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ON

'CASTE CLASS & POLITICS' IN HARYANA VILLAGE

BY

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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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## CERTIFICATE.

This dissertation entitled, "Caste, Class and Politics in Haryana Village" submitted by Bindu Vasishtha, for the degree of Master of Philosophy has not previously been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of M.Phil degree.



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## P R E F A C E

This dissertation presents a village study in Haryana State. This study attempts to examine the relationship among three major dimensions of social structure in India - Caste, Class and Politics.

The data appearing in the tables are gathered by interviewing the villagers. The statements of villagers, are given in various chapters, in their mother tongue (Hindi) and their translations into English have been given opposite them.

This study has grown out of the field work done in the month of January, 1981 in the 'Kavlana' village of Haryana State.

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## CHAPTER : I

### INTRODUCTION

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

After Independence there was a general awareness and anxiety about proper functioning of democracy in a traditional social milieu and under developed economy. The leaders firmly believed that the political system had to set the pace for social change. The 1950 constitution therefore declared India to be a secular, democratic state and ensured to all citizens of India, equality of status and opportunity. The constitution eliminated any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed or sex. The constitution abolished untouchability and caste discrimination in regard to use of public facilities.

The social structure as it stood at the time of Independence was an ascriptive system of status and hierarchy. The institution of caste has been one of the exclusive characteristics of the Indian Society since early stages. In spite of great change in the history of India, caste has continued to be an important feature of Indian social life. It constitutes the greatest enigma of Indian society. The system has been one of the oldest and most elaborate systems of social organization. The description of caste model in its extreme form is that one's caste position in a ritually determined status hierarchy defines one's total life. One can know a great deal about an individual - his occupation, his education, the civic and political privileges, his marriage choice, his associational membership and caste. In short it has been described as a system of institutionalised inequality.

Not many will dispute the view that both society and politics in contemporary India are passing through a period of transition. The

traditional social structure which remained in a state of near-stagnation for centuries, has interacted with the forces released by the rapid spread of education, improved means of communications, and increasingly rationalized structure of administration, industrialization, widely professed faith in change and development, and above all, the introduction of democratic procedures for electing representatives of the community to the newly established self governing institutions at various levels. In realising the forces which have worked towards change, democratic ideals, procedures and institutions, borrowed from some Western countries, have played a significant role. One of the direct and perhaps the most significant, consequences of this introduction, which is now observable in many parts of India, is some kind of loosening up of the conventionally established political relationship, on the one hand, and an evergrowing awareness that public policy decisions and their implementations can be influencing on the other. The democratic procedures in their effort to function within the framework of social and economic conditions prevalent in India, which are inimical to egalitarianism and rights of the individual have lost much of their theoretical purity.

This is a controversial problem as to whether caste system is really dying a natural death in India. When once we have opted for and began to move in the direction of a egalitarian society. But this remains still a far cry. Caste is continuing to have a stranglehold in the economic and political life of the people. There is a suspicion about the disappearance of the caste phenomenon. Because "No Institution disappears like that".<sup>1</sup> M.N.Srinivas the well known anthropologist is a major proponent

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1. Rajni Kothari : 'Caste in Indian Politics' 1970 Delhi

of the view that 'caste system in India is not declining but growing stronger'. Even if we grant that its effectiveness in the urban areas of doubtful category. It is still a predominant feature of life in village India.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter to JI Nehru Gandhiji wrote that " I have no doubt whatsoever that if India and through India the world has to be free in the true sense of the word, we shall sooner or later, have to recognise the fact that people shall not live in towns but in villages not in palaces but in huts". According to various estimates 70% to 80% of Indian population live in villages. Village India presents a picture of uniquely caste structured society.

In rural India caste system has been one of the oldest and most elaborate system of social organisation. All important choices of an individual are determined by birth in a particular caste or rather he has no choices. In short the caste system in rural India is described as a system of 'institutionalised' inequality.

The traditional model of caste system in village India was that of status summation. It envisages a congruence among various positions. The positions are dependent upon and entailed by ascriptive caste positions. The model thus emphasises rather than achievement.

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2. M.N. Srinivas - "Caste in Modern India 1964  
Asia Publishing House.



In its extreme form caste stratification subsumes all other stratification systems to an extent that it could be questioned how appropriate it is to talk of different dimensions of stratification in such a society. Consequently, the system is called 'Homogenous' or non-complex<sup>3</sup>. It is closed.

The traditional model in rural India also marks absence of internal differentiation among the persons belonging to the same caste.

Thus as a result of horizontal clustering and vertical differentiation, what Robert Dahl calls "Cumulative inequalities"<sup>4</sup>. The system is non-competitive. These elements of closed highly hierarchical, combinative and non-competitive - of social stratification have been considered synonymous with India's village caste system. Some village studies which have some longitudinal analysis, suggest that there was greater status summation in pre-independence India, two of the studies that examine the status summation model more explicitly are those of Frederick Barth and Andre Beteille.

Barth considers status summation as an essence of the caste system it is on this principle that he applies the caste model to the analysis of the non-Hindu society of the 'Swat-pathans' the principle of status-summation seems to be the structural feature which most clearly characterizes caste as system of social stratification. In this socio logically more fundamental sense the concept of caste may be useful in the analysis of non-Indian societies. As early as in 1954 Barth found a considerable congruence among caste, class and power positions in swat society.<sup>5</sup>

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3. S.F.Nadelt 'The theory of social structure' (London: Cohen and West) 1957 P-36.

In Sripuram a village in South India studied by Andre Betaille<sup>6</sup> a considerable amount of status congruence was found until 1940. In traditional sripuram 24% Brahmins dominated socially, economically and politically over 49% of the untouchables Adl Dravidas. The Brahmins monopolise education, owned most of the land in the village exerted great influence in the affairs of the village and with the higher level governmental authorities and enjoyed ritual and civic privileges ...<sup>8</sup> In traditional structure (of Sripuram) the cleavages of caste, class and power tended much more than today to run along the same grooves. If one were to draw a profile of social stratification in Sripuram of the 1940s, it would approximate model of status summation.

8 The same picture emerges from other studies. In Nachpur, a village in Eastern U.P. studied by Bernard Cohn, the high caste Thakurs, forming 24% of the population enjoyed social, economic and political dominance over the more numerous but lower status Noniyas and untouchable chamars until 1940.<sup>7</sup>

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4. See Robert Dahl, *Who governs* (1951) (New haven : Yale University Press)
  5. Fredrick Barth: "The system of social stratification in Swat, North-Pakistan" in *Aspects of Caste in South-India, Ceylon & North-West Pakistan*, ed by Leach. (Cambridge University Press 1960) P-144.
  6. Andre Betaille: *Caste, Class & Power* (Changing patterns of stratification in Tanjore village) (Berkeley, University of California Press) 1965.
  7. Bernard Cohn: "Changing Status of a Depressed Caste" in *Village India* ed. by Mackin Marriott. (Chicago : University of Chicago Press) 1955 (53-58)

Bailey's study of the upward mobility of the Backward Castes of Orissa also found that in 19th Century Orissa, "the division of wealth and political power followed the same lines of caste divisions and the hierarchy in these fields approximated the ritual system, was congruent with the political system."<sup>8</sup>

### The Concept of Class

Social difference in the status of an individual or a group has obtained in every country at all times in human history. The concept of 'class' is very old. Firstly, Plato divided the population into three groups in his 'Ideal Republic'. After Plato, Marx made the most important contribution to the concept of class phenomenon. He made an economic approach to the study of class phenomenon and proved that any social phenomenon was primarily determined by economic forces at work.

Marx Weber defined 'Class' (Klasse in German) as a group of persons "occupying the same class status or class situation devotes the possession or lack of power to exchange" goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order. Such a group of persons is then a 'class' in Weberian sense.<sup>9</sup>

India is an agrarian country. Approximately 80% of her population live in villages with some 70% deriving their basic income from agriculture. The history of the Indian peasantry's anti-feudal struggle, which has developed since the early 20s of this century is at the time a history of struggle for solving the agrarian question.

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8. S.G. Bailey, "Caste and Economic Frontier"

(Manchester : The Manchester University Press) 1957: pp: 184-185.

9. Y.P. Chitambar, "From Caste to Class"

(Associated Publishing House: New Delhi-5) 1967.

By the time India attained Independence, there had developed in the country extremely varied and intricate systems of land-tenure. The forms of property in land existing in India today - state, land lord and peasantry - are genetically related to the forms of feudal land tenures which had taken shape by the time of the country's colonial enslavement and which were further evolved under British rule.<sup>10</sup>

By the middle of the 19th Century three basic land revenue systems had been gradually introduced in the provinces of British India - Zamindari, Ryotwari and Mahalwari - all serving the same ends, namely to conserve for the British colonialists the feudal exploitation of the Indian Peasantry.

The concentration of land in India was not followed by concentration of agriculture production. According to the late KG Sivaswamy "of the total number of agriculturists on the irrigated lands, 75% were tenants. Under the semi-feudal monopoly, in which landlords exploited tenants".<sup>11</sup> VG Rastvornikov stated in his papers on "agrarian relations in Punjab how land lord, land ownership and the system of semi-feudal exploitation has impeded the development of peasant farms and the emergence of a well to do cruste."<sup>12</sup>

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10. Gligory Kotovsky: "Agrarian Reforming in India" (Tr. from Russia by KJ Lamb Kin, New Delhi, People's Publishing House) 1964.

11. KG Sivaswamy, "Madras Rayotwari Tenant" he conducted special survey of tenant and landlord relationships in Madras province (quoted from Gligroy Kotovsky - Agrarian Reforms in India op.cit p - Introduction

12. VG Rastvornikov, on the 'Forms of Feudal Exploitation of the

Peasantry in the Colonial Punjab\*, (quoted from Gligory Kotovsky-  
Agrarian Reforms in India) op.cit: p- Introduction

Dr WV Sayana says in this connection that big and wealthy peasants paid less than the rent paid by tenants. The poorer peasants were the main object of exploitation by the money-lenders.<sup>13</sup> Thus PC Joshi says "peasantry constitutes the most important 'class' in a predominantly agrarian country"<sup>14</sup>

Kotovsky in his 'Agrarian Reforms in India' writes that 'the aggravation of the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations in the Indian country - side by side with intensified the class antagonism. The conflict was anti-feudal and anti-imperialist'. For India as a whole the peasant movement reached the highest towards the close of 1946 and the first half of 1947.

Dr. PC Joshi in his 'land reforms in India' called the report of Indian National Congress of Dec. 1947 was one of the most radical documents ..... to a very large extent to the objective of 'land to the tiller' and the abolition of non-cultivating interests from land.<sup>15</sup>

Thus after independence the Zamindari Abolition Act was passed. Under the law providing for the abolition of Zamindari system this category of land remained as property.

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13. W Sayana, (quoted from Kotovsky, "Agrarian Reforms in India)op.cit:p

14. PC Joshi, 'Land Reforms in India: Trends and Perspectives (Bombay Allied Publishers: 1975) Introduction.

15. PC Joshi - Land Reforms in India: Trends and Perspectives, (Bombay Allied Publishers 1975) Introduction.

This class of big Zamindars, through Zamindari abolition was done, still continued, living on the largesse lavished on them by the govt. They still consider themselves separate from the common man. Only a few of them have courage and drive to enter the society of the masses through politics in social services.

Very often the Indian villages at present are closely differentiated in terms of ownership control and use of lands so that, in addition to peasant proprietors subsisting mainly by family labour, there are other classes above and below.

However, series of village studies give us detailed accounts of different classes, their functional interdependence. It is also true that for considering the productive system, emphasis is laid on the relationships of landowning class and landless, tacitly ignoring the relationships of the landowners and landless as the classes of people.

The studies of (Srinivas 1955, Rayer 1960 Beteille 1965, and Dumont 1970) pointed out jati as a structural and segmentary system.<sup>16</sup> But it is my point of venture to discuss about some other important features of rural Indian society other than caste.

Classes and units in a system of relationships. The agrarian structure is after all not an external framework within which various classes function, rather it is the sum-total of the way in which each group operates in relation to other groups.<sup>17</sup> Beteille considers that the

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16. See MN Srinivas, "Social System of a Mysore Village" in 'village India' edited by Mackin Harriot (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) P-1-35
- (b) See Rayer, "Caste and Kinship in Central India" (Berkeley: University of California Press 1969)
- (c) Andre Beteille? "Caste Class and power" op.cit
- (d) Dumont Louis (1970) Homo Hierarchicus (London Paladin)

study of caste and class has to deal within the sets of problems: problems of distribution and inter-relationships.<sup>18</sup>

Marxists laid primary significance to the agrarian class relations. They do not confine their interest to the problem of distribution but take primary importance to the nature of relation between classes. They consider the relations as relations of concept.

By class it means rural categories of Indian villages. These categories are exhausted by castes. The villagers relate themselves in significant ways in these categories. Mencher argues that the relations in the village are very different depending on whether one is involved in small, middle or large landowner. Furthermore, there is no commonly used term as 'poor' or 'lower class' though unquestionably such a class exists. Most of the villagers are conscious that the landownership is associated with wealth, power and privilege. The landowner and the landless have different interest in styles of life.<sup>19</sup>

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17. Daniel Thorner: Agrarian Prospects in India (Delhi Delhi

School of Economics: University of Delhi 1956)

18. See Andre Beteille, "Caste class and power" op.cit p= 7

19. Joan P Mencher, "The Caste system upside down, or the Not so

Mysterious East"; (current Anthropology Vol: 15, No.4) p 469; 1974.

Throner classifies threefold division of agricultural population into Malik, Kisan and Mazdur. It gives the idea how people classify themselves with regard to the nature of work they perform and the kind of property they own. On the basis of the nature of work and ownership, the villagers classify themselves in rural categories, which significantly also point out the nature of relations between these categories which can be defined here in terms of ownership, control and use of property as lands and these are the most fundamental basis of social cleavage. So class is used in local terms and not in global terms.

Thus the meaning of class in the context of Indian village is somewhat different. As the time passed in Indian history, the concept of class is also changing. Uptil now the 'class' relations in Indian villages are defined through land and occupational structure of the villagers.

While there is no unanimity on exactly what constitutes a 'class', it is regarded essentially as an aggregate of persons who occupy the same position in relation to the means and organisation of production. They share a specific causal component of life chances and common conditions like factions, classes never exists on their own but encountered in the plural.

Beyond this, however, it must be seen that classes are ultimately political groups united by a common interest. The struggle between the two classes is a political struggle. In contrast to caste, classes are marked by a conflict of interests and horizontal lines of cleavages in terms of sub-ordinate and super-ordinates. A class society is marked by instability and change due to divergence between actual interest and



prevailing ideology.

With the exception of Getcliffe's writings barely any serious thought has been given to the suitability of the term 'class' within Indian society. Pocock referred to the existence of indigenous terms *shakti* relating to different kinds of relationships between landowner and labourers.<sup>20</sup> Getcliffe has advocated the need to study the dialectic between ideas and interests in Indian society in terms of relations centering around the ownership of land for which native categories exist. He remarks pointedly that Marx conceived of class and class conflict in terms of property relations, it is strange that the concept has not been applied in those very societies in which ownership of land is prominent.<sup>21</sup>

Because of the changes in society, the legitimacy of caste for all behaviour has been undermined. The strength that it still has in ordering actual relations, however, has not been undermined. Villagers have become aware of the existence of two different systems of social relations; one pertaining to the village and other to that which *rajya* derives its strength and legitimacy from the world outside.

Thus a factor related to community and caste but cutting across both in class elements and politics. To a certain degree of caste and community are related to occupations and class, but class cuts across caste and community and may in fact be more important in determining positions.<sup>22</sup>

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20. See Dumont Louis and David F Pocock (1959) *Affluence on "caste religion and power"* (Contributions to Indian Sociology No.2)

21. Getcliffe - Caste, class and power, op.cit p-186.

22. S.N. Mukherjee - Caste, Class and Politics in Calcutta. op.cit

In rural areas land reforms and govt. programmes have had a definite effect upon the class structure, the princes and large landowners have lost some powers, they may still have local prestige and loyalty which they use to contest elections, but they no longer absolutely control votes. Those who remain landless labourers are dependent upon higher castes and are often politically apathetic. But the middle class, the cultivators their own lands is now a political force to be reckoned with, for it is playing an increasing role in village elections under the "Panchayati Raj" Programme in state politics and in national party organisations. This last group is challenging the traditionally dominant caste groups in some areas. The conflict is taking the political form of a struggle between some important parties.<sup>23,</sup>

Although class factor plays a part in politics, at times in support of caste and communal factors, and other cutting across them, the importance of class factor varies. In the areas of party finance they may be of great importance in fields of choices of candidates, general policy and issues and as vote catches, they are less of independent importance than other factors.<sup>24</sup>

Thus one of the most striking feature of the stratification system is - the close correspondence between Caste and Class . The earlier ethnographers were interested in the question - can caste also be called class? Are they interchangeable? Are there any fundamental differences in the characteristics of caste systems and class systems?

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23. S.N. Mukherjee: Caste and class and politics in Calcutta. op cit

24. Ibid.

Some students of Indian society have taken the stand that caste and class are two distinct entities. Oliver Cox in his now classic study perceives caste as an entity composed of several endogamous groups, while caste is socially bounded on all sides.

EA Sait the British civil servant in India during the first decade of this century, taking this support from smart and others argued that 'the division into castes has no direct relation with the division into classes. They came into existence independently without regard to classes.<sup>25</sup>

Ghurye in attempting to define caste and in listing its six outstanding features emphasized the distinction between caste societies and class societies by arguing that, "the status of a person (in a caste society) depend not on his wealth as in the classes of modern Europe but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the luck of being born.<sup>26</sup>

This approach distinguishes between caste and class on the ground that is determined by birth and is endogamous, while a class is not caste.

The other approach puts caste class on a continuum in its scheme of classifying the stratification system. As Ogburn and Niskoff wrote, "class societies may be represented as extending from those like the caste which are relatively rigid or closed to those which are flexible.<sup>27</sup>

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25. The Census of India 1911: Vol.I Part.I (1913) p-365

26. GS Ghurye J : Caste, class and occupations  
pp: 1-5 (Bombay: Popular Book Depot : 1961)

27. WF Ogburn and MF Niskoff - Sociology: P-317  
(Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co.1940)

A more recent study of social differentiation which ranks the stratification systems of various societies on the basis of degree of permeability puts India's caste system at the bottom with permeability of zero, while class societies like America's are ranked at the top.<sup>28</sup> This school does not believe that the distinction between caste and class is unchangeable. EA Ross explicitly states that, 'class hardens into caste when the jealous upper class resists or retards the admission of commoners, however great their merit or wealth.'<sup>29</sup>

Yet another approach in the study of caste and class deals with the empirically obtained relationships between caste hierarchy and economic hierarchy. It is more prominent in the empirical studies of India society done during the last three decades or so by sociologists and anthropologists. They are interested in such questions as to what extent caste hierarchy and socio-economic hierarchy correspond.<sup>30</sup>

These various approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive nor are they completely opposed to one another. The last approach therefore is closer to the focus of this study.

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28. Karve Svalcataga: "Social Differentiation": p-65 (Newyork David Mackey Co.1965)

29. EA Ross: Principles of Sociology: p-341 (Newyork: TheCentrury Co.1920)

30. See Datallike: Caste, Class and Power op.cit

It is prevalent view that Caste system is not static and goes on changing its role. In the face of a conflict between the forces of tradition and modernity people have differently estimated about the fate of caste in contemporary India. To some caste system appears to be dying, due to the effect of modernization and secularisation. Thus we should see as to what concepts are proved by different village studies about the view of caste.

One of the most important village studies done by Andre Deteille was the study of a village in Tanjore district of South India (caste, class and power, 1969). The author's thesis is that in the traditional structure of the village sripuram the cleavages of caste, class and power tended to run along the same grooves. The author argues that because of external influences operating on the village for the past several decades, this clear cut system has got somewhat blurred and today it is not so neat as it is used to be in the past. Education and other benefits associated with it have drawn the Brahmins to urban occupations. Consequently, landholding pattern changed and land did not remain a Brahmin monopoly. Such measures as Adult Franchise and Panchyati Raj brought about deconcentration and diffusion of power. Power is coming to be located in a more differentiated structure. Thus a comparative open social system has come into existence in which both class and power positions have attained greater measures of autonomy in relation to caste. Thus what Deteille observes was that many areas of social and political life in Sripuram were becoming increasingly 'caste free' and the economic and the political structure were getting increasingly differentiated from caste structure.<sup>31</sup>

Prof Srinivas in the study of a village Rampura in Mysore has described it as a structure of relationship of role and status (in village India ed. by Mackim Marriot 1955) He found that each caste in the village was associated with the practice of a particular occupation. Many members of various castes did not follow their traditional occupations. The establishment of relationships of master and servant landowner and tenant, creditor and debtor all of which may cut across the barriers of caste bring about changes in the social system.<sup>32</sup>

Bailey in (Caste and Economic Frontiers) studying a village Sisipara, a village in Phulbani district in Orissa, has succeeded in describing the changes which have been brought about in the structure Sisipara society over a hundred years of British rule.<sup>33</sup>

Kathleen Gaugh who studied the village Kumbapetti from 1951 to 1952 reports some results of field work in Tanjore District, how the social system of Kumbapettai is undergoing radical change in its declining integration and growing dependence on urban or national institutions and a wider economy. It is a change in the sense of transformation that Kathleen Gaugh reports. The loss of land by Brahmins, independence from Brahmins achieved by lower castes through acquisition of land or by entering business, political organisations and agitations. These events lead to the breakdown of some taboos that keep the castes apart in hierarchical order.

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31. See Andre Beteille, "Caste, class and politics" op.cit (conclusion)

32. Srinivas, "In village India Ed. by Mackim Marriot) op.cit: p-1-35

33. F.G. Bailey, "Caste and economic Frontiers" op.cit

Also they lead to a reunion of people from different castes, in what we recognise as classes - people conscious of common cause in the struggle to improve life chances.<sup>34</sup>

Alan R Beale in his paper 'change in the leadership of a Mysore village' shows how the most important changes came in the caste and character of those who control the social and economic life of the village.<sup>35</sup>

These studies show that caste as an institution is changing its role. A new occupational mobility is coming due to Modernisation, Westernisation and Industrialisation and New Education. In recent years some studies have provided insights on the emerging class differentiation within the peasantry. We refer to the findings of a few of these studies as illustrations of the tendencies of downward mobility within the upper castes and of upward of social strata within the middle and lower castes.

