CHAPTER - I

INDIAN VILLAGE STUDIES

A sizable amount of literature has been produced regarding the "village communities in India". Most of these writings have come forth from British Administrators, members of enquiry commissions constituted by British Government from time to time, ethnologists, resident representatives of the British Government in the Courts of Indian monarchs and census commissioners. They, in general, deal with economic life of Indian village communities. However, systematic and scientific study of Indian village communities from sociological point have begun recently.

Dube did the pioneer work in his study of village Shamirpet in Andhra Pradesh. He describes the dominant norms and main variations, caste, political, economic and ritual structures as they control social behaviour. He identifies on the broadest, horizontal caste ties — the area of marital unions — with the conventional culture linguistic areas which may delineate universe for studying intercaste relations and other problems. Dube was followed by a series of studies on village communities which were published in two book forms viz. "Village India" and "India's villages". Village India, as the name of the book specifies may be understood in villages. It seeks, "Civilization in vivo — in the context of family, neighbours, work, ceremonies, and other circumstances that make up the round of the life of a people". These studies which were undertaken in different regions of the country follow Dr. Dube in pronouncing that village communities all over India may have a number of common features. The commonality of features may be expressed in terms of caste, intercaster relations and dependence, patterns of settlement, the relations of land tenure to social structure and the, "importance of maintaining status relationships as between castes and as between individuals".
Important contribution, in this book has been made by Harriot who raises the questions of interrelation of an Indian village with the larger society and with the civilization of which it is a small and local part. It is concluded that both little communities and greater communities are mutually necessary conditions of each other's existence. The question is studied in the context of culture and he draws the scheme of the Great Traditions of Hinduism and the elements of strictly local religion viz. Little Traditions. The concept is analogous to Srinivas' concept of All India Hinduism and Local Hinduism which he developed in the analysis of the social and religious life of the Coorgs of South India. Harriot's concept was based on Redfield's concept of little community and emphasis was laid upon studying the village as a whole. Srinivas in his paper on "Mysore Village" describes the structure of relationships, of roles and status and explains changes in them in terms of Sanskritization and Westernization and dominant caste. The paper deals the village as if it were an isolate unit. Gough and Cohn also take the help of village as a whole to study the changes in solidarity, close interdependence of status and useful functions and dependence of low castes upon the economic power and rule of a dominant caste. Besides, Beals explains the impact of urbanization upon an Indian Village, while Stead is concerned with the formation of personality within a social structure.

"India's Villages" contains village studies with different foci. The very name recognizes the uniqueness of the villages. These studies which are tentative in nature lay emphasis upon the isolation of the Indian village, role of dominant caste and the impact of urbanization, industrialization and westernization. Village structure it is pointed out is greatly influenced by: a) number of castes in the village; b) rank of the dominant caste; c) size of the village; and d) means of communication. Book further recognizes that in terms of economic and social specialization, marital ties and religious and political organization, the struc-
tural unit is larger than the village.

Bailey, laid a new traditions when he described the economic life of an Orissa village and impact of the larger economy of the country and of the world upon its agricultural activities and its social life. What conflicts arise and how the internal structure of the village is modified by them. He is joined with Gough who shows how the loss of land through sale and absentee landlordism affects the community structure. They also show how loss of economic power by one caste and the gain by another are determinants of the social system and how social system readjusts itself. Another economic approach to social life is that of Epstein. Writer shows how improved agricultural facilities (irrigation in this case) may integrate villages into "regional economy and how the different roles........occupied within the wider economy set each village on different paths of development". It further, shows the impact of occupational inner-directedness and outer-directedness of the individuals, with the introduction of technological changes, upon the social system. The former results in strengthening the existing principles of social organization, while the later results in widening range of both economic and political relations, redistribution of wealth among peasants, collapse of hereditary political offices and inter-caste relations of the community.

