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PLANNED DEVELOPMENT AND LEADERSHIP
IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE

by

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Comparative Studies of Cultural Change
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The wind of change is blowing through the continent.

Harold Macmillan

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INTRODUCTION

The steadily increasing number of community studies by anthropologists that have appeared since World War II reflects a general widening of horizons within the discipline. Strickon writes:

Anthropology is the study of man. In the past this definition was, de facto, the study of primitive man. Later it became the study of primitive and peasant man. Anthropology is now on the verge of dropping the qualifying adjective altogether. (Strickon, 1964:159)¹

During the first four decades of the twentieth century, anthropology was essentially the study of what Fortes has called "the classical simple societies" (1953:17-18). The emphasis on intensive empirical research in manageable "units of observation"² was, to a large extent, a reaction to the theoretical, universalistic approach of the nineteenth century cultural evolutionists. The more recent shift in interest³ to complex cultures, to the relationships between local communities and the larger civilizations of which they are a part, has been attributed to a number of factors. Some of the most important of these are:

1. A decline in the number of isolated autonomous societies available for anthropological study.
2. What Mandelbaum has called "the temper of the times"⁴ in the West. As a result of increasing contacts through mass communication, travel, wars, etc., there is a desire for better and more objective understanding of contemporary civilizations.

3. The recognition, particularly in the context of acculturation studies, of the fact that the anthropologist must look beyond his unit of observation to whatever extensions may emerge from it if he is to understand his subject in all of its dimensions. From these concerns grew concepts such as the Great and Little Tradition, the Folk-Urban Continuum, and the study of the "networks" which connect a peasant society to the larger civilization of which it is a part (Redfield, 1930, 1941, 1957, 1961a & b, 1962a; Redfield and Rojas, 1934).
4. The appearance of anthropological studies of national character--an interest that originally grew out of the military requirements of World War II (e.g., Benedict, 1946; Gorer, 1950; Lowie, 1954).
5. Various types of aid programs undertaken in technologically underdeveloped countries by national and international agencies following World War II. Many of these agencies encouraged and supported anthropological research in complex societies. This stimulated the growth of foreign area research in many American universities. This, in turn, attracted a new generation of anthropologists interested in an interdisciplinary approach to the study of complex societies in transition.

One of the earliest attempts to apply anthropological perspectives and techniques to the study of a unit in a

complex civilization was made not by an anthropologist but by two sociologists, Robert and Helen Lynd (1929), in their now classic Middletown. The introduction to the work by Clark Wissler emphasized the importance of this study for anthropologists.⁵ The Lynds, as well as many social scientists who followed in their footsteps during the next decade, employed an approach which had been developed by anthropologists in the context of field work with isolated tribal groups, whereby the culture of the tribe was viewed holistically, as a self-contained entity.⁶ Thus, a small community was, by analogy, regarded as a "representative microcosm" of the larger society (Mandelbaum, 1955a:214).

This position was challenged by many social scientists (Gillin, 1957; Mandelbaum, 1955a; Redfield, 1962a:375-391). "In the books about Middletown no attempt is made otherwise to relate Middletown to other various parts of the complex thing, the United States. There is no hint of a larger social and cultural whole of which Middletown is a part" (Redfield, 1962a:381). Warner's American Life: Dream and Reality (1953) was subjected to similar criticism: "...Warner tells his reader not so much about Newburyport or any other one community studied as about the United States" (Redfield, 1962a:381-382). Gillin maintains: "...I believe that it is now realized that no community, or local example, regardless of how comprehensively studied exemplifies in microcosm that culture of the nation-society of which it is a part" (1957:26).

In place of the "representative microcosm," Redfield

proposed the Little Community with its multiple extensions to the larger society and culture. A study of such a unit as a whole would include "not only the community intensively studied but also its connection with civilized entities outside of it" (Redfield, 1962a:382).

Gillin advocates "a systematic coordination of community studies leading to a complete picture of a modern national or areal culture..." (1957:26). Like Redfield, he recognizes that "most local communities have connections with national and international institutions" (Gillin, 1957:26).

Various attempts have been made to classify existing community studies (Arensberg, 1955; Gillin, 1949, 1957; Mandelbaum, 1955a; Redfield, 1962a:375-391; Strickon, 1964). Most of these classifications are based on an evaluation of the relationship between the unit studied and the larger area of which it is a part. Although no one of the above classifications is entirely satisfactory, Redfield's categories are wider in scope and in their application than those proposed by others. He classifies (1962a:375-391) the major community studies of the world into the following categories:

1. Those in which the community is made to represent a civilized nation. He places the studies of the Lynds (1929) and Warner (1953) in this category.
2. Those which are described as parts of a civilized system. As an example of this category Redfield refers to the study of The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure of a Nayasaland Tribe by Mitchell

(1956), The Negro Family in British Guiana by Raymond Smith (1956), and the community studies in India undertaken by various investigators such as Cohn (1954), Lewis (1965), Mandelbaum (1955b), Marriott (1960), Opler (1956, 1957), M. W. Smith (1952), and Srinivas (1952, 1955). The studies of Barnes (1954) and Park (1958) in Norway have also been placed in this category.

3. Those in which clusters of communities and their networks are regarded as components of a national culture. These are "anthropological representations of whole nations, not in the form of national characters or institutions, but in the form of arrangements of communities or components recognizable in communities" (Redfield, 1962a:386). The studies of Steward et al. (1956), Edmonson (1957), and Marriott and Cohn (1958) are suggested as examples.
4. Communities or subcultures conceived as vertical typologies⁷ of world areas or civilizations. Although no study fully covers the scope of this category, the papers of Wagley and Harris (1955) and Sinha (1959) follow this direction.

The present study does not fit neatly into any of these categories. Since its main focus is change, the structural networks were not overly emphasized. In several instances, however, the extensions of certain aspects of village life have been traced up to the national level. Therefore, we may

say that this account of an Indian village falls somewhere between Redfield's second and third categories.

Although systematic community studies did not appear in India until after World War II, "village studies" of various kinds have been pursued ever since the nineteenth century, mostly by missionaries and British administrators. Many of these were generalized descriptions of rural life. Some emphasized particular institutions, frequently political or social, according to the interests of their authors. Village-Communities in the East and West by Maine (1871), Bengal Peasant Life by Day (1872), Bihar Peasant Life by Grierson (1885), and The Indian Village Community by Baden-Powell (1896) are pioneering works of this nature. The influence of nineteenth century evolutionary theory was reflected in a number of these works, particularly those of Maine and Baden-Powell. In the early twentieth century the studies tended to be more descriptive and empirically oriented. Rural economic problems preoccupied many of these writers. The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt by Darling (1925) may be cited as a typical example of this interest.

The pre-World War II literature on village India may be broadly classified as follows:

1. Writings of administrators and academicians. These can be further subdivided into three categories based on the nature of the work.
 - a. Those which grew out of an interest in the ancient political systems of India. This

interest developed when the British Government decided to introduce administrative reforms on the village level. The works of Maine (1871), Baden-Powell (1896), and Mukerjee (1923) come under this heading. The authors tried to record and reconstruct the ancient forms of local government, such as the panchayat, which it was felt had been undermined by foreign conquests--first Muslim, then British. The applicability of ancient systems to contemporary Indian society and the impact of British rule on Indian village communities received special attention in these studies.

- b. Those which were mainly concerned with rural development. The works of Darling (1925, 1929, 1934) and Brayne (1929, 1937) may be referred to as examples. Both authors were engaged in development activities in rural Punjab. While Brayne, as a Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction and Development, was directly involved in development activities, Darling, as a Registrar of the Cooperative Societies of Punjab, tried to popularize cooperative movements in the area. The major emphases of their contributions were on the

economic development of that part of India. But other aspects of rural life were also included in the discussion. Both authors wrote on the basis of their own experience and field explorations.

- c. Those which examined the socio-economic life of rural India and were interested in general descriptions of village life. The works of Grierson (1885), Moreland (1904, 1914a, 1914b), and Jack (1916) fell into this category. These contributions were made by the British administrators on the basis of their personal field experience and individual interest.
2. Works of missionaries. Behind Mud Walls by the Wisers (1930) is a product of the authors' missionary work in a village of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). It is a detailed analysis of village life and also contains an interesting discussion of methodology, particularly of the techniques of establishing rapport. In addition to a number of less well-known missionary writings, the prize-winning essay of Rev. Lal Behari Day (1872),⁸ an Indian Christian, may be mentioned here. It provides a vivid description of life in the author's own village and depicts the emerging conflict between traditional values and the

desire for Western education.

3. Works of journalists and tourists. The contributions of Sen (1930) and of an anonymous tourist (1950) may be cited as examples. Gertrude Emerson Sen, a newspaper reporter, wrote her essay on the basis of her own experience in a north Indian village. Although her discussion is often tinged with subjectivity, her minute observations on the socio-economic and cultural life of the village make the essay interesting and informative. The work of the anonymous tourist, although published after World War II, was based on data collected during the years 1939-1946. In addition to accounts of the author's mystical experiences, the book contains some interesting observations on the socio-economic life of Indian villages.

In India, as in other parts of the world, the major developments in community studies took place after World War II. Although anthropology was taught in some Indian universities in the early 1920's, there was very little emphasis on the study of complex societies. Indian anthropologists were pre-occupied with the vast aboriginal population of India⁹ and did not regard the study of peasant societies as their proper domain. Thus the initial impulse for community studies in India came from the outside.

During and after World War II, when the United States Government became increasingly interested in area research,

India began to draw the attention of many American scholars. After Independence, a number of American individuals and organizations--both governmental and private--became involved in India's rural development programs. There was a coordinated effort on the part of the Government of India and foreign scholars, particularly those from the United States and the United Kingdom, to study Indian village communities. These studies were intended to provide a solid basis for the Government's programs of directed change. It was the convergence of this practical interest of the Indian Government and the more academic interest of the foreign scholars which was largely responsible for the anthropological study of complex society in India.

An investigation undertaken by the Cornell University India Project under the direction of Morris E. Opler and sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, was the first large-scale, interdisciplinary study of village communities conducted in India. Since the Indian Government was eager to have an evaluation of the impact of development activities on the villages, the work of the Cornell University India Project and the efforts of the Indian Government became in many respects a cooperative enterprise. Similarly, Oscar Lewis, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation, coordinated his studies with the development program of the Indian Government.

These community studies in India which have been launched since World War II have been of two major kinds. There were,

on the one hand, intensive studies of specific institutions or problems in rural India. Many of these focused on change. The following are some of the studies that can be included in this category: Ali (1960a, 1960b), Bailey (1957, 1960, 1963), T. K. Basu (1962), Beals (1964), Berreman (1962, 1963), Bose (1959), Chattopadhyay (1961), Cohn (1954), Damle (1955), Gough (1955, 1956), Karve and Damle (1963), Mandal and Sen Gupta (1962), Mandelbaum (1955b), Marriott (1960), A. C. Mayer (1960), Miller (1955), Mukherjee (1957), Newell (1955), Nicholas (1962), Opler (1956, 1957), Rosser (1955), Sarma (1955), R. D. Singh (1962), M. W. Smith (1952, 1955), Srinivas (1952, 1955), and Steed (1955).

Another type of study was that of representative village communities. This was more in the nature of a survey, and no special attention was paid to any particular aspect of village life. The community studies undertaken by the newly created Social Studies Section of the census organization of the Indian Government as part of the 1961 census operations are of this kind. Their main purpose is to substantiate and illustrate the census figures with facts. More than eight hundred villages were studied, and the results are now in process of publication. Although most of these studies are not very profound, the representativeness of the sample and the standardized approach that was utilized have produced kinds of data that may serve as the basis for a typological classification of villages in different parts of India. This would provide a useful

antidote to the unbalanced distribution of community studies, the locale of which has been determined primarily by the interests of individual scholars or the chance opportunities that fell their way.

The village that is the subject of this study is situated in the western part of Uttar Pradesh. This most heavily populated of Indian states plays a dominant role in national life. Eastern Uttar Pradesh, which includes Banaras, the heartland of ancient Hindu culture, has been intensively studied by anthropologists. Western Uttar Pradesh, on the other hand, with its large Muslim population and memories of Moghul rule, had not received much attention. As the Cornell University India Project had previously undertaken a study of a village in eastern Uttar Pradesh, the selection of this western area for research was made with the intention of providing a more balanced picture of rural Uttar Pradesh.

The data on which the present account is based were collected by members of the Cornell University India Project field staff during the years 1954-1956. In addition to providing an analysis of a village in an area that was not too well known, the purpose of the field work was to describe and evaluate the impact of the Community Development Program on rural communities in northern India. The Deoband Community Development Block was selected for the research, and intensive studies of two key communities were undertaken. Rankhandi, the larger of these communities, has already been described

in various published works (Dube, 1958; Hitchcock, 1956, 1959, 1960; Mahar, 1958, 1960; Retzlaff, 1962). The second of these communities, Jhabiran, is the subject of the present study.

This village was chosen because it contrasted with Rankhandi in many ways. Jhabiran, with its 754 people, is a village of average size. It is a Muslim-majority village with a caste composition different from that of Rankhandi. In terms of size, wealth, power, and political importance it is overshadowed by Rankhandi, which has a population of approximately 5,000. Jhabiran therefore acted as a control for the identification of general Indian village characteristics and for comparative possibilities as well.

Both Rankhandi and Jhabiran are in an area which was selected for inclusion in one of the earliest Community Development Blocks. Though Jhabiran received a certain amount of help from the Community Development Block, it was not a focus of special effort, as was Rankhandi. Yet this small village established a record in development activity that equaled that of larger and better-endowed communities.