In a study of Regional and caste factors in India's Development' K.N.Raj 'tried to analyse the data on caste and occupations, shows that there is a correspondence between caste and class and class cuts across caste divisions. He says that class differentiations within upper, the middle and lower castes has been intensified in recent years.<sup>36</sup>

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34. Kathleen Gough, "Caste in Tenjore Village" in village India ed. McKim Marriott: op.cit: p-36-52

35. Alan R Beale, 'Change in the leadership of Mysore Village' in village India ed,by McKim Marriott: op.cit.

36. KN Raj, "Regional and Caste factors in India's Development) quoted from Eco.& Pol.Lockly, Annual No.7,8(1979) p-353.

Srinivas's recent village study "the Remembered village" takes note of the divergence of class from caste. One finds Srinivas speaking of conflict between the rich and the poor by the wealthy and the powerful of the village in the present work, while in his earlier village studies he spoke of mostly high and low castes.<sup>37</sup>

Analysing the change in the role of caste in the village economy, ER Leach analyses how caste community is no longer homogeneous in occupation and wealth and how caste today a limiting rather than determining factor in the choice of occupations. Indeed the major conflict overrode 'all others that between landed and landless. It results from acute agricultural over-population, the concentration of land-ownership within a small-fraction of the population and the failure to develop industrial employment for surplus villages. It seems logical to conclude that such economic and class conflicts whatever their outcome, will in future, weaken the identities of caste.<sup>38</sup>

Anand Chakravarti's study of a Rajasthan village reveals that the new land-owning class is no more identical with the Rajput caste.<sup>39</sup> Jan Breman's study of a South Gujrat village characterises their process as 'depatronisation of relationships between the dominant landowning castes in the one hand and labouring castes on the other.<sup>40</sup>

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37. Srinivas, "The Remembered Village" P-169 (Oxford University Press, Delhi 1976) quoted from 'Economic and Political Weekly' Annual No. 7, 8 (1972)

38. ER Leach, ed. "Aspects of caste in South India" Ceylon and North West Pakistan, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge) 1971: p-7.10



Anil Bhatt in his 'Caste class and politics(1975) says that it is evident that caste in its traditional sense is weakening. Besides constitutional provisions and legislative measures, industrialisation, education, socio-economic forces and public sentiments have all been directed to eradicate it. While the caste is weakening as a social phenomenon, it has acquired a unique significance as a political force. Social stratification in India no longer approximates to the traditional caste model. An individual's socio-economic and political life today is not entailed by his caste position in any significant measure. Instead the profile of social stratification in modern India is one of increasing status incongruence and relative openness. The socio-economic and political dimensions of social stratification are becoming increasingly differentiated from the ascriptively caste dimension. Consequently, the major means of mobility in traditional India 'Sanskritization' is being bypassed in favour of politicization and modernization. Thus the social structure in India is not what Wedel calls homogenous, combinative and involute.<sup>41</sup>

Sinha (1964) also showed in his study that caste in its traditional sense is weakening. Besides constitutional provisions

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39. Anand Chakravarti, "Contradiction and change" (Oxford University Press, Delhi) 1975 p-96-98

40. Jan Bremers: Patronage and Exploitation 1978 (University of California Press, Berkeley, California) p-225-257.

41. See Anil Bhatt, 'Caste, Class and Politics' 1975 (Manohar Book Depot, Delhi)



and legislative measures industrialization, education, the impersonal relations of members of various castes have changed considerably during the past twenty years - In Sinha's words, "What is dying is caste hierarchy, the acceptance of superior and inferior status with concomitant social obligations and restrictions. What is growing is casteism or the individual's dependence on his caste for social and economic advancement."<sup>42</sup>

If these studies show the change in the social structure since the three decades of Independence, let us now briefly examine some interesting anthropological studies on rural urban addressed themselves to the examination of interaction between traditional society and the newly introduced democratic political system.

In his 'When Caste/Barrier Falls' Sivertsen tried to find an answer to the question by ER Leach "if a caste groups turns itself into a political faction does it cease to be a caste? In his study of TR(Thyagarasamurthiram) village in Tanjore District in South India, Sivertsen separated the three problems implicit in the question raised by Leach: one-a caste can take on itself a new role namely a political role, two-as a consequence of that in course of conflict with other castes, and three-whether political conflict between caste alters their hierarchical positions within the social system. Sivertsen's answer to the first two is yes. The already existing basis of solidarity, according to him helps

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42. Sinha D, " A psychological Analysis of Caste Tension"  
Indian Psychological Review: 1964, No.1 : page-25.

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the caste to acquire the new role without much difficulty. As to the third problem, his answer is, "without necessarily altering the hierarchical order as such", one could note "change in the balance of power". In TR he could observe, "the dwindling of the power of the traditionally privileged groups in whose hands economic and political control had been vested, the economic and political advancement of subordinate castes and the disruption of feudal bonds and traditional loyalties".<sup>43</sup>

Betoulle interpreted more boldly the changing relations between caste, class and power. He says that both class and power have today a greater measure of autonomy in relation to caste".<sup>44</sup>

Bailey looked at the problem of interaction between traditional society and the democratic political system much more operationally. From the very start in his (Political and Social Change) he goes into the question of what makes the traditional society and democratic polity disparate and who are the intermediaries who bring them together in an operative relationship. Parliamentary democracy presupposes a "complex society and not an aggregate of simple societies". At the theoretical level what is needed is to find a conceptual

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43. Siverston J, "when caste barrier falls"(London George Allen and Unwin 1963) p: 9-10

44. Andre Betoulle: Caste, class and power : op.cit pages 4-7.

framework into which both the specialized political roles of representatives institutions and the undifferentiated roles of traditional society will fit". By way of inter-mediarics Bailey has identified a substantial number of political species who overcome the disparities of society and polity. He records a subtle process of change taking place in both these areas through the initiative of the inter-mediarics who belong to traditional society and understand the demands of the new polity. The end result of their activities would be to close "the immense gap in communication between the elite who rule and masses who are governed". They help building of constituencies beyond the traditional confines of family, village and caste and mobilising of voters. The change that Bailey speaks of thus occurs at three different levels of the emergence of a new political elite, and at the level of a new socio-political system which becomes increasingly viable.<sup>45</sup>

Dr AH Somjee in his "Democracy and Political change" studied the operation of Democratic Political system of the village itself in a village near Ahmedabad. The author had observed democracy in action and the consequent political change which occurred in rural community in India. The community under the impact of democracy and forces released by it no longer remained in the near stagnant condition, in which it had been for centuries. Gradual but definite changes was noticeable

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45. FG Bailey, "politics and social change"(1963) pages:221  
(Berkeley, California University Press)

in all walks of life. The introduction of democracy and the consequent political change created neither chaos nor suddenly dislodged those who had ~~the~~ hitherto enjoyed power because of their social and familiar status and better economic condition. For some time they continued to reap political advantage arising out of their relatively superior social and economic position, in spite of the introduction of democracy. But soon they began to encounter challenges from social groups that were inferior to their own but numerically stronger. These latter, who were denied success to power in the past, posed a serious threat to the former, particularly due to the introduction of an elective machinery for electing representatives of the local council.<sup>46</sup>

Thus it means that legally there cannot be any political stratification according to caste, class, creed or sex in a democracy such as India because everybody is given equal voting power and citizen status. Discussing three major dimensions of stratifications social, economic and political - TE Marshall writes, "Of the political ~~status~~ dimensions, it should be noted that in modern democracies, there can be no stratification of individual on the basis of voting power, since it is equally distributed."<sup>47</sup>

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46. Dr AH Somjee, "Democracy and Political Change". Page: 15(1971)  
(Orient Longman Ltd. New Delhi)

47. TE Marshall, : "Class, citizenship and social development",  
( page: -141, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and company 1964).

But he argues that there can be stratification on a political dimension in terms of actual distribution of political and governmental positions, influence, activity etc. Thus in actuality there are always some who participate and the actual use of these opportunities could be one of the major basis of stratification in a society. A society could be highly equalitarian or highly hierarchical in relation to the distribution of participation.

The importance of Political participation to caste is obvious in a democratic system, if nothing else, participation is the fundamental value and its every basis. In an open democratic systems participation is open to all groups and is the main mechanism through which the system ensures popular control and governmental's accountability to citizens. The fundamental goal of political participation is to enable ordinary citizens to influence the actions of govt. In fact some scholars like Verba and Nie define participation as those acts by citizens that are aimed at influencing the choice of the govt. personnel.<sup>48</sup>

If all groups have equal opportunity to participate and if they do, in fact participate, it helps to avoid the situation where one group sets goals which would affect another. This may be particularly relevant in a society where the most important criteria of social stratification are some ascriptive characteristics, and there certain

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48. See Verba Sidney and Nie Norman - "Participation in American Pol. life", (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

groups are traditionally deprived of any elite positions on the basis of birth. One of justifications for special reservations for scheduled castes and tribes in legislatures and govt. is that high ~~class~~ caste leaders should not sit in judgement on the needs and problems of the depressed castes.<sup>49</sup>

If democracy stands for a more open and equalitarian society, political participation should not only be legally accessible to all sections of the society but should create such conditions in practice that enable everyone to participate. In regard to a caste system, this raises a question whether one's position in the caste hierarchy becomes an important 'resource' for political participation. In the language of social science, to what extent does caste status become a cause for high or low levels of participation? In India there is universal adult franchise and all adults are legally given the status of a citizen, but low status castes may find it difficult to participate because social conditions may not be conducive or, because of their lower socio-economic position they may not get easy access to more difficult forms of political participation.<sup>50</sup>

Robert Dahl says that it may be that sources (education, knowledge confidence, organisation and other skills even money) needed for effective participation ~~are~~ may all be accumulated in the hands of the privileged castes. And if higher castes have all the resources'

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49. Anil Bhatt: "Caste, class and politics" op.cit page: 14

50. Ibid: page : 14

needed to participate, then they may control positions of power and influence. If resources necessary for effective participation are dispersed, then there would be a wider distribution of power.<sup>51</sup>

Moreover, political participation may be especially important for the deprived groups. A great deal of history of democratic politics shows efforts by the underdogs of the society to improve their conditions of life and to equalise their opportunities through political activity. Even Karl Marx conceded that in a political democracy a right to vote means a significant share in power. For the "working class" he wrote, "universal suffrage means political power" for the proletariat forms great majority of the population.<sup>52</sup> If the political system is open and strives for equality and secularism, thus low status castes might find the political sphere more easily accessible to them and might use political channels the representative institutions, the administration - the judiciary - to overcome, social and economic deprivation. For the low status castes, political sphere could become a main avenue of social mobility.

After Democracy has come to India, "Political-Development" has occurred in India in these three decades. Citizens have become politically participant, party and electoral institutions

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51. Robert Dahl, "Who governs? page 85-86  
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961)



have emerged, identification and commitment to national symbols and a national system has occurred and the polity has expanded to the rural and vast social periphery. In an institutional and attitudinal sense at the micro-macro levels, great political change has taken place since independence.

What change and how much political development, is a controversial question. One can get embroiled in endless disputes over appropriateness of the conceptualisation of scholars such as Leber, Deutsch, Eisenstadt, Huntington and others. As Huntington has put it, is 'ridiculous to think of India as underdeveloped in absence of the 'Modernizing' social and economic progress. Similarly, there has been no neat sequence of change in India from 'social frustration' to 'political participation' to political institutionalisation to political stability.<sup>53</sup>

At a wider societal level, democratic participation and competitive politics may play a crucial role in social change. It is also possible that open politics may produce quite opposite consequences, that is, the already privileged and entrenched strata may manipulate it to consolidate their power and positions. There is

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52. Quoted in S.M. Lipset, "Introduction", in Marshall, "Class, citizenship and social development", op.cit page 12.

53. Huntington: "Political order in changing society" 1968 (New Haven and London, Yale University Press) Page 84-86.

another function that participation may perform for the low status caste. It is the psychological function of raising their self-esteem and making them feel that for once they are at par with the high born. In a democracy, moreover, an individual who cannot participate because of his social position is in some senses not a full member of the society. As Sidney Verba puts it, "in a society where participation is a value, variability to participation represents a severe deprivation."<sup>54</sup>

Students of participation have found that all types of political activities, although interrelated are not interchangeable. A distinction therefore needs to be made, among different types of political activity. Lester Milbrath has argued that there is a political hierarchy of participation based on the cost of the political act. According to him, voting, talking politics or wearing a button are difficult acts and more people are engaged in these acts. He calls them spectator activities. Attending a political meeting, making a monetary contribution etc, are more difficult than the spectator activities, and ~~more~~ they require relatively greater involvement on the part of the participants and are described as transitional activities. On the top of the hierarchy are what are

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54. Sidney Verba, "Democratic Participation", The Annals

called gladiator activities - campaigning soliciting political funds, holding leadership positions etc. - which are most difficult and very few people participate in them.<sup>55</sup>

Verba and Nie distinguish among four modes of participation - voting, campaigning, cooperative and contacting activities on the ground that these activities related citizens to the system in significantly different ways and have different political outcomes for the citizens and for the system. Different modes of participation may bring different rewards and gratifications and they may have particularized outcomes affecting one individual or a few or they may have more general outcomes affecting the society or a major policy. They also differ in the individuals ability to have impact. Voting for example has a more general outcome where an individual participates with others and by himself has little impact on the choices presented in citizen - initiate contacts, on the other hand the particular participant himself decides the subject matter of the contacts, he works alone or with one or two individuals, the outcome is more particularized and he may participate more frequently. Empirically also these four modes of participation are distinguishable. A factor analysis of the data from four nation study shows that in all four countries, these four modes of participation though interacted are empirically distinguishable.<sup>56</sup>

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55. Lester K. Milbrath - 'Political Participation' pages 47-22 (Chicago: Rand McNally) 1957.

56. Verba and Nie 'Participatory Democracy in Four Nations' (Chicago: Rand McNally) 1962, p. 117.

Voting is the basic form of participation and is considered fundamental in a democratic system. It affects the choice of public personnel and is the main mechanism by which representatives are made accountable to the people. But voting provides only a periodic opportunity to participate. Most studies of participation consider voting as an elementary act of participations.<sup>57</sup> Milbrath puts it at the bottom of the hierarchy of participation. But because it is relatively easy act or because more people engage in voting than in any other type of activity, its implications should not be undermined. For those who are underepresented and are at the bottom of the hierarchy, it might serve as a powerful activity in a variety of ways, the lower the social and economic status the higher the importance of vote.<sup>58</sup>

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56. See Verba and Nie "Participation in American political life". A brief discussion of this distinction is also to be found in Sidney Verba, Bashir Ahmed and Anil Bhatt, "Race, Caste and Politics (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications 1971) Chapt I

57. See Sidney Verba, N Nie & J Kim. "The modes of Democratic participation" A cross National comparison, comparative politics series, Nos.01-013 (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications) 1971

58. Anil Bhatt - "Caste, Class & Politics: 1975" op.cit Page-97.

A number of indepth studies in India have shown that lower status castes have been able to exert influence and have gained in bargaining power because of their voting strength. In selecting candidates for elections, political parties often have to give consideration to the caste composition of the constituencies. This has enabled many lower-status castes to be politically influential on the basis of their numerical strength.

Many authors like Lipset in 'Political Man' have correlated political participation with many other resources like wealth education, urbanisation and industrialisation. He shows a direct correlation of democracy with Economic Development, which means a correlation between participation and economic development. He says that the educated people from uneducated, Male from female, rich from poor and young from old participate more. Thus Lipset's major concern is to focus on the sources of both cleavages and consensus, both allegedly necessary for democracy.<sup>59</sup>

Giuseppe Di Palma, in his 'Apathy and participation' has raised three questions i) what makes people participate? ii) How much political participation is there? iii) What are the effects of this participation on the functioning of the modern polity?

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59. See Lipset: "Political Man". the social basis of politics.

(Bombay: Vakils Foffor and Sumons 1960)

He divided participation in four categories.

He says - 1) some people devote their full time and energy to politics.

2) Others choose to remain interested but passive spectators.

3) For some polity is a matter of continuous and responsible attention.

4) For others political activity is episodic or engaged only in times of crisis.

He also discusses those aspects of mass participation that involve relatively simple, common and undemanding activities. Such as voting, discussing politics, seeking information and being interested in politics, and forming a political organisation. He says "participation is a function of the individuals' position in society and his attitudes towards the polity. Evidence about USA consistently reveals that participation is greater among the better educated, with higher income and occupation, the members of dominant ethnic groups urban residents, men, people with high status in society, participation is higher among persons who feel close to political system". He says that political cynicism, suspiciousness, feeling that politics are remote, threatening, corrupt or ineffective

leads to political apathy. He correlates political participation with modernisation and economic development.<sup>60</sup>

Thus with these studies it results that a comparatively traditional social structure and an under-developed economy discourage participation because social skills and economic opportunities important for participation, are in the hands of privileged minority. Widespread poverty, a lack of education, scarcity of modernised occupations and a tendency towards rigidity of social positions avoids participation. Moreover, even if the political system modernizes and formally recognises equal rights of participation, many persons find it difficult to participate because society remains a system of conflicting economic and class interests in which power and resources continue to be unequally distributed.

Thus even if the political system has modernised, the participation in politics is still in the hands of those powerful to some extent. Thus C.Lakshmana in his caste dynamics in village India says, " ... When once we have opted for an began to move in the direction of an egalitarian society. This remains still a far

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60. Giuseppe Di Palma - Apathy and Participation'

Mass Politics in Western Societies. Pages 3-19(1970)

Free Press, New York Collie, Macmillan Limited U, London)

cry. Caste is playing a significant part in several aspects of our life. Far from being eliminated from the social framework it is being strengthened due to various forces operating in the society. The monstrous rise to casteism, alarming proportions in all walks of life injects a sense of defection and suspicion about the disappearance of the caste phenomenon. For the sake of argument, even if we grant that its effectiveness in urban areas is of doubtful category, yet it can be reckoned within the rural areas".<sup>51</sup>

With the above discussion we will see now finally how the democracy has reacted in the village India. By studying different village studies we could sum up the change in the village in the following conclusions.

Firstly, before the arrival of democracy in the village, the share in authority of the village, was to a large extent, a function of one's social and economic position. As opposed to this the implementation of democratic procedures in constituting political authority, introduced a principle which was unconnected with social and economic positions, namely majority rule. Such a procedure had to operate in a society in which, in actual practice, not the individual but the group to which he belonged constituted the

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51. C Lakshmanas "Caste dynamics in village India"



basic unit. The majority - minority mechanism instead of operating on the basis of the individual freely giving one or the other groups as dictated by his politics, became a vehicle of social groups politics.

Secondly, after the introduction of democracy in the village the old and venerated leaders of the higher castes found themselves enjoying their powers in the past with unquestioning obedience. The arrival of democracy on the other hand, created conditions which did not enable them automatically to reach or retain, the positions of power. To work for positions of power and to defend them against ~~these~~ the social groups that were hitherto ~~subservient~~ subservient to them was unpleasant for them as it was unfamiliar. They therefore yielded their positions to their younger men. These young men painfully learned the art of mobilizing the support of a numerical majority by mobilizing their own groups and the groups that were sympathetic to them, and also by dividing the following of their opponents. In course of time, the art of coalition, making became more and more complex. At the other extreme, the introduction of elective machinery opened up a possibility to the hitherto politically underprivileged groups to attain a range of statutory and non-statutory political positions for their members rather than status.

(3) The newly introduced democratic procedures related not only on the relationship between groups and their leadership, but also opened up the possibility of influencing decisions on public policy and their implementation. New political tools of direct approach and mass approach in order to achieve the desired political objectives, came to be adopted by the villagers. Similarly, the decisions making process in the village, which before the arrival of democracy was relatively simple affair, became widely dispersed. It now involved an increasingly greater number of people who opined, swore, concurred, protested etc. for or against those who were directly involved in decision making or in decision executing.

(4) The introduction of democratic procedures did not directly establish democracy in the village, but questioned, interacted and provided institutional facilities for the rejection of the entrenched positions of power to dominate and to exclusively make decisions in the day to day matters of the village.

If as a consequence of all these, gradually changed the attitude of the people to political authority in general and village political authority in particular. From a quiet obedience to authority in the pre-democratic days, the villages now assumed the role of judges of what it did and what it failed to do.

They now openly grumbled and complained against the indifference and inefficiency of those in position and authority. At times, they even suggested how the people in authority could have acted in the ~~mutual~~ interest of the village. Behind such comments and suggestions lay their groping search for authority that was geared to service rather than record - keeping administration.

Finally, there was the participation of the village in national politics. This was confined to discussion of national issues and participation in the general election. Since no villager was directly involved in them the voters enjoyed greater freedom in electoral choice. The enjoyment of such a freedom and frank discussion about the record of various candidates reacted on the political system of village, itself. The latitude enjoyed in the general elections was gradually pressed for in local politics.<sup>62</sup>

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62. Dr AH Sonjee, "Democracy and Political Change"

in village India" op.cit: pages 17.

Thus the dissertation on caste, class and politics in the village Haryana, attempts to examine the relationship among the three major dimensions of social structure. My major concern is to compare and correlate ascriptive, socio-economic, and political dimensions of social stratification. I am particularly interested in examining the extent to which political positions are entailed by caste and class positions in the village. The study also addresses itself to the interaction between traditional social structure and modern democratic politics. At a more specific level the study will examine the extent of traditional model of social stratification.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

Most of the Indian caste studies have been done by anthropographers and social anthropologists. Though caste is a very old institution in the Indian social system and has been considered in various works of the early Indian scholars and administrators, it was only in the last twenty years that social scientists have attempted studies on caste politics in Indian villages. Research in this area is significant not only in terms of the theoretical insights, it offers in regard to the working of rural social systems and directions of social change. Thus according to these studies caste is also changing its role. Moreover, democratic politics is also having its effect on the traditional social structure and therefore many social institutions are influencing politics. Political participation of an individual in the village is effected by different things like caste and class. Knowledge of this study is therefore an important feature in the development process of this predominantly rural country. Further because of the present organic linkage of macro-political system with micro-political systems, in the absence of knowledge regarding the process of micro-politics in the Indian village, no definite assessment of macro-politics of the country can be undertaken.

Mostly the village studies have been done between one or two dimensions of social structures. Little work has been done where the three dimensions (Caste, Class and Politics) of social-structure are examined at a time. Therefore this study will be important because it will compare and correlate ascriptive socio-economic and political dimensions of social stratification at a time.

Unfortunately, very little attention has been given to such studies in Haryana - a most dynamic state which has constantly been exposed to economic, political, social and cultural changes. Hence, the need for more comprehensive research into the character of caste, class and politics.

Because the different aspects of social life are so intermeshed in rural society, it is difficult even for anthropologists to identify analytically what is political. A primary concern with the social organisation of Indian society has led them to approach politics through a study of the caste system and to explore political activity to the extent that it reveals something of that institution. Given the importance of a political idiom that has its roots in communities comprising some eighty percent of the total population. It is surprising that no comprehensive political/anthnography of any village exists. Anthropologists have not yet done for politics what has been so aptly done for caste. This study attempts to fill

the gap. It concentrates solely on political activity as an essential part of all Indian behaviour.

In different studies, the role of women in politics has been studied, but little work has been done about the women's participation in politics according to caste and their class. Thus this study will include the women's participation in politics, their class status and caste status and how these factors are influencing their participation in politics.

