These systems of Zamindari and jagirdari embraced all aspects of the life of the people. The Jagirdars and Zamindars intervened in all aspects of social and cultural life of the people. Therefore, the abolition of these systems and other social, economic and political reforms initiated a series of processes of change in Rajasthan.

Mewar, formerly, a feudal state, was different from other princely states of Rajasthan. Social structure of Mewar comprised a large number of tribal people along with other lower and peasant caste groups and classes. All these strengthened the roots of feudalism in this part of pre-independent Rajasthan. Various categories of Jagirdars had emerged on the basis of their status, relationship with the ruler, strength of the land-holding and the nature of the services rendered. Jagirdars or Samants enjoyed independent status in the administrative set-up of their jagirs. The Samants were generally the absolute masters of land under their control. Although these Samants were under the Maharana, yet they acted as Suzerains in their Jagirs. Rights, privileges and obligations of the feudal lords greatly differed. However, in respect of territorial acquisitions, external defence and internal peace, the crown depended mainly on the support of the feudal lords.

The feudal system in Mewar has been largely affected due to the abolition of Jagirdari system. The ex-feudals lost their economic and political power, and therefore, their social status and prestige declined immensely. Economic, political and social status of the ex-Jagirdars has come down considerably. The ex-feudals now do not enjoy privileges which they enjoyed in the past in the form of grants, land ownership and social status. This process of class mobility and transformation following the agrarian reforms and other measures

has been variously described by sociologists. We shall discuss this
in the following chapters.

After the abolition of Jagirdari system, the ex-feudals in
Mewar have been forced to adopt a way of life more or less common
with other people. Deprived of the source of land revenue, they are
gradually converting themselves into peasant proprietors depending
on the size of their holdings and their social and economic position.

Our study of social mobility focuses particularly on the factors
which are responsible for social mobility among ex-feudals of
Rajasthan. We are also keen to know the social consequences following
from the abolition of Jagirdari system and various land reforms.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INDIA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In recent years considerable work has been done in the field of social mobility. Here in this chapter an effort has been made to review some important sociological works on social mobility in India. We have divided history of social mobility into four periods, i.e. (i) the ancient, (ii) the medieval, (iii) the British, and (iv) the contemporary.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Social mobility is not a recent phenomena in India. In ancient India inter-caste marriages were one of the important factors by which it was possible either to climb up or slide down from one's caste position. Several sacred texts refer to status mobility taking place as a result of intercaste marriages. However, such a mobility is somewhat different in regard to its acceptability compared to the social mobility which takes place due to education, migration and change of occupation etc. In the first instance, its acceptability is quite low, and secondly, its material gains are not immediately visible, and finally, it is a rare phenomenon and invites criticism and opposition by fellow members.

The historians of India have observed that the rigid caste system was not known in India at the earlier stages of its history. This period appears as a period of great migrations, invasions, struggle and mobility. Buddhism, as we know, was an onslaught on the

caste system and its rigidity dimension. Buddhism advocated a new philosophy of equality and fraternity which weakened the caste system. However, later on counter-movements were launched to restore the then existing position of the caste system.

About the mobility in Varna system in ancient India, Romila Thapar says that downward mobility was easy enough, and upward mobility was far more difficult and not open to the individual.[1] It was possible only through the group to which the individual belonged. Group mobility was a long drawn process. Entire groups changed their status by migrating to other places and by changing their location to conquer the group weaker to them in warfare and other resources. The elite were a closed group and they had horizontal mobility. However, the lower class people were denied even such mobility.

By ninth century A.D. the Kayasthas had evolved into a caste, and they were given a low ritual status as they were considered a group originated from the sexual unions of the Brahmans and Sudras. By eleventh century, they were such a wide-spread caste that they had to take local descriptive names. Some rose to high office, received land grants and held feudatory status. The rise of the Kayasthas is an example of upward mobility of a group as a result of the administrative and economic needs of the society at a particular time. There are several examples of groups emerging out of certain new situations.

1. Romila Thapar, "Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups" in Indian Society : Historical Probings, R.S. Sharma and Jha (eds.), Peoples Publishing House : New Delhi, 1974, p. 97.

- 19 -

Some existing groups could enhance their status due to certain
favourable circumstances and some groups lost their status due
to withdrawal of their functions or decline in the values of the
traditional occupations.

In ancient India sometimes mobility occured due to change
of habitation, geographical location and occupation of entire group.
In the Gupta period, a guild of silk weavers of western India could
no longer maintain itself through silk weaving, its members moved
to other parts of western India and took up a variety of other
occupations, and some became archers, soldiers, bards and scholars.

The caste groups which were following the rigid caste rules,
tried to come out of the castefold by forming new groups. This
could be done by adopting new styles of life and ritual practices.
The notion of birth in a higher/lower caste was, thus, challenged
by establishing new identities of primordial nature. A number of
groups launched movements against caste rigidity and presented a new
image of society.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

We find examples of widespread social mobility in medieval
India. The very identification of medieval period in Indian history
stems in part from the establishment of Muslim military and political
power in much of northern, central and southern India, which in time
produced social change. One aspect of this change was the opportunity
of countless Hindu warriors, traders and peasants to realize new
roles and higher ranks through conversion to Islam. Of equal signi-
ficance with this movement out of Hinduism was the rise of many warriors

within Hindu society from low social ranks to high ranks as these warriors achieved power which permitted them to assert claims of higher birth.[2]

In medieval India, social mobility, fission and self-sufficiency characterized the caste villages and dynastic changes hardly produced any impression upon the system. Kulinism emerged as a powerful force.[3]

In Mithila a person could improve his social status by establishing marital relationships with members of the families of the higher "Mulas". Those who fail to contract marriages with the Mulas of equal status for three generations were graded lower. If a man of lower Mula maintained marital relationships with the higher Mulas his social status was upgraded.

Burton Stein refers to an example of social mobility in medieval India. During the fifteenth century, entire households of low ranking Sudras were apparently able to assume certain prestige-laden roles usually ascribed to high ranking Brahmans. These groups of Sudra Srivaishnavas elevated their status by adopting new religious roles at the Tiruvamgadam temple at tirupati. The characteristic feature of the Bhakti movement in medieval Hinduism was its openness, and its universal appeal without regard to caste.

The Sudras occupied a significant place in Hindu society.[4] They were a part of Hindu society and were respected for the contributions

---

2. Burton Stein, "Social Mobility and Medieval South Indian Hindu Sects", in Social Mobility in the Caste System in India, James Silverberg (ed.), Mouton, The Hague, 1968, p.78.

3. Choudhary Radhakrishna, "Social Structure in Medieval Mithila (A.D. 1200-1600) in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha (eds.), Op.cit., p. 218.

4. Burton Stein, Op.Cit., p.91.

they made to the integration of Hindu society. Some individual
Sudra families gained Kshatriya identification through their
successful assumption of roles of warriors. The Bhakti movement
implicitly undermined the principles of birth ascription, and purity
and pollution of caste groups.

Martin Orans reports a case in which government power and
position were the paths to higher class and caste positions. In
sixteenth century, a Munda tribal in Ranchi established himself as
a local Raja. By virtue of his wealth and power he attracted reputed
Brahmans to his court. These Brahmin priests performed and manufactured
a genealogy declaring him a Rajput Raja. Eventually, this status
was accepted by other Rajputs.[5]

Under the Moughal Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries, a great deal of upward mobility occured through military
service, and other avenues such as arts and crafts, growth of cities
and migration etc. Invasions by foreigners were a significant factor
in bringing about social mobility. Some of the upper caste families
and groups lost their positions of power and prestige. Some lower
caste people connived with the invaders and changed their positions
by occupying high ranks in the army and administration. Thus, such
conquests affected the native people, and also provided higher class
positions to many of the invaders.

When the conquerors set up new governments, individual members
rose by seeking administrative positions. Some people served the rulers
as artists. Under the Muslim rulers, new Rajas were made from among the
successful merchants and peasants in place of the older Rajas whose
power was shaken by the new regimes.

TH- 468

5. Orans Martin, "A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition : The Emulation
Solidarity Conflict", Man in India, (1959) XXXIX, pp. 108-114.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN BRITISH INDIA

The structure of society which emerged during the British rule in India was quite different from that of the medieval and the ancient periods. Opportunities for social mobility for different caste groups were comparatively more during the British period. During the British rule, a series of inter-connected legal and economic changes, undermined the role of caste in the village economy. The British rule opened several new avenues of social mobility.

For the first time in the Indian history, there was a single political power and this was made possible by certain reforms of administrative and military organization which the British brought to India. The land survey and settlement, the introduction of tenurial reforms, the availability of new economic opportunities, all had far reaching effects on social mobility.

The British rulers were instrumental in bringing modern values to India such as equality of all citizens before law, the freedom to practice as well as to propagate ones religion.[6] New economic opportunities in British India came into existence as a new economic system and result of industrialization etc.

With the advent of the British in India, its impact on Indian society began. This involves the acceptance of Western dress, diet, manners, education, values etc. Technological change leading to new occupations during the British period has nevertheless been a source of social mobility in Hindu society.

---

6. Srinivas, M.N., "Mobility in the Caste System" in Structure and Change in Indian Society, Singer and Cohn (eds.), Aldine Publishing Company : Chicago, 1968, p.192.

In the British India the new opportunity structure expanded in two directions : (i) the growth of urban centres, which provided new roles and activities to the people; and (ii) land settlement and improvement of virgin and barren lands for cultivation and habitation.[7]

One of the important features of the British India was the introduction of census to have a systematic counting of population and collection of other information. The enumeration was done on the basis of caste, age, sex, religion and other social and cultural criteria. The different caste groups were located in the census on the basis of their respective ranks in the caste hierarchy. Some of the caste groups disputed their placement in the order made by the census authorities, and claimed higher statuses than some other castes. In this regard observation of Rowe could be noted. "...glimpses of the self-conscious direction of caste mobility movements appear in abundant detail throughout the Indian census reports of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.".[8]

In census reports we find that the low caste people tried to go up in the caste hierarchy of adopting means used by the upper castes. A section of Luhars (Blacksmiths), known as Panchal Luhars claimed to be mentioned as Panchal Brahmins. Some Bania Kolis claimed to be Thakores, and Kayatia Brahmins wanted to be written as Acharyas in the census reports. The practice of elevating in the social scale, by adopting upper caste names had occured also among the Hindus who converted

---

7. Barber Bernard., "Social Mobility in Hindu India", in James Silverberg (ed.), Op.Cit., p.32.

8. Rowe, William L., "The New Chauhans : A Caste Mobility Movement in North India", in James Silverberg (ed.), Op.Cit., p.66.

to Islam. The Pijaras (cotton carders) claimed themselves as Dhunak Pathans, and the Taia (weavers) as Panni Pathans.[9]

Census reports from 1891 to 1931 contain references to such attempts towards changing one's caste status. We find information about the present caste rank, the claimed status, and the geographical location of the caste etc. The census of 1911 of Bengal, states : hundreds of petitions were received from different castes requesting that they might be known by the new names, placed higher in the order of precedence be recognized as Kshatriyas, Vaisyas etc.[10]

