Chapter Four
Emerging Forms of Institutional Arrangements
This chapter is divided into two parts, part I deals with earthquake affected village Yelwat, while 'II' refers to un-affected village Anandwadi. After earthquake, relocation of the village and socio-economic rehabilitation has facilitated the transformation of the community. As a result of rehabilitation process, social, economic, political and cultural institutions which were functioning in the village prior to earthquake had undergone visible change. In this chapter, the changing and emerging forms of institutional arrangements after earthquake have been traced. The themes undertaken for analysis are as below; (i) Social Institutions- under social institutions, family, marriage, caste system, and gender related issues are covered; (ii) Political Institutions – the nature of changing political system, participation and power distribution among the various castes, elite groups, weaker sections and their participation in politics and exercising the power are the major themes discussed under this section; (iii) Economic Institutions- contractual labour arrangements, Jajmani, wage fixation and other related formal and informal institutions are analyzed in this section.

i) Social Institution-

i) Family system—in the past, joint family system was one of the characteristics of the village community. In Yelwat, most of the families (70 per cent) were joint families before earthquake.

Before earthquake, as per census 1991, there were only 107 houses in the village Yelwat and most of them (70 per cent) were joint families. After earthquake, the Government of Maharashtra decided to relocate the village and construct the houses as per number of families. While counting the families for constructing the houses, to receive the benefits of rehabilitation packages, 40 families got separated. In addition, at present total number of households in the village reached to 153.
Breakdown of Families-
Prior to earthquake, the village Yelwat has joint family structure. After earthquake, for getting the constructed house and other rehabilitation packages, the households get separated (71.66 per cent). Prior to earthquake the number of the households at Yelwat were 107 and after earthquake it claimed 159 houses. The excess 47 were nuclear families those who separated from the joint family immediately after earthquake.

After earthquake, a few families got separated and this separation has increased the family expenditure. As in joint families, these couples were protected, now they have to purchase the every thing, which is essential for maintenance of livelihood. This has increased the extra expenditure due to separation.

Widow Remarriages-
Prior to earthquake, the widow remarriages in the village Yelwat were very rare. According to a village elder, in during his whole life he had not seen any widow remarriages in the village. He added that, no parent would favour the widow remarriage. Further, he explained that, there were remarriages of divorced women but not widows. In Yelwat, the widow remarriages were beyond one's imagination.

Prior to earthquake, the social sanctions on widow remarriage were so strong that no body dared to remarry the widow. However, after earthquake, many NGO such as Vichardhara and Manavlok were striving for convincing the people for remarriages of their daughters or daughters in laws who were young, single and below the age of 30 years. Initial there was no response from the people on this issue, but in due course, they were getting the response from the affected families. As a result, these organizations succeeded in convincing the parents of widows for remarrying their daughter (see the box no 3.1).
Sangita (changed name) 18 years old got married with Rajesh (changed name) in May 1993. After four months of marriage, the incident of earthquake occurred. In this calamity, she lost her husband. This was shocking for her. After this incident, she was remaining lonely in the in-law's house. She rarely used to talk to her in-laws. In these circumstances, she spent four months at her father-in-law's house.

In due course, the NGO's were striving for helping remarriages. Personal counseling and public awareness were the two methods followed by these organizations to convince the people for remarriages. The aim was to create the favorable atmosphere for accepting the widow remarriages. These organizations were concentrating on the young widows for their remarriages. When there was no response from the in-laws of the widows, these organizations started to persuade the parents of the widows for remarriages.

Sangita's matter was different. Her in-laws were not responding properly and arguing that, why and how we can marry the widow daughter-in-law. It is also observed that, the in-laws of Sangita were in fear that by her remarriage they would loose the compensation. Therefore, they were not ready to remarry Sangita.

In the course of time, these NGO has visited her parents and convinced for remarriage. In this whole discussion and persuading more than four months duration was passed. There was no concrete answer from the both side. Her in-laws were not in mood to remarry her, therefore they were deliberately avoiding the subject of remarry.

The NGOs were remaining continuously in touch with Sangita's parents and their efforts bore fruit when her parents became ready to remarry her.
Now the problem was how to convince the in-laws of Sangita. However, the NGO told to Sangita's parents that, when her husband is not alive, then why she should stay in that home? One-day parents of Sangita visited village Yelwat and took Sangita to their home. After few months of her departure to her parent's home, it was confirmed that her parent had arranged for remarriage of Sangita. Now Sangita is leading a normal life with her new husband.

**Widower Remarriage**

Prior to earthquake also the widower marriages were, taking place. There were not strict binding on their marriages. However, the age of widower was prime consideration for getting the social approval to these marriages. In Yelwat, prior to earthquake, there were a few cases of widower marriages and they were in between twenty to thirty years age group.

After earthquake, these bindings also weakened. In the earthquake, four men became widowers. At the time of incident, two were at the age of 36 and remaining were more than 50 years old. As in the case of 36 years old widowers, they got married with 18 and 19 years old girls. In those days, the attitude of the villagers was different, while approving these marriages. They were putting the reasons of loneliness and difficulties of the widowers.

After earthquake, the affected villagers were getting the rehabilitation packages and well constructed houses. In comparison to other villages, these villages were given better amenities and facilities. Therefore, the parents of the bride were eager to marry their daughters to the grooms in the affected villages irrespective of considering the age of bridegrooms. This tendency also motivated the widowers to remarry. On this issue, both the affected and non-affected people gave the justifications to these marriages. Thus, remarriages of widowers became a common practice.
Marriage Practices and Celebrations-

After earthquake, the affected villages came into mainstream. The packages of the government and non-government organizations and financial assistance had boosted the economic conditions of the villagers. There is general impression in the surrounding villages, that the people in the affected villages are rich. Besides this, Pucca houses with adequate facilities are available in the village. The village roads, drinking water, electricity, communication and transportation facilities are available. This new profile of the village attracted matrimonial relations with other villages in the region.

Before earthquake, the people were, hesitating to marry their daughters /sons to Yelwat. Now it is prestigious for surrounding villages to seek matrimony in Yelwat. This has lead to increase the dowry by four times compared to past.

Celebration of Marriage-

Before earthquake, the marriages were performed with simplicity. The marriage parties were employing the hulky (traditional musical instrument like drum) and loudspeaker in marriages. Even the practices of giving the gift at the time of marriage were rare. Some times the gift in the form of money or clothes were exchanged during the marriage party known as “Aher”. Besides this, the gift in the form of domestic appliances was limited.

After earthquake, the celebration of marriages underwent got drastic changes. This is true with all sections of the villagers. After earthquake, the celebration of marriage became the issue of the social status. Therefore, the marriage parties started spending ruthlessly on decorating the houses and keeping the tents in front of the houses.

Changing Status of Women-

In comparison to prior earthquake situation, the drastic changes are seen in the status and traditional roles of women in the family. In course of
time, the social sanctions imposed on women are getting weakened and slowly the village is adapting to the changing new role of women.

Prior to earthquake, the role of women in the village Yelwat was limited to Chul and Mul (cooking and reproduction). Cooking, caring children and going on daily wages were the routine activities of the women. As well, there were some social sanctions on the women. Out of that, keeping Padar (the end or border of a piece cloth especially that of a sari) on head was one of them. In this village, to keep the Padar on head was a type of culture. Keeping Padar on head was attached with respect and culture. The women were supposed to keep the Padar on head in front of the elderly family member and should not move in the village without keeping Padar on head. In those days, without Padar on head was considered as disrespect to the family members. In case any women found without Padar on head, was considered as an uncultured, rude and rustics.

