CHAPTER-7

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

7.1. SUMMARY

7.1.1. The Problematic

Sainis were traditionally characterized as gardener or Mali as well as by poor economic condition and lower social status. Before the dawn of independence, the poor people now known as Sainis, were shrouded in the darkness of suppression and were victims of an inferiority complex, deep-rooted in poverty, illiteracy and backwardness. As a consequence, they had remained economically and educationally more backward than other higher castes in the countryside. But the recent socio-eco-political changes have enabled them to pursue education to the extent they desired. Now, they are also provided with a variety of new choices and opportunities in the occupational fields. It is presumed that the social mobility is determined by social background, educational achievements, land holdings, use of reservation policy, and participation in democratic processes. Social mobility leads to change in socio-economic status, and as a result, an individual or a group becomes part of the elite section of society. The mechanisms through which people respond to these challenges are of increasing interest to social science(s) scholars who have focused on social
mobility among castes through social, educational, occupational and political aspects. There are various writing related to theoretical/logistical aspects of the studies on social mobility but there are a lesser empirical studies of social mobility especially among backward castes of different regions especially that of north India and more specifically of regions like Uttarakhand. Thus, how social mobility affects a caste, required to be studied in such a region where a less known caste is concentrated in an area in a region. Therefore, it is reasonable to focus on empirical research of caste(s) to take note of the ground realities. The present study thus takes note of the social mobility in a particular caste namely 'Saini', located in large numbers in an area of Uttarakhand.

7.1.2. Statement of the Problem

In the light of the above, the present study focuses on the following specific questions:

1. What has been the social position and status of a backward caste (Saini) through history till independence?

2. What is the impact of critical land legislations on their socio-economic position (implemented) just after independence?

3. How have democratic processes during last five decades affected their economic, occupational, educational, political and social position?
4. How specific cases at micro-level reflect the pattern of social mobility and what are the concomitant contributing factors?

For understanding the first question some specific issues related to their social background, before independence, like their landlessness condition and working as tenants, share-croppers, labourers etc. under Zamindari System, their temporary habitats have been studied. In the second question, some specific issues related to Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms, about ownership of land, and their impressed social status have been studied. The third question has included specific issues like participation in democratic processes, their land holdings, impact of reservation policy in occupations at a local-regional level. The fourth question takes note of specific issues like economic, occupational, educational and political achievements that determined their social mobility. These have been studied in a micro-setting which reflect the processes and achievements of status minutely.

7.1.3. Terms/Concepts/Operational Definitions

Some concepts or terms have been used in the present study. These have been operationally defined here in the manner these have been used.

(i) Caste: An institution of considerable internal complexity, which has been oversimplified by those seeking an ideal type of rigid hierarchical social
stratification, based on extreme closure criteria. Andre Beteille (1980) describes a caste as 'a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system, based on concepts of purity and pollution'. Using this conception thus, Saini is a caste in the present study which has all the distinct attributes of caste and socially recognized by all others as a distinct caste.

(ii) Social Mobility: The movement usually of individuals but sometimes of whole groups between different positions within the system of social stratification in any society is conceived as social mobility. It is conventional to distinguish between upward and downward mobility, and intergenerational from intragenerational or career mobility. The present study has focused on vertical upward mobility of Sainis in terms of social, occupational, educational and political dimensions.

(iii) OBCs: The Backward Castes Commission determines the criteria to be adopted in considering whether any sections of the people in the territory of India (in addition to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes specified by notifications issued under Articles 341 and 342 of the constitution) has been treated as socially and educationally backward castes and in accordance with
such criteria, prepare a list of such castes setting out also their approximate numbers and their territorial distribution. Sainis come under Other Backward Castes category as specified under the above criteria. Thus, 'Saini' is a Backward Caste as per the above provisions.

(iv) **Reference Group and Sanskritization:** The term reference group was coined by Herbert Hyman in *Archives of Psychology* (1942), to apply to the group against which an individual evaluates his or her own situation or conduct. He distinguished between a membership group to which people actually belong, and a reference group, which is used as a basis for comparison. A reference group may or may not be a membership group, later developed by Merton (1968) indicating mobility. If it has worked in the case of social mobility among Sainis, has been looked into.

Sanskritization refers to the efforts made by a lower caste to emulate the Sanskrit or Brahmin style of life. The castes occupying relatively lower positions in the system of caste hierarchy quite often imitate the cultural patterns of the higher castes. This is usually followed by a claim to higher rank or higher caste status. Sainis consider themselves Kshatriya and trace their origin from Rajputs. Many of the clans of the Sainis are found to be identical to that of Rajputs. This being the case, sub-divisions and hierarchy found among the Rajputs has been found among the Sainis.
has been observed among the Sainis as they followed the patterns behaviour of higher castes in the sacred spheres of their life.