Name changing is, at least, of three types. Some castes choose the names of some known higher castes. Others choose to accept the names of a varna higher than their own after the usual caste appellation. In this way, the Kurmis' (Sudra Cultivators) petition to have their name changed to Kurmi Kshatriya or the Saini caste brought them the title of Saini Kshatriya.[11]

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Social mobility is determined by a number of factors, viz. social stratification, size of the community, nature of the family, education, political system, economic opportunities etc. Relationship between caste and occupation has not been static. Several castes changed their occupations by adopting of upper caste names, and also by discarding

9. Census of India, 1911, XVI:1 (Baroda), p. 237.

10. Census of India, 1911, V:1 (Bengal), p.440.

11. Census of India, 1931, XVIII:1 (United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), pp. 531-32.

traditional occupations. The census data of 1931 shows that only 50% of the people belonged to various castes pursued their traditional callings. A number of castes were engaged in non-traditional occupations, and in the occupations of other castes. Some castes pursued occupations of other castes along with their own. Srinivas considers that each caste is traditionally associated with a separate occupation, but he feels that the caste system is not quite rigid. Movements have always been possible, and especially in the middle ranges of the hierarchy.[12] However, Andre Beteille argues that in the traditional system birth in a particular caste fixes not only ones ritual status but by and large also ones economic and political positions. Today, it is possible to achieve a variety of economic and political positions inspite of ones birth in a particular caste.[13]

Recently some sociologists like Andre Beteille, K.L. Sharma, Saberwal etc. have drawn attention towards the nature of mobility in the caste system. They say that caste is growing weak, and it is shifting towards a class system. These classes are formed on the basis of education, occupation, income and power-positions. Classes cut across caste lines. It has been found that classes have emerged within a given caste.[14] According to Saberwal, "for one thing the unit

12. Srinivas, M.N., Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India, Clarendon Press : Oxford, 1952, pp. 24-31.

13. Beteille Andre, Caste, Class and Power, University of California Press, 1965, p.49.

14. Beteille Andre, Caste, Class and Power, Op.Cit., and Sharma, K.L., "Patterns of occupational mobility : A study of six villages in Rajasthan", Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol.30, No.1, April 1969, pp. 33-43.

for social appraisal in urban India is increasingly not the corporate
group but the individual and the codeterminants of this appraisal
include education, economic resources, political influence, general
knowledgeability etc. beside religious statuses.[15] Thus a multiplicity
of factors determine social mobility of an individual in an urban
setting.

Mobility at the levels of family and individual is found within
their caste or sub-caste, hence class differences within caste. Mobility
at the level of group exists to a great extent, yet it has not entailed
a disruption of the caste structure. The notion of the caste ranking
is rooted so deeply in the minds of the people that it cannot be washed
away by legal provisions. The fact is that vertical mobility in the
caste system is virtually absent.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE LOWER CASTES

Harper interpretes a century and a half of changes in the
interaction between the Brahmans and the untouchables (Holeru). The
untouchables seek to gain in prestige by their assumption of behavioural
attributes associated with higher ritual rank, such as abstinence from
beef eating. They have tried to gain from their greater bargaining
power also in economic interaction including refusal to perform ritually
degrading tasks.[16]

---

15. Sabarwal, S., "Status mobility and net-works in a Panjabi industrial
    town" in his Beyond the Village : Sociological Explorations (ed.),
    Transactions No. 19, Simla : Indian Institute of Advanced Study,
    1972, p. 114.

16. Harper Edward B., "Social Consequences of an unsuccessful low
    caste movement" in James Silverberg (ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 36-65.

Rowe describes how an elite within the north Indian Sudra caste of Nonies used its economic power to claim and eventually to gain a partially successful entry into the higher Kshatriya Varna rank within a period of half a century. Brahmans from the same region accorded their higher rank, the appropriate interactional behavior in the ritual context, including the provision of validating legends, genealogies and books, the bestowal of the sacred thread and recognition of their claimed caste and clan names Chauhan Rajputs.[17]

Another type of low caste mobility movement operating on a different level attempts merely to reform caste practices. In this case, caste name is retained, but claim is made for a rank higher than that usually accorded to the caste. In such a mobility movement, the direction of change is towards a western or modern model rather than a Sanskritic one.[18]

Pocock has reported how the patidars in Gujarat, having acquired wealth through trading, have been able to raise their caste rank by hypergamous marriages.[19]

In Maharashtra, there is a caste called Panchaloi, originally non-vegetarian and non-Brahminic, has become strict vegetarianism, and put a ban on widow re-marriage. The members of this caste have raised

17. Rowe, William L., "The New Chauhans : A Caste mobility movement in North India" in James Silverberg (ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 66-67.

18. Srinivas, M.N., " A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization", Far Eastern Quarterly, XV (1956), pp. 481-96.

19. David F. Pocock, "The Hypergamy of the Patidars", in K.M. Kapadia (ed.) Professor Ghurye Felicitation Volume, Bombay, 1954, pp. 195-204.

their status to such a level by acquiring western education, that Brahmans now enter into marital relations within its members.[20]

In her study of Tanjore village, Kathleen Gough points out towards a case of low caste social mobility by changing the traditional occupation. During the British rule, the Nayakkans bought licence of the local liquor shop and earned cash in the toddy trade. As their wealth increased they bought land, and changed their caste name from Naden to Nayakken, a respectable title, traditionally confined to certain Telgu castes.[21]

The lingayats are non-Brahminical castes of Rampur who question the supremacy of the Brahmins. They worship the deity Siva, in their several manifestations and are strict vegetarian and obtain from alcholic beverages. They have their own priests and do not call in the Brahmans. Some of them refused to eat food cooked by Brahmins. Most non-Brahman castes eat food cooked by the Lingayats.[22]

The Noniyas of Madhopur went so far as to put on the sacred thread, and call themselves by the title of Chauhan Rajputs. Now the Ahirs and Lohars of Madhopur also wear the sacred thread traditionally put by the twice-born. The Ahirs call themselves Yadav Rajputs, and the Lohars claim themselves as Visvakarma Brahmans. Camars in nearby

20. Damle, Y.B., "Reference group theory with regard to mobility in caste", in James Silverberg (ed.), Op.Cit., p.99.

21. Gough, Kathleen E., "Caste in a Tanjore Village", in Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North West Pakistan, E.R. Leach (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1960, p.56.

22. Srinivas, M.N., "The Social System of a Mysore Village" in Village India : Studies in the little community, Mckim Marriott (ed.), Asia Publishing House, 1961, p. 28.

villages of Jaunpur district and also in Azamgarh district of Uttar Pradesh have started wearing sacred thread calling themselves the Harijan Thakurs.[23]

Mandelbaum has given an example in which traditional superior authority of Brahmins is challenged because of economic changes in Kumbapetti village of the Tanjore district. Economic changes have weakened the former bounds of unity and have undermined the traditional authority of the Brahmans.[24]

In last three decades a number of forces and factors have influenced the caste system, and have brought about significant modifications in its structure and functioning. We may refer to some factors like development of modern means of communication, urban contacts, modern education and social reform movements.[25]

Several lower castes have unified their members against the dominant castes of their regions. Caste associations have changed their functions particularly during the last five decades. They have become vehicles of mobilization of their members in elections for securing jobs and in deciding matrimonial relations etc. These associations have been built up into effective agencies for modern education and for participation in political affairs.

23. Cohn Bernard S., "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste" in McKim Marriott (ed.), Ibid., p.79.

24. Mandelbaum David G., "The World and the World View of the Kota", in McKim Marriott (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 231.

25. Dube, S.C., India's Changing Villages, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1967, p. 27.

Today, the caste association that persist tend to have other
directions. They are now less concerned with traditional caste
hierarchy and more involved in political action directed toward the
acquisition of gains and special privileges for the caste community.
One of this type of caste federation is the Kshatriya Sabha of Gujarat.
The federation tries to upgrade the customary ways of all who affiliate
with it. A study of this organization by Kothari and Maru[26] finds
that caste federation puts heavy stress on the education of their
children. Many caste associations maintain their own schools, college
hostels and scholarships. Such an urge of caste associations is an
important factor in social mobility.

In this chapter we have seen that social mobility has existed
in Indian society in all ages. The channels and forms of mobility
were different from time to time. In India, caste is traditionally
associated with a separate occupation but as we have seen caste system
is not quite rigid. The nature of caste today is quite different
from classic caste system. Now caste is growing weak and it is shifting
towards a class system. These classes are formed on the basis of
education, occupation, income and power positions.

26. Kothari, Rajni and Maru, Rushikesh, "Federation for Political
    Interests : The Kshatriya of Gujarat" in Caste in Indian Politics,
    Rajni Kothari (ed.), Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1970, p.73.

CHAPTER - III

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Different approaches have been applied to study the processes
of social mobility in India, by sociologists and social anthropologists.
These approaches are : (i) evolutionary, (ii) Culturological,
(iii) Structural, (iv) institutional, and (v) dialectical-historical.
Yogendra Singh has discussed these approaches and shown his preference
for the structural approach to the study of social mobility.[1] We
shall discuss these approaches in this chapter.

CULTUROLOGICAL APPROACHES

The study of ideas, values and other cultural objects receive
primacy in the culturological approach to the study of social mobility.
The assumption of the culturological approach is that ideas and values
encompass social relations, that is the ideas determine the relations
between the people. L. Dumont, M.N. Srinivas and S.C. Dube have
studied social mobility by taking the ideas related to pollution and
purity as the basis of all social relations. Pollution and purity
prevail over all social relations, including occupational, economic,
cultural and commensal relations. The concepts of Sanskritization,
Westernization, little and great traditions, and parochialization and
universalization etc., have been employed by Srinivas and Marriott to
understand the processes of cultural change in the caste system and
the structure of Indian tradition.

---

1. Singh, Yogendra. "Concepts and Theories of Social Change" in
    A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology. Vol. I,
    Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1974, pp. 394-400.

SANSKRITIZATION

The concept of sanskritization as evolved by Srinivas is a combination of structural and cultural elements. The term sanskritization explains the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of India. Sanskritization provides a conceptual tool for locating the process of cultural mobility through which the lower castes try to change their behaviour on the pattern of the life of the upper castes. Srinivas writes : "A low caste was able in a generation or two to rise to higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over as far as possible the customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmans and the adoption of the Brahmanic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoritically forbidden."[2]

This emulation of the life-ways is essentially a cultural phenomenon as it does not result automatically into a change of relations between the higher and the lower castes in a given context. Structural change in the caste system could take place when the lower castes were able to raise their ranks and the upper castes were constrained to slide down in the caste system such a process of narrowing down of social distance between higher and lower castes could prove as an attack on the caste system itself. Yogendra Singh observes

2. Srinivas, M.N. "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization" in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London 1974, p. 552.

that sanskritization has resulted into manifest cultural mobility,
but it has also created strains for latent structural changes in
the Indian Society. A number of caste mobility movements have been
successful after a span of 50 to 100 years in changing the status
of the castes involved therein. However, Srinivas does not visualize
the contexts and direction of social change resulting from the
process of sanskritization. Singh refers to the historical and the
contextual contexts of sanskritization.[3]

According to Srinivas, Sanskritization brings about only
positional changes in the system and does not lead to any structural
change. That is, a caste moves up above the immediate higher one,
and another caste comes down, but all this takes place in an essentially
stable hierarchical order. Thus, the system itself does not change.[4]
Sanskritization is an expression of the general process of acculturation.