Important step stone in the field of village studies was taken by Lewis and Majumdar in 1958. For the first time after Smith holistic approach to the social phenomena was questioned. Both Lewis and Majumdar pointed out, the weakness in the approach of regarding Indian Village as an integral whole and emphasized as we will see in later part; to understand it as and, "Extension-in-Unity". Both the studies, however, like the earlier were explanation of the social life of the village as depicted in its traditions, caste and jajmanl system, rituals,
religious and traditional leadership. Majumdar studied change in the social life with reference to high caste viz. Takhurs. Lewis' study was problem-oriented in which the focus has been the felt needs of the people. His major contribution is in pointing out the existence two delineations of social structure other than village as a whole. Factions which are even smaller than the caste dimensions is the first. And the second is inter-village relationships which have very much larger social dimensions than those of an individual village.

From analytical perspective Singer made a significant contribution to Srinivas' Concept of Local Hinduism Versus All India Hinduism and Marriot's hypothesis of Universalization and Parochialization through which they emphasized the understanding of "native civilization". Singer pointed out that "there is unity and continuity of traditions in a country of diverse parts like India ". He looks for it in the structure of the social organization of traditions, cultural performances and cultural media, social problems and process of cultural change. This supported the idea of, "basic similarities", in village structure in different parts of India.

The conception of basic similarities and of the dominant caste finds a detailed analysis in Mayer's book published in 1960. He propounds that sub-caste membership is still pivotal in the actions of Indian Villagers, its concomitants are so pervasive that their consideration encompasses a discussion of all major group activities, Political and economic sides of village life are based on sub-caste differentiation. "Again an analysis of Kinship structure is at the same time largely an analysis of the internal structure of the sub-castes. He also deals with the role of caste in secular life of the village. Analogous to his study is Mathur's study of the caste and rituals. Both the studies have been conducted in one cultural region named Malwa. Mathur's study is "an analysis of the function of Hindu Religion in the integration of Caste society", and role of
rituals in a changing system. Both the authors emphasize that even though caste is weakening on some of its traditional frontiers, yet it has acquired strength along certain new frontiers especially the political one. Caste solidarities, it is pointed out, therefore, has increased.

A study of the changes in group dynamics and class relations has been made by Baljit Singh. His aim was to study the impact of the abolition of Zamidari upon (a) "status system in the village, (b) changes in the social status of various caste and classes" (c) Factions, feuds and quarrels. The study confirms Bailey's, Gough's Epstein's findings that changes in wealth possessions affect the inter-caste relations and loss of wealth or land reduces the status of the losing caste. From sociological point of view it is pointed out that "village society is extremely complex in its structure and is essentially a faction society". For this reason, there is little ground to regard village society as a community.

Two studies about the life in "Bengal Villages" also needs mention. Of these, one is a re-study of village Kanchanpur and other is of life in Bengal village. Both the writings emphasize that in spite of changes in the economic structure there is practically no change in the ritual structure and ancient beliefs of the villages. The caste system has been shaken in its occupational aspects but the core of the system with restrictions on intermarriages and commensality still remain entrenched in the village. There is superiority of the high castes and social relations in the village have remained substantially unaltered. Both the books confirm the vertical solidarity and horizontal solidarity of castes as specified by Dube, Srinivas and Bailey. Ali in the study of Kanchanpur points out that the Village society be understood not only according to vertical stratification, But the concept of concentric organization, "with the high castes serving as
nucleus and lower castes forming periphery is one which might be more help-
ful in appreciating the organic nature of our rural society."

On the lines of Rosser's study of "A hermit Village in Kulu" is an
interesting study of Hindus of Himalayas conducted by Berreman. The study,
however, differs from earlier studies in that its approach is functional
for the analysis of the inter-relationship of caste, kin and community ties.
The writer also finds many parallels in the interaction between the high
castes and low castes and that described by "Dollard regarding Negro -
White relations in Southern Town of U.S.A. He reopens the idea that caste
system of India and social differentiation generally belong to the same
basic category of social stratification. Both are caste systems if castes
are defined as, "ranked endogamous division of society in which membership
is hereditary and permanent". The study describes the intra-village clique,
village community and neighbouring clusters.