7.1.4. Perspectives/Approaches

To trace background of Sainis till independence related to their landless condition, historical approach has been used. Their historical conditions have been traced. To analyze the social mobility and its consequences or impact of upward mobility on Sainis, structural-functional approach has been helpful. Thus, the study has made use of structural-functional approach to observe the structural causing factors and impact of social mobility on Sainis in terms of economic, occupational, educational, and political dimensions.

7.1.5. Area of Study

An area, in which large population of Sainis lives in a number of villages together, lies in Hardwar district of Uttarakhand. For the purpose of present study form the heart of this area, two villages namely Dhirmajra and Hatibpur Nivada in Haridwar district of Uttarakhand have been selected as specified/focused area of study. The villages are situated in the centre of the villages of Saini community in this area. These villages have shown progress in economic, occupational, political, and educational aspects particularly after independence and Zamindari Abolition. On these criteria the two
public place. Political leadership has emerged at the regional and national levels. Traditionally, the Sainis were agriculturists. With improvement in education and decreasing size of landholdings, they have diversified into trade, industry and private and government jobs. By all these they have achieved positions in the political organizations and institutions. All these consequently resulted into a better social for them as individuals and as a caste group.

7.2.2. Social Background and Social Mobility in two Villages

(A) Socio-economic Background

The socio-economic background of the heads of households have been studied in the selected villages (Dhirmajra and Habibpur Nivada) as consisted of age, family type, ownership of property, education, land holding, income, occupation, their father's occupation, political participation and place of living etc. Findings on these variables are as follows:

1. In Dhirmajra village, half of heads (50) of households (in terms of age) belong to second age group. In Habibpur Nivada village, larger number (58) of heads of households also belongs to second age group. Thus in both the villages the heads of households are of middle age group.

2. In Dhirmajra village, large majority (94) of heads of households belong to nuclear family. In Habibpur Nivada village also the
majority (89) of heads of households also belongs to nuclear family. Thus in both the villages a large majority belongs to nuclear families i.e. nuclear family is almost becoming the normal present. As a whole the pattern of nuclear family is a little more in Dhirmajra than in Habibpur Nivada.

3. In Dhirmajra village, large majority (94) of heads of households own property individually. In Habibpur Nivada village, majority (68) of heads of households also own property individually. Thus pattern of individual property ownership is greater in Dhirmajra than in Nivada.

4. In Dhirmajra village, large segment (34) of heads of households is educated upto high school and intermediate. In Habibpur Nivada village, larger number (36) of heads of households is also educated upto high school and intermediate. Thus in both the villages, large segment are educated upto high school and intermediate.

5. In Dhirmajra village, the majority (58) of heads of households has small land-holdings. In Habibpur Nivada village, big segment (42) of heads of households has also small land-holding. Thus small holders are comparatively more in Dhirmajra than in Nivada and there is a variation in the pattern of landownership in the two villages.

6. In Dhirmajra village, the majority (54) of heads of households’
income is above-10,000 Rs per month. In Habibpur Nivada village, big segment (41) of heads of households' income is also above-10,000 Rs per month. Thus on income dimension Sainis of Dhirmajra appear to be better of than that of Nivada.

7. In Dhirmajra village, big segment (34) of heads of households is in government service with land. In Habibpur Nivada village, big segment (31) of heads of households is also government service. Thus having government service with owning land in the village appears to be the pattern which prevails in both the villages.

8. In Dhirmajra village, the majority (67) of fathers of the heads of households were manual labourers during Zamindari and half (50) of fathers were also manual labourers after zamindari. In Habibpur Nivada village, majority (59) of fathers of the heads of households was manual labourer during zamindari and majority (55) of fathers was also manual labourers after zamindari. This majority of the fathers of the present heads of households during zamindari and even after were manual labourers in both the villages with little earlier in Dhirmajra and little more in Nivada in the later.

9. In Dhirmajra village, the majority (67) of heads of households has interest in local politics. In Habibpur Nivada village, majority (69) of
heads of households also has interest in local politics. Thus the majority of heads of households in both the villages have interest in local level politics.

10. In Dhirmajra village, majority (71) of heads of households live in village and in Habibpur Nivada village, majority (57) of heads of households lives in village. Thus in both the villages larger majority resides in the village but it is also important that a good number has built house in the nearby towns.

(B) Social Mobility

Social mobility of Sainis has been studied in the selected villages (Dhirmajra and Habibpur Nivada) as consisted of heads of households and their father's - family type, property, land ownership, education, occupation, political participation and place of living etc. Findings on these variables are as follows:

1. In both the villages trend of the type of family has been shifted from joint to nuclear and it has been from past to present generation.

2. In the both villages, shift in ownership of property has been towards joint to individual ownership over the two generations.