Sanskritization has been a major process of social mobility
in Indian history, and it has occured in every part of the Indian
subcontinent. This process represents actual or aspired change for
cultural mobility within the framework of established great tradition
and caste stratification. Here we can point out some of the regional
castes who have gone up in the traditional caste structure. Pattidars
of Gujarat, Jats of Rajasthan, Jats, Kurmis and Ahirs of U.P., Kammas
and Reddis of Andhra Pradesh are the examples of sanskritized castes.

3. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, Thomson Press,
    Delhi, 1973, pp. 5-22.

4. Srinivas, M.N. Social Change in Modern India, Orient Longman Ltd.
    Bombay, 1977, p.7.

The lower castes are chamars who have left their traditional callings and adopted new occupations and styles of life. They have changed their names and started calling themselves Jatavs. One of the mass movements initiated by Dr. Ambedkar to convert untouchables into Buddhists is another way of sanskritizing one's life styles.

Feudals of Rajasthan have also changed in different aspects after Independence. Now a many of the ex-feudals are giving preference to education, and several of them (ex-rulers and their sons) have accepted different types of jobs. Their style of life has changed. The traditional pattern of food and dress is under the process of change.

WESTERNIZATION

The term Westernization is used to characterize the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of the British rule. The term Westernization subsumes changes occuring at different levels i.e. technology, institutions, ideology, values etc.[5] Emphasis on humanitarianism and rationalism is a part of westernization which led to a series of institutional and social reforms in India. Westernization is a concept primarily focused on analysing cultural changes. Sanskritization and Westernization both are primary concepts which describe a set of processes of cultural change in India. The emphasis in these concepts is on the specific contexts of social change and mobility and not on the general nature of change. Contextually, sanskritization and Westernization are founded

5. Srinivas, M.N., Social Change in Modern India, Op.Cit., p.47.

upon empirical observations and offer insight into some aspects
of cultural change. Sanskritic influence has not been the same
among all parts of the country.

The form and base of Westernization in India varied from one
region to another, and from one section of population to another.
For instance, one group of people become Westernized in their dress,
diet, manners, speech, etc. while another absorbed western science,
knowledge and literature, while remaining relatively free from
Westernization. Srinivas observes that one of the long term effects
of the British rule was to increase the secularization of Indian life.
The secularization as well as the widening of the economic horizon
pushed the Brahmins into a lower position than before.[6]

The British conquest of India set free a number of forces,
political, economic, social and technological. These forces affected
social and cultural life profoundly. The pre-British feudal structure
of Rajasthan permitted a limited amount of social mobility. Social
mobility among the lower castes increased a great deal after the
advent of the British. Lower castes which in the pre-British feudal
days had no chance of aspiring to any thing more than a bare subsis-
tence, had opportunities for making money, and having made money, they
wanted to challenge the feudal order and claim for higher status.

REFERENCE GROUP THEORY

The Reference Group Theory has been applied to study the process
of social mobility. The theory refers to the frame of reference for

6. Srinivas, M.N., "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization",
   op.cit., p. 556.

individual's behavior. Merton observes that men frequently orient
themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior.
Non-membership groups constitute the distinctive concern of reference
group theory.[7]

The reference group acts as a frame of reference for self-
evaluation and attitude formation irrespective of the fact whether
the group is one in which a person has membership or one of which he
himself is not a member. Reference may be made by an individual to
another individual(s) or group(s), and they may be positive/negative,
normative/comparative.

A person who aspires for membership and if he cannot become
a member of that group he may develop hostility towards that group.
Thus, positive orientation towards non-membership groups, and their
selection as reference groups have been regarded as indicators of
a high rate of social mobility.

When members of a particular caste change their ways to raise
status, they follow lifeways and styles of another castes group(s).
M.N. Srinivas's concept of Sanskritization and Westernization refer
to imitation of life styles of the upper castes by the lower ones, and
the life-ways of the British people by the Indians, respectively.
However, Srinivas does not use the concept of 'reference group' to
explain these processes of mobility. The ethos of Srinivas's concept
is somewhat different from that of the reference group given by Merton.

7. Merton Robert K., Social Theory and Social Structure. The Free
   Press, Glencoe, Ill. 1957, p. 234.

Merton's unit of analysis is both individual and group, and
Srinivas puts premium on caste groups.

Life styles of a dominant group generally influence other
groups. For example, the Kshatriyas influence other groups' in
terms of their bravery, martial culture and fighting spirit etc.
In the realm of power and dominance of a certain kind, the kshatriyas
could be called as reference group for others. Similarly, Brahmins
could be called, ideally speaking, reference models for imitating
priestly styles of life. Jats could be considered as a reference
group in the context of hardwork and ethnocentrism etc.

STRUCTURAL APPROACHES

Structural analysis focuses on the networks of social relation-
ships, which though culturally distinct, share common and comparable
attributes at a higher level of abstraction.[8] Caste, kinship, class
and occupational groups comprise distinctive fields of social
interactions. A structural analysis of mobility refers to changes in
the status relationships between individuals and groups as a result
of the emergence of certain new norms.

The units of observation in a structural study are not ideas,
sentiments and values, but the order of roles and statuses form the
basis of social relationships, and they are schematized into groups
and categories. A major principle which governs the form of ordering
of social structure is asymmetry of power in relation to command over

8. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, Op.cit., p.16.

resources or values.   Structural changes may primarily be located
by identifying the emerging principles that lay down new rules
about this asymmetry and consequent differentiation and transformation
in the institutionalized forms of social relationships and their
ordering in society.[9]

For instance, the abolution of Zamindari was intended to bring
about an alteration of the pre-existing modes of power asymmetry in
the Indian society. To what extend this asymmetry of power has been
changed could be determined on the basis of the findings of some studies
based on the structural approach. F.G. Bailey's study of relationship
between caste and rural economy and of S. Epstein's comparative study
of two villages of Mandya region of Karnataka focus on the changes
in the relations between various groups based on material reforms and
power.

The other characteristic of the structural approach of social
mobility is the magnitude and incidence of role-differentiation in
the social structure, which may result from rise in the economic and
technological standards of the society. Such changes necessitate
creation of complex organizations, and new role and status structures.

The problem of social mobility is linked directly with the
system of social stratification. It is a process that reflects the
direction of structural changes. Singh argues that the tradition-
modernity dichotomy in the studies of social mobility has often led

---

9. Singh, Yogendra, "Concepts and Theories of Social Change" in A
    Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, op.cit.
    pp. 394-95.

to a confusion in the formulation of perspectives. It led to the contention that mobility was absent in the social system of traditional India, which was said to have a closed system of social stratification.[10] Srinivas mentions that while traditional (that is, the pre-British) Indian Society was stationary in character, and it did not preclude the mobility-upward as well as downward of individual castes in the local hierarchy.[11]

Social mobility as a process has been more active in recent times. Now the congruence of ritual and economic status and power as it prevailed in the traditional caste stratification, is withering away due to the impact of social legislation, education, democratization, industrialization and Urbanization. These processes have created many alternative resources for supplementing ones social status, and have broken the exclusiveness of the traditional principles of status determination.

In India quite a few studies of social mobility have been conducted from the point of structural analysis of social relations. For example, the studies of village communities, family structure, urban areas, leadership and political structure have structural bias. Richard D. Lambert in his study of five factories in Poona analysis

10. Singh, Yogendra. "Concepts and Theories of Social Change" in A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Vol. I, op. cit., p.403.

11. Srinivas, M.N. "Mobility in the caste system" in Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (eds.), Structure and change in Indian Society, Aldine Publishing Co. Chicago, 1968, p. 169.

social relations from the structural point of view.   Lambert observes:
"It is assumed that the introduction of the factory system has
certain institutional imperatives that flow from this form of work
organization, imperatives which are institutional in moving a society,
from one end of the polarity to the another, from a static acquired
status-ridden, tradition-bound, primary group oriented, particularistic
fatalistic society into one that is rapidly changing achieved-status
dominated, progressive, secondary group oriented, universalistic
and aspiring".[12]

THE DIALECTICAL APPROACH.

For a study of social mobility or social change in India dia-
lectical framework has been used by few sociologists.   The basic
characteristics of dialectical approach according to Marx are as
follows[13] -

(i)   economic interests are the basis for all other types of
        relationships;

(ii)   there are two classes: (i) owners of the means of production
        (bourgeoisie), and (ii) workers (Proletariat);

(iii)   the interests of these two classes clash with each other as the
        bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat, and therefore, there is a
        class-struggle;

---

12.   Lambert, Richard D. Workers, Factories and Social Change in India,
      Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963, pp. 16-17.

13.   Marx, Karl and Engel Friedrich, The German Ideology.   International
      Publishers: New York, 1947, p. 23.

(iv)   the bourgeoisie get more than its due share which Marx names
        as surplus value, this accelerates class-struggle which finally
        leads to revolution and radical transformation of the entire
        social structure.

        D.P. Mukherji gives us a dialectical prespective for the
analysis of social change and mobility in India.   The main focus of
Mukherji is on the emergence of a new class structure, especially that
of a middle class under the impact of the British colonial rule.
According to him social change and mobility are processes of movements
through conflicts and contradictions.   The contradiction in the
Indian system is between its traditional culture and value system
and the new cultural ethos.[14]

        Desai has applied the historical-dialectical approach to the
study of change and mobility.[15]   He has analysed the process of change
and mobility in India in the context of the growth of nationalism.
The British rule led to India's economic breakdown, and at the same
time also to the rise of nationalistic consciousness among the
Indian people.

        The dialectical approach to the study of social change and
mobility focuses upon both the manifest and latent functions of
social conflicts, their articulation, and the relationship with specific
structures in the social system as a whole.   It postulates changes

14.   Mukherji, D.P., Diversities, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi,
       1958, p. 76.

15.   Desai, A.R, Social Background of India Nationalism, Popular
       Prakashan, Bombay, 1966.

as a process of transformation through reconciliation of a series of conflicts. Ideologically, conflict is treated as the basic process of social change and social conflict. The change and conflict are treated as ubiquitous. This approach pre-supposes that value-conflict is a reality of all stratified social structures, and most changes are revolutionary in nature and bring about qualitative transformation.