A new trend in the study of cultural change has been introduced by
Aiyappan. Study deals with Irvan culture and changes which have occurred during
the last twenty years. It is in the context of local community and from
microcosm he proceeds to describe macrocosm. He studies problems character-
istic to community and its relations to wider political, economic and social
forces of larger society which have given no areas of activity for caste.
Horizontal solidarity of the caste has been increased. Irvan feel belonging
to high caste within certain common interests. It thus describes social
structure of the village along with description of all India and State forces
at the level of the village and caste.

An interesting study on the Family and "Kinship structure of Pandits
of Rural Kashmir" has been undertaken by Medan. The study is purely descriptive
and does not throw much light upon theory of an Indian village. Still the
author points out "Certain basic similarities" in the rural life of the Kashmir and rest of India. The nature of the village is dependent, to him, on the topographic conditions of the area. The same agricultural activities, similar caste and jajmani system, and similar joint family structure has been pointed out as the characteristics of the rural people.

The foregoing account shows that most of the studies of India village communities explain, "how norms and values, habits and customs rituals and ceremonies and socio-economic relations are carried on in a traditional way". The reports have been descriptions of caste, leadership, government, factionalism and socio-economic change. Emphasize also have been laid upon conceiving local group dominance in the village. There also have been studies of village religion, family life, kinship and personality. Efforts also have been made to assess caste ranking and to pin point the intercaste hierarchy in the community. A noted observation in regard to these studies is that nowhere the concept community has been well defined. The village as an administrative unit has been taken for granted and imputed with community characteristics. These studies are microcosm and authors try to generalize, with reservations, from one village the nature of the social structure of the rest of the rural India. What is the vital force that kept the Indian village community alive throughout her history? The present studies fail to give an answer since the approach is mainly ethnographic rather than sociological one.

From sociological point of view there are three major foci of these studies:

1) Studies of life in communities: These are not really studies of communities as such but of social life which happens to take place and have been studied within the community setting. Community provides simply a sample of respondents but community as such is not the object of study.
ii) Second focus of community oriented research is on life as affected by community setting. In these researches the behaviour of the subject is explained on the basis of community characteristics, but community as such is not the object of study. Another focus is the study of the impact of the "external forces" upon community social life, relations and structure.

iii) Third focus is the development of concepts and methodology for the village communities.

Methodology For Study

Srinivas in order to distinguish macrocosm from microcosm has introduced the concepts of Local Hinduism and All India Hinduism. It may be aided, he points out, with the horizontal and vertical solidarities of caste. Changes in social life may be explained by another set of concepts viz. "Sanskritization and Westernization" and "dominant caste", round which revolve the social structure and unity of the village. As against this Harriot, introduces the concept of Universalization and Parochialization to explain village communities. Upward from the village to the institutions and ideas of state and civilization and downward from the civilization and the state to the village his mind runs in his efforts to identify some of the characteristic historical processes by which a native civilization, seen through the life of the village, may be understood. He further points out that both little communities and greater communities are mutually necessary conditions of each other's existence. Both the theoretical orientations are based on the fact the Indian village communities are an integrated whole, they exhibit certain recurrent characteristics which may help us to delineate certain cultural areas their differentiation and similarities. Dube specifies some of the characteristics which help us to
identify a very large number of villages. These are i) The distinctiveness of the village as an economic, social and ritual entity, with ii) a population composed of many interdependent occupational caste groups that are, iii) bound by ties of mutual reciprocal obligations and governed by established usage and social ethics. These usages are, iv) sanctioned by village elders or by village council.

Mandelbaum reviewed different village studies and pointed out certain similarities which may help us to understand Indian villages from a village study. The question of the basic similarities was hotly discussed at the session of the Indian Sociological Conference held at Lucknow, 1960. Chauhan on the basis of census of India, 1951 worked a, "Median village" named, "Hindpur" (Ideal village). Delineation of the village was based on sex-ratio distance from city and availability of modern means of transport. Application of the concept to the social reality shows that it does not cover 68% of the villages in India. Srinivas, Marriott, Dube and Mandelbaum pointing out certain similarities and recognizing cultural and regional variations, come to the conclusion that in order to avoid mechanical and overt schematic approach to the study of regional similarities and differences in the country it is most desirable to continue with the anthropological traditions of single village studies. With this approach, what we lose by deviating from adequate sampling theory is "compensated by acquiring depth and coverage of overt and covert norms in one analysis".

