

Continuity and Change in the Caste System: A study of two selected villages in Uttar Pradesh

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(A Central University)
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My Teachers

DECLARATION

I, **Harishchandra Mishra**, declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled "**Continuity and Change in the Caste System: A study of two selected villages in Uttar Pradesh**" has been carried out by me, under the supervision of **Prof. (Retd.) Kameshwar Choudhary**, Department of Sociology, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, (A Central University), Lucknow.

The work included in this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree and unless otherwise stated, is all original. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis. I also declare that the thesis is essentially free from all kinds of plagiarism.

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CERTIFICATE

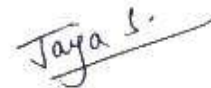
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This thesis submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow, satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the *Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) Regulations-1999 as amended in 2013* and it is found fit and fair for submission and evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University.



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Chapter-1

Introduction

Chapter-1

Introduction

This chapter provides a general introduction of the caste system, including its meaning and definition, caste as a unit and system, its structural and cultural features, and major theoretical perspectives on the caste system. Besides this, the chapter includes significance of the study, statement of the problem of the study, review of literature, objectives of the study, hypothesis, methodology and chapterisation. Certain limitations of the study are also indicated.

To begin with let us have a brief overview of definitions, meaning and features of the caste system. It is found that scholars have defined caste in different ways. C. H. Cooley defines caste as “when a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste”. According to D. N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan, caste is a ‘closed group’. According to Ketkar, a caste is a group having two characteristics: (1) Membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born (2) The members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group. According to E. Blunt "Caste is an endogamous group bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse, either following a common traditional occupation a claiming a common origin & generally regarded as forming a single homogenous community. According to Herbert Risley "Class is a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same heredity callings & regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous communities." The structure of caste has been discussed by analyzing its important features. Risley (1915) has referred to endogamy and hereditary occupation as the basic components of the caste system. Hocart (1950) has emphasized on ritual purity and impurity. Bogle (1958) has postulated three elements of caste, namely, hereditary specialization, hierarchy and repulsion or opposition. Besides, referring to hereditary membership, caste councils, hierarchy, and endogamy as important features of the caste system, he also refers to the restrictions on feeding and social inter-

course, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and civil and religious disabilities. Singh (1974) holds that structurally, the caste system simultaneously manifests two tendencies: one, segmental and other, organic. As a segmental reality, each caste or a sub-caste tends to articulate mutual repulsion, social distance and social inequality, but as an organic system, the caste segments are mutually interlinked by a principle of reciprocity through the jajmani system. Bailey (1960) has referred to caste stratification as a 'closed organic stratification' in contradistinction with the class principle which is based on 'segmentary stratification'. In the former, the social segments (castes or sub-castes) interact through cooperation and in the latter through competition.

Caste as a unit and system

There are various groups of scholars who talk about caste as a social unit and as a social system. Max Weber described caste as a unit that is a status group in Hindu social order. Keeping this difference in view, it may be maintained that the important features of caste as a unit are hereditary membership, endogamy, fixed occupation, and caste councils; while the features of caste as a system are hierarchy, commensality restrictions, and restrictions with regard to physical and social distance. In other words it can be said that caste as a unit is defined as a status group i.e. a group in which the status of members, their occupations, the field of mate selection and interaction with others is fixed; and caste as a social system defines it on the basis of its fundamental features. There are some basic components of system: (1) system is driven by cooperation among the components and certain norms and values. (2) This cooperation among the various caste groups is mostly driven by pervasive values. Values direct caste roles and define structural positions of different caste groups in India. (3) In the analysis of caste as a system both C. Bougle and L. Dumont say system has integration, driven by values and norms, and (4) system is subjected to continuity as it is driven by procedural rules. Therefore caste as a system is driven by certain kinds of values, maintaining interrelationship among the people in specified manner.

So, in this way the scholarship in the field of sociology/social anthropology defines caste as a system. According to N.K. Dutta (1986) features of the caste system are endogamous group, occupational specialization, hierarchy, commensality and hereditary

membership. G.S. Ghurye (1932) has described caste system on the basis of its six features which are segmental division of society, hierarchy, restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and restrictions on marriage. Morton Klass (1980) talks about the units of caste including three tendencies namely-repulsion, hereditary specialization, and hierarchy. Dumont (1980) defines caste system it as the system of ideas and values in Hindu social structure and talks about caste as a hierarchically arranged groups based on purity and pollution, hereditary division of labour based on religious qualities, regulation on marriage on the basis of endogamy, restrictions on food and vegetarianism in different groups. Beteille (1965) defines caste in Weberian sense as the status group in Hindu social order. Y. Singh (1986) holds that structurally the caste system manifests two tendencies, one segmental and other organic. As a segmental reality, such caste tends to articulate mutual repulsion, social distance and social inequality, but as an organic system the caste segments are mutually interlinked and by the principles of reciprocity in the jajmani system.

Varna-Caste nexus

G. S. Ghurye is of the opinion that the origin of caste can be traced to the Gangatic plains of India as a result of the Indo-Aryan invasion in Ancient time. He says that “Caste in India as a Brahmanic child of Indo-Aryan culture cradled in the land of Ganga and Yamuna and thence, transferred to other parts of the country”(Ghurye 1932). He also noted that the term varna literally means colour and the initial distinctions among groups was on two varna, the first was fair skinned (and hence superior) and other was dark skinned (and hence inferior or Dasas). Ghurye says that in the Rig-Vadic period or in the Rigveda only two varnas were mentioned. It is only in the Vadic period that the concept of the four varnas came into existence. In this way Ghurye firmly believe that the four-fold division of Varnas during the later Vadic period based on colour gave way to the elaboration of Jati or caste, which comprises a large number of groups based on occupational specialization, endogamy, and hierarchy. An Indian anthropologist while distinguishing between caste and varna in early 1950s opines that the real unit of the caste system is not one of the four Varna's, but the Jati, a localized group, which is a very small endogamous group practicing a traditional

occupation, enjoying a certain degree of cultural, ritual and judicial autonomy. Devid G. Mandelbaum (1970), in his famous two volume book “Society in India: Continuity and Change”, argued that the term Jati and caste are understood synonymously in Indian society and he himself used the term Jati instead of caste while describing Indian society. Khare (1983), states that the concept of caste implies the experience of individuals in everyday social life, whereas the concept of varna refers to the ideal and symbolic archetypes. Thus caste is quite specific in its functioning, and varna is a loose/vague entity. According to Y. Singh (1973), ‘theoretically Caste System (Jati vyavastha) is rooted in the Varna division of society into four caste categories, namely Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra and a fifth category of the untouchables, who though excluded from the caste frame of reference, yet constitute its lowest stratum in social and ritual hierarchy.’” The varna model of caste system in Hindu society is macro-structural in nature because it can be found in whole of the country. In Indian society in each of region whether it is northern, southern or eastern, western we have four fold division of peoples in the forms of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishyas and Sudras. But the reality of caste lies at the existential level. At the existential level there does not exist a single varna (caste) but different castes within a varna. Therefore, K. L. Sharma (2007) says that at the existential level castes (Jati) are divided into three thousands of regional endogamous groups in Hindu social order. They are not only endogamous but also their occupation, the privilege and disability, honor/prestige differ a lot in different regional settings. Hence, it can be held that Varna refers to broad divisions of Hindu society, whereas caste groups refers to specific endogamous groups having hereditary occupations and Varnas are an all Indian general phenomenon whereas castes are localized groups.

Origin of the caste system

The word ‘caste’ has been derived from the Portuguese term ‘casta’, meaning race, bread, family or lineage. In India caste is understood as Jati. David G. Mandelbaum in his book ‘Society in India’ has used the term Jati. There are different opinions among historians and scholars with regard to the origin of caste system, though it is admitted that it was a very ancient institution. As part of a social system, the word ‘caste’ refers to stratification along lines of descent. In a caste-ridden society an individual is born into a given social category and remains there for life. The origin of caste system in India cannot be exactly ascertained.

The available literature from Vedas and Upanishads throw light on the origin of caste system. The Rig-Veda hymn of Purushasookta contains the earliest reference to chaturvarna. According to it, the great Purusha's (Brahma) mouth became the Brahmin. His two arms were made into the Rajanya (Kshatriya). His thigh turned into Vaishyas and from his two feet, the Shudras were born. In Gita, Lord Krishna says the fourfold order was created by him on the basis of quality and action. Thus, the Hindu Dharma Shastras take caste for granted. All Puranas assume the existence of caste and it is stated that if a person commits evil acts he will be born in a low caste or even as an animal. The caste system in India is generally related to the occupational pattern of different groups. Caste is the general form of social organisation in India and it differs from social groups. Noted sociologist G.S. Ghurye observes: Caste in India is a Brahman child of the Indo-Aryan culture cradled in the land of the Ganga and Yamuna and hence transferred to other parts of the country. The caste is the most salient feature of the Hindu social structure. It divides and stratifies the Hindu society into a number of sub-groups, separate and yet integrated. In India, the caste system comprises a large number of groups whose mutual relations are of an extremely complex in nature. The caste system existed since the society was composed of birth-ascribed hierarchically ordered as culturally distinct groups.

The origin of the Indian caste system has many theories which can be categories into two. Some of them are religious while others are biological. The religious theories explain the origin of caste system from the ancient text book like Vedas, puranas, smritis, etc. On the other hand biological theories claim that all existing things inherit one of these three categories of qualities. These are three Gunas: Sattva, Rajas and Tamas and these gunas are inherited by different peoples in the society to form the caste system in India.

In fact, the origin of the caste system could be understood more clearly through the various theories propounded by different scholars. These theories differ from one another. There is no similarity between these. Besides this, no one theory properly explains the origin of the caste system. Risley says that the origin of caste is due to racial difference whereas Nesfield says due to the occupational factors. Abbe Dubois refers to the role played by Brahmins and Hutten refers to belief in Mana as its origin. Some important theories are as follows.

Racial theory: According to Racial Theory, "the clash of cultures and contact of races crystallised the Castes in India". The migrant Aryans had their own ideas of ceremonial purity. They considered the original inhabitants (Dravidas) as inferior to them. The Aryans were essentially patrilineal in nature, while local population, whom they conquered were matrilineal. Therefore, they married with the daughters of the aboriginals but refused to give their daughters to them. The children of such marriages had to be assigned the lowest position in the society and were called as Chandals. Thus, the origin of half-breeds group, as well as the feeling of racial superiority ultimately became responsible for the origin of the caste system in India.

Traditional theory: This Theory believes that the Caste System has been established by divine ordinance or at least with divine approval. S.P. Nagendra gives the best analysis of the traditional theory. The traditional theory has two versions: Mythical and Metaphysical. The Mythical version regards four 'Varnas' as four Castes and believes that these four Varnas have emerged from the different parts of Brahma's body. The Brahmin was born from his mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Sudra' from his feet. It considers caste as a naturally determined organization of social functions and explains the membership of an individual in particular caste in terms of Karma and Dharma doctrine. According to 'Karma doctrine', a man is born in a particular caste because of his action performed in his previous birth. If he had performed better actions, he would have been born in a higher caste. According to 'Dharma doctrine', a man who accepts and live according to the dharma is rewarded while the violation if dharma is punished. If a man obeys the rules of dharma, he will be born in his next birth in a high and rich caste and if a man violates the dharma, he will be born in a low and poor caste. The Metaphysical version explains the hierarchy and fixed occupation of the caste. Each caste has a separate function based on division of labour and is determined by the 'nature' or 'swabhav' and 'qualities' or 'guna' of the caste members.

Brahmanical theory: According to this theory the caste system originated and developed in India because of Brahmins. Brahmins imposed severe social restrictions on non-Brahmins especially on the Sudras to preserve their purity. They gave themselves a higher status in the

society and declared all others as inferior to them. Sudras were classified as most inferior to anyone else. G.S. Ghurye and Abbe Dubois supported 'Brahmanical Theory'. They believe that the role of Brahmin was vital in the origin of caste system in India. Further, Ghurye says that 'the Caste in India is a 'Brahmanic' child of the Indo-Aryan Culture cradled in the land of the Ganges and thence transferred to other parts of India.' Thus according to this theory, the caste system was created by the Brahmins to maintain their superiority in the society.

Occupational theory: Nesfield believes that the origin of caste has nothing to do with the racial affinity, but it occurred mainly due to functions or occupations. The skill of occupation was passed on hereditarily from generation to generation and because of practicing the same occupation over a long period of time "occupational guilds" came into existence which later on came to be known as castes.

Tribal theory: S. V. Ketkar believes that the origin of caste was from early tribes and the psychological prejudicial tendencies of human beings. According to the author there were numerous tribes living in different parts of India. Many of these tribes were in struggle with each other on the issues like boundaries, kidnapping a girl from other tribe, etc. Because of such conflicts people avoided other tribes in marriage and social relations and confined social interaction in all respects to members of their own tribe. Thus the author's view is that the castes originated from the tribes.

Mana theory: According to Hutton, Mana is a mysterious impersonal power attached to individuals, objects and places. Wherever the belief in Mana prevails a corresponding belief in the value of taboo as protective measures is also to be found. Taboos were therefore, imposed on commensality relations, inter-caste marriage, social interaction, etc. to save the members of one's tribe from the Mana of the other tribe. The restrictions on sharing food with others and having contact with them are based on the belief that these food and contacts may be infected with the dangerous soul matters of strangers. Thus, Senart says that people believe in 'Mana', which ultimately created the caste system in India.

Theoretical perspectives on the caste system

In the studies on caste system in India, there is observed three main perspectives. The Indological/Textual perspective (Bougle, Ghurye, Dumont, etc.), Social Anthropological perspective (Beteille, Shrinivas, Dubey, etc), and Sociological perspective (Singh, Sharma, Jodhka). The Indological perspective on the understanding of the caste system is basically based on the use of ancient texts and scriptures of India like Vedas, Puranas, Smritis and other religious scriptures/texts by social scientists to understand the caste system in India. Social anthropological perspective deals with cultural (ideological) analysis through participant observation and field based study of caste system in India. This perspective is based on pragmatic approach which includes both textual facts along with field work observation in the analysis of the caste system. But sociological perspective focuses on classification of people into groups (castes and communities) based on shared a social, cultural, economic and political condition that leads to inequality, hierarchy, etc. It can be said that sociologists study caste from the stratification point of view. A study on the caste system in its holistic view is fundamental pursuit of sociologists in India. According to sociological perspective, society has some structural aspects (role, status, norms, values, etc.) and these structural aspects divide the people into different social positions. The interactions among different castes in the society take place according to social structures (Ahuja 2008). While understanding the sociological perspective on caste system, David G. Mandelbaum states that “the kind of social system that is called caste system involves a special quality in the order of interdependence. It is a quality of pervasive inequality among the component groups. Inequality in privilege and reward, in dominance and subordination, is in one sense a universal characteristic of human society”.

Social stratification approach to the caste system

The term stratification is derived from geology to count and analyze a number of layers beneath the ground/rocks, and the term social stratification refers to the division of people into layers of strata which may be thought of as being vertically arranged in the same way that layers of the earth are arranged above or below other layers. But this geological metaphor has its own limitations. As rightly pointed out by Andre Beitelle “the arrangement of persons in a society is more complex than the arrangement of the layers of the earth and

social stratification is not visible to see with the naked eyes in the way that geological strata are” (Gupta 2001). In sociology, social stratification is a concept involving the classification of people into groups based on shared socio-economic conditions. Sociologists and Social Anthropologists have defined caste as a major form of stratification. It is a system by which society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy. When differences lead to greater status, power or privilege for some groups over the other it is called social stratification. In the analysis of social stratification in India there have been observed four main forms to fit in it viz. caste, class, estate and slavery. According to eminent sociologist, Pitrim Sorokin “Social stratification means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically super-posed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower layers (the geological metaphor). Its basis and very essence consists in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges...social power and influences among the members of a society” (Gupta 2001). The meaning of social stratification is a system of social differentiation or ranking involving the relations of superiority and inferiority with regards to statuses and roles in a given social system. According to Tumin (1969), “social stratification is the arrangement of the any social group or caste into a hierarchy of positions that are unequal with regard to power, property, prestige, social evaluation, and psychic gratification.”