However, in post rehabilitation phase this practice underwent with drastic changes in the village. Now, the younger generation is rarely keeping the Padar on head. Moreover, nobody in the family or community feels offended. In the course of discussion, it has been revealed that, this has become a fashion and part of life style today. Especially, on the marriage occasions, women rolled the Padar on shoulder. The conceptions attached to this system also underwent change in comparison to past.

The women in Yelwat were following some restrictions. Prior to earthquake no women use to go to grocery shop in Yelwat for purchasing. And mostly the shops were run by the males. However, after earthquake, the women started to run the grocery shops. In comparison to past women became more mobile. Presently, most of the women use to purchase the grocery from the local shops because the women run these shops.

Restriction on moving independently was another phase of change. Prior to earthquake, as mentioned earlier, no women used to go to shop for buying. Even for purchasing the essential commodities, no women used to go lonely to
the weekly market at Killari or use to travel independently. She always accompanied either with her husband or male relatives.

In post rehabilitation phase, this scenario has been changed. Now women are freely moving lonely for the markets. Even they are attending the meetings of SHGs independently at tehsil place. Women’s participation in entrepreneurship is one more achievement after the rehabilitation. In comparison to past, now women are actively participating in non-conventional economic activities. They are entering in different fields of economic activities.

Now the women are running the Bhisi (a private fund rotating scheme conducted by a close group on mutual trust). Through this Bhisi, women are saving the amount. This amount is used for investment or in need of the family. This has strengthened the role of women in decision-making.

Moreover, 30 women of this village have formed an association for taking the loan from KSK finance, Latur. These members of association participate in weekly meeting and repay money in installments. By loans, women have purchased buffalo for selling milk and others started occupations for income generation (see annexure – occupation started by women in Yelwat). Another women related activities is formation of SHG. There have been five SHG’s of women in the village. The amount more than Rs 50 is saved by every SHG members every month as share of savings. The women do all the activities relating to SHG such as collecting the monthly installments, conducting meetings of SHG’s members, keeping and maintaining the records etc. In other words, women look after all the activities relating to SHG. This has brought the women out of their traditional roles and enhanced the mobility among the women.

Women’s involvement in economic activities such as starting occupation and running the Bhisi and SHG have changed the perception of males towards the women. Women manage the household economy. They are attending the meeting of SHG; visiting banks for the loans etc. which has facilitated the mobility among the women. Now in comparison to past, women
can easily move or travel lonely and no body in the village or her family perceive this as objectionable.

Politics is one of the areas where the women’s participation has increased. Prior to earthquake, mostly the males were the main contestants, even few years after earthquake; the women had nominal representation in local governance. However, the situation is changing. While discussing with the lady representative of gram Panchayat, it is found that, now they are becoming aware and actively taking part in governing the village Panchayat.

After earthquake, the NGO’s were working for empowering the women. As part of empowerment of women, various training programme were conducted in the Yelwat. Moreover, various NGO were working for women. Due to continuous awareness programmes, the women came out of their traditional role and attitude of the community have been moulded to accept changing role of the women.

Social Approval and Social Problems—
Gambling—

Gambling is one of the social vice emerged after earthquake on large scale (91.66 per cent) (see table no.4.1) in the village Yelwat. Prior to earthquake, this vice was not in existence in the village. There was a close watch of the villagers towards these social vices. The respectable villagers and elders were against these practices. Therefore, gamble was seen as evil in the village.

However, after earthquake the situation completely changed. Once the gambling was strictly prohibited and highly objectionable in the village got the social approval of the villagers. During the discussion on the issue of gambling, no body found very serious on increased rate of gambling. On the contrary, some of the villagers are found very neutral on this issue. “They are playing and spending their money, why we should show concern?” These are the common statements in the village; therefore, no body feels wrong in the
gambling. Now the gamblers use to gamble openly in village. In summer-vacation these gamblers use of school or governmental buildings for gambling.

Table no. 4.1
Social Problems- Yelwat

<table>
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<th>Sr no</th>
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<th>Increased</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>No change</th>
<th>NR</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>55(91.66)</td>
<td>2(3.33)</td>
<td>2(3.33)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Alcohol Consumption</td>
<td>58(96.66)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Illicit relation</td>
<td>54(90.66)</td>
<td>4(6.66)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Breakdown of Families</td>
<td>43(71.66)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
<td>15(25)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dispute and Litigation</td>
<td>49(81.66)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>11(18.33)</td>
<td>1(1.66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures in parenthesis are percentage) Source: Primary Data

Alcohol Consumption-

Consumption of alcohol is another major issue emerged after earthquake in the village Yelwat. Prior to earthquake, in Yelwat the proportion of people consuming alcohol was very low. Barring a few exception, alcoholism was unseen. In Yelwat, in those days, liquor was not available in the village. These alcoholics used to buy liquor from Killari. However, after earthquake, number of wine and beer shops started in Killari. A few of them are very close to the village Yelwat. This has increased the consumption of alcohol (96.66 per cent) (see table no. 4.1).

Now, in the village no body takes the objection on drinking alcohols. Discussions with the villagers on this issue revealed that, no body prevents them from taking alcohol and these drunkards are openly taking the liquor and move round the village.

Disputes and Litigation-

As a common practice, in the past, the disputes and grievances of the villagers were settled at the village level. Rarely, the disputes were referred to
police or court. Presently, village has lost its prior earthquake unity and harmony. Now, rarely the disputes are resolved at village level and are taken to the courts. The number of such cases has increased after earthquake in the village Yelwat (81.66 per cent).

Caste System-

The village Yelwat had caste wise settlements of the houses. The upper caste and lower castes had separately group house settlements. The lower castes settlements were known as Mangwada, Maharwada etc where as the upper caste settlements were known as Alli (lane). Within that structure, the people of particular caste used to construct their houses only in their locality. No households from upper or lower caste use to construct the house in another caste locality. In Yelwat, upper caste such as Maratha was the dominant caste and had influence in decision making in the village.

The caste system was followed in this village. The status was based on the caste. In public functions, the distance was maintained in between the castes. At the time of common lunch, the lower caste people were supposed to take the food after upper caste. Sometimes, in Pangat (a line or row especially for meal) a separate row was arranged for these peoples. The lower castes were not allowed in the house. These castes had limited entry in the house. It is also known that, the upper castes were keeping the separate vessels for drinking tea or water.

As far as drinking water is concerned, stream was the only source for drinking water. Both the upper and lower castes were using the same stream for fetching the water but the place of taking water was different. However, when this stream became dry, government had drilled a bore well and a hand pump was fixed. All sections of the village are now using this water pump for fetching the water.

The earthquake rehabilitation has facilitated to change the caste based settlement and behavior of the villagers. During the rehabilitation process, all
sections of the society were treated equally. The facilities and the benefits to the upper and lower caste were given without discriminations. After earthquake, there was great change in caste-based behaviour. Unlike in the past there was no discriminatory behavior and treatment to the lower caste people. Even in the community programmes, the lower caste people participate actively and there is no hesitation from the upper caste. As far as younger generation is concerned, they have friends circle of all castes and no discriminatory behavior is followed.