3. Both the villages indicate the shift in land ownership; comparatively ownership of land-holding has increased.
4. In both the villages, in terms of educational level of the heads of households with those of their fathers show the trend of increase in education illiterate and middle to graduation level from the past generation to present generation. This indicates the trend of inter-generational social mobility.

5. In both the villages, father of none of the heads of households was in government service and big segment of them were engaged in manual labour. While at present in Dhirmajra village 34 percent of heads of households are in government service and in Habibpur Nivada village 31 percent of heads of households are in government service, which indicate upward trend and social mobility in occupation in both the villages, though marginally a little more in the former the later.

6. In both the villages, the occupation as big farmers have shown decline from first to third age group; as middle farmers have shown upward mobility from first to second age group but declines among the youngsters; as small farmers and shopkeepers with land have shown decline from second to third age group; as government service with land has shown mobility from third to second age group but declines among the youngsters; as manual labourer has shown
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decline from third to first age group. This indicates that the social mobility in occupation has taken place between respondents of three age groups.

7. Due to the land reforms in both the villages, the occupations of small farming, manual labourer have shown a decline, and middle farming, shop keeping with land, and government service with land have shown an upward trend from their father's occupation to the present heads of households' occupation.

8. In both the villages, the heads of households take more in local politics in comparison to their fathers which has increased many fold as it was almost nil in the previous generation.

7.2.3. FINDINGS OF CASE STUDIES

1. In the zamindari period, heads of households' father were tenant and labourer. After zamindari abolition, their fathers were the owner of land which was cultivating. Their fathers had increased their land size by purchasing from mobile other at very low price.

2. Economic aspects show that family of all case studies belong to above 50 bigha of land. The members of first generation and second generation have increased the land size.
3. Occupation appears to indicate that the first generation of heads of households dependent on agriculture but second and third generations are highly educated and have government job.

4. Educational aspects indicate that the members of first generation were not educated. Members of second generation are up to high school and intermediate. Members of third generation of households are highly educated up to graduation and professional courses.

5. Political aspects indicate that heads of households participate very much in regional politics.

7.3. THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK

(a) Through the basic elements of a dominant caste (number, economic power, political power, education, higher social status and occupation) as listed by M.N.Srinivas (1966) and elements of democratic processes (land ownership, reservation policy, educational opportunities etc.) as listed by Anil Bhatt (1971) are valid with regard to the study of a community at macro level, they are found to be inadequate to explain the social mobility at micro level. There is need for identifying supportive elements of social mobility at micro level. Some supportive elements of social mobility in case Saini at micro level have been identified in the present study. The following are the supportive elements of social mobility: (i) low historical background,
(ii) distinctive socio-economic identity, (iii) constant prevalence of leadership, (iv) accommodative nature of socio-political field, (v) big land holding, and (vi) social unity within community.

The supportive elements need not be limited to these only but their number may increase or decrease depending on nature of the structural context and social mobility. Thus in the present study such supportive elements of social mobility have been identified and their role has been analyzed.

(b) The present study contributes to the field of economic development of a community in the light of reforms and democratic processes in general and to the theories and practices of land legislation, modernization, mobilization and dominant community in particular.

7.4. BEARINGS OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Bearings of and relationships with the findings in the context of earlier studies may now be narrated.

William L. Rowe (1968:66-77) has presented the purer but rarely documented case of actual changes in rank by a part of an endogamous caste. After citing other documented instances of successful change in rank, he describes how an elite within the North Indian Sudra caste of Noniyas used its economic power to claim and eventually to gain a
partially successful entry into the higher Kshatriya varna rank within a period of half of century through local acquiescence, followed some resistance to their display of higher rank in behavioral attributes. In the present study, Sainis have used their economic power to claim Kshatriya Varna rank through local acquiescence followed almost no resistance to their display of higher rank in their behavioral attributes.

Edward B. Harper (1968:36-65) in his study of the unsuccessful efforts of the people of lower social strata in Malnad, in the Northwest region of district Shimoga (Mysore), has made significant observations about some of the important sources of occupational mobility. This village, with its clear-cut jajmani system and characterized by the institutions of slavery and indentureship, has maintained the traditional system of occupational hierarchy. Under such a system, occupational mobility is unthinkable. Occupations for various social groups, graded on the basis of rituals were almost static. But those at the lowest rung of the social ladder have made an arduous effort to bring about a change in their ritual status through conscious attempts for occupational mobility. They have also attempted to change the rules of social, economic and power rankings. Such attempts have largely been successful. This, however, does not mean that occupational mobility is not taking place in other parts
of the country. The present study also suggest that Sainis at the lowest rung of the zamindari period have made an arduous effort to bring about a change in their ritual status through conscious attempts for occupational mobility. They have also attempted to change the rules of social and economic and power rankings as they are placed in higher economic and political positions and ranked comparatively higher than earlier.