As to Marriott's concept of Great Traditions and Little Traditions and Srinivas's concept of "Sanskritization and Westernization" it has been pointed that both the approaches can be appropriately employed to study not only the structure and integration of Indian Society but can be well used for the analysis of change as a broad historical process. Both the approaches look
to religion viz. to Sanskritic Hinduism and interpret the social phenomena in
terms of Local Hinduism and National Hinduism. The first approach does not
specify the definition of great or little traditions. To say that the great
traditions are corpus of beliefs, rituals and social patterns embodied in
sacred and canonical literature does not take us far. "Even clarification
which results from the little traditions of the little communities and is
abstracted and synthesized by urban literati does not help our understanding
very substantially. Moreover, it does not cover the phenomena of ideas and
institutions not accounted for by sacred, or non-sacred texts, when conflicting
ideas are laid by sacred traditions it is difficult to find universal acceptance.
Concept of Sanskritization and Westernization has been highly criticized by
Cohn, Prasad, Gough, Majumdar and Ishwaran. Gough and Cohn say that
economic or political factors and not only Sanskritization and Westernization
explain social phenomena in India. Prasad replaces the concept by Kulimisation
Vs. Westernisation. Majumdar says that Desanskritization is a process by which
Brahman caste also try to identify in some matters with other castes. Ishwaran
regards Brahmanization more appropriate term than Sanskritization. Similar
evaluation has also been made by Gould and Barnabas. The cash economy, poli­
tical safeguards, rapid means of transport and communication and "break up
of the jajmanl system help the low castes to adopt the western way of life
rather than sanitkrit". It is also difficult to differentiate between Sanskritic
and Brahmanic.

The fabric of contemporary Indian Society is the result of so many
divergent patterns of interaction between local, regional and classical
cultural influences and as such any scientific approach must take into view
these divergencies. To avoid limitation of polarization Dubo, conceptualises
the total realm of traditions into five fold division. To him in our study
of Indian village Communities it may be useful to consider the contextual classi-
ocal and local traditions as well as the regional (cultural area) Western (Ideological-technological) and emergent natural (nativistic - reinterpreta-
tional-adaptive) traditions. The important facts which emerge from above discussion are that: a) there is one to one correspondence of some kind between culture and community; b) communities seem to be basic units of organization and transmission within a cultural complex and c) minimum personal and the minimum social relation satisfaction provides a survival and content of community life.

The methods recommended for data collection in these studies are not different from those applied by social scientists all over the world. Participant observation, schedules, focused interviews, mass interviews, interview guides, sampling, life history method, survey method, secondary data such as revenue records and patwari records, are the most often used methods. Most of the studies may be regarded as case histories which have deployed by the investigator when he was actually staying with the villagers. Highly statistical techniques have not been used and emphasis has been upon qualitative rather than upon the quantitative aspects of the data. Participants observation has been especially preferred by social anthropologists in the study of a village community as an integral whole.

**Nature Of Village Communities In The Panjab.**

A significant feature of these studies is that all of them conceive the community in the context of Hindu religion and caste system as prescribed and practised by Hindus. Even Lewis' study of a Punjabi Village is in the context of Hinduism and Hindu way of life. The varied content of the studies amply prove the fact that knowledge of one part of India may not be taken as conclusive familiarity of all or of any part. The Punjabi Village is a special case of extension-in-unity because of its historico-political condition.
Smith is perhaps one of the first to present a general picture of the social structure of a Punjabi Village – dominated by Sikh-Jats. Sikhs in general are converts from Hindus and most of their sub-caste names are found among the Hindus and Hindu Jats.