Inter Caste Relations-

Before earthquake, the caste discrimination was in practice. After earthquake, this severity has reduced. The younger generation is not rigid about caste related identities. The educated people are encouraging sharing of food and tea with lower caste people. It is noticed that the educated person’s lower caste is being treated equally as upper caste. No discrimination is made on the ground of caste. However, in some of the houses having conservative atmosphere there is a practice of keeping the separate vessels for lower caste people. But such behaviour is disappearing from the community and people of lower castes are being treated equally in the village. The educated class of the upper caste is not following such practices, which discriminate, on the ground of caste. At present, the people from Yelwat are not following the discrimination on the basis of the castes. Now a day, the upper and lower castes are getting together, taking the meal, and equally taking the parts in community programmes.

Intra Caste Relations-

In the village Yelwat, each caste has its own social controlling systems. Prior to earthquake, the problems and difficulties of the particular castes were solved within the castes. Every caste had some honorable persons under their
guidance the problems were solved. The intra caste relations were good and each community was controlled by their headman.

After earthquake, the changes are seen in intra caste relations. The normal grievances are solved by the caste elders. However, this Caste Panchayat could not remain as strong as they were prior to earthquake.

Political Institutions-

Village Panch

Village Panch is one of the institutions of the village, different from village Panchayat and caste Panchayat. This institution works for whole village irrespective of caste, category and religion. The respectable people of the village participate in this meeting and solve the problems, grievances and disputes between two parties at village level.

There is no specific criterion for selecting the members for this committee. The respectable people in the village are called at the Chawadi and matter is discussed in the presence of the villagers and the respectable members. This committee is called as Panch-Parmeshwer (five gods, which represent for truth, fairness, honesty, morality, sympathy and kindness).

As far as village Yelwat is concerned, this type of Village-Panch system was effectively functioning in the past. Mostly the disputes, grievances etc. of the villager were settled in the village. Now, people do not hesitate to go to the police station or court to settle disputes.

Village-Panchayat

Before earthquake, in village level politics, the upper caste was dominant. The rein of the village was in the hands of elite group. The village consist two major groups i.e. open and sc categories. As per 73rd amendment, the backward class got the proper representation in village Panchayat. The backward class was not actively participating in the politics. Sarpanch and
Upsarpanch are the two major posts in the village. There is mutual understanding among these castes on distribution of the power.

Let the post of Sarpanch goes to whatever caste, is governed by the elite group of the village. This situation was continuing few years after the earthquake. However, recently the lower caste are actively participating in politics and governing the village affairs. Now, the relations between these two major castes are cordial and every time the members and head of the Gram Panchayat elected mutually without conducting election.

**Economic Institution**-

Before earthquake, agriculture was the only source of daily wages. In off-season of agriculture, there were no employment opportunities. Most of the population in those days remains without wages.

The almost all the backward castes were wage labourers. The marginal, small, and landless labourers from the other caste were also depended on the daily wages. Due to Lack of employment opportunities, the economic condition of the wage labourers was weak.

After earthquake, the economic activities underwent tremendous changes. A number of new occupations emerged. Besides this, the changes were brought in to agriculture practices. More land was brought under irrigation. The seasonal and area cropping pattern replaced by highly commercial crops, which were able to provides the employment throughout year. The ample employment opportunity in agriculture and other sectors had created scarcity of the labourers. The non-availability of labourers has resulted into the enhancement in wage rates and status of the labourers in the village.

**Wage Fixation: -**

Wage fixation is one of the important aspects for of wage labourers. In every village, every year for each work in agriculture, the wage rates are determined for that village. Every year, the wage rates keep changing. Before
finalizing the wage rates, the last years rate also taken into considerations. The wage rates for different agriculture practices may vary from village to village. Sometimes in deciding the wage rates the references from the other villages are taken into consideration.

The process of determining the wage rates for every work continues throughout the year. The rates are determined in that particular season of the work. As far as village, Yelwat is concerned, before earthquake the landlords were the main authority of determining the wage rates for every work. Whenever the labourers are employed, they firstly negotiate the wage rates by giving the references of the other landlord, who has given the increased wages. Once one or two landlords gave the increased wages, that rate is fixed and remains through the season.

In the village nobody dare to violate the new rates by giving the extra amount. If anybody offers the extra rates than decided to attract the labourers, the villager's criticizes them. When there is vagueness in new rates, the employer use to give the wages as according to old rates and promise that he will pay arrears if there is any enhancement in rates.

After earthquake, the process of determining the wage rates changed. Now, the authority of determining the wage rates transferred to the wage labourers due to following reasons. Before earthquake, the agriculture was the only source of daily wages and the labourers had no alternatives. After earthquake, the employment opportunities increased in agriculture and other sectors. The scarcity of the labourers and urgency of the work has shifted the wage determination authority to the labourers. The labourers give the last years reference and demand increased rates. The owners have to accept it. Some times, the landlords offer the increased wage rates compared to past. Once the wage rates are fixed, then nobody demands extra wages than fixed rate.
Annual Contract Labour System-

Annual contract labour system was in practice in village Yelwat prior to earthquake. This system had been continuing in the village for the long time. Mostly the large farmers in the village used to employ the labourers on annual contract basis. Prior to earthquake, few large farmers had more than one annual contract labourer. These annual contract labourers were either from the Yelwat or from the other villages of this region. The possession of the annual contract labour was the issue of status to the employer. In those days, the economic condition and status of the farmers was decided on possession of number of annual contract labourers. Even in the matter of marriage arrangement, agriculture land and possession of annual contract labourers was the prime status consideration. These annual contract labourers are called as Salgadi. This Salgadi has to do the household of the employers as well as agriculture. He has to wakeup early in the morning and start to work. Firstly, he sweeps the Gotha (Cowpens) and yard and then fetches the water by Kawad (bamboo lath with a sling at either end to carry pitchers of water). After finishing the work at employers house they he has to go to farm. This is in general routine work of a Salgadi.

There are certain norms relating to the appointment of a Salgadi in the village Yelwat. Mostly Gudipadwa is the annual year of these Salgadi. This festival is mostly important to the Salgadi because on this festival every Salgadi either renew his contract or leave the job. Mostly in this region, the renewal of contract or appointment of a new Salgadi is made only in this month.

Terms and conditions for appointment of an annual contract labourer vary from village to village. While appointing the Salgadi on annual contract basis, the demand of the labourer and expectations of the employer are discussed in presence of the third person. Mostly in the village Yelwat, the respectable persons of village were called while finalizing the appointment of
the Salgadi for the year. In this meeting, the terms and conditions of employment and remuneration are finalized.

While appointing the annual contract labour, the nature of work is also decided. Once decided, the nature of work cannot be changed in middle of the year. In the village Yelwat, the following types of appointment are very common. These nature of appointments includes i) only for agriculture operations, ii) agriculture and domestic operations, iii) staying at home or farm land with or without family. All these types of appointment include with or without food. While fixing the annual remunerations to these labourers, the nature of work is taken into considerations. Besides this there is one more practice followed in paying remuneration that is total remuneration in hard cash and partial remunerations in the farm of cash or kind. The remuneration received in the farm of kind is popularly known as Salchandi (food grains, as part of remuneration for the year).

After earthquake, a few changes have taken place in annual contract labour systems. Firstly, these labourers stopped taking the remuneration in the form of grains and secondly, the annual contract labourers are only appointed for the agriculture operations only without food, (the employer has to provide the food to the employee in the course of his employment) and they are supposed to stay at the agriculture farm with or without their families. Thirdly, the certain changes took place in the nature of work. Now these contractual labourers are not inclined to fetch the water at employers' house for domestic use.