The role of Panchayat leader, their status according to their caste and class will also be studied.

I have thus indicated the framework within which this study has been cast. Along with this I shall also point out the set of questions which structured my inquiry: -

- 1) What was the traditional caste hierarchy in the village?
- 2) At present to what extent caste hierarchy and socio-economic hierarchy correspond?
- 3) To what extent is the distribution of participation patterned after the ascriptive stratification system of caste.
- 4) Who is having power in the village, whether caste or Class?

- 5) Are the ritual - relationships based on caste status also reflected in economic relationships?
- 6) To what extent is caste status a condition for formal and informal leadership in the villages. What is the effect of Democracy on them?
- 7) Is the relationship between caste and political participation due to caste status or ~~due to caste status~~ or due to class status?
- 8) What is the impact of democratic political system on the ascriptive hierarchy?
- 9) What makes people participate?
- 10) How much political participation is there?
- 11) Is there political apathy in the villages? If yes why? What are the causes?
- 12) Is the village voter now voting after carefully weighing the issue positions of the parties or a mass voting behaviour basically issueless and non-ideological ?
- 13) Can we find a 'change' during the last three decades?
- 14) What is the role of village women in political participation and village administration?



## METHODOLOGY:

### Selection of Villages:-

Most of the caste studies have been done in South India. In the north also, very few studies on 'caste' caste and politics' have been done in Haryana. Thus Haryana state which is important from the point of view of caste politics has been chosen for the study.

Rohtak district in Haryana, was picked up as the local district for research study. As the problem of the study is to see political participation according to caste, and class (one being the traditional and the other as modern institution in the present social system). It was thought best to select a district which was neither highly developed nor very backward, so that a clear picture about the study be drawn from the district.

Further with the possessed knowledge about the area and the local language, it was felt that the selection of block 'Jhajjar' from this district would facilitate field work within the limited time. A list of villages in block office of Jhajjar, along with the population according to 1961, Census was taken. All the villages with a population of less than 200 or more than 5,000 were first included. Selection for this study was further

limited to a village which should have enough population, so that a clear picture of different castes could be seen. For final selection from among the different villages in Tehsil Jhajjar.

The following four requirements were prescribed: - 1) The village must be multi-caste village.

2) The village should be important from the political point of view.

3) The basis of village economy must be primarily agriculture.

4) The size of the village should be medium.

A visit was ~~paid~~ paid to the headquarters of community development block of Jhajjar and a discussion was held with block development officer and their staff. From these discussions, it was found that there is a village not very far from Jhajjar, which could meet all the requirements. Thus village 'Mavlan' was selected for the study.

#### MEASURES:

The 'class' stratification will be operationalised through such variables as land, occupation and education.

The political dimensions of social stratification in this study includes - a) general political orientation political interest, partisanship, b) subjectively perceived degree of political influence c) the indicators of political participation - voting pattern and

campaigning (d) voting criteria.

While ascriptive stratification such as caste, race or ethnicity is given and mostly self-defined, there is a long tradition in sociology that takes socio-economic status as a measure of class, political stratification is rather vaguely and variously described. As VO Key observed: "the idea of political stratification may not be readily grasped, for discussion of (social) stratification are so often in economic or occupational terms"<sup>1</sup>.

The social science literature dealing with the political dimensions of social stratification is rather descriptive and variously defines it as power or influence, civic and political rights, citizenship status, position or authority or influence in public institutions, government or party or political involvement and activity.<sup>2</sup> For instance, in the anthropological studies of Indian villages political dimension is rather vaguely defined as power. But it is composed of an assortment of measures such as civic and ritual privileges, power to arbitrate in inter-caste or inter-village disputes, influence with higher levels of governmental

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1. VO Key Jr. "Public opinion and American Democracy"  
(New York Alfred A Knopf 1967) Pages 183.

2. See TH Marshall, "Changes in social stratification in his class, citizenship and social development". (Garden City: Doubleday and Co. 1965)

and political elite, economic and general social dominance including ability to use physical force or intimidation and more recently the voting strength.<sup>3</sup>

The large scale quantitative studies have mainly employed political involvement at attitudinal and behavioural levels as indicators of political stratification. Robert Dahl has differentiated between political stratum and a political stratum on the basis of political involvement. He found in New Haven a small stratum of individuals, "much more highly involved in political thought, discussion and action", and exerting "a good deal of study, direct and active influence."<sup>4</sup>

Thus the principal indicator of political stratification employed here are political involvement and activity.

#### RESEARCH TECHNIQUES:

Both quantitative and qualitative techniques are used for the collection of data. Observational techniques like participant observation, discursive method like discussion and group discussion

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3. See Andre Beteille, "Caste, Class and Power" (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1965)

b) See EG Dalloy, "Caste and Economic Frontiers" (New York: Humanities Press, Inc. 1951)

4. See Robert Dahl, "Who Governs" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961)

and interviewing the individual respondent with the interview guidelines and interview schedules are ~~ways~~ largely utilized for the field in investigation. Apart from these primary data, secondary sources of information like census reports, village ~~stx~~ story and block story (available at Block Office) census reports, research papers, official records and other type of published material are consulted in formulation of problem as also in the analysis of the primary data.

#### UNIT OF ANALYSIS:

In the village the families are administered by family heads they represent them in caste and village councils. So it was deemed proper to take each household head as unit of this study. A household may comprise of a single family, or an extended family, living in separate rooms but sharing a common hearth. The family is reckoned to be a unit of social organisation in the Indian rural communities and the head of the household exercises a great influence on all other members. Besides, this the head of the household is responsible for intra - and inter family relationship and is thus ~~representative~~ representative of the household in the developmental activities of the village. The head of the household is the chief action of his family group, and is most enlightened person to provide information on

village life. Moreover, the decision to interview all the heads of the household of the household in the village is taken with a view to avoid the respondent bias or limited awareness of the capability and reputation of certain individuals. Because of the lack of time, in the village every 4th house was selected for the purpose. Thus we took 285 families from the higher castes. (Higher caste includes Brahmins and Jats) and 80 families of lower castes (Harijans, Chohna and Chamar) And out of these 365 families, every 4th house was taken for the interview. The sample thus came to be as - 91 people, 71 higher caste and 20 lower caste.

#### INSTRUMENTS OF A DATA COLLECTION:

Firstly, three schedules were prepared. The schedule (A) is intended to elicit information about households heads in respect of (1) age, sex and caste (2) occupation, education, land annual income etc.

#### Their choice of caste leaders.

The information about political knowledge, influence voting pattern, voting criteria, campaign activity and partisanship of the villagers was gained by asking questions on different points. In

short Schedule (a) is aimed at finding out the demographic socio-economic and political life of the village household heads.

Schedule (B) was prepared for reputed persons both at the village level and at the ~~State~~ state and national level. For this the reputed persons like, Sarpanch, Village school teacher, priest, BDD, SDR, FLA and MP were interviewed.

Scheduled (C) members of Panchyat were interviewed, and the answers were recorded.

#### COLLECTION OF DATA:

Before all the questions were administered, orally it was ~~shown~~ thought essential to explain precisely why and for whom the study had been undertaken. Afterwards all the applicable questions were asked in the order given in the schedule and the answers were recorded.

At the close of interviews it was checked that all the questions were asked and recorded and that there was no inconsistency between the answers.

The non-participant observation was confined to attending a few groups discussions (informal), attending a few panchyat meetings, observing the reputed and prestigious persons and observing relationship between the leaders and led. In addition, the social interaction

among different leaders was also observed to a greater extent. The records of village panchayats were consulted for supportive evidence.

Thus the data was collected in the village through interview schedules, selected interviews with the household heads, panchayat members and reputed persons, and also through non-participant observation.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF DATA:

In order to classify the answers to all questions, the schedules were transformed into meaningful categories so as to bring out their essential patterns. According to schedule (B) and (C) the views of all the reputed persons are quoted in the correct places. In schedule (A) household heads are categorised according to land occupations and education. All members were counted according to castes. For the questions asked coding frame<sup>1</sup> was designed in accordance with the aim of study. Then the information was transformed in different tables.

#### PREPARATION OF TABLES:

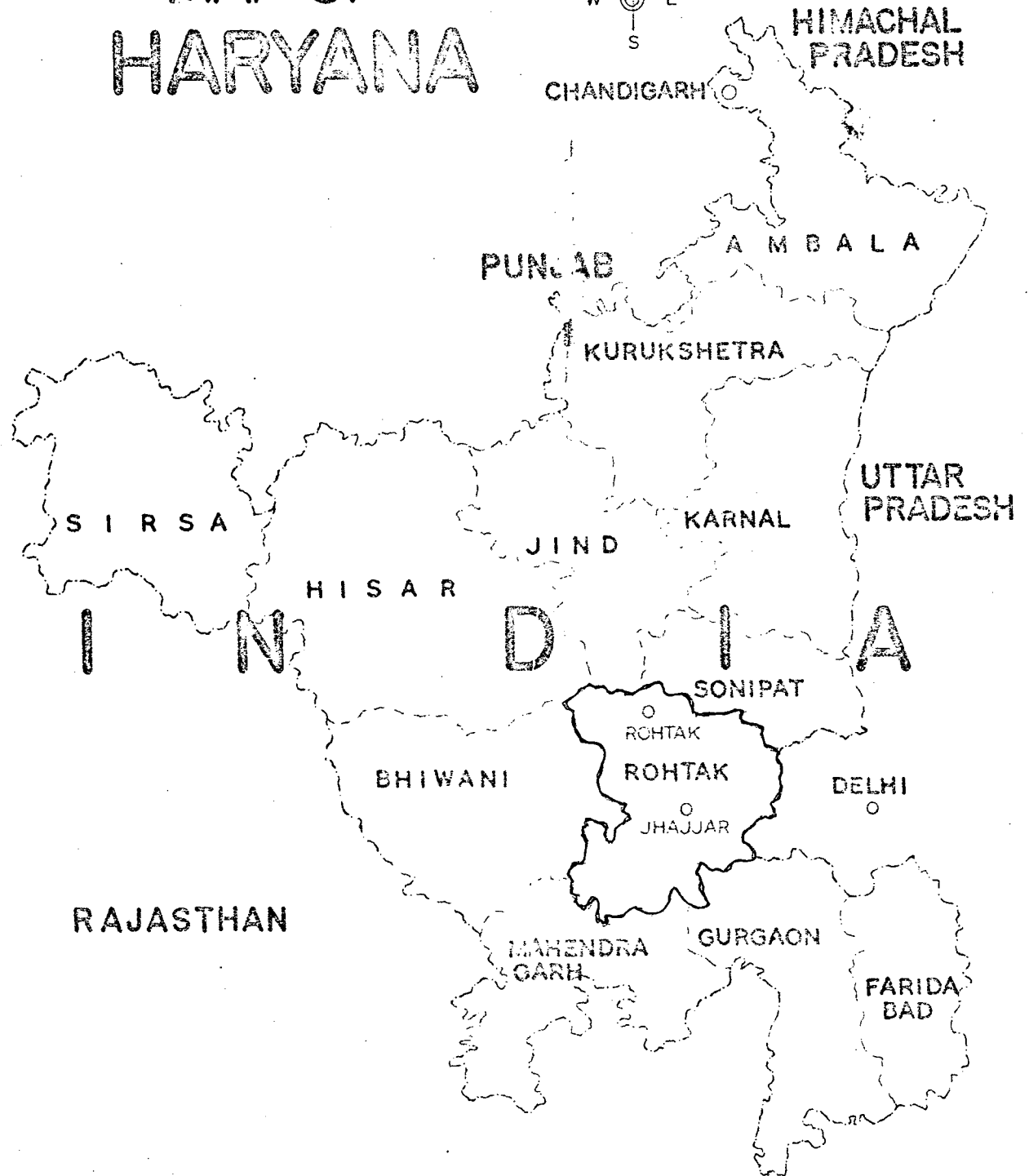
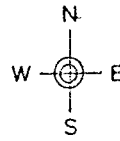
The work~~ing~~ of counting of the number of cases falling into each of several classes was taken up. All this was done by hand-tabulation as the sample was very small.

Thus the dissertation is divided into 7 chapters. Apart from the first two chapters, of introduction and Methodology.



The first three chapters present the picture of village profile. The fourth chapter is about caste and politics. The fifth chapter clearly shows the correlation between caste, class and politics. The sixth chapter gives the picture of effect of Democracy and Modernisation. The 7th chapter gives the conclusions.

# MAP OF HARYANA



SCALE: 1:1,00,000  
1 cm = 10 km  
1 inch = 25.4 km

## CHAPTER III

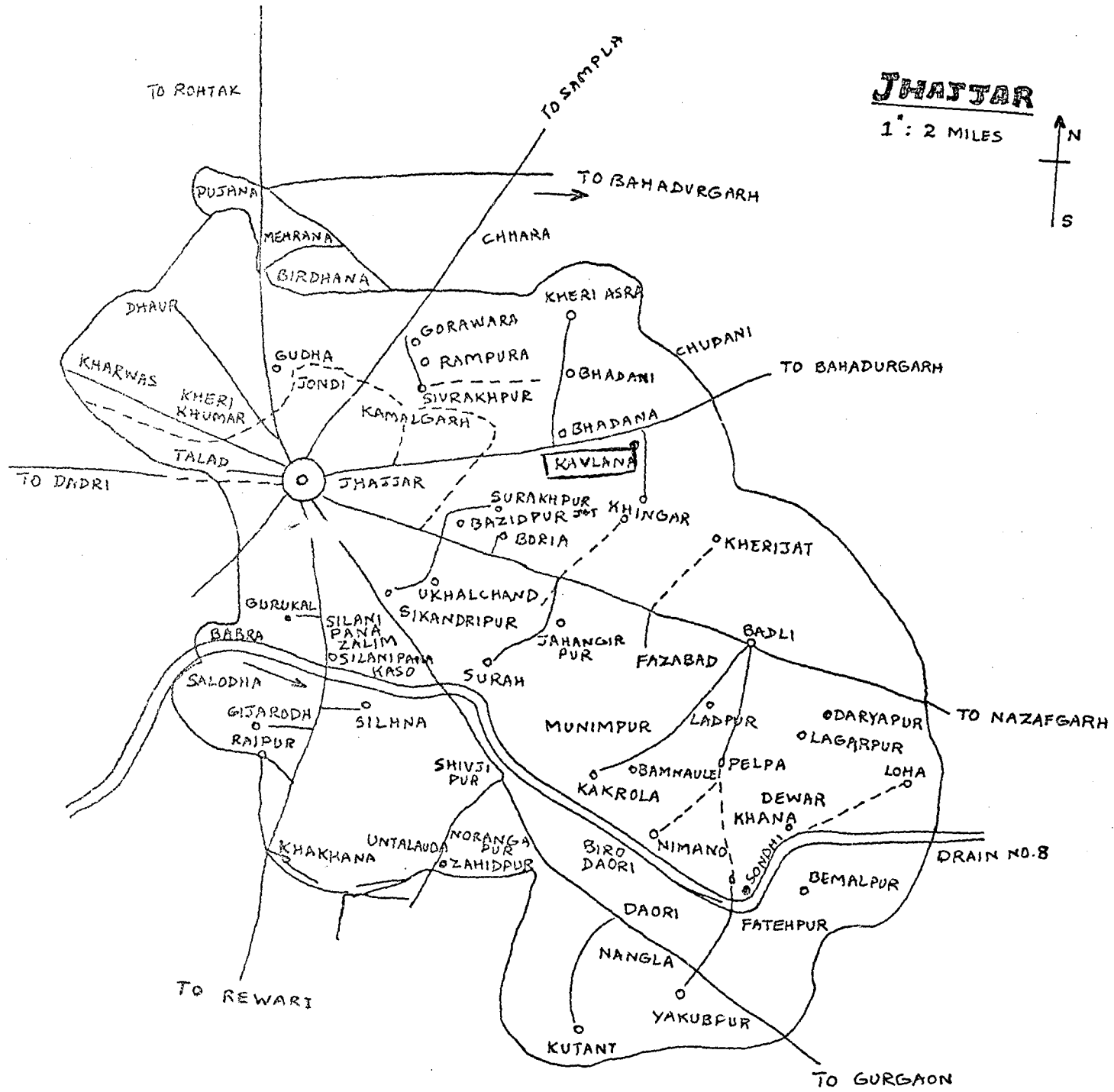
### Village Profile

Kavlona is a village, in block Jhajjar, District Rohtak with a population of 4690, is located 9 kilometers away from Jhajjar. From the political point of view, three districts of Haryana state are very important - Jind, Sonapat and Rohtak - Rohtak being the most important. Kavlona lies in this district, in Haryana state.

Haryana was created on Nov. 1st 1966 by the Punjab reorganisation Act., the reorganisation having taken place on a linguistic basis with the new Punjab regarded as Punjabi speaking and Haryana as Hindi speaking. Haryana is divided into 12 districts with around 7000 inhabited villages and around 69 towns with an overall population according to the 1981 census of 1,28,902.

Jhajjar block dates from 1850, and for two years prior to this was a separate district. Its history upto 1857 was turbulent and there was widespread violence again in 1947. The town of Jhajjar has experienced Muslim, Hindus, British, Punjab and now Haryana state Govt. rule, as well as the rule of two European soldiers of fortune and all have demanded some revenue from the surrounding villages.

- 
1. ( The history of Jhajjar is extracted from the records available at the District office at Rohtak )



During the relatively stable and brilliantly administered reign of Akbar, the 'Bustar' of Jhajjar was part of the Subch of Delhi, one of Akbar's administrative circles, and included that part of the present tehsil of Jhajjar in which Kavlena village is situated. The area is said to have experienced a stable administration until the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712. It seems most probable that the founders of the present village of Kavlena (which was at that time merged with the village Dulhara) arrived at the site, sometime during this period of stable administration.

The 18th century saw Jhajjar and the surrounding countryside change hands many-times. Taken from the Nawab of Farrukhanagar by the Jat Chief Suraj Mal in the middle of the century, it then fell into the hands of Walter Reinhardt, also known as Sombro or Somru. In about 1771 he married a young girl who soon gained control of his possessions .... for the Begum Somru.. was not less notable for her beauty than her extraordinary cleverness and force of character (compton 1893: 403) Jhajjar taken from the Begum Somru in 1894 by the forces of Chieftain Appa Khendi Rao, under the command of the British adventure George Thomas, who had fled from Begum's services in 1792, following a successful plot against him by other Europeans in her services.

Thomas was presented with the territory of and around Jhajjar. By Appa Khendi Rao and from 1794 carved out a small kingdom around Jhajjar. He established the fort of George garh (now the village of Hussainganj alias Jehajgerh and set out to extend his 'kingdom'. He attacked the Sikh in the north and the states of Bikaner, Jaipur and Udaipur in the South. Although his expeditions were not always successful, he became the most powerful man on the right bank of Jamuna. (Fainshew 1830: 32) before being expelled from Jhajjar and then Georgegarh in 1801 by the forces of the Maratha ruler Daulat Rao Scindia, under the command of general W Perron Treachery. He had caused Thomas to flee and then to surrender at Hansi, in Hissar, at the beginning of 1802. James Skinner describes how, on reaching the gates of the Fortress at Hansi with Scindia's forces ....

" the gates opened and out rushed a European (Thomas) with his sleeves tucked up over his tattooed arms, a shield on one, and a great sword on his other. He looked so ferocious that I eyed him for a moment, and turned and ran, and my men after me. I can face most men, but that one looked so ferocious that he frightened me" (quoted in Goy 1929: 55)

Revenue collection was not stable at that time and some reports claim that Thomas collected revenue from the villages ..... by the persuasion of guns and bayonets. (Fainshew 1830:99). Soon after Thomas had been expelled from Hansi the power of the Marathas in north India was broken .... and the Rohtak district ..... passed on to the honourable East India Co. by the treaty of Sirje Anjungan ..... on

30th Dec. 1803' (Northak District Gazette 1910: 29) the Jhajjar territory was given to Nawab Ali Khan who left the management of the territory to his son, Faiz Muhammad Khan, pictured as an enlightened and kindly ruler. He was succeeded in 1835 by his son Naush Faiz Ali Khan, who unlike his father had a reputation for narrow mindedness and harshness in the business of revenue collection. For the next 22 years, the villages around Jhajjar were subjected to harsh and ruthless revenue demands. Nawab Faiz Ali Khan was succeeded on his death in 1845 by his son, the last Nawab of Jhajjar Abdur Rahman Khan. He was hanged in 1857 for taking part in the 'Mutiny'. At his trial British officers were charged with having acted as they pleased in Jhajjar. This was vehemently denied by the Nawab's council but it was established that muslim troops mutinied against their Hindu officers, ..... whose villages and houses they attacked and whose women and children they killed (ibid : 45). The people of in Kaviana spoke very unfavourably of muslim rule but their attitudes were probably coloured by the turmoil of 1947 and more directly by the Propaganda of , and their participation in, the 1965 war with Pakistan.

The first British Land Settlement of Jhajjar town was begun in 1858 and soon recommended leniency with the Jhajjar villages as far as revenue was concerned, because of oppression by the former, British

Nauwaba and the harshness of the environment. Famines hit the district in 1860 and again with even greater severity in 1868. During the progress of the revised settlement of the district (1873) a famine struck again in 1877 and Fanshawe wrote:-

During the cold weather of 1877-8, I inspected every village of the Rahtak and Gohana tehsils for the purpose of assessment, and visited a larger number in Sampla and Jhajjar. The aspect of the country was desolated beyond description. There was literally no crop in the rain-land villages in a ride of 20 miles, not even two or three plots were to be seen. The grass had wholly disappeared and nothing but thorns and weeds met the eye in the fields... It is doubtful if the enforced collection of the revenue was a well judged step, a very large area was sold and mortgaged as consequences of this perhaps gave a little relief. It is not surprising that the tillagers of this harsh tract fear the tax collection. Every official is regarded with suspicion and the anthropologist who asks questions about ownership of land is often regarded as a spy. Three famines hit the area in the decade 1896-1905. Improved communications, better construction of well-land, more recently greatly improved irrigation systems - first the persian wheel and then the pumping set, the tube-well - have decreased the likelihood of famine, but life is still precarious for many persons. It does not take much rain, resulting in floods villages. This is the land of harsh extremes. Famines are still common in western Haryana and Rajasthan but Jhajjar has not suffered a famine since 1906, though sometimes drought and floods cause intense suffering.



War too has inflicted intense suffering. In 1947 the Punjab was the scene of chaos and bloodshed. Muslim fled north and Hindus and Sikhs fled South.

Gradually the Government of Independent India began to implement its policies for changes in the villages of Punjab but the Community Development Block of which Kaviana is a part, was one of the last established in the districts in 1962, and received its first village level worker then.

As indicated, the land settlements for Jhajjar were not carried out until 1873-9. This was during the 'Pax Britannica' from 1857 to 1947, so labelled because it was nearly a century of relative peace during which the British pursued a policy of law and order.