This caste differentiation has an important bearing upon the social system of the community, which in general is subdivided into Pattis and Mohallas. The boundaries of the Patti may coincide with that of the mohalla or a patti may have more than one mohallas. In the latter case a mohalla is a sub-division of patti. Pattis are of two types. The first is that in which members of different pattis in the village bear a common caste name and trace their lineage from a common ancestor who founded the village. In the second case pattis may represent different sub-castes whose members acknowledge a common ancestry. The pattis, also, may not represent a single caste but may be a composition of different sub-castes e.g., Jats, Brahmins, and certain specialist sub-castes. It may have Jats of more than one sub-caste with one sub-caste being dominant. The basic elements in patti recognition are landed property of a particular sub-caste and its share in the state revenue which a village pays. Numerical strength of a patti is in no way indicator of its dominance. Because the possession of the land resources and ability to employ larger number of labourers and other specialist castes may give the people of a minority patti with larger share in land to gain larger following and thus assume leadership and dominant role.

Patti and mohalla are the elementary units of social organization of a Punjabi Village. Mohalla like patti is known after the dominant caste which lives in the area. They have an important role in the community organization. The rights and obligations and rewards and sanctions of a particular individual, in the community system, are determined by his position in the patti or mohalla.
The villages in the Punjab are known after an individual who founded it or after a patti whose ancestor had a lion share in the landed property. Barden-powell mentions 'democratic' and aristocratic' villages and villages whose "Joint constitution is due to some form of tribal union and to surviving tribal or clan customs".

The Pattis are as much exogenous in nature as the village. They may have their own panchayats. Intra-patti affairs may be referred to patti panchayat and inter-patti affairs to the village panchayat. There have been patti sport teams and contests on inter-patti basis. Beside the members of a patti have a joint possession in certain articles of common use which may be supplied to their members in time of need. Pattis owned utensils, carpets, charpais, fans and in certain cases a room to facilitate social, religious and recreational life of the patti. The other members of the village, however, were not barred from their use but they were given a second consideration as compared to a patti member. The pattis now-a-days are not so important because of interpatti migration, individualistic trends and outer contacts. These forces enable a person to gain from outside what he obtained within the village.

Social life of a Punjabi village is dominated by Sikhism. Sikhism in theory and beliefs is essentially non-sectarian. It recommends equality irrespective of caste. But this in fact is limited to the texts and the four walls of Gurdwara. In daily life castes, however, are fully recognised. Sikh Jats are equal and then they differentiate between Jats and low caste Sikhs, such as Chamar, Majhi Sikhs, Sikh Weavers, Barbers etc. Artisan Castes such as Carpenters, Water Carriers, Iron Smiths, and Black Smiths etc. claim equality in religious participation. The low caste sikhs may attend Gurdwara of the high caste but the reciprocal may be not true. As a reaction
to this low castes, where they are in good number, have constructed their
own Gurdwaras. Sikhs differentiate between Jats and Non-Jats in the matter
of marriages and each occupation group is endogamous and observes sub-caste
congeniality. Interm-dining, Baradari relations and Bhaji virtan are generally
within one caste though other high caste occupational groups such as
Ranjasthan may also be included without distinction.

Sikhs observe all their rites ceremonies with the help of Guru Granth
Sahib – their religious book. Like Hindus they observe birth pollutions,
birth and naming ceremonies. Like thread ceremony among the hindus they
observe "Dastarbandi" ceremony. In matter of marriage they differ from
Hindus. They permit widow remarriage and have Dharm nata system, Vata Sata
System, Vata System and marriage by Purchase. These systems are still
prevalent among Jats in the Punjab. Even the low caste sikhs observe these
marriages. Among them widow remarriage - chadar andaz, Vata Sata System and
Vata System are especially prevalent.

