Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding analysis reveals that it is the developmental factors that primarily determine the level of modernization of villages. As these factors are more operative in Anamapur (VA), it is roughly three times more modernized than Janudin (VI). In accordance with the higher level of modernization people in Anamapur are found to be more modernized and secular than those in Janudin. However, corresponding difference in the level of politicism of the people in the two villages has not been found to be significant.

Modernism is found to be positively correlated with its major constituents - secularism and politicism. People in both the villages have advanced to modernism, secularism and politicism but when the three measurements have been converted on an equal span it is found that the people are roughly one and half times more modernized than they are politicized and nearly one and a quarter times more secularized than they are modernized. It is mainly because of increasing secularization of the components of social organization that the influence of religion over men has greatly declined. The scientific and technological advancement bore direct influence upon the growth of secular occupation and mass communication which have been found to be the major factors for the growth of secular attitude among the people. Thus following secular occupation and
being open to the mass-media and outside world people may be secular even though they may not be or lowly educated. It is for these reasons that the people are more secular than they are modernized or politicized.

Caste, occupation, age, education, income, urban contact and media exposure have been found to be significantly correlated with individual modernization. Family typology has not been found to bear any significant relation with individual modernism, politicism and secularism. Out of the above-mentioned seven variables which show significant correlation with modernity except age which has a negative correlation rest all the variables are positively correlated with modernity. But from among these it is only education, media exposure, occupation and urban contact have been found to be causally related with modernity. Out of the above four, urban contact has been found to be very weak explanatory variable. Thus it is education, media-exposure and occupation, in order of the above sequence, constituting the best set of independent variables, together explain 74.3 percent of variations in individual modernity. Education has been found to be the most powerful factor explaining 66.5 percent of variations in individual modernity alone. These findings lead to the conclusion that the people in Anandpur are more modernized not simply because it is a firing village or have grown almost like a town (or the people have a
higher degree of urban contact), but because modernizing factors are more operative there than in Jamudin (W). In other words it is education, occupation and media exposure that are more generally found in urban areas that largely make the people modern. The urban contact (or urban residence) in itself bears hardly any influence upon individual modernity.

Modernization of Rural Social Institutions

More modernized a village and the people are, relatively higher is their age of marriage. The youngsters and the higher castes people by and large marry at a relatively higher age than the elders or the lower castes people. Moreover, among the former groups of people those living in Va (modernized village) marry at a still higher age than those living in W (the less modernized village). But the same is not true in case of lower castes people. Though the youngsters of the lower castes people do marry at a higher age than the oldsters, yet the average age of marriage of the people declines as the modernization of the village increases. Thus if we take marriage as an indicator of modernization so far as people marrying at higher age are more modernized than those marrying at lower age we find that the higher castes people move faster whereas the lower castes people move slower towards modernization as the village gets modernized and that the difference in the rate of their movement is more pronounced (or unequal) in VA than in W. Thus modernization ——
tion in a way seems to reinforce tradition among the people of the weaker sections though the youngsters among them are relatively modernized than their oldsters.

Area of selection of spouse has widened. Consideration of direction of residence and subcastes of the spouses have weakened to a large extent. Inter-caste marriages are still socially prohibited. Yet in few cases people have been found to marry outside their caste though the real caste of the spouse is concealed in all such cases. It is claimed that the marriage was held in one's own caste. Societal resistance on such violations of the marriage norms has greatly weakened. The act is generally legitimized by asking the head of the Kshatriya (lineage head) to take first gossa (morsel of food) in the caste feast offered by the violator family. Though dowry still plays a major role in the settlement of a marriage but greater emphasis is now being placed upon the ability of the spouses.

Among some of the educated higher castes people marriage is now being organized in a simple form. Many of the customs associated with marriage such as tilsa, nele, naari, kuma etc. are no more observed or are organized in simple form. A more practical view is now being adopted with regard to dowry. The major amount in dowry is now being given as fixed amount in the name of bride, on the contrary, the rich and the educated people
among the lower castes give more emphasis upon pomp and
tro and ostentatious display of wealth in marriage. They
too now accept and give dowry and the marriage among them
instead of being over in a day lasts for three days.