What is the reason for the very different responses to planned development in a single geographical area? This question is central to an assessment of development programs in India. It is also important in studies of change resulting from planned development. In India's diversified society any given stimulus is likely to elicit a large variety of reactions.

Caste, religion, and economic interest always are important variables. These divisive factors often cause the various groups of a village to work at cross-purposes and frustrate the efforts of extension workers.

In Jhabiran, the existence of large Hindu and Muslim populations raised the question whether, in villages with strong factions and divisions along religious lines, sufficient unity could be achieved to make effort for common village purposes possible. Jhabiran also presented an opportunity to see to what degree the concepts originated by the Community Development Program would be undertaken and promoted by the people themselves. Since effort of equal intensity obviously cannot be financed for all of India's 558,000 villages, it is crucial for India's planners to know whether or not the impulses generated by their programs will diffuse widely.

The Deoband Community Development Block was inaugurated on October 2, 1953. The research in Jhabiran began during the summer of 1954, when the Community Development Program in this area was in full swing.

The research personnel who worked at the field level in Jhabiran and who contributed to the files of field notes were S. C. Dube, Leela Dube, Tuljaram Singh, Raghuraj Gupta, John T. Hitchcock, Shyam Narain Singh, and Umesh Joshi. In order to obtain the best possible rapport and opportunities for observation, all members of the field staff were encouraged to participate in village activities whenever possible.

The sources utilized for this study fall into three broad categories. Main reliance, of course, was placed on the field materials. These include records of observations, interviews and questionnaires (both structured and unstructured), records of informal discussions, genealogies, a large number of photographs, and detailed census data that yielded a good deal of information about many aspects of the villagers' social and economic life as well as the usual demographic material. These project field data were supplemented by village government records which were made available to the investigators by local officials.

Published materials pertinent to this study were also extensively used. Some are articles, monographs, and books based on field work in this area; others are government publications related primarily to the Community Development Program. In addition, published sources of a more general nature were consulted. These have all been listed in the bibliography.

Finally, a few unpublished manuscripts and a doctoral dissertation based on field work in the same general locality were utilized. References to these have also been included in the bibliography.

The analysis of this considerable body of data has been guided by four major considerations, which may be formulated as follows:

1. How does directed change affect the life of an average Indian village consisting of an almost equally divided Hindu-Muslim population?

2. To what extent will indigenous leadership support and promote the extension work initiated by the government?
3. What socio-cultural factors are involved in directed change, and to what extent do they accelerate or delay its implementation?
4. Is change always unidirectional, or should occasional reversal and unexpected detours be anticipated as possible results of innovation?

This study differs in several respects from other community studies in India. First, while a considerable amount of descriptive ethnographical material is included, its primary focus is not tradition but change. Secondly, the changes investigated are those resulting not from cultural drift but from the intensive and planned efforts of a newly independent government pressed by the problems of overpopulation and poverty. Because the study was initiated only a short time after the appearance of the Community Development Program on the local scene, it was possible to observe these changes from their inception.

Most evaluation studies of planned change have been undertaken by the governments which inaugurated them. In India, the Program Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission is the most important agency for this purpose. Evaluations from such sources are often greeted by the charge of bias and vested interest, no matter how careful the investigators attempt to be. The present study is the result of an effort to enlist the cooperation of outside field workers and scholars in the task

of research and evaluation. Moreover, it attempts to fit the pattern of change brought about by particular extension programs into the larger picture of social and cultural transformation that this village has undergone in recent years.

The problems of factionalism and leadership have been given particular attention in this study. Factionalism of one kind or another has frequently been cited as one of the most important obstacles to rural development in India. Both its causes and possible remedies may be clearly discerned in Jhabiran. Here, the largest single asset in the government's development program was one man, an extraordinary village leader, who again and again, through the force of his personality, succeeded in overcoming personal feuds, political rivalries, and the antagonisms of religion, caste, and class. This may be attributed by some to idiosyncratic and charismatic leadership. But closer examination will reveal that this is not the whole story. Indian society is particularly receptive to the kind of leadership exemplified by the career of this man and--for all its inner divisions--responds to the leitmotif of his ideals and the aim of all his efforts: unity. As statesmen, planners, and observers have repeatedly proclaimed, only if the centrifugal and disruptive tendencies in Indian society are held in check can national development, as well as national unity, become a reality. The study of Jhabiran suggests that, given the proper combination of men, ideas, and circumstances, it can be done.

FOOTNOTES

1. Complete references for this and subsequent citations will be found in the bibliography.
2. Firth makes a distinction between "unit of observation" and "unit of survey" (1951:48-49). By unit of observation he means that human whole in which he is interested and which he can himself directly observe and record. It is the unit that is studied intensively. The unit of survey, on the other hand, is a larger entity which is known to the anthropologist through a less intensive inspection.
3. Strickon observed: "After World War II, the proportion of articles and book reviews in the American Anthropologist devoted to contemporary Latin America as against native South and Middle America was reversed. Articles or book reviews on the aboriginal cultures of the area became relatively rare, while articles and reviews devoted to research on peoples involved in the complex socio-political systems of Latin America were most frequent. This phenomenon, of course, was not limited to the Western Hemisphere, but was part of a growing social anthropological concern with complex societies all over the world" (1964:138).
4. As Mandelbaum puts it: "Not the least of these reasons lies in the general temper of the times in Western civilization, particularly in the more westerly parts thereof. Two world wars have left, among other things, a widespread concern for a better understanding of human behavior..." (1955a:203).
5. Although in his introduction Wissler induced his readers to think that complete ethnological techniques were employed in the modern middle western community study, Gillin states: "The Lynds' book, together with its sequel Middletown in Transition (1937), was a good sociological study primarily in the interactionist, rather than the cultural, tradition" (1957:25).
6. Warner writes that when the anthropologist studies his own society (modern complex society), his approach and methods need not be different from those he uses in the study of primitive societies (1953:27).
7. Redfield uses the word "vertical" in a slightly different way: "I have referred to this classification as 'vertical.' But as 'vertical' here is not the same in meaning as Steward's 'vertical' (where the word refers to local

groups), here it will be better simply to say that the nine categories of Wagley and Harris may be seen to make up a single structure of societal relationships of such a nature..." (1962a:389).

8. "...this book of the Rev. Day written in response to an offer of a prize of £50 made by the Sri Joy Kissen Mookerjea of Uttarpara, a benevolent and illustrious zamindar of Bengal. The book of the Rev. Day was adjudicated as the best among the essays submitted, and its worthy author obtained the aforesaid prize" (T. K. Basu, 1962:1).
9. According to the 1961 census, the aboriginal population of India is 29,883,470.

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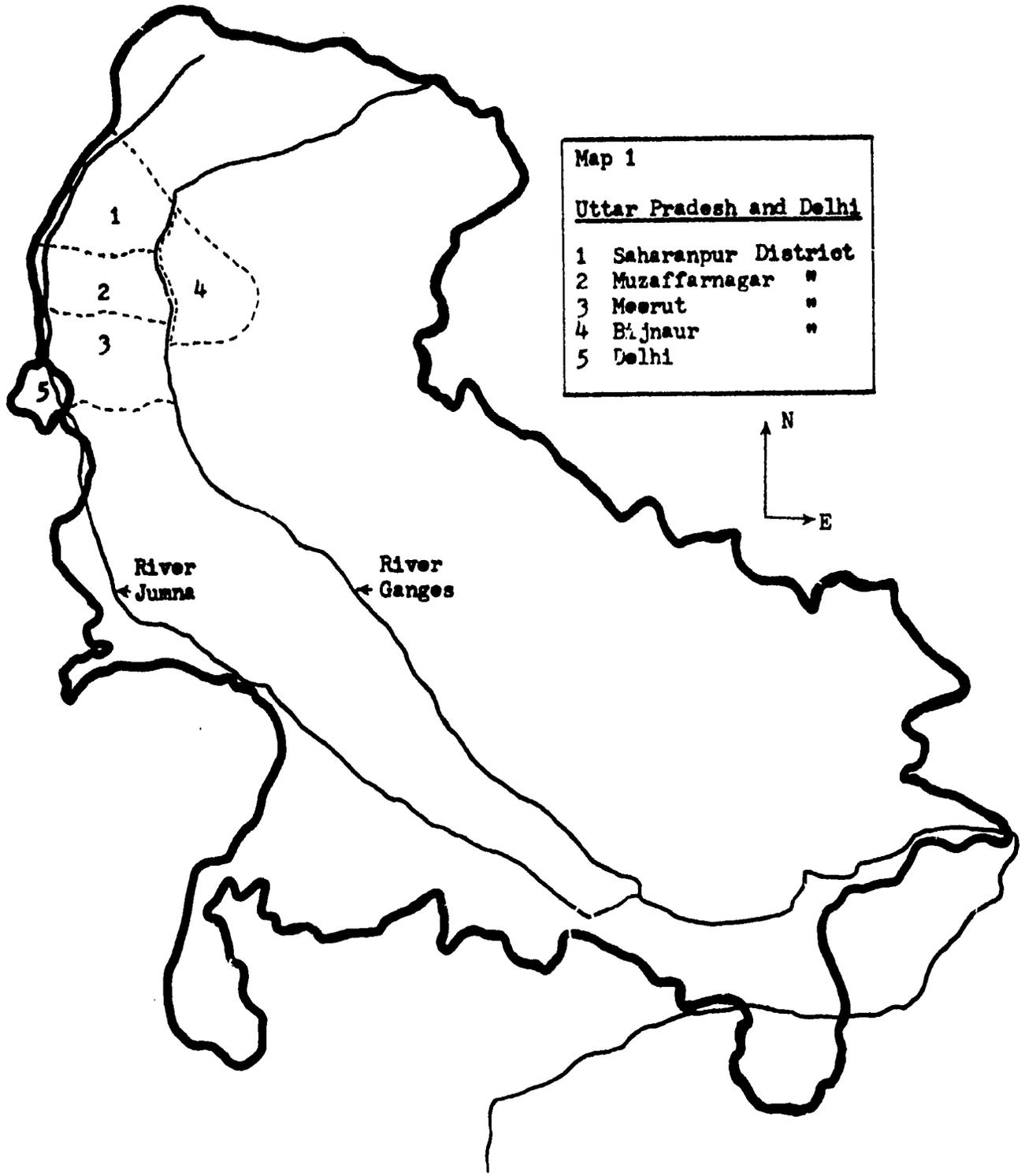
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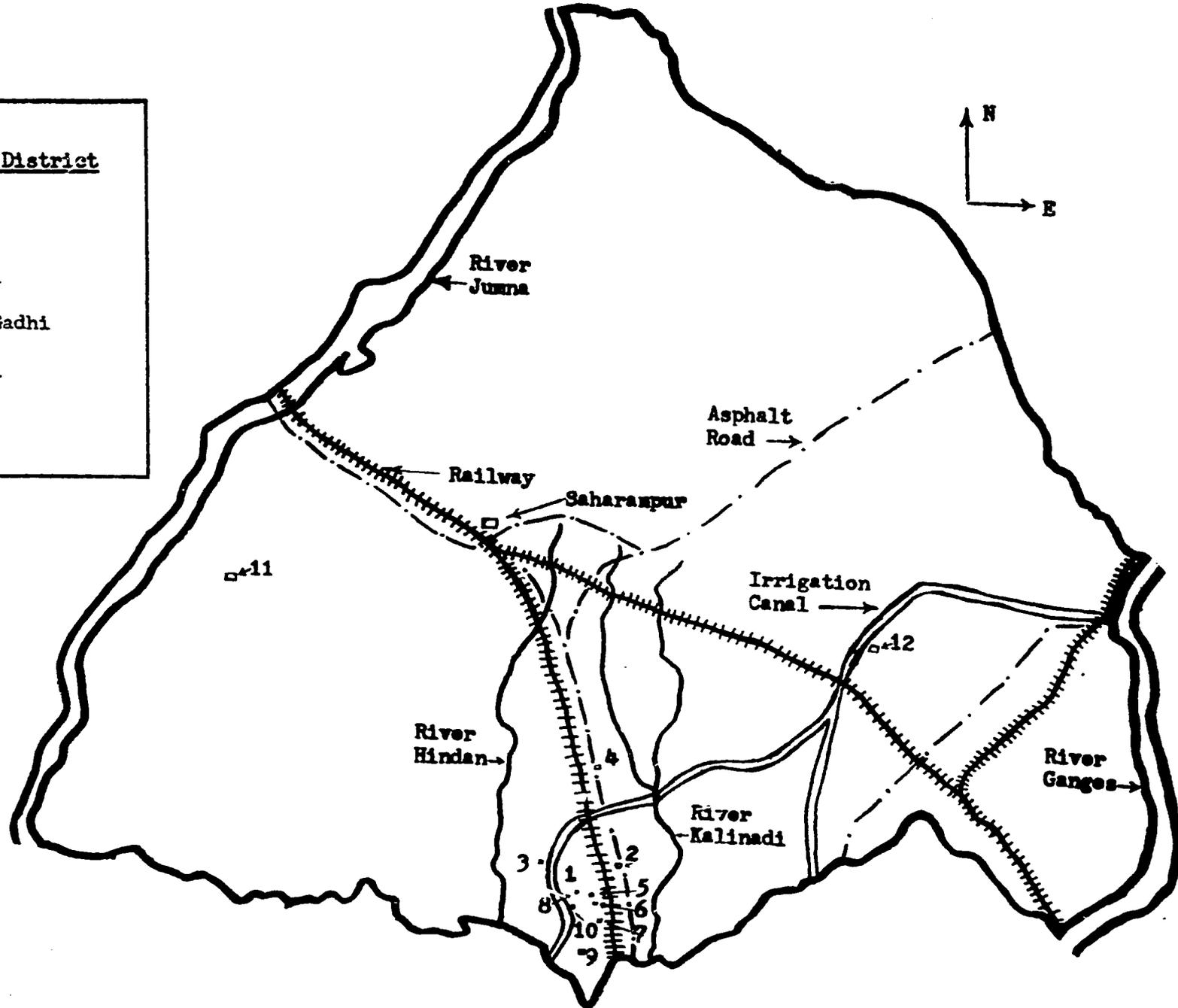
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Map 2

Saharanpur District

- 1 Jhabiran
- 2 Deoband
- 3 Bhaila
- 4 Telheri
- 5 Lakhnauti
- 6 Issarpur
- 7 Amarpur Gadhi
- 8 Kulsath
- 9 Rankhandi
- 10 Gunarsa
- 11 Nakur
- 12 Roorkee



PART I

THE VILLAGE AND ITS SETTING

CHAPTER I
ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

The village of Jhabiran is situated in Saharanpur, a district in the northwestern part of the State of Uttar Pradesh, India. The district lies between the Ganges and the Jumna rivers in the northwestern portion of the Gangetic plain, known as doab.¹ The village is situated in the Deoband subdivision² of the district, approximately 2.5 miles southwest of the city of Deoband. The approximate latitude and longitude of the village are 29°40' North and 77°37.5' East respectively.