After earthquake, the labourers from the village Yelwat have left working on annual contractual basis. Therefore, the large farmers have to rely on other villages for annual contractual labourers.

Contract of Work-

Prior to earthquake, the system of contract work was rarely seen in the village. Mostly, this system was practiced in the season of weeding and
harvesting only when there was shortage of the labourers in the village. In this system, the labourers form their groups and take the contract of the whole work for a particular amount. A leader of this group bargains with employer for the remunerations and fixes the amount for the work. In this system, the labourers do the extra work than their routine and finish the work in short period. In this system the wages are depended on the efficiency of the labourers. If labourers do the work continuously then they can earn more than double wages in a day.

After earthquake, a lot of employment opportunities generated in the village in different sectors. This has led to shortage of labourers in the village especially in agriculture season. To overcome the shortage of labourers the farmer prefers to give the contract of the whole work to the labourers. In addition, to earn more in this season the labourers asks for contract of the whole work. This system is beneficial for the both labourers and employers as well. Now a day, this system is popular in the grape gardening in the village.

**Jajmani System-**

Prior to earthquake, the jajmani system in the village Yelwat was functioning. The services of blacksmith, carpenter and barber were protected under this system. The services of the Jajmani were limited to the upper castes only. No households of lower caste were entitled for these services. The clients were rendering the services to the villagers and in return, they were getting enough remuneration to maintain their livelihood. In Yelwat, there was a traditional system of collecting the remuneration. The farmers use to call Jajmani for collecting the remuneration from the fields. This remuneration was known as *Baluta*.

After earthquake, the Jajmani system in the village declined within four years of quake incidence. Now these clients are rendering services on commercial basis. For decline of Jajmani system in the village, many factors have contributed. Changing in cropping pattern, attitudes and availability of
alternate employment sources are the major factors associated with this decline.

Jajmani and food crops-

The Jajmani system was based on exchange of food grains. However, after earthquake, the tremendous changes have taken place in the cropping pattern. The food crops are replaced by commercial crops to highly commercial crops. The farmers were cultivating the food crops for consumption needs. Some farmers have given up food crops. Therefore, these farmers are not in a position to share food grains. This type of changes in cropping pattern and attitude of the farmers has destabilized the Jajmani system. Moreover, remunerations received in exchange of services were not enough to maintain their livelihood; therefore, they stopped rendering services on the basis of jajmani.

In comparison to past, the patrons' needs and requirements had changed and the clients were not able to meet the changing needs of the villagers. In the market more polished and skilled services are available. Therefore, the villagers preferred these services than to encourage Jajmani relations. This has given set back to the barbers services on Jajmani basis. The villagers were demanding the qualitative services. For example, the barber in the village was not familiar with the new style of hair cutting. Before earthquake, the services of blacksmith and carpentry were rendered on Jajmani basis. Now the farmers are using the readymade implements, due to its quality. Naturally, these occupations got a set back. Rarely, the people take the services under Jajmani system and in return are giving less remuneration. Some times the patrons avoid the remuneration to the Jajmani because there is no production of food grains in their agriculture field.

During rehabilitation, the agriculture implements were provided to the farmers. These implements were made of steel, which were of high qualitative and long lasting. For instance after earthquake, the introduction of iron made agriculture implements replaced the use of traditional wooden implements.
Due to above discussed reasons Jajmani has been completely declined in the village. In Yelwat, barber, blacksmith and carpenter were the main Jajmani of the village. However, these clients stopped rendering services on the basis of Jajmani and started serving on commercial point of view.

**Barber**

The services of barber were protected under Jajmani system at Yelwat. Before earthquake, there was only one house of the barber. This householder was giving the services to the whole village. The nature of services of hair cutting was very simple. No villager used to ask for new hairstyle. Generally, in village there was a common hairstyle followed by the whole village. In those days, the hair cutting style was depended on barbers wish and not on customers. Mostly the villagers used to shave or cut the hair. As far as style of shaving is concerned, there was no specific style. Hardly there was only style of mustache shaping. So before earthquake there was no problem for the barbers for shaving or cutting the hair.

However, after earthquake the situation changed. The new generation was demanding the new hairstyle for which the barber was not familiar. The services rendered on Jajmani were not skillful so the younger generation was taking the services from the towns.

The changing attitude of the people and inadequate remuneration for the services has compelled the barber to change his occupation or reform. As this happened with Mr. Mallapa who stopped rendering services on Jajmani basis and started hair-cutting saloon on commercial basis (see box no. 4.2).
Hair Cutting Saloon

Mallapa Nilkanth Kohal, 35 year’s old barber living with his three children. Before earthquake, Mallapa was rendering services to the patrons on Jajmani basis. The village was dependent on his services. In return, he was getting the grains, other essential commodities required for day-to-day life, and it was enough. He was supposed to render the services to the villagers throughout year and get the annual remuneration in season.

In the village, he used to sit near the Chawadi. The villagers gather around him for shave. The time for shaving and hair cutting was early in the morning up to 9 am. After this job, he used to work on daily wages or stay at home. There was no special hair cutting style in the village.

After earthquake, the situation changed. Mr. Mallapa observed that the people became choosier and were not giving proper remunerations. Moreover, they were getting attracted towards the hair-cutting saloon at Killari. The younger generations, who were studying at Ausa or Latur, were not taking the services of Mr. Mallapa. Within two years after shifting to new village, more than fifty percent clients stopped taking the services of Mr. Mallapa.

Defaulting clients and decreased number of patrons have adversely affected on his income. Therefore, it was getting difficult to maintain his livelihood only on Jajmani system. In Yelwat, there was not enough work of shaving or hair cutting so his elder brother went to Omerga and started his own cutting saloon. Within a year, his brother earned lot of money.

By taking the inspiration from his brother, Mr. Mallapa was also thinking about starting saloon on commercial basis. He was in search of getting the financial assistance for starting the saloon. During that period, he was exposed to a NGO Manavlok. This organization was helping the people for starting the new occupation in Yelwat. Mallapa approached this organization
for starting his occupation. The organization studied all the aspects of new occupation and sanctioned rupees 3000 as a loan for purchasing the saloon instruments.

He used the loan on purchasing all the instruments i.e. chairs, scissors, comb, brush, hair dressing machine etc. and started his saloon on the road side of Omerga-Ausa highway. In the beginning, only the old peoples were visiting for cutting and shaving. In the course of time, he acquired the skill of different types of hairdressing. Now the new generation also takes the services of Mr. Mallapa instead of taking from other towns. After starting saloon, Mr. Mallapa completely stopped the services on Jajmani basis and started taking the cash. With his occupation, he is now able to maintain the livelihood and to some extent saving also. Compared to past, he is happy with his occupation. The rich people in the village are calling him to their home for hair cutting, but in rare case, Mallapa goes to customers' home. He charges extra amount for visiting the customers' house.

With the starting of new saloon, he renders services to the lower caste people who were forbidden in rural community under Jajmani system before earthquake. Mallapa is rendering his services irrespective of caste, class and religion.

