Chapter-Five
Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Suggestions
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This is the study about the social transformation that is taking place in earthquake affected and non-affected villages of Ausa tehsil, of Latur district Maharashtra state. In this study, the impact of rehabilitation on socio-economic and cultural change has been traced. Besides these changes, the institutional arrangements and problems associated with adaptation to new modes of life in the context of affected and non affected villages have been highlighted.

As it has been discussed at length in the preceding chapters, village Yelwat is undergoing rapid transformation on an unprecedented scale after rehabilitation. The pace of this transformation is attributable to the package of inputs given to the village and its inhabitants as a part of rehabilitation. The rapidity of this transformation, as discussed in the preceding chapters is reflected in the socio-economic and socio cultural spheres of village life.

In agriculture, the changes are visible conspicuously in cropping pattern, use of inputs, marketing strategies, in land management and labour relations and wage rates. In Yelwat there is a major shift from the production of food crops to commercial and highly commercial crops. Farmers in this village are now cultivating sugarcane, grapes and vegetables for the markets. The area under food crops is reducing year after year in Yelwat. This is more so in case of medium and large farmers who also belong to upper segments of the village. Changes in cropping are closely associated with changes in the use of inputs. Since the commercial cropping demands use of secured irrigation, application of fertilizers, pesticides and so, on farmers are now getting familiar with the use of these new inputs. For instance, before deciding a particular crop, farmers get their soils tested and apply appropriate fertilizers as per the guidance of the agriculture extension officers. The farmers are resorting to scientific agriculture and making agriculture as a lucrative enterprise. Investing in drip irrigation, sinking wells and other agriculture related infrastructure is becoming a common feature in Yelwat. As farming
practices are becoming commercialized in Yelwat, farmers are becoming strategic in marketing their produce. They collect information regarding the prices of agriculture products in different market in the region before taking decisions. Whenever the prices of agricultural commodities are not encouraging in the market, the farmers postpone the sales. Unlike in the past, farmers of this village now give adequate attention for grading, preserving, packing of their products to get better price in the market.

The changes in location of the village settlement (Yelwat) after rehabilitation have brought in several visible changes in the management of land and labour. A section of the farmers who have large land holdings and cultivate grapes are now entering into annual contract labour arrangements to manage the land. This is a new trend in Yelwat. These changes are not confined to the upper segments alone. Even amongst small farmers, there are changes in the management of land. Unlike in the past, these farmers are now reluctant to lease out or give out land on share cropping basis. They prefer to manage lands on their own. This is because agriculture in Yelwat is no more a gambling with nature. Due to the introduction of new technologies, agriculture is becoming lucrative and farmers are getting assured returns. This is a new orientation of farmers in agricultural practices.

In Anandwadi, the scenario of agricultural practices is different from Yelwat. Over the decade, the cropping pattern in Anandwadi largely, remained one and the same. A large proportion of the land in the village is still under food crops such as Jawar, Tur, green gram and black gram. These crops are grown under rain fed conditions. Unlike in the village Yelwat, the commercialization of agriculture is not prominently seen in Anandwadi. However, cultivation of Soyabean is assuming some importance in Anandwadi in the recent years. This is one of the popular area crops. The natural conditions in Anandwadi are also not favorable for intensive agriculture. The lack of perennial water resources is one of the major impediments for the expansion of agriculture.
Owing to constraints in the expansion of agricultural practices, in this village (Anandwadi) the farmers' outlook in respect of use of inputs is not on scientific lines. The application of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and so on are not rational. Largely, the agricultural practices in Anandwadi remained as a way of life meeting subsistence needs. Unlike in Yelwat, agricultural in this village has not assumed the status of an enterprise. The farmers continue the age-old traditional practices in terms of inputs and equipments. There is no impetus for agricultural growth from outside agencies like NGOs, Commercial Banks and so on.

The issues relating to marketing of agriculture products are less relevant to the farmers of Anandwadi. This is because these farmers neither cultivate commercial crops for market nor they produce surplus food crops to sell in the market. Therefore, the price situation in the market hardly affects their decision-making.

Moreover, land and labour management methods are continuing in the traditional style in Anandwadi. Only the large farmers of this village are independent cultivators. A few of the large farmers employ labourer on annual contract to enhance the productivity in agriculture. As they wish to set better returns from agriculture. However, this is not the case with the farmers of the lower segment. Due to risk and uncertainty of returns from agriculture, these farmers lease out lands or enter into share cropping arrangement with the better off loss from agriculture.