The Deoband subdivision occupies the south-central portion of the district. It is bounded by the city of Saharanpur on the north, Nakur on the west, Roorkee on the east, and Muzaffarnagar on the south. As we read in Nevill, "...the entire area belongs to the upland tract, the high level being varied only by the depressions along which flow the rivers and streams" (1921:232-233). The river Kalinadi and its affluents flow through the east of the subdivision; the river Hindan with its tributaries flows through the west. The village of Jhabiran is almost equidistant from the two river systems, and the minimum distance between the village and each of the two main rivers is about 4.5 miles.

The climate of the area is monsoonal. Usually the monsoon arrives in this region at the end of June and continues to the middle of September. During this period the humidity

is very high and the area experiences occasional rainfall. "When temperatures are not moderated by rain, they reach 100°F. and sometimes more. Because of the proximity of the mountains, which are close enough to be visible on clear days, the nights are cooler than they are farther to the east and south" (Hitchcock, 1956:3).

With the retreat of the monsoon the sky becomes clear and the temperature falls. The nights from November to February are quite cold. During this time the village roads become very dusty. The area is sometimes visited by winter rains, occasionally accompanied by hail or wind. From the beginning of March the mercury begins to rise again. In April the temperature soars. A hot wind, known as the luu,³ fills the atmosphere with dust, which clings to clothes and skin. So bad is the dust that it sometimes obscures visibility. During the summer months agricultural activities are minimal, and the fields and roads are almost deserted.

The communication system of the area is moderately developed. A broad-gauge track of the Northern Railway passes through Deoband. This is the main line that connects this area with Punjab State, Delhi, and other parts of India. The railway station nearest to Jhabiran is at Deoband. The distance between Deoband and Saharanpur, the headquarters of the district, is about 20 miles, and the two places are connected by both railway and road. The headquarters of the neighboring district of Muzaffarnagar is about 15 miles south of Deoband, and that, too, is linked with the latter by road

and by railway. An asphalt road that runs parallel to the railroad passes through Deoband. The nearest point of that road to Jhabiran is about 2.5 miles. An unpaved, all-weather road connects the village of Jhabiran with Deoband in one direction and Chiraon in the other. In addition to these means of transportation there is a network of bullock cart paths and footpaths that links Jhabiran with the neighboring villages.

The nearest post and telegraph office to Jhabiran is at Deoband. The nearest police station is at Deoband, where there is also a government rest-house to accommodate visitors.

In addition to these facilities, there are also two sugar mills in Deoband which exert considerable influence on the economy of the villagers of Jhabiran. An irrigation canal⁴ of the Upper Ganges Canal System passes close to Jhabiran. It irrigates a portion of the cultivable area of the village.

Deoband is well known for its ancient religious and historical associations. Daar-ul-ulam, one of the oldest--and probably the largest--Arabic universities of Asia, is situated in Deoband. It is also said that the Pandava⁵ lived in this area during their first exile. The Muslims claim that one of the earliest Muslim conquerors, Saiyid Salar Masaud, came to this area and occupied it. According to Nevill:

The name is supposed to be a corruption of Devi-ban, the sacred forest, and in one of the many groves which almost surround the site rendering it almost invisible from the railway, there is an ancient temple of Debi, where a religious gathering takes place annually in the month of Chait. There are,

however, but few old buildings in the place, although its importance under the Musalmans is proved by the existence of the Jami Masjid built by Sikandar Lodi in 1507 and one, among forty-one others, attributed to Aurangzeb and founded in 1664. (Nevill, 1921:224)

It is interesting to note here that Abdul Sattar, one of the Muslim Tiyaagii villagers of Jhabiran, traces his khaandaan⁶ relationship to the emperor Akbar. On the whole it can be said that the area was closely connected with ancient Hindu and Muslim cultures.

There is a saying that Jhabiran took its name from thickets of a thorny bush called zaahoorii ban⁷ which covered the site when the earliest settlers arrived. As the village is dominated by the Tiyaagii caste, and in order to distinguish it from other villages of the same name in the region, the village is commonly described as Taga Jhabiran or Tyagiyon ka Jhabiran.⁸

Jhabiran is a multicasite village. There are ten Hindu castes and six Muslim castes living in the village. These castes and their traditional occupations are as follows:

		<u>Hindu</u>	
BraahmaN	Priests	Jooggii	Beggars
Tiyaagii	Landowners and farmers	Kumhaar	Potters
Dhiimaan	Carpenters	Chamaar	Leather-workers
SiaanNii	Gardeners and vegetable- growers	Bhangii	Sweepers
Jhiiuaar	Fishermen		
Loohaar	Blacksmiths		

Muslim

Tiyaagii	Landowners and farmers
Phakiir	Religious mendicants
Loohaar	Blacksmiths
Naaii	Barbers
Saakkaa	Water carriers
Teelii	Oil-pressers

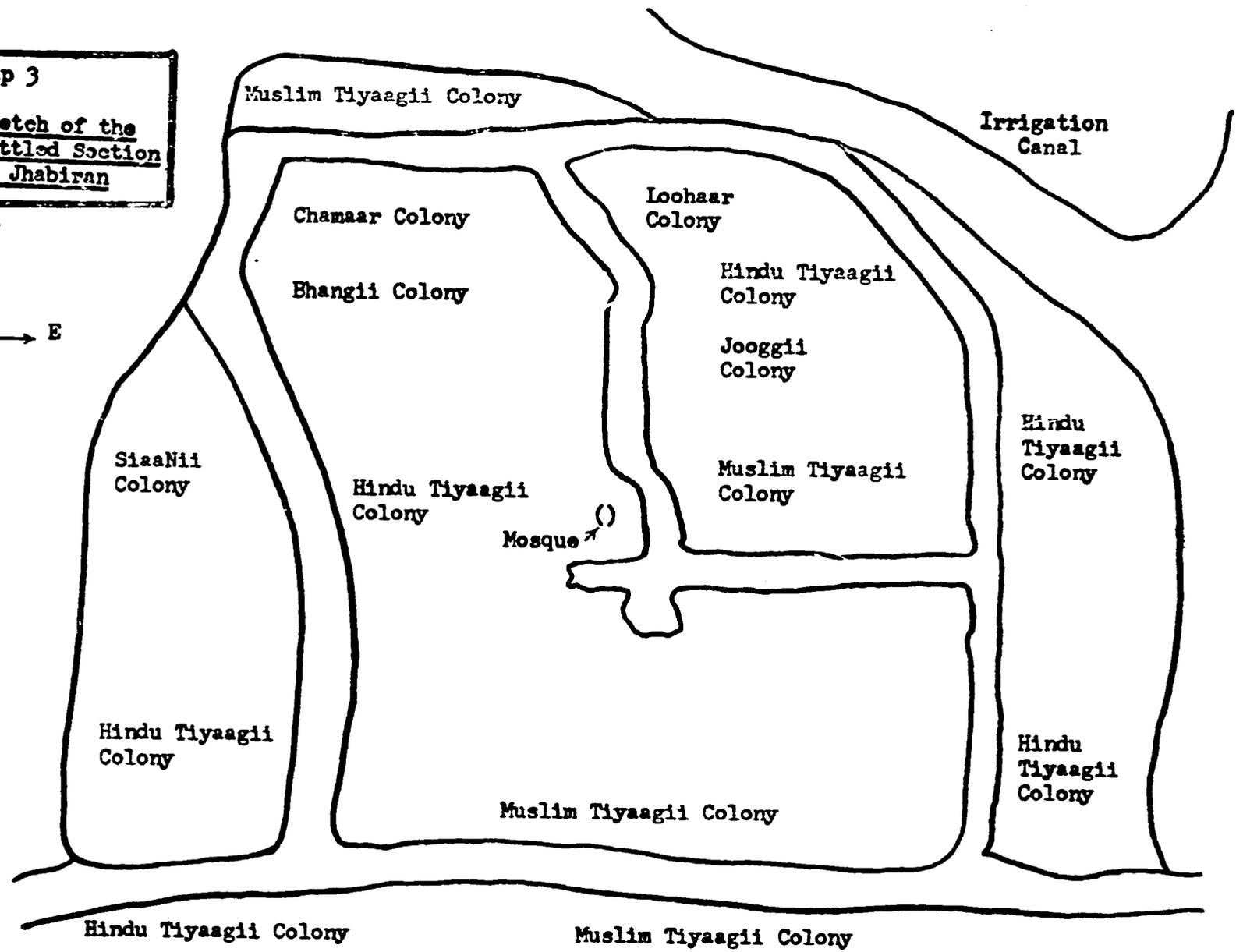
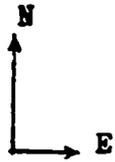
The dominant caste is the Tiyaagii, which has both Hindu and Muslim branches. This group owns and occupies the major portion of the village land. All other castes except the Jooggii, who occupy a small area in the central portion of the village, live on the outskirts of the main settlement. (See Map 3.)

When entering the village from the east (from the direction of Deoband), one first passes through the Tiyaagii settlements. The houses of the Hindu Tiyaagii lie on the right side, whereas the left side is occupied by the Muslim Tiyaagii. The Loohaar colony is situated in the northeast corner of the village, and the Chamaar and the Bhangii occupy the northwest corner. The Siaaii live in the extreme west end of the village.

A mosque stands almost in the center of the village. A primary school has recently been built on the southeastern edge, and a Hindu temple, still under construction at the time of the field work, is also located there.

As there is an uneven ratio of population of different castes in Jhabiran and as most of the village proper is occupied

Map 3
Sketch of the Settled Section of Jhabiran



by a single caste, we do not find the paTTii⁹ division that is characteristic of other multicaste villages in the neighborhood.

Jhabiran is a nucleated¹⁰ village, and the houses are situated on both sides of the village streets. Trees, orchards, and shallow ditches separate the inhabited area from the agricultural fields. Both traditional and "modern" houses are found in Jhabiran. Differences in residential styles are usually based on the caste, wealth, education, and political status of the house owner.

There are three different kinds of traditional dwellings: kooTThaa,¹¹ dukaDiiaa,¹² and chaudbaaraa.¹³ All are single-roomed structures, built in a pit about 6 feet deep and 25 feet long. The width of a kooTThaa is about 9 feet, whereas that of the other two is twice this amount.

These three kinds of houses have mud walls and mud roofs. A special type of fine clay which resists rain and erosion is used on the roof. All of these three types of houses lack any kind of ventilation. A dukaDiiaa differs from a chaudbaaraa only by the number of doors it has. The former may have one or two doors, but the latter always has four doors, as the name indicates.

No house at Jhabiran has any separate structure which could be called a kitchen. Either the courtyard or--lacking this--any open corner beside the house may be used for cooking purposes in good weather. In bad weather, the chuulhaa¹⁴ or clay stove is shifted to a more protected corner or is moved

inside the house. Most of the houses of this village are devoid of any kind of bathroom or latrine facilities, and the drainage system of the village as a whole is poorly developed.

The modern houses of the village are all made of brick. Some are public buildings and some are privately owned dwellings.

Most of the village houses have an enclosed, roofed area known as a gheer.¹⁵ A gheer serves several purposes. Its primary function is to house the cattle of the owner. But it also is used as a combined living and dining room for the male members of the family and for accommodating male guests. In the absence of any communal chaupaaD¹⁶ at Jhabiran, the gheer have become the centers of gossip groups, smoking (hukkaas) groups, factions (dhaadaa), and village gatherings in general.

Landless artisan castes of Jhabiran do not have gheer. They keep their cattle in the baagaad (open spaces adjoining the women's quarters). On winter nights they keep them in any deserted house in the vicinity or sometimes inside the actual living quarters of the family.

FOOTNOTES

1. From the Persian do (two) and ab (water); therefore, a place lying between two rivers.
2. An administrative and revenue unit in charge of a Deputy Magistrate and Collector.
3. Derived from the Hindi word lav, meaning "flame." This word is frequently spelled loo in the older literature.
4. It is locally known as khaal.
5. The heroes of the Hindu epic, the Mahabharata.
6. A khaandaan is a paternal lineage group, that is, a group of people living in the same village or locality who trace their descent from a named ancestor. From the Persian, meaning "a lineage group of high reputation."
7. Zaahoorii ban literally means "poisonous forest."
8. This means, literally, "Jhabiran of the Taga or Tiyaagii."
9. A separate section or quarter of a village in which members of a certain caste normally are concentrated.
10. One which has a central settled area surrounded by agricultural fields.
11. Literally, "room." Derived from the Sanskrit kostha.
12. Literally, "a house with double beams." Thus the width of the house is doubled.
13. A house which has four doors.
14. A small, semicircular stove of clay fed from the front and with one or two holes at the top for cooking pots.
15. Literally, "an enclosure."
16. A simple structure without any wall. Originally it was meant to serve as a village assembly house. In most of the neighboring villages of Jhabiran there are chaupaaD for village gatherings. Sometimes different castes maintain different chaupaaD. At Jhabiran there is only one chaupaaD, which is privately owned by a BraanmaN family.