Social stratification has a special place in the study of Indian society. Indian society from the beginning has been considered as the most stratified (unequal) of all known societies in human history. Sociologists normally identified three major types of stratification: caste, class and estate but social stratification includes a lot more also. Hence the focus of attention is only to understand the caste system which is seen as an example par excellence of social stratification. The caste system with its multitude forms of super-ordination and subordination in its social, cultural, economic, political, religious, linguistic and educational settings is most responsible for conferring in India. From the stratification stand point the scholarship on caste system have been deeply involved in moral and ethical questions regarding socio- cultural diversity, its many customs and taboos, rituals, dress pattern, tonsorial style, marriage practices, privileges and disabilities, hierarchy of land rights and educational attainment, political power supported by religious and secular ideology and a host of other such phenomena which support in society to separate one caste from another. This separation and uniqueness of diversity of phenomena in Indian society

perpetuates hierarchical ranking of peoples in India. L. Dumont (1970) says that in the caste system, status of a caste is determined not only by the economic and the political privileges but also by the ritualistic legitimation of authority, that is, in the caste-based system, ritual norms encompass the norms of power and wealth.

Different theoretical frameworks of social stratification have been used to understand the nature of caste system: Functional theory, Marxian theory, and Weberian theory.

Functionalist Approach: The essence of the functional approach to study social stratification is the functional differentiation as an inevitable phenomenon. In the society a single person cannot perform all or most of the functions. For different functions, different person and ability are required. The persons are rewarded according to the value attached to the functions they perform. This differential reward patterning gives rise to stratification and hierarchy. For example the division of labour, the Jajmani system and privilege and disability associated with different caste groups indicate the functional dimension of the caste system. Most of the studies on caste system in India were conducted from the functionalist perspective, such as, by H.H. Resley, J.H. Hutton, W. Wiser, G.S. Ghurye, M.N. Srinivas, Louis Dumont. They all deal with the positive functions of the caste system.

Marxian Approach: The essence of the Marxian approach or the conflict approach to the study of the caste system is rooted in the nature of the caste system. The hierarchies, the differential divisions of labour, the exploitation of one caste by other castes are considered to be the keynotes of the Marxian approach. Marx described India as an example of Asiatic mode of production where the land as private property emerged. According to this perspective, the differential possessions of land give rise to stratification and inequality in the society. Some of the studies on caste system in India were conducted from the conflict perspective such as by Ramkrishna Mukharjee, Daniel Thorner, D.N. Dhanagre and several others who have studied agrarian social structure in Indian village community.

Weberian Approach: The essence of the Weberian approach to the study of the caste system as the social stratification is based on his theory of Class, Status and Party. Those who look at stratification from the Weberian point of view accept class, status and power as

basic determinants of stratification or ranking. Here 'class' represents the market situation of the person in the stratified society based on economic category. 'Status' is determined by the honour/prestige associated with specific status and role. Different norms and values are associated with different persons of the society (with regards to their status and role). Status group can also divide and constitute the social order based on privileges and rewards. And 'party' is based on the political or power striving of a person belonging to the social hierarchy in the social system. Weberian approach also has influenced several scholars in India such as Andre Beteille, Anil Bhatt, K.L. Sharma, etc. I have also used Weberian approach to understand the current pattern of continuity and change in the caste system

Significance of the study

There are various groups of scholars who talk about caste as a system and define it on the basis of its fundamental features. According to N.K. Dutta (1986), features of the caste system are: endogamous group, occupational specialization, hierarchy, commensality restrictions and hereditary membership. G.S.Ghurye (1932) has described caste system on the basis of its six features, namely- segmental division of society, hierarchy, restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and restrictions on marriage. Morton Klass (1980) talks about the units of caste having three tendencies, viz. repulsion, hereditary specialization, and hierarchy. Dumont (1980) defines caste system as the system of ideas and values in Hindu social structure and talks about caste as a hierarchically arranged groups based on purity and pollution, hereditary division of labour based on religious qualities, regulation on marriage on the basis of endogamy, restrictions on food and vegetarianism in different groups. A. Beteille (1965) defines caste in Weberian sense i.e. as status group in Hindu social order. Y. Singh (1986) holds that structurally the caste system manifests two tendencies, one segmental and other organic. As a segmental reality, caste tends to articulate mutual repulsion, social distance and social inequality but as an organic system the caste segments are mutually interlinked and by the principles of reciprocity in the jajmani system.

Now, the caste system has lost much of its hold on its members, though it cannot be said that the caste system has disappeared or will disappear completely in near future. The

caste system has come to play an important role in politics and the SCs and OBCs who form a good percentage of the total population of the country, have been given certain benefits on the basis of caste (like reservation in jobs, education, legislatures) and new vested interests have arisen. So, it seems that caste system will continue to survive for long in our country. Every society is the continuation of the past, but a range of continuity is maintained even in the midst of change coming into the same society from time to time. This is how the identity of a society is maintained over a period of time.

S.C. Dubey states that the notions of ascribed status, hierarchy, endogamy, ritual purity and pollution etc, have been the basic components of Hindu social structure and particularly of the caste system. But these have been attacked from time to time by social and religious reform movements, secularization process and host of other factors. Despite that the caste system seems to have a remarkable resilience. It yields some ground but returns again. For instance, when caste is sought to be dislodged from the religious (ritual) domain it enters into the political process and caste consciousness comes back even through urbanization. However, there are several factors of change after independence that has led to the breakdown in continuity of the caste system. These factors are: socio-religious reform movements by marginalized communities, democratization and adult franchise, industrialization, urbanization, bureaucratization, constitutional safeguards provided to different marginalized castes/communities, secularization process by modern education and also spread in education, commercialization of agriculture, modern means of transport, land reform Acts, influence of market economy and a lots of others. Jodhka (2015) has briefly described the changes occurring in the caste system in recent decades as (1) 'the changes from below' (from marginalized communities and its leaders to counter and oppose the hegemony of upper castes, their supremacy and upliftment of their caste/community), (2) 'the changes from intellectual' to counter the ill practices and superstitions embedded in the Hindu caste system, and (3) 'the changes from mainstream' (central and the state government's general development policies and programme aiding steps towards mobility in the caste system).

Available literature on the caste system and, particularly relating to continuity and change in caste system, show that there are two views. The first is that caste system is fast

changing in its economic and occupational spheres and second that in social and ritualistic sphere it is strengthening. The jajmani system has vanished due to commercialization of agricultural economy and market based pricing for services. Additionally, a variety of forces have disrupted the link between caste and occupation. Land reform has transformed landholding and land ownership has shifted to many share croppers most of whom belong to the middle castes. Declining incomes of artisans such as potters, weavers, and others now have forced them to engage in manual labour for subsistence. Increasing education has led to influx of people from a variety of castes into modern occupations. All of these trends suggest that the link between caste and occupation in modern India has weakened. However, religious (ritualistic) aspects of caste system largely continue to determine till now the rank position of castes in selection of groom and bride to maintain clan exogamy (arranged marriage) in terms of endogamy. Observances of ritual practices performed by Brahmins in the temples and in other cultural- religious places are witnessed as practiced earlier.

In the political sphere the politics of affirmative action, caste based quotas, and universal adult franchise seem to have enhanced the positions of lower castes. Some socially and economically, backward caste groups are raising demands in different parts of the country for reservation (quotas) and for benefits from other central and state governments programmes which are meant for different marginalized sections of society. They want to be included in the categories of OBCs, SCs, and STs. This is an entirely new trend which needs to be understood properly. It was expected that as a result of modernization after independence, the traditional identities like caste would gradually disappear. But that has not happened. In recent studies it has been held that caste has taken its modern avatar in contemporary Indian society as reflected increasing in caste-based mobilizations and counter mobilization in politics demand for reservation by some traditionally dominant castes like Jats, Pattidars and Marathas and incidences of tensions and conflicts on the issue of reservation in rural India. Hence, there is a need to understand the static and dynamic aspects of the structural and cultural features of the caste system in recent years.

Statement of the problem

Caste has existed in India from the ancient period till now. Various studies have been conducted on the caste system in India. Some scholars consider it as a structural reality and

others as a cultural phenomenon. It is generally held that structural features of the caste system namely economic aspect (division of labour based on caste/jajmani system) and political aspect have significantly changed due to the processes of democratization, politicization, industrialization, bureaucratization, urbanization, secularization, and legislative measures after independence. Whereas its cultural features, like interdining based on the notion of purity and pollution endogamy and ritual aspects, are said to be continuing to a large extent, particularly in rural areas. So, both continuity and change have been observed in the caste system in earlier studies. In recent studies it has been held that caste has taken its modern avatar in contemporary India as reflected increasing in caste-based mobilizations and counter mobilization in politics, demand for reservation by some traditionally dominant castes like Jats, Pattidars and Marathas, and incidences of tensions and conflicts on the issue of reservation in rural India.

So, the issue is why is this happening now? It was expected that as a result of increasing modernization traditional identities like caste would gradually disappear. But that has not happened. Is it because there are new processes at work in the current period of liberalization, privatization, and globalization such as increasing rural-urban migration, fragmentation of land holding, commercialization of agriculture, unemployment and underemployment, privatization of education and health sector, identity assertion by lower castes, etc? Is there a link between these contemporary processes and increasing prominence of caste? Hence, there is need to understand the recent changes in the caste system in terms of continuity and change in its structural and cultural features.

Review of Literature on continuity and change

Caste in India is understood as an important structural and cultural institution of the society, i.e. it has both structural and cultural features, which has a close linkage with economic, political and social subsystem. The theoretical position of caste in the analysis of Indian social systems is highly complex. It constitutes both a structural unit of social stratification as well as a cultural unit (system). The structural and cultural aspects of the caste system are the two sides of the same coin (Subedi 2011). However, some sociologists are of the opinion that the dynamics of the caste system can be better understood if analyzed in terms of

structural aspects of the caste system. Structure refers to pattern of relationship between individual and groups. For example, economic division of labour (Jajmani system) or distribution of power involving dominance, interdependence or pattern of cooperation and conflict are the structural aspects. On contrary, taking a cultural view, other sociologists believe that caste system can be better understood if approached and analyzed in terms of ideas, belief, norms and values associated with caste system. Here the focus of analysis rests on the non- material parts of the culture. This has come to be known as cultural aspects/features of the caste system. Yogendra Singh says that such structural feature are two: first institutionalized circumscription of the spheres of social interactions in which restrictions on marriage, on interdining and on other forms of social relationships are concerned and the second is inequality in the access to power. On the other hand its cultural features are belief in higher-lower castes, perception on purity and pollution and doctrine of Karma and Dharma. The structural aspect of caste does not receive due attention when caste is seen as a cultural or ideological system. Relations between upper and lower castes, between the landowning and the landless castes, between the jajman and kamin castes, etc., demand a study of caste from the structural point of view. Domination/subordination, surplus/exploitation, privileges/ deprivation become the points of reference in the structural perspective. The cultural/ideological perspective however, puts emphasis on ideas and values, namely, pollution and purity, rules of marriage, and rules relating to inter-caste relations (including physical contact)". Therefore, the structural aspect of caste is explained by accepting it as a general principle of stratification; and caste as a cultural system is understood in terms of prominence of ideas of purity- pollution, notion of hierarchy, and segregation. The structural view explains that stratification is a universal reality, and caste is therefore an aspect of this reality. The cultural view perceives caste as a distinct phenomenon found in Indian society in particular. M. S. Subedi holds that Western comparative social theorists have generally placed caste system not in a unique religious ideological category or cultural system but in matters of social differentiation. Among the anthropologists studying caste in India, there exist different theoretical approaches, including those (Berreman 1967 and 1979, Bailey, 1957 Beteille 1965) who regard it as an extreme form of social stratification, comparable with other types of stratification and forms of inequality based on social classes, wealth or political party (power). To know about

the continuity and change in caste system we need to focus on its different dimensions like social, cultural, political, economic and ritual (religious) aspects which have been studied by Indologists, Social Anthropologists and Sociologists. Hence, a review of relevant literature is given here.

Social aspect of caste system

Ghanshyam Shah et. al (2006) are of the opinion that as the caste system divides society into closed, hereditary groups, ranked by ritual status. Castes are hereditary groups because membership is decided by birth alone and they are closed because inter-caste marriage and often food sharing among different castes are prohibited. They also argue that caste as a social-cultural system encompasses each and every aspect of social life because it is an interrelated structure in which each part or caste is linked to all the other parts or castes. For example, Brahmins are linked in a reciprocal ways with others castes for exchange of goods and services in the system of Jajmani relations.

B. R. Ambedkar (1917) in his writing 'Castes in India: Their mechanism, genesis and development', observes that the superimposition of endogamy over exogamy is the main cause of formation of caste groups. Regarding endogamy, he states that customs of sati, enforced widowhood for life and child marriage are outcome of endogamy. To Ambedkar sub-division of a society is a natural phenomenon and these groups become castes through excommunication and imitation. Further, in his writing 'Annihilation of caste,' Ambedkar (1936) is of the opinion that in India caste system can be abolished only after practicing inter-caste marriages. In this work he observes that the reformers of high caste Hindus were enlightened intellectuals who confined their activities to abolish the enforced widowhood, child marriage etc, but they did not feel the necessity for agitating for the abolition of castes nor did they have courage to agitate against it. He calls upon Hindus to annihilate the caste which is a great hindrance to social solidarity and to set up new social order based on the ideals of liberty equality and fraternity in consonance with the principles of democracy. He stresses that belief in the Shastras is the root cause of maintaining castes. He therefore suggested, "Make every man and women free from thralldom of the shastras, cleanse their minds of pernicious notions founded on the sastras and he or she will interdine and inter marry."

I.P. Desai (1954) argues that there are two forces against the persistence of caste system in India, the first is joint family system which provides security for its members and second is arranged marriage (endogamy) which perpetuates caste system in India.

K. M. Kapadia (1962) in his paper 'Caste in transition,' highlights two main features of the caste system (out of six given by G.S. Ghurye), namely: (1) restrictions on feeding and social intercourse and (2) restrictions on marriage in Hinduism. He observes that even in rural areas interdinning where members of all caste including dalits set together in a row is not unknown today. At the same time, there is evidence to indicate that these inhibitions are not completely uprooted psychologically even in urban areas. He cited B.V.Shah's study of Baroda with the sample size of 250 students of college to know their mindset regarding interdinning, study by Kuppaswami's in Madras, M. Cormack's study of Delhi city. Finally, he concluded that there is increasing acceptance of commensality relations amongst all sections of society. In the second analysis of restrictions on marriage he cited the study of Kannan's and his own study in Gujrat state and stated that whatever people may say about caste, there is yet acceptance of caste inhibitions in the fields of marriage. However, it cannot be, in his view, said that there is social acceptance of inter-caste marriage as the caste groups have begun to entrench themselves by adjusting themselves to the demands of the time.

Harold Gould (1987) in his book 'Hindu Caste System,' mentions that now caste groups are working as interest group for their own caste in caste panchayats in some western region of Uttar Pradesh. He also says that the Hindu castes are more endogamous and more ritualistic in its socio-cultural spheres.