The process of change in the Punjab was accelerated with the coming
of the Britisher. They built new roads and improved the old ones to make
them usable throughout the year. The completion of the Suez canal in 1869
and the building of large steamships further facilitated the transport of
raw materials from India and the import of the manufactured goods from England.
The crops could be sold for cash as their circulation was now not limited to
local areas. Punjab made a special contribution toward the trade of grains
and cotton. The Britisher regarded it the grainary of India.

They were greatly convinced by the study physique and hard work of the
Punjabi farmers and the great possibilities of Punjab as an agricultural area.
Dams and irrigation canals were constructed from 1892. Vast tracts of new
land became available for cultivation. With the development of new colonies
there occurred mass migration and traditional family ties were loosened and
the areas of contacts with the open society were increased. People did not
break ties with kins and shared all their happiness, sorrows and sociality.
For family participation they had to travel not to the next village but
many miles by train or later by bus.

Impact of these new forces were, however, not universal but differential.
Location, size of holding, advanced method of irrigation were the
factors which contributed to differentiate the rate of change. Acquaintance
with manufactured goods, their availability, the increasing availability of
money, the contacts with city life and demands of the village people as a
whole were other factors which affected change in social life. The rate of
change was further accelerated with the first and second World Wars. Men
from villages were recruited into army and were sent abroad to various parts
of the world. These two events increased the circulation of money, prices
of agricultural products and contacts with many foreign things through the
soldiers who returned home after war. It also brought about political
consciousness in the Villages and Panjabi Villagers paid a full price for the
attainment of independence both in form of the loss of lives and of property.
While the rest of the country was slumbering on 15th August, 1947, the Punjab
was on fire and the sons of soil were measuring their swords. Life was paralysed
and the Punjabi started a new. Their glorious and unique historical past
challenged them to rise to the occasion. To-day, once again, Punjabi farmer
is considered the most progressive and the Punjabi Village has several political,
social and economic outer contacts.

Partition of the Punjab, migration of certain specialist castes to
Pakistan, increase in urban contacts, introduction of cash economy, improvement
in the means of communication and political conscious among the villagers has
affected the vertical unity of the village and the jajmari system. Each
village is not a self-sufficient unit. Caste and occupational relations
extend beyond the village so that vertical unity, itself goes beyond the village.
Smith suggested that villages linked by the net-work of social and economic
specializations of their caste groups may form a structural units with
possible political overtones. Miller confirms this version from his study
in North Kerala.

Small holdings, limitations of land and constantly rising population
force the members of the family to leave the village and seek employment
outside the village. They keep sending money to the family for the upkeep
of their children and to boost the family income. This had led to immigra-
tion from the village. At present there is hardly any village which does
not have experienced traveller, "its old soldier, or its former city dweller."

Government's contact with the village has increased and peoples'
participation in the programme of development is guided by their motivation
which they access in the background possible personal, economic and social
advantages. Another important characteristic of a Punjab Village is communal
consciousness. Communal ties cut across the boundaries of villages and thus
relate a village with other distant from it. Government insistence upon
village and patti unity for administrative purposes has undoubtedly served to
provide an additional element in vertical unity, which may increase with
dominant role of panchayats. Whether one is thinking of the past of the
present, unity of the Punjabi Village and its ties beyond it with other
villages must be weighed together. Vertical and horizontal unities must be
considered together in any analysis of village life. For these considerations
a Punjab Village is an extension-in-unity.
Indian Village: A Unity or An Extension In Unity

A stress to pursue an Indian village as an integral whole, that is "an isolated unity" is all too often a "pre-supposition imposed upon facts." The isolation of the village has been discarded by some and they postulate to recognise the village as an extension-in-unity. The isolated unity of an Indian village is seen in terms of its historical past which offers a comparison at two points of time in a historical perspective. That is to say cognition is made granting an observational isolate as a thing, a system to be analysed in terms only of what is right there within the village. The isolation of the village is granted in:

a) More or less physical, social and economic isolation which is represented in behaviour and narrow outlook of the residents.

b) Self-contained economy based upon agricultural activity and regulated by traditions and institutions which have evolved over centuries. The main basis of the economic and social relationships are jajman system, caste and kinship.

c) Caste endogamy and rules of commensality which through institutional and sentimental sources unite the whole village.

d) Common dependence upon the dominant caste.

e) Vast body of common experience.

f) Homogeneity as expressed in institutional framework.

g) A strong sense of belonging to the village and of sharing its destiny.

h) Collective orientation regulated by group action, aspiration and alike cognition, and guided by socio-cultural patterns of the community.

i) Direct effect of an action upon the members of the community which further leads to community identification.