CHAPTER II
THE PEOPLE, LANGUAGE, AND LITERACY

The People

The history of Jhabiran goes back six hundred years. Villagers say that the present site of the village was first occupied by a Hindu Tiyaagii family that came from the southwest. Later a member of this family was converted to Islam and married out of caste.

At the time this study was made (in 1954-55), there were 158 families in Jhabiran, totaling 754 persons.¹ Of these, 436 were males and 318 were females, roughly a ratio of 4 males to 3 females. Of the total of 158 families who permanently lived in the village, 69 were Hindu and 89 were Muslim. There were 348 Hindus, of whom 202 were males and 146 were females. The 406 Muslims consisted of 234 males and 172 females. Thus in both religious groups we find males outnumbering females in about the same proportion. In an analysis of the village population according to caste, the sex ratio pattern remains more or less the same, except in the case of the Muslim Phakiir, the Muslim Naaii, and the Bhangii. In the case of the Muslim Phakiir, the males numbered 13 and the females 15. The Bhangii numbered 7 males and 9 females. Among the Muslim Naaii there were 3 males and 6 females.

A detailed picture of the population of Jhabiran, broken down according to religion, sex, and caste, is given in Table 1.

Table 1

Population Distribution in Jhabiran

	<u>Caste</u>	<u>Number of families</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
HINDU:	Tiyaagii	17	56	45	101
	BraahmaN	2	3	2	5
	Dhiimaan	2	14	7	21
	SiaanNii	5	12	8	20
	Jhiivaar	1	6	2	8
	Loohaar	8	22	13	35
	Jooggii	2	5	3	8
	Kumhaar	2	11	5	16
	Chamaar	25	66	52	118
	Bhangii	5	7	9	16
		—	—	—	—
Total		69	202	146	348
<hr/>					
MUSLIM:	Tiyaagii	72	202	141	343
	Phakiir	8	13	15	28
	Loohaar	1	2	1	3
	Naaii	2	3	6	9
	Saakkaa	2	5	2	7
	Teelii	4	9	7	16
		—	—	—	—
Total		89	234	172	406
<hr/>					
Grand Total		158	436	318	754

The Muslims are numerically stronger than the Hindus in Jhabiran, constituting 54% of the population.² Among both Hindus and Muslims, the Tiyaagii are the most important caste groups in the village. Though both sections call themselves Tiyaagii and are aware of the common ancestry, the difference in religion has created a gulf between them.

Besides the Tiyaagii there are a number of other castes which have gradually been added to the village population. Since Indian independence in 1947 nine new families have come to Jhabiran. All of these families except two (one Hindu Tiyaagii and one Muslim Tiyaagii) belong to various artisan castes. Six of these artisan families are Muslim and one is Hindu. Since the majority of the population of the village is Muslim, it has attracted Muslims from the adjacent villages in which they were a minority. Such movements have been stimulated by the increasing post-Independence development of communal consciousness between Hindus and Muslims.

Although they live in the same village, the Hindus and Muslims of Jhabiran have their independent ritual systems, and in many aspects of their social life they tend to function as two distinct groups.

Among all the Hindu castes of Jhabiran the BraahmaN³ have the fewest number, five persons in all. There are only two families of BraahmaN. One family consists of three persons, and the other of two.

The Hindu Tiyaagii constitute approximately 13% of the total population of the village. There are two different

views of the origin of the Tiyaagii related to the double meaning of their caste name. Tiyaagii means both "one who has renounced" and "one who has been left out." In both legends BraahmaN ancestry is claimed for the Tiyaagii. According to one story, they renounced three things: the study of the Veda,⁴ the performace of priestly functioncs, and the acceptance of alms. In recognition of their renunciation the people are called Tiyaagii.⁵ The other myth maintains that when Manu, the lawgiver of the Hindus, was allotting different situations in life to different castes, for some unknown reason he ignored a section of the BraahmaN. They were left to take to the tilling of the soil. Because they were "left out" by Manu, they became known as Tiyaagii.⁶

There are 17 Hindu Tiyaagii families in the village, with a total of 101 individuals. The average number of persons per family among the Hindu Tiyaagii is 5.94.

There are 2 Dhiimaan families in Jhabiran, totaling 21 persons. The total number of SiaanNii families is 5, consisting of 20 persons. The Jhiiuaar are represented by only one family of 8 members. There are 8 Hindu Loohaar families with a total population of 35. There are two Kumhaar families, consisting of 16 individuals. The five Bhangii families have a total of 16 individuals.

The two Joogii families consist of 8 persons, 5 in one and 3 in the other. Their traditional occupation is begging, and even today they depend mainly on this source for their livelihood.

The Chamaar form the second largest caste group in the village. There are 25 families with a total of 118 persons. They constitute nearly 34% of the Hindu population. The average number of people per Chamaar family is 4.72.

The Muslim Tiyaagii are the largest single group in the village. There are 72 Muslim Tiyaagii families, totaling 343 persons, or 46% of the village population. Their average family size is 4.76 individuals. As far as their origin is concerned, the Muslim Tiyaagii make the same claim to BraahmaN ancestry as do their Hindu counterparts and rank themselves at the top of all Muslim castes in India.

There are 8 Phakiir families in Jhabiran comprised of 28 individuals. The Phakiir occupy a special status in the village social hierarchy. Although for practical purposes they may be treated as a caste since they are endogamous and until recently prohibited interdining even with other Muslim castes, they originally constituted a religious sect, which drew recruits from many other Muslim castes. They claim that most of them came from very high and noble families and renounced their honorable professions in this world for the kingdom of God, thus becoming Phakiir. So Phakiir is not originally an inherited caste. It is, rather, a status acquired by individuals who embraced a certain way of life. However, at present the descendants of a Phakiir are also known as Phakiir, regardless of religious interests.

There is only one Muslim Loohaar family, of 3 individuals, in Jhabiran. It is generally believed that an ancestor of this

Muslim Loohaar was originally a Hindu, though Lala Loohaar of Jhabiran maintains that his occupation derives from Hazrat Daaub,⁷ the Muslim folk hero, who used his hands and feet as tools to mould and manufacture iron implements.

The two Muslim Naaii families in Jhabiran have 9 members, 6 in one and 3 in the other. Baru Naaii of Jhabiran claims that their ancestors were originally from Turkestan⁸ and that they came to this area in the remote past.

There are two Muslim Saakka families in Jhabiran, consisting of 7 persons. According to Masita Saakka of Jhabiran, they are descendants of Hazrat Umar.⁹ He relates that during the battle of Karbala¹⁰ thousands of soldiers were dying of thirst, as there was no available water nearby. This touched the heart of Hazrat Umar. He killed a goat and made a mashak¹¹ from its hide and a bucket from its cranium. With the help of these Hazrat Umar served water to the thirsty. Since then, his descendants have come to be known as bhisti¹² and are called Saakkaa in this part of India.

The number of Muslim Teelii families in Jhabiran is 4, comprised of 16 individuals. It is generally believed that they were converted from the ranks of their Hindu counterparts. An informant from this group, however, claims that they are the descendants of Hazrat Mohammad. As the story goes, in the remote past one of the ancestors of this Teelii took up oil-pressing as his profession. Since then they have been known as the Teelii.

Table 2 shows the age group distribution of the two

Table 2

Age Group Distribution in Jhabiran by Caste and Sex

Caste	0 to 5		5 to 15		15 to 55		Over 55		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
HINDU:										
Tiyaagii	7	13	10	4	36	27	3	1	56	45
BraahmaN	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	3	2
Dhiimaan	2	1	5	2	5	3	2	1	14	7
SiaanNii	1	1	3	1	7	6	1	-	12	8
Jhiiuuar	-	1	1	-	5	1	-	-	6	2
Loohaar	2	3	9	2	8	8	3	-	22	13
Jooggii	-	1	2	1	3	1	-	-	5	3
Kumhaar	4	-	2	-	5	5	-	-	11	5
Chamaar	15	5	17	17	32	29	2	1	66	52
Bhangii	-	-	1	2	5	6	1	1	7	9
Total	31	25	50	29	109	87	12	5	202	146
MUSLIM:										
Tiyaagii	33	31	64	32	96	76	9	2	202	141
Phakiir	2	1	1	4	9	10	1	-	13	15
Loohaar	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	1
Naaii	-	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	3	6
Seakkaa	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	5	2
Teelii	2	1	1	2	6	4	-	-	9	7
Total	38	35	67	41	118	94	11	2	234	172
Grand Total	69	60	117	70	227	181	23	7	436	318

religious groups in Jhabiran by caste and sex. Of the total population of the village, 41.9% belong to the age group of 15 years or below. Those who belong to the age group of 15 years or below and those who are above 55 years of age together constitute 45.8% of the total population. Among the Hindus, 43.6% belong to these age categories, and in the case of the Muslims the proportion is 47.7%. Of all the caste groups the Loohaar have the greatest percentage of population belonging to these two age groups, namely, 54.2%.

An analysis of birth and death registers maintained by the chaukidaar¹³ of Jhabiran reveals many interesting demographic features. For our purpose we have analyzed the records of births and deaths for seven consecutive years starting from January, 1949.

Table 3 gives the figures indicating the total number of births and their sex distribution over a 7-year period.

Table 3

Distribution of Total Numbers of Births according to Sex.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1949	23	17	40
1950	20	13	33
1951	18	12	30
1952	23	19	42
1953	14	14	28
1954	15	14	29
1955	13	13	26
Total	<u>126</u>	<u>102</u>	<u>228</u>

One of the interesting features we notice in Table 3 is that in all years except 1953 and 1955 the number of recorded births of male children is much higher than the number recorded for female children. If we consider the total number of male and female children born during the 7-year period, we find a considerable discrepancy between the two sexes. In both 1953 and 1955 the sex ratio of the total recorded births is 1:1, and for 1954 the figures are nearly alike. A careful scrutiny of the figures reveals that the difference in sex ratio in recorded births is decreasing every year. The column showing the total number of births every year also gives an interesting picture. In fact, it makes more or less an "S" curve with a general tendency of decline in total number of births. The sex ratio of the number of children born during the 7-year period corresponds with the existing sex ratio of the total population of Jhabiran.

An analysis of death records of Jhabiran is also of interest. (See Table 4.) There were all together 188 deaths in the village during the 7-year period. Of these 188 deaths, 62.7% fall in the age group of 5 and below. This indicates a very high rate of infant mortality in this area. Of the rest, 6.9% of the deaths are in the age group of 5 to 15, 17.0% are in the age group of 15 to 55, and 13.3% are in the age group of 55 and above. If we consider the individual years, we find that, except in 1952, more than 50% of the total number of deaths fall in the age group of 5 and below. In 1952 there were 26 deaths in the village. Of these, 12 are in the age

Table 4

Incidence of Death in Different Age Groups

<u>Year</u>	<u>0 to 5</u>		<u>5 to 15</u>		<u>15 to 55</u>		<u>Over 55</u>		<u>Total</u>		<u>Causes of death</u>		<u>Grand Total</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Fever</u>	<u>Other</u>	
1949	3	10	-	1	3	2	1	-	7	13	20	-	20
1950	12	9	-	1	2	4	2	-	16	14	29	1*	30
1951	8	4	-	1	1	3	-	1	9	9	18	-	18
1952	7	5	1	1	2	1	4	5	14	12	26	-	26
1953	11	15	1	3	2	4	4	5	18	27	42	3**	45
1954	4	6	1	1	1	4	-	-	6	11	17	-	17
1955	9	15	1	1	1	2	1	2	12	20	31	1***	32
Total	54	64	4	9	12	20	12	12	82	106	183	5	188

* Lung trouble

** Chicken pox (2), smallpox (1)

*** Tuberculosis

group of 5 and below, 2 are in the age group of 5 to 15, 3 are in the age group of 15 to 55, and 9 are in the age group of 55 and above.

As far as the causes of death are concerned, in 183 cases out of the total of 188 deaths fever was recorded as the cause. Of the remaining five cases, two died of chicken pox, one died of smallpox, another died of lung trouble, and the remaining one died of tuberculosis.

If we consider the total number of deaths, we find that the incidence of death among females is much higher than that among males. Of the 188 who died, 106 were females and 82 were males. In the various age groups the same pattern also holds. In the age group of 5 years and below, out of the 118 deaths there are 54 males and 64 females. In the age group of 5 to 15 the male-female death ratio is 4:9. In the age group of 15 to 55 the male-female death ratio is 3:5, and in the age group of 55 and above it is 12:13. Since in Hindu society special importance is attached to the male child, boys are usually better cared for. So the discrepancy in the death rates between the sexes is understandable.

In the year 1953 the maximum number of deaths, 45, was recorded in the village. The lowest death figure was in 1954, when it was only 17. A comparison of these figures with the birth records of the village is revealing. Since the table shows the greatest number of births to have occurred in 1952 and since the rate of infant mortality is very high, one can expect a high incidence of death in 1953. In actual fact, the maximum number of deaths is recorded for 1953. Again, 1953

records at Jhabiran show the second lowest number of births during the period under consideration. Consequently, because of the important role of infant mortality in the vital statistics, it is expected that the number of deaths in 1954 would be fewer. The data correspond with the anticipated result. (See Chart 1.)