The Hindustan Times (2018) in its editorial column, noted the existence of privilege and disability associated with different caste groups in contemporary Indian society. It observed that exploitative nature of caste system in Indian society where castes are stratified based on social and cultural setting, restricts the peoples from lower castes or from the dalit category to assimilate with the cultural practices and life style of the upper castes as reflected in Gujrat where the upper castes Rajput men assaulted dalit youth for sporting moustaches and the latter agitated against it. It quoted, "the anger stems from an assault on a group of

dalit youth near Gandhinagar by Rajput men for sporting moustaches. The assailants said keeping the strip of male hair above the upper lip (moustache) is a privilege reserved for the upper caste community, especially for Kshatriya, not for the other castes.”

Religious aspect of caste system

G.S.Ghurye (1961) in his book “Caste Class and Occupation,” observes that in spite of tremendous changes in the features of caste system caste still is continuing in its ritualistic form. He talks about marriage in terms of endogamy. Although there has been resilience in the practice of ‘pratilom vivah’ but it is even among secular and educated people. On funeral occasion where the family members perform each and every activity as instructed by Purans and Upanishads and by Purohitas in India.

Harold Gould (1974) in his study of the “Rickshawallahs of Lucknow,” observed that the rickshawpullers, whom he studied, belonged to different castes. The twice-born castes, while working, interacted with each other without observing any caste restrictions. However, when these rickshawpullers went back to their homes in the evening they practiced/observed all the ritual practices of their caste. Their kins belonged to their own caste and they married within their own caste

N. Jayaram (1996) deals with the relationship between caste system and Hinduism. He notes two major socio-political development in the recent past. The first was the abrupt decision of the national front government in August 1990 to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission in regards to the reservation of jobs in favor of the OBC and, second, the launching of project by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in November 1989 to build a temple at the disputed site in Ayodhya claimed to be the birth place of Lord Ram. Both the issues have been reinforcing caste consciousness among people and escalating casteism i.e. strengthening caste system in India in its religious and cultural domains. Jayaram has remarked that castes and caste system can survive on the basis of purity-impurity ideology in Hinduism.

N. B. Dirks (2002) suggests that it was under the British rule that caste became a single term capable of expressing, organizing and above all systematizing India’s diverse forms of social

identity, community and organization. In short, colonialism made caste what it is today. Dirks says that when thinking of India it is hard not to think of caste. Caste has been seen as omnipresent in Indian history. Caste defines the core of Indian tradition and it is seen today as the major threat to Indian modernity. If we are to understand India properly and by implication if we are to understand India's other core symbol Hinduism, we must understand caste whether we admire or revile it. He also mentioned that in Hindu caste system the institution of marriage in the terms of caste endogamy and clan exogamy can be seen in Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh for the maintenance of caste identity in terms of purity and pollution.

Cultural aspect of caste system

M.N. Shrinivas (1972) talks about three main concepts to explain the people or communities in India for the changes in structure and functions of the caste system. First is the process of sanskritization by which a low caste or other groups takes over the customs, ritual, belief, ideology or style of life of a high and particularly dwija caste. The sanskritization of a group has usually the effect of improving its position in the local caste hierarchy. But the changes in caste are not structural and only cultural, positional or horizontal mobility takes place. Second, the process of westernization during the rule of British Empire also altered the caste system which was rigid. Further, Srinivas holds that the status of dominant caste (which includes numerical caste strength, land possessions, high positions in hierarchy) has been shifted to lower caste because of several factors. The introduction of adult franchise and panchayati raj institutions, western education, jobs in administration and the benefits of reservation of seats in different institutions have resulted in changes in traditional caste system. Srinivas also mentioned other factors besides these changes like the building of a network of roads, the modern country-wide bureaucracy, creation and the establishment of uniform legal system, the introduction of tenurial reforms, the opening up of plantation of such crops, tea, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and indigo. The development of towns and cities laid the basis for the eventual economic development of the country. The establishment of schools and colleges for imparting modern education, European missionary attack on Hinduism, the new ideology of liberty and equality have led to changes in the caste system in whole of the rural and urban India.

Y. Singh (1977) has analyzed the Indian social system on the basis of stratification and theorized caste system in two ways- caste as structural unit of social stratification as well as a cultural system. It is held that being a structural reality caste would disappear when society in India evolves to a higher level of industrialization. The analysis of caste as a cultural system is based on autonomous principle of stratification the basis of which are institutionalized inequality, closer to social system in respect of social mobility and elementary division of labor, legitimized on ritual basis of a reciprocity and emphasis on quality (ritual purity are racial purity) rather than performance. In the writings of Y. Singh, we find four types of view points for the analysis of caste system. These are (1) cultural universalistic (2) cultural particularistic (3) structural universalistic (4) and structural particularistic.

Y. Singh (1986) talks about two types of structural change. One is the change in macro-structure, such as, by the process of industrialization, politicization, bureaucratization and urbanization etc. On the other hand, the changes in micro-social structure include changes in the caste, kinship, family etc. He distinguished caste and varna in its existential and theoretical process. He argued that theoretically caste system is rooted in the varna division of society, i.e., into four caste categories. He states that varna model of cast system is macro structural in nature but the reality of caste lies at the existential level and not the ideal typical level which the varna theory postulated. At the existential level there does not exist a single varna (caste) with an all Indian structural network of kinship, occupational specialization and community of social interaction. Adopting cultural perspective on caste, Singh concentrates on how caste and sub-caste in different regional settings maintain or deviate from, first, their traditionally established pattern of activity and, secondly, in respect to interaction with other castes. The first case would be of a caste which has given up its traditionally occupation and disassociated itself from traditional occupational obligations, for example, jajmani system in india. The second category of change would include the processes of industrialization which threaten to break down the established pattern of inter-caste relationships such as inter-caste marriage however rare but changing and in future may be possible significantly but now it continues so in structural and in functional it is changing.

Y. Atal (2008) observes that in northern parts of India, the ideology and values embedded in Hinduism can be witnessed in the daily life routine of the people. The ideology embedded in Hinduism which is a unique feature of Indian society, people follow these rules while interacting with other castes. He mentions that in its cultural sphere caste system persists by the adaptation of caste with regard to its sanskritization and westernization process by the lower castes in India. He mentioned that while a particular caste change their diet, style of life or ritual and adapt to others way of life slowly and gradually they fall in others caste category in hierarchy. So in this way caste's persistence keeps on its natural way.

S. R. Choudhary (2012) in his writing on changing attitudes regarding the indian caste system, argues that the caste as a system of social stratification in Indian context now operates as class in modern public spheres. He replaces caste as a class model for stratification. He has analyzed the field studies in sociology and social anthropology based on Delhi, Bangadore, and mentions that one study shows that college students have adopted more liberal way of thinking that have diminished the importance of ancient caste system in their eyes. Another study shows how the effects of globalization has changed the mind sets of young people in upper class in New Delhi showing a drastic departure from the views of the older generation concerning the issues such as marriage and religion. In conclusion, he maintains that the force of liberalization in the sense of liberalism and globalization has been at play as western influences serve to weaken the status quo. Nevertheless despite such changes inequality, poverty and discrimination are still the reality among women at the bottom of social order. Unfortunately even as caste distinctions disappears problems pertaining to class inequality still remains.

Y. Singh (2014) in article on modernization and its contradictions, talks about the structural changes in traditional caste institution. He observes that not only in cities but also in villages across India, most castes now no longer pursue the traditional ascribed occupations for which they were known. Caste has with the exception of the rules of endogamy lost most of its traditional attributes. The politicization of castes has however not minimized but increased the usage of castes as an electoral vote bank by political parties all over india. So, it forms the paradox of Indian democracy which on the one hand celebrate civil principle and on the other hand get increasingly embedded into caste institutions.

Economic aspect of caste system

F.G. Bailey (1957) in a village study conducted in an Orriya village Bishipara, witnessed changes due to the coming of land into the market as a result of certain economic sources and for the progressing development projects. He found that now the village economy is not confined to its agricultural output and land alone, people are participating in commercial economy such as daily wages, hired-labor in factory and industry. So, the traditional jajmani system which was a hereditary patron client relationship has been changed under the progressive extension of the economic forces set by the British rule. Bailey noted that the change in political atmosphere under the British disturbed the traditional caste hierarchy and the power structure of the village. However, he also maintains that although there was an internal reshuffle of positions the caste system continued to be the order. Political relations between the groups concerned reflect their economic status. Thus, in this sense in spite of the tremendous changes that caste has undergone it continued to exist. He also mentions that the way in which we can see the continuity of caste is that when the new forces of socio economic political, cultural and educational changes come it was the already powerful wealthy upper caste such as Brahmins, Rajputs and the Vaishya who benefitted initially from those changes. The Brahmin section responded to English education and therefore benefitted from political and administrative power. The same pattern is visible in commercial sector too.

B. S. Cohn (1959) in a village study conducted in Madhopur in eastern Uttar Pradesh, talks about the changes in Noniyas, a dalit caste, who traditionally engaged in salt making and leather shoes making occupation, but with abolition of zamindari system and ceiling Act and with the introduction of universal adult franchise they have uplifted their ascribed status and with the process of sanskratization they have left their traditional hereditary occupation and slowly and gradually they internalized the culture of traditionally dominant Thakurs (Rajpoots). So, in this way their vertical mobility concerning occupation has been changed from lower occupation to upper caste kshatriya occupation as warriors and fight for security.

K. L. Sharma (1980) has written an essay on social stratification and suggested class point of view of caste and a caste point of view of class to understand social stratification in India.

Also, he explains the mobility of caste from upward to downward and downward to upward of the dominant castes (zamindars) and peasant castes respectively in the terms of bougeoisification and proletarianization. He says that the proletariat zamindars have come down to the level of the proletariat agricultural and manual laborers but at the same time their position has been filled up by the upper and middle level peasants who were most benefitted as a result of the initial land reforms in early 1950s. He is of the opinion that the land reform since 1950s, the social safeguards provided to different sections of the society particularly marginalized sections and the universal adult franchise have altered the caste system which is structural in Indian society.

Sachchidanand (1988) is of the opinion that the economic frontier of caste is constantly expanding. This has led to fierce competition between different caste groups. He says the democratic system of government, adults franchise and panchaytiraaj has brought political consciousness to all the castes. The castes which were lowly and had in the past never enjoyed political power are now contesting for it. He also tested the concept of dominant caste given by M. N. Srinivas that is based on four important elements such as numerical strength, economic and political power, ritual status and western education and traditional occupation and found that the numerical strength does not necessarily make the caste dominance because each section is usually divided into privileged and under privileged. The second element i.e. economic and political power that was traditional, now with the introduction of permanent settlement of land and panchayati raj institutions has replaced it. The third element i.e. the ritual status had gone down and the fourth element progression of western education is conferring prestige on some person but not qualifying for the dominance in Bihar's village.

M. N. Panini (1996) in his article 'political economy of caste', highlights that in the complex political economy of modern india caste continues to provide a support base for members, a fact which is particularly important for upwardly mobile villagers who seek salaried jobs in the urban bureaucracy, industry, firms and offices in modern liberalized economy. He notes that in India the impact of liberalization, privatization and globalization will affect service sector and government jobs. The unprivileged section which is benefitted by the reservation quota now will be proven meaningless. So the articulation of kin, caste, and patron client

ties are crucial to special and social mobility. In his view, the membership of a caste implies that a person becomes part of a person based social network which controls the insiders. In the context of development in the country since independence the regime of economic control (intrinsic to socialism and centralized planning) has contributed to the strengthening of caste ties by encouraging albeit indirectly the growth of unrecognized sector.

K. N. Sharma (ed.) (2004) deals with occupational mobility of caste in Uttar Pradesh. He had done field work in the village Gamras, 10 km distance from Kanpur city, which is the most industrial and commercial sector in the state of Uttar Pradesh, he argues that the traditional jajmani system with the changes in modern times such as increasing governmental activities, commerce and contacts with cities have created a supply of and demand for new goods and services. New occupations have emerged which disturb the old occupational structure and also the association between occupation and caste. He finds following points to make clear changes in the caste system: (1) The uncertainty of income in their occupation has been created for those who are engaged or practice their traditional or hereditary caste based occupation. (2) Due to abolition of Zamindari system traditional land owners have lost their surplus land and they are now searching new types of employment for their survival. Now with structural changes of the functions of caste system in terms of urbanization, industrialization and new economy based activity in its micro- structural setting has transformed caste system in its economy or occupational mobility of caste.

R. Deshpande and S. Palshikar (2008) talk about occupational mobility with respect to caste. They observe intergenerational occupational changes in caste system due to the resources, opportunities, power structure and the affirmative action. They hold that in the coming of capitalist growing age based on market economy caste will disappear in future. However, they also maintain that the upper and lower castes are benefitting more in comparison to middle castes in Pune district.

Swapnil Singh (2013) in his article on 'Caste system: continuities and changes', focuses on the caste and its economic aspect and explains that the complete change in functional aspect of jajmani system has been due to shift to cash based economy, but there is structural continuity in caste system like affirmative plans and reservation policy attracted different

unprivileged sections of the society to enroll them into OBC, SC, ST. So, caste continuity and change can be witnessed in its structural and functional aspect.

K. L. Sharma (1994) in his book “Social Stratification and Mobility”, talks about changes occurring in the caste system. He says that in recent years caste identity or caste membership has become a liability for the members of the upper and middle castes because a certain percentage of jobs, seats in parliament, state legislatures and admissions in the institutions of higher learning have been reserved for the weaker sections of the society. He further explains that the safeguards and policies based on protective discrimination led to means of identity for castes at the micro level.

Ajeet Kumar Singh (2011) has analyzed, in his article “Why Jat reservation”, the basic causes of Jats mobilization on the issue of reservation in government jobs and admission in educational institutions in the western parts of the India and particularly in Uttar Pradesh. In his article, he is of the opinion that the recent protest by the Jats in western Uttar Pradesh asking for OBC classification and reservation in government jobs is driven by the extended government neglect of their backwardness. The protest for reservation via disruption of train, road traffic and the destructions of public property are encouraged by the delayed and unresponsive approach of the government.

Political aspect of caste system

In his book, A. Beteille (1965) had extensively analysed the social structure of Shripuram village in Tanjore district. He discussed first the traditional physical structure of Shripuram, then its caste structure which was divided into three categories on the basis of geographical situations, namely, ‘agraharam, constituting brahmins, ‘kudiana’ constituting non-brahmins and ‘cheri’ referring to Adi-dravida. Then he explained the traditional occupational structure of Shripuram in third chapter on the basis of its jajmani system and its feudal social structure which was prevalent at that time. Chapter fourth dealt with the dominance of caste in Shripuram on the basis of varna system and its power dominance on others. The concluding chapter deliberated upon the changes in caste system, class system and power system of Shripuram which was occurring due to the abolition of zamindari, adult franchise, economic reforms, green revolution, and the introduction of panchayati raj institution. He found that

traditional landless castes (economically poor sections) were searching for new identity and replacing the dominance of traditionally powerful section in their local system. The dominant castes which were traditionally powerful were shifting to occupations of modern demand and supply nature. The socially unprivileged castes were coming to political sphere to increase their share in local governmental activity and whole social structure. Beteille noticed that the divergence between hierarchy of caste and that of class system have were undergoing modifications, like caste under the influence of westernization and secularization and class under the influence of extension of cash economy and because of land having come into the market. In sum, the process of economic changes (spread of monetization) and political modernization had led the productive system and the organization of power to acquire an increasing degree of autonomy.

R. Kothari (ed.) (1970) is of the opinion that politics is a competitive enterprise, its purpose is the acquisition of the power for the realization of certain goals and its process is one of identifying and manipulating existing and emerging allegiance in order to mobilize and consolidate positions. The important thing is organization and articulation of support where politics is mass based. The point is to articulate support through the organizations in which the masses are to be found. It follows that where the caste structure provides principal organizational clusters along which the bulk of the population is found to live, politics must strive to organize through such a structure. In his view, alleged casteism in politics is thus no more and no less than politicization of caste. It is something in which both the forms of castes and the forms of politics are brought nearer to each other in the process of changing both. By drawing the caste system into its wave of organization, politics finds material for its articulation and molds it into its own design. In making politics their sphere of activity caste and kin groups on the other hand get a chance to assert their identity and identity in order to organize their power. They find in it an extremely well-articulated and flexible basis for organization, something that has been structured in terms of a status hierarchy, but something that is also available for political manipulation. So, in the opinion of Kothari, castes are assuming new function like influencing politics and their role in political dynamics is slowly and gradually increasing. It is almost playing the role of an effective interest or pressure group at various levels of the decision making apparatus.