The subcultural variations as regards celebrating
the gracious occasion of marriage in family like display-
ing physical exercises, group dance, group songs, etc. are
disappearing and the gramophone records, cinema shows etc.
are gaining currency as the common mode of celebrating
the occasion.

Conjugal bond is growing more stronger in family.
Young couples are becoming more free. The dominance of
husband has declined if not ceased. The husband-wife rela-
tion has become more egalitarian. Wife enjoys more freedom
and equality. Her share in household responsibility has
increased. Higher importance is now being given to her
than earlier. Accordingly, relatives from wife's side are
also being given importance among the other kins. The
women of the higher castes are coming outside their four
walls to work and assist their husbands. They visit
market, Gandhi ashram (for the exchange of thread) and
hospital. On the contrary, the lower castes are imposing
much restrictions upon their female folk.

The control and authority of parents have weakened.
The new couple hold free and independent view. The
daughter-in-law is now in a better position to resist
mother-in-law. Briefly, the trend in modern rural family is from a more federal to a more confederal structure.

Family typology largely corresponds to the nature of occupation and levels of income of the families. It does not indicate any definite relation with caste or nature of residence - rural, urban or the level of modernization of residence or individuals - low modernized, high modernized. It is the nature of occupation that largely shapes the preference of the people for a particular family type which suit best to their job requirements.

The proportional percentage of a joint family is higher among the cultivators and business class. With the increase in the level of modernization of the village the trend among the upper class family is towards more extension while among the working class is towards nucleation. As regards income, similar trend has been observed. That is, with the increase in the level of modernization the poor get more nucleated and the rich undergo greater extension.

Modernization at family level plays a dual role.

On one hand, it acts as an equalizer that reduces domination of male over female, parent over child etc., while on the other it increases differentiation among the members of a family on the basis of occupation, income, socialization experience, standard of living, and styles of life and thus encourages fission in joint family.
Commensal restrictions as regards to intercaste dining, etc. have greatly weakened. Rajputs have been found to be most socially open than the other castes. Brahmins and the castes deeply engaged in ritual performances such as nai, kaher, and Gond etc. are less opened. The lower castes are though open but not to the degree they ought to have been. It is mainly because of their low degree of modernization. A high degree of positive correlation has been observed between modernity of castes and their social openness. Thus rajputs are more open because they are more educated, engaged in secular occupation and exposed to outside world, briefly they are more modernized. Brahmins are no less educated or modern but by virtue of their imbibing deep of religious beliefs and ritual acts, they keep distance with others and hence are less open.

Occupational binding upon the members of a caste is greatly weakened. Modernization leads people to be engaged in non-traditional occupation. Higher percentage of families in Ahamadpur is engaged in non-traditional occupation. Koiree, Nai and Loubi conform most to their caste occupation where as Teli, Gander and Kohar have almost lost their traditional occupation. Chamars have left almost all kinds of filthy works such as midwifery, removal of carcasses, skinning, tanning, pig rearing etc. that associated pollution with it. Modernization and its sub-processes industrialization, commercialization,
marketization, monetization etc. weakened caste based classification of occupation and led people from all the sections of population to be engaged in secular occupations. As a result, the occupational castes viz., oil presser, shepherd and the artisans, like potter, blacksmith, carpenter, tailors etc. are either completely rooted out or in the process being driven out from their age-old occupation. The occupation of service castes like water carrier, barber etc. is also no more secure on the traditional patron-client line.

Though sanskritization is yet a tool in the hands of lower castes people to raise their status, but the more recent trend among them is to acquire higher educational status, service position and raise income. Purity is no more as much an important attribute as it was some forty, fifty years ago. It is education, economic and political power, service position and modern style of life which assumed greater importance in determining one's status and prestige in society. Castes having similar status at the lower echelon of society are uniting to struggle for political power and thereby exploit educational and economic opportunities for its people with a view to be equal to or surpass the higher castes rather than to imitate and tend to be absorbed into them. Thus the gap between the castes as regards education, occupation, service and power positions etc. is lessened and the distance as regards
social interaction is shortened, yet the system of stratification in villages continued almost unaltered.

The disabilities and discriminations against the lower castes people have come to a decline to a far greater degree in villages. It is observed that the higher the degree of modernization of a village the less operative are the primitive mode of exploitation viz., begar, bondage labour, or labour under force or threat etc. of the weaker sections.