The isolation of the village severely limited the contacts of the villages with the outside world and made it necessary for the people to confine their economic and social relationships within the group. Caste and
Jajman system provided the social and economic bases on which social relations rested. The two institutions were intimately related and mutually supporting. Caste defined and occupation and the social status of different individuals and groups living in the village. The jajman system defined their economic relationships and bound the cultivators, on the one hand, and the artisans and other non-agriculturalists on the other, in a system of economic interdependence. The system was organized with village as the basic unit. In the historical and ethnological writings about India, the isolation and unity is emphasized over and over again. Matcalf pointed out that village communities are little republics having nearly everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumble down, the revolution succeeds revolution,........but the village communities remain the same. Marx also expressed the similar views, Indian Communities, are based on possession in common of the land, on the blending of agriculture and handicrafts, and on an unalterable division of labour, which serves, whenever a community is started, as a plan and scheme ready cut and dried. Occupying areas from 100 upto several thousand acres, each forms a compact whole producing all it requires. The chief part of the products is destined for direct use by the community itself and does not take the form of a commodity. Hence, production here is independent of that division of labour brought about in India society as a whole by means of exchange of commodities. It is the surplus alone that becomes a commodity, and a portion even of that, not until it has reached the hands of the state. Jurisdiction of village authorities extended over houses, streets and cultivable land, that the village council looked after the village defence, settled village disputes, organized works of public utility, acted as trustee for minors, and collected the
government revenues and paid them into treasury; and that the central-state governments could eventually reach people and discharge their functions mainly through these bodies.

This view of unity is supported no doubt, by historical and ethnological perspectives but exclusive emphasis upon the internal structure of the community in disregard to external relation defeats the purpose of research. The perspective is subject to currents of thoughts and social forces which determine them. It, therefore, must be related to "weltanschaung", which expresses them and make an area part of the whole. But this does not mean to draw an imaginary line around the village and treat extra village influence as either irrelevant or disturbing factors in a stable, structurally equilibrated microcosm. The village at all stage of its change and social life had contacts without its boundaries. Following points are salient in this regard:

a) All the villages did not have and do not have specialist castes which served and serve a number of neighbouring villages. This led to contacts among the inhabitant of different villages.

b) Marital and other social relationships extended over a number of neighbouring villages, the number of villages and distance involved being much larger among those groups where there were restrictions on marriage within the village.

c) The villagers used to gather together at fairs which involved a number of villages. These fairs were also an arena of competition, in regard to certain physical feats and games to exhibit inter-village economic superiority through voluntary contributions for the fair or for the competitions. This was also an occasion to assume inter-village leadership.

d) People used to travel long distances for "pilgrimages or in any services" Many travelled to religious places especially at the times of death to perform the last rituals of the ashes.

e) Intra-village relations may also be seen in the custom of "Thali of Sambal". Under this system the daughter of village "A" was married in village "B". If any family of village "A" or any relative of village "A", marries his son in village "B", where lived the daughter of village "A", then at the time of meals service to the marriage party that girl was especially remembered. The remembrances were conveyed either inviting her in-laws to join the marriage party
or to keep Thali (Plate) of meals along with some money on it
for the daughter of village "A". Then the rest of the marriage
took its meals. The custom is still prevalent in Majha and
Malwa in the Punjab. This shows that villages were not strictly
exogenous and relations among them were frequent. Also in the
Punjab there are instances of marriages within village.

f) Intervillage caste Panchayats which decided the disputes of
the caste members within the village and outside the village
are other examples of extra-village relations. Also there were
multivillage panchayats to settle inter-village differences.