Language

The language spoken in the district of Saharanpur is a part of vernacular Hindustani,¹⁴ a subdialect of western Hindi. According to Nevill, Urdu or Hindustani¹⁵ "is spoken in a remarkably pure form even by the villagers, owing no doubt to their long-established contact with Musalmans" (1921:114). Gumperz¹⁶ thinks that the dialect of Saharanpur represents a transition dialect between the KhaRi boli¹⁷ of Bijnaur and Moradabad to the east and the Bangaru¹⁸ of Karnal, west of the Jumna River.

Literacy

Table 5 depicts literacy in the village. Of the total population of Jhabiran, 19.2% are literate.¹⁹ The percentage of literacy among males is considerably higher than among females. Of the total number of males, 29.8% are literate, whereas in the case of females the proportion of literates is only 4.7%.

Among the Hindus all castes except the Bhangii have some literate members, while among the Muslim artisan and professional castes there are no literate individuals. However, as

Chart 1
Distribution of Total Number of Births and Deaths

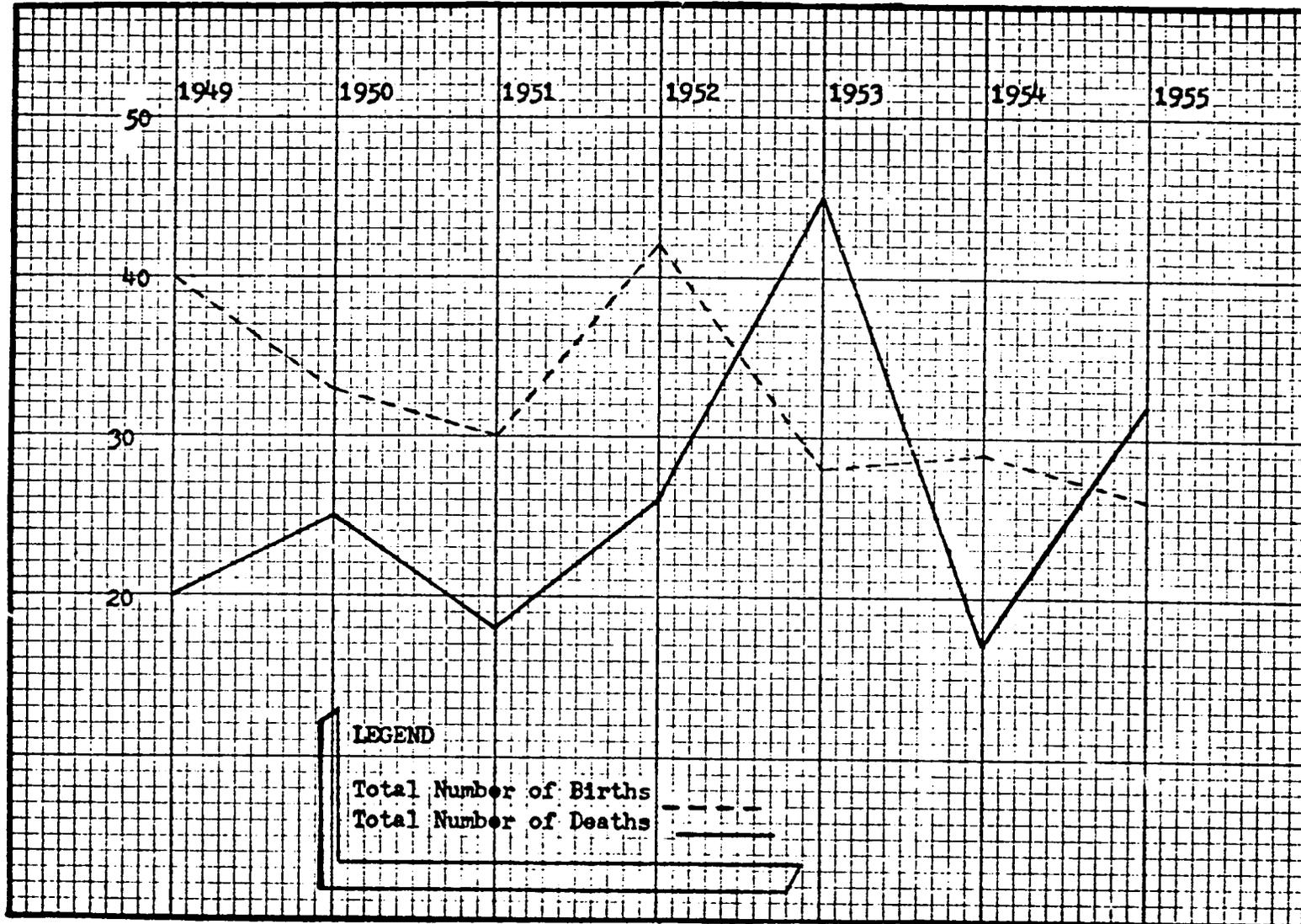


Table 5

Literacy

	<u>Caste</u>	<u>Literate</u>		<u>Illiterate</u>		<u>Total</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
HINDU:	Tiyaagii	29	1	27	44	56	45
	BraahmaN	3	1	-	1	3	2
	Dhiimaan	7	-	7	7	14	7
	SiaanNii	1	-	11	8	12	8
	Jhiisuar	2	-	4	2	6	2
	Loohaar	5	1	17	12	22	13
	Jooggii	3	-	2	3	5	3
	Kumhaar	1	-	10	5	11	5
	Chanaur	15	-	51	52	66	52
	Bhangii	-	-	7	9	7	9
Total		<u>66</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>136</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>202</u>	<u>146</u>
MUSLIM:	Tiyaagii	59	11	143	130	202	141
	Phakiir	5	1	8	14	13	15
	Loohaar	-	-	2	1	2	1
	Naaii	-	-	3	6	3	6
	Seakkaa	-	-	5	2	5	2
	Teelii	-	-	9	7	9	7
Total		<u>64</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>234</u>	<u>172</u>
Grand Total		<u>130</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>306</u>	<u>303</u>	<u>436</u>	<u>318</u>

far as women are concerned, the Muslims have a better record of literacy than have the Hindus. The proportion of literacy among the Hindu and Muslim women is 2.0% and 6.9% respectively.

In the case of individual castes, the BraahmaN have the highest percentage of literacy, the proportion being 80.0%. Then come the Jooggii, closely followed by the Dhiimaan and Tiyaagii. The percentage of literacy among the Jooggii is 37.7%. The Dhiimaan have 33.3% literacy. Among the Tiyaagii the Hindus have a higher proportion of literacy than do the Muslims. The percentage of literacy among the Hindu Tiyaagii and the Muslim Tiyaagii is 29.9% and 20.4% respectively.

According to the literacy standard of the so-called un-touchables of India, the Chamaar of Jhabiran have a reasonably high proportion of literates (12.71%). Most of them were educated in the adult education center of the village.

FOOTNOTES

1. A census of Jhabiran was taken at that time by the field workers conducting this study.
2. Where omission of fractions does not affect the findings, figures have been rounded to the nearest whole number.
3. The highest caste in the Hindu caste hierarchy.
4. Sacred scriptures of Hinduism.
5. Literally, "those who have renounced."
6. I.e., the other meaning of the word Tiyaagii, "one who has been left out."
7. A Muslim religious hero whose exact identity could not be traced.
8. A region in central Asia, including parts of present-day U.S.S.R., Sinkiang, and Afghanistan.
9. Hazrat Umar was a caliph and great religious hero of the Muslims. Caliph is a title taken by Mohammad's successors as the secular and religious heads of Islam.
10. A place in Iraq, well known to the Muslims as a battle-field where the two great religious heroes, Hassan and Hussain, died.
11. A hide container for carrying water. From the Persian word mask.
12. One who carries water in a mask. From the Persian word bihist.
13. Literally, "a watchman." A chaukidaar is the lowest ranking government official posted at a village.
14. Grierson, 1916.
15. "The Hindustani language is spoken by about 140 million people in a large section of northern and central India. It is also used as a second language by a huge number of speakers of other languages all over India and Burma (and even other parts of Asia)...Hindustani speakers of the Moslem faith often call their language 'Urdu,' while Hindus refer to it as 'Hindi.' This distinction becomes more meaningful only in connection with reading and writing and formal literature. Otherwise, the three terms, Hindustani, Urdu, and Hindi mean roughly the same colloquial language..." (Hoenigswald, 1945:iii).

16. Gumperz, 1955.
17. KhaRi boli is considered a form of standard Hindi.
18. A local dialect of Punjab State.
19. One who is able to sign his initial is considered a literate. According to the 1961 census of India, 17.65% of the total population of Uttar Pradesh are literate (Census of India, 1964:423).

CHAPTER III
LAND AND ECONOMY

Subsistence agriculture is the main economic resource of the villagers of Jhabiran. The establishment of sugar mills at Deoband, although this indirectly influenced the economy of the villagers quite significantly, could not bring about any drastic change in the economy of the villagers as a whole. Since the establishment of the sugar mills, the total area under cane cultivation has been increased, and there has been a conscious endeavor to improve cane cultivation; but the economic basis of the villagers has remained more or less the same. In fact, the mills have provided very few full-time factory jobs for people from Jhabiran. Only thirteen persons from Jhabiran work in the mills. Of the rest who are engaged in occupations other than agriculture or other than their caste occupation, five persons are employed in government service outside the village, three persons take up occasional employment outside the village, and ten are working as mullaa¹ in other villages or towns. The remainder of the villagers are employed in agriculture, in their respective caste professions, or in subsidiary agricultural activities.

The total amount of land under cultivation at Jhabiran is 3,995 bighaa.² Of these, approximately 500 bighaa are dry land. The rest of the area is under some kind of irrigation. Usually lands are irrigated by canal (khaal) water

or by water from privately owned tube wells. Approximately 1,500 bighaa are irrigated by canal water, and the rest is irrigated by water from tube wells.

Most of the village lands are owned by the Tiyaagii. Of the total area of 3,995 bighaa of cultivable land, 3,876 bighaa are owned by the Tiyaagii and the remaining 119 bighaa are owned by families from seven professional, artisan, and laboring castes. Families belonging to four of the Muslim and three of the Hindu castes do not own any cultivable land.

Table 6 shows the total amount of land owned by representatives of different castes, the average amount of land owned per family per caste, and the proportion of land owned by families of different castes. As far as ownership of land per family is concerned, the Hindu Tiyaagii have the largest average holding. They possess 117 bighaa of land per family. The average holding per family in the village as a whole is 25.28 bighaa. The Dhiimaan hold the next best average in the ownership of land per family, closely followed by the Muslim Tiyaagii. The respective averages of land owned per family by the Dhiimaan and by the Muslim Tiyaagii are 27.50 and 26.19 bighaa. However, the Dhiimaan are very few in number in Jhabiran. The Hindu and Muslim Tiyaagii together possess 97% of the total cultivable land. Families of seven other castes own the remaining 3% of the cultivable land. There are seven Jhabiran castes in which no family owns land.

The nature of the soil in the district of Saharanpur is variable. In some areas there is an uneven surface of loose

Table 6

Proportion of Land Held by Different Castes
and
Average Amount of Land Owned per Family

Caste	Total number of families	Total population	Total amount of land in bighaa owned by different castes	Average amount of land in bighaa owned per family	Proportion of total bighaa owned by different castes
Hindu Tiyaagii	17	101	1,990	117.05	49.8 %
Muslim Tiyaagii	72	343	1,886	26.19	47.2
Dhiimaan	2	21	55	27.50	1.5
Hindu Loohaar	8	35	33	4.12	.8
Phakiir	8	28	15	1.88	.3
BraahmaN	2	5	7	3.50	.17
Chamaar	25	118	5	.20	.12
SiaanNii	5	20	3	.60	.07
Kumhaar	2	16	1	.50	.02
Jhiuaar	1	8	-	-	-
Bhangii	5	16	-	-	-
Jooggii	2	8	-	-	-
Naaii	2	9	-	-	-
Teelii	4	16	-	-	-
Muslim Loohaar	1	3	-	-	-
Saakkaa	2	7	-	-	-
Total	158	754	3,995	25.28	

sand which shifts with a strong wind. In other areas the soil is grey or brown and is hard and closely packed. The first type of land is locally known as bhur,³ and the second type is commonly termed usar.⁴ Between these two extreme types lies the ordinary cultivable soil. "This classification of soils, which is recognised by the cultivator in most if not all of the duab, is based on real differences in nature, and is therefore properly described as a natural classification of soils" (Moreland, 1904:31).

The soil of the Deoband area is of the sandy type and is locally known as bhur soil. As the village of Jhabiran is situated near the Deoband depression along which the rivers Kalinadi and Hindan flow, the soil is better and more arable here than in most of the other parts of Deoband Tehsil.⁵ Also, Deoband has the highest percentage of cultivated area⁶ in the whole district of Saharanpur.

There are two main seasons within an agricultural year. Each is characterized by certain crops. The methods of cultivation of crops of these periods are also different. The seasons, in fact, overlap each other. Their official names are rabi⁷ and kharif,⁸ but the villagers call them saaDhii⁹ and saauNii¹⁰ respectively. In fact, the first pair of names has been assigned on the basis of the harvesting season of the crops concerned, whereas the second pair has been assigned on the basis of the sowing or the transplanting season for the crops.

One important crop that does not fit into either of these

agricultural seasons is sugar cane. The cultivation of sugar cane by itself forms another complete agricultural cycle. It is called phaagunii¹¹ by the villagers.