Carpentry and Black Smith-
The services of Carpenter and blacksmiths were another important services rendered under Jajmani system in the village prior to earthquake. Under this, the services were provided to the farmers. For the purpose of agriculture operations, these services were most essential. Under this services, the Tiphan (drill plough), Wakhar (an implement to clean the tilled land), Kolpa(an instrument used to uproot weeds) etc. agriculture implements were repaired or crafted.
Blacksmith prepares the sickles, *Pass* (a ploughshare), *Pahar* (crowbar), *Tikav* (pickaxe), *axe* etc and were sharpened. Before earthquake, Bullock cart was one of the integral parts of agriculture, which was used for transporting the grains or carrying the agriculture equipments, fertilizers and agriculture products. These bullock carts were prepared by using the wood. The wheel of the bullock carts were made of wood with a steel strip (*Dhavpatta*). The blacksmith use to cover these strips on wooden wheel. This was the main work of the blacksmith in Jajmani system.

However, after earthquake, besides wooden cart, two types of carts were introduced in the village. One, is a completely steel made bullock carts and another, is wooden made cart with steel made wheels. In Yelwat, most of the farmers were using both types of carts due to their low cost maintenance and durability. Now, there is any problem with this cart, the farmers are going to the welders instead of blacksmiths for repairing. This has reduced the number of patrons. Besides this, as discussed above, the clients are not getting the proper remuneration for their work. Therefore, clients stopped rendering services on Jujmani basis in the village. In this regard, the case of Baliram is appropriate (see box no. 4.3).

Box no. 4.3
Decline of Carpentry and Blacksmith

Baliram Narshingh Lohar 70 years old was the only one carpenter and Blacksmith in the village. He has four sons by name Ashok, Bhagwat, Rajendra and Shivaraj who are occasionally assisting their father in his work. This big family is not solely dependent on Jajmani.

Before earthquake, Mr. Baliram was rendering services to the villagers throughout year. He had to perform the different types of the work during the year. The nature of his services changed according to the season. In sowing
season, he used to repair and makes the new Tiphan or sharpens the iron shod. After that the weeding season starts, in this season he sharpens the arrows of the sickles and fixes it in new wooden handles. The services of Baliram were purely agriculture task oriented. He was the most useful Jajmani in the village. Besides this, he used to take the work of carpentry and blacksmithy from the other villages on cash basis.

Except patrons, a few villagers were taking the services from Mr. Baliram by paying the amount. He used to collect the grains from the patrons. In those days, it was supposed that the Jajmanies should visit the farmers land and collect the grains from Khala (grain processing place) at farm. Accordingly, Mr. Baliram used to visits the agriculture land of the farmers for collecting the grains and in that period, his sons were looking after the occupations. He is also of the opinion that prior to earthquake, when he visited the farm for collecting the grains, the farmers used to give the grain generously. Whatever the grains he collected from the farmers, it was enough to fulfill the needs of his family.

After earthquake, carpentry and blacksmithy under Jajmani got first setback when the government distributed steel made agricultural implements to the farmers. Immediately after receiving these implements, the farmers started to use it. Naturally, this has diverted the patrons from the services of Mr. Baliram.

After earthquake, the people were demanding polished and more skilled work for which, Mr. Baliram was not familiar, therefore, automatically the number of patrons under Jajmani minimized.

According to Mr. Baliram, "the people became calculative and are not giving the remuneration like before earthquake". Most of the farmers are not cultivating the food grains; therefore, they are putting the reason that they do not have any grains to give him.’ Therefore, Mr. Baliram after earthquake stopped rendering services on Jajmani basis.
Now he charges for his services in cash. However, in comparison to past, the customers are very rare. Therefore, nobody from his family is interested in continuing this occupation except Mr. Bali ram.

There are two institutions, which are declining in the village. They are Gurakhi system and System of *Autan* (invitation for meal).

**Gurakhi System-**

Prior to earthquake, keeping the livestock was one of the identities of the farmers in village Yelwat. Almost every household had livestocks. It was not possible for every household to take their cattle to graze. Therefore, in the village a few persons used to rear the animals for charge on monthly basis. These individuals were called as Gurakhi. There were number of systems for rearing the animals. Out of that rearing on monthly charges basis was the common practice in the village Yelwat.

Early in the morning these Gurakhi used to assemble at the central place of the village. Every Gurakhi had separate place for staying in the village. The cattle owners used to bring the cattle’s to that place and after some time it become the herd. After counting the cattle of households, he moves the herd for grazing. The owner used to give the cattle to the shepherd on sharing basis as they reproduce.

This system has another dimension. It has connections with the labourers attending the work. In the village Yelwat, after moving of the herds to graze, the labourers go on wages and after sun set the labourers return home.

After earthquake, this system completely declined in the village. Due to relocation of the village, lot of employment opportunities, lack of grazing land etc. the villagers were discouraged to keep the livestock. Moreover, there is no body around ready to graze the animals.
II

Social Institutions-
I) family system- in Anandwadi prior to earthquake, most of the families had joint family structure. In due course, these families started getting separated. The processes of nuclearisation in the village in comparison to Yelwat are slow. In both villages, the reasons for separating the families are different. In Anandwadi, the families are getting separated due to lack of adequate space for living in the old houses. Another reason is government has allotted the Gharkul schemes to the people below poverty line. The families those who got the houses under this schemes are getting separated.

For assessing the changes in the family system in village Anandwadi, parameters, considered are (i) nuclearisation of families, (b) Marriage practices and celebrations, (c) changing status of women and (d) widow remarriages.

a) Nuclearisation of families:-

This process is going on in a natural phase similar to typical village of this region. As far as rate of getting separation is concerned, this is seen more in the weaker section of the village. This section possesses relatively small space for living in the village and there is no space for extending it. After getting the marriage of their sons, these families are constructing the houses at new Abadi (new settlement of the houses) of the village. Moreover, the government of Maharashtra has constructed the houses for the people below poverty line under Gharkul scheme. The families those who got the houses under this scheme are living in the new houses. These factors have contributed towards the nuclearisation of the joint families.
Widow Remarriages

In the matter of widow remarriage, the village community is still found strict to the norms laid down by the society. In Anandwadi up to this time, not a single case of widow remarriage is reported. For widow remarriages, different communities have different opinions. Except Muslims, no community has favored the widow remarriages. Instead of favoring the widow remarriage in the village, the villagers put their opinion that, marriage is a sanskar (in Hindu community marriage treated as an essential sanskar, which stands for rite or a ceremony) and it happens once in a life. Moreover, though widow is young but who will marry her?

As far as remarriages of widower is concerned, the rules are lenient. In the village, only the remarriage of the young is acceptable but the remarriages of aged widower are not favored. If it happens with the aged, the villagers use to tease him as mahatarchal (eagerness in old age). Up to this time in the village no marriage of old aged has taken place. If there is any genuine reason, the remarriages are allowed.

Marriage Practices and Celebrations-

Fixing marriages in the village Anandwadi is not so simple. Before fixing the marriage, the villagers follow the rules and norms laid down by their community. In every community, the rules and norms for marriage are different. In certain cases the marriages are prohibited, such as marriage with cousin sister, brother, maternal uncle etc. Whereas, in some community the marriages with maternal uncle and cousins are allowed. In short, the rules and regulations for marriages are different from community to community and caste to caste.

In Anandwadi, the parents of the spouses fix the marriages. No bride or bridegroom is supposed to see each other before settlement. Even they are not consulted for their consent to marriage. This system is continuing over decades, in the village. In the course of time, there is no change in the
approach of the people regarding arranging the marriages in the village Anandwadi.