#### History of Kaviana Villages

Kaviana village was created in 1879. Earlier it was merged with a village Dulhora, the Gazettes of 1879 show that Kaviana village was named after a man-kolha. He was married to a girl, in Dulhora village, who was the daughter of a very big landowner. Her father gave a large part of land to his daughter in dowry. Her father was a Deswal Jat. Kolha used to live in his father-in-law's house. After sometime he divided his land from his father-in-law and made a separate village, which he named after his name as Kaulhena. He divided the land among his four sons named Chandu, Chajju, Ketaru and Geriba and after sometime people started calling Kulhena as Kaviana. Thus in this way the village

Kaviana was created.

History of Kaviana after Independence:

It remains to indicate very broadly the history of the implementation of different policies of new Government after 1947, through which the change in the village has taken place. In this change there is a big hand of Community Development Programmes. The agency for the translocation of the social and economic life of the villages (first five year plans 223) the spheres of planning activity which are relevant for Kaviana are: agriculture, land reconv., irrigation, power, transport and communications, education, health and family planning and welfare of backward classes, categories derived from the 'main lines of activity' listed in Five Year Plans.

The effective development of agriculture in Kaviana dates from about 1963, not simply because of the establishment of the Block, but ~~the~~ mainly because of the completion of schemes. Although electricity was available before 1963, it had not been worth-while for pumping-sets because of the distances separating their scattered fields. The droughts of 1955-6 and 1966-7 delayed and hindered development.

The high yielding varieties programme was begun in 1965 and the use of new seeds very evident in 1968, rabi harvest. In 1969, all farmers were aware of the high yields obtained from the use of new seeds but most identified then with the wealthy farmers, who could afford the irrigation,

the fertilizer and risk.

A lot of work has been done by community development programmes. In 1964, a Panchayat Ghar was constructed in the village at a cost of Rs.10,000/-. In 1968 a sum of Rs.600/- was spent on a drain. In 1971, repairing of the school was undertaken and Rs.20,000/- were spent on school buildings. In 1972, in the food for work programme, 258 quintals of wheat were distributed. In the same year a pond in the village was dug up. In 1980, the construction of pavements was started. At present, the construction of link road from the main road to the village is in progress.

Long term finance is available from the Jhajjar Land Mortgage Bank, but conditions of lending favour the person, who has sufficient land to mortgage. Although special concessional rates are available to the Harijans, they must have the necessary land first, in their own names. Most Harijans are share-croppers as small land owners and any peasant already indebted to a credit society will not be financed by the Land Mortgage Bank and must fall back on the local or town money-lenders for credit at exorbitant rates. Those farmers adopted coops in 1980 had land holdings of at least 15 acres, or were able to hire irrigation facilities.

Share croppers are referred in Kaulana as 'Dujaro' but they do not feature in the Patwaris records. They are in fact no 'tenants' entered in records. Thus land-reforms associated with the placing of ceilings and holdings have been largely ineffectual.

Therefore although there is some agricultural development, it has been chiefly to the benefit of formerly wealthy farmers. Improved techniques of farming irrigation and fertilisation, do not benefit all farmers to the same degree. Thus if there is a 'green revolution' it is only among the few.

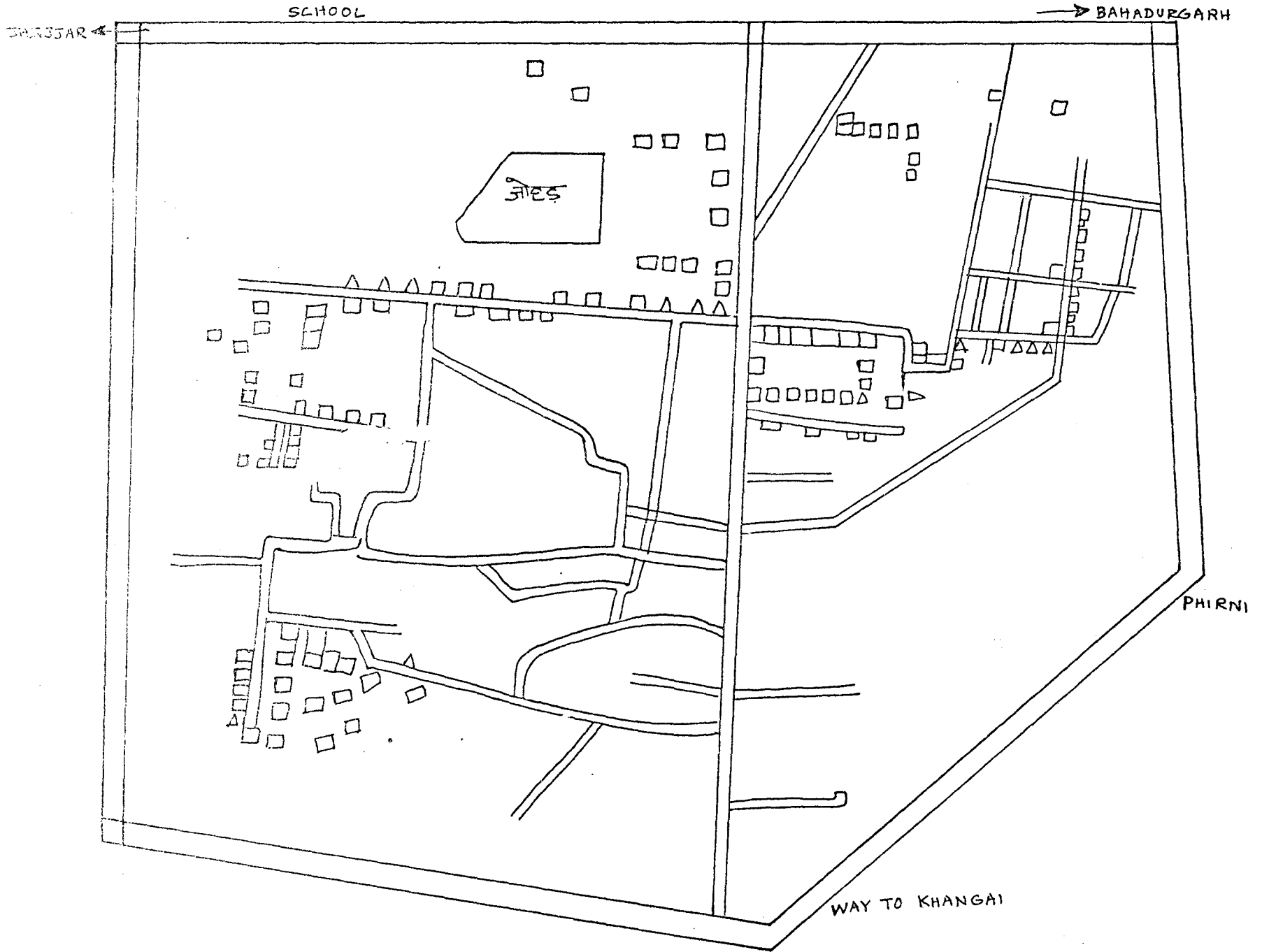
#### Political Scenario

At present from the constituency under which village Kavlana village come Uday Singh Dyal is a Member of Haryana Legislative Assembly. He is from the Lok-Dal party and belongs to Jat Community. The Member of Parliament is Swami Indorvash. The latest elections in the village Legislative Assembly were held in November, 1980, and for Parliament in January, 1980. In the Lok Sabha elections Congress candidate won the election.

#### Village Panchayat

The Panchyat was formed in the village in 1952 and the last election was held in January, 1978. It has two members from scheduled castes and one lady Member. The Sarpanch is elected directly by the villagers and the remaining four seats are filled by election by the villagers. Out of the 8 members 5 including the Sarpanch are Jats, two Harijans and one Kumbhar as indicated in Table :1 .

KAVLANA



**Table 1 Socio-economic status of Panchyat Members**

S.No.	Name of Member	Caste	Landowner
1.	Chander Singh	Jat	50 bighas
2.	Ran Sewarup	-do-	25 -do-
3.	Guggan	-do-	20 -do-
4.	Rasulan	-do-	22 -do-
5.	Chandgi	Kumhar	Non-cultivator
6.	Phool Singh	Hazi Jan	8 bighas
7.	Chander	-do-	8 bighas
8.	Daya Kaur	Jat	20 -do-

Map of Kaviana

Kaviana can reasonably be described as a Jat village, as this community is in a majority and the people speak a typical Haryanai dialect. This village is situated on the left side of the road from Jhajjar to Delhi. On the right side of the road there is a middle school. Just near the village on the same road there is boys polytechnic. There is also a veterinary hospital near the village on the left side of the road. Kaviana is surrounded by various villages and has relations with all, on the basis of kinship,

marriage ties, services rendered and received, friendships and disputes.

The general layout and the residential pattern:

Village Kaviens is a nucleated type of settlement as the houses in the main habitation are built contiguous to one another and open on narrow lanes. The village habitation site lies on the plain grounds. One unique feature of the village is that all the houses of different castes are scattered all over the village. Mostly, the houses in the village are 'Palka'. There are very few mud houses in the village, which belong to scheduled castes. Palka houses are considered as a sign of prosperity.

Important Public Places: There are three wells of drinking water in the village. A temple is located in the north of the village habitation. The village has a Government middle school which was started in 1962. The school provides education upto 8th standard. But for secondary education the village students go to the nearby boys and girls school in Jhajjar. The village has two 'chaupals' where the people of the village meet in the evenings. One 'chaupal' is for the scheduled castes and the other for other castes. It serves as 'Janvans' or a guest house for marriage parties. The village also has a panchayat ghar.

Village economy: The economy of the village is agrarian. There is no organised industry in the village. The principal crops grown during Rabi(winter crop) season are wheat, sugarcane and oil seeds, while ground nuts, maize and pulses are the principal kharif crops (summer crops).

Five small shops, dealing in grocery and general merchandises cater to the requirements of the villagers. A few of the villagers also visit Jhajjar and Rohtak for the purchase of these supplies. Hawkers from Jhajjar daily visit the village and sell fruits and vegetables, in cash or in exchange of grains. Some peddlars from nearby villages also come to the village to sell cloth, soap, bangles etc. in exchange for grains or cash.

Caste Structure

As indicated in Table No.2: The village consists of 450 households. The population of the village is 4690. Thus the arithmetic average is 10 persons per households. A statement showing the caste-wise distribution of families and population is as under :-

Table : 2 : Caste & Population

S.No.	Name of the caste	No. of families	Population
1.	Brahmin	35	225
2.	Jat	250	2505
3.	Benia	3	28
4.	Lohar	10	95
5.	Khatia	7	40
6.	Boyce	10	112
7.	Kumhar	13	193
8.	Jalaha	45	432
9.	Chamar	60	663
10.	Balmiki	20	207
Total		450	4690



It would be impossible to discuss any major aspect of the villagers life without mentioning their caste. The caste system has an hierarchical character. There are persons of 10 castes in the village.

Brahmins:- There are 10 families of Brahmins in the village with 225 population. All Brahmins in Kaviana are generally called as 'Bahman'. In the village one Brahmin is doing the traditional work (priesthood) of Brahmins. There are 35 families of Brahmins in this village. Though they are not in a ~~possession~~ majority in the village, and though they do not get that much respect from other castes, these days (earlier their status was much superior) yet they have still a sense of superiority in them. They are regarded as a high caste in the village, but their position is not as high as that of Jats. All the Brahmins own land in the village.

Jats Jats are the sole occupants of the Kshatriya Varuna in Kaviana. They own more than half of the total families in Kaviana. There are 250 families of Jats with a population 2695 and on basis of majority Kaviana is called a Jat village. The position and status of Jats is much different now than that obtaining in earlier days. It has again been changing since independence. The old people in the village told us that even at the time of independence the Jats used to give too much respect to Brahmins. The Jats were however lower than Brahmins, politically and socially if not economically. But this is not the situation now. At present their economic power and legitimate

Table No.5: Caste & Occupation

S.No.	Caste	Owner culti- vator	Agricul- ture lab- our	Shop keep- ing	Clerk	Dalok smith	Carp- enter	Military Javcho	Barb- er	Pott- er	Priest	Lea- ther work er	Swop- por	Weav- er	Tea- ch- er	Total
1.	Brahmin	34									1					35
2.	Jat	248			1										1	250
3.	Luhar		3			7										10
4.	Khati		2				5									7
5.	Juleha		36					1						8		45
6.	Kumhar		5							13						18
7.	Nayer		2						8							10
8.	Bania			3												3
9.	Chamar		24					2				34				60
10.	Churhu		8					2					10			20
		262	60	3	1	7	5	5	8	13	1	34	10	8	1	458

political influence mean that they have no real need to climb the status ladder. They despise their family Brahmins, a necessary ritual servant and beggars, whom some of them do not wish to emulate now. This is the most important caste and forms the backbone of the agricultural economy. All the jat families in the village own lands and none of them is landless. Being the principal land owners, the jat enjoy very high social position in the village community. -

Bania/Vaichi: The Banias are the Vaich community in Kaviana. Apart from Garga who are recent arrivals and maternal relatives of the Banias, the Banias of Kaviana are fairly equally divided between two residentially dispersed groups, the Goyal and Bansal, both aggarwal Banias in Hutten's term (1963). Aggarwal by caste, Bania is an occupational term meaning a merchant. They are in minority in the village because there are only 3 families in the village. One of the families also owns lands, but all the three of them have their shops in the village, and do the business (shop keeping). On the whole they live a stereotyped life, their status in the village is neither high nor low. They are generally polite and shrewd.

Scheduled Caste: There is a large and complex ranging down in hierarchical terms from the Khatia right through to Churho- constituting almost half of Kaviana's population. The Sudras can conveniently be called as touchables and untouchables.

Touchables:-

Luhars: There are 10 families of Luhars (blacksmith) in the village with a population 95. The Luhars are engaged in their traditional occupation but at present, it does not fulfil their needs. Thus now they

are also engaged in agricultural labour. Their status in the village is very low.

Khati: Khati (Carpenter) families in the village are 7 with 40 people. They are in minority in the village. Some families are engaged in their traditional occupations and others in agricultural labour. Their status in the village is quite high compared to other scheduled castes.

Jayari: Jayari's (Barber) have 10 families in the village, with a population of 112. In this caste, there are some families, who are totally engaged in their traditional occupation. They are considered polluted because they cut the hair of all non-Harijan castes and traditionally clean utensils of their Jat and Brahamin patrons. Their women continue to provide such services, some regularly and others only during emergencies.

Kumhari: Kumhari's have 10 families with a population of 193. The Kumhars are regarded as extremely low ritually, chiefly because of the possession by them of donkeys and the fact that they eat fish. Mostly Kumhars are engaged in their traditional occupation of pot making. They also do the work of labourers.

Julcha: Julcha families are 45 in the village with a population of 432. Some of the Julcha families are engaged in their traditional occupations and others in agricultural labour.

#### Untouchable Castes:

Chamari: The Chamars rank above the Chuhras but were so far considered untouchables, no matter what efforts they make to raise

their ritual status. Chamar women often act as Midwives. Especially during the last two decades they have tried to raise their ritual status. They have become more strict about habits of diet, dress and occupation and have changed and introduced rituals to come more in line with those of the higher caste, in particular the Jats. But as with the Chamars studied by Cohn the gain for the 'Chamars' from these changes has been chiefly a gain in the vital dimension of self-respect (Cohn 1955:73). As a caste the Chamars are regarded by all the other castes in the village as occupying the same position in the hierarchy, as earlier, though the untouchability is not there, at present, but their status has not undergone improvement.

Chuhra:- The Chuhra are the real outcastes in the village. They eat meat, keep pigs, goats sheep and chicken, remove the carcasses of dead animals and sweep the street and clean the few dry latrines in the village. Women from all Chuhra households are sweepers apart from ~~stoxins~~ this the Chuhra are also labourers.

#### Landholding according to caste

Land is still the main source of wealth in the village. It carries highest prestige in the village. The villagers acquire money by other pursuits and then aspire to invest in land, to raise their status. In this particular village mostly the people are engaged in the cultivation of land. The total land in the village is 1680 Hectares, out of which 1509 Hectares land is cultivable land, and 180 Hectares land is not cultivable, which includes wells, pond and streets etc.

Land holding in the Village According to Caste ( Table No.3 )

Caste	Landless	Marginal	Medium	Rich	Landlord	Total
1. Brahmin	0	0	0	22	8	30
2. Jat	0	0	03	115	52	250
3. Dania	3	0	0	0	0	3
4. Khatb	5	2	0	0	0	7
5. Luhar	5	5	0	0	0	10
6. Kumhar	10	8	0	0	0	18
7. Nayak	8	2	0	0	0	10
8. Julaha	23	22	0	0	0	45
9. Charer	45	15	0	0	0	60
10. Chuhre	8	12	0	0	0	20
Total	107	60	08	137	60	458

The table No.3 shows that in the village only two castes own the land - Brahmins and Jats. The Scheduled castes do not own land. Instead they are given land under Government programmes. In 1964 some 52 scheduled caste families got the plots of 240 yards. In 1975, 35 scheduled caste families were given the plots of 100 yards. In both the cases the land was given on the basis of need.

Occupational Structures Occupation holds a key position in the matter of social, economic, political and ritual relationships in the social structure. In the context of village communities this position is more pronounced and strategically integrated. In this particular village there are 14 main occupations being followed by the villagers. These are occupations of Blacksmith, Barber, Carpenter, Clerk, Priest, Labourer, Military Jawan, Teacher, Owner-cultivator, Potter, Shop-keeper, Sweeper, Tailor etc.

All these occupations can be classified into traditional and non-traditional occupations. The traditional occupation has been operationally defined as that occupation of a member in the village community with which every other caste in the village associates it, and which is communicated from generation to generation as stereotype occupation. Non traditional occupations are those occupation, which are rendered possible due to technological, industrial, urban, or bureaucratic contact of the villagers with the outside forces. Traditional occupations are no longer followed by Brahmins and other castes, while the non-traditional occupations are distributed among the individuals in different caste groups.

The traditional relationship between caste and economic behaviour in village India has been discussed by many authors and the accounts by Dayer ~~and~~ and Lewis are applicable in general terms to economic organisation in Kaviana though it was just a little more than a decade ago. A Jajmani system of service relations did exist in Kaviana, but it hardly exists today and involves only a small minority of population. Of prime concern is the traditional relationship between caste and occupation.

Certain occupations are limited to particular caste categories. Carpentry and barbers job all require apprenticeship, and most of this is provided by father to son. The table lists the castes of Kaviana and indicates what occupations are traditionally associated with each caste and occupation.

Table No.4: Caste + Occupations

S.No.	Caste	Occupation
1.	Brahmin	Priest, Farmer
2.	Jat	Farmer
3.	Bania	Merchant
4.	Luhar	Blacksmith
5.	Khati	Carpenter
6.	Dayes	Barber
7.	Kumhar	Potter
8.	Julaha	Weaver
9.	Balmiki	Leather Worker
10.	Chemar	Shoe Maker
11.	Chuhra	Sweeper, Labourer.



Caste & Occupation Table - 5

No.	Castes	Owner cultivator	Agriculture labour	Shop-keeper	Clerk	Black-smith	Carpenter	Military Jaman	Barber	Potter	Priest	Leather worker	Sweeper	Weaver	Teacher	Total
1.	Brahmin	34									1					35
2.	Jat	248			1										1	250
3.	Lohar		3			7										10
4.	Khatl		2				5									7
5.	Julaha		36					1						0		45
6.	Ranhar		5							13						18
7.	Rayee		2						8							10
8.	Bania															3
9.	Chanar		24					2				34				60
10.	Churhe		8					2					10			20
		282	40	1	1	7	5	5	8	13	1	34	10	0	1	458

Different occupations carry different degrees of status in a village. Similarly there is much correlation between castes and occupations with the result that higher caste come to occupy higher occupations and lower castes have lower occupations. In order to see this position in the village under study a table (No.5) of all the families in the village according to caste and occupation, has been prepared.

Table 5 shows that out of the total households 61.47% are engaged in cultivation, 17.44% in agricultural labour, 0.65% in shopkeeping, 0.22% as clerks, 1.40% as balcksmith, 1.1% in carpentry, 1.1% as Military Jawans, 1.74% as barbers, 2.85% as Potters, 0.22% in Priesthood, 4.54% in leather working, 2.18% as a sweeper, 1.74% in weaver, 0.22% in the occupation of teacher.

In the occupation of owner cultivator, 12% are Brahmins, and 88% are Jats. In agricultural labour 3.75% Luhars, 2.5% Khatis, 45% Julahas, 6.25% Kumhars, 2.5% Nayees and 30% Chamars and 10% Churhas are engaged. In shopkeeping only Benia caste is engaged. The only clerk is a Jat. In the occupation of balcksmith only Luhars are engaged. In carpentry only Khatis are engaged. In the occupation of Military-Jawans, 20% Julahas are engaged, 40% Chamars and 40% Churhas are engaged. In the occupation of barber, potter, priest, leather worker, sweeper, weaver, only the specialised castes are engaged.

In Brahmins, only 3% are engaged in traditional occupation of priesthood, the rest of the 97% are engaged in cultivation. In Jats, 0.4% are engaged as clerks, 0.4% as teacher and 99.2% in owner cultivation. In Luhars 30% are engaged in agricultural labour and 70% in the traditional balcksmithy. In Khatis 28.6% are engaged in agricultural labour and 71.4%

are engaged in traditional carpentry. In Julaha 80% are engaged in agricultural labour, and 2.2% as military jawans and 17.8% as weavers. In Kumhars, 27.7% are engaged in agricultural labour, and 72.3% in the occupation of potter. In Nayees 20% are engaged in the agricultural labour and 8% in barbership. In Bania caste, all the 3 families are engaged in shopkeeping. In Chamars 40% are engaged in agricultural labour, 3.3% as Military Jawans and 56.7% in the occupation of leather working. In Churhas 40% are engaged in agricultural labour, 10% as Military Jawans and 50% in the traditional occupation of sweeping.

It shows that higher castes are engaged in higher occupation and low castes in lower occupations.

Except Brahmins all the other castes are engaged in agricultural labour or their traditional occupations. The table (No.5) shows that 458 families are engaged in 14 occupations. Out of them (61.57%) have cultivation as their occupation. Except the occupation of agricultural labourer the rest of the occupations are distributed in more or less in even ways. The table clearly points out that mostly upper occupations absorb greater percentage of the upper caste population and the lower occupation have greater percentage from the lower caste groups. There are only 2 high castes who are engaged in owner-cultivator's occupations and 80% of Jats, (1.2%) of Brahmins, are engaged in owner cultivators occupation.

Occupation of Blacksmith and carpenter are monopoly of Luhars and Khatis. Caste monopolies and specialisation have also been maintained in respect of occupation of barbers, potter, leather worker and sweeper.