From the standpoint of the production of food for family consumption, rabi is the most important of the agricultural periods. According to Nevill, in the Deoband area:

The rabi is the more important harvest, averaging 47,725 acres as against 39,827 sown in the kharif. Of the former no less than 62.55 per cent. is taken up by wheat, while this crop in combination with gram or barley covers an additional 6.53 per cent. For the rest, gram occupies 25.32, barley 3.38... per cent., the other crops being quite unimportant. (Nevill, 1921:229-230)

The kharif crops are not as important as the rabi crops. Still, they contribute much to the household in the form of millets, cotton, maize, and cattle fodder. To quote from Nevill again:

...Juar, either sown alone or mixed with arhar, accounts for 33.56 per cent. of the total kharif area,...and then follows rice with 24.24 per cent., or transplanted variety. (Nevill, 1921:230)

Sugar cane is the most important cash crop of this region. The villagers of Jhabiran supply about 50,000 maund¹² of sugar cane to the Deoband sugar mills every year. It is a biennial crop, and the cultivators get two crops from each planting. The cane which is planted in the month of Phaagun (February-March), will be completely harvested over a year later in the spring. "But this first planting of cane (boorD) is allowed to grow up again after it has been cut down and yields a second harvest. This second crop (mandi) is harvested during the ensuing winter months" (Hitchcock, 1956:5).

A summary description of the major agricultural activities during different months of the year is given below. Because the Hindu calendar starts with the month of Chait (March-April), we shall begin with that month. For the convenience of our discussion we shall combine every two successive months.

Chait-Vaisaakh (March-April, April-May)

This is a busy season for agricultural activities. From the beginning of Chait agriculturists get ready for harvesting their saaDhii crop. As the crop ripens, the cultivators keep a strict vigil to prevent the stealing of the crops. They buy new sickles or get their old ones repaired by the local Loohaar. During this period they also make pakhlaa¹³ ropes, which are needed for transporting the harvest.

The reaping of wheat and gram starts by the end of Chait and continues until the end of Vaisaakh. The work of threshing, winnowing, and weighing the harvest is done during this period.

On one hand, the farmers remain busy harvesting their saaDhii crop, and on the other hand they have to plough and prepare the fields for sowing the saauNii crop. At the same time they are partially occupied with their phaagunii crop, also, because the supplying of sugar cane to the Deoband sugar mills, which starts about two months earlier, continues throughout this period.

Some farmers, with the help of irrigation water, start sowing kharsaaii ghash¹⁴ in the month of Vaisaakh. This

usually includes maize, beans, muung,¹⁵ mooT,¹⁶ uRad,¹⁷ and baajraa.¹⁸

This is the time of the year when land revenue and irrigation taxes are paid and loans are repaid. On the tenth day of Vaisaakh new farm servants are employed or old ones are re-employed by the farmers.

Jeth-AsaaRh (May-June, June-July)

Jeth is a month of general agricultural activities. This is the time when manure is dug out from the refuse pit and is carried to the fields. This is especially done for saauNii and phaagunii fields. The farmers usually spend about two weeks on this.

The second half of the month of Jeth is a sluggish season as far as agricultural activities are concerned. At this time the villagers repair their houses, and poor farmers collect fodder. Many others spend their time in leisure activities. It is at this time that new ploughs, clod-crushers, harrows, etc., are bought and old agricultural implements are repaired.

Usually the monsoon sets in by the middle of AsaaRh. As soon as the rain starts, transplantation and sowing of saauNii crops begin, and the farmers become very busy again. They labor from dawn to dusk, and during the entire second half of the month of AsaaRh there is practically no change in this work routine.

Saavan-Bhaadoon (July-August, August-September)

Transplantation of the saauNii crop continues throughout

this period. Occasional weeding is done in the fields which were sown in the month of AsaaRh by the broadcasting method.

When the monsoon rain stops for a day or two, fields meant for saaDhii crops are ploughed. Ploughing is usually done in the morning. Evenings are spent in collecting fodder.

It is in the month of Bhaadoon that the sugar cane plants are tied to keep them from falling on the ground.

Kvaar-Kaartik (September-October, October-November)

This is a very busy part of the farming season. Most of the farmers work day and night. In the month of Kvaar the harvesting of some of the saauNii crops starts. The well-to-do farmers retain the year's supply for consumption by their families. Poor farmers are able to stock only a portion of what they will need.

The ploughing of saaDhii fields continues throughout the period and gains momentum during Kaartik. By the middle of this month the sowing of wheat, peas, and meethii¹⁹ begins.

Agahan-Puus (November-December, December-January)

The sowing of wheat and other saaDhii crops continues until the middle of Agahan. Then a great deal of attention is paid to the irrigation of saaDhii crops. Sometimes the period of sowing peas and meethii is extended to the month of Puus.

In early Agahan the period of reaping and harvesting the saauNii winter crops, such as uRad, muung, juaar,²⁰ etc., begins. Most of the agriculturists get their reaping done by the end of this month. After the saauNii harvests the

puraalii²¹ is brought home.

By the end of Agahan or by the beginning of Puus, the transporting of sugar cane to the mills starts. The ploughing of empty sugar cane fields also begins during this period.

Many people start building new houses in the month of Agahan.

Maagh-Phaagun (January-February, February-March)

This is a very busy period for the cultivators of sugar cane. There is very little work associated with the saaDhii crop, except for occasional irrigation of the wheat fields. There is no work associated with the saauDii crop. But as far as the phaagunii crop is concerned, the volume of work required is more than enough to keep the cultivators busy. The empty fields are ploughed for the sowing of sugar cane, and the ploughing operation is continued until the middle of Phaagun. The fields in which sugar cane has already been sown need to be irrigated frequently. Also the transporting of ripened sugar cane to the mills still continues. In the middle of Phaagun the sowing of sugar cane begins again. It requires a great deal of attention and labor. So during the second half of Phaagun the agriculturists are busy in the fields from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Usually the sowing of sugar cane is completed by the end of this month.

The annual economic cycle of the artisan, professional, and laboring castes is different from that of the agriculturists. Although most of their activities are wholly or

partially dependent upon the agricultural round of the village, the nature of their activities is quite distinct. Here I want to add a brief note on the seasonal activities of some of these castes of Jhabiran.

According to a Loohaar (blacksmith) informant of the village, Chait-Vaisaakh is quite a busy season for the Loohaar. It is due to a heavy demand for repairs to those agricultural implements that are necessary for sowing, for cultivating sugar cane, and for reaping and harvesting the saaDhii crop. There is keen demand for dandraalii dantii,²² jaali,²³ yokes, ploughs, etc. Bullock carts are also mended during this period. It is the repair work that takes most of the time; by comparison, the time given to the manufacture of new articles during this period is insignificant.

To a Kumhaar (potter) this is the time to set up a new potter's wheel. A wheel usually lasts for decades; consequently he does not need to change it every year. He always keeps a spare wheel so that his work may continue uninterrupted while he makes necessary repairs. This is the time when he collects clay from the village pond and stores it for future use. It is around the middle of Chait that his Chamaar and Bhangii clients come to obtain their sets of earthenware. After a day or two he visits his clients' houses and collects grain for the wares he supplied. The second half of Chait is spent in modeling and firing. A special type of pitcher is made at this time for his Muslim clients. In the month of Vaisaakh he makes other types of pots which are used by Hindus,

especially at the time of marriage.

To a Chamaar, who usually works as a wage laborer, the first two or three weeks of Chait are neither very busy nor very slack. Usually he is employed by the farmers to cultivate sugar cane fields. From the end of Chait until the second or third week of Vaisaakh he remains very busy harvesting the saaDhii crop. For the rest of the period he remains mostly unemployed.

Jeth is a slack season for a Lochaar. There is very little forge work except for occasional repairing of ploughs. AsaaRh is again a busy month for him. During this month there is a great demand for repairs to ploughs, khurpi,²⁴ phalva,²⁵ sickles, etc. It is during this month that he visits his clients' houses to collect conventional dues for his services. Usually he gets 30 seer²⁶ of corn and a load of fodder for every plough each of his clients possesses.

Jeth and AsaaRh are busy months for a potter. He manufactures pots of various sizes and shapes that are necessary at the time of marriage among both Hindus and Muslims. It is during this period that he collects biannual conventional dues, locally known as sariiniaa. He is paid about 25 seer of grain for every hundred maund harvested by his clients.

With the onset of rains in AsaaRh the potter usually enjoys enforced leisure. On rare occasions he is employed as a wage laborer for the transplantation of paddy.

A Chamaar spends the first half of Jeth in repairing and plastering his own house. Sometimes he is hired by the more

prosperous farmers to do this for them. The period from the middle of Jeth to the middle of AsaaRh is a slack season for a Chamaar. He is mostly unemployed during this period. The work of transplanting paddy starts approximately in the middle of AsaaRh. The transplantation is mostly done by women. It is during this period that the Chamaar collects green fodder from the fields and stores it for future use.

Saavan and Bhaadoon are months of comparative ease for a Loohaar. The repairing of ploughs, yokes, garden spades, etc., continues, but at a slower pace. Some of the evenings during this period are spent in collecting fodder from the fields of his clients.

The work of a potter is at a standstill during these months. Sometimes he works on farms as a hired laborer. The spinning of sutli²⁷ is the only other activity that a potter engages in during this period. Otherwise he spends the time visiting his friends and relatives or sitting idle.

If it rains in time, a Chamaar remains busy with transplantation work during these months. Otherwise he does weeding in the fields of the farmers for daily wages. He also collects fodder for the cattle owned by his family. On the average, a Chamaar remains unemployed for about ten days during this period.

Kvaar and Kaartik are a busier period for a Loohaar than the previous one. The repair work starts again on a full-scale basis and continues throughout the first month and for the first few days of the second month. Kaartik is the month

when a Loohaar collects his six months' payment of corn from his clients. When the saauNii crop is harvested, he goes to the fields and collects 30 seer of corn per plough. The end of Kaartik brings him some leisure again. He usually spends this time paying visits to his relatives and collecting fodder for his cattle.

After a long period of inactivity it is during Kvaar and Kaartik that the potter again becomes busy with his wheel. A large supply of all sorts of earthenware, especially little lamps, has to be made ready for Diwaali,²⁸ which is celebrated by all the Hindu castes of the village. When the festival is over, the potter goes to his Hindu clients to collect the special remuneration of grain fixed for services during this festival. He also collects cow dung for making cow-dung cakes for fuel. When the saauNii crop is harvested, a potter visits his clients again and collects his biannual sariiniaa.

This is a very busy season for a Chamaar, too. Since it is the harvest season for the saauNii crop, he works day and night in the fields.

The Loohaar's main occupation during Aagahan-Puus is the repair of bullock carts. However, he also undertakes other repair work, as he is not under great pressure during this period. The evenings are usually spent in the collection of fodder.

To a potter the pressure of his caste work during these months is once again at a low ebb. Therefore he sometimes works as a laborer, carrying loads from one place to another.

For a Chamaar also this is again a dull season. At the beginning of this period he remains unemployed for about fifteen days. There is practically no other work during this period except repairing kachchaa²⁹ houses. With the second week of Agahan, irrigation of the saaDhii crops begins. If it does not rain for a long time, a Chamaar gets employment for several consecutive weeks to help with irrigation. He receives a remuneration of two rupees³⁰ per bighaa for his services. With the beginning of Puus, the sugar cane is ready for the mills again. So a Chamaar continues to be employed until the work is finished.

In Maagh and Phaagun the pressure of work is eased for a Loohaar. The major portion of his time is spent on repairing chaff-cutter blades and bullock carts. The repair of other implements also continues. It is during this season that a Loohaar collects the yearly payment of gur³¹ from his clients. He gets five seer of gur per family for his services.

The tempo of work of a potter increases during this season. He manufactures and piles up a huge stock of pots of different shapes and sizes for the ensuing summer months. The evenings are usually spent in collecting fodder from the fields.

To a Chamaar who works as a wage laborer, this is a busy season again. The work of cutting and dressing sugar cane continues throughout the month of Maagh. When it rains, the cultivation of the sugar cane fields starts. But this does not continue for a long time, and with the approach of Hooli³² in the month of Phaagun most of the economic activities of the village are in recess.

FOOTNOTES

1. Muslim priests.
2. A unit of land measurement, approximately 1/3 of an acre.
3. Light soil found near the surface, containing more than 75% sand.
4. Infertile, hard soil with a high percentage of sand.
5. Administratively this means a subdivision of a district. It usually comprises an administrative and revenue unit in charge of a Deputy Magistrate and Collector.
6. District Gazetteers, 1917, 1924, 1934: page 1 of all issues.
7. Literally, "the spring season." Here it means the crops that are reaped in the spring season.
8. The crops that are reaped in autumn.
9. A crop sown in the rainy season.
10. A crop sown in the month of Saavan (July-August).
11. A crop sown in the month of Phaagun (February-March).
12. A measure of weight varying in different places from about 25 lbs. to 82 lbs. It is about 82 lbs. in this locality.
13. A strong thick rope, usually made of hemp.
14. Legumes, cereals, and millets used as fodder.
15. A legume (Phaseolus mungo).
16. A legume (Phaseolus aconitifolius).
17. A legume (Phaseolus radiatus).
18. A millet (Penicillaria spicata).
19. A kind of herbaceous plant, the leaves of which are used as vegetables and the seeds as spices.
20. A millet (Sorghum vulgare).
21. Hay or straw, used as fodder.

22. Serrated sickle.
23. A huge three- or five-pronged steel fork used during harvesting operations.
24. Garden spade.
25. Shovel.
26. A seer is approximately 2 pounds.
27. A strong, thin rope made of hemp or jute fiber.
28. A festival of lights, celebrated by Hindus in honor of Ramchandra.
29. The work kachchaa has multiple meanings. Here it means a house whose walls are of mud.
30. According to the present rate of exchange, one rupee is equivalent to 21 cents in United States currency.
31. Brown sugar, called "jaggery" in the south of India.
32. One of the best-known Hindu festivals, observed on the last day of the bright half of Phaagun. People throw colored powder and colored water at one another during this festival.