R. Kothari (1970) has examined the relationships between caste and politics as basically a relationship for the specific purpose of organizing public activity. He sees caste as a stratification system in which distances are rigidly maintained through endogamy, pollution and the legitimacy of rituals. Caste as a system has elements of conflicts and interaction. The fact is that factionalism and caste cleavages, pattern of alignment and realignment among the various strata, and a continuous striving for social mobility have always been prominent features of the caste system.

D. Gupta (2000) discusses the relationship between caste arithmetics and politics. He notes the general argument that political outcomes can be determined to a fair degree by caste composition of electoral constituencies. This falls quite in line with the overall assumption that people are generally bound by their caste loyalties. So why should politics be any different. He says that there are periods when dominance in politics by caste success is like a near truism (as during 1996 elections) but again, there are times when caste does not seem to play that influential role. Even so in many considered works on the subjects of caste and politics it is assumed that political fortunes depend primarily on the caste composition of the individual constituencies. There are indeed several problems with such perspective. His scrutiny of election results reveals quite easily that political parties are rarely able to hold on their seats over successive elections. He finds that a BJP stronghold today might well be stormed by the Congress or by the SP in the next election. This is also true of the parties that are supposedly based on caste loyalties in a more overt fashion. The SP is said to be the vehicle of the newly emergent peasant castes such as the Ahirs or Yadavs. Yet it is not easy to predict its electoral fortunes. His illustrations demonstrate that the electoral outcomes in India cannot be pre-determined on the basis of caste based parties and therefore the role of caste in politics should also be cautiously understated.

Z. Hasan (2002), in the book 'Parties and Party Politics in India', highlights the emergence of BSP early stage of 1990s under the leadership of Miss Mayawati with focus on the participation of lower social order from poor and illiterate section. Hasan focuses on the relation between the two transformations: first is the upsurge in participation of hitherto marginalized groups and the second is that increasing dependencies of political parties on ethnic appeals to facilitate participation. She finds that the main social conflict in Uttar

Pradesh apparent since 1977 was between the upper castes represented by the congress whose strategy was based on the hegemony of vertically aggregated the interest of different sections of the society. But the formation of BAMSEF in 1978 eventually formed BSP in 1984. The Mandal Commission proposed by the Janta Party in 1979 implemented for the benefits for the OBC's polarized the SC in 1993 and 1996 to form the government in Uttar Pradesh with alliance of Samajwadi party and BJP respectively.

S. Pai (2002) mentions three major attempts by Dalits to improve their social status and increase their share in political power in Uttar Pradesh. The first was in the late colonial period when the Chamar, Jatav of Agra Aligarh Meerut and a few districts under the influence of Ambedkar renounced Gandhian idols. Earlier they had made attempts to rise in the caste hierarchy by sanskritization. In this phase using the identity of scheduled caste they tried to capture political power through the newly formed party – the Scheduled Caste Federation of India. But they failed because neither their newly assumed self identity nor their ideology or strategy of mobilisation was sufficiently distinct from that of the Congress. This led to their defeat in 1946 election. Second the formation of ambedkarized Republican Party of Party in 1956 in western Uttar Pradesh was another landmark in the dalit movement which after a brief span of success again experienced similar problems and was absorbed by Congress parties in 1960s by adopting a radical image and populist policies such as 'garibi hatao' and twenty points program in 1971 in Lok Sabha election. The emergence of BSP in 1980's constitutes the third phase in this ongoing process of dalit assertion in the state. During this phase thw BSP has not been able to fully harness the strong wave of assertion because it was more interested in capturing political power rather than grassroots mobilisation for social transformation. So, Dalit assertion and the unfinished democratic revolution signifies that the dalit assertion from the initial to now with democratic revolution in the society and polity of Uttar Pradesh starts with a struggle for equal status with upper and middle castes. Especially, ending of untouchability, caste atrocities, ill-treatment in short equality in all aspects of social interaction through the democratic revolution.

P. Kolenda (2003) holds that caste system is primarily a rural socio-economic political system. He mentions six important changes that have taken place since independence and have a substantial impact on rural local caste system in india. (1) The establishment of

universal adult franchise. (2) The legal outline of untouchability and enactment of legislation protective discrimination. (3) The great increase in the productivity of grains especially wheat. (4) The expansion of educational facilities and the multiplication of people attending schools and colleges. (5) The increase in white collar jobs such as teachers governments jobs, people in business. (6) The tremendous expansion of the infrastructure of indian society such as buses, roads, railways, electrification, hydraulic power etc. So, on this basis Kolenda observes that there has been a complete shift in jajmani system. The new dominant caste is increasing in its class form. The practice of inter-caste marriages is increasing but the rate is minimal. The rural purity and pollution ideology are declining with the contact of secularization, modernization and liberalization. Caste in Hinduism in its political and cultural forms is strengthening. New castes based blocks are emerging for the benefits of their share in political, economic and cultural spheres. Castes are taking class form, i.e., changing from homogeneous group to heterogeneous. Each caste now is searching its identity in political sphere.

A. K.Verma (2005) discusses the backward caste mobilization since independence where he sees a three dimensional movement of backward castes in the political sphere of India. They have moved horizontally leading to better integration among various subaltern castes and moved downward to establish a hold over grassroot political insittutions and processes. And they have also moved upward to play a legitimate share in different parties in different states. Ram Manohar Lohia, Kashi Ram and Chaundhary Charan Singh mobilized the backward castes and advocated for 60% reservations for minorities, SC, ST, OBC in government services. Kashiram mobilized the entire backward caste through a movement in 1970 which culminated in the formation of the all-India BAMSEF. Charan Singh mobilized the middle castes especially the Jats and Yadavs in the laste 1960s in western districts of Uttar Pradesh. After this the appointment of Mandal Commission 1979 by the Janta Party government and the implementation of its report by V.P. Singh's Janta Dal government in 1989 accomplished twin objectives of mobilization and empowerment of the backwards.

A. Beteille (2012) notes that caste has stayed in public discourse. The Emergency of 1975-77 and its aftermath were the turning point in the public acknowledgment of the continuing significance of caste. It began to be argued that far from being antithetical to democracy

caste has an essential part to play in the advancement of the democracy in India. In course of time the media took up the argument for the salience of caste in Indian society and this has now become almost a part of the conventional wisdom. Beteille observes that many features of the caste including the rules relating to purity and pollution have weakened. The regulation of marriage according to rules of caste has become less stringent and the relation between caste and occupation were becoming more flexible. He asserts that although there are so many changes in caste, but in Indian democracy and politics it is still continuing.

S. S. Jodhka (2012) observes that since 1950`s the process of economic growth and institutionalization of democratic politics has transformed every aspect of Indian society, including the institution of caste. However the reality of caste has certainly not disappeared. Though in some cases caste groups have horizontally consolidated themselves into caste associations and political formation the elements of hierarchy and inequality continued to be produced even today in many different ways. In his book “Caste” Jodhka mentions that in spite of tremendous changes in social system caste still continued on the basis of caste as a tradition in Hinduism. In this perspective caste is a distinctive feature of Indian civilization .Though the notion of hierarchy and inequality were the core features of caste, it is all above a cultural reality. It is fundamentally different from the concept of the category of class, a feature of western societies where inequality obligated from the realities of economic and political life. According to him, as an Indian or Hindu tradition caste was a tradition of status hierarchies that worked independently of the material world of power and economic relation. He notes that the studies conducted during the 1950s-60s show that caste was the dimension of power (Beteille and Shrinivas). These studies indicate that the ground realities of caste vary from region to region. Invariably Brahmins enjoyed high status only in region where they were land owners and had been close to the regimes of power. There used to be no dissonance between power and status. In some regions, such as Punjab Brahmins were considered dispensable but the institution of caste remained strong. Finally, Jodhka holds that because of its uses in democratic politics or because of the caste based quotas, caste persists in contemporary India.

C.S.D.S. (2015) In case of Uttar Pradesh Shikhar Singh (2015) highlights casteism in political sphere in terms of its voting behavior in favor of one’s own caste group. He argues

that with the collapse of insulated local economy brought about by abolition of zamindari rights, land distribution and economic integration there was democratization in which many backward castes formed political association or party to promote their interests to secure greater benefits from the state. He also mentions that as a result of the implementation of Mandal recommendation a large number of backward castes emerged as a salient feature of Indian politics. So, in this way caste system is strengthening in its structural and political sphere.

According to H. Biraj (2015) there are so many determinants that affect voting behavior in India but caste has its own effect particularly in some of the states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It has deep root in the society and constitutes an important basis of social relations at all levels. Despite the adoption of several provisions which prohibit action and discrimination, caste continued to be a determinant of political behaviours. Politicization of caste and casteism in politics has been a well-known reality of the Indian political system. Political parties in India without any exception while formulating policies, programs and action strategies always keeps in mind the caste factor. Caste is a factor in the selection of candidates for contesting an election from a constituency. Votes are demanded in the name of caste 'jat ki vote jat ko' 'Brahmins vote vs Jat vote' or 'Jat vote vs Ahir vote' etc. are commonly used principle for planning an election strategy. Morris Janes states that politics is more important to caste and caste is more important to politics than before.

Thus, literature review relating to continuity and change in caste system show that there are two views. The first is that caste system is fast changing in its economic and occupational spheres and second that in social and ritualistic sphere it is strengthening. The jajmani system has vanished due to commercialization of agriculture economy and market based pricing of services. Additionally, a variety of forces have disrupted the link between caste and occupation towards traditional tenants. Land reform has transformed landholding and land ownership has shifted to many share croppers most of whom belong to the middle castes. Declining incomes of artisans such as potters, weavers, and others now have forced them to engage in manual labour for subsistence. Increasing education has led to influx of people from a variety of castes into modern occupations. All these trends suggest that the link between caste and occupation in modern India is marginal. However, social and

ritualistic aspects of caste system largely continue to determine the rank position of castes to select groom and bride to maintain arranged marriage in terms of endogamy and observance of ritual practices performed by Brahmins now as earlier. In the political sphere the provision of affirmative action, the politics of caste based quotas, and universal adult franchise seem to have enhanced lower caste strengthening. Some socially, economically, and culturally backward caste groups are raising demands in different parts of country for reservation quotas and other central and state governments programmes which provide benefits to different marginalized sections of society. They want to be included in the categories of OBCs, SCs, and STs. Currently certain traditional dominant castes (like Jats and Marathas) are protesting and demanding reservation in jobs and admission in education in some parts of the country. This is an entirely new trend which needs to be understood properly.

Objectives of the study

An objective is very important for research study as it makes the research meaningful and predictable. The present study set three objectives which include –

- i. To know the nature of continuity and change in the socio-cultural features of the caste system;
- ii. To examine the nature of continuity and change in the structural (economic and political) features of the caste system; and
- iii. To understand the factors and processes that are responsible for continuity and change in the caste system.

Hypotheses of the study

Hypothesis is a type of guess work or assumption which a researcher used to establish relationship between different variables. Hypothesis remains tentative unless it is substantiated by facts. In the words of Goode and Hatt, "It is a proposition which can be put to a test to determine its validity. It may seem contrary to, or in accordance with, common sense." The hypotheses of the present study are:

- i. Socio-cultural features of caste system have higher degree of continuity than its economic and political features;
- ii. The congruence between social (caste) status and economic status has declined less than congruence between caste (social) status and political status; and
- iii. Several factors and processes have been responsible for continuity and change in the caste system.

Methodology of the study

Broadly speaking, research methodology refers to the design of research involving approach and methods used in a piece of research to obtain valid and reliable results that meet the research objectives. The methodology of the present research work is given below.

Theoretical approach: The theoretical approach adopted in the present study is the Weberian trichotomous linked schema of caste, class and power referring to the socio-cultural, economic and political dimensions of the caste system. The study makes an attempt to find out the continuity and change in the relation among the socio-cultural, economic and political dimensions of the caste system with an emphasis on developments in the recent decades in the country.

Research Design: Descriptive and Diagnostic research design is followed in the present research. Descriptive research design aims to accurately and systematically describe phenomenon. It helps to answer what, where and how questions but not why questions. Descriptive research design is an appropriate choice when the research aims is to identify characteristics, frequencies, trends and categories, whereas diagnostic research design refers to scientific differentiation among various conditions phenomena for the purpose of accurately classifying these conditions. Besides descriptive research design, I have used diagnostic research design also to know factors responsible for continuity and change in the caste system.

Universe of the study: The whole population, out of which the samples are selected, is known as "universe". It refers to the area in which the research study is conducted. In the present study the universe includes two villages namely, Bhainsi and Jandheri which are selected purposively: one (Bhainsi) consisting of large population of upper castes and other (Jandheri) having numerical preponderance of lower castes. These randomly selected two multi-caste villages are located in Khatauli tahsil of Muzaffar Nagar district in Uttar Pradesh. Muzaffar Nagar is located on the western border of the state. The district is situated in the doab of the Ganga and the Yamuna rivers between the districts of Saharanpur on the north and Meerut and Bhagpat on the south. On the west the Yamuna separates it from district Karnal of Haryana state, and on the east the Ganga forms the boundary between these districts. The district at present comes under the Saharanpur division lying between north latitude 29° 11' and 29° 43' and east longitude 77° 04' and 78° 07'. Its extreme length from east to west is about 98 kms while the extreme breadth from north to south is about 58 kms. The average length and breadth are 84 kms and 50 kms respectively. The height of the district from the sea level is 273 metres. The area of the district is 4008 sq km (District Directory, Muzaffar Nagar district, 2011). Further there were certain considerations in selecting Bhainsi and Jandheri villages as universe of the present study. It may be noted that the present study is related to examining continuity and change in the caste system in the context of only two villages in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It is limited to only two villages mainly due to resource constraints of the researcher in terms of available time, money, etc. The study villages were selected from Muzaffar Nagar district of Uttar Pradesh because in the recent years this district has witnessed movements by the Jats, a traditionally dominant caste, demanding reservation in jobs and in admissions in educational institutions. It was thought that there must be some special reasons causing such a movement by a traditionally dominant caste, who has not demanded reservation earlier on the basis of caste. So, two different types of multi-caste villages were selected- one having numerical preponderance of upper caste (Bhainsi), and other (Jandheri) having larger population of lower caste (i.e. SCs), Bhainsi having more influence of Jat members for reservations and Jandheri having very little influence of the Jats movements. Both villages are located in the same region though they are 12 km apart from each other.

Sample of the study: I have used purposive sampling approach in my study. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling which is applied by a researcher to select sample size to save time and money. In this study, the sample size is 150 households each from the selected two villages i.e. total 300 households. I have taken 50 households each (respondents) from upper, middle and lower castes from each of the selected villages.

Strategy of research: There are two major strategies of research- quantitative and qualitative. The present study uses mixed method approach which combines both quantitative and qualitative strategies of research. It involves use of both numeric (quantitative) and textual/narrative (qualitative) data for getting a better understanding of the subject of study.