The commercial farming and increased wage opportunities in the non-agriculture sector, has created the shortage of the labourers in the village Yelwat. This has put the labourers in better positions in comparison to prior earthquake status. Now, the labourers are bargaining with the employer for more wages and demanding the additional facilities. Free transport by jeep to the agriculture land is one such demand. The working hours are rigid and not arbitrary. Labourers now work for 7 hours (10 am to 5 pm). This situation has compelled the farmers to keep good relations with the labourers.
On the contrary, in Anandwadi, the employment opportunities are seasonal. Agriculture and brick making are the main sources of employment, which are seasonal in nature. There is a labour surplus in Anandwadi and the village economy is not capable of absorb the labour. Therefore, the employers have upper hand in determining the wages and working conditions. The labourers have to work in an exploitative condition without any power of bargaining.

Availability of labourers is becoming increasingly scarce in Yelwat. Wage rates are exorbitant. The reasons for this scenario are diversions of labour into various wage opportunities, security of employment opportunities in the village as discussed earlier.

Since Anandwadi has not been subjected to rehabilitation and resettlement, the problems cited above in the context of Yelwat are not applicable to Anandwadi. It is continuing with the old settlement and the associated modes of living.

Another important characteristic feature about the changing economy of Yelwat is the diversity and new occupations emerging in the village, even though on a small scale. There are nearly twelve such new occupations documented in Yelwat after rehabilitated which are i) service centre for sinking wells ii) laundry services iii) hair cutting saloon iv) electronic retails and services shops v) electrical appliances... and so on. This is a manifestation of demand for new services and the new clientele in the changing economy of the Yelwat. However, these features are not visible in Anandwadi which is still continuing with the age old traditional occupations. Only exception is the introduction of auto rickshaw services to meet the transportation demand of the village (Anandwadi).

The process of rehabilitation has brought in several changes in the cultural outlook of the people in the village Yelwat. The important once could be seen in terms of their leisure time activities, celebration of rituals and festivals and so on. In leisure time activities, for instance, after rehabilitation,
the gossip groups on the village Chawadi have been totally disappeared. This is replaced by TV viewing at home, spending time in hotels, pan shops, reading newspapers and spending times in the library. This is attributable to their increased awareness and need for new information to meet the challenges of the time. In certain sections, time dimension is assuming greater value. In these sections, time is now, judiciously allotted to promote their individual interests.

In Anandwadi, there are no such sources for leisure time activities such as newspapers, pan shops and hotels in the village except neighborhood gossips and gossiping at Chawadi. With respect to leisure time activities, it is the legacy of the past is still in its continuity.

The social interactions with friends and neighbor have different impact on old and new generations in Yelwat. In new generations, the social interaction with friends has increased and they are remaining in touch with their friends or relatives by mobile phones. A Section of the youth, are expanding their kinship and friendship to consolidate their interests. They devote time for these interactions to wider their horizons. Whereas, the old generation has lost the prior earthquake interactions with their friends. The hectic commercial activities of the family members in some sections, has led to the neglect of old age people in their families. The spacial distance between the houses has further isolated the old people from their peer group interactions.

In Anandwadi, the situation is different from Yelwat, as far as social interactions with friends are concerned. The social interaction with friends has increased in the old generation while, decreased in younger generation. This is an inter generation variation with respect to allocation of time for interaction with friends and relatives. The older people feel that they have more leisure time now as compared to past. This section of people belongs to “non-work force” of the village, as they have crossed their 60s. However, the younger generations feel that they have less leisure time social interactions. These
youths are the "active work force" of the family and are engaged in wage work in brick laying units and auto rickshaw drivers. The interaction of the villagers with government officials and political leaders is also minimal. Perhaps, this may be another antecedent feature of backwardness of Anandwadi.

In Yelwat, celebration of various social ceremonies, after rehabilitation is gaining spirit and collectivity. Dalit groups of the village are now celebrating occasions like Ambedkar Jayanti on a grand scale which was not the case in the past. Similar is the case with the upper caste like Marathas, who now spend time and energy in celebrating Shivaji Jayanti and other festivals. This change appears to be due to growing consciousness about their social identities and political articulations. After earthquake, the mobility to towns and interactions with social groupings in the towns like Latur and Ausa made these social groups in the Yelwat to make use of these occasions to consolidate their power base. More interestingly, the celebration of birth days of children is a new phenomenon after earthquake in the village Yelwat. Birthdays are celebrated as social gatherings to establish relationships and network with the friends and relatives. These contacts and linkages are utilized for furthering their self-interest in their future.

In Yelwat, the Diwali, Dashra, and Gudipadwa are celebrated with glory like in urban areas. In comparison to past the nature of celebration of each festival has 'changed.' Besides this, the Buddha Jayanti is celebrated in the village by particular castes and Mohrrum festivals by whole village.

In Anandwadi, none of these changes in the cultural practices are seen. Because these celebrations require time, mobilization of resources and leadership who could recognize the merit of celebrating and converting these occasions to promote their group interest. Perhaps this can be seen as a feature of typical backward society, which Anandwadi is.