Dowry is practiced in the village Anandwadi prior to earthquake. While fixing the amount of dowry, the social status and possession of land were the prime considerations. However, after earthquake, while fixing the amount of the dowry, besides land ownership, the occupation of the spouse is also taken into consideration. After earthquake, the parents of bride are also considering the facilities and amenities available the village.

Regarding the amount of dowry, the bridegrooms in Anandwadi receive low dowry in comparison to the youth in the affected villages. In Anandwadi, most of the youth are illiterate and they use to work on daily wages. In most of the families, women either have to go on daily wages for brick making or in agriculture since the lands owned by them are dry and less fertile. In addition, in Anandwadi, there are no facilities such as transportation, communication etc. which this has impact on the dowry. The families from the affected site are not willing to marry their daughters to the grooms in Anandwadi. On the contrary, the villagers at Anandwadi are more interested in earthquake-affected villages in marrying their daughters and they are ready to pay the huge dowry.

In Anandwadi, the marriage celebration is not uniform across different sections of the village. There is clear a difference in marriage celebrations of poor and rich people of the village. As mentioned earlier, that the economic condition of the marriage party is prime consideration for celebration of the marriage. In this regard, there is no remarkable change in the village.

Celebration of marriage: - in Anandwadi, the traditional way of celebrating marriage is followed. The marriage card is distributed to the relatives and kith and kin in the village. The close relatives and well-wishers were given the invitation as Mul (a type of invitation given to the close relatives and well-wishers, the invitee is supposed to attend the marriage with all family
members. The marriage party offers the 'Aher' to the concerned invitee by giving Mul).

The celebration of marriage underwent changes in the course of time. Before earthquake, the marriages were simply performed and even after earthquake, the same tradition continued. In celebration of marriages, there is no remarkable change as it happened in Yelwat. Rarely, the property owners use to employ the band party for the marriage. Mostly in the village the hunky and loudspeaker are used for the marriage function. There are no major changes in giving the gifts to the marriage party. The parents are giving some utensils essential for livelihood and a cot.

**Changing Status of Women:-**

In comparison to Yelwat, the women in Anandwadi are enjoying low status. Prior to earthquake, the women's role in village Anandwadi was limited to the bearing and caring of children. The women in the village were supposed to perform the gender-based role in the house. She has to do all the work relating to her house, including preparing food, rearing children, washing clothes, and keeping house clean. There were certain restrictions imposed on the part of the women. There was no social approval to free movement of the women in the village. Women were not allowed to go to the market or to the relatives place independently. In the decision making process she has a role but it was very limited. This status of the women in Anandwadi remained one and the same after earthquake. The women in Anandwadi were supposed to wear the Padar on head. Until today, this is the sign of modesty. Women must keep the Padar on head in front of the senior family members.

The women at Anandwadi have not taken any initiative to start new occupations. However, the one SHG of women has started the milk dairy on seasonal basis only, but their husbands govern the financial matters.

Women and politics-
Prior to earthquake, the women were not inclined to participate in the Grampanchayat election. The reservations of seats for women have at least compelled the household members to motivate women to contesting elections. Discussion with the Grampanchayat member revealed that no women in the village actively participate in the village administration, even though she may be a member. He added that up to this time, whenever, the women get elected, the total administration is governed by their close relatives or husbands. This situation is continuing in the village Anandwadi.

Gambling and Other Social Vices
The intimacy among the villagers has restricted the people from engaging in gambling and other social vices. More over the people continuously engage in employment and no body engage himself in such practices. In leisure time they use to chit chat on Chawadi. Besides this, in summer the elders use to sit or sleep in the noon at Chawadi. There would be no privacy to play the cards or participate in illicit behavior.

Table no. 4.2
Social Problems- Anandwadi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr no</th>
<th>Social problems</th>
<th>Increased</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>No change</th>
<th>NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>11(18.33)</td>
<td>11(18.33)</td>
<td>28(46.66)</td>
<td>10(16.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Alcohol Consumption</td>
<td>10(16.66)</td>
<td>11(18.33)</td>
<td>31(51.66)</td>
<td>8(13.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Illicit Relation</td>
<td>18(30)</td>
<td>5(8.33)</td>
<td>20(33.33)</td>
<td>17(28.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Breakdown of Families</td>
<td>43(71.66)</td>
<td>2(3.33)</td>
<td>7(11.66)</td>
<td>8(13.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dispute and Litigation</td>
<td>9(15)</td>
<td>4(6.66)</td>
<td>31(51.66)</td>
<td>16(26.66)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures in parenthesis are percentages) Source: Primary Data

Gambling in the village is strictly prohibited. In Anandwadi no body indulge in gambling. Prior to earthquake, gambling was not in practice. Therefore, 46.66 per cent respondents replied that there is no change in the after earthquake situation. However, recently, the auto-rickshaw drivers use to
wait for passengers at the Auto point of the village and in mean time they use
to play the cards but just as time pass.

While interviewing with the elderly villagers, it is revealed that, the
senior most person of the village use to keep watch on these activities. If any
body found indulged in gambling, the villagers discourage and threatens them.
Moreover, voice of the village elders is respected and seen with fear. Auto
rickshaw driver's use to gamble, but it is very limited and not regular. These
gamblers also respect village elders.

**Alcohol Consumption**-

In this village, the drunkards are treated with disdain. It is known that in
Anandwadi there is no heavy drunkard. A few people drink but they maintain
privacy. This has continued even after earthquake, and a large number of
respondents (51.66 per cent) replied that there is no change in situation as far
as consumption of alcohol is concerned (see table no. 4.2).

**Illicit Relation**-

Anandwadi is a small village and therefore, it is possible for the villagers
keep close watch on each activity happenings in the village. The illicit relations
can be easily revealed in the village. Moreover, villagers also disrespect the
persons who are indulged in such relations. Due to fear of defame and
ignominy, no body involves in illicit relations and this situations is (33.33 per
cent). On this issue according to village elder, there is not a single case of illicit
relation came into limelight in the village (see table no. 4.2).

In this regard, 30 per cent respondents have reported that the illicit
relations have been increased. However, this is in the matter of youths who
frequently visit the towns. Moreover, this is the assumption that youths are
very polite and gentle in the village but they involve in illicit relations in town
places or out side the village.
Dispute and Litigation-

Still, in Anandwadi, the village Panch system is strongly in functioning. This village Panch have pivotal role in settlement of the disputes and litigations at village level. This has maintained the status-quo position with regard to dispute and litigation (51.66 per cent) (see table no. 4.2).

Caste System

Like other villages, there are caste based group settlements in Anandwadi. The village is situated on a small hill. On the mound, the upper caste people have their dwelling and at the bottom, the lower caste's houses are settled. In Anandwadi Maratha, Mang, Mahar, Muslim and Pardhi are the major strata of the village. The Maratha are residing on mound and Pardhi, Mang, Mahar etc at the bottom of the hill. These group settlements are called as Maharwada, Mohalla and Pardhiwada etc

Inter caste relations:

The caste factor in the village is strong. Still in the village, the lower caste people are not freely participating in the functions of the upper caste. While taking meal in marriages the people from different castes sit in separate groups. Rarely, the lower caste person sits next to the upper caste person and takes the meal at community programme.