Culturological approach is not adequately applicable to the study of social mobility among the ex-feudal sections of Rajasthan. The abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari systems meant the withdrawl of status and honour which were accorded to them under the system of landlordism. The withdrawl is not just of a symbolic nature. It was of a material and political character. They were denied the right to own land if they did not cultivate themselves. Certain powers to manage land and village affairs were also withdrawn. In other words, the old system of land relations and hierarchy was replaced by a new one based on a new normative ethos. It envisaged a change of relations between the people, hence structural change. Such a situation of study does not warrant the application of culturological approaches as their basic premise is that ideas encompass structures of relations. The basic premise of a structural approach is that changes in the structures of relations between people bring about changes in their ideas, values and attitudes etc.

Srinivas has applied the concept of sanskritization for studying social mobility where Brahmins are at the top in the traditional caste hierarchy, and other low castes imitated their cultural traits. But in Rajasthan, the situation is different. The Brahmins were not at the top of economic and political power hierarchies as they were not

- 43 -

Jagirdars and Zamindars. However, they played a significant role
in the management of the Jagirs, and functioned as religious
preachers and guides to the feudatories.

The situation today is quite different as the Brahmins do
not have economic and political patronage of the Jagirdars and
Zamindars, and the Rajput Jagirdars and Bhomias do not have control
over land and resources. They do not have the same relationship
with the Brahmins. The ties with the tenants and other groups have
also gone away with the wind of the time. Therefore, our study focuses
on the nature of adaptations by these groups particularly the Jagirdars
and Zamindars and those who received maximum patronage from them.
What alternative avenues they have explored for their existence and
survival, and what new forms of structures have emerged? One cannot
rely on cultural mobility approach for a study of this sort as an
understanding of imitating and or discarding of certain ritual practices
and customs would not provide a proper understanding of the changes
which have taken place during the past three decades since Independence.

CHAPTER - IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND MOBILITY IN RAJASTHAN

James Tod refers to the word Rajasthan as "the collective and classical denominations of that portion of India which is the abode of the princes."[1] Upto 1956, Rajasthan was known as 'Rajputana' which literally referred to the region of Rajput principalities. With an area of 132150 sq. miles. Rajasthan is the second largest State of India. The State ranges between latitudes 23° 3 N to 30° 12 N and between longitudes 69° 30 E to 78° 17 E. Rajasthan's total population is 257,65,806 according to 1971 census.[2]

Prior to 1949, Rajasthan did not constitute a common political unit, and it comprised of 22 semi-sovereign feudal states and chiefdoms. On 30th March 1949 the princely states entered into a new phase of merger of these States. After this, several attempts were made towards unification of the princely states with the efforts of the then national leaders including Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

---

1. Tod, James. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol.I, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1957, p.1.

2. Census of India, 1971, Series 1. India Paper 1 of 1972.

The post-Independence period has witnessed the supplementing of traditional structures of political authority, and the displacement of rulers and also the abolition of the feudal system.[3] Narayan writes: 'Rajasthan which comprises mostly of erstwhile feudal states was known for its feudal traditions than for democratic ones'.[4] One of the implications of this observation is that inspite of some basic structural changes, traditional social structure has not changed. In other words, traditional society has absorbed the new forces of change, or the new forces have traditionalized themselves. Therefore, one should ask: what is the nature of social mobility in such a society? How effective results have been there due to the withdrawl of status of the Jagirdars and Zamindars?

FEUDAL STRUCTURE

Feudalism is a social system of rights and privileges based on land tenure and personal relationships in which land is held in fief by vassals from lords to whom they owe specific services and with whom they are bound by personal loyalty.

Lordship and vassalage are universal features of feudalism. However modes of feudalism differed from society to society in regard to the nature of inter-mediaries, taxes and administration etc. Fundamentally, the relationship between a vassal and his lord rooted on the concept of fief, which was usually land, although it could

---

3. Sisson Richard - The Congress Party in Rajasthan, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1972, p.12.

4. Narayan Iqbal - (ed.), Panchayatirai Administration in Rajasthan. Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal. Agra, 1973, p. XIII.

be anything including an office and revenue. To accept the grants of rights and titles to a fief was to become the vassal of the benefactor. The vassal was given in return pledges of loyalty and services, the faithful performance of which guaranteed the continued right to the fief.

For a long time Rajasthan remained a monarchical feudal State. With the emergence of Muslim rule in India, feudalism got stablised. Mughal emperors introduced the system of Jagirdari which involved land-grant to a vassal with contractual obligations, that is, a supply of predetermined number of troops and personal military services to the king. Thus the Jagirdari system emerged as a feudal nobility.

Before Independence the feudals were at the top of the society because of their privileged political position as well as due to the sanctity attached to their office. The feudal command was considered divine. As there was not much of social and political awakening, the people had unbounded respect for their rulers.

Each feudal state was ruled by a Maharaja or Maharana, whose position was the locus of ultimate political obligation for both commoner and lord, and he was the respository of legitimate political authority. Although local lords owed allegiance to the central Durbar (Chief ruler) and were often formally restricted in the powers they could legitimately exercise within their fiefs, yet they enjoyed considerable autonomy in day-to-day administration, which often involved ultimate judgement in both civil disputes and criminal cases.

Political organization was essentially feudal, as political power was monopolized by a class of landlords. Sisson observes that political power in the Rajputana States was determined by the amount and value of land controlled.[5] The order of administration was feudal. The principle of government was the devine origin of state. The feudal system involved mutual preservation on the part of the king and Jagirdars. Tod has noted that a king was responsible only to his Jagirdars, and Jagirdars only to their sovereign.[6]

Before Independence three types of land tenure systems were existing, namely, khalsa, Jagir and Zamindari. In the Jagir area, the Jagirdar had to pay tribute to the rulers of the State. The Jagirdars enjoyed free-hold right in respect of the lands assigned to them. The Zamindar was free to realise rents at his pleasure. The tenants were treated as tenants-at-will, and were liable to ejectment at the will of the Zamindar. Khalsa lands were under the management of the State Government which received land revenue directly from the occupants.

Many of the larger Jagirdars also granted Jagirs within their own areas, while the larger Jagirs maintained police forces and judicial systems, separate from those of the central ruler. All the Jagirdars and the rulers of the small states paid annual tributes to the king, and in some cases they were responsible for a military cess as well as the supply of a certain number of soldiers. All this

---

5. Sisson Richard, op.cit. p.24.

6. James Tod, - op.cit. p. 127.

Table 1

Land and Villages Under Khalsa and Jagirdari Systems
(in per cent)

Division	Land Area		Villages	
	Khalsa	Jagirdari	Khalsa	Jagirdari
Bikaner	35.7	64.3	53.6	46.4
Jaipur	49.6	50.4	59.0	41.0
Jodhpur	27.5	72.5	23.3	76.7
Kotah	80.0	20.0	81.8	19.2
Udaipur	41.4	58.6	34.0	66.0

Source: Government of India, Report of the Rajasthan
Madhya Bharat Jagir enquiry Committee,
New Delhi : Government of India Press, 1950.

was fixed according the rental value of a particular Jagir. The
Jagirs held by Rajputs were hereditary, although in principle
Jagirdari rights lapsed with the death of a person to whom the
Jagir had been granted. The tradition of Jagir resumption by
the State was maintained through the payment of "Nazrana" by the
inheritor of the Jagir. By such payment the rightful heir assumed
the title and rights that had been enjoyed by his predecessors.

THE JAGIRDARI SYSTEM

To understand the setup of feudal system in Rajasthan it is necessary to know the Jagirdari system in detail. Jagirdari is the most important system of feudal structures. In all Jagirdari areas, there was one ruler known as Jagirdar. A Jagirdar was one who held a Jagir or estate from the chief of a princely state. Originally the word 'Jagir' was applied only to estates held by the Rajputs in return of military services they extended to the Moughal rulers. The Jagirdar had control over villages as a grantee from his chief and he extended several services to the chief including supply of troops. Beside the usual annual tributes, the Jagirdars had to pay to the State a small amount of money in the form of gifts and presents.

Within each state there were some powerful Jagirdars who exercised almost exclusive powers. Jagirdars generally belonged to the clans of their princes. The Jagirdars were under obligation to provide men and material during war and certain court services in peace time, in view of Maharaja's patronage to their Jagirs. Theoritically, the king was the fountain source of Jagirdar's power and authority, but in practice, the Jagirdar enjoyed autonomy in administering his territory. He created a structure of loyality of his own. In Rajasthan about 60% of the total land was under the Jagirdari system and the remaining 40% was under the khalsa and Zamindari systems.[7]

7. Sharma, K.L., "Changing Class Stratification in Rural Rajasthan" in Man in India, (Vol.50 No.3, 1970), pp. 267-68.

In all Jagirdari estates there was a bureaucratic system which was devised to look after the administration of the Jagir. Each Jagir had some police functions, but without written laws. Justice was imparted on the basis of established conventions. Exploitation of the peasants and other classes was very common. A number of disabilities were imposed upon the peasants by the ruling clans. Sharma writes that Jagirdars always discouraged social awakening, reforms and spread of education. The Jagirdari system encouraged autocratic practices by its officials. Jagirdars took generally one half of the produce as land revenue. They were vested with sufficient administrative powers and authority to keep themselves and their favourities at the top of social, political and economic hierarchies.[8]

The Jagirdars formed most important class in the social setup. They were miniature chiefs in their respective estates. They enjoyed practically all administrative powers within their areas. Generally they belonged to the privileged caste of Rajputs. The poor people living under them were denied social rights. No one was considered equal socially by them.

All the Jagirdars had a permanent source of income and thus stood on a safe and sound economic footing in comparision to others. In any case, the Jagirdars had no economic worries and could easily afford to lead a comfortable life according to their status which depended on the size of their estates. Although at the death of a Jagirdar his successor was expected to obtain recognition from the

8.   Sharma, K.L., Changing Rural Stratification System, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1974, p.187.

chief, this was a mere formality and customarily granted on the payment of "Nazrana". Thus, some of them had held Jagirs for the past many generations. Taking Rajasthan as a whole, the Jagirdari system covered 3,31,68 villages.[9]

Dool Singh observes that the Jagirdars never had any property right in respect of their Jagirs. Neither during the Hindu nor the Moslem periods was there any property right as such in relation to land recognized by custom or law. The tiller of the soil, the assignee and the king possessed certain rights and obligations towards land.[10] The Jagirdar was thus an inter-mediary between the tiller of the soil and the State. So far as the tenant was concerned the Jagirdar behaved in all respect as the owner of the land and the tribute paid by the Jagirdar to the State did not bear any direct relation to the rents he actually realised from his tenants. The tribute payable by the Jagirdar to the State was based on the assumed income of the Jagir at the time of its sanction granted hundreds of years ago.