On the contrary, in Anandwadi, the festivals are celebrated on a low profile as compared by the tradition. The Dalit groups in the village are
unknown about Budha Jayanti. The Muslim of the village celebrates Moharram.

The second objective of the study is to examine the problems associated with new modes of life that have emerged after rehabilitation. The important problem faced by the people of Yelwat are with the structure of the houses and the interior design, allocation of space for livestock, maintenance and repairing of houses, location of village Chawadi, spacing between houses and the increase in wage rates. Each of these problems deserves elaboration.

The structure of the houses, which were newly built are not culturally compatible to the life style of the villagers in this region. In Yelwat, the newly constructed houses lack of Utrand (arrangement of earthen pot), grinding stone, Ukhal (mortar), Musal (pestle) stake/peg, Valan, Water storage, Grain storage which have been explained in details in text. Livestock is an integral part of any farming household in the village. Unfortunately, while designing the house structure space for keeping livestock has not been taken into cognizance. This anomaly has forced the live stock owning families either to abandon the livestock or design cattle shed out side the dwelling house. This is one of the important problems faced by villagers. In the village Yelwat, cattle wealth has been declining substantially after the earthquake, which used to be an important part of the village economy. This is due to lack of common grazing lands in the village and shifting of cropping pattern from food crops to nonfood related crops. Cattle population has been nearly halved over a period of ten years in the village Yelwat. This has led to the disappearance of village institution of designated cattle rears “Gurakhi” which has been adequately explained in the text.

In Anandwadi, the house structures are as per need of the villagers. The large farmers have Wada and other have as per their occupation and land size. The internal arrangement of these houses is convenient to their day-to-day life and requirements of livelihood. In this village, the domestic appliances
and equipments are used by the householders as part of their tradition. Unlike in Yelwat, it is a continuity of the tradition in Anandwadi.

In Yelwat, the space for kitchen is one of the problems faced by the occupants. The villagers have to find out an alternative place for cooking to avoid smoke, whereas in Anandwadi, the open space of the house is used for cooking which is convenient and exhausts the fumes.

Repairing of houses is also a serious problem in Yelwat. The newly designed quake proof houses have been built using non conventional materials and skills. The local artisans are unfamiliar with these designs. This is posing a problem for the house owners for repairs, maintenance and upkeep of their dwelling unit.

In Anandwadi, the issue of house design and its cultural compatibility does not arise. The houses are constructed by using the local material by local artisans as per their cultural ethos. These materials are of low cost and easily available. Due to this, the owner is able to repair the house without any hassle.

As mentioned earlier, cattle wealth in Yelwat is on decline owing to lack of grazing land in the vicinity of new settlement. The new housing design does not provide space for keeping cattle. Decline in cattle wealth has led to the extinctions of “Gurakh” system of cattle rearing in Yelwat.

The village Anahdwadi has lot of open space for grazing and manpower is available for grazing the cattle. Moreover, the food crops are cultivated in the village on a large scale, which supply the fodder to the animals. This has promoted livestock rearing unaffected over decades in Anandwadi.

The village Chawadi provides a social space for community interaction and thus takes an important place in the community life. In the traditional village settlement, the location of the Chawadi is such that it is accessible to all households in the village. During resettlement of village Yelwat, the location of Chawadi was wrongly placed in a posterior corner of the settlement, which constrained smooth social interactions. In Yelwat, hardly any inhabitants are
seen using Chawadi for social interaction. Similar is the condition of spacing between the houses, which is too large for a closely-knit community.

In Anandwadi, Chawadi is in the middle of the village and accessible to all householders. Chawadi has an otta, on which the villagers sit or take the rest at the noon. This is a common place of the village used for gossips, gatherings etc. The close settlement of the houses has facilitated we feeling among the villagers. Unlike in Yelwat, people in Anandwadi do not feel insecure socially or loneliness and anonymity.

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 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 nuclearisation of 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 four 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 favoured. 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 these 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.

System of Jajmani, one of the important economic institutions that is
disappearing from the village Yelwat. 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 still 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 path finder 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.
Conclusions

In conclusion, the study offers new insights into the body of knowledge on "social transformation" or modernization process. Guided by the structural factionalist perspective of social change advocated by Talcott Parsons (1964), Neil J. Smelser (1964) and Ogburn (1947), the study attempted to bring out the facets of social transformation in a rehabilitated village. Even though this perspective is criticized and challenged for inadequacies, in the context of the process of social transformation in the rehabilitated village, this perspective appears more apt to explain the realities.