Tools of data collection and sources of data: Tools of data collection refer to the technique used by a researcher to collect data. Data collection is a very important part of the entire research process, so it is quite significant to select an appropriate set of tools from among various tools of data collection. In the present study both Questionnaire (Interview schedule) and Interview guide have been used for data collection. Data collected through using these tools form primary source. Secondary sources include relevant books, research articles in journals, newspaper reports, government documents, etc. Once the tools of data collection were finalized, the researcher obtained an authentication letter from the Head of the Department in the university and used it to introduce himself with the respondents in the field. The study area was visited three times to build proper rapport and once it was established with the respondents the data collection went on smoothly. Overall data collection from the respondents of villages Bhainsi and Jandheri proved to be easy. In both villages some educated persons cooperated a lot to give their support in data collection. The researcher used to stay in nearby places in order to reach the study villages in time according to their convenience. In certain cases researcher used to stay back in the field area till late night and also used to revisit the sample houses two to three times in order to complete the interviews. Necessary care was taken to get quality data to ensure that no questions were left unanswered. Whenever difficulty was found on the part of the respondents, their doubts were cleared by the researcher. In order to

maintain accuracy, error checking of data was done. The fieldwork was completed in the selected villages from August 2019 to December 2019.

Analysis and interpretation of data: The term analysis refers to computation of certain measures along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups. It is the ordering of data into consistent parts in order to obtain answers to research questions. In the present study also the data is analyzed with a view to draw required conclusions. The data have been interpreted and analysed with the help of tables and figures. SPSS 22 version software was used for data analysis.

Village-wise Social Profile of the Respondents

A brief profile of the two selected villages is given hereto have a broad understanding of the context of the study. It covers the social profile of the selected respondents of the study. two selected villages of the study are Bhainsi and Jandheri. They are located in Muzaffar Nagar district of Uttar Pradesh

Bhainsi is a large and multi-caste village with total 1342 families residing there. The village has total population of 7925 of which 4238 are males while 3687 are females as per Population Census 2011. Approximately 70% of the whole village population is from general and OBC castes, 30% is from Schedule caste. Bhainsi is a multi-caste village in Khatauli tahsil in Muzaffarnagar district of Uttar Pradesh. It is a renowned village of Ahlawat Khap. Bhainsi was named on the famous Jat veteran of Ahlawat clan Choudhary Bhay Singh, who belong to the royal family of Deeghal (Jhajjar). The dominant castes in the village are Brahmin and Jat. The other castes residing in the village are Kashyap, Gadariya, Dhobi, Saini, Badai, Chamar, Balmiki, Jatava, and minorities, viz. Muslims and Jains. In Bhainsi village population of children in age 0-6 is 1046 which makes up 13.20 % of total population of village. Average sex ratio of Bhainsi village is 870 which is lower than Uttar Pradesh state average of 912. Child sex ratio as per census is 816, i.e. lower than Uttar Pradesh average of 902. The village has higher literacy rate compared to Uttar Pradesh as a whole. In 2011, literacy rate of Bhainsi village was 75.59 % compared to 67.68 % of Uttar Pradesh. In Bhainsi male literacy stands at 84.71 % while female literacy rate was 65.22 %

(Population Census 2011).

The caste-wise detail of households and voters in Bhainsi village is given in Table 1.1. The Table shows that there are total 1342 households and 5677 voters in the village. The number of Brahmin households is highest (500) followed by OBC households (450) and SCs (270) households. Brahmins are the only upper caste people in the village. There are 14 OBC castes like Jats, Saini, Jogi, Badai, etc. There are four SC castes which include Dhobi, Jatav, Chamar and Balmiki. Among OBCs Jats constitutes the largest number with 150 households followed by Sainis (120 households). Among SCs Chamars have the largest number (120 households).

Table 1.1: Caste-wise households and voters in Bhainsi Village

Sr. no.	Category/Caste	No. of voters		No. of households	
		No.	%	No.	%
	General	2500	44.0	500	37.2
1.	Brahmin	2500	44.0	500	37.2
	OBC	2000	35.2	450	33.6
2.	Jat	600	10.6	150	11.1
3.	Saini	500	8.8	120	8.9
4.	Jogi	30	0.5	7	0.5
5.	Badai	15	0.3	4	0.3
6.	Gaderia	20	0.4	5	0.3
7.	Kumhar	300	5.3	90	6.7
8.	Dhiwar	100	1.7	30	2.2
9.	Nai	46	0.8	10	0.7
10.	Teli	50	0.8	12	0.8
11.	Dhunia	50	0.8	12	0.8
12.	Sunar	22	0.4	5	0.3
13.	Gosai	11	0.2	3	0.2
14.	Rangrej	100	1.7	23	2.1
15.	Julaha	130	2.3	25	2.2
	SC	1177	20.8	392	29.2
16.	Dhobi	3	0.05	1	0.01
17.	Jatava	400	7.0	80	6.0
18.	Chamar	374	6.9	241	18.1
19.	Balmiki	400	7.0	70	5.1
	Total	5677	100.0	1342	100.0

Source: (Field survey, 2019).

Jandheri village is also a multi-caste village, having total 2927 voters. 7.9 per cent of the whole population is from general caste, 44.4 per cent from OBC and 47.7 per cent from

schedule caste. Child (aged under 6 years) population of the village is 14% of the total population among them 49% are boys and 51% are girls. There are 630 households in the village. Jandheri village panchayat falls under both Khatauli tahsil and Jansath tahsil in Muzaffarnagar district of Uttar Pradesh. There are four wards in Jandheri village panchayat in which two wards come under Khatauli tahsil and rest two come under Jansath tahsil. More than half of the population of the village belongs to SC which include Balmiki (66 households) and Chamar (150 households), followed by Jatav and Dhobi. The other castes residing in the village are (upper caste) Brahmins (50 households) and OBCs like Jat, Kashyap, Gadariya, Dhobi, Saini, Badai, Julaha, Rangrej and minorities (Muslims). Numerically, the SC households are highest in the village (300 households). Followed by OBCs (280 households) and (upper caste) Brahmins (50 households). The details are given in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Caste-wise households and voters in Jandheri Village

Sr. no.	Category/Caste	No. of voters		No. of households	
	General	250	9.1	50	7.9
1.	Brahmin	250	9.1	50	7.9
	OBC	1100	40.3	280	44.4
2.	Jat	400	14.6	100	15.8
3.	Saini	400	14.6	105	16.6
4.	Jogi	20	0.7	5	0.8
5.	Badai	65	2.3	13	2.0
6.	Gaderia	15	0.5	4	0.7
7.	Kumhar	65	2.3	13	2.0
8.	Dhiwar	80	2.9	21	3.1
9.	Nai	20	0.7	6	0.9
10.	Teli	10	0.3	3	0.5
11.	Dhunia	10	0.3	3	0.5
12.	Rangrej	10	0.3	4	0.6
13.	Julaha	5	0.2	3	0.5
	SC	1379	50.6	300	47.7
14.	Dhobi	22	0.8	4	0.6
15.	Jatava	300	11.0	80	12.7
16.	Chamar	800	29.1	150	23.8
17.	Balmiki	257	9.1	66	10.4
	Total	2729	100.0	630	100.0

Source: (Field survey, 2019).

Village-wise respondents: It is evident from Table 1.3 and Figure 1.1 that total 300 respondents were selected for the study, in which 156 respondents are from village Bhainsi which is 52% of the total respondents and 144 respondents are from the village Jandheri which is 48% of total respondents. Hence, it is found that the number of respondents is slightly higher (52%) of total in village Bhainsi than the number of respondents (48%) in village Jandheri.

Table 1.3: Village-wise distribution of the total respondents

Sr. no.	Village	Respondents	
		No.	%
1.	Bhainsi	156	52.0
2.	Jandheri	144	48.0
Total		300	100.0

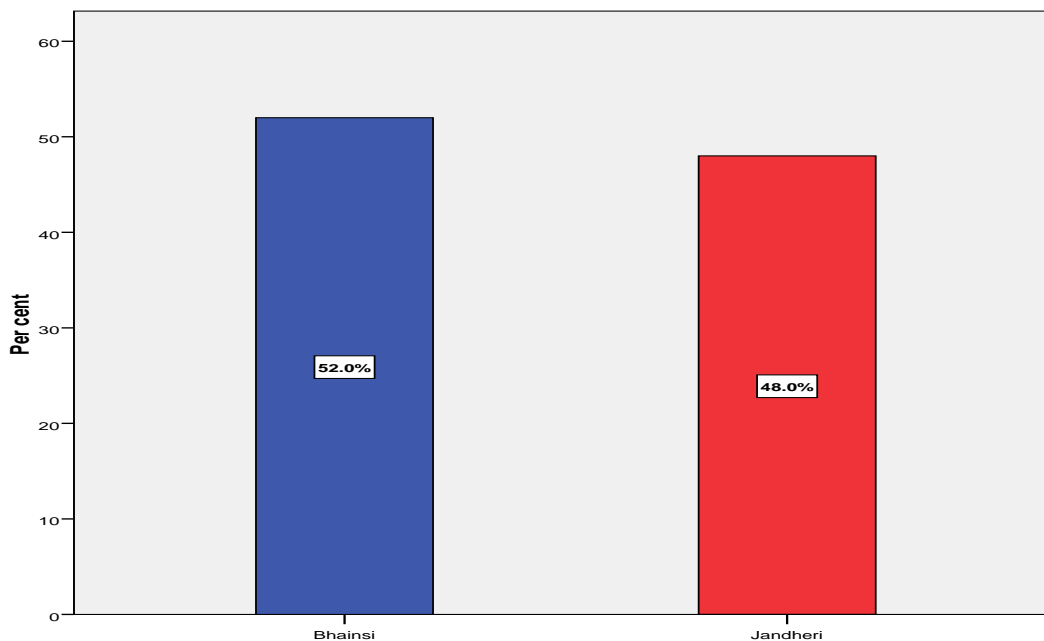


Figure 1.1: Village-wise total no. of the respondents

Family size: It is clear from Table 1.4 and Figure 1.2 that out of total 156 respondents from Bhainsi village 11 respondents (7.1%) have only 3 family members, 30 have 4 members, 21 have 5 members, 30 have 6 members and 64 respondents have more than 6 members in their family. In case of village Jandheri out of total 144 respondents 11 respondents have only 3 family members, 23 have 4 members, 24 have 5 members, 28 have

6 members and 58 respondents have more than 6 members in their family. Hence, it is evident that the larger numbers (40.7%) of the total respondents have more than six members in their family, followed by about 20% with six family members. The smallest number of respondents (7.3%) has only three members in their family. The pattern of family size is roughly the same in both the villages.

Table 1.4: Village-wise Family size of the respondents

Sr. no.	No. of family members	Bhainsi village respondents		Jandheri village respondents		Total respondents	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	3	11	7.1	11	7.6	22	7.3
3.	4	30	19.2	23	16.0	53	17.7
4.	5	21	13.5	24	16.7	45	15.0
5.	6	30	19.2	28	19.4	58	19.3
6.	More than 6	64	41.0	58	40.3	122	40.7
Total		156	100.0	144	100.0	300	100.0

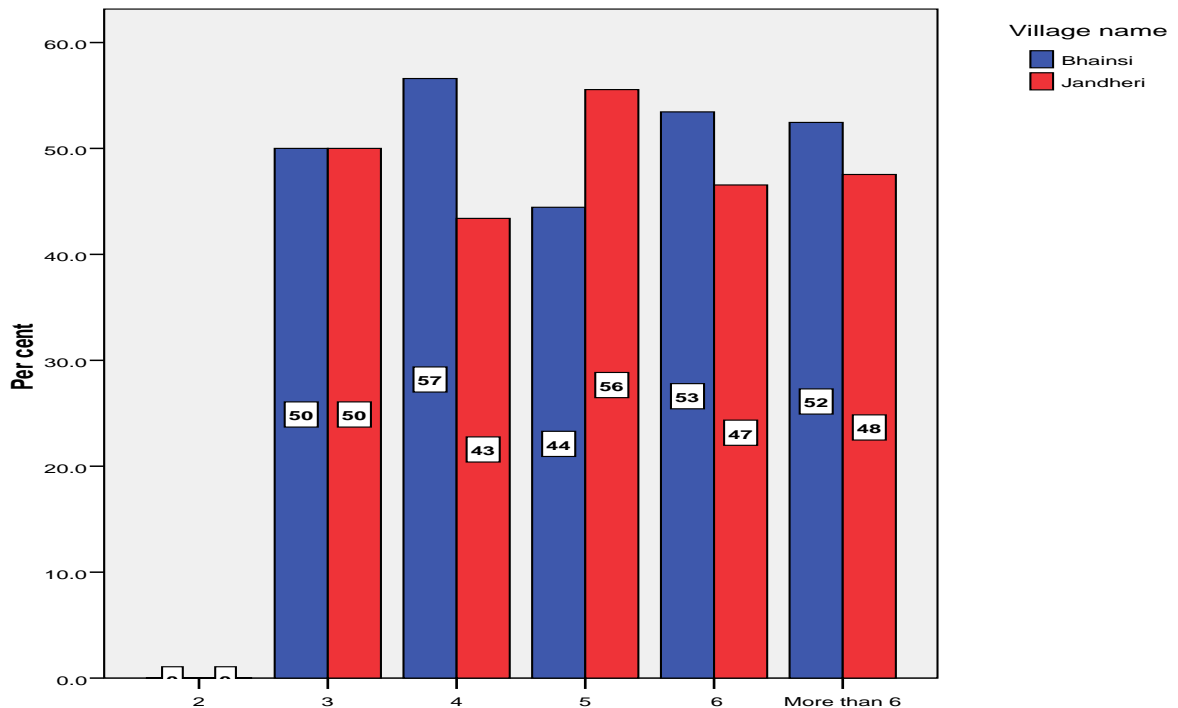


Figure 1.2: Village-wise family size

Gender distribution: It is clear from Table 1.5 and Figure 1.3 that out of total 300 respondents in the sample 63 respondents from both the villages are female and 237

respondents are male, which is 21% and 79 % of the total respondents respectively. Hence, the number of male respondents is higher (79%) than the number of female respondents (21%) in the total sample. Also, the number of male respondents is much higher than female respondents in each of the two villages.

Table 1.5: Village-wise Gender distribution of the respondents

Sr. no.	Gender	Bhainsi village respondents		Jandheri village respondents		Total respondents	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Female	29	18.6	34	23.6	63	21.0
2.	Male	127	81.4	110	76.4	237	79.0
Total		156	100.0	144	100.0	300	100.0

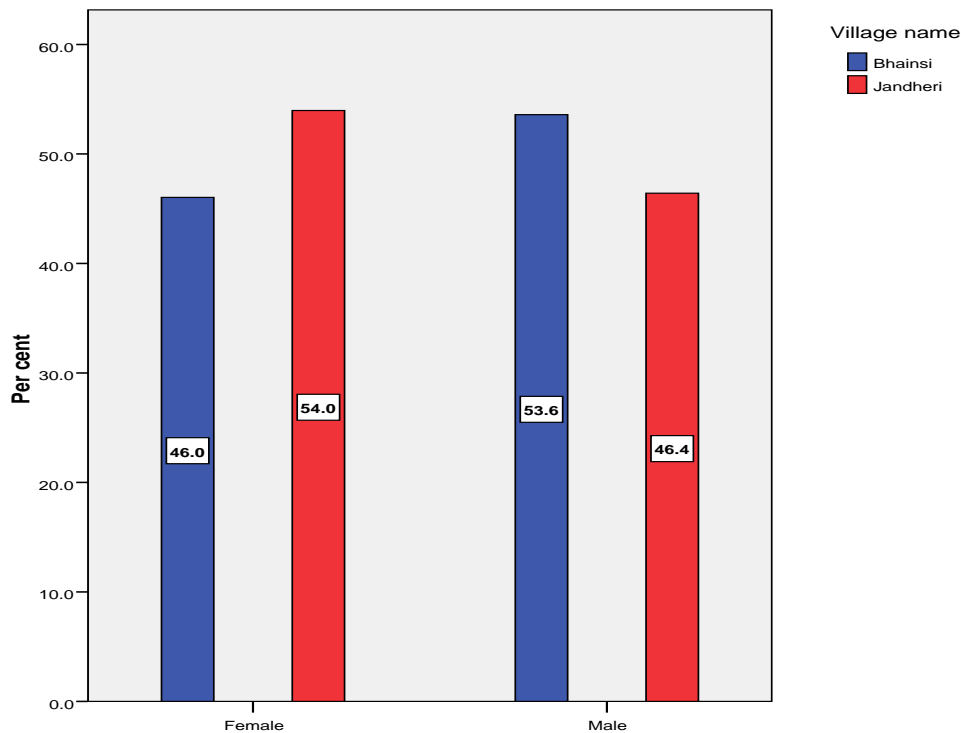


Figure 1.3: Village-wise gender distribution

Age distribution: Table 1.6 and Figure 1.4 show that out of total 300 respondents from both the villages 52 respondents are below 30 years of age, 44 respondents are between 30-40 years, 74 respondents are between 40-50 years, 62 respondents are between 50-60 years and 68 respondents are above 60 years. Also, it is found that the number of respondents

under age group 30 years in Jandheri village are higher (21.5%) than the number of respondents (13.4%) in Bhainsi village, and the respondents is age group 40-50 years are also higher (28.2%) in the Bhainsi village than the respondents (21%) in the Jandheri village. As a whole, it is found that the respondents in age group 40-50, 50-60 and above 60 years are significantly higher than the respondents is age group below 30 and 30-40 years.