The table shows that new occupations like clerk and teacher etc. are entirely followed by Jats. The exception are only in occupation of Military Javon now being followed by lower castes of Julaha and Chamar and Churhas. In the village<sup>1</sup> from Julaha caste, and 2 from Churha and 2 from chamars are engaged in the occupation of Military Javans.

In agricultural labour, all castes except Brahmins Jats and Banias are represented. Thus the table shows that castes and occupations in the village are correlated.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Caste & Politics:

In modern democracies, there can be no stratification of individual on the basis of voting power, since it is equally distributed. But in actuality there are some who participate more than others. In India we have universal adult franchise. Legally there cannot be any political stratification in a democracy.

The traditional model of caste system was the model of status summation. All the different roles, social, Economic and Political were the monopoly of the higher castes. In the villages it was only the higher castes, who used to participate in politics. It has been said that the extension of democracy to the villages had its own repercussion on the existing social relationships in general and on political relationships in particular.

Thus to what extent is the distribution of participation patterned after the ascriptive stratification system of caste in the village? What is the congruence between caste hierarchy and political hierarchy as defined by levels of political involvement and influence and activity.

The students of participation have found that all types of political activities, although inter-related, are not interchangeable. A distinction therefore needs to be made among different types of political activity. Lester Milbrath has argued that there is a political hierarchy of participation based on the cost of the political act. According to him, voting, talking politics or wearing a button are less difficult acts, and more people are engaged in these acts. He calls these spectator

activities. Attending a political meeting, making a monetary contribution etc., are more difficult than the spectator activities and they require relatively greater involvement on the part of the participants and are described as transitional activities. On the top of the hierarchy are what are called gladiator activities campaigning, soliciting political funds, holding leadership positions etc. - which are most difficult and very few people participate in them.<sup>1</sup>

Verba and Nie distinguish among four modes of participation voting, campaigning and cooperative and contacting activities on the ground that these activities relate citizens to the system in significantly different ways and have different political outcomes for the citizens.<sup>2</sup>

Thus in this paper, by combining theory with practice or by Milbrath, Verba and Nie's views with the villagers levels of participation, six levels of participation are considered as the levels of participation in the village. They are voting, voting criteria, political knowledge, political influence, party identification, and campaign activity.

1. Caste & Voting patterns Voting is the basic form of participation and is considered fundamental in a democratic system. It affects the choice of public personnel and is the main mechanism by which representatives are made accountable to people. There is universal adult franchise in India and every adult can vote without distinction of caste, class, creed or sex. Legally there cannot be any political stratification in a democracy such as India, because everybody is given equal voting power and citizen's

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1. Lester Milbrath - Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally 1965) P.

2. See Sidne Verba & Nie ~~Participation~~ "Participation in American Political Life" (New York: Harper & Row) 1972.

status. But Marshall argues that " there can be stratification on a political dimension in terms of actual distribution of political and governmental positions, influence and activity. Thus in actuality there are always some who participate more than others."<sup>3</sup>

Voting provides a periodic opportunity to participate and it is relatively an easily act (does not require any specialized skill) The individual has little say in choosing what alternatives are provided to him and his influence over the outcome depends on how others vote.<sup>4</sup> Indervesh (M.P.) said, " In the villages after 1967 elections, a new sense of political consciousness has come". Udey Dalal(M.L.A) said that "People in Haryana have changed their earlier political status. They are now conscious of their political role. " It is in 1977 election, that people have started taking active participation in national politics. Moreover by this consciousness the lower castes have benefited most. For the first time they have understood their importance. Now they know the value of their vote".

Thus it is true that in village Kavlana, people cast their votes regularly in the elections.(whether village elections or state or national elections). The villagers are not active in politics wholly, but at the time of election they take active participation. In 1980 elections of Lok Sabha in Panchayat election of 1978 & in November, 1980 bye-elections of legislative assembly mostly all the villagers have taken active participation.

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3. T.H.Marshall: "Class, Citizenship & Social Development"  
(Garden City, New York, Double day & Co. 1964) P.141.

4. Anil Bhatt: Caste, Class & Politics. 1975 (Manohar Book Depot New Delhi)

**Table- 6: Caste Hierarchy and Voting Pattern**

Voting Pattern	Higher Castes	Lower Castes
Never	0	2
Occasionally	6	4
Regularly	65	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>20</b>

In table No.6 in the voting pattern when we analyse the difference between higher castes and lower castes, we find not much difference in their voting pattern. Mostly all the villagers vote regularly. In higher castes out of the sample of 71, 65 villagers said that they vote regularly. In the higher castes, there was not a single person who said that he had never voted. In the lower castes out of the sample of 20, 14 persons said that they cast their votes regularly. Only 2 elderly persons said that they had never cast their votes because they don't think there is any use of casting vote.

There is a long history in many societies of the dominant and privileged social groups vigorously trying to resist the extension of franchise to the underdogs, lest they lose their positions of power and privilege. A number of studies like Milbrath have shown that lower castes have been able to exert influence and have gained in bargaining power because of their voting strength.<sup>5</sup>

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5. See Milbrath: "Political Participation" Op cit.



The same is true of this village. The lower castes in this village have been able to challenge though not always successfully, the leadership of the upper castes in public or the political institutions. Secondly the upper castes in the village namely Jats, tried their best to stop the lower castes from casting their votes so that a Jat candidate could come in power.

But still the vote getting has gone a long way in helping the lower castes in the village to acquire influence. Even its symbolic psychological value has been of great importance in raising the self-esteem of the lower status groups.

## 2. Caste & Voting Criteria

Voting criteria means the consideration of basis on which they cast their votes. Each voter casts his vote on some basis or the other. In village Kavlana there are many castes and each caste group gives vote on some or the other basis. Upto 1967, Lok Sabha election, the basis of vote in the village was on the party basis, but it was after 1977 Lok Sabha elections that the criteria for voting were changed both for the higher castes and for the lower castes. At present in the village there are different criteria before a voter, as indicated in Table No.7.

Table No.7: Caste and Voting Criteria.

No.	Voting criteria	Higher Caste	Lower Caste
1.	Party	11	8
2.	Caste	52	2
3.	Personality	2	0
4.	Influence	4	5
5.	Intuition	2	5
Total		71	20

Thus there are five criteria in the village, on which the voters of the village cast their votes. First is the party basis. Before 1967, in India it was only the party basis that people used to cast their votes. When villagers were asked about their voting criteria before 1967, all of them said that their voting criteria was on the party basis, because congress party had the monopoly over the votes. For villagers after all the congress party was the party of Bapu and Nehru. The real contest was in the 1977 elections when it was a battle between Janata party and Congress Party.

A new type of politics emanated after the elections of 1967 in Haryana - the politics of Jats and Brahmins Brahmanas. Each party started taking only that candidate whose caste had got majority in the constituency. This politics of Jatism and Brahminism left aside the voting criteria of party basis. All Jat votes started going to Jat candidate and Brahmin votes to Brahmin candidate. Thus in the higher castes there were only 11 candidates who said that they cast their votes

on party basis. Though it is a different thing that all the Jats link their caste with Lok Dal Party. They consider Lok Dal party as the party of Jats. Where as Brahmins votes are cast in favour of the Congress Party.

But for lower castes, the party basis is quite different. In village Kevlona, in the 1980 Lok Sabha election, no candidate was from the scheduled castes. In this constituency Jats are in majority. Thus scheduled castes not cast their votes on the basis of caste but on the party basis. When this was discussed with the elderly people of lower castes, it was clear that in the village, lower castes mostly give their votes to Congress(I). Eight out of the sample of 20 said that they give their votes to Congress Party.

In Haryana mainly the people give their votes on the caste basis. Each Jat gives his vote to a Jat candidate and each Brahmin gives his vote to a Brahmin. It is only the higher castes who give their votes on the caste basis out of the sample of 71 higher castes, 52 people said that they give their votes on the caste basis, where as in Scheduled castes, only 2 persons out of the sample of 20, said that they give their votes on the caste basis. This is because of the majority of Jats in the constituency. In the elections no scheduled caste candidate stands for election. Where as in the village elections they give their votes on the caste basis. Or the higher castes influence the lower castes give their votes in their favour, because their scheduled caste member will in any case be nominated to village panchayat. Thus the votes of the lower castes are dispersed if two higher caste members

stand for the Sarpanch Seat. Otherwise the higher caste give their votes on the caste basis and lower castes on the party basis, that is why M.L.A. Uday Dalal (Lok Dal) who is a Jat has been elected to the Legislative Assembly because in Jhajjar constituency mostly the villages are Jat majority villages. Kavlana is also a Jat majority village. So the Sarpanch in the village panchayat is a Jat, the patwari is a Jat and in panchayat the majority is of Jats. The M.L.A. is a Jat. Jats give economic help to Lok Dal party which they consider as the party of Jats. They force the lower castes to give their votes in the elections in favour of their caste, candidate. They beat the polling officer only because of caste. Rigging is done at the polling booth only because of casteism. It was stated by the villagers that in 1980 elections, too much rigging was done, to get maximum votes. They stood in groups of 20 to 30 outside the polling booths with 'Lathis', so that no lower caste person could cast his vote. This was done because they knew that all the lower castes would give their votes to congress party candidate. This rigging was primarily on account of casteism and to some extent party politics. It was also mentioned by a few of the villagers that in certain polling booths rigging went a step further. Not only the schedule caste caste persons were not allowed to come out of their house by Lathi wielding youngmen for their candidate, who stood before the entrance of their streets, but another group of 20 to 25 persons entered the booth, one by one and voted in the names of scheduled caste persons and this was even reported to the observers by the Presiding Officers. They however, asked them to keep quite.

The right use of casting vote, is to give the vote on the basis of personality. People should see the qualities of candidates and only then they should cast their vote. But in this particular village very few

people give their votes on the basis of personality of the candidate. Only 2 persons out of the 71 sample of higher caste said that they give their votes on the basis of personality of the candidate. In the lower castes none gives vote on the basis of personality. Mostly the people do not know about the candidate, they know the candidate by the name of his party.

Thus the villagers cast their votes on the basis of influence. It is assumed that higher castes influence the lower castes to vote in their favour. But this is not true in the case of Kaviana. In Kaviana the people are getting conscious of their role in society. Thus in the higher castes mostly people do not accept any kind and influence. Only 4 persons out of the sample of 71 said "we give vote to the candidate recommended by the Sarpanch". Otherwise no villager from the higher castes gives his vote on the basis of influence, from any person, whether it be Sarpanch or any caste leader.

The basis of voting in the village is by intuition OR we can say that people cast their vote blindly. They cast their vote for the sake of casting otherwise they do not know either the candidate or the party. They do not know the value of their votes. There are two reasons for it. Firstly the villagers are engaged in social and economic problems. Thus they do not get time to think about politics. In the village, if there is political apathy, then it is not the type of party apathy which Lipset<sup>6</sup> has talked, that if there is economic development in a country, the people

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6. See Lipset: "Political Man" the social basis of politics  
(Bombay Vakils Feffer & Sumons 1960)

are satisfied and thus they do not take interest in politics. This is not the case in this village. Here the picture is different. Here the ~~people~~ people are so worried to satisfy their daily needs that they do not get time to think about the right use of voting. They go to polling booth only because others go. Secondly there is the lack of Education in the village without <sup>which</sup> they do not understand their status in the village.

Thus when these villagers were asked about the basis on which they cast their votes some of them said, "Jiska upar Mohar Lag Jati hai, usi ko vote do dete Hain" "Others said, "Jiska Vote khench Raha hote hai usi ko vote mil jati hai". (Do give vote to that person, only whose sign the stamp is fitted) (only that candidate gets the vote in whose luck the vote is written) thus on these basis the villagers cast their votes. In higher castes there are very few people, only 2 of the sample of 71 who said that they cast their votes blindly. May be this is the reason because higher castes are more economically well off and more educated than the lower castes. In lower castes also the people are getting conscious. There were not many - only 5 out of 20 persons who said that they cast votes without thinking.

### 3. Caste and Political knowledge

In initial stages it was only the higher castes in villages, who used to discuss politics or who had knowledge of village politics or national politics. The lower castes were not interested in politics at all.

It has been said that the extension of democracy to the village had its own repercussions on the existing social relationships in general and on political relationships in particular. What is the relationship

between caste and hierarchy in the village? How much knowledge of politics (national or village) the people of each caste have in the village? To what extent the traditional system in the village is existing at present?

In the village Kavlena, higher castes are more conscious in politics than the lower caste. The lower castes are also getting conscious in political matters at the time of election. As the political parties want to get votes from the lower castes, this has increased their importance. They have understood the value of their votes. But apart from it they have got no political knowledge at all. They do not know how to use their votes.

Table No.8: Caste & Political Knowledge

Level of Political knowledge	Higher Caste	Lower Caste
None	3	11
Low	11	4
Medium	47	5
High	10	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>20</b>

Table No.8 shows that in Kaviana, the higher castes have more political knowledge than the lower castes. It should be made clear that if we compare the political knowledge of villagers with urban people, we say that the villagers have lower level of political knowledge according to their political world. Thus there is a lot of disparity between higher castes and the lower castes.

In the high level of political knowledge, there are very few people in the village. All these people are in the higher castes. Out of the sample of 71, there are 10 people in the higher castes, who have high level of political knowledge, 47 people have medium level of political knowledge, and 11 people have low level of political knowledge. Only 3 persons were there in the sample who had no political knowledge at all.

In the lower castes there was no person who had high political knowledge, 5 persons were from the Medium ~~high~~ political level. 4 persons from the lower level and 11 persons had no political knowledge at all.

Thus if we compare the political knowledge between the two groups of, higher and lower castes, it is true that higher the caste, higher the political knowledge and lower the caste lower is the political knowledge.

Thus though the lower caste is getting conscious of the politics, and their roles in politics, but still compared to higher caste, their role and their political consciousness is very low.

Out of the seven General Elections, so far held in India, the first, two had hardly any impact on the political consciousness of the



villagers. The candidates who participated in them were not too well known to the villagers. For them, therefore, both these elections were insignificant.

The third, fourth and fifth elections were however different. Not only were the candidates who participated were known to the villagers, but the bulk of the villagers had also learned to appreciate the significance of elections themselves. Their deep involvement in panchayat elections had put across to them what elections as such were all about.

Sixth and Seventh Lok Sabha elections, were totally different from the earlier ones. In these elections the political knowledge of the villagers was at the peak. When asked about these elections, they stated that they were very interested in the politics of these elections. It is only in these elections that caste in politics came into the scene. It gave rise to peculiar political groups in the village. The groups were made on the basis of different considerations. One of them was caste. Each caste started giving vote on the basis of the caste of the candidate. While the villagers told that earlier they did not caste their votes on the basis of caste. Thus their dialogues and emphatic and conflicting electoral briefs left behind a lasting influences on village politics. Out of all the castes in the village, Jate are the most politically advanced.

#### 4. Caste and Campaign activity:

Participation in campaign activities is considered, more difficult as it involves greater 'costs' (more time, efforts and skill). It is considered to be indicative of higher level of involvement and relatively fewer people are found to be involved in this activity as compared to

voting. Gilbrath has thus placed it higher hierarchy of political participation. The individual can increase his potency to influence the out come by persuading others to vote the way he wants. In some ways it is like voting because it is periodical, the individual has little say in determining the occasions, and the outcome generally has a wider impact as compared to a particularized activity like elite contact.<sup>7</sup>

Table 9 Caste & Campaign Activity

Levels	Higher-caste	Lower-caste
Inactive	43	17
Partially active	22	2
Very active	6	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>20</b>

The villagers of Kavians are more or less inactive in campaign activity. The main reason for this is the lack of education and poverty in the village. People do not get time for it. There is not much differences in the lower castes and higher castes in the participation in campaign activity. Mostly villagers do not understand the role of participation in campaign activity. In the name of participation they

<sup>7</sup> Political participation Opmit P-18.

they understand only the role of voting. In lower castes there was only one person who took active participation in the campaign activity. Though he is not a very rich person yet he contributes something to the funds of congress party. He is the only man who said that whenever any scheduled caste leader comes to the village, he talks with him. He said that once he went to Jagjivan Ram also when the problem of chaupal arose in the village. (Jagjivan Ram was then in the Congress Party). At present also he has faith in Jagjivan Ram though he is not in Congress party now. He said that he supports congress party only because there is no alternative. If any scheduled caste member stands in the election he is sure that he will do canvassing for him. At present, he said that he did canvassing in 1980 elections for the congress candidate. He attended many lectures and helped the congress party to have linkage with his scheduled caste villagers.

In the higher castes also, mostly the villagers are inactive. Some Jats give money to Lok Dal party because they are economically well off and they have strong feelings for Lok Dal party. Only 6 persons out of 71 were found to have taken active participation in campaign activity. They are the Jats of the village. No Brahmin actually participated in this activity. These 6 Jats have strong linkage with M.L.A. Uday Dalal and it is only because of their efforts that people think that Uday Dalal got maximum votes in the elections. These 6 Jats consider Charan Singh as their leader and they said that they could even give their life for Charan Singh. They attend every political meeting in the village or in the block. By discussing their role in politics with other castes, it was clear that they were the only persons who deprived the lower castes of casting their votes in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections. The villagers told that they arranged their men with lathis in their hands and blocked the

way along which the lower caste people were going to cast their votes. Many people were injured in this incident. At last with the help of police some scheduled castes were allowed to vote. Otherwise many scheduled castes told that in this election they were deprived of casting their votes.

Thus in the village mostly the people are inactive and very few people have necessary guts to participate in the campaigning activity.

#### 5. Caste and Party Identification

Partisanship is equally important as a channel of politicization. Parties are a more institutionalized way of relating the citizen to the political process and a well established mechanism of institutionalizing citizen participation in a democracy. The low status castes may not have (resources, time, education, exposure to mass-media) to acquire political knowledge or discuss politics but if they could be mobilized to support a party then they may still get politically involved, the fact therefore, that low-status castes are almost as partisan as the high castes become important.

Table No.10: Party Identification

Partisanship	Higher castes	Lower castes
Non-partisanship	0	1
Weak	8	1
Moderate	19	6
Strong	44	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>20</b>

Table 10 shows that in the village, mostly the people know about two parties, Lok Dal and Congress(I). All the Jats support Lok Dal party and all the Brahmins and lower castes support congress party. Mostly people know about the names of the parties and which party they support. In the higher castes all the people, except few knew the party they support. 44 out of the sample of 71 were found strong supporters of the party. In the lower caste mostly all the people know the names of the parties. Though they do not know (the lower castes) which party is in power. But they said that they are strong supporter of Congress(I). They correlate congress(I) with Indira Gandhi. Every one knew that Indira is our Raja(King) but when asked which party is in power they did not know. When asked from which party their P.L.A is, they don't know it. Where as all the higher castes knew which party is in power, and from which party the P.L.A. hailed and which party they support. But the lower caste didn't know any thing except the name of the Congress(I) Party.

##### 5. Caste & Political Influence

In a democracy all citizens regardless of high or low status are expected to have some political influence. While actual decision - making may be concentrated in the hands of a few, democracy does expect that ordinary citizens would have some control over the choice of decision makers and the choices made by the decision makers. But the way in which ordinary citizens can and do exert influence is very complex. But in a democracy a citizen should at least feel that he is capable of influencing the government. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba says in civic culture that the confidence on the part of citizens that he is influential even though he may not exert any influence or may fail if he tries, may have

important consequences for the political system and may tell us something about the nature of democracy. The Five nation study by Almond and Verba says that a citizen who feels he has political influence is more likely to be an active citizen and also more likely to attempt actually to influence the government.<sup>8</sup>

The subjective sense of political influence and efficacy is particularly important in regard to the caste systems. Traditionally low status castes were deprived of many civic and political privileges and their feelings of helplessness and incompetence to do anything about solving their problems or needs have been deep-rooted. If they are to use governmental and political spheres to solve their problems and improve their conditions, some amount of confidence and sense of efficacy in their ability of manipulate the political process would be necessary.

Table- 11: Caste and Political Influence:

Levels of influence	Higher Castes	Lower castes
None	9	11
Some	20	8
High	42	1
	71	20

8. G. Almond & Sidney Verbas "Civic culture" (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) pp-180-183.

Table 11 shows— In the village, the higher castes are found more politically influential than the lower castes who look helpless to some extent. The traditional feeling of their lower status that they can't do anything is there. Only one person out of the sample of 20 said that he can political influence in the governmental affairs. 8 persons from the lower castes gave some surety that they could have political influence. Mostly the people said " Hamari Kaam Sunta hai". " Sab Bare Admi ki hi sunte hain" "To hum kya kar sakte hain". (Every one listens to Big people than what we can do,) thus they feel themselves degraded and helpless to do anything. When asked whether they had any influence upon panchyat, they answered in the negative. Even one of the scheduled castes members of the panchyat also said so.

But this is not the case with higher castes. Mostly the people have confidence that if they want to do a thing they could influence the government. Bhai Jata told us, that "there is nothing which is not in our hands". They showed us the lists of programmes, like repairing of ponds and wells, making of pavements, Chupals, repairing of schools, need of veterinary hospital, they said that these things they have done by influencing higher authorities. Out of the sample of 71, 42 persons had full political influence over the government. 20 said some and only 9 persons said that they can not influence the government.

### Conclusions:

The relationship between caste and politics has been considered in considerable detail in this chapter. The relationship between caste and political influence, campaign activity, voting criteria and political knowledge found to be strong, but some what weaker in voting pattern and partisanship. Thus on the whole if we see the relation between castes and

politics, then there is no direct link between caste and politics in the village.

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## CHAPTER - V

### Caste, Class & Politics

So far the analysis has dealt with the relationship between caste and politics. It laid down a foundation for more intensive and complex analysis. In this chapter, I shall proceed to examine the causal relationships among these three major dimensions of social stratification in the village—caste class and politics. To what extent is caste status a condition for political involvement and activity? Is the relationship between caste and political participation due to caste or due to class positions?

A considerable body of research has shown that socio-economic status is strongly related to political variables.<sup>1</sup> It has been found that highly educated wealthy people pursuing prestigious white collar occupation participate more than less educated poor and low caste people. It has also been found that people with low ascriptive status are politically less active. But it has also been argued that people with low ascriptive status participate less because they are poor, less educated and follow lower status occupations. The causal link between ascriptive status and political status is thus not direct. High ascriptive status leads to high socio-economic status, which in turn leads to high levels of political orientation and activity. This is one of the most documented and substantial findings in social sciences.

The general observation however may have to be modified, in specific situations. For one thing, some people may be quite educated, but

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1. Milbrath has extensively reviewed the literature showing this finding in different societies Milbrath - 'Political Participation' pp-110-130.

poor pursuing low-status occupations. Some people with low ascriptive status may be well educated and economically upper class. Furthermore, the type of political activity should also be taken into consideration. A recent study shows that while blacks in the United States are generally less politically active than Whites, they are as active as whites in organizational activities.<sup>2</sup>

For this we will have to define the relation between caste and class in the village. Then only we can get a clear picture of relation between caste, class & politics.