The system of forced labour was also prevalent in the Jagirs. The Jagirdars used to hire a large number of labourers at very nominal rates of wages. Mostly the poor tenants and landless workers of the village used to be hired under this system. Generally, people in Jagirdari areas were subjected to inhuman treatment at the hands of local Jagirdars and their administrative functionaries. They were

9.   Land Reforms in Rajasthan, Directorate of Public Relations, Rajasthan Government, Central Press, 1959, p. 3.

10. Singh, Dool, A Study of Land Reforms in Rajasthan, Planning Commission, Government of India: New Delhi, 1964, pp. 32-33.

deprived of even elementary human rights. The Jagirdars were free
to do what ever they desired. In the absence of freedom of expression
and speech, the people could not develop a sense of individual
freedom and self-confidence.[11]

FEUDAL SYSTEM IN MEWAR

Before Independence, Mewar was a feudal state extending over
an area of 12,961 square miles. Its rulers were Maharanas and they
belonged to the sun line of the Rajputs. For administrative
purposes the State was divided into sixteen districts and Jagirs
of various categories. Land tenure systems could be classified
under three major heads (i) Jagir (ii) Shashan and (iii) Khalsa.
The first relates to various categories of feudal chiefs, the
second to the land awarded by the King for charitable purposes
among Brahmans, Charans, Bhats, Sanyasis etc.; (the owners of land
of the second type did not pay rent, nor they rendered personal
services to the throne) and third was Khalsa lands which were directly
administered by the state. The Khalsa lands were known as crown's
lands.

The administration of a Jagir included the King and his
small bureaucratic set up at the headquarters. The nobles in turn
had similar local arrangements for the villages within their
territories on a smaller scale. Such structural form was provided
by Maharana Amar Singh II towards the end of the seventeenth century.
He visualized the following categories of the nobles:

---

11. Pande Ram, 'Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan. University Publishers,
    Delhi, 1974, pp. 11-12.

(i)   the first order of the sixteen

(ii)   the second order of the thirty two

(iii)   the third order of the Gol-ke-sardar, numbering into
        hundreds.

Prior to the reign of Maharana Amar Singh II, the villages
under a Jagirdar were not alloted permanently to a Jagirdar.   But
his charge over the villages depended upon the quality of services
rendered by him to the throne.   The Maharana however thought that
the convention of keeping the Jagir within the lineage would enable
a more settled state of affairs.   The Jagirdar at the time of
accession to the Jagir was authorized by the Maharana to assume
charge of the Jagir through the ceremony known as "talwarbandi".
At this occasion the Jagirdar had to pay a substantial gift to the
King.   The King, in turn, issued documents specifying the territory
and the terms under which the Jagirdar would render military services
to the King.   Annual attendance at the court by the Jagirdar along-
with a contingent of armed soldiers were obligatory.

The Jagirdar was required to maintain law and order in the
territory under his command.   He had an administrative setup for
collecting revenue and settling judicial matters.   The Jagirdars
were authorized to levy taxes within their territories.   In a number
of cases, even the fines imposed by the King on the Jagirdars were
collected by the Jagirdars from their people.   These three types
of Jagirs referred to the hierarchy of Jagirs, and as such, the
power and authority, revenue resources and administrative organization
differed according to the rank of a Jagir.

For territorial acquisitions, external defence and internal
peace, the crown depended mainly on the support of the feudal Samants
(Jagirdars). The Samants enjoyed a number of privileges and rights
and wielded a considerable influence over the ruler. Various
categories of Jagirdars had emerged on the basis of Jagirdar's
status which was determined by their relationship with the ruler,
the size of the Jagir and the nature of the services rendered to
the King. The Advisory Council of the State comprised of the top
Jagirdars and commanders of the army. The ministers of the court
were selected from among them.

The King maintained State troops in addition to those maintained
and supplied by the Jagirdars. The number of troops varied from
time to time. The main source of revenue of the State was Khalsa
land. The Jagirdars had to give the sixth part of their income as
tribute to the ruler. They also offered "Nazrana" to the Maharana
on various festivals and ceremonies. In the court, the Jagirdar
occupied the seats according to his rank in the hierarchy of Jagirdars.
Every Jagir had a number of Sardars and other officials, who functioned
as courtiers of the Jagir.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN MEWAR

It would not be out of place to mention here briefly about
the prevalent system of the land revenue in the Mewar State. As we
have mentioned earlier, the principle tenures in the State were
Jagir, bhom, Shashan and Khalsa. The Jagir land was held chiefly
by the Rajput nobles of the State who paid to the ruler a tribute

annually fixed, called "Chhatoonad" (one sixth of the annual income
of the Jagir). The holders of the "bhom" tenure were of two kinds,
namely, the petty chieftains of Kherwara and Kotra, who paid a small
tribute to Durbar and the 'Bhumias' in other parts of Mewar who
paid a nominal rent and rendered certain services to the State, 'Sasan'
land was held by the Brahmins, Gossins, and other religious groups;
and by the charans, Bhats etc. They would not pay any tribute
to the ruler, and were generally exempted from all taxes. Lastly,
the Khalsa was the land directly administered by the ruler and
revenue collections were made by the officers appointed by the king
in the districts.

Generally, land revenue was realised in kind, and the share
of the State varied in every district, village, and for almost every
crop and for every caste. The State demand ordinarily ranged from
one-fourth to one-half of the produce. The latter was most common,
and it was realised either by an actual division of produce called
"batai", and the division was based on a conjectural estimate of
the crop known as "kunt", or cesses were levied arbitrarily from the
farmers by the State varying from place to place, and time to time.

It is said that Maharana did not rule by legislation before
Independence. His wish and will were supreme and regarded as the
law of the State. To some extent it was true of the nobles in
their respective States. They took no interest in matters of political,
social and economic development of the people. The society was
divided into two classes viz. the oppressive class of feudal aristo-
cracy at the top, and the ignorant masses at the bottom.

FEUDAL STRUCTURE IN TRANSITION

In the preceeding pages an attempt was made to understand
the feudal system in the pre-Independent Rajasthan. Now we shall
reflect upon major changes in the life-styles and idioms of the
ex-princes and Jagirdars after Independence and particularly after
the integration of the princely States with wider Rajasthan and
the abolition of Jagirdari system. One could look at the varied
avenues which the feudals have sought for as substitutes for their
States, Jagirs and Zamindaries. Now they are engaged in business,
politics, services and cultivation etc. Some of them have been
able to find a place of high rank in their respective ex-terriotories,
others have slided down. Some have even been proletarianised. An
empirical study of these patterns of mobility would reveal the truth
about the ex-Jagirdars of Mewar region in Rajasthan.

There is no doubt that before the abolition of feudal system
the ruling castes enjoyed a very high status in the traditional caste
and class hierarchy. Whether, they still enjoy the same position
or not is a question which must be investigated not only in terms
of the abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari systems. Obviously,
they would not have the same position which they had in the past.
How far they have adjusted to the new situations. What is the nature
of change ? Whether they have retained their traditional styles of
life, rituals and practices or they have discarded them alongwith the
changes in their occupation and income. To shed some light on these
one should really explore at these questions from the point of the

patterns of their adjustments in the new situations, which they
ordinarily did not think of, and the factors which contributed to
this adjustment and also the factors which hindered certain type
of adjustment of these ex-privileged classes of people.

Much before the Independence the supremacy of the feudals was
affected when they made treaties with the East India Company in 1818.
The treaties ended the Independence of the feudal States and made
them feudatories of the Company. They accepted the supremacy of the
British Government. The mutiny of 1857, further weakened their
position, and made the British power supreme, and brought it
face-to-face with its feudatories for the first time.

The paramount power took upon itself the performance of various
functions of the feudal States. These included varying degrees of
control over them ranging from mere advice on the request of a State
to the stage of complete control of the whole administration of the
State. The princes were completely under the thumb of the British
authorities and they could not do anything on their own. Further,
the advent of the British and the feudals alliance with the British
government robbed them of all their real power and authority. The
will and the authority of the agent of the British government began
to rule as supreme commander in the princely States. The authority
of the feudals became nominal and the freedom of internal sovereignty
was further reduced.

With the coming of the British the feudal order of society
began to undergo marked changes.[12]

_____

12. Pal Dharm - Rajasthan. National Book Trust. India, New Delhi,
     1968, p.163.

The influence of Jagirdars began to wane. The Jagirdars who had once enjoyed practically complete autonomy in the matters of criminal and civil nature over their territories, had to surrender them to the civil servants chosen by the British on behalf of the princes. The British Colonial rule established a new rule of law, they introduced a modern system of education, rational form of administration, new communication channels, which had far reaching effects on the princely states and Jagirs of Rajasthan. We can say that British rule widely affected the ex-feudals of Rajasthan. When the feudals accepted the supremacy of the British rule it meant that virtually they slided down in power hierarchy in comparison to the British rulers in their respective states in particular and in the country as a whole in general.

After the World War first, there was a great change in the political understanding of the people due to the infiltration of political ideas from the West, and thus the political and social position of the indigenous rulers, which rested on the political backwardness of the people, was considerably affected. Those who returned from the battlefield brought modern ideas, with them. Their new concepts conflicted with those of their feudal lords. Inspite of their dependent power position vis-a-vis the British rule, the feudals behaved in an autocratic way with the people, hence movements against their misrule.

The educated people in different states of Rajasthan protested against the princely atrocities. They voiced against the feudal order and its maladministration. In the feudal system, there was no rule of

law. The big Jagirdars were more or less independent and their Jagirs were the places of lawlessness.... Most of the political troubles had flared up in the Jagir areas of Rajasthan.[13]

Under such cruel circumstances, feelings were aroused against the feudal order. The activities of Vijai Singh Pathik represented the discontentment of the people and the unrest among the cultivating rural masses against the oppressive feudal authorities. Pathik was a revolutionary fighter against these atrocities. He launched the Bijolian Satyagraha to oppose the tyranny of the feudal lords on the rural people which was the first political attempt in Rajasthan to overthrow the feudal regime. The Bijolian movement challenged the very rationale of the continuity of the feudal system.

Before Independence feudal States of Rajasthan represented the despotism of the princes and their stoops. The ruler was at the top of the administration and exercised supreme civil and criminal authority. In his territory, he had powers to rule according to his own will and judgement. The 'Praja Mandals' in Rajasthan launched movements against the Jagirdari systems, and advocated for the democratic processes in administration. The Rajput rulers reacted despotically against the demands of the leaders of Praja Mandals for agrarian and other reforms.

The first World War opened an era which finally brought many changes in the social life of the people of Rajasthan, the War opened

---

13. The Times of India, September 30, 1936.

the gates of new ideas.[14] After the war, various movements and organizations such as the congress, created a sense of democratic and equalitarian relations among the people. Such an awakening demoralized, at-least, psychologically, the Rajput Jagirdars and Zamindars. Peasant movements against the Jagirdari system in Marwar and Shekhawati regions of Rajasthan particularly under the leadership of Jats made a headway in challenging the authority of the Jagirdars, Thikanedars and Bhomias.

Inspite of all this the Rajput feudals continued to behave more or less autocratically as they did earlier, and enjoyed the best of the societies resources. They were a real privileged class, an aristocracy, as they enjoyed a life of not only conspicuous consumption and expenditure, but also conspicuously wasted the revenue which they collected from the poor peasants.