This is an inductive study where in the perspective is chosen after the empirical investigation of the field situation. As explained in the preceding chapter, the onset of rehabilitation introduced several new forms of material and non-material cultural ethos into the community. It was a package of rehabilitation forced on the community willingly or unwillingly. The circumstances were highly inevitable on the part of the community to accept the packages, respond and adapt to the new situation. The context was unique where the communities had no many options. Thus, the context was an ideal type to examine the concepts of social transformation, put forth by the factionalists.

The study re-affirms the inevitability of the concepts of i) social differentiations ii) social disturbances in the course of social transformation and iii) social integration. A social differentiation of the community is conspicuously seen in the rehabilitated village Yelwat, in the process of
transformation. The prominent differentiations are i) diversity in occupation; ii) emergence of new form of stratification based on the distance from the agriculture land; and iii) emergence of capitalist farmers with new inputs use and labour relations. These dimensions have been adequately explained in the chapters. The second concept is about the disturbances in the social system as a process of social transformation. The study has brought out adequate evidence to substantiate the inevitability of this tendency. The breakdown of social institutions and infrastructure such as joint families, jajmani relations, anonymity in the living space, alienation from their farming land and cattle are a few instances of social disturbances witnessed by the community. The emergence of new institutions and institutions like arrangements are a testimony to the mechanisms evolving to bring about stability in the system. Consolidations of caste identities in the form of celebrating the birth anniversaries of leaders, community festivals, political groupings and associations, pressure groups are some of the features reflecting the intrinsic necessities for integrating the common interest groups. Thus, the study demonstrates the relevance of the perspective adopted to explain the complex nature of social transformation in the rehabilitated village. Further, this perspective, as a positivist philosophy, foresees the similar course of transformation in the controlled village, Anandwadi which is, at present lies on the other end of continuum.

The study reiterates and contributes to the debate on "inevitability of certain stages" in the course of social transformation, which perhaps, appears
like "universals". The study supports the protagonists of evolutionary, and functionalists, and modernization theorists about the occurrence of distinct stages in the process of social transformation and the gaps or lags in the course of adaptation. It is also to argue that when these "inevitable stages of social change" are by-passed through interventions, the social stability gets disturbed leading cultural shocks in the society. These maladjustments and strains of adaptation could be minimized by carefully engineering these intervention measures. The present study sets a mark to this debate.

The study also contributes to the methodology of understanding social change by way of selecting one village (Anandwadi) having similar socio-economic characteristics as a "controlled village" and comparing with the modernizing rehabilitated village (Yelwat) on selected parameters of social change. This comparison clearly illustrates the huge gap in the change and social conditions between the two villages and thus, justifying the case of maladjustments, cultural lag and problems of adaptation. The structural functionalist model of social change, despite varied limitations and criticisms, holds validities in the present study. The basic postulate of this model that is, societies move from simple form to complex form has been adequately illustrated in this study where in, the controlled village (Anandwadi) serves as the case of simple society and Yelwat (rehabilitated) exhibiting its complex dimensions in the course of transformation.
Suggestions and Recommendations

For assessing the needs and problems of affected community, a baseline survey on socio-economic and cultural aspects should be made. On the basis of this survey, the rehabilitation strategies should be developed.

The relocation of the village at new site has raised a number of problems to affected communities. To minimize these problems, the preference should be given to in-situ construction, and if it is not possible, the nearest site should be selected for relocating the village. For this work, people's education for participation is must and it should be done by experts.

Culturally incompatible house structure is one of the problems faced by the villagers in new houses, therefore to minimize this problem, the house structure should be made as per requirements of each family and while constructing the house, the occupation, land size and life styles of the villagers should be taken into considerations. Besides this, the owner should actively participate in construction process so that he could suggest few changes matching to his need.

Repairing houses is one of the major issues in rehabilitated villages. No villager or local mason is familiar with repairing, therefore, the villagers have to depend on external sources, which are costly. Hereafter, in affected area, it should be made compulsory to the house owner to participate in construction process. Besides this, the local artisans should involve in construction process or trained in it. This will help to repair the house by the owner or local artisans.

The settlement of houses with huge space in-between has caused difficulty in neighborhood gossiping and generated anonymity among the villagers. To avoid this, the settlement of the houses should be close to each other without wasting space between two houses. Instead of keeping space between two houses, the space should be reserved for verandah. Moreover, the households having livestock, there should be wall compound to the house with a single door like houses constructed in any typical village in this region.
The relocation of the village away from the agriculture land has changed the mode of agriculture practices; it has adverse impact on production and expenditure. Therefore, the location of the village should be in the middle of the agriculture boundaries of the village, so that it could be convenient for agriculture practices.

Chawadi, an integral and essential part of the village life, has lost its uniqueness after relocation of the village due to its improper location. Therefore, while relocating the village, the Chawadi should locate at the centre place of the village with ample open space and it should be convenient to reach to all villagers. In addition, the Government's offices should be settled in the Chawadi so that villagers will get together.