On the basis of control over the means of production - land, irrigation, equipments etc. and the nature of participation in the production process, the village population may be divided into five distinct classes: landlords-capitalist and feudal, rentiers, peasants - big, middle and petty, artisans and functionaries, labourers - harwah, whether majdoor, and generally mauker. The economy of the villages is largely controlled by the capitalist landlords. It is a small class constituted mostly by rajputs who own major part of the village land and other resources such as power connection, modern agricultural equipments, lime and brick kilns, flour and oil mills etc. It is they who mostly run grocery, fertilizer shop, and sale ration and sugar quotas. The labourer class is constituted of the bulk of village population. These households hardly own land and other resources. They work for others on payment.
Increasing industrialization, commercialization, marketization and monetization, in short, modernization has weakened the patron-client relationship. The functional and/or occupational aspect of the relation in many cases either ceased or underwent significant changes. The relationship is losing its social significance. The social obligations, rights and duties the two classes of households—patron and client, have had for each other and the social affinity that has existed between them have greatly declined. The scope of interaction between them has shrunk. It is now confined to ritual tasks alone. The ritual too is losing its importance day by day. It has now become more a formality than a religious rite. The traditional tie between them is disappearing and the relation (patron-client) is becoming more and more contractual and impersonal. Likewise, thakur-narayan relation too has lost its traditional meaning and significance. The relation hardly carries any sense of obligation. It has shrunk in scope so much so that it is nothing more than an economic relation, less enduring and contractual.

With the introduction of panchayat new positions of power have been created. People resort to new ways and means to rise to these positions. Nevertheless, the nucleus of power by and large remains the same. In other words, no radical change in the configuration of elite has taken place so far in the villages. After Independence, though
the feudal institution of authority and power in villages have been completely abolished, the power is still vested with the traditional elite and their entry to these positions is still largely based upon their lineage, caste membership and level of affluence. Though the more dynamic and liberal leadership from among them stands a fair chance to rise to these positions than the autocratic and authoritarian.

At village level caste and class both determine power. It is the numerical strength and economic dominance and not the ritual status that enable the members of a caste to acquire power. But inside caste it is the class elements that determine power. Though economic factors serve as important ingredient of power, nevertheless ritual status, personality attributes and political linkages etc. play no less important role in the distribution of power in village society.

The most significant contradiction the rural structure inners is the social and economic inequality and poverty. In political life we acquired equality while in social and economic life we sustain inequality. Though, the traditional institution of exploitation, the zamindari, the zagrideri, the bondage labour etc. have been abolished, yet deprivation and exploitation of poor continued though in a less crude and apparent form. The village economy grew more and more capitalist in nature as the level of
modernization increases. Taking the case of Anamedpur as against the Jamudih we observe that in a modernized village labour is more free and earn rich wage, yet is more exploited and deprived. Very few households who own land in VA keep bullock or plough etc. of their own or till their land by themselves. They hire every thing. They pay a higher amount for all the things they need to cultivate their land. Yet they grow more rich and that the labourer grow more poor and thus there is a greater inequality in the income of people. A relatively greater number of households form the labourer class have been found to sell their land in the modernized village.

The rising poverty and broadening income gap are the major contradictions in the rural society. Though in the present case the percentage of households below the poverty line is little lesser in the modernized village yet the figures on the country level, as we discussed in chapter five, establishes the fact that more and more percentage of people have been drawn below the poverty line since Independence. Out of the findings our study substantiates in this regard, the following are of our particular interests: (i) though there is more opportunity of work other than agriculture yet a high proportion of labour is engaged in agricultural work in the modernized village, (ii) though the percentage of families below the poverty line as said above, is little lesser in the modernized
village (VA), yet as for as the lower castes are concerned, which provides the labour and are generally poor, a higher percentage of families are below the poverty line as compared to the less modernized village (VJ), and (iii) there is greater inequality of income in the modernized village (VA) as compared to the less modernized (or relatively traditional) village (VJ). These findings lead us to the conclusion that the benefit of the modernization goes into the hands of privileged few. With the increase in the level of modernization the land lords grow more and more capitalist in nature. They are alienated from labour. They invest more upon labour, equipment, fertilizer and hybrid seeds. The petty landlords and the poor depend more and more upon agricultural labour, while the labourers in relatively traditional village tend more and more to adopt non-agricultural works inside or outside the village. Thus as the modernization increases the village rich grows richer and the poor gets poorer.