#### Caste & Class in the Village

One of the striking features of the stratification system in India is the close correspondence between caste and class. The relation between caste & class could be defined in four different ways. Firstly the earlier ethnographers were interested in the question whether caste can also be called a class? Are they interchangeable? Oliver Cox in his classic study of "Caste, Class & Race" perceives caste as an entity composed of several endogenous groups, while caste is "Socially Bounded on all sides"<sup>3</sup>... E.A.Sait, argued that "the division into castes has no direct

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2. Milbrath has extensively reviewed the literature showing this finding in different societies.

Milbrath: "Political Participation" (Rand McNally 1965) p-110-130

3. Oliver Cox Cromwell: "Caste, Class & Race"

(Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. 1949) P-300.

relation with the division into classes.<sup>4</sup> [ Ghurya, argued "The status of a person depended not on his wealth as in the classes of Modern Europe, but on traditional inheritance of the caste in which he had the luck of being born"<sup>5</sup>. ] This approach distinguishes between caste and class on the ground that is determined by birth is endogenous while a class is not a caste.

Secondly, the other approach puts both caste and class on a continuum in its scheme of classifying the stratification system. As Ugburn and Niskoff wrote, "class societies may be represented as extending from those like the caste which are relatively rigid or closed to those which are flexible"<sup>6</sup>.

Thirdly a more recent approach of social differentiation is which ranks stratification systems of various societies on the basis of degrees of permeability puts India's caste system at the bottom with the permeability of zero, while class societies like America's are ranked at the top.<sup>7</sup> This school does not believe that the distinction between caste & class is unchangeable, E.A. Rose explicitly states that, "Class hardens into caste when the jealous upper-class

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4. The Census of India, 1911 Vol.I , Part I (1913) p-365

5. Ghurya :- "Caste, Class & Occupation" (Bombay: Popular Book Depot) 1961 p- 1-15.

6. U.F.Ugburn & N.F.Niskoff, "Sociology" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1940) P-317.

7. Karro Svalastone, "Social differentiation" (New York: David McKay Co. 1965) P- 685

resists or retards the admission of commoners, however, great their merit or wealth<sup>8</sup>.

Fourthly another approach in the study of caste and class deals with the empirically obtained relationship between caste hierarchy and economic hierarchy. They are interested in such questions as to what extent caste hierarchy and socio-economic correspond? All the ritual relationships based on caste or status also reflected in economic relationships? It is more prominent in the empirical studies of Indian Society done during the last three decades or so by sociologists and anthropologists.<sup>(a)</sup>

These various approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive nor are they completely opposed to one another. They mainly differ in focus and purpose. The last approach is therefore closer to the focus of this study.

To what extent is this true in the village? The analysis in this chapter attempts to examine this question by analysing the pattern and degrees of relationship between caste hierarchy and the socio-economic hierarchy. The socio-economic stratification is operationalized through such indicators as land, occupation and education.

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(a) See Andre Beteille, "Caste, Class & Power" (University of California Press 1965)

- F.G. Bailey "Caste & Economic Frontier" (New York Humanities Press 1957)
- Barth- "The system Social Stratification in Svat, North Pakistan" in "Aspects of caste, in South India, Ceylon & North West Pakistan, Ed by Edmund Leach, Cambridge University Press 1960)
- Adria C. Mayer, "Caste, Kingdriph Control India (Berkeley University of California Press 1960)

Caste & Land

In village India land is the main possession which is considered as a sign of high-status. As agriculture is the predominant mode of production in village India, those who are excluded from land are also excluded from power. The vast majority of non-owners are engaged in agricultural labour. As their sole means of income in Kaviana come from this occupation. Other low castes that may be non-owners are able to participate more easily in alternative occupations.

Table No.12: Caste & Land

Land	High	Low
Landless	0	16
Marginal	0	4
Middle	40	0
Rich	22	0
Landlord	9	0
Total	71	20

Table No.12 shows that while the agrarian society might be divided into Marxist Categories such as semifeudal landowner, capitalist, farmer, independent producers, and landless rural proletariat, in Kaviana the landholdings are divided into 5 types of categories - landless,

Marginal, Middle, rich & Landless. Landless are those farmers who do not own land at all. In this category of castes fall mostly low classes. Lower castes in Kaviana do not own any land.

In Marginal category, those farmers come, who possess some land (less than 2 acres). This type of peasant again comes from the lower castes. There is no peasant in higher caste who owns land less than 2 acres. 4 out of 20 persons from lower castes own some land; 3 out of these lower castes own 340 sq. yards of land. This is not their hereditary land. They have got it in the government programme of helping the needy lower classes. In 1964, 52 needy families of lower class, got 52 plots of 240 yards. In 1975, again the government gave 35 plots of 100 yards to the needy families. But these castes have mostly sold their lands. Or they cultivate some vegetables on it. Thus there are very few marginal land-owners in Kaviana.

In Middle category come those landowners, who own at least 3 to 100 acres of land or 10 to 20 acres of land. In this category there is no peasant from the lower caste. There are 40 peasants of higher castes out of the sample of 71 peasants, who come under this category. They are the independent peasants.

In the category of rich peasants there is no peasant from lower castes. 22 out of this sample of 71 landowners are the rich land-owners. They own land from 20 to 30 acres and all come from high class. These rich farmers engage agriculturing labour to cultivate their lands.

In the landlord class come those peasants who own lands above 30 acres. There is no landlord from the lower castes in this category. Only 9 out of the sample of 71 are the landlords who own land above 30 acres. Which means may be 50 acres or above it. This category of Peasants

has high prestige in the village. They are considered as "Bare Admi" in the village. Every one respects these people. Out of the 9 people, 6 are Jats and 2 Brahmins. These landlords totally depend on the agricultural labour.

Thus there is great disparity in the ownership of landholdings between higher castes & lower castes. The lower castes are totally landless and higher castes own all the lands.

Thus landownership is a crucial factor in establishing dominance in the village. Generally, the pattern of landownership in village is such that the bulk of the available land is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of big owners against a large number, who either own very little land or no land at all. The small number of big owners wield a considerable amount of power over the rest of the village population and this situation is only made worse by rapid population growth. The power and prestige which landowning caste affect their relations with all castes, including those ritually higher. Thus the findings in the present survey confirm in general the observations of M.N.Srinivas.<sup>10</sup>

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10. M.N.Srinivas. "Social system of a village" in village India edited by McKim Marriott. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1955)

### Caste & Occupation:-

Hereditary and prescribed occupation is one of the most distinguishing features of the caste system. Most accounts of the caste system which attempt to define it or list its essential features includes hereditary and prescribed occupation as one of its essential features. The oldest four-fold stratification was based on social roles of the four 'Varna' groups and the social roles were based on the occupation that each 'varna' prescribed to follow. As Ghurye states, "In theory from early times, not only have occupations been prescribed 'varna' wise, but a number of them also jati or caste wise." <sup>11</sup> Many castes derive their names from traditional calling as washer man, Cobblers, tailors, barbers, carpenters. Also inherent in this scheme of the prescribed traditional occupation is the non-mobility of the occupation. Sir Herbert Risley takes the position that "a great deal of occupational mobility existed and traditional calling of a caste has been a mistaken belief." <sup>12</sup>

Yet it is unrealistic to say that traditional and hereditary occupational status had no basis in caste status. One needs to ask to what extent did traditional calling influence the life of various castes? Did it have more influence on low-status castes than high status castes? Is there any pattern of change from traditional to non-traditional occupation? What is the degree of relationship between caste hierarchy and occupational hierarchy in a particular village?

Traditional callings even when discarded by a person, the whole caste group continues to have social and psychological effects, particularly on low status castes. <sup>12</sup> Srinivas found in Rampura of the late forties that

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11. Ghurye - Caste, Class & occupation (P-241) op cit.

12. Herbert H. Risley's 'People of India' P-259 (London: W. Thacker & Co. 1915)



each caste in the village was traditionally associated with the practice of a particular occupation, but the older & more conservative persons in each caste tended to regard the traditionally callings as a proper one.<sup>13</sup> Each takes pride in the skills as natural monopolies of his caste .... the peasants of nearby Della village are criticised because of their urban ways and their lack of skills in wheat cultivation. Mayer found in central village as late as in Mid 50s that the traditional occupation of the caste influenced its members in crucial ways.<sup>14</sup>

If one closely examines the available evidence of change from traditional to non-traditional occupations in the village, one is likely to find that lower status castes are likely to continue with their traditional occupations than the high status castes.

Table No.13: Caste & Occupation

Castes	Owner cultivator	Agricultural labour	Traditional occupation	Total
Higher Castes	71	0	0	71
Lower Castes	0	8	12	20

13. H.N.Srinivas - "Social System of a Mysore village" in village India by McKim Marriott Op cit P-1-2.

14. Mayer - Caste & Kinship (EE-91) Op cit.

Except Brahmins all the other castes are engaged in agricultural labour or their traditional occupations. The table 13 shows that these 91 persons are engaged in 3 types of occupations. All the higher are engaged in the occupation of owner-cultivator. And all lower castes are engaged in the agricultural labour or their traditional occupations of sweeper and leather working. These lower castes have some land, which they got, under the governmental programme, and cultivate some vegetables on that land. But that does not fulfil their needs and thus their main occupation is their traditional occupation while some live on agricultural labour.

Occupational Flexibility The traditional callings are prescribed for the castes on the basis of their ritual status. There is little doubt that in the village there are some members in all castes who have ~~changed~~ changed their traditional ~~own~~ occupations. As in the lower castes there are few people who have joined Military Services and left their traditional occupations. Their family life and their house have changed completely from the traditional pattern. In the higher caste also not all the members are owner-cultivators. From the Jat community one member is a teacher and another is a Clerk. In the Brahmin families not all the families have the traditional occupations, but some Brahmins have gone outside the village for work, though their families are in the village.

In general terms the proportion of the population engaged in occupation in the village is dictated by the opportunities available and demanded by the agricultural system not by caste. Being predominantly owner-cultivators, the majority of the Jats are actively involved in agriculture.

The former corvnt relation is not that, what it used to be earlier. There is shortage of labour in the village because the labourers get enough remunerative work outside the village. Thus at present the status of labour is much higher than what it used to be. The B.D.D. Jhajjar told us that in "Food for work" programme, they experienced shortage of labour in Haryana and thus they had to hire labour from Rajasthan.

Moreover, though the castes in the village are engaged in their traditional occupations yet, at present, it does not satisfy their needs and they are compelled to do other works. It is not the castes with higher ~~status~~ castes but the lower castes. Movement into non-traditional occupations has been dictated both by internal labour demands and by economic ability to break away from the local economic system.

Thus we can say that though different castes, higher or lower are or linked with their traditional occupations, there is some occupational mobility in the village. But their practice of performance of higher occupations by higher castes and lower occupation by lower castes is maintained in the village. Keeping this in mind we can say that caste and occupation in the village are correlated.

Education: Indian Villages have been among the less literate societies of the world. Traditionally, whatever type of educational system was there, was mainly confined to the top stratum of Hindu Society - the Brahmins, and other warrior castes did acquire some education, but it was mainly limited to acquiring the skills of trading and fighting. The opportunities for receiving education in the Pre-British Period were not open to the middle and low castes. As Kathleen Gough has observed of a village in South India, "Whatever the origin of (these rules distances and relationships)

their codification, recovering and adoption to local circumstances have been primarily the work of Brahmins"<sup>15</sup>. Andre Beteille, in his study of Sripuram, found that in the pre-British traditional system of Sanskrit learning education was monopolized by Brahmins.<sup>16</sup>

Even in British days, when education was formalised and relatively secularized through the school system, it was mainly Brahmins and other high castes who took advantage of the new opportunities. Social and Economic conditions were such that low and middle caste found it difficult to send their children to school. Briggs observed as late as in 1920 that "Both teachers and pupils make it most difficult for low caste boys to sit in the classroom" <sup>17</sup>.

Towards the end of the British period education facilities became enlarged and the overall developmental level of India Society steadily increased. This created a more conducive environment for middle and low status castes for educating their children. All castes, including the so called untouchables, were allowed in public school, though social conditions were not always encouraging for them. Since Independence, educational facilities have increased manifold and most villages have at least primary schools within reasonable distance.

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15. Kathleen Gough- "Caste in Tanjore Village" In "Sociological aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon & North Pakistan" ed by Leach (p-11)

16. Beteille - Caste, Class & Power (p5) Op cit.

17. G.L. Briggs : The Changers ( P-231) Association Press 1920.

Table No.14: Caste hierarchy & Education in the villages

Castes	Uneducated	Primary	Middle	High School	Graduate and above	Total
High Castes	10	40	0	4	1	71
Low Castes	16	3	1	0	0	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>91</b>

In the villages special concession and incentives are provided to Untouchables and other backward castes to take higher education, Post Metric Schoolships are provided for Scheduled castes and tribes. There is no doubt that more and more Harijan and low status caste children are now receiving education than they did in past. But if we see the household heads, then even today the relation between caste and education as can be seen from Table No.14, is considerable, and disparity in education between the higher castes and lower castes is still very high. 16 out of 20 of the sample of the lower castes continue to be illiterate as compared to (10 out of the sample 71) high castes.

Although Harijans and low castes go to school, most of them withdraw at primary levels. Only 1 out of sample of 20, reported having completed Middle School. He was the member of Panufyat. Thus even educated, Kavlana Harijans are concentrated at the lower levels of educational hierarchy.

In spite of some of these indicative discrepancies, the overall pattern of higher the caste higher the education is maintained. It was seen in the village school, that higher caste people take more interest in sending their children to school. At present all the castes higher or lower, have started sending their children to school. Nearly all the children go to school. Whether they leave the school in between or not. Moreover, people are more interested in sending their boys to school than their girls. There is no caste feeling in the students going to school. Children of higher caste in school, do not feel superior to the lower caste children. They sit together and play together. It was seen that these children had more political consciousness than their parents. Thus the younger generation is getting more conscious than their older generation. Through education the children are learning new patterns of life by which they are leaving back the traditional pattern of caste and class.

But in present generation there is a great disparity between higher castes and lower castes and the literacy in the village is very low.

Thus we see that in the village there is still considerable amount of correspondence between caste status and socio-economic status. Even today in village the socio-economic hierarchy stands against those whose position is low in caste hierarchy. The status of higher castes is high due to their socio-economic status.

Caste & Class Politics- By knowing the relation between caste and class in the village now we could proceed to more intensive and complex analysis of caste, class and politics. For this analysis we will relate the villagers, political knowledge, political influence, voting pattern, campaign activity, voting criteria with their Socio-Economic Status.

Table No. 15: Caste, Class & Voting pattern

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Higher Caste

Voting No.	Land					Occupation			Education					
	Landless	Marginal	Middle	Rich	Land lord	Agricultural cultivators	Agriculture labour	Traditional occupation	Uneducated	Up to 5	up to Middle	High School	Graduate	
Pattern	71	0	0	40	22	9	71	0	0	10	48	8	4	1
Never	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Occasionally	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0
Regularly	65	0	0	35	21	9	65	0	0	5	47	8	4	1
<u>Lower Caste</u>														
Voting No.	20	16	4	0	0	0	0	8	12	15	3	1	0	0
Never	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Occasionally	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	0
Regularly	14	12	2	0	0	0	0	7	7	10	3	1	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>														

### 1. Caste, Voting Pattern & Socio-Economic Status

Table No.15 shows that all the villagers cast their votes regularly and all of them were landowners. Only 6 people were there out of the sample of 71, who had voted occasionally but all of them were landowners. On the other side in the lower caste, out of the sample of 20 people, 14 villagers said that they cast their votes regularly. Out of 14, 12 were landless. Thus in the lower caste, though they are landless, they cast their votes regularly. Only 2 people were there who were landless and had never cast their votes. Thus we find that in the case of higher caste, the caste, land and voting pattern is related but in the case of lower castes, there is no link between caste, land and voting pattern.

In the case of occupation all of the higher caste people are owner and cultivators, there is no person in the higher caste who does not own land. Moreover all these landowners in the village cast their votes regularly. Only 6 villagers were there who were owners and cultivators and cast their votes occasionally. On the other hand, in the lower castes the picture is different out of the sample of 20, 8 people were engaged in agricultural labour and 12 were engaged in their traditional occupations. Thus mostly the lower caste villagers cast their vote regularly whether they are engaged in agricultural labour or in their traditional occupation only 2 persons were there who were engaged in the traditional occupation and had never cast their votes. Thus we see that in the higher castes occupation and voting pattern there is strong relationship, where as in the lower castes though they are engaged in traditional or agricultural occupations, they vote regularly. Thus in the case of lower castes, there is no direct link between caste, occupation and voting pattern.

In the case of Education, mostly the higher caste people are



educated whether upto primary or graduation. But in the case of lower castes mostly the people are uneducated. In the case of higher castes, out of the sample of 71, 65 people voted regularly and out of these 65, 60 villagers were educated. Only 5 were uneducated who voted regularly. Out of the 6 occasionally giving votes, 5 were uneducated and 1 villager was educated, on otherhand, in the lower caste mostly the people are uneducated. Out of the sample of 20, 14 people used to vote regularly, out of these 14, 10 were uneducated, 3 were educated upto 5th and 1 upto middle class. Thus it means that ~~throughout~~ though in the lower castes, the people are mostly uneducated, yet they cast their votes regularly.

On the whole we see that in the case of higher castes the caste class and voting pattern is linked but it is not related in the case of lower caste.

Table No.16: Caste, Class & Voting Criteria

**Voting Criteria**

	No.	Land					Occupation			Education				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Higher Caste</u>		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
No.	71	0	0	40	22	9	71	0	0	10	48	8	4	1
Party	11	0	0	6	4	1	11	0	0	1	9	1	0	0
Caste	52	0	0	30	15	7	52	0	0	3	39	7	3	0
Personality	2	0	0	1	0	12	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Influence	4	0	0	2	2	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Intuition	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
<u>Lower Caste</u>														
No.	20	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
Caste		16	4	0	0	0	0	8	12	16	3	1	0	0
Party	8	4	4	0	0	0	0	6	2	5	2	1	0	0
Personality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Influence	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	5	0	0	0	0
Intuition	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	0

Notes:- For the details of Numbers given in the Columns of Land, Occupation & Education see Table No.15.

## 2. Caste, Class & Voting Criteria

In the village, the table No.16 shows, that mostly all the higher caste people are owner cultivators. Out of 52 villagers, 30 villagers are Middle land owners, 15 rich and 7 landlords. Mostly the people cast their votes on the basis of caste. There were very few villagers in the higher caste who voted on the basis of influence and intuition. Only 4 out of 71, were those villagers who voted on the basis of influences of others. Two out of them were Middle landowners and 2 were rich landowners. There were 2 landowners who voted on the basis of personality. Whereas in the lower caste, mostly the people voted on the basis of Party and half of them were landless and half of them had some land. Thus 2 among the lower castes, who are mostly landless, people give their votes on the basis of influence and intuition out of the sample of 20 people 5 were found giving their votes on the basis of influence and 5 of them on intuition. All the ten were landless. Thus it was found that mostly in the village landless lower caste people cast their votes on the basis on intuition and influence. Whereas this was not the case with the higher castes.

As regarding occupations, the higher caste people are mostly engaged in the occupation of owner cultivator. Out of the sample of 71 people, there was no villagers who was engaged in the occupation of agricultural labour or traditional occupation. And all the higher caste people cast their votes on the basis of caste. In the lower caste mostly the people are engaged in agricultural labour or traditional occupations. Half of them cast their votes on the basis of influence and intuition. Those who cast their vote on the basis of party, are mostly engaged in agricultural labour and those who cast their votes on the basis of influence

and intuition are mostly engaged in traditional occupations. This means higher the caste, higher the occupation and higher voting criteria. Lower caste lower occupations and lower voting criteria.

In the case of Education mostly the higher caste people are educated. Whereas mostly the lower caste people are uneducated. The educated higher caste people cast their votes on the basis of caste. Only 6 persons were found out of the sample of 20, who were uneducated and were found casting their votes on the basis of influence + intuition. Whereas the lower castes people, who were mostly uneducated, half of them used to cast their votes on the basis of party and half of them on the basis of influence + intuition. This shows that in the higher as well as the lower castes, all the uneducated persons cast their votes on the basis of intuitional and influence. Whereas mostly the educated people cast their votes on the basis of caste or party. In the higher castes, there were two persons who had got higher education (According to village standards) stated that they cast their votes on the basis of personality. Whereas in the lower castes there was no person casting his vote on the basis of personality. This means that highly educated people cast their votes on the basis of personality. It shows that higher caste people with high socio-economic status, have higher Voting Criteria whereas lower caste people with lower socio-economic status have lower voting criteria to some extent.

Table No.17: Caste, Class & Party Identification

Party Identification

<u>Higher Castes</u>	No.	<u>Land</u>					<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Education</u>				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
	71	0	0	40	22	9	71	0	0	10	48	8	4	1
Non-Parties	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weak	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
Moderate	19	0	0	6	12	1	19	0	0	2	14	2	1	0
Strong	44	0	0	26	10	8	44	0	0	0	34	6	3	1
<u>Lower Castes</u>		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
	20	16	4	0	0	0	0	8	12	16	3	1	0	0
Non-Parties	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Weak	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Moderate	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	4	2	0	0	0
Strong	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	10	1	1	0	0

Notes- For details of numbers given in the column of land, Occupation and Education, see Table No.15.

3. Caste, Class & Party Identification

In the village the higher caste people are divided in identifying the parties. In the higher castes Jats are attached to the Lok Dal and the Brahmins to Congress(I) Party. There was no person in the village who could not identify the parties and who was landless. Every higher caste villager knew about the parties. Only 8 persons were found weak supporters of party and they were middle class landowners. 18 were moderate supporters of parties and they were mostly rich landowners. In the higher caste 44 out of the sample of 71, were found strong supporters of parties, mostly they were Jats who were the strong supporters of Lok Dal Party. Out of those 44 villagers, 26 were middle class landowners, 10 were rich landowners and 8 were big landlords. Thus it means big landlords were strong supporters of parties. There was no big landowner who did not support the party. Whereas in the lower caste mostly the people are landless and poor. Yet they are found strong supporters of parties. Out of the sample of 20, 12 were found strong supporters of party, out of 12, 8 were landless and 4 had some land, 1 person was found non-partisan and also landless. 6 were found moderate supporters of party. Out of them six were landless. This shows while in the higher castes big landowners were found strong supporter of party. In the lower castes, even the landless were strong supporters of the party.