Table 1.6: Village-wise Age distribution of the respondents

Sr. no.	Age (in years)	Bhainsi village respondents		Jandheri village respondents		Total respondents	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Below 30	21	13.4	31	21.5	52	17.3
2.	30-40	23	14.7	21	14.5	44	14.7
3.	40-50	44	28.2	30	21.0	74	24.7
4.	50-60	32	20.5	30	21.0	62	20.7
5.	Above 60	36	23.0	32	22.0	68	22.7
Total		156	100.0	144	100.0	300	100.0

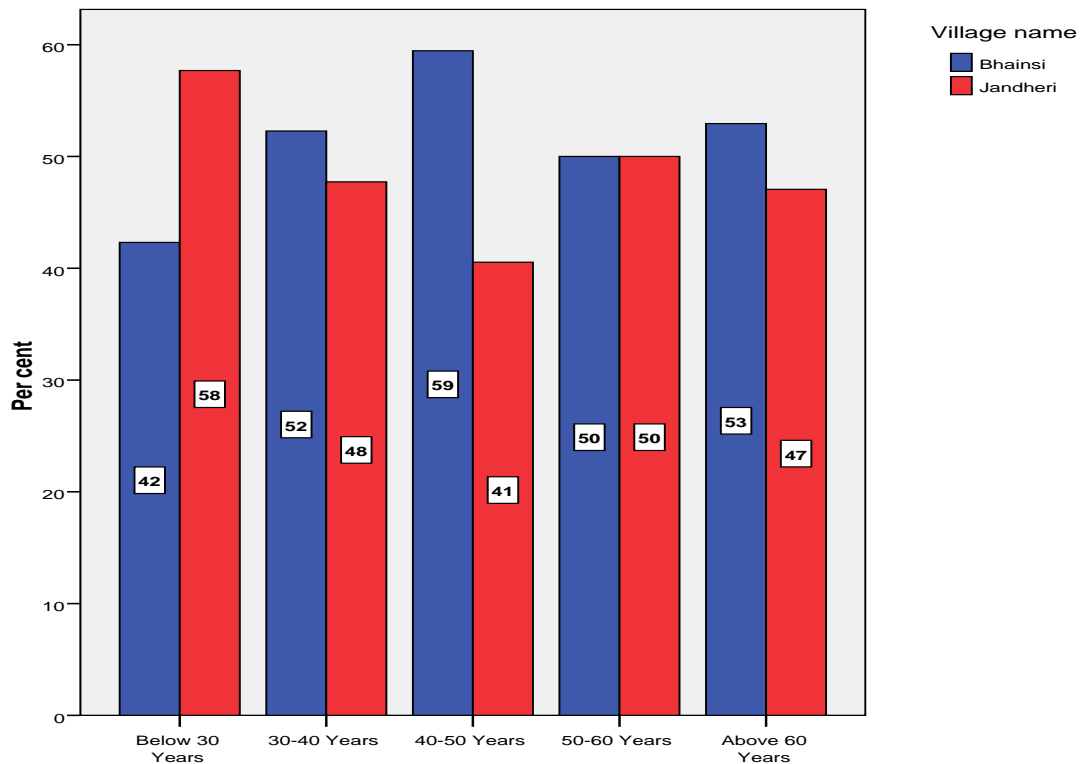


Figure 1.4: Village-wise age distribution

Caste-category-wise distribution: Table 1.7 and Figure 1.5 demonstrate that out of total 300 respondents 98 (32.7%) respondents are from General category, 97 (32.3%) from OBC and 105 (35%) respondents are from SC category, which is 32.7%, 32.3% and 35% respectively. Hence, it is found that the total percentage of SC respondents (35%) is slightly higher than the General and OBC category. Their ratio is roughly the same in both the villages.

Table 1.7: Village and Category-wise distribution of the respondents

Sr. no.	Category	Bhainsi village respondents		Jandheri village respondents		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	General	47	30.1	51	35.4	98	32.7
2.	OBC	54	34.6	43	29.8	97	32.3
3.	SC	55	35.3	50	34.7	105	35.0
4.	ST	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total		156	52.0	144	48.0	300	100.0

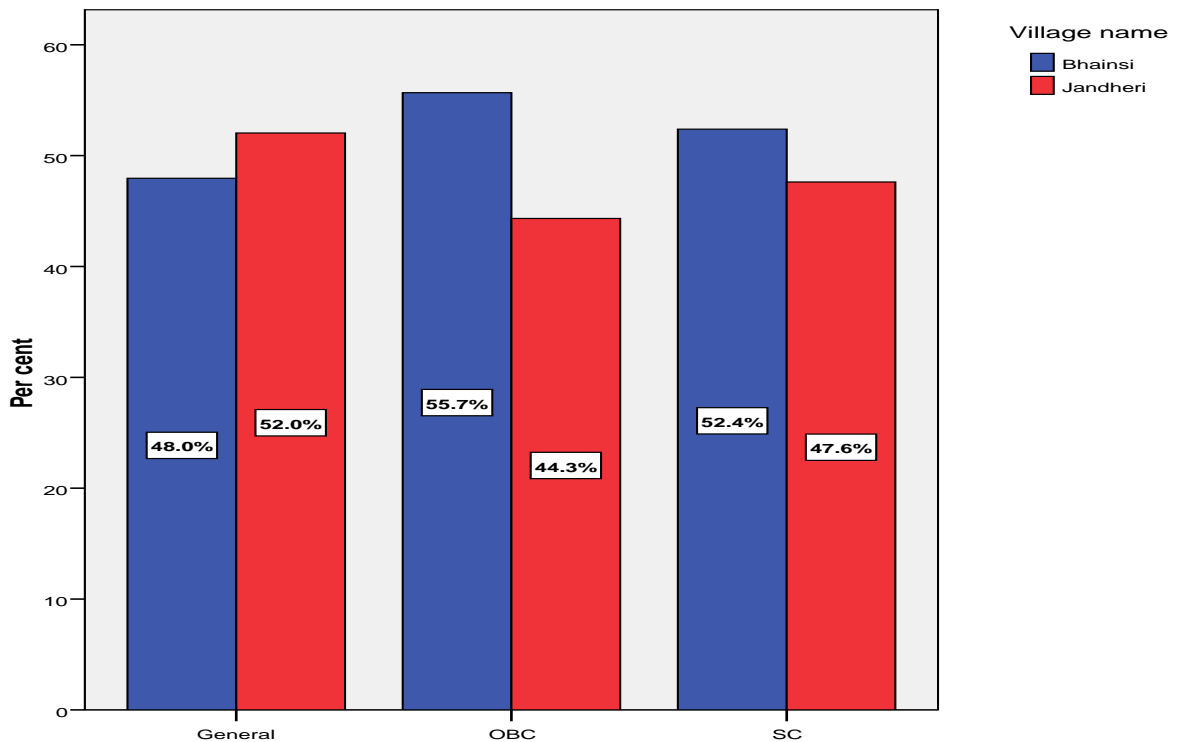


Figure 1.5: Village-wise Caste-category distribution

Table 1.8: Village and Caste-wise distribution of the respondents

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Bhainsi Village respondents		Jandheri Village respondents		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General							
1.	Brahmin	47	48.0	51	52.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(47)	(48.0)	(51)	(52.0)	(98)	(32.7)
OBC							
2.	Jat	6	6.1	14	14.4	20	20.6
3.	Saini	13	13.4	11	10.5	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	3	3.1	2	2.0	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	3	3.1	2	2.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	5	5.1	5	5.1	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	7	7.2	4	4.1	11	11.3
9.	Nai	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	4	4.1	3	3.1	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	6	6.2	1	1.0	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(54)	(55.7)	(43)	(44.3)	(97)	(32.3)
SC							
15.	Dhobi	5	4.7	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	16	15.2	1	1.0	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	25	23.7	44	41.9	69	65.5
18.	Balmiki	9	8.5	5	4.7	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(55)	(52.4)	(50)	(47.6)	(105)	(35.0)
Total		156	52.0	144	48.0	300	100.0

Caste-wise distribution: It is clear from Table 1.8 that there are total eighteen (18) castes residing in both the villages and we have included all of them in our study. These eighteen castes are distributed in three categories, viz. General, OBC and SC. In General category, there are total 98 Brahmin families which includes 47 respondents from Bhainsi and 51 respondents from Jandheri village. In OBC category there are 13 castes which include Jat, Saini, Jogi, Badai, Gadaria, Kumhar, Dhiwar, Nai, Teli, Sunar, Dhoone, Rangrej and Julaha. In this, 54 respondents are from Bhainsi and 53 respondents from Jandheri village. In the SC category there are four castes, comprising Dhobi, Jatava, Chamar and Balmiki. In this, 55 respondents are from Bhainsi and 50 respondents from Jandheri village. Hence, it is found that the percentage of Scheduled Caste respondents is slightly higher (35%) than the General (32.7%) and OBCs (32.3%) respectively. Only Brahmins were from

the General category in both the villages. Among the OBCs Jats (20.6%), Sainis (24.7%) were numerically higher in number than others in both the villages. Among the SCs, Chamars (65.5%) were highest in population, followed by Jatavas (16.2%).

Religious distribution: Table 1.9 and Figure 1.6 reflect that there were only two religious communities in the selected villages, i.e. Hindu and Muslim (Islam). In the Bhainsi village, out of total 156 respondents there were 136 respondents from Hindu religion and 20 respondents from Muslim religion. In the same way in Jandheri village, out of total 144 respondents there were 139 respondents from Hindu religion and 5 respondents from Muslim religion. Hence, it is found that in both the villages the number of Hindus formed the overwhelming majority (91.7), and Muslims respondents were just (8.3%). Hindus were slightly higher (96.5%) in Jandheri village than Bhainsi village (87.1%).

Table 1.9: Village-wise Religion distribution of the respondents

Sr. no.	Religion	Bhainsi village respondents		Jandheri village respondents		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Hindu	136	87.1	139	96.5	275	91.7
2.	Muslim	20	12.8	5	3.5	25	8.3
Total		156	52.0	144	48.0	300	100.0

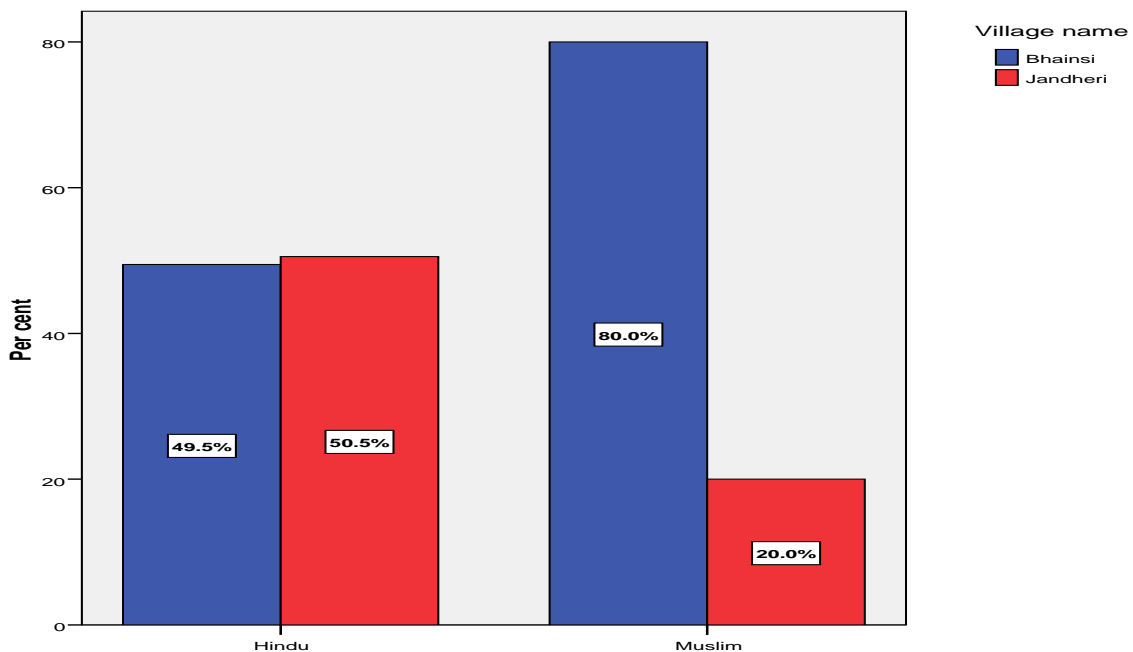


Figure 1.6: Village-wise religious distribution

Educational status: It is evident from Table 1.10 and Figure 1.7 that out of total respondents (300) from both the villages, 19% are illiterate; 13% respondents are literate who can recognize basic alphabets in Hindi language and can write their name only. 14% respondents have primary education and 9% respondents have middle level education (up to eighth class), 15.7% respondents have passed high school, 16% respondents have intermediate, 8.7 % respondents done their graduation, 4.3% respondents have post-graduation and rest 0.3% have other education such as diploma and professional courses. Ratio of those having intermediate, high school and primary education was roughly 15% each. Those having graduation and higher degree were about 13% only. The educational status of the respondents in both the villages was found to be broadly similar. But the ratio of illiterates was higher (22.9%) in Jandheri village than the Bhainsi village (15.3%).