Modernization did lose restrictions of caste as regards the marriage, occupation, dining and untouchability etc. A higher degree of correlation between the ranks of caste and social openness shows that higher the caste of an individual the more he is likely to open. The lower castes for being less liable to be polluted by interacting with others, should have been more open. On the contrary,
they have been found to have a low degree of openness. Moreover, while the upper caste/class are becoming more western and modern as regards granting more freedom to their women, decline in the authoritative domination of parent, shrinking the scope of obligation to wider kins and lineages, organising marriage in simple way and which lasts for a relatively shorter period, the lower castes/class people seem to reinforce traditions on these matters. While the higher castes people of the modernized village marry at a relatively higher age than those of a relatively traditional village, the lower castes people of the former village have been seen to marry at a relatively lower age than those of the latter village. It means that increase in the level of modernization of village not only increases economic gap between the upper castes/class and the lower castes/class of the people but it also increases gap in their level of modernization of social institutions.

There has emerged a new powerful class in the rural social structure. It is known as middle class. This class is constituted mainly of the peasants from different castes. However, it is the big and the medium peasants of the upper middle castes who hold dominance over this class. They consolidated economic power especially after Independence. The study witnesses that nearly did the land from this class pass to other classes. Instead land from the upper as well as the lower classes passed to them.
Especially during the Janata rule they were at the peak of political power in the state and succeeded to make special provisions for themselves in government job and educational institutions etc. Accordingly this class has developed as a major source of conflict in the rural structure. At one end this is in confrontation with the higher class dominated by the higher castes in their aid to emulate or surpass the former. On the other it is in conflict with the lower class composed mainly of the lower castes as the former wants the same respect and services which the latter were giving to the higher class/castes.

The findings of this study reveal that the eradication of social and economic inequalities and the establishment of a socialist society, the major goals of modernization as laid down in our Constitution, has not been achieved. In a way we are rather moving away from these goals. It needs re-examination of the model and method of modernization designed to achieve these goals. We tend to achieve these goals through planned economic changes and a liberal democratic model has been adopted to initiate and implement these changes. Evaluation or reassessment of the planning or developmental programme or political democracy is not of our concern here. As regards the former, we at the most can say that it lays emphasis primarily upon the development of economy and ignores the
development of people, especially those who are poor and lack resources. Take for example, the _charkha_, spinning, the only scheme that provides non-agricultural employment to a large number of people in villages. While many of the higher castes families derive major livelihood through the scheme, none of the lower or scheduled castes families has been found to benefit out of it. Another lacuna in our planning is the lack of an adequate social philosophy. The success of the developmental programmes that aim at bringing radical changes in society at large depend upon the fact that they carry support of a sound social philosophy which may educate people so as to create a congenial social atmosphere to facilitate these induced changes.

Another glaring contradiction the rural structure projects is the lack of politicization of the people. A relatively slower pace of politicization of people at large and a trend of alienation from the electoral politics especially among the working class intelligentsia strikes at the very root, that is the model, of modernization. Quite a few service class people in Anamadpur projected some kind of dissatisfaction for the present political model. Some of them went to the extent of characterising politics as the game of _hum-bugs_, third rates and gamblers.

The new mass-based institutions - _panchayat_, co-operative and school, need to be strengthened in villages. Representatives of the _masses_ and not of the privileged
few need to be given control and power of these institutions so that they can initiate and implement plans for the masses. It would only then be a modernization of masses instead of modernized.

Thus looking into the growing poverty and inequality in society, inadequate politicization of, and growing dissatisfaction and a sense of alienation among, the people from the ayevan-gayevan brand model of political democracy that at her best has raised the caste, creed and regionalism in society during the last three decades after Independence, we may say that the model has not only failed to achieve the desired goals but proved dysfunctional. Unless serious attention is paid and necessary measures adopted at the earliest, it will have to give way to a model that can mobilize masses and resolve the contradictions related to social, economic and political inequality in the structure and let all share equally the fruits of modernization.