The backward classes are not entitled for services from the service caste (barbers, smiths). Even now in the village the lower caste such as Pardhi, Mang, Mahar are not allowed to take services from the service caste. Even the water resources for drinking are separate to the lower caste people. This situation has been continuing in the village until now.
Political Institutions

Village Panch-

In Anandwadi, there is the system of village Panch. This village Panch does not have any legal status but most of the grievances of the villagers are solved by this Panch. The Panch's are the elderly citizens of the village from upper castes of the village. In the matter of disputes or grievances, the concerned party use to call Panch and other villagers having status in the village. This Panchayat is called at Chawadi, where in the grievances of the both parties are heard and then the decision is given. This practice continues in the village.

The major difference in Anandwadi and Yelwat, in this regard is, in Anandwadi the intimacy and cohesiveness among the villagers is still strong. Therefore, the Panch in the village can perform the settlement of disputes at village level. However, in Yelwat scattered nature of houses, self-centeredness and economic prosperity of the villagers, exposure to the towns etc have weakened the panch system the village.

Gram Panchayat-

Anandwadi is a group Gram Panchayat (one gram Panchayat for two small villages, it depends on population of the village). there is single gram Panchayat for Anandwadi and Jauwadi. There are only three members from the Anandwadi and remaining four are from Jauwadi. Therefore, up to this time mostly, the gram Panchayat was headed by members from Jauwadi. As per reservation, the backward caste's members were elected to Gram Panchayat as members. However, these members have poor performance in the activities of the gram Panchayat. While interviewing with Mr. Karve Sadashiv, a gram Panchayat members of backward caste, it is revealed that, he does not know any thing about the activities of the gram Panchayat and his role as a member. It is also revealed that the Sarpanch from Jauwadi use to call him only at the occasion of Gram Sabha. He frankly told that “if I don’t
have any knowledge of the Panchayat activities, then how I should intervene in any activities of the gram Panchayat. Sarpanch from Jauwadi is very clever and he performs all the gram Panchayat related activities." Therefore I didn't pay attention." As per reservation, if the post of Sarpanch goes to the lower caste people, even then, the upper caste people govern the gram Panchayat.

Economic Institutions
Wage Fixation System-

The system of wage fixation is in practice in the village over generations. In Anandwadi, agriculture is the main occupation and source of employment to the villagers. However, this source is not adequate to provide the enough employment opportunities to the villagers. Therefore, villagers have to do other work. In Anandwadi, the large farmers use to employ the villagers at their agriculture farm. Therefore, the large farmers in the village are the key elements in determining the wage rates. In this village, in the beginning of the agriculture season or work, the large farmers use to pay the wages with slight increment and this continue for the whole of village and year. After this, nobody in Anandwadi use to hike the wages. If it happens, the remaining large farmers use to criticize such farmers due to non-availability of employment opportunities in the village the wage rates are not hiked substantially. In this system, for fixing the wage rates, there is no role of the wageworkers.

After earthquake, the brick making factories started in the village. This is also one of the source of employment emerged after earthquake. However, this is seasonal. There is always inadequacy of employment opportunities in the village. Even at the brick-making factory, the employer decides the wage rates for each type of work at factory. In other words, the rein of wage fixation remains in the hands of employer.
Annual Contractual labourer System-

Prior to earthquake, the appointment of annual contractual labourers was in practice. In those days, a few farmers used to employ the labourer on contractual basis for the year. The similar employment conditions, nature of work and remunerations were as the same to village Yelwat. In Anandwadi, these contractual labourers have to do the work of fetching the water and looking after all the agricultural operations. These labourers were used to stay at agriculture farm only in the agriculture season. Moreover, most of the annual contractual labourers were appointed with food, which has to be served by the employer to the employee. The remuneration to these employees was given in the form of cash and kind.

After earthquake, no major changes are seen in this system. Due to sinking water level, the well became dry. This has impact on irrigation of the land. Many the farmers' have irrigated land prior to earthquake have turned into non-irrigated lands. This has impact on employment of the annual contract labourers on agriculture farm. Now, hardly two farmers in Anandwadi have annual contract labourers.

Contract Work System-

This system is also in practice in the village Anandwadi, but not as effective as in the village Yelwat. The effective functioning of this system depends on the demand and supply of the labourers. As far as Anandwadi is concerned, there is no shortage of labourers. Therefore, the employer uses to employ the wage labourers on daily wages instead of giving the contract of the work.
Jajmani System-

Agriculture, wage labour and daily wages in brick making are the backbone of Anandwadi's economy. Before earthquake in Anandwadi, the employment opportunities were only available in agriculture sector. These employment opportunities were only limited to agriculture season only.

After earthquake, in Anandwadi the brick making occupation has prospered. The emergence of new source of employment in the making is the result of earthquake, which provides the employment to the villagers in off-season of agriculture.

Jajmani system, an essential element in concept of village sufficiency is functioning in Anandwadi. This system serves the need of rural life and agriculture practices. In Anandwadi, carpenter and barber are the two castes connected Jajmani.

Barber is one of the important clients under the Jajmani in the village Anandwadi. In the course of time, the work of barber minimized and remained up to hairdressing. Prior to earthquake, the barber was doing various activities of the villagers. In the matter of marriage or any function, the householder use to call barber and assign the responsibility of inviting the people for meal. Some times when the whole village is having the invitation, the barber use to stand on Chawadi and with loud sound, call the people for meal. When the invitation is limited to particular families, the barber personally visits the houses pass on the message.

The changing perception of the people towards the Jajmani and decreased number of the patrons has weakened Jajmani system. The patrons are demanding more skilled and polished work. On the contrary, the clients are not acquiring the skills to match demand and the strength of patrons is declining day by day. This is a reason for set back to Jajmani in the village as it is happening with Mr. Arvind (see box no.4.4)
Arvind Shreeram Survase is 35 years old and a barber. He continued his father’s occupation on jajmani basis. He is associated with this occupation since his childhood. In those days, he used to head shave the children of the village. In the course of time, he acquired the skill of hair cutting. After death of his father, he took over the occupation.

Now, early in the morning, he sits on the side of main road of the village. This is his regular place. The people come to him for shaving and cutting. Every day he sits there up to 10 am and attends his services. This is his daily routine. He is not familiar with the new styled hair cuttings. Therefore, a few youth including educated and auto rickshaw drivers use to take these services from Nilanga. However, the old age people have remained as his regular customer.

In the village, it is traditional that the lower casts’ such as Mang, Mahar and Pardhi are not allowed to take hair cutting from Arvind. The peoples from lower caste in the village they manage themselves without his services.

Almost all the families are the patrons except Mang, Mahar and Pardhi community. Arvind has to render the services throughout year to the family members and in return, he gets grain, pulses and other materials from the farmers. Whatever the grain received from the families it is enough to Arvind’s family for the year.

Before earthquake, these service providers were not working on the daily wages. The changing perception of the people towards these service providers and decreased number of the customers have weakened dependency of the families on the Jajmani system. To maintain the family expenditure, they have to wok on the daily wages regularly.
Carpentry-

Carpentry is one of the Jajmani bound, practice in Anandwadi. In this practice, the farmers have to provide the wood to the farmers. If there is work related to bullock cart or preparing the new plough or other agriculture implements, the farmers have to provide a person to assist the carpenter in his work. The carpentry work is performed at the house of the carpenter. The farmer has to supply the raw material at the house of the carpenter.