88
g) Intervillage factions which cut across the boundaries of the
village. These factions are smaller than caste dimensions.

89
h) Some social scientists point to the dogma of "dominant Caste"
to explain the unity of the villages. Dominance is expressed
in numerical strength, economic superiority and political
preponderance of a caste in an area or village. But a critical
analysis of the approach indicates that what they call solidarity
for the village is solidity to the dominant caste whose power
is both political and economic. The possession of economic
resources may shift from one caste to another and thus affect
dominance. For all these reasons it is advocated that an Indian
village may be seen an extension-in-unity. As Smith points out,
"In terms of economic and social specialization, marital ties,
and religious and political organization the structural unity
is larger than village."

As a result of the process of cultural contact it is not possible
to get any pure unaffected and completely isolated "primitive community". The cultural contacts introduce many complex elements in the social system. To understand a village in totality, it is essential to take cognizance of extraneous forces and factors that affect the life ways and work ways of the community. Introduction of the Britishers opened out the village communities and made them a part of the world economy. The process of outer contacts was specially accelerated with the attainment of independence. It is, because a special place has been granted to villages in the planning of the country and every efforts is being made to enhance the socio-economic welfare of the people. This has led to further extensions in the village communities. For these reasons community may be understood and studied more in terms of its extensions rather than unity.
REFERENCES AND NOTES


6. Ibid, viii.


27. Mayer, A.C., op. cit. p. 3.
31. Srinivas, K.N., (ed) op. cit. 100-03.
32. Epstein, Scarlet, op. cit. 325-60.
39. Dollard, John, Caste And Class In A Southern Town 1957.
See the following works:


See for example


50. Marriot, McKim (ed) *op. cit.* pp. 2-36.

51. Marriot, McKim (ed) *ibid*.

52. Redfield and Singer summarize his analysis as under, the comparison begins to show some of the things that are widespread: the balance of caste separation and intercaste dependence; the relations of land tenure to social structure; the importance of maintaining status relationships as between castes and as between individuals, and the possibility of change in status of groups or individuals; the anxieties and quarrels that have to do with the status; the influence of ancient codes of conduct, aggressive protection of honour for "warriors" and ascetic withdrawal for others. Widespread also are general processes of change, the disintegration of social system based on group or corporate relations of status; the decline of occupational specialists; increasing use of money, growth of factionalism; changes in the interdependence of castes and a tendency for the depressed to find common cause in economic or political interest; the double process of Sanskritization and Westernization.


56. Marriot, McKim, op. cit, pp. 175-228.


70. Srinivas, M.N. (ed) op. cit. op. 160-179.

71. For a detailed discussion of Fatti system see Lahore District Gazette 1916, It has a significant discussion of Fatti System of Majha. Also see Lewis, Oscar, *Village Life In Northern India*, Urbana: University of California Press, 1938 pp.

Turban-ti eing ceremony.

Dharm-nata-marriage is one in which neither vata sata system, nor vata system nor purchase is involved. It is considered the highest form of marriage and was rare among the jats in pre-partition period.

Under this system marriages are conditional and involve a series of exchange of daughters either among the contracting parties or the relatives. For example: Family 'A' marries a daughter in Family 'B' on the condition that Family 'B' will arrange a wife for the son of Family 'A'. Family 'B' thus may approach either to some relative or to some caste than and thus link Family 'C' with 'A'. But Family 'C' may ask for the hand of a daughter of Family 'B' or of its relative for marrying its daughter in family 'A'. In this way series of links develop among the families and boys and girls involved in marriage are sometimes close brother-in-laws and sister-in-law. Generally such contracts link two or three secondary or tertiary relatives depending upon the exchanges involved.

In this system two families directly exchange daughters thus two boys become, brother-in-laws of each other.

Through purchase Jats sometime marry women whose parentage is not known which may be abducted from other states and sold in the Panjab. But Jats parents also sell their daughters and get money for them.

Srinivas, M., (ed) op. cit., pp. 177.