In the case of caste, party identification and occupation all the higher caste people are engaged in the occupation of owner and cultivation. Mostly, higher caste people are the strong supporters

of party. Out of the sample of 71 people, 44 were strong supporters of party, they all were engaged in the occupation of owner and cultivation, 19 were moderate supporters, they were also owner and cultivators, 8 were found weak supporters, they were also engaged as owner and cultivators. No person in the higher caste was found as non-partisan and engaged in lower occupation. Whereas in the lower caste though, no lower caste is engaged in the occupation of owner and cultivation as they are engaged mostly in agricultural labour and their traditional occupations, yet they are strong supporters of party. Out of the sample of 23, 12 lower caste people are found strong supporters of party. Out of these 12, 6 were engaged in agricultural labour and 6 in their traditional occupation. Out of the 6 moderate supporters 3 were engaged in agricultural labour and 3 in the traditional occupation. This shows that caste, occupation and politics is not linked here. The higher castes, who are all owner cultivators are strong supporters of party. The lower caste, even if they are engaged in occupation of agricultural labour or in their traditional occupations, are also strong supporters of party.

In the case of Education in the higher caste mostly the people are educated. Only 13 persons out of the sample of 71 was found uneducated. Mostly people are strong supporters of party. Out of 44/71, strong supporters of party, there was no uneducated person, 34 were educated upto primary, 6 upto middle, 3 person upto high school and one was a graduate. Out of 19 moderate supporters, 2 was uneducated, 14 were educated upto primary, 2 upto middle and one was high school pass. Out of 8 weak supporters of party, all were found uneducated. That

means all uneducated were weak supporters of party. There was no person found as non partisan and uneducated. Whereas in lower caste out of 12/20 strong supporters of party 10 were uneducated. Out of 6/20 Moderate supporters, 4 were uneducated. One person was found weak supporter of party who was uneducated. One person was non-partisan who was also uneducated. This means that in the higher castes, uneducated person were found weak supporters of party and educated persons were found strong supporters of party. This is not the case with lower castes, as all the strong supporters of party in the lower caste are found uneducated. It means caste, Education and party identification are not linked here.

On the whole caste, class and party identification is linked in the case of higher castes, but not in the case of lower castes.



Table No. 18: Caste, Class & Political Knowledge

Political Interest		Land					Occupation			Education				
<u>Higher Castes</u>	No.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
Re	71	0	0	40	22	9	71	0	0	10	48	8	4	1
None	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Low	11	0	0	8	3	0	11	0	0	5	6	0	0	0
Medium	47	0	0	27	18	2	47	0	0	2	39	4	2	0
High	10	0	0	2	1	7	10	0	0	0	3	4	2	1
<hr/>														
<u>Lower Castes</u>	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	
No.	20	16	4	0	0	0	8	12	16	3	1	0	0	
None	11	10	1	0	0	0	2	9	11	0	0	0	0	
Low	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	
Medium	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	0	1	3	1	0	0	
High	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Notes: For the details of Numbers given in the columns of Land, Occupation and Education see Table No. 15.

#### 4. Caste, Class & Political knowledge:

Table No.13 shows that in the village higher caste people are mostly landowners and they have higher Political knowledge. The lower caste people are landless and they have low political interest. The higher caste people are landowners. In the village there was no higher caste person who was found landless or had no political knowledge. 11 persons who had low political knowledge were middle class farmers and 3 were rich farmers. Out of 47/71 people who had medium political knowledge were mostly <sup>(22)</sup> middle class farmers, 18 were rich farmers and 2 were landlords. These who have high political knowledge were mostly landlords.

In the lower caste, mostly the people are landless and have got no political knowledge.

In the case of Occupations mainly all higher castes are engaged in the occupation of owner and cultivators. Mostly persons engaged in the occupation of owner and cultivator have got medium political knowledge. 47/71 were found having medium political knowledge, 10 had high political knowledge, 11 had low political knowledge, and 3 had no political knowledge at all. In the case of lower caste all the persons are landless and are engaged in the traditional occupations. Mostly the lower caste people were engaged in their traditional occupation and had no political knowledge at all. Out of 11/20 people who had no political knowledge, 2 were engaged in agricultural labour and 9 in their traditional occupations. 5 out of 20 persons had medium political knowledge and they were engaged in agricultural labour. This shows that in the lower caste those who had

no political knowledge are engaged in their traditional occupations. Those who have Medium political knowledge are engaged in Agricultural labour, there was no person in lower caste who was engaged in the occupation of owners and cultivator who has high political knowledge.

In the case of education, mostly the educating people have medium political knowledge. Those who have no political knowledge were found uneducated. Even those who had low political knowledge (11/20), 5 were uneducated and 6 were educated upto Primary standard. Those who had high political knowledge had better education also. Out of 47/71 people who had medium political knowledge 2 were uneducated, 39 were educated upto primary and four upto middle, 2 were high school pass.

None was uneducated, who had high political knowledge. 3 were educated upto primary and 4 persons were educated upto middle class, 2 persons were High school pass and 1 was a graduate. In the lower castes mostly the people were uneducated and all had no political knowledge. 11/20 people who had no political knowledge, were all uneducated. 4 persons had low political knowledge and they were also uneducated. 5 persons had medium political knowledge, out of them 1 person was uneducated, 3 were educated upto primary and 1 upto middle. Thus it shows that those who had lower political knowledge are uneducated.

On the whole the caste, class & political knowledge in the village is linked.

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10. (high education is said according to the standards of village education. In the village high school pass man is considered highly educated.)

Table No.19: Caste, Class & Campaign activity

Campaign activity

	Land					Occupation			Education					
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	
<hr/>														
<u>Higher Castes</u>	71	0	0	40	22	9	71	0	0	10	48	8	4	1
Inactive	43	0	0	20	13	2	43	0	0	8	35	0	0	0
Somewhat	22	0	0	12	8	1	22	0	0	2	13	5	2	0
Very Active	6	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	3	2	1
<hr/>														
<u>Lower Caste</u>	20	16	4	0	0	0	0	8	12	16	3	1	0	0
Inactive	17	15	2	0	0	0	0	5	12	16	1	0	0	0
Somewhat	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
Very active	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0

Notes: For the details of Numbers given in columns of Land, Occupation and Education see Table No.15.

5. Caste, Class and Campaign activity:

In analysis in table 19 shows that in the village Kavlena very few people are engaged in the campaign activity. Both in the higher castes and lower castes majority of people are found inactive. In the higher caste, all the people are landowners but mostly they are found inactive in campaign activity. Those who were some what active, were mostly middle class farmers. 6 persons were very active and all of them were the landlords of the village. That means for becoming active in the campaign activity, one needs higher status which one gets through land. In the lower caste out of 17/20 inactive persons, 15 were landless and two has some land. One person was very active in the village in lower castes and he had some land which he got under the Government programmes.

In the field of occupation all the higher castes were engaged in the occupation of owner and cultivator and mostly they were inactive. 22 out of 71 were found some what active and 6 were found very actives. In the lower castes, the people were landless and engaged in the occupation of agricultural labour or traditional occupations. 17/20 person were inactive in the village, 5 out of them were engaged in agricultural occupations. Thus in the lower caste mostly the people are landless and inactive in campaign activity. In the field of Education the higher caste people are mostly educated and inactive in campaign activity. Out of 43/71 inactive people in campaign activity 8 were uneducated, 45 were educated upto primary. Those who were very active were all highly educated. Out of 6 very active people in the

campaign activity. 3 were educated upto Middle and 2 were educated upto High school and 1 was a graduate. In the lower castes mostly the people are uneducated and inactive in campaign activity. Out of 17/20 inactive people in campaign activity, 16 were uneducated, one person was very active in campaign activity and he was educated upto Middle class. Thus it means that lower class people are uneducated and inactive in campaign activity.

On the whole we can say that in the higher castes, Even if they are Genere cultivators and educated they are inactive in campaign activity. The lower castes, they are landless and engaged in traditional occupations are uneducated and inactive in campaign activity.

Table No.20: Caste, Class & Political Influence

Political Influence

	No.	Land					Occupation			Education				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>														
<u>Higher Castes</u>	71	0	0	40	22	9	71	0	0		48			
None	9	0	0	7	2	0	9	0	0	0	10	2	0	0
Some	20	0	0	12	6	0	20	0	0	0	18	2	0	0
<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>														
<u>Lower Castes</u>	20	16	4	0	0	0	0	8	12	10	3	1	0	0
None	11	10	1	0	0	0	0	1	10	11	0	0	0	0
Some	8	6	2	9	0	0	0	6	2	5	3	0	0	0
High	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0

Notes: For the details of numbers given in the columns of land, occupation and education see Table No.15.

### 5. Caste, Class & Political Influences

The table No.20 shows that in the village, mostly high caste people have political influence. Out of 42/71 persons who consider themselves as politically influential, 21 of them were landowners, 21 were middle class landowner, 14 were rich landowners and 7 were landlords of the village. Those who were non-influential (4/20), out of them 7 were middle class farmers and 2 were rich. Out of 20/71, people who were some influential, 12 were middle class, 6 rich and 2 were landlords. This shows that those who were rich landowners were more influential whereas in the lower castes, mostly the people were politically non-influential and landless. Even those who were considered some influential, had no land. Only 1/20 persons was found highly influential and he had some land. Thus in the lower castes land and political influence is linked.

In the case of occupation in the higher caste, the people are engaged in owner and cultivator and out of the 42/71 people had high political influence. There was in the lower caste mostly the people were engaged in their traditional occupations and they were politically non influential. Only 1 person was engaged in agricultural labour who had high political knowledge. Those who were some influential (8/20) 6 were engaged in agricultural labour and 2 were in traditional occupation.



This shows that mostly in the lower caste, people are engaged in traditional ~~sex occupational~~ and have no political influence.

In the field of education the table 20 shows that in the higher caste those who are educated have more political influence and those who are uneducated have less political influence. Out of 9/71 non-influential persons, all them are uneducated and out of 42/71 highly educated persons all are educated.

In the lower castes, mostly the people are uneducated and non influential. Only one person was found highly influential and he was educated. Thus caste, and education and Political influence are linked to some extent.

On the whole caste, class and political influence is linked.

#### Summary

In India the stratification system is considered to be characterized by status cumation. It implies that one's caste position determines and subverts one's socio-economic and political position. Lets see how much status cumation exists in the village Kavlinn at present.

In the village Brahmins occupy the highest position in ritual hierarchy but occupy second position in socio-economic hierarchy and political hierarchy. Jats are found at the top of Socio-Economic and political hierarchy.

The change in the position of the other high castes is most

striking. The other higher castes like Banias are among the higher castes, and while their ritual position may be lower to Brahmins and Jats, they occupy lower position in Socio-economic hierarchy than the higher castes. Still their position in political sphere is just like them.

The low castes continue to occupy a low position in the socio-economic hierarchy, but move up to occupy the same rank as higher castes in partisanship and voting pattern.

This was seen that in the political field the lower castes are improving their status as compared to the earlier times, for example within the broader grouping of high castes or one may find the Jats, more powerful politically than the Brahmins and Banias occupying top position in socio-economic sphere. However in the village one could not often <sup>find</sup> very low status castes crossing the broader boundaries and occupying high position in socio-economic political sphere.

Thus in this chapter, the relationship among the three major dimensions of the village society was examined. It was found that caste status does not contribute to political orientations. Thus caste status is not necessarily a condition ~~for~~ for politicization. In short if the relationship between caste status and socio-economic status changes, then whatever little relationship caste status has with political orientation could also change. In trend analysis, we see that the relationship between caste and socio-economic status is not changing at all. It is the same as what Batelle found in his study that the non Brahmin castes were not able to move up in the class system. Like this the caste and the socio-economic status is

linked in the village. However this overall pattern had to be qualified in that while both class and politics have opened up the caste-Class relationship is relatively stronger and more congruent than caste politics relationship.

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19. Earlier times is referred to as the times at Independence of India.

20. See Beteille Caste, Class & Power . Op cit.

## CHAPTER VI

### EFFECT OF POLITICS ON CASTE AND CLASS

The analysis has so far dealt with the changing profile of social stratification in modern India. This chapter attempts to show the effect Democratic politics on society, caste and class. The chapter includes the change which is coming in the village in the past three decades in the administrative machinery of the village, Panchayat, village women and leadership. It also includes the grievances of the village people, which have according to the villagers arisen after the Democratic set up.

After Independence the leaders firmly believed that political system had to set the pace for social change. There was a general consensus that in the matters concerned to the fundamental values of social justice, equality before law, equality of opportunity and citizenship status to all, the political system could not take shelter behind gradualism based on lack of social readiness. The constitution declared India to be a Secular, Democratic Republic<sup>1</sup>. In short the constitution set forth a general programme for the reconstruction of Indian society, a commitment to the replacement of ascribed status by voluntary affiliation, an emphasis on the integrity and autonomy of groups within society, and a withdrawal of rank-ordering among groups.<sup>2</sup>

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1. "Indian constitution Preamble".

2. See Mark Galanter: Changing legal concepts of castes, structure and change in Indian society ed. by Singer and B Cohn.

(Chicago: University Press of Chicago Press, 1968)

While the constitution prohibited any discrimination on the basis of caste, it authorised union state Govts. to make special provisions for the ~~untouchables~~ untouchable tribals and backward classes. This special discrimination in favour of backward sections of the society has come to be variously described as 'protective' 'position' or 'progressive' discrimination'. In accordance with this policy, reservations have been made in govt. services and seats are reserved for untouchables and tribals in Parliament and State Legislatures. Special welfare measures for overall development of depressed sections of the society through the various five year plans, community development programme schemes. Let us see how this Democratic politics has had its effect on village life.

### FORMAL LEADERSHIP

#### DEMOCRACY AND VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

The extension of democracy to the village had its own repercussions on the existing social relationships in general and on political relationships in particular. Among various provisions which normally go with a democratic polity, the influence of universal adult suffrage, moreover the influence of elections on the Panchayat was particularly towards the reordering of politico-electoral relationships.

### PREDEMOCRATIC PANCHAYATS :

In the village one of the surviving members of the old panchayats who was in his old days looked back to the good old days when there was harmony and the unquestioned acceptance of the 'real'

leaders of the village. The pro-democratic panchayat had five or six members and was presided over by one ~~man~~ man, who served as the main administrative link between the village and the state. The assistant collector of the area invariably nominated practically all its members on the basis of the caste, family status, economic background, age etc. It normally performed administrative functions on behalf of the State Government. It maintained records of land, births, deaths, marriages etc. It also supervised the construction of roads, tanks and wells. The panchayat undertook relief measures whenever flood caused damage. Such relief measures were always undertaken at the instance of the State Government. The panchayat reflected in the political field the acceptance of a deeply entrenched social hierarchy with privileges restricted to the few. It remained remarkably free from caste conflicts and rivalries seeking to express themselves politically, as was the case after the arrival of democracy. No one aspired for a place higher than what was warranted by his own status. It had meaning and significance only for those who were economically well off or socially well placed.

The change in the attitude of villagers to membership in the panchayat, it looks, was two fold. On the one hand, the question of membership of the panchayat was increasingly getting divorced from the fact of one's social and economic position. On the other hand, with families, kin groups and caste groups the waiting for one's turn to attain political importance seemed to be declining. The younger even within most of the social groups became impatient for leadership, and it gave rise to accommodating quarrels and un-

pleasant rivalries.

Democracy in short inspired political ambition in a wider range of leaders and furnished them with newer avenues to realize it. It had caused ferment in the relationship between groups, between leaders and between members, all of which had far-reaching consequences.

THE PANCHAYAT ACT OF 1952: requiring of panchayats to be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage was implemented in the village towards the end of the same year. While the coming of an elected panchayat signified a great step forward in the political field, it came as an overdue measure particularly in a village like Kavlena where Jats are in majority. A village had done impressive developments in economic and educational fields. Simultaneously the emphasis on education increased among practically all castes (except the untouchable castes). The bulk of computers, who formerly worked as craftsmen and occasional landless labourers began to have steady incomes.

Out of all the castes Brahmins and Juleha castes started taking the maximum advantage of increasing employment opportunities in the town. The Jats on the other hand were economically well off and were not under any great economic pressure to look for jobs in the town. Finally the Juleha caste made maximum use of job opportunities created by the industrialization.

In the 1952, when the members of the panchayat had to be elected, the people of the village were knit together in mutually exclusive social groups even for their politics. The introduction of democracy in the village completed various leaders who were aspiring to become members, to go in search of their own caste support. Consequently, division of groups on the basis of kinship began to reflect itself in village politics.

The newly elected panchayat had 4 Brahmins, and 5 Jat members. As the Jats were in majority, a Jat became the Sarpanch. The sudden increase in Jat membership acted as a stimulus to their own interest in village politics. Thus it looks that earlier in the first elections Brahmins were socially the dominant caste in the village. Jats were economically well off when they came in Panchayat they were convinced to raise their status. In spite of the minority in the panchayat, the Brahmins continued to treat panchayat as their own traditional preserve. The Jats were not taken seriously by the Brahmins.

Thus while Brahmins were the traditional ruling groups in the village it was only under democracy that the Jats could think of the possibility of controlling the panchayat. The Kshatriyas under democracy became a political group with definite political objectives.



For Jats a political leadership emerged soon after the first elected panchayat came into existence. After this, in all the 7 panchayats, upto 1978 panchayat, Jats did not lose their status of political leaderships. All the Sarpanchs in all the panchayats were Jats. Brahmins on the other hand cursed democracy, for having brought about political changes and for having encouraged village democracy.

The numerical principle introduced by democracy was interpreted by a peculiar manner. To them it did not mean a majority rule but a majority community rule. The rejection of the latter especially after the 4th panchayat election, when they were not turned out of office, was treated by them not as a failure of their strategy, but as a implementation of the democracy democratic principle.

Panchayat of 1978:- In the village the latest elections to the panchayat were held in January, 1978. At present there are 8 members in the village panchayat. Out of the 8 members only 5 are elected, 2 members are from scheduled castes and one is a land members. Out of 5 elected members, one is a Sarpanch who is elected directly and the other four are from 2 different castes. The picture of caste and class of the village panchayat members is given below:

Table - 21 :

S.No.	Name of the Panchayat Members	Caste	Land owned (class)
1.	Chander Singh (Sarpanch)	Jat	55 Acres
2.	Ram Swarup	Jat	25 Acres
3.	Guggan	Jat	20 Acres
4.	Rasulan	Jat	22 Acres
5.	Chandagi	Kumhar	Non-cultivator
6.	Phool Singh	Harijan (Chamar)	320 Yards
7.	Chander	Harijan (Chamar)	320 Yards
8.	Daya Kaur Lady Member	Jat	20 Acres

Thus the table shows that the Jat members are in majority in the village panchayat. Population wise also Jats are in majority. Moreover, Sarpanch is a Jat. The members of a village panchayat are either his firm supporters or else are equally friendly to both village factions. No member is from the backward caste. The scheduled caste and lady members are nominated members.

All the members except scheduled castes are the staunch supporters of the Sarpanch. The Sarpanch calls only those members in the meeting, whom he knows will support him thus even without calling the scheduled caste members, his chorum is completed. Thus in the interview

with Chamor members of panchayat the Sarpanch told that they do not have any status or role in the village Panchayat. One of the Chamor members said, "We support him but he (Sarpanch) does not do anything for us or for our community. Now look, our Chaupol is incomplete since it was made, but who cares. We have talked to the Sarpanch many times but he does not care for it".

The new consciousness which the lower castes have at present is that all these grievances were narrated to us in the presence of the Sarpanch and then small quarrel started between the Sarpanch and the Chamor Members and thus the Sarpanch got angry and he told us that, "the government has favoured the scheduled castes too much and this is the only reason why these petty people speak before a big man. They do not know how to talk with big people." Thus it means that Chamor are not satisfied even if the government has given them many privileges and a chance to be in the village panchayat.

The table 21 shows that the land is not the consideration in the village panchayat because the Kumhar member is a landless labourer. But it is true that the Sarpanch always comes from the wealthy class.

Role of Sarpanch: The Sarpanch has a very important role to play in the village politics and economy. He is the link between the govt. authorities and villagers. The SD' Bhajjar told us that, "mostly the sarpanch and PSCs' join hand together in the implementation of govt. programmes. In this process sometimes the funds are not properly for the lower class people and lower ekanslovala do not get such advantage out of it".

One such case came up from the village in 1967 but perhaps it could not be substantiated, and hence it was withdrawn after political interference.

The BOD Jhajjar told us that community development programmes could become successful only if there is no political interference from outside.

During the interview with villagers it was known that Sarpanch is a very important figure in the village. When elections are held his position becomes more important. Every candidate approaches the Sarpanch to get maximum votes. The Sarpanch exercised his influence over the persons in the village. There were a few villagers who told us that they cast votes in favour of persons recommended by the Sarpanch. The sarpanch could collect funds from villagers and that is the only reason why the Sarpanch becomes only the person who is intelligent, powerful and influential. Some villagers told that the Sarpanch also misuses the money. He always collects funds from the villagers for different programmes but none knows where the money goes. The Sarpanch said that he had to do it because government does not give anything to him for the entertainment of MLA's and other political leaders and he has therefore to collect funds to meet such expenditure. He also mentioned lack of cooperation among the panchayat members, without which no funds are allotted thus the lower level could not get much benefit.

At the time of Sarpanch's election, there were 4 candidates contesting the election. 2 were Jats, one was Brahmin and one was Kumhar.

This shows that no lower ~~caste~~ caste members even try to stand for the contest. That means the candidate should be of a higher caste and higher class.

There there were the frank critics of the panchayat and its members among the average villagers. For them the frequent squabbles and bickerings among the members of the panchayat were proof of its uselessness. They claimed that none of its members wanted to serve the village but merely occupied a place of honour and then fought with others. They also felt that the panchayat could have done a lot of useful work but for its lazy, self-seeking, quarrelsome and incompetent members, who refused to cooperate with one another.

Although villagers think that the idea of having local panchayats initiate and work for the uplift of their community is basically ~~an~~ a good idea but it is not working rightly. When asked "what the panchayat has done for them? It was only the Jat community who said that the panchayat has done something for the village. Otherwise ~~every~~ every caste said that Panchayat is of no use for them. Nothing but causes fights between us. "It is not good because it produces selfishness". "The Sarpanch is allied with big men (politicians) what will he do for us".

One of the villagers, who was a school teacher told that old system was better to elect the Sarpanch. There was no rush to occupy the positions. But these days there is competition for any post in the village. It is the election system which has introduced malpractices and evil ways. Thus there is every possibility for the wrong man to win. All these factional fights and must cases are nothing but the

manifestation of their conflict. Thus the elections are responsible for the intensification of party rivalry.

Thus the democratization of the panchayat not only resulted in the shake up of the age-old structure of its members and the bringing in of younger men from practically all the castes that were represented in it, but it also brought about a bifurcation in the social and political leadership of the village. While the social leadership of the groups continued to be in the hands of the older men, the political leadership passed on to the younger men invariably of the same families. The young political leaders, free from the social responsibilities of their groups, went about establishing different kinds of political relationship with their followers and using different tools for achieving their political objectives.

Informal leadership in the villages: Human life is to our enormous extent a group life. A group exists as a means of satisfying certain purpose wishes, of providing certain goals to its members. The group cannot be successful in its efforts unless it works as a unit. For this reason there must be someone to bring harmony in the group, channelize aspirations and resources of members and influence them for achieving the common goal. The person who performs this task is known as the leader of that group. The pattern of leadership no doubt, varies in each of India's 3,58,000 villages, and it is very difficult to generalize from one or two experience but there are similarities in our village to enable us to note certain general trends. There are several ways of identifying local leaders.