Table 1.10: Village-wise Educational status of the respondents

Sr. no.	Education status	Bhainsi village respondents		Jandheri village respondents		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Illiterate	24	15.3	33	22.9	57	19.0
2.	Literate	21	13.4	18	12.5	39	13.0
3.	Primary	24	15.3	18	12.5	42	14.0
4.	Middle	17	10.8	10	6.9	27	9.0
5.	High school	27	17.3	20	13.9	47	15.7
6.	Intermediate	24	15.3	24	16.6	48	16.0
7.	Graduation	13	8.3	13	9.0	26	8.7
8.	Post-graduation	5	3.2	8	5.5	13	4.3
9.	Others	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.3
Total		156	52.0	144	48.0	300	100.0

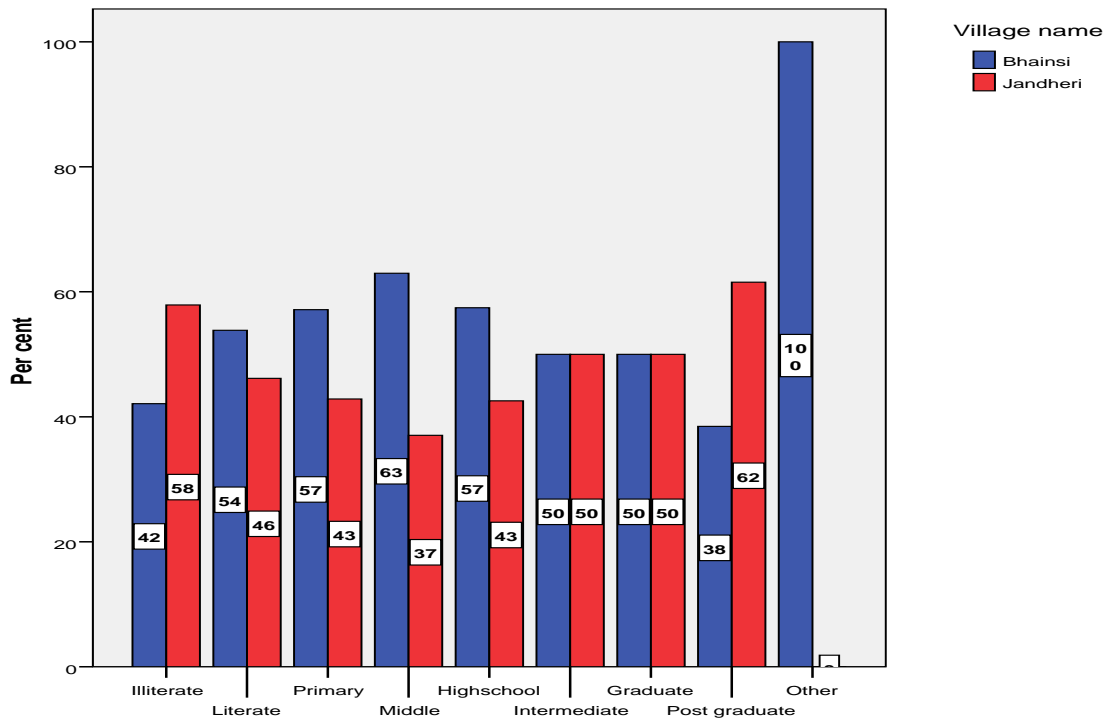


Figure 1.7: Village-wise Educational status

Marital status: It is clear from Table 1.11 and Figure 1.8 that in General category, out of total 98 respondents in both the villages 81.6 % respondents are married, 14.3% unmarried and 4.1 % either widower or widow. In OBC category, out of total 97 respondents 82.5% married, 11.3% unmarried and 6.2% are either widower or widow. In SC category, out of total 105 respondents 83.8% respondents are married, 6.6% are unmarried and 9.5% are either widower or widow. Hence, it is found that the percentage of married respondents is approximately similar (approximately 82%) among all the three caste categories. But the percentage of widow or widowers respondents in SC category is slightly higher (9.5%) than the respondents in General and OBC categories (4.1 and 6.2% respectively). The percentage of unmarried respondents is higher among the General category (14.3%) than the OBC (11.3%) and SC (6.6%) categories.

Table 1.11: Caste and Category-wise Marital status of the respondents

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Marital status						Total	
		Married		Unmarried		Widow			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General									
1.	Brahmin	80	81.6	14	14.3	4	4.1	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(80)	(81.6)	(14)	(14.3)	(4)	(4.1)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC									
2.	Jat	16	16.5	2	2.0	2	2.0	20	20.6
3.	Saini	19	19.5	3	3.1	2	2.0	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	9	9.2	2	2.0	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	5	5.2	2	2.0	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	6	6.2	-	-	1	1.0	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(80)	(82.5)	(11)	(11.3)	(6)	(6.2)	(97)	(100.0)
SC									
15.	Dhobi	3	2.7	2	2.0	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	14	13.4	3	2.7	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	58	55.2	1	1.0	10	9.5	69	65.5
18.	Balmiki	13	12.3	1	1.0	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(88)	(83.8)	(7)	(6.6)	(10)	(9.5)	(105)	(100.0)
Total		248	82.7	32	10.7	20	6.7	300	100.0

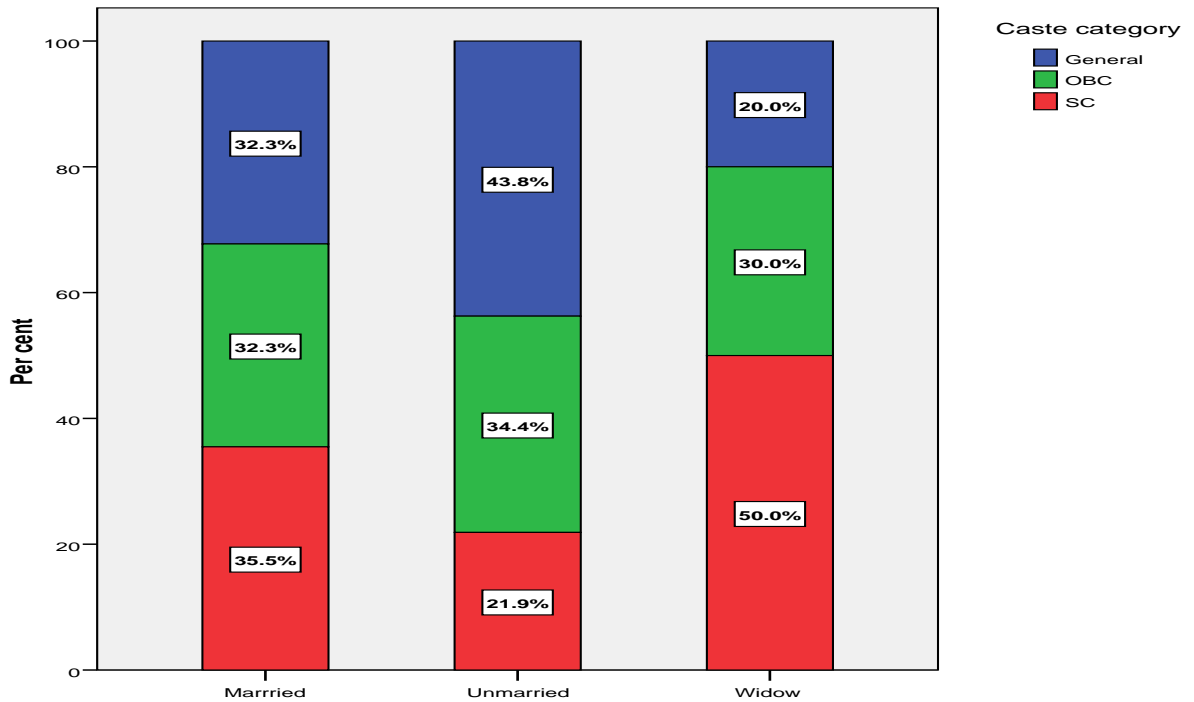


Figure 1.8: Marital status of the total respondents

Limitations of the study

Sincere effort was made to collect relevant and accurate data from respondents of various castes of the selected villages. But, during the fieldwork certain problems were faced which need to be highlighted. In some cases, respondents gave wrong information and hid or avoided to give information. Some took no interest during interview and in filling questionnaire because they thought that this was not related to any government programme or project which could give them some benefits. The respondents of the Gosai (Goswami) castes of Bhainsi village were not cooperative in giving time and their opinion on the different aspects of the caste system while interviewing and also rapport building. Also, Sunar caste respondents who had only one household, was not cooperative due to their involvement in business. Some of the respondents found Interview Guide too lengthy, so they showed lack of interest during the interview and gave little time in sharing information regarding various aspects of the caste system. So, the quality of data collected for the present study is not perfect in certain respects particularly pertaining to some interviews. Moreover, the findings and conclusions of the study may not be generalized for the state of Uttar Pradesh as a whole because universe of the study was limited to only two villages in the state.

Chapterisation

The present study is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 is Introduction of the study. It briefly discusses the definition and meaning of the caste system, its features and origin, theoretical perspectives adopted in the study of the caste system and review of literature. Moreover, it provides details about significance of the study, statements of the problem, objectives, hypothesis, methodology and limitations of the study. In addition it discusses the village-wise social profile of the respondents selected for the study.

Chapter 2, first, discusses in brief the concept of culture and cultural features of the caste system. Then, it's empirically analyses on continuity and change in the cultural features of the caste system. The analysis is based on the data collected from the respondents of the study, which results to their opinion and behavior regarding different cultural features of the caste system.

Chapter 3 briefly discusses first, the concept of social structure and the features of the caste system as a structural phenomenon. Then, it analyses empirically continuity and

change in the caste system related to its economic dimension which is based on the data collected from the respondents of the study pertaining to their economic status.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of political dimension of the caste system, which deals with continuity and change in the nature of political representation of different caste groups at the village panchayat level and voting behavior of the respondents belonging to two selected villages of the study. Factors and Processes related to change in the caste system are discussed in the chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 provides the main findings and conclusion of the study.

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Chapter-2

**Continuity and Change in the Socio-Cultural
Dimension of the Caste System**

Chapter-2

Continuity and Change in the Socio-Cultural Dimension of the Caste System

This chapter, first, discusses in brief the concept of culture and features of the caste system as a cultural phenomenon. Then it empirically analyses continuity and change in the cultural features of the caste system. The analysis is based on the data collected from the respondents of the study which is related to their opinion and behavior regarding different cultural features of the caste system, such as norms, values and behavior pertaining to commensality, inter-caste marriage, participation in religious festivals and ceremonies, untouchability, belief in theory of Karma, creation of the caste system and caste hierarchy.

The concept of culture

Sociologists and Social Anthropologists have believed that caste system can be better understood if approached and analyzed in terms of culture. Culture is an umbrella term which includes the social behavior and norms found in human societies as well as the ideas, belief, norms and values associated with one caste to another. The word culture derived from the Latin word 'cultura' which originally means cultivation and nurture or keeping of something. In this context Ralph Linton (1955), in his book "Tree of Culture," suggested that Culture is the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior, whose elements are shared and transmitted by members of the particular society. According to B. Malinowski, culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical process, ideas, habits and values. In short we can say that a culture is a distinctive set of manners (customs, practices, and rules), morals (ideas, beliefs, values, and norms), arts (visual, literary, performing, etc) and traditions including knowledge and history shared by a large group of people. The usage of culture in scholarly writings in sociology has been usefully classified into four main categories. John B. Thompsons, in his book, 'Ideology and Modern Culture' (1990), talked about (i) Classical conception of culture which broadly defined culture as the general processes of development to fulfillment of human needs while; (ii) the descriptive conception of culture which highlights the general processes of development and progress but it also comprises of ideas, beliefs, norms and values etc, to satisfy human needs and

behavior in social life; (iii) the symbolic conception of culture which is based on the recognition that the use of symbols is a distinctive feature of human life. In fact, human beings do not just produce and receive meaningful expressions, but also bestow meaning on non-linguistic constructions, or actions, works of art, material objects of various kinds; and (iv) the structural conception of culture that integrate all discussed above forms of culture, and mainly focuses on symbolic analysis of culture. Robert Bierstedt (1970) classifies the content of culture into three large components of culture –ideas, norms and material. The cognitive dimension- consists of myths, superstitions, scientific facts, arts, religion. This reflects way of thinking and is an important component of culture. The normative dimension consists of rules, expectations and standardized procedures. Norms can be classified as folkways, mores, customs, laws etc. In short, it is the way of behaving in almost all the situations that we confront and in which people participate. The material dimension- includes generally material items that the members of society have and use, and also science, technology, communication, transport. It generally refers to the basic conditions or material items.

Further, American sociologist, Ogburn has classified culture into two aspects- material and non-material. (1) Material Culture: All tangible and concrete products of human creation are labeled as material culture. All the objects that we can see, touch come under the domain of culture like mobile, fans, clothes, machines. It is very difficult to count all the objects of material culture. The material culture of modern society is much more prosperous than that of earlier. With the development of modern society, there is development of material culture also. The material culture changes very fast and it includes all those things which a member of a society keeps and utilizes. (2) Non-material Culture: It includes everything that is non- material. Non-material culture includes all those social facts which are abstract, means which cannot be measured and don't have any definite appearance. These things cannot be touched but only be felt and realized. Non material culture includes beliefs, behavior, customs, traditions, attitude, law, customs, ideas, knowledge, morality, language, art, religion, literature etc. which we get as a social heritage and which are transmitted from one generation to other.

From the foregoing discussion on culture it can be inferred that culture is that complex which comprises of all material and non-material aspects such as artifact, signs, ideas, beliefs, ideals, habits acquired by man, customs and traditions that man inherits from the previous generations and influences his social behavior. Besides these, norms and values also play significant role in influencing social behavior. Therefore, culture is said to be abstract in the sense that it is manifested in behavior, and it does not come of its own but learned directly or indirectly in social interactions and its elements are transmitted from one person to another, from one generation to another, through language and other forms of symbolic interaction.

Caste System as a Cultural phenomenon

The term culture and structure are commonly used in sociology and social anthropology. Sociologists and social anthropologists have used both of these terms to understand the caste system. It is important for us to know the concept of culture and social structure if we are analyzing continuity and change in the caste system and its various aspects. While analyzing caste system in India, some social anthropologists and sociologists have treated it as cultural phenomenon, while others as a structural phenomenon. In fact, scholarships in the field of sociology of caste system are divided over the question of whether it is a form of cultural system or social structure. Those who called themselves culturologists, whether they are social anthropologists or sociologists study caste system from the perspective of culture. They argue that caste is a unique institution found in Indian society and its study would and should be given priority because the society in which we live and develop ourselves is a direct result of complex system that consists of ideas, beliefs, shared norms and values. In every society besides some commonalities, each and every caste has its own set of rules and regulations, perception, belief, norms and values with regards to its members. For example, people in society are considered unequal to each other. They are segmentally divided, hierarchically arranged (in terms of upper, middle and lower castes), have hereditary status of individual born in a particular caste, perception of restrictions on commensality relations (sharing of food and water with each other), norms and values associated with social and religious privileges and disabilities among castes, belief in endogamy (marriage relation within own caste or sub-caste), and belief in doctrine of karma and dharma. Each caste also

develops its own sub-culture which governs the behavior of its own caste. The cultural and structural constructions of the caste system are like the two sides of the same coin. The differences in these two views lie not in the basic content but in the levels of analysis. Y. Singh (1973) outlined some of the cultural features of the caste system which includes hierarchy (higher-lower position of castes in a particular society), purity and pollution (privilege and disability and prejudice /discrimination based on untouchability), restrictions on commensality relations (acceptance of food and water with one caste to another) rules of marriage in terms of endogamy and doctrine of Karma and Dharma (present socio-economic condition/status of a person is result of deeds done in the past birth). This has come to known as cultural view of the caste system. Formulating caste as a cultural phenomenon, it is multidimensional in the sense that it includes the behavior of people in the society towards others in terms of marriage relations (endogamy), commensality relations, practice of untouchability, hierarchical arrangement of different castes or groups (in upper, middle and lower castes). In this view, the most important factor is hierarchy, which forms the basis of ranking of persons or groups.

Among those who are protagonists of this view, the prominent ones are Louis Dumont, G.S. Ghurye, Edmund Leach and M.N. Srinivas. They look at caste as a social or cultural phenomenon peculiar to the Indian society, more precisely to the Hindu society because among the non-Hindus it does not constitute the religious ideology despite the fact that they have also developed 'caste like' stratification. Treating caste as a cultural phenomenon within the general principle of social stratification, they pinpoint hierarchy of hereditary groups as its basis. These hereditary groups are separated by caste endogamy, restrictions on commensality relations (exchange of food and water) and physical contact. But despite this separation and exclusiveness they are interdependent because of the traditional division of labor. The underlying principle of this arrangement is based on the opposition of the pure and impure, a sort of binary opposition.