Before earthquake the making and repairing wooden Tiphan (a wooden implements having three arrow grooves used for sowing the seeds), Kulav (a instrument used to uproot weeds), yoke, repairing bullock carts including wooden wheel, stakes, wooden toys, etc. services were rendered on Jajmani basis. In those days, the carpenters were taking the cash for preparing the new bullock carts or doing wooden roof known as Jodni.

After earthquake, the work under Jajmani declined for the similar reasons discussed earlier.

In Anandwadi, though there are lot of changes in the Jajmani services and it is declining. The Jajmani system alone is not able to maintain the livelihood of the service providers and they have to work on daily wages to supplement the family income (see box no.4.5).

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**Box no. 4.5**

**Jajmani on the Thresholds of Decline**

Nagnath Motiram Karve, 30 years old carpenter, was working with his father since childhood. In the beginning, he was assisting his father in the work by doing simple works such as preparing stakes, handles for sickles and wooden toys for children. In the course of time, he learnt all the skills required for a carpenter. After his father's demise, he took the whole responsibility of the carpentry. Now he is continuing his father's occupation on
Jajmani basis. He stated that his father was very much skilled in carpentry. The surrounding villagers were preferred to take the services of his father regarding preparation of new bullock cart and doors.

After earthquake, Mr. Nagnath observed that due to steel made agriculture implements, the patrons are rarely taking his services; this has impact on his income. Some farmers prefer the services by paying. As compared to past, the people are also not paying proper remuneration to him. He also lost interest in the carpentry. Now he has hardly 20 patrons. The grain given by these patrons is not enough for maintenance of his family. Therefore, he has to work on daily wages.

The inadequacy of annual remuneration received from the patrons has forced Mr. Nagnath to work on daily wages. In agriculture season, he works on other farmers’ agriculture on daily wages. In the off-season of agriculture, he works on brick making factory as a labourer.

Now, he is rendering the services on Jajmani basis only in the month of June and July and in remaining months, he stops the carpentry and goes on daily wages. This situation has brought carpentry under Jajmani system to the thresholds of decline.

Gurakhi System in Anandwadi-

In Anandwadi this system is continue since prior to earthquake. The nature and conditions of these services are as same to Yelwat, which were in existence prior to earthquake. Now in this village the Gurakhis are rearing the cattle’s on the monthly charges basis moreover, the sharing basis is still continuing in the village.
Summary of the Chapter

The third objective is to document the emerging forms of institutional arrangements over the decade in the two villages. These villages are subjected to several new institutions to cope up with the changing situations and this could be seen in the spheres of socio-economic and socio-political spheres of social life in the villages. In the village Yelwat, the breakdown of joint families and their nuclearization has been taking place on a large scale. One of the factors contributing for this trend is the rehabilitation package given on the basis of family as a unit which has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Another important change in the institutional form is the loosening of caste rigidities and inter-caste relations. The processes to which the village Yelwat had undergone during post-rehabilitation had brought in a secular outlook to the social life of Yelwat. Especially amongst the younger generations, the caste has no relevance in day today social life.

In Anandwadi, the caste behavior and discriminations are still followed. The lower castes are not allowed to take the meal with upper castes in community programmes.

In Anandwadi, the families are also being separated and becoming nuclear. This separation is coming on a natural course. Moreover, inadequacies of living space, economic pressure to run the house on daily wages; and government's allotment of houses under "Gharkul scheme" to the people below poverty line are the major factors for nuclearization the families.

The status of women has been undergoing change in the village Yelwat. Women are now seen as equal partners in the social life and their mobility to the towns and nearby places has increased. Attitude towards higher education for girl children and willingness to send the daughters for salaried employment are highly favorable in the village. Women are now freely forming Self Help Groups in the village and empowering themselves. In addition, this development is accepted without any resistance from the male counterparts of
the families whose women are involved in these activities. Currently there are three highly motivated and active SHG functioning in this village.

The status of women in Anandwadi is low in comparison to women in Yelwat. Lack of mobility and entrepreneurship among the women is seen in the village. Conservative outlooks and tradition bound roles and statuses are still pervading the social life of women in the village. In Anandwadi, the widow remarriages are not favored. Whereas, on genuine ground, the widower remarriages are approved.

The awareness generated by the NGOs has changed the conservative approach regarding widow and widower remarriages in Yelwat. Widow remarriage is allowed in certain cases while widower marriage got the social approval.

In Yelwat, the tremendous changes are seen regarding the marriage practices. While negotiating the marriage proposals, the consent of bride and grooms are taken into considerations. Moreover, the amount of dowry for brides has increased due to facilities and amenities available in the villages. Besides this, the mode of celebration has completely changed. Now we could see the urban like modes such as exchanging gifts and gadgets of daily use are given at the time of marriages.

In Anandwadi, the rules regarding the marriage negotiation are strictly followed. The elder persons of the families fix the marriages without taking the consent of the bride and grooms. The marriages are traditionally celebrated. In comparison to Yelwat, the dowry rate is low. As far as exchange of gifts at the time of marriage is not as popular as it is in Yelwat.

Now the gambling and alcohol consumptions are getting social approval in Yelwat and no body feels this activity as offensive. Whereas, in Anandwadi these activities are strictly prohibited and there is no social approval for them. On the contrary, the villagers criticize these activities as deviant behavior.
In Yelwat the number of disputes and litigations have been increased in comparison to past. Now, rarely the disputes are solved at the village levels. After earthquake, most of the cases are referred to the police station or courts.

The situation in Anandwadi is completely different. Rarely, the cases are referred to the police station or courts. All possible the efforts are made to solve the problems at the village level by village *Panch*. There are new institutional forms emerging in Yelwat with regard to wage fixation to agriculture labourers. They operate on informal levels. In the earlier days these institutions were regulated by this landlords and the powerful sections of the village. Now, the power of bargaining and fixing wages has shifted over to the labourers who have a major voice. In Anandwadi, the employer fixes the wage rates, working hours etc. and there is no choice for the labourers to bargain.

In Yelwat, the village *Panch* system has completely declined, whereas in Anandwadi this system is effectively functioning. It takes the initiatives to solve the problems at village level.

Political institutions in the village Yelwat are becoming strong in comparison to past. The lower castes and women are participating and exercising their rights and duties. In Anandwadi, the people are less aware about politics. In local governance, still the upper caste is dominant which takes the major decisions affecting the village.

One of the important economic institutions that are disappearing from the village Yelwat is the system of Jajmani. After the rehabilitation, the exchange of goods and services under the system of Jajmani has been disappeared. Obviously, this is attributable for monetization process that has entered into the village after rehabilitation. There are many more such formal and informal institutions declining and emerging in the village, which are adequately documented elsewhere in the text.

In Anandwadi, all these institutional forms discussed above have been remained unchanged or changing on a very slow pace. This refers to the
continuation of joint families in certain sections, the conservative outlook towards the status and role of women, rigidities in the relations based on caste, caste prejudices and so on. The institution of Jajmani still has some relevance with village economy of Anandwadi and several households are continuing with patron-client relations in exchanging goods and services.

The preceding discussion highlights the peculiarities of social transformation the village Yelwat as well as Anandwadi over a decade. This transformation is of structural nature, which is very difficult to accomplish in the natural course of transformation. Even though there are problems of adaptation and disturbances in the course of the transformation, some are desirable while others appear to be less desirable. The lessons drawn from this study could serve as pathfinder to the planners and policy makers to take in to cognizance several subtle aspects of socio cultural and socio economic aspects of village life. This is the merit of the study.