Here we have a very interesting account of the process of social mobility among low caste people in Rajasthan before Independence. Such a mobility existed in all parts of the country. Generally the higher status was demanded by the lower castes of the immediately superior castes or of the locally dominant castes. One has to go into the contextuality of such caste mobility. In Rajasthan, in the census of 1931 several applications were received from various caste Sabhas for a change in a hitherto accepted nomenclature, and the desire for Brahmin or Kshatriya status was most marked.[15]

---

14. Chowdhry, P.S., Rajasthan Between Two World Wars. Sri Ram Mehra & Co., Agra 1968, p.70.

15. Census of India, 1931, Vol.XXVII Rajputana Agency, Government of India, Meerut, 1932, p.123.

Table 2

Applications by the low caste people, requesting
for change in their caste name

Caste to which usually recognised as belonging	New nomenclature requested by some of the community concerned
1 - Daroga	Rawana Rajput
2 - Nai	Kuleen Brahmin or Nai Brahmin
3 - Khanzada	Muslim Rajput Jadon
4 - Seveg, Ranakawat and Bhojak	Brahman
5 - Khati or Sutar	Jandia Brahmin
6 - Mali	Sainik Kshatriya
7 - Kurmi or Kumbi	Kurmi Kshatriya
8 - Darzi, Chhipa	Rohela Tank Kashtriya

Sources - Census of India, 1931, Vol.XXVII
Rajputana Agency. Government of India
Meerut, 1932, p.123.

From the above mentioned table it is very much evident
that the Rajputs were a reference group for other lower castes.
The reason might be that they were rulers and their economic,
political and social position was quite high. This was the
situation before Independence when they were the rulers of their
respective states.

THE ABOLITION OF JAGIRDARI SYSTEM AND AFTER

In the preceeding pages we have seen that before Independence feudal system was challenged from time to time. The supremacy of the feudal lords was questioned. However, the system continued, and remained more or less intact.

The year 1952, when the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagir's Act 1952, was enforced, it was a crucial 'break through' in the history of feudalism in Rajasthan. However, this first act of land reforms came only after India achieved her freedom in 1947. The ex-rulers and ex-Jagirdars did not believe that their power to rule the people could be withdrawn by the government of the country. In fact, it was a real setback. to them. Such a structural change had wide ranging repercussions on relations between the landlords and their tenants and share-croppers. The agricultural labourers were also affected. The Jajman-Kamin relations became strained. The various castes and families which received patronage and help from the earlier rulers and Jagirdars, no more enjoyed these privileges as their masters were denied the feudal status. Barrington Moore observes that shortly after the achievement of the Indian Independence the Government undertook a frontal attack to weaken the authority of older landlords.[16]

---

16. Moore Barington Jr., Social Origin of Dictatorship and Democracy, The Penguin Press, Great Britain, 1977, pp. 390-394.

These land reforms and resumption of Jagire Act provided
full rights to the tenants by puting an end to the claims of the
Jagirdars to any other land but their own which they cultivated
themselves. The abolition of these systems of land tenure affected
adversely the princes, Jagirdars and Zamindars. Feudalism was an
encompassing system as it affected the entire life of the people
as the Jagirdars used to intervene in all aspects of social and
cultural life of the people. Therefore, the abolition of these
systems, and other social, economic and political reforms initiated
a series of processes of change.

Sharma in his study of six villages in Rajasthan finds that
the abolition of the Zamindari and Jagirdari systems has resulted
in a change of their (ex-feudals) heriditary rights and privileges.
They could not retain the same amount of landholdings which they
had before the abolition of their rights and privileges. Economic
position of the Rajput Jagirdars and Zamindars has come down consider-
ably. Now they own even smaller land-holdings than their ex-tenants.[17]

Some of the Rajput families today possess lands which are
hardly sufficient for their living. A majority of the Rajputs are
now self-cultivators. Sharma further mentions some instances which
reflects the pitiable condition of Rajputs, he writes: "two families
of the Rajput ex-Zamindars of Roopgrah today have to work as manual
labourers to supplement their income. Three families of Rajputs
in Sabalpura partially depend upon manual labour for their livelihood.

_____

17. Sharma, K.L., The Changing Rural Stratification System. Orient
Longman, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 64-67

Considering their former status the present occupations in which
they are engaged to-day marks a radical downgrading of their social
status. These changes mark a shift in the social status of persons
from higher to lower position. This applies to the Rajput ex-
Zamindars and Jagirdars who now do not enjoy privileges they had in
the past in the form of grants, landownership and ritual status.
Rajputs enjoyed both economic and political hegemony before the
abolition of their Zamindari rights and privileges. The Rajput
Zamindars who are today proletarianised due to the abolition of
the feudal system are not in position to maintain their earlier
status.

The abolition of Jagirdari system has affected the role of
ritual superiority in the social stratification system. Many aspects
of Jagirdari relations have been weakened. In a village of Barmer
Dist. in Western Rajasthan Bose and Jodha found that this village
was a part of princely state before Independence. After the abolition
of feudalism, Jajmani relations became more voluntary, not much
of the village economy is now carried on through Jajmany arrangements.[18]
Not only in Rajasthan but in other parts of the country also, the
feudal leadership has been challenged. Mayer in his study of Ram Kheri
village observes that the Rajputs are becoming concerned with conso-
lidating their old adherents and with attracting new allies.[19]

---

18. Bose, A.B. and Jodha, N.S., "The changing system in a desert
    village. Man in India, 1965 45 : pp. 109-26.

19. Mayer, A.C., Caste and Kinship in Central India; University of
    California Press, Berkely, 1960, pp. 125-31.

Sharma's study reveals that the abolition of the jagirdari system has reduced the status of the Jagirdars to a great extent in terms of property, land-ownership and political power. The economic position of the ex-Jagirdars and Zamindars has been considerably lowered on account of the abolition of the Zamindari and Jagirdari system. Land reforms have come on too suddenly for them and they have not made efforts in other directions to improve their status. Their traditional standard of living has almost disappeared. Today some Rajput Zamindar families are self-cultivators, they have to plough the land by themselves. This kind of work could not be imagined for them before the abolition of the Zamindari system. The status of the ex-Zamindars has gone down compared to their position in the past.[20]

Since Independence the power of the Rajputs as a community has been lessening. K.L. Kamal observes that feudal elements of Rajasthan after the introduction of parliamentary institutions straggling its way into modernity.[21] With the march of democracy the Jagirdari and Zamindari systems were bound to go. Soon after Independence, the abolition of intermediaries between the tiller of the soil and the State had been decided upon a national programme.[22]

20. Sharma, K.L., op.cit. pp. 105-7.

21. Kamal, K.L., Spot Light on Rajasthan Politics, Prakash Publishers. Alwar-Jaipur 1967, p.1.

22. Reports of the Rajasthan Revenue Laws Commission. Government of Rajasthan 1966, p.561.

- 66 -

While examining the impact of the abolition of the Jagirdari system one will have to look at the background of the feudal system, and then compare that situation with what we have today in terms of the vestiges of the system. However, it is not possible to evaluate with precision the effects of the abolition of the Jagirdari system on the ex-feudals, nor it is possible to describe fully its effects on the economic and social life of the Jagirdars as a whole. Therefore, we could undertake studies of these ex-princes, Thikanedars, Jagirdars, Zamindars and Bhomias etc. in the various ex-princely states, Thikanas and Jagirs.

Some of the positive effects of the abolition of Jagirdari system on the poor people of the erstwhile Rajasthan are that their economic position has improved.[23] Many of them now do not suffer from certain social disabilities, and they have a range of freedom, particularly in regard to decision-making about the crops which they grow and the way they like to improve their lands, etc. One could notice even a psychological change among the ex-tenant castes of Rajasthan. Most of them have adopted the style of naming of their children like that of the Rajputs. Now it is difficult to differentiate between the members of these two castes just on the basis of names, which was not quite difficult earlier. The ex-tenant castes have adopted other styles of life of these landowning castes which was not permitted by the latter before the abolition of the Jagirdari system.

---

23. Singh, Dool, _Land Reforms in Rajasthan_, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1964, p. 301.

- 67 -

The process which explains the lowering of status of the higher class and caste groups can be designated as 'proletarianization' according to Sharma.[24] The feudal system, however, does not exist today. But such a process of structural change occurs from time to time in all societies, in some, more frequently than others. The abolition of the Jagirdari system has reduced some ex-landlords to the level of petty peasants. On the contrary, some of the ex-tenants have become big landowners, their status has gone high, while the status of ex-landlords has come down in the status hierarchy.

The abolition of Zamindari and Jagirdari systems has contributed to the reducing of status inequalities. The abolition has decentralized economic power. Now the land which was owned by one Jagirdar, is in fact, owned by hundreds of his ex-tenants, who are now Khatedars. (self-culti-vators). The land reform laws initiated in India during the last two decades are perhaps without any historical parallel. The introduction of the land reforms created an upheaval among the Jagirdars.

However, an important result, generally unnoticed, is that the ex-Jagirdars have been forced into a new way of life and are on their way towards changing their character as a class. Deprived of the sources of land rent, they are gradually converting themselves into proprietory peasants or capitalist farmers depending on the size of the holdings and their social and economic position. However, this is not true in case of a good number of ex-Jagirdars, Zamindars and Bhomias, who controlled actually most of the land, and who formed the bulk of the land groups hence proletarianisation.

24. Sharma, K.L., op.cit. p. 107.

Another aspect of the abolition of the Zamindari and Jagirdari system was that the bondages of servitude and forced labour have practically disappeared.[25] The Jagirdars have lost their lordships. The ex-Jagirdars who were in most cases the natural leaders of the village have lost their leadership. A class of new leaders from the rich peasants belonging to inter-mediate castes has emerged.

To the extent the feudal order has declined in Rajasthan, can be seen in the study of Carstairs. He has given a very lucid account of change in a feudal village in Mewar region of Rajasthan. He writes: "to day the scene is very different. The palace stands practically empty, with none of the hustle of the old days. Its magistrates court is closed, the revenue officers headquarters are elsewhere, the police station, the hospital the school are all government run now. Instead of being beset by the responsibilities of administration, the prince now sits unoccupied, talking to a new personal servant, looking out from a high window which overlooks all the activities of the village listening to the gossip of the bazar. At the gateways of the palace, a skelton staff still mounts guard day and night".[26]

After the abolition of Jagirdari system, the ex-feudals were faced with economic hardship. Their income from cash rents fell

25. Daniel and Alice Thorner, "The Agrarian Problem in India Today". Land and Labour in India. Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1962, p.8.

26. Morris, G. Carstairs, "A Village in Rajasthan: A study in rapid social change" in Indian villages (ed.), M.N. Srinivas. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960, pp. 36-41.

from 14% in 1953-54 to only 0.4% in 1960-61.[27] The whole process
of the abolition of Jagirdari system and implementation of the new
tenancy law is nothing short of a social revolution in Rajasthan.
The democratic upsurge has brought out far reaching changes in
Rajasthan during the last thirty years. The Rajputs who formed the
feudal aristocracy and dominated Rajasthan for several centuries,
have been deprived of their political and economic power. The
Rajput feudals who were the political leaders of society have
suffered in social prestige.