CHAPTER IV

WAY OF LIFE

Social Life

The population of the village of Jhabiran can broadly be divided into two nearly equal halves on the basis of religion: the Hindus (348 persons) and the Muslims (406 persons). They, of course, have independent ritual systems, and in many areas of their social life they tend to function as two distinct groups. Each of the religious groups, in its turn, is again subdivided into multiple exogamous castes.

The ten Hindu castes can be broadly classified into three segments according to their respective hierarchical positions. Table 7 presents the approximate positions

Table 7

Hierarchical Order of Different Hindu Castes

First Segment	BraahmaN
	Tiyaagii
	Dhiimaan
Second Segment	Loohaar; SiaanNii
	Jhiiuaar
	Jooggii
	Kumhaar
Third Segment	Chamaar
	Bhangii

occupied by different Hindu castes of Jhabiran. It will be seen that the topmost position in the hierarchical order is occupied by the BraahmaN and that the Bhangii are at the bottom.

In the second segment the Loohaar and the SiaanNii occupy the same vertical level. Although hierarchically they occupy the same position, they are quite distinct in other respects.

The six Muslim castes of Jhabiran also form a vertical order of castes. Although the Islamic doctrine theoretically does not sanction any social or religious inequality among its believers, we find that ideas of hierarchy and traditional caste status do exist among the Muslims of the village. According to traditional caste ranking, the Muslim castes of Jhabiran can be broadly placed in the hierarchical order shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Hierarchical Order of Different Muslim Castes

Tiyaagii
Phakiir
Loohaar
Naaii
Saakkaa
Teelii

With the exception of the Phakiir, all Muslim castes of the village admit the superior status of the Muslim Tiyaagii.

But there is considerable difference of opinion about the rank order of the non-Tiyaagii castes of the village.

All Hindu and Muslim castes are endogamous, and intermarriage between different castes is strictly forbidden among the Hindus and is highly resented by the Muslims. Rules governing dining relations and sharing the smoking of the hukkaa¹ are still carefully observed by the older generation. According to custom, one should not share his hukkaa with a person belonging to a caste lower than one's own. About the acceptance and nonacceptance of kachchaa² food an identical rule is observed.

The Chamaar and the Bhangii are untouchables.³ Although the rules of untouchability are not so strictly enforced these days, untouchables are not allowed to sit on the same cot with persons of clean⁴ castes, and they are not supposed to draw water from wells belonging to the latter. Although both are classified as untouchables, the Chamaar and the Bhangii do not share kachchaa food and smoke the hukkaa with one another. The Chamaar of Jhabiran are stricter than the Bhangii in this respect. They even refuse to collect water from a hand pump belonging to a Bhangii.

Hindu castes, in general, have an occupational character. But many subsidiary occupations have been opening to them, and in recent years they have taken to some new vocations.

Among the Muslims the nature of intercaste relations is different. Islam does not recognize caste stratifications

among its believers. So an effort has been made by the Muslims to justify the continuance of caste on the grounds that Islam permits and encourages marriage between persons of the same blood; and caste symbolizes oneness of blood. As a result, the Muslim castes of Jhabiran are also largely endogamous, and only two breaches of this rule are known to the villagers to have occurred locally.

A description of the approximate place occupied by the different castes in the social system of the village of Jhabiran and the occupational hierarchy of the different castes follows:

BraahmaN

In ritual status the BraahmaN occupy the highest position in the village. But from the point of view of their general socio-economic condition, they rank lower than the Tiyaagii. Illiterate BraahmaN sometimes work as cooks for the higher castes, but they do not do any menial work. One of the adult BraahmaN of Jhabiran is working as a farm servant. This is not conventional. The BraahmaN are vegetarians and are not supposed to drink any alcoholic beverage.

Tiyaagii

The Tiyaagii consider themselves nonpriestly BraahmaN. They are agriculturists. They do not wear the sacred thread, nor do they observe the rules of ritual purity prescribed for the BraahmaN. At Jhabiran the Hindu Tiyaagii are the most influential group, and, indeed, they dominate the village scene. All the Hindu Tiyaagii are landowners, and none of

them work as farm servants. They are also vegetarians and are not supposed to indulge in drinking.

Dhiimaan

They rank lower than the Tiyaagii. Although carpentry is their traditional occupation, they do both farming and carpentry in this village. Two members of the Dhiimaan caste are employed as carpenters outside the village, but they are in close touch with Jhabiran. They are nonvegetarians and are allowed to drink liquor. Their occupation is regarded as clean.

SiaanNii

According to caste occupation they are gardeners and vegetable growers. But at Jhabiran only one of them is engaged in this profession. The rest follow other economic pursuits. Although they are allowed to eat nonvegetarian food and to drink liquor, in terms of the occupational hierarchy they are ranked fairly high, and their occupation is regarded as clean.

Jhiiuaar

Fishing is the main traditional pursuit of the Jhiiuaar, but at Jhabiran none of them practice fishing. This occupation is not ranked very high. It is not considered unclean either, and even the BraahmaN are allowed to drink water offered by the Jhiiuaar. Because the highest caste accepts water from them, the caste position of the Jhiiuaar is considerably elevated. They are allowed to eat meat and fish and to drink liquor.

Loohaar

Blacksmithing is the traditional occupation of this caste. Of the total of 35 persons of Loohaar caste in Jhabiran, only two are blacksmiths. Meat-eating and drinking liquor are permissible for this caste. They are ranked quite low among the artisan castes of Jhabiran.

Jooggii

The Jooggii are ranked quite low in the social hierarchy of the village. This is mostly due to their humble occupation of begging.

Kumhaar

The making of earthenware pots is the traditional occupation of the Kumhaar, but of the two Kumhaar families in Jhabiran only one carries on pot-making. Eating nonvegetarian food and drinking liquor are permissible for this caste, also. The Kumhaar are the lowest of all artisan castes of this village.

Chamaar

The Chamaar are ranked among the depressed or untouchable castes. Leather-working and laboring for wages are their traditional occupations. In this village, however, none of the Chamaar do any kind of leather work. They are allowed to eat meat and drink alcoholic beverages.

Bhangii

Traditionally they are the sweepers, scavengers, and pig-raisers; and all the Bhangii of Jhabiran follow their traditional occupation. They are the lowest in rank of all

Hindu castes in Jhabiran. Together with the Chamaar, they form the untouchable group of the village.

Muslim Tiyaagii

Although they were converted to Islam some fourteen generations ago, they still regard themselves as lineally related to the Hindu Tiyaagii. They are substantial land-owners, and most of them are engaged in agriculture. They are ranked at the top of all Muslim castes in this village.

Phakiir

This group is a sect of holy men who live on the alms of their coreligionists. The Phakiir of Jhabiran practice a variety of vocations for their livelihood. Among the Muslims they are ranked next to the Muslim Tiyaagii.

Muslim Loohaar

Like their Hindu counterparts, the Muslim Loohaar practice blacksmithing. In Jhabiran they do carpentry as well. They are ranked quite low in the social hierarchy of the village.

Naaii

Traditionally they are barbers. They also were converted to Islam from Hinduism. In point of social status they are ranked next to the Muslim Loohaar of Jhabiran.

Saakkaa

The Saakkaa are traditionally water carriers. They were also converted to the Muslim religion from Hinduism. The Saakkaa are ranked lower than the Muslim Naaii in Jhabiran.

Muslim Teelii

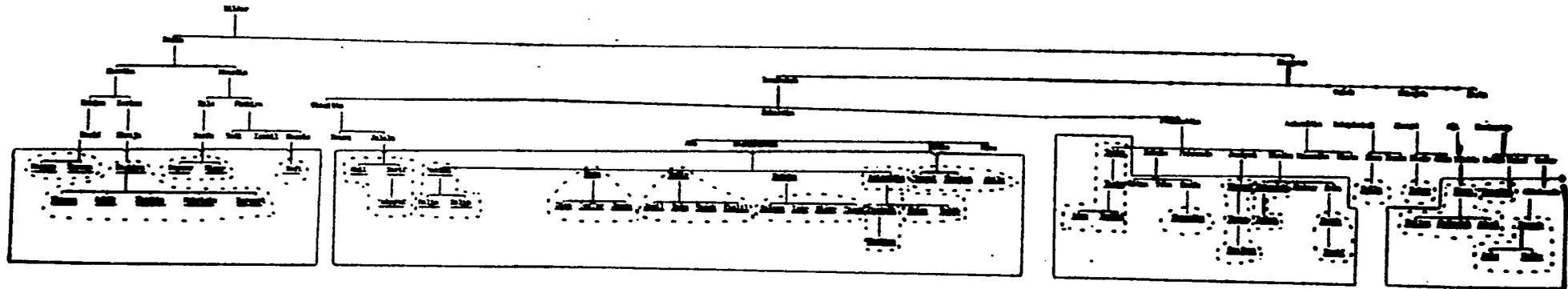
Although they are traditionally oil-pressers, the Teelii of the village live mainly from their earnings as wage laborers and by filling quilts. They are ranked lowest among all the Muslim castes of the village. This is primarily because of the popular belief that seeing a Teelii early in the morning is inauspicious.

In order to have a clear understanding of the social structure of Jhabiran, it is necessary to take into account three important units: the chuulhaa,⁶ the kuNbaa,⁷ and the khaandaan. The word chuulhaa literally means "hearth." Here the word denotes a nuclear, a compound,⁸ or an extended⁹ family sharing the same hearth.

The term kuNbaa has an extended meaning. Sometimes it denotes a group of chuulhaa among whom special ties of close lineal relationship exist. Usually all chuulhaa of three generations, descended from a common ancestor, are linked with one another and are described as kuNbaa.

A khaandaan is a lineage group. Usually members of a khaandaan are residents of the same village whose descent can be traced to a common ancestor. Charts 2, 3, and 4 (Lineage Charts A, B, and C) represent three recognized khaandaan of the village of Jhabiran. Names that are underlined in these charts indicate living persons. Unbroken circles in each of these charts represent different kuNbaa, and the dotted circles show the number of chuulhaa belonging to each of the khaandaan.

Chart 3
(Lineage Chart B)
Landa Khaandaan of the Muslim Tiyaagii



Functionally chuulhaa and khaandaan are more important than kuNbaa. As a result, each member of the village belongs to a khaandaan and/or a chuulhaa, but he may not belong to any recognizable kuNbaa.

It has already been mentioned that a chuulhaa may be a nuclear family, a compound family, or an extended family. In some cases it may have an even broader meaning and is sometimes used to designate a group of persons who are bound together by ties of kinship or marriage.

Table 9 shows the distribution of family types in Jhabiran according to caste. There are 68 nuclear families, 4 compound families, and 58 extended families of one type or another in the village. There are 28 families in the village that cannot be fitted into any of the above three categories. These have been listed as miscellaneous. Most of them are broken nuclear or extended families.

Of the total of 68 nuclear families, 12 are husband-wife units, and in the remaining 56, husband and wife live with their unmarried children.

In one of the four compound families there are two wives. In the other three there are children by wives' former husbands.

The extended families in the village are of several types. They vary both in the nature of their composition and in size. Most of the extended families consist of a number of nuclear families of different generations living together. Only in a few cases do married brothers with their respective spouses and children live together to form an extended family.

Table 9

Distribution of Family Types in Jhabiran according to Caste

	<u>Caste</u>	<u>Nuclear</u>	<u>Compound</u>	<u>Extended</u>	<u>Miscel- laneous</u>	<u>Total</u>
HINDU:	Tiyaagii	2	-	12	3	17
	BraahmaN	1	-	-	1	2
	Dhiimaan	-	-	2	-	2
	SiaanNii	1	-	2	2	5
	Jhiiuaar	-	-	-	1	1
	Loohaar	5	-	-	3	8
	Jooggii	-	-	1	1	2
	Kumhaar	-	-	2	-	2
	Chamaar	12	-	10	3	25
	Bhangii	2	1	-	2	5
		—	—	—	—	—
Total		23	1	29	16	69
<hr/>						
MUSLIM:	Tiyaagii	32	3	26	11	72
	Phakiir	5	-	2	1	8
	Loohaar	1	-	-	-	1
	Naaii	2	-	-	-	2
	Saakkaa	2	-	-	-	2
	Teelii	3	-	1	-	4
		—	—	—	—	—
Total		45	3	29	12	89
<hr/>						
Grand Total		68	4	58	28	158

When we turn to an analysis of family types by religion and caste, we find that among the Muslim Tiyaagii and the Phakiir, the proportion of nuclear families is quite high. Of the Muslim Tiyaagii families in Jhabiran, 44.4% are nuclear. In the case of their Hindu counterparts, the proportion of nuclear families is only 11.8%. Among the Phakiir, 62.5% are nuclear families.

The proportion of nuclear families among the Hindus of Jhabiran in general is less than that among the Muslims. One-third of the total number of Hindu families are nuclear, whereas among the Muslims in general the proportion of nuclear families is 50.6%. In the Hindu group, the only caste which has a high proportion of nuclear families is the Loohaar, with 62.5% of their total number so classified.

The Hindus, in general, have a higher percentage of extended families than have the Muslims. The percentages of extended families among Hindus and Muslims are 42.0% and 32.6% respectively. If we compare the proportion of extended families among the Hindu Tiyaagii and Muslim Tiyaagii, the respective percentages become 70.6% and 56.1%.

Of the four compound families in Jhabiran, three belong to the Muslim Tiyaagii community and one belongs to the Bhangii community. As far as the miscellaneous types of families are concerned, the Hindus largely outnumber the Muslims, with 23.2% of all the Hindu families but only 13.5% of the Muslim families belonging to this category.