N.P. Gist (1954:129-138) has done some research work in South India. He noticed considerable occupational mobility in both Mysore and Bangalore cities, as those at the lower rung of the social ladder changed from manual labour to industrial work, those at the upper social ladder took to law and other professions, and those on the top left priesthood for medicine and teaching. The present study also shows the same situation in the selected villages. Sainis at the lower rung of the zamindari period changed from manual labour to big land holding and government jobs, teaching, engineering professions, and used the legislative provisions of zamindari abolition, reservation etc. and moved to other professions.

F.G. Bailey (1957: 87) says that caste group are united into a system through two principles namely segregation and hierarchy. He sees the caste system as a dynamic one. He states that the ritual system is always brought into correspondence or overlaps with the political and
economic status. Relationship between castes is not simply a matter of ritual practice. It is a matter of power because, in the caste system there always emerges a dominant caste to which many other castes are subordinate. In fact, the caste is held together because of the concentration of power (and force), he observes that ritual rank is always consistent with political and economic status; once a caste becomes wealthy it changes its pattern of interaction with other castes so that it may claim a higher rank in the ritual hierarchy. In support of these, the present study has also raised Sainis’ dominance of other castes in the selected villages. They have emerged as almost like a dominant caste to which many other castes are subordinate now. Sainis are held together because of the concentration of power (and force) consequential of democratic processes and that their ritual rank is now consistent with their new political and economic status.

M.S.A. Rao (1972: 508-509) has clarified how occupation has become a relatively independent element of social status and the effect of education on occupational status. He has cited the case of Ahirs who after getting education and becoming westernized, have claimed to be associated with Yaduvanshi Kshatriyas (Yadavas) in the caste hierarchy. The present study also reveals that Sainis have claimed to be associated with Kshatriyas after getting education and being westernized, achieving
life under unsystematic distribution of land, but also for their development and upward social mobility. By moving to places outside the village, they learnt new skills, adopted new ideas and techniques, attained higher levels of education, and entered modern occupations and other diversified economic activities. Not only this, they have already got social empowerment since long time. Their political empowerment is increasing since last few decades and political issues are also becoming their favourite topic in their day-to-day interactions. The emergence of enlightened and dedicated community leadership and strong group solidarity helped in organizing the community to safeguard its collective interests. The role of personalities like their political leaders, community leaders and their associates, have a great importance in mobility of the community. This study shows that leadership within the community can pave effective channels for people's mobilization and development through effective communication on personal basis. The cooperative movement has also played an important role in the development experience of the Sainis. The development experience of the Sainis, particularly the example of its cooperative participation, community leadership and group solidarity is worth emulating by other communities in pursuit of development. The present study is just limited to general observations, interviews and case studies from two villages only in Uttarakhand. Therefore, the findings are limited and remain provisional.
7.5. RESEARCH GAPS/SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study has been limited to Sainis of particular villages in Uttarakhand. It has tried to reveal the socio-economic background of Sainis in zamindari period and its abolition and how they achieved social mobility in their life. Various research areas are still left out like the dimensions of social mobility in the context of other backward castes which would be very interesting area where Saini community comes under the farmers’ group of northern region in India. It has varieties of dialects like indigenous mode of practices of peasantry. In the present study, we have many dimensions which are particular within itself for intensive study but conclusions on such dimensions are limited because of its smaller coverage. So, it is very necessary and helpful for Sainis, scholars and planners of the government policy makers to deal with the left out dimensions through intensive study for more detailed information about these villages of the district, its people and their necessary social mobility measures. The following suggestions for further research may be made:

(i) There is a greater need for study of modernization and westernization processes among the Saini community.

(ii) The weaker sections to the Saini community are to be specially mobilized to achieve certain goals in social, education, economic and administrative aspects. Thereby their study is required.
(iii) The All India Saini Rajput Mahasabha, which has played an important role in the social mobility of the Sainis, needs a separate study from national to local level.

(iv) There is a need for further study social mobility of Saini boys and girls in the context of universalization of higher education.

7.6. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES DURING EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Empirical research is not an easy task at any level. During my research work I have faced many emotional ups and downs at personal level. During field work in the native villages which are the area of study I have gained a lot of benefit as it was not necessary to identify myself and establish any rapport for interview. My name and family linkage have helped me a lot during the collection of facts through interview and case studies. The office records from Block and District offices were also made available easily because of 'uncle' otherwise it seems to be very difficult. Wherever and whenever I went for the purpose of my research work they happily welcomed me and provided all necessary facts. It is not an easy task to collect data from 200 heads of households from these villages. I have spent more time with villagers to know about all related facts very well. Thus is suggests that familiarity with the area of study and good image of name, family and caste linkages help in collection of data.