There is also another view that the ex-Jagirdars of Rajasthan
have not been affected much from the abolition of feudal system.
The ex-Jagirdars still enjoy economic political and social privileges.
According to some studies, no great success has yet been achieved
in the programme of land reforms. The implementation of the tenancy
provisions is either weak or the local land owning classes have
successfully circumvented it. Oommen writes, "Rajasthan had a
fairly developed feudal system and the Jagirdar and his caste Rajput
obviously wielded considerable influence, they continue to be
influential today, abolition of Jagirdari not withstanding."[28] In
short, this argument urges that the abolition of the Jagirdari
system could not abolish the huge difference in the economic status
of the various castes and classes.

27. Singh, Baol, Op.cit. p.380.

28. Oommen, T.K., "Myth and Reality in Indian Communication villages"
    in Rural Sociology in India, A.R. Desai (ed.), Popular Prakashan,
    Bombay, 1978, p.639.

This view does not seem to represent the reality. In some exceptional cases some of the ex-Jagirdars must be still maintaining their economic and social prestige, but in general, we find that the abolition of Jagirdari system and the introduction of the land reforms have brought about many changes among the ex-Jagirdars.

One more factor is equally important for the economic decay of ex-Jagirdars. They maintained centuries old institutions which drained their resources. Their hereditary pride contributed no less to this wastage. Even after independence when their Jagirs were abolished each Jagirdar maintained huge establishments. There were many other factors which were in no way less responsible for their economic denigration. Marriage was another institution on which they spent wastefully, and above all there was their addiction to liquor. All these factors taken together slowly and steadily worsened the financial position of the Jagirdars.

The abolition of Privy Purses Bill which was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1971 seeking to abolish the rights and privileges of the princes as also their purses, was another jolt to them.

In last, we can say that Rajasthan was a classical land of feudalism. It has undergone some fundamental changes in the past 30 years. These changes can be summed up as partly structural and partly cultural in terms of their nature. The Jagirdari system in Rajasthan was a part and parcel of the princely order. The abolition of the Jagirdari system was a basic structural innovation. The tenancy laws have hit hard the ex-Jagirdars.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

The objective of present study is to provide a review of
the studies on social mobility in India, particularly in regard
to the village community. The review of literature has been
made with the view to find out a prespective to study social mobility
among the ex-jagirdars and zamindars of the Mewar region in Rajasthan.
Thus, the present study is a critical analysis of the literature
on social mobility. However, we have given some clues in regard
to the study of social mobility among the ex-landlords of Rajasthan.

Such a study is somewhat different from the studies of social
mobility of other caste groups and classes. Studies on social
mobility of the lower and middle castes and of the various classes
such as agricultural labourers, farmers etc. generally referred to
their emulation from lower to high positions. However, in case of
the zamindars and zagirdars, this is not true. They enjoyed a
certain social status and power which had the sanction of the then
system. This status which was higher than the status of all other
castes except the Brahmans, that also in the ritual sphere, has been
withdrawn by abolishing the system which granted them the high
position. The mobility that has taken place among the ex-jagirdars
and zamindars is, therefore, not of an emulative nature.

It is mainly a situation of downward mobility. Though the
act of the withdrawl of the status was quite sudden, yet the status
has come down through a process up to now. It will be quite interesting

to know the nature of this process of status degradation as the
forces which emulated the status of the non-feudal castes and
communities, and also accelerated the processes of proletariani-
zation of the jagirdars and zamindars in different parts of
Rajasthan.

Such a study of mobility among the previously privileged
groups must explain the comparisions of structural factors and
forces over a long period of time. Our study has to adopt a
historical perspective, however, in the present essay we have done
a review, as mentioned earlier, of the major studies on social
mobility and the various approaches which have been applied to
these studies.

We agree with the view that social mobility in India is not
a recent phenomenon. Social mobility occured in ancient and medieval
India due to warfare, migration and hypergamy, etc. Studies by
Romila Thapar, K.M. Pannikar, and Burton Stein have revealed that
Indian Society was not static as it has been thought-of by European
scholars. The historical perspective which we have followed explains,
that stratification is not just a static phenomenon, it is a process,
and it refers to 'theory' or "ideology of society". These studies
by social historians also explain that group mobility was much
more difficult and a long drawn process. Mobility of small groups and
individuals was comparatively easier. There are instances in which
we find that groups and individuals lost their high statuses and
vice-versa. We have discussed social mobility in ancient, medieval,
British and contemporary India in the second chapter.

Feudalism began in India around 1200 A.D., but it became somewhat more visible during Akbar's period as he introduced a new system, called as "mansabdari system". It was a system of land grants. This system got transformed into jagirdari system with the coming of British rule in India. India could be divided into (i) British India, and (ii) Indian India during the British period. The 'British India' was under the direct control of the British government and land was managed through the Zamindars. The 'Indian India' was not directly governed under the British government, as such it was under the native rulers and princes. However, the British government had control over this part of India also. It is the British government which created various systems of land tenure, namely, jagirdari, zamindari, Khalsa etc. It was a basic change in land relations.

It created new concepts and categories of the rulers and the ruled, of the owner and the landless, of the cultivators and the sharecroppers, and so and so forth. Land reforms as a measure of structural change were so significant that they brought about a fundamental normative change in Indian Society. The old Jagirdars and Zamindars and other landed groups became commoners in legal sense and the old tenants, cultivators and sharecroppers became the owners of the land which they cultivated, however, statutory all land belonged to the state. In view of such a change of basic relations we felt it necessary to understand the processes which had begin since the introduction of land reforms in Rajasthan, which was an orthodox stronghold of feudalism.

It is interesting to note that the groups of landlords
have become extensively differentiate in regard to their economic
position, occupation, education, migration and standard of living
etc. It was quite natural for them to become a heterogeneous
component of society due to the stroke of legislation which withdraw
their ascriptive right and privileges in regard to management
of land particularly. Conversely, the groups of peasant, tenants
and share croppers were benefited by the same stroke of legislation
and therefore their status went up. In their case it was a process
of upward mobility. However, the Jagirdars and Zemindars were
involved in the process of downward mobility and only some of
them having status affirmation through alternate ways and means
in the absence of land-lordism. In both the cases it is the
basic process of structural change.

Such a process of change cannot be understood with the
culturological approaches, such as Sanskritization and Westernization
and Parochialization and Universalization as suggested by Srinivas
and Marriott respectively. Acceptance of these approaches would
mean that ideas regarding pollution and purity and about the folk
and elite traditions must change first and structural changes
would follow them. Louis Dumont has also suggested the similar
approach to the study of caste system and social mobility.

The changes among the ex-Jagirdars and Zemindars are not
of a valuational nature, they are of a fundamental structural nature.
In the case of these groups the ideas or values have changed through

the changes in their structural existence and not vice-versa. Therefore the approach of Dumont, Srinivas and Marriott and several others do not apply to the study of such structural changes as we have noticed in the case of ex-Jagirdars and Zamindars.

In the present study we have suggested the application of structural approach to the study of ex-Jagirdars and Zamindars. However, we have combined this with the historical approach to understand the levels of structural changes from time to time since the abolition of the Jagirdari and Zamindari systems. Our analysis is not confined to this contemporaneity alone, we have analysed these systems before Independence, namely, during the medieval and the British periods.

The present study is only an attempt to formulate the problem for my Doctoral research, therefore, it is suggestive for the type of work which I am intending to undertake for Ph.D. This has helped me in understanding the perspective, namely, the structural approach which I find relevant for studying ex-Jagirdars and Zamindars. My paper is based on the available literature, some documents and reports etc.

However, I do not claim that I have been able to exhaust all the information available on the subject. I am planning to study the ex-Jagirdars and Zamindars of Mewar region of Rajasthan. As I have stated earlier, Mewar had feudalism of an orthodox nature much more than other princely states of Rajasthan. This was mainly due to the social structure of the region. It was dominated by the tribal people and other "backward" communities.

Even today the ex-rulers of Mewar are in a position to evoke the sentiments of those people at the time of general elections for Lok-Sabha and the State Assembly. This and several other factors show the continuty of feudalism in various forms.

My proposed study at the Ph.D. level will aim at the exploration of these survivals of feudalism in view of the factors which continue to support them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, Michael M.,   "Modernization and Social Structure: Family, Caste
                      and Class in Jamshedpur", Economic and Political
                      Weekly, Vol.11, No.28, (July,1969).

Atal, Yogesh,   The Changing Frontiers of Caste. National Publishing
                      House: Delhi, 1968.

Barber, Bernard,   Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of
                      Structure and Processes. Harcourt Brac & World :
                      New York, 1957.

_____,   "Social Mobility in Hindu India", in James Silver-
                      berg (ed.), Social Mobility in the Caste System in
                      India. Mouton Publishers: The Hague, 1968.

Baden-Powell, B.H., The Land Systems of British India, Vol.1, Henry
                      Frowde and Stevens and Sons : London, 1892.

Banerjee, Anil Chandra, The Rajput States and the East India Company.
                      A. Mukherjee & Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1951.

Bailey, F.G.,   Caste and Economic Frontier. Routledge and Kegan
                      Paul Ltd., London, 1958.

Berreman, Gerald. D., "Brahminical View of Caste", Contribution to
                      Indian Sociology, Vol.V, (Dec. 1971).

Beteille, Andre,   Caste: Old and New. Asia Publishing House : Bombay,
                      1969.

Bhatt, Anil,   "Politics and Social Mobility in India", Contribution
                      to Indian Sociology, No.V, (Dec.1971).

_____,   Caste, Class and Politics: An Empirical Profile of
                      Social Stratification in Modern India. Manohar Book
                      Service: Delhi, 1975.

Bose, A.B. and Jodha, N.S., "The Changing System in a Desert Village",
                      Man in India, 1965. 45.

Bottomore, T.B.,   Classes in Modern Society, George Allen and Unwin :
                      London, 1965.

Burton, Stein,   "Social Mobility and Medieval South Indian Hindu
                      Sects", in James Silverberg (ed.), op.cit.

Caplan, Lionel,   "Social Mobility in Metropolitan Centres: Christians
                      in Madras City", Contribution to Indian Sociology (NS),
                      Vol.11, No.1, (1977).

Census of India,   1911, XVI : 1 (Baroda).

Census of India,   1911, V : 1 (Bengal).

Census of India,   1931, XVIII : 1 (United Provinces of Agra and Oudh).

Census of India,   1931, Vol. XXVII. Rajputana Agency, Government of India, Meerut, 1932.

Census of India,   1971, Series 1. India Paper 1 of 1972.

Chauhan, B.R.,   A Rajasthan Village. Vir Publishing House : New Delhi, 1967.