The major caste groups of this village have a number of

recognized khaandaan. The Hindu Tiyaagii of Jhabiran have two important khaandaan, viz., Delhiwala and Rohanawala. The former consists of nine chuulhaa and the latter consists of seven chuulhaa. One Hindu Tiyaagii family does not belong to either of these two khaandaan. The Muslim Tiyaagii of this village are distributed into seven khaandaan. Table 10 gives the names of different Muslim Tiyaagii khaandaan with their respective numbers of chuulhaa.

Table 10

Muslim Tiyaagii Khaandaan
and Their Respective Numbers of Chuulhaa

Name of <u>khaandaan</u>	Number of <u>chuulhaa</u>
Andha	12
Purabia	19
Haji	5
Pirji	6
Landa	21
Baksu	3
Mianji	6
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 72

The Chamaar of Jhabiran have two recognized khaandaan, Mahu and Thandi. The former consists of 14 chuulhaa, and the latter of 5 chuulhaa. Six Chamaar families do not belong any of these khaandaan. As they migrated to Jhabiran in the recent

past, they do not have any recognizable khaandaan here. They belonged to recognized khaandaan in their villages of origin. However, these khaandaan memberships were forfeited when they left their villages.

Sometimes different khaandaan within a particular caste can be arranged in a hierarchical order. The Delhiwala khaandaan of the Hindu Tiyaagii is considered to be superior to the Rohanawala khaandaan. As the Delhiwala are the original settlers of this village, they claim to be superior to the other Tiyaagii.

Within the khaandaan discussed above, the Hindu Tiyaagii have four kuNbaa, the Muslim Tiyaagii have thirteen, and the Chamaar have five. The Hindu Loohaar, who have no khaandaan, have two kuNbaa, and the Bhangii have only one kuNbaa.

In the selling of land it is necessary that the members of the kuNbaa and khaandaan be consulted. First the land is offered to the members of the kuNbaa, and then to the members of the khaandaan. If they refuse to buy the land at a fair and reasonable price, only then can it be offered to other caste members, and thereafter to the members of one's religious community. If they also refuse to buy the land at a reasonable price, the land is then offered to the villagers at large. In case no villager wants the land, the offer is extended to outsiders.

Two other social units that can be mentioned here are the gotra¹⁰ and the village. All Hindu castes of Jhabiran belong to some gotra, and the villagers simultaneously observe

caste endogamy and gotra exogamy. The village itself is an exogamous unit, and no one is supposed to marry a girl from one's own village.

Another social unit in Jhabiran is the hukkaa group. It is a rather informal, voluntary association, membership in which is usually extended to one's own caste fellows. Many important economic, social, and political problems are discussed in the hukkaa group. In this respect a hukkaa group also has an important decision-making role. In Jhabiran there are twenty-three such hukkaa groups. Nine of them are found among the Muslim Tiyaagii, six of them among the Hindu Tiyaagii, five others among the Chamaar, while the Kumhaar, Dhiimaan, and Jooggii have one hukkaa group each.

Except for the Dhiimaan and Jooggii hukkaa groups, all other hukkaa groups of the village are homogeneous as far as their caste composition is concerned. The Dhiimaan hukkaa group is attended by most of the Dhiimaan of this village and by the Hindu Loohaar, the Siaanii, and some of the Muslim artisan castes. Almost all the members of this hukkaa group are wage laborers. No Tiyaagii or member of any other land-owning caste belongs to this hukkaa group. The Jooggii hukkaa group is also a multicasite organization. Apart from the Jooggii, it is attended by some of the Dhiimaan of this village and by some other upper caste members such as the Hindu Tiyaagii, the Muslim Tiyaagii, and the BraahmaN.

In order to obtain a clear picture of the social relations within the village as a whole, it is necessary to consider the

intravillage relationships of different castes and religious groups. For this purpose, let us first turn to the Hindu-Muslim relationship in Jhabiran.

Although the village can be divided into two almost equal halves on the basis of religion, the caste ramifications of the Hindus and of the Muslims must also be taken into account. This is because the interreligious relationship at Jhabiran is different at the various caste levels. There are several factors involved. As the Hindu Tiyaagii and the Muslim Tiyaagii have more or less the same socio-economic position, the relationship between these two groups is more harmonious than the relationship between other Hindu-Muslim groups situated at different socio-economic levels. According to Sukhan Singh, one of the most popular and influential leaders of the village, the Hindu Tiyaagii and the Muslim Tiyaagii of Jhabiran have always been on very good terms. When addressing each other they use kinship terms and show respect to each other regardless of their religious differences. Both the Hindu and the Muslim Tiyaagii believe firmly that they are descendants of the same ancestor. On ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, they extend invitations to each other and exchange gifts despite religious differences. This cohesion of the land-owning groups which cuts across religious lines is well illustrated by the following situation. On one occasion the BraahmaN, under the leadership of the Chamaar, made an alliance with the artisan, professional, and laboring castes of the village to oppose the land-owning Tiyaagii in

the Gaon Panchayat¹¹ election. On the other hand, in case of any accident or emergency, all the villagers, irrespective of any factionalism or separatism, extend their help to the needy.

According to caste rule a BraahmaN is not supposed to extend his services to a member of any Muslim caste. But in Jhabiran the BraahmaN work as cooks on the occasion of a big feast arranged by the Muslim Tiyaagii. They also distribute marriage invitations and perform many other ceremonial functions for the Muslim Tiyaagii.

When we consider the relationship between the Muslim Tiyaagii and the Hindu artisan, laboring, or professional castes, we find a different picture. Many complaints have been filed with the Gaon Sabha¹² by the Hindu castes against the Muslim Tiyaagii. The Dhiimaan of Jhabiran have very bitter feelings toward the Muslim Tiyaagii, due to a dispute between the two groups over a plot of land. As a result, during shramdan¹³ week the Dhiimaan refused to provide voluntary services to pave the lanes in the Muslim Tiyaagii sections of the village. Several complaints have also been lodged by the Chamaar and the Bhangii against the maltreatment they have received at the hands of the Muslim Tiyaagii.

The relationship between the Hindu Tiyaagii and the Hindu artisan, professional, and laboring castes is in no way better than the relationship between the Muslim Tiyaagii and the various Hindu castes of the village. The Hindu castes, especially the untouchables, have reported many cases of mistreatment

by the Hindu Tiyaagii. Sukhan Singh of Jhabiran admits that in the recent past the Hindu Tiyaagii used to beat the untouchables with shoes and that this was not regarded as reprehensible. Even the women of the untouchable groups could not always escape beatings by the Hindu Tiyaagii.

Grievances have arisen on the other side, too. There are charges of continuous hostility, destruction of property, and stealing leveled against the artisan, professional, and laboring castes of the village by the Hindu Tiyaagii. These are directed particularly against the Chamaar. There is an instance where a Chamaar woman was repeatedly warned about stealing. She was caught red-handed several times, but she did not stop until she was severely beaten by a Hindu Tiyaagii.

One of the Hindu Tiyaagii of Jhabiran mentions that in case of any dispute between the untouchables and the Hindu Tiyaagii, the former, when found guilty, have always been forgiven by the Gaon Sabha. On the other hand, a Bhangii of Jhabiran complains that for an identical offence the untouchables have always been fined or punished more heavily than the upper caste Hindus.

There are also intracaste factions in the village. The entire Muslim Tiyaagii caste is divided into five dhaadaa.¹⁴ The number, though five at present, is not always constant and varies from four to nine. It fluctuates according to the degree of understanding and misunderstanding among the Muslim Tiyaagii at a particular time. Whenever any misunderstanding develops among members of the same dhaadaa, those

from other dhaadaa try to exploit the situation and endeavor to secure some recruits in order to increase the membership strength of their own dhaadaa. Thus all the dhaadaa of Jhabiran are passing through a process of continuous disintegration and reconsolidation. A dhaadaa may have members from different khaandaan. On the other hand, there may be several dhaadaa within one khaandaan. Usually a dhaadaa is named after the leader of the group. The existence of dhaadaa is also found among the Chamaar of Jhabiran. There are two recognized dhaadaa among them. In the case of the remaining castes, the existence of any dhaadaa cannot be traced. Usually the members of a particular dhaadaa support one another in any intravillage or intracaste affair.

The dhaadaa are subject to certain social rules. On the occasion of any ceremony in one's family, one must extend invitations to all the members of one's dhaadaa by chuulhaa-newat.¹⁵ People who do not belong to the same dhaadaa can only invite each other by ghar-ki-newat.¹⁶ Invitation to one's own dhaadaa members by ghar-ki-newat is considered an insult. There are several instances when considerable misunderstanding developed due to violation of this dhaadaa rule.

Economic Life

Under the chapter heading, "Land and Economy," we have discussed the nature and distribution of cultivable land in Jhabiran. There the main emphasis was upon the economic resources and the seasonal economic activities of the village.

Here an attempt will be made to draw a more intimate picture of the economic life of the villagers with special reference to manpower.

Although agriculture is the principal basis of the village economy, out of a total of 158 families only 53 are entirely dependent upon agriculture. Thirty-four other families of the village practice agriculture as their primary means of livelihood, although all of them supplement their income by some other means of support. Most of the secondary jobs which the members of these families carry on are also allied to agriculture. There are 95 workers in these 34 families. Twenty-four of them are fully engaged in agriculture, and the remaining 71 are engaged in both agriculture and some other subsidiary occupation.

According to traditional occupational divisions, all 158 families of the village do not belong to agricultural castes. Traditionally, 89 of them are members of agricultural castes, and the remaining 69 families belong to the artisan, professional, or laboring castes of the village.

If we divide the community according to religion, we find that out of 69 Hindu families in Jhabiran only 17 belong to agricultural castes. The remaining 52 families belong to some kind of artisan, professional, or laboring caste groups. Among the Muslims the proportion of agricultural and non-agricultural families differs from that of the Hindus. Out of 89 Muslim families in the village, 72 are agriculturists and the rest belong to artisan or professional castes.

There are 328 working people in the village all together. This number excludes persons engaged entirely in domestic duties. Of these 328 working individuals, only 124 are full-time agriculturists who do not engage in any other work to supplement their incomes. Fourteen other individuals practice agriculture but also supplement their incomes by some secondary activity. There are 25 other individuals who work as farmhands.¹⁷ This figure excludes seasonal day laborers.¹⁸

From the total of 69 families who belong to the artisan, professional, or laboring castes, only three are dependent entirely on their caste professions, and they have only three working members, one in each family. The remaining 66 families have either supplemented their incomes by taking on various kinds of work in addition to their caste occupations or have changed their primary occupations. Fifteen families practice their caste professions as a primary means of livelihood. They have 48 working members. Of these, 19 are fully engaged in their caste occupations. The remaining 29 practice their caste occupations and supplement their income by taking on some secondary work.

There are 16 families in the village, consisting of 26 working members who depend on wage labor as their only means of support. Most of them come from the Chamaar caste. Six other families depend on wage labor as their primary means of support but supplement their incomes with some other work. There are 14 working members among them. Nine of them are fully engaged as wage laborers, and the rest have additional occupations.

There are 31 families in this village who do not rely principally on any of the occupations listed above for their livelihood. Most of them are Muslims. Their 49 working members are employed as factory laborers, shopkeepers, money-lenders, or Muslim priests.

It has been stated earlier that only 13 individuals from this village work in the sugar mills at Deoband. These include 11 Hindus (3 Loohaar, 7 Chamaar, and 1 Siaanii) and 2 Muslims (1 Muslim Tiyaagii and 1 Muslim Teelii).

Five individuals (4 Muslims and 1 Hindu) are employed as government servants. Three others take occasional private employment outside the village. All of them are Hindus (1 Tiyaagii and 2 Dhiimaan). The mullaa, who also work outside the village, are all Muslims.

As has been pointed out substantial agriculturists of this village employ farmhands. The biggest employers of farmhands are the Hindu Tiyaagii. Ten Hindu Tiyaagii of the village employ 22 farmhands. The next biggest employers are the Muslim Tiyaagii. Three of them employ six farmhands. Among the other castes one Dhiimaan employs a farmhand. Fifteen of the farmhands are Chamaar. Twelve of them are from within the village, and the remaining three come from Lakhnauti, a neighboring village.¹⁹ Among the farmhands who are from within the village, five are Muslim Tiyaagii, three are Muslim Teelii, two are Saakkaa, two are Jhiiaar, and there is one Phakiir and one Bhangii.

Most of the work arrangements of the village are regulated

by a system of economic interdependence, generally known as the jajmaani²⁰ system. In Jhabiran this system is known as a laagdaar²¹-kirsaan²² relationship. This is characteristic of the relationship between the Tiyaagii and other castes. The laagdaar are people of the artisan, professional, and laboring castes who extend their services to the kirsaan because of a traditional hereditary relationship that exists between the families. This relationship lasts over many generations. It is the duty of a laagdaar to meet the reasonable needs of his kirsaan, and it is the obligation of a kirsaan to call upon his own laagdaar for any service. He is not supposed to call upon anybody else. In case he does, he is obliged to pay his laagdaar a compensation equivalent to the latter's usual rate of payment.

Of the 158 families in Jhabiran, 120 are involved in this system of traditional economic relationship. Of the 38 who are not, 27 are Muslim families and 11 are Hindu. Fourteen of these 120 families who are involved in such a relationship both give and receive hereditary services, but 106 families only receive services and do not extend them to anybody. Table 11 shows the distribution of hereditary services in detail. In most cases, this hereditary workman-customer relationship is restricted to the inhabitants of Jhabiran. In only a few cases are there extensions of this relationship outside the village boundaries.

It may be worth while to mention here that 76% of the total number of families in Jhabiran receive the benefit of