There are different caste groups in villages. These caste leaders are always found to lead in activities such as performing caste ceremonies

on rituals, representing the caste in the village councils etc.  
 In village Kaulana, such persons could be seen in each caste as shown in the table given below:

Table No. 22:

S.No.	Name	Higher caste	Lower caste
0.	Dhanni	Brehmin	-
2.	Cheran Dass	-do -	-
3.	Chander Singh	Jat	-
4.	Jat Singh	-do -	-
5.	Dhup Singh	-do -	-
6.	Raj Suresh	-do -	-
7.	Guggan	-do .	-
8.	Chander Jit	- do -	Chuhra
9.	Rampal		Chuhra
10.	Rajwal Singh		Chuhra
11.	Phool Singh		Chamar
12.	Kaul		Chamar

Thus in the village Kaulana, these leaders were found. Apart from these leaders, there are other leaders of different castes as Julaha, Luhar, Khatki and Kuchar castes. But all these caste leaders have their say in their caste only when they face the higher caste leaders, compared to them. They find themselves accepting their

decisions. In the lower caste group, the 5 leaders are the masters of the group but again as compared to higher caste leaders, their status is very low. Though a change is there in the villages, that these lower caste leaders have started speaking against the higher caste. But still they get no better results.

Caste does not ordinarily enter into the consideration of what makes a man big in Kaviana for each caste has its own such representative. Caste however is an important determination of big men's status in the village wide political arena.

The men who are considered as real leaders in Kaviana are all Jats, concerned almost exclusively with advancing their own family positions through elected officials. In the old days there used to be only one leader in the village. Today there are more but they don't command the same obedience. This represents a great change in administration of the village affairs after Independence.

These informal leaders are of great consequence in the community affairs. Such leaders are found to operate in different spheres such as those contexts where the entire village population acts as a whole in the spheres of caste, in religious field in uplift activities and general welfare of each caste. Each caste leader wants the welfare of his caste.

#### Village and administrative systems

The villagers identified the administrative machinery by means of the officials who visit the villages. They particularly come into contact with officials of the revenue, agriculture and police



departments. Their attitude to the administrative machinery was largely based on their reactions to the officials of these departments.

Nearly everyone in the village was a relentless critic of the administrative machinery. Some development projects, about which they had heard from visiting politicians and officials or had read about in regional newspapers were, they admitted, for the goods of the people. But the politicians and administrators, for the own selfish reasons had either delayed them or had,embezzled the funds meant for them or had tried to benefit their relatives and friends. Still other thought that the 'big, big schemes' had existed on paper only, and that each minister or official had to tell the people that he was doing a great deal for them and therefore, gave promises which he had no intention of fulfilling.

The criticisms became more specific on the department of agriculture. They said that these officials were never farmers themselves. Their's was a bookish knowledge. The average agricultural official gave their advice which was oily and harmful. He advised the villagers to use fertilizers, but he did not tell them to use extra water. The result was that plants dried up. His every pronouncement and advisory talk annoyed the villagers.

The villagers were equally critical of the police department. According to them, the police was not interested in preventing or in bringing the criminals to book but only in making money. The bootleggers were quite well known to the police. Instead of

preventing them from distilling the illicit liquor, the police merely asked them to give a cut if they wished to carry on the business. The lower castes (views) people were more critical of the police department. They said, "Police bare logon ki hai, Hamari kro suntha hai" (Police is also aligned with higher people who listens to us) One of the persons from a lower caste told us the story of a death of a chamar girl by higher caste people. He said that a Jat landowner's hand was there in that case, who wanted to take a revenge from the girl's father. Thus one day on 23rd May, 1980 the Chamar's daughter was found burning in fire in the fields of the village. This was done only by that Jat landowners. The police came but the Jat landowner gave money to the police and the case was withdrawn. No action was taken and it was said that just to take revenge for the old rivalry between the chamar and the landowner, the chamar had burnt his daughter, who had died 4 days before the incident.

On this the incident, the higher castes are blaming the lower castes and lower castes are not blaming the higher castes. Lower castes say that in this govt's rule, one could get away with murder, provided one paid the police. When the DD and the SDM were asked about this case, they favoured the higher castes and said that it was only the police who maintained peace in the village otherwise, there could be a hot competition of fights between higher caste and the lower castes. It was only the dissatisfaction of lower castes, that these type of acts are done by them.

The villagers spoke with the utter disgust about the slow and cumbersome administrative procedures at the Block level. Most of them said that they never pay visit to the Block Development Office because no one took the villagers seriously. Petty clerks took far too long to present their papers to the officials for their decisions. They too expected to be paid before the files could move from one desk to another. The villagers did not like the working of men and women together in the office. According to them it was bound to slow down the pace of work.

The image of the administrative machinery as seen through the eyes of the villagers was anything but desirable. They grumbled and complained about various things. Behind their grumbles and complaints there was a growing awareness that the administrators were supposed to serve the people. A few years ago, they had quietly accepted whatever was given to them. This awareness is again the result of the emerging groupism. The emergence of parties in the village has given them a chance to ~~mutually~~ compete among themselves. Jat want to compete with Brahmins and Brahmins want to compete with jats and the higher castes want to compete with the lower castes and the lower castes with higher castes. Thus now they have started complaining and hesitatingly demanding various things.

#### WOMEN AND POLITICS IN THE VILLAGE:

MLA Uday Dalal said that the village "women are getting conscious, socially economically and politically". By comparing the role of women at present and at the time of independence, it is clear that a lot of consciousness and change has occurred in them. The change could

be seen in their social relations, economic security, dress, their participation in politics, their standard of living, and the changing pattern of their lives.

Social relations: The women of Kaviana are quite bold and brave because half of the women population is jat, and jat ladies are considered very bold and brave. Today very few women are there who consider the traditional custom of untouchability. Mostly the higher caste women do not want to touch lower caste ladies. They do not allow, lower caste women to enter into their house. Thus this traditional thing they have not changed. But in the younger generation, the change of attitude towards lower caste is clear. This has been seen in the young girls of jats and their brides. This younger generation is educated because mostly in the village, all the jat girls go to school and some jat girls have even gone up for college education.

In Brahmin women, the traditional custom of 'Miserani' and 'panditani' needs comments ((women cook and wife of a Brahmin). Earlier the 'miserani', the Brahmin women used to cook, in the kitchens of jats. Because jats are economically rich caste. They used to give cooked food and some wheat for the work done. The jats never allowed the other caste women to enter their kitchen.

In their marriages, jats have some customs, where the Brahmin woman is given some clothes and lut. Thus each Brahmin used to have allotted some families. The men used to perform the function of puja, and the women used to perform the other customs of 'miserani' and 'panditani'.

Education: Whereas men have left this traditional occupation. But an insignificant portion of the women population still continue to perform these functions. Though the younger generations who are getting educated, do not agree that they will continue the same thing. They dislike it. But in Brahmin families very few girls go to school. The Brahmin families as compared to Jat women are still, backward. In Jat families rarely there was any house, in which girls do not go to school. But Brahmins do not want to send their daughters to schools, they still think it a mere wastage.

Though everybody in every family goes to school but not the girls. But still the change has come from earlier times. But no change could be seen in the education of lower castewomen. Only 3 chamber families were seen in which the girls were also going to school otherwise they do not send their girls, to school, because in the untouchable castes, women are also engaged in the traditional occupation of sweeping. Thus they want their girls also to help their mothers so that they could earn more money.

Economic security:- A great change which was seen in the women of higher castes was that they have started thinking themselves independent. Mostly the Jat women do some work or the other to pass their leisure time and to get economic security. This they have learnt from 'Mahila Mandal' which is an association of ladies in the village. But again the Brahmin and lower caste ladies are backward in learning those jobs whereas some Jat ladies are teachers in a nearby schools, the other house wives have started sewing clothes at home.

One woman has opened a small poultry farm.

Some lower caste women have also learnt something but their number is small. Only 2-3 lower caste women in the village were found to be engaged in the work learnt by the Mahila Mandal. One chamar woman has started preparing baskets, and the other two have started making ropes. Their husbands then do the work to sell these things in the town. By learning from these women many other village women are getting conscious of these jobs but still their number is very few.

Dress- Women of Kavlena have left their traditional dress 'ghagra choli'. Now all the women in Kavlena wear 'Salwar and Kamiz' with 'Duppatta'. At present the traditional dress is considered as not fashionable. Mostly, it was seen that women wear the 'salwar Kamiz' of tericott. They said that they do not like cotton dresses. Only there are some old ~~ladies~~ ladies who wear 'ghagra choli'.

Participation in Politics The women in the village have their link with politics, only at the time of elections they cast their votes on the basis of what the husbands tell them. But in higher castes there were some ladies who said that they voted according to their will. The political knowledge of village women both, the higher castes and the lower castes, is very low. They consider politics to be meant only for men, they said that their work is to keep the homes and out side their homes whatever happens is the duty of men. When the village women go to cast their vote, they always go in 'Purda' walking behind their husband. But this is not the case in the coming young generation. They are much conscious politically than their elders. They know their rights and duties and this only because of their education.

Standard of living: The status of jat families is much better than that of the other castes. Even the houses of Brahmin women are not as good as the houses of jat women. Mostly the houses of jat women are found clean. In the landlords houses, everything, TV, Radio, Tractor, Sofaset, all the steel vessels were found. Whereas these things were not found in the houses of any other caste. Even the houses of Brahmin landlords were not as good, as were the houses of jats. Many houses have 'gobar gas plants' and the women cook food on this gas only. Mostly in jat and Brahmin families stove were there.

But in lower caste families the standard of living is very poor and that is due to their economic conditions. Their houses are u. clean. Only two charar houses were found clean and that is because of their husband were working in town. So they have learnt the urban way of living. Their children were also well dressed. But otherwise the women who were living in the village, were rather shabily dressed.

Old Customs: Thus the awareness which has come in the village women is only among the higher caste women. The higher castes have left child marriage completaly. They are getting conscious of widow marriage and they do not consider it bad now a days. But in the lower castes the child marriage is still prevalent.

Mahila Mandal: The credit of the change in village women goes to some extent to Mahila Mandal. Which was created in the village in 1964. In this 'Mahila Mandal' there are 29 members. The head of the Mahila Mandal is a 'Gram Sevika'. These 29 members came from all castes. At the block level, there is 'Mukhya Gram Sevika' who is the head of all Mahila Mandal in all the villages in the block. 'The Mukhya Gram Sevika' told us that in Mahila Mandal the women of all castes in the village hold their

meetings. The Gram Sevika tells them about the new patterns of knitting, cutting, sewing and embroidery, new ways of keeping their houses, how to keep the houses clean, new types of cooking nourishing foods, new methods of family planning medical care, care for new born babies, changing customs, politics, how to vote, whom to vote and their status in society. She warns them about the results of blind faith in old customs. At the time of elections she tells about parties, candidates and the value of their votes.

While interviewing the women of different castes we came to know that these women are getting benefit from 'Mahila Mandal'. One of the women told us that earlier they never allowed their daughters and daughters-in-law to go out of the village. Now they have faith in Gram Sevika and thus they allow their girls to go for picnics and tours arranged by Mahila Mandal. They have learnt to write their names and want to learn more. Thus the Mahila Mandal has helped the villagers women to make progress in different spheres.



Table No.23: Caste rankings of Mahila Mandal Members

S.No.	Castes	No.
1.	Brahmin	4
2.	Jat	13
3.	Luhar	6
4.	Khatl	1
5.	Kumhar	1
6.	Koyes	0
7.	Benia	2
8.	Julaha	0
9.	Chemar	2
10.	Chura	0
Total		29

But these Mandals also are not free from corruptions, as the lower caste women are not getting total benefits. Mostly the lower caste women are engaged in some occupation or they help their men. Thus they do not get time for attending the Mahila Mandals. Many village women stated that Mukhya Sevika and Gram Sevika do not utilize the government funds allotted to Mahila Mandals judiciously. There are factions in Mahila Mandals also. The caste feeling or the feeling of untouchability is not apparently seen still some women do not come to the Mahila Mandal because the scheduled caste women also come there. This feeling is more among the women than men in the village, some lower caste women said that Mahila Mandal is an association of higher castes women. We never get the aid

which comes from the government. Though we are not disallowed to enter Mahila Mandals, members from our caste are 2 members in Mahila Mandal. They have their contacts with higher caste women. Moreover we do not get time to attend its meetings because we work as a labour class"

### Democratization and Modernization

The emergence of a sovereign democratic republic in India after independence has been responsible for the initiation of the democratic process in the country. In order to achieve the avowed goal of establishing an egalitarian social order, the State has launched gigantic programmes of democratization and modernization in the country. In recent times however certain new forces such as democratization, modernization and industrialization have had tremendous impact on the caste organisation, leading to far reaching changes in Inter-caste relations. Democratization of the society is being sought to be achieved through the implementation of the directive principles of the state policy, the introduction of adult franchises and the panchayati raj pattern of local government.

The directive principles of the state policy lay down that that there will be no discrimination on the basis of caste, colour or creed among the citizens of India. All the citizens will have equal opportunities in matter of governance, learning and employment. It has been enjoined upon the state to make concerted efforts to help the weaker sections of the community in order to enable them to march abreast with the others on the road to progress. The directive principles, thus stand for the elimination of social inequalities and disparities among different sections of the society.

In the broad based social reconstruction programmes, undertaken by the state, the people at the 'grass-roots' level have been allowed full hand with the result that a new wave of national consciousness is sweeping the villages. The panchayati raj pattern of local govt. has been introduced in different parts of the country and it is the village panchayats, which are in fact the basic units of democratization of the country's polity and social reconstruction community development programme and its effect on the caste, class relations.

The community development programme was launched in 1952 all over the country. The programme was considered as a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and, if possible to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement". It has further been described as "a process of change from the traditional way of living of rural communities to progressive ways of living, as a method by which people can be assisted to develop themselves on their own capacity and resources a programme concerning welfare of the rural people, and as a movement for progress with a certain ideological content".

There should be no discrimination among the members of the community on the basis of caste, creed, groups or faction. Any discrimination will result in a top-sided growth of the society and is bound to accentuate the already existing schemes or the disparities in the income of the people. The overall development should embrace the fields of agriculture, health, cooperation and literacy. Some of the old experiments in the direction of improvement isolated fields of food production like grow more food campaigns" met with failure, because they lacked a comprehensive philosophy of social change. They only helped the rich and

the capable higher caste people. Thus such measures only furthered the continuance of caste system and the distinction between poor and the rich which was a conflict with the avowed policy of the national government.

But stressing the dignity of labour and insistence upon the participation of all sections of the village community as co-travellers in the great voyage of national reconstruction, the community development programmes aimed at the abolition of the distinction among the people on the basis of occupation and caste. It also envisaged the revitalisation and development of the village institutions like village panchayat, village school, and cooperatives. Youth organisation and women's organisations.

For this effectiveness it is necessary that the multitude of rural population must be awakened to its importance. Mostly the standard of living of the people and their families and social status are the determining factors of their awareness. Generally speaking people hailing from upper caste and rich families are better placed to know about the programmes because of their educational, economic and social status in the community whereas the lower caste people and the poor people are less knowledgeable because of their economic and social backwardness.

Thus how much the people are aware of the community development programmes could show how much people are gaining from those programmes in the village. It is clear that the Brahmin, Kashatriya and ~~Ma~~ Vaish communities showed high awareness of the objective of community development programmes. Out of the sample of 71 there were

66 respondents aware of the gains from these programmes.

It was evident that in the most of the Harijans or untouchables did not know about the community development programmes. Out of the sample of 20 only 6 persons said that they were aware of the programmes.

However, the cultivators and economically well off people were more aware of the community development programme than the agricultural labourers and the poor class.

Thus the success of community development programme depends largely on the extent to which the whole community is convinced that the programmes are intended to bring about improvement in the economic and social life of the members and that they embody the doctrine of social justice. Some of the lower caste and class villagers think that Block Office has no importance for them as no one listens to them. Only the people of higher social and economic status have their say in the block office. The officers at block level indicated that there was too much political interference from above. In this programme mostly all the government persons do not utilize the govt. funds properly and does not reach the persons at the grass root levels. This is true to a considerable extent. But the success of these programmes will only depend on their capacity to cater to the needs of all the sections of the society.

Conclusions:- The modern legal and constitutional structures and competitive politics constitute one of the major factors influencing the profile of social stratification in Indian villages.

In Kavlana the egalitarian and secular constitution and laws have not been greatly instrumental in concerting education, occupation and other class characteristics, political power, leadership position. Though

low status castes have begin to acquire education, higher level occupations participation and started casting their votes regularly but still not as much as compared to higher castes. The panchayat system is virtually the property of the higher castes. Administrative machinery of the village is also in the hands of the higher castes.

But as compared to the present generation, the younger generation is now getting conscious. Consequently, the major means of mobility in traditional period - sanskritization - is being bypassed in favour of politicization and modernization. Also, the Democratic politics have narrowed down difference in ritual status in the village of social and political life has de-emphasised literal status and the traditional criterion of mobility - and emphasised some new criteria of nobility - education, occupation, political influence and leadership positions.

But at present, in the village, the power is in the hands of higher caste (class) people and not in the hands of lower caste and lower class, though the conditions of labour in Haryana has become far better compared to traditional period. The status of women has become higher as compared to earlier times. But still there is difference in higher caste (class) women and lower caste class women. The lower castes and the poor people have still their grievances against ~~the~~ higher castes and the rich.

### Conclusions

The detailed findings of this study have been noted and discussed at appropriate places in the analysis. The broad findings bearing on the major theoretical framework can be briefly recapitulated here.

I set out in this study to draw an empirical profile of social stratification in the Kavlena village.

The caste model of social stratification in India, as I discussed in the beginning, is considered to approximate extreme in equality, summation of status and is regarded as highly hierarchical, closed and ascriptive in the extreme. In its ideal typical form it is in contrast to the democratically ordered society envisioned by the constitution of Independent India.

The caste and politics are not correlated in its traditional sense at present. But the socio-economic status of an individual in the village is totally entailed ~~by~~ by his caste. Thus we can say that caste, Class and politics are not correlated. The socio-economic dimensions of stratification is not becoming differentiated from the ascriptive caste dimensions. But the political dimensions is becoming increasingly differentiated from the ascriptive castes dimensions. This change could be seen among the lower caste people and also within the higher castes, as the political participation is not like the traditional model of social stratification. In some fields the lower castes have also started participating in politics. But the power is still in the hands of the higher castes. Thus one can not describe or understand social stratification in the village within the framework of the classical caste model of stratification. But at present the caste model is not the same as in the traditional period. The difference

between higher caste and lower caste people is same. But the power is not the hands of Brahmins as was in the traditional period but in the hands of Jats. Thus the power hierarchy has changed <sup>from</sup> Brahmins to Jats, though there is no change in the rights Caste and lower caste.

The constitution of India rejects the caste form of social organization and envisages a new secular social order. It is said that the democratic politics sets a new secular social order. But in the village we find that the democratic politics has not changed the social relationships. It has only helped the lower castes to get importance at the time of elections. (Because of their vote). Thus except this, the traditional system of ritual of hierarchy and hereditary substitutability of roles, positions and privileges is not affected by Democratic politics.



Appendix - Ist

Interview Schedule No. (A)

1. Name of the house hold head:-
2. Caste
3. Age
4. Sex
5. Marital Status
6. Education:-
  - A) Uneducated
  - B) Primary
  - C) Middle
  - D) High School
  - E) Graduate & above
7. Details about land:-
  - A) Landless
  - B) Marginal upto-2 acres
  - C) Middle - 10.20 Acres
  - D) Rich - 20.30 Acres
  - E) Landlord. Above 30 Acres
8. Occupation:-
  - A) Genor Cultivation
  - B) Agricultural Labour
  - C) Traditional occupation
9. Political Participations:-
  - A) Voting Pattern

How often have you voted in the national election?

- 
10. The land is divided according to village land status.

Regularly

Occasionally

Never

**B. Voting Criteria:-**

Do you vote according to these ~~lines~~ lines:-

On party basis

Caste basis

Personality basis

Influence basis

Intuition

**C) Political Influences:-**

1. How much effect do you think people like you have on what Panchayat and the government does.

None

Somewhat

High

**D) Partisanship:-**

1. Which party do you support?

2. Do you consider yourself a strong supporter of that party?

3. None partisan

4. Weak

5. Strong

A person who replied he did not think of himself as supporting any party was given the lowest value as nonpartisan. Those who did not support a party but mentioned a party on the follow up question were considered 'weak partisan. Those who reported that they supported a party but said that were not strong supporters were related, moderate, partisan'. And those who

considered themselves 'Strong Supporters' were rated as 'Strong Partisan'.

E) Campaign activities-

- 1) Are you a member of any political party?
- 2) Have you given money for a political cause?
- 3) Have you attended a political meeting or rally during election at any time?
- 4) Have you ever engaged in any activity during a political campaign to elect some candidates?

Those who reported as not active in response to any four question were given the value of (0), those who reported activity in response to one or two of the above questions were given the value(1) as somewhat active and those who reported activity in response to three or more questions were given the value(2) as 'very active'.

F) Political Knowledge-

- 1) How old a person have to be in order to vote?
- 2) Do you know who is our P.M.
- 3) Who is the Chief Minister?
- 4) To which party does the Chief Minister belong?
- 5) Will you please name the main Opposition party in the State Legislative?
- 6) Do you know the name of Sanjay Gandhi?

Those who gave no answer were included in the existing <sup>category</sup> of 'None' those who gave correct answers were included in the category of 'Lower'. Those who gave 3 or 4 answers were included in the category of Medium and those who gave 5-6 were included in the category of high.

Schedule (B)

1. What ~~is~~ is the role of caste in the village politics?
2. What do you think about the power structure before Independence?
3. Is there any change coming in the power structure after the Independence?
4. Has Democracy legitimated or Shaken the power structure?
5. Whether power ~~the~~ influence (of the higher castes) has decreased or increased after Independence?
6. What is the role of Panchayat now fertilizers, new pattern of agriculture on the relationship of landless and landowners and what is the effect of that on political participation?
7. What type of contradictions have emerged due to new changes if there are any
8. Role of women
9. Role of Scheduled Castes and Landless labourers. Where do they stand in present politics? How much power do they have? How they use it or not? What are the
10. Whether there is any upward mobility due to change <sup>in</sup> education, + industrialization?
11. What is the effect of Five Year Plan, Community Development Programme and other Schemes whether it has effected political participation? What the effect of this on power structure?

Schedule - (C)

1. Name of the Panchayat Members
2. Age
3. Caste
4. Landowned
5. What is their status in the Panchayat
6. Status of scheduled caste members
7. Their relation with high officials.

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