Chauhan, D.S.,   "Caste and Occupation in Agra City", The Economic Weekly, Vol.XII, Nos. 29-30, (July 1960).

Choudhary, Radhakrishna, "Social Structure in Medieval Mithila, (A.D. 1200-1600)" in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha (eds.), Indian Society: Historical Probings. Peoples Publishing House : New Delhi, 1974.

Choudhry, P.S.,   Rajasthan Between Two World Wars. Sri Ram Mehra & Co.: Agra, 1968.

Cohn, Bernard S.,   "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste" in McKim Marriott (eds), Village India : Studies in the Little Community. Asia Publishing House, 1961.

Dahrendorf, Ralf,   Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1959.

Damle, Y.B.,   "Reference Group Theory with Regard to Mobility in Caste" in James Silverberg (ed.), op.cit.

Daniel and Alice Thorner, "The Agrarian Problem in India Today", Land and Labour in India, Asia Publishing House : New Delhi, 1962.

Darda, R.S.,   From Feudalism to Democracy. S. Chand & Co.(Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi, 1971.

Deb, P.C.,   Social Stratification and Mobility in Rural Setting. Research Publications: Ludhiana, 1975.

Desai, A.R.,   Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Popular Prakashan : Bombay, 1976.

Dube, S.C.,   India's Changing Villages. Allied Publishers : Bombay, 1967.

Dube, S.M.,   Social Mobility Among Professions. Popular Prakashan: Bombay, 1975.

Dumont, Louis,   "A Fundamental Problem in the Sociology of Caste",
                      Contribution to Indian Sociology, No.IX, (Dec.1966).

Epstein, T.S.,   Economic Development and Social Change in South
                      India.   University of Manchester Press : Manchester,
                      1962.

Eshwar, L.M.,   Sunset and Dawn.   A Fact Publication : New Delhi,
                      1968.

Ghurye, G.S.,   Caste, Class and Occupation. Popular Book Depot.:
                      Bombay, 1961.

Gerald D. Berreman,   "Caste in India and the United States", in Celia, S.
                      Heller (ed.), Structured Social Inequality : A
                      Reader in Comparative Social Stratification
                      Carrier, Macmillan Limited : London, 1970.

Glass, D.V.,(ed.),   Social Mobility in Britain.   Routledge and Kegan
                      Paul Ltd. : London, 1954.

Gough, Kathleen E.,   "Caste in a Tanjore Village", in E.R. Leach (ed.),
                      Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North
                      West Pakistan.   Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Government of India, Report of the Rajasthan Madhya Bharat Jagir
                      Enquiry Committee.   Government of India Press :
                      New Delhi, 1950.

Harper, Edward B.,   "Social Consequences of an Unsuccessful low Caste
                      Movement", in Jamesh Silverberg (ed.), op.cit.

Habib, Irfan,   The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707).
                      Asia Publishing House : New York, 1963.

Hazlehurst, Leighton, W., "Multiple Status Hierarchies in Northern
                      India", Contributions to Indian Sociology, No.2,
                      (Dec. 1968).

Hope Keith (ed.),   The Analysis of Social Mobility : Methods and
                      Approaches. Oxford Studies in Social Mobility,
                      Working Paper, 1. Clarendon Press : Oxford, 1972.

Horan, Patrick, M., "The Structure of Occupational Mobility, Conceptuali-
                      zation and Analysis", Social Forces, Vol.53, No.1
                      (Sept. 1974).

International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 14.   The Macmillan
                      Company & The Free Press, 1968.

Joshi, P.C.,   Land Reforms in India.   Allied Publishers Limited :
                      New Delhi, 1976.

Kanal, K.L.,   Spot Light on Rajasthan Politics, Prakash Publishers:
                   Alwar-Jaipur, 1967.

Kothari, Rajni and Maru Rushikesh, "Federation for Political Interests:
                   The Kshatriya of Gujarat", in Rajni Kothari (ed.),
                   Caste in Indian Politics, Orient Longman Ltd.,
                   New Delhi, 1973.

Lambert, Richard D., Workers, Factories and Social Change in India,
                   Princeton University Press, Princeton : New Jersey,
                   1963.

Land Reforms in Rajasthan, Directorate of Public Relations, Rajasthan
                   Government, Central Press, 1959.

Lipset, S.M. and Bendix R., Social Mobility in Industrial Society,
                   University of California Press : California, 1959.

Mandelbaum David G., "The World and the World View of the Kota", in
                   McKim Marriott (ed.), op.cit.

_____, Society in India : Continuity and Change, Vol. I & II,
                   University of California Press : Berkely, 1970.

Marx, Karl,   "A Note on Class" in R.R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds.),
                   Class, Status & Power, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. :
                   London, 1974.

Matras, Judah,   Social Inequality, Stratification and Mobility,
                   Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs : New Jersey, 1975.

Moreland, W.H.,   The Agrarian System of Moslem India, Central Book
                   Depot : Allahabad, 1929.

Mehta, Y.S.,   A Study of Some Aspects of Administration and Reforms,
                   Chinmaya Prakashan : Jaipur, 1973.

Morris, G. Carstairs, "A Village in Rajasthan : A Study in Rapid Social
                   Change", in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), India's Villages,
                   Asia Publishing House : Bombay, 1960.

Moore Barington, Jr. Social Origin of Dictatorship and Democracy, The
                   Penguin Press : Great Britain, 1977.

Mayer, A.C.,   Caste and Kinship in Central India, University of
                   California Press : Berkely, 1960.

Merton, Robert K., Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press :
                   Glencoe, Ill., 1957.

Mukherji, D.P.,   Diversities. Peoples Publishing House: New Delhi,
                       1958.

Narayan Iqbal, (ed.), Panchayatiraj Administration in Rajasthan.
                       Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal : Agra, 1973.

Oommen, T.K.,   "Myth and Reality in India's Communication Villages"
                       in A.R. Desai, (ed.), Rural Sociology in India.
                       Popular Prakashan : Bombay, 1978.

Orans, Martin,   "A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition : The
                       Emulation, Solidarity, Conflict", Man in India,
                       XXXIX, 1959.

Owen Lynch, M.,   The Politics of Untouchability : Social Change and
                       Social Mobility in a City of India. University
                       Press : Columbia, 1969.

Pal, Dharam,   Rajasthan. National Book Trust. India : New Delhi,
                       1968.

Paliwal, D.L. (ed.),   Mewar Through the Ages. Sahitya Sansthan,
                       Rajasthan Vidyapeeth : Udaipur.

——————————,   Mewar and the British. Bafna Prakashan : Jaipur, 1971.

Pannikar, K.M.,   Hindu Society at Cross Roads. Asia Publishing House:
                       Bombay, 1955.

Panda, Ram,   Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan. University Publishers:
                       Delhi, 1974.

Pocock, David F.,   "The Hypergamy of the Patidars", in K.M. Kapadia (ed.),
                       Professor Ghurye Felicitation Volume, Bombay 1954.

Reports of the Rajasthan Revenue Laws Commission. Government of
                       Rajasthan, 1966.

Rogoff, Natalie,   Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility. Free Press
                       of Glencoe : New York, 1953.

Rowe, William L.,   "Mobility in the Nineteenth Century Caste System",
                       in M. Singer and B.S. Cohn (eds.), Structure and
                       Change in Indian Society. Aldine Publishing Company :
                       Chicago, 1968.

——————————,   "The New Chauhans : A Caste Mobility Movement in
                       North India", in James Silverberg (ed.), op.cit.

Saberwal, Satish,   Mobile Men : Limits to Social Change in Urban Punjab.
                    Vikas : New Delhi, 1976.

————————,   "Status Mobility and Networks in a Punjabi Industrial
                    Town", in his Beyond The Village : Sociological
                    explorations (ed.), Transactions No.15, Indian Institute
                    of Advanced Study : Simla, 1972.

Samuel, Stouffer,   A.,   "Intervening Opportunities : A Theory of
                    Relating Mobility and Distance", American Sociological
                    Review.   Vol.5, No.6 (Dec. 1940).

Sharma, G.N.,   Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan /1300-1800 7.
                    Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal: Agra, 1968.

Sharma, K.L.,   "Patterns of Occupational Mobility : A Study of
                    Six Villages in Rajasthan", Indian Journal of Social
                    Work, Vol.30, No.1, April 1969.

————————,   "Changing Class Stratification in Rural Rajasthan"
                    in Man in India, Vol.50, No.3, 1970.

————————,   Changing Rural Stratification System. Orient Longman :
                    New Delhi, 1974.

————————,   "Downward Social Mobility : Some Observations",
                    Sociological Bulletin, Vol.22, No.1, 1974.

————————,   "Levels of Mobility in Caste Structure : A Hypothetical
                    Refinement", Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol.32,
                    No.4 (Jan., 1972).

————————,   "Modernization and Rural Stratification: An Application
                    at the Micro Level", Economic and Political Weekly,
                    Vol.V, No.37, 1970.

Singer, Milton (ed.),   Traditional India : Structure and Change,
                    Philadelphia, 1959.

Singh, Dool,   "Land Reform Legislation in Rajasthan Since 1945",
                    Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol.VIII,
                    No.1, Jan.-March 1953.

————————,   A Study of Land Reforms in Rajasthan. Planning
                    Commission, Government of India: New Delhi, 1964.

Singh, Yogendra,   Modernization of Indian Tradition. Thomson Press :
                    Delhi, 1973.

————————,   "Concepts and Theories of Social Change", in A Survey
                    of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology.
                    Vol.I. Popular Prakashan : Bombay, 1974.

———————————, "The Changing Power Structure of Village Community: A Case Study of Six Villages in Eastern U.P." in A.R. Desai, (ed.), Rural Sociology in India. Popular Prakashan : Bombay, 1978.

Sisson, Richard, The Congress Party in Rajasthan. Oxford University Press : Delhi, 1972.

Smelser, N.J. and Lipset, S.M. (eds.), Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development. Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1966.

Sorokin, P.A., Social and Cultural Mobility. The Free Press : Glencoe, 1959.

Srinivas, M.N., Social Change in Modern India. Allied Publishers : Bombay, 1966.

———————————, "Mobility in the Caste System", in Singer and Cohn (eds.), op.cit.

———————————, Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India. Clarendon Press : Oxford, 1952.

———————————, "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization", Far Eastern Quarterly, XV, 1956.

———————————, "The Social System of a Mysore Village", in McKim Marriott (ed.), op.cit.

———————————, "The Caste System in India", in Andre Beteille (ed.), Social Inequality. Penguin:Middlesex, 1969.

Thapar, Romila, "Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups", in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha (eds.), op.cit.

———————————, Ancient Indian Social History : Some Interpretations. Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1978.

The Times of India, September 30, 1935.

Thorner, Daniel, The Agrarian Prospect in India. Allied Publishers Limited : New Delhi, 1976

Tumin, Melvin, M., Readings on Social Stratification. Princeton University, 1970.

Tod, James, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol.I, Routledge and Kegan Paul : London, 1957.