Yogendra Singh (1973), treated caste system as a cultural phenomena, a subject-matter of ideology or value system particularly that of hierarchy which forms the basis for ranking of persons or groups. It is maintained that caste like cultural base of stratification could be found in most traditional societies, where prestige or honor constitutes the basis of

social ranking and that Indian caste is merely a special form of the general system of status-based social stratification. The major cultural norms of caste are mutual repulsion (notion of purity and pollution), hereditary specialization, and endogamy, belief in the doctrine of karma and dharma and hierarchy. From a stratification point of view these attributes assume relevance as their operational sets a limit to the forms of allocation and evaluation of roles and status attributes of caste and perpetuates an institutionalized form of social inequality.

The chief exponent of this view includes G. S. Ghurye, Louis Dumont and M. N. Srinivas. L. Dumont (1970), in his book 'Homo Hierarchicus' says that caste system consists of hierarchical arrangement of groups. The hierarchy is based on the Hindu ideological principle of purity and pollution which is unique to India and thus, cannot be found in other societies.

The cultural features of the caste system mainly emphasis on norms, values, belief and practices associated with one caste to another namely hierarchy (higher-lower castes), purity and pollution (discrimination based on untouchability), commensality relations (acceptance of food and water with one caste to another) rules of marriage in terms of endogamy and doctrine of Karma and Dharma. Hence, in this chapter I have given a detailed explanation and description of Continuity and change in the cultural features of the caste system based on empirical data and findings.

Empirical Findings: The empirical findings related to the continuity and change in the cultural features of the caste system are discussed in the following pages in the chapter

Belief about Creation (origin) of the caste system

According to Hindu religious texts and traditional views, it was held that the caste system has been created by the God. But there has been some change in the belief of people in this matter. The empirical data collected from the respondents of this study show both continuity and change in this regard, which are analyzed here.

In this connection, Table and Figure 2.1 shows that out of total 300 respondents, 26.3% respondents believe that God has created the caste system, whereas more than half of

the respondents (60.7%) believe that society has created the caste system and 10.7% respondents believe that Brahmins created the caste system, whereas around 2.3% respondents believe that they don't know about its creation. More than half of the respondents (60.7%), irrespective of their category opined that society has created the caste system. In General category, out of total 98 respondents (Brahmins) 22.4% believe that God has created the caste system and 61.3% believe that society has created the caste system, 12.2 % believe that Brahmins has created the caste system and 4.1% respondents believe that they don't know about its origin. In OBC category out of total 97 respondents 23.7% believe that God has created the caste system and 67.0% believe that society has created the caste system and 8.2% believe that Brahmins has created the caste system and about 1.0% respondents believe that they don't know about the creation of the caste system. It is almost same pattern in the SC category too. Out of total 105 respondents 32.4% respondents believe that God has created the caste system and 54.3% believe that society has created the caste system, 11.4% believe that Brahmins has created the caste system and about 2.0% believe that we don't know about its creation. Hence, it is found that the majority of (60%) respondents believed that caste system was created by society, followed by those who opined that it was created by God (26.3% respondents) and by Brahmins (10.7% respondents). Further, it is observed that there was category-wise difference in this matter. As regards creation by God, the ratio of the SCs was higher (32.2%) than the OBCs (23.7%) and general category (Brahmins 22.4%).

Table 2.1: Caste and category-wise opinion of the respondents on who created the caste system

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Opinion on who created the caste system								Total	
		God		Society		Brahmin		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	22	22.4	60	61.3	12	12.2	4	4.1	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(22)	(22.4)	(60)	(61.3)	(12)	(12.2)	(4)	(4.1)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	4	4.1	16	16.5	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	9	9.2	12	12.4	3	3.1	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	2	2.0	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	3	3.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	2	2.0	6	6.2	2	2.0	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	8	8.3	1	1.0	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	1	1.0	6	6.2	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	6	6.2	-	-	1	1.0	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(23)	(23.7)	(65)	(67.0)	(8)	(8.2)	(1)	(1.0)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	4	3.7	-	-	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	2	2.0	9	8.5	6	5.7	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	31	29.5	32	30.0	5	4.7	2	0.7	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	12	11.4	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(34)	(32.4)	(57)	(54.3)	(12)	(11.4)	(2)	(2.0)	(105)	(100.0)
Total		79	26.3	182	60.7	32	10.7	7	2.3	300	100.0

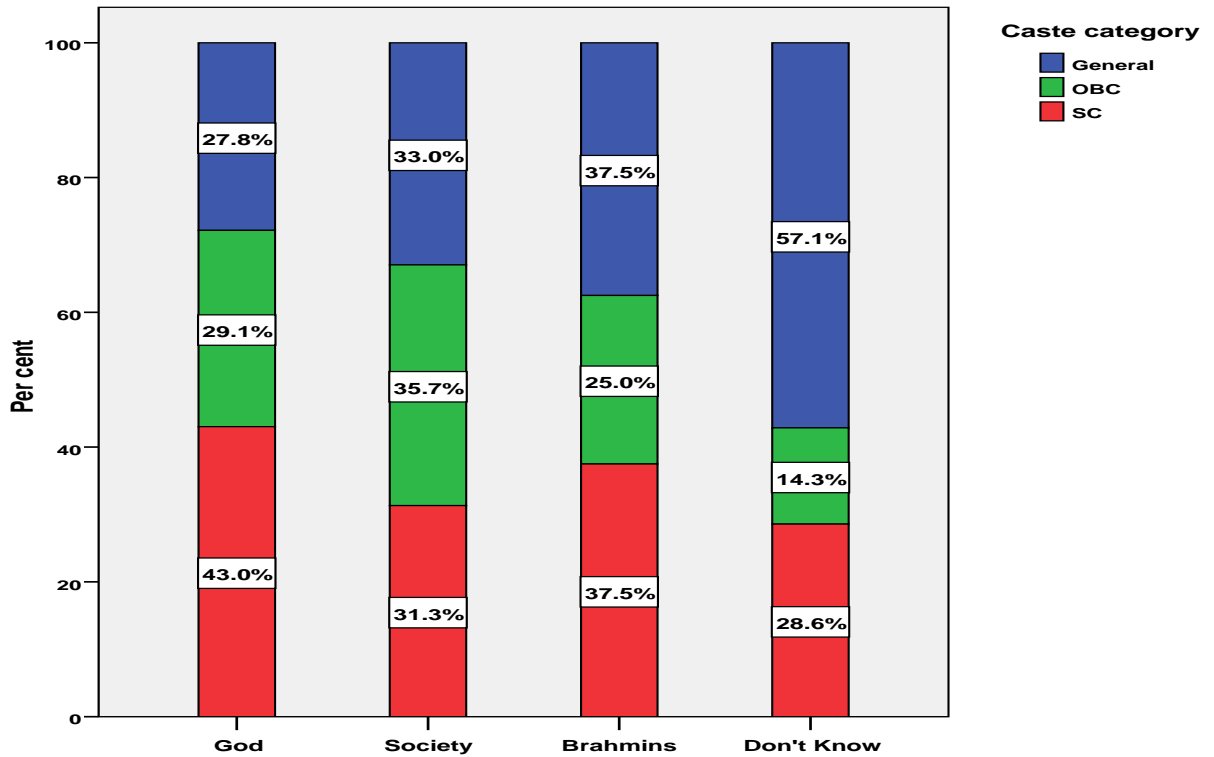


Figure 2.1: Opinion of respondents on who created caste system

Further, in the interviews some of the elderly persons (respondents) in the villages told that in Hinduism we have Vedas, purans, Upnishadas, Bhagwat Gita, Ramayana, and others holy religious texts which teaches us that there are four varnas and that people in the society are divided on the basis of division of labour performed by an individual to make society functional, self sufficient, interdependent and stable. They also said that “Caturvarnyam maya shrashtam gun karma vibhagshah”, is written in Bhagwat Gita which teaches us that the division of four Varnas and hundreds of castes are created by Lord Krishna and they are hierarchically arranged according to their Guna (qualities) and Karma (actions) and they also shared another phrase which is written in the Rig-Veda as “Brahmano mukhmasida rajanya bahu krata uru tadashya yadyaishayah padabhyam shudroajayatah”, which tells us that Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra originated from the different parts of the Lord Brahma (the creator of Universe). The different parts of the Brahma signify specific functions for different varnas to maintain the social system. However, it can be said on the basis of quantitative data that the majority of the respondents believe (60%) that the caste system was created by the society and only 26% believed that the caste system was created

by the God. In this way we can say that there is only some continuity in the belief that caste system is created by the God.

Belief in hierarchical order (higher-lower) of castes

Rigid order of hierarchy is regarded as its important features. According to Louis Dumont, castes teach us a fundamental social principle of hierarchy in which some people are placed at the top, some in between and rest in the lower position. At the top of this hierarchy are the Brahmins and at the bottom are the ex-untouchable castes. In between are the intermediate castes/backward castes, whose relative position is not always clear in the caste system.

In this matter Table and Figure 2.2 reflect that out of total 300 respondents, large majority of them (73.7%) of the respondents strongly believe that castes are unequal to each other. On the contrary, 13.3% of the respondents said it is completely false to say that castes are unequal to each other. Only 10.7% of the respondents believe partially that castes are unequal to each other. It is shown in the table that among Brahmin respondents (within general caste category) about 75% respondents strongly opined that castes are unequal to each other, around 68% within the OBC category said that castes are unequal to each other, and it is about the same percentage among the SCs also. Majority of the respondents are of the opinion that castes were arranged hierarchically in past based on certain normative values attached to them and these are still prevalent to a large extent in contemporary Indian villages. Some of the respondents also added in their argument that there should be hierarchy of castes in terms of upper, middle and lower castes because it was practiced in past and in society there are different sets of people with their distinct qualities and actions who performs a specific tasks like Brahmin, a reader and learner and educated more than others in past, were performing a sacred deeds and were considered as noble person and placed on the top of the social ladder. Also they had acquired maximum landholding and superior culture. That is why they are considered as upper caste. There are backward castes who were involved in artisan occupations. It is almost the same pattern in other caste categories also. Hence, it can be said that majority of the people in Indian society still believe that society is segmentally arranged/divided into hundreds of castes and sub-castes and thus are also unequal to each other and to a large extent are hierarchically arranged based on social, economic and political concentration and monopoly of rules and resources.

Table 2.2: Caste and category-wise opinion of respondents on castes are unequal (higher-lower) to each other

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Castes are unequal to each other										Total	
		Completely true		Completely false		Partially true		Partially false		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General													
1.	Brahmin	73	74.5	12	12.2	9	9.2	1	1.0	3	3.1	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(73)	(74.5)	(12)	(12.2)	(9)	(9.2)	(1)	(1.0)	(3)	(3.1)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC													
2.	Jat	18	18.5	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	19	19.5	3	3.1	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	3	3.1	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	5	5.1	3	3.0	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	8	8.2	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	5	5.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(66)	(68.0)	(20)	(20.6)	(8)	(8.2)	(1)	(1.0)	(2)	(2.0)	(97)	(100.0)
SC													
15.	Dhobi	4	3.7	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	9	8.5	4	3.8	4	3.8	-	-	-	-	17	16.3
17.	Chamar	59	56.1	1	1.0	9	8.5	-	-	-	-	69	65.5
18.	Balmiki	10	9.5	2	1.9	2	1.9	-	-	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(82)	(78.1)	(8)	(7.6)	(15)	(14.3)	-	-	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
Total		221	73.7	40	13.3	32	10.7	2	0.7	5	1.7	300	100.0

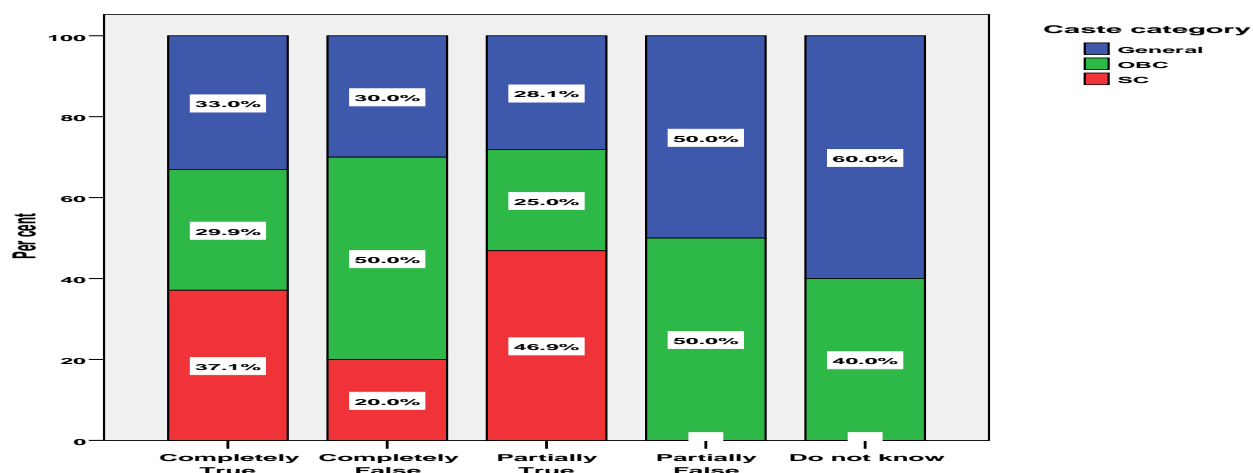


Figure 2.2: Opinion of respondents on castes are hierarchically arranged (higher-lower) to each other

Commensality relations among castes

According to traditional norms, a caste would not accept water and cooked food from any other caste that stands lower than itself in the social scale due to the notion of getting polluted. There were various associated taboos related to food and water sharing. The cooking taboo which defines the persons who may share cooked food with whom. The commensality relations among castes are concerned with the person with whom one may share food and water or not.

In this regards Table and Figure 2.3 show that out of total 300 respondents about three-fourth (78.3%) respondents opined that there should be fully commensality relations among different castes and caste-categories and only 4.7% respondents opined that either there should not be commensality relations among caste or there should be in a limited sense. On the other hand, we have 64.3% respondents in Brahmin caste category who opined that there should be full commensality relations among castes. But it is significant to say that about one quarter (25%) Brahmin caste respondents are not in favor of commensality relations in terms of sharing in 'pakka food' with lower castes (Dalits). In the same way we have 16% respondents in OBC caste category who disagree with the notion that there should be commensality relation among different castes. In interviews, it was found that most of the twice born castes have separate utensils for lower castes, the SCs. The upper castes in my study area even today do not like to interdine with lower castes such as Jatav, Chamar and Balmiki castes. They do not give their own utensils like glass, plate, bowl and cups which they regularly use for themselves, for serving food to Dalits. Dalits are not allowed to sit on the cots/beds of Brahmin castes and also they do not dare to sit together at the same places where Brahmins and Jats used to sit. The people those who are vegetarian and do not drink alcohol (Satnami Dalits) are given more respect by other castes and those who are non-vegetarian and consume alcohol regularly are considered Untouchables and they are not allowed to enter in the upper castes houses.

Table 2.3: Opinion of respondents on should there be commensality relation (Sharing of food and water) among different castes without discrimination

Sr. no.	Category /caste	There should be commensality relations without discrimination								Total	
		Should be done fully		Should be done partially		Should not be done at all		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	63	64.3	26	26.5	7	7.2	2	2.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(63)	(64.3)	(26)	(26.5)	(7)	(7.2)	(2)	(2.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	16	16.5	4	4.1	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	14	14.4	8	8.3	2	2.0	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	9	9.3	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	10	10.3	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	4	4.1	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	7	7.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(77)	(79.4)	(16)	(16.4)	(3)	(3.1)	(1)	(1.0)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	4	3.8	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	12	11.5	3	2.8	2	1.9	-	-	17	16.3
17.	Chamar	67	65.5	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	69	65.5
18.	Balmiki	12	11.5	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(95)	(90.5)	(5)	(4.7)	(5)	(4.7)	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
Total		235	78.3	47	15.7	15	5.0	3	1.0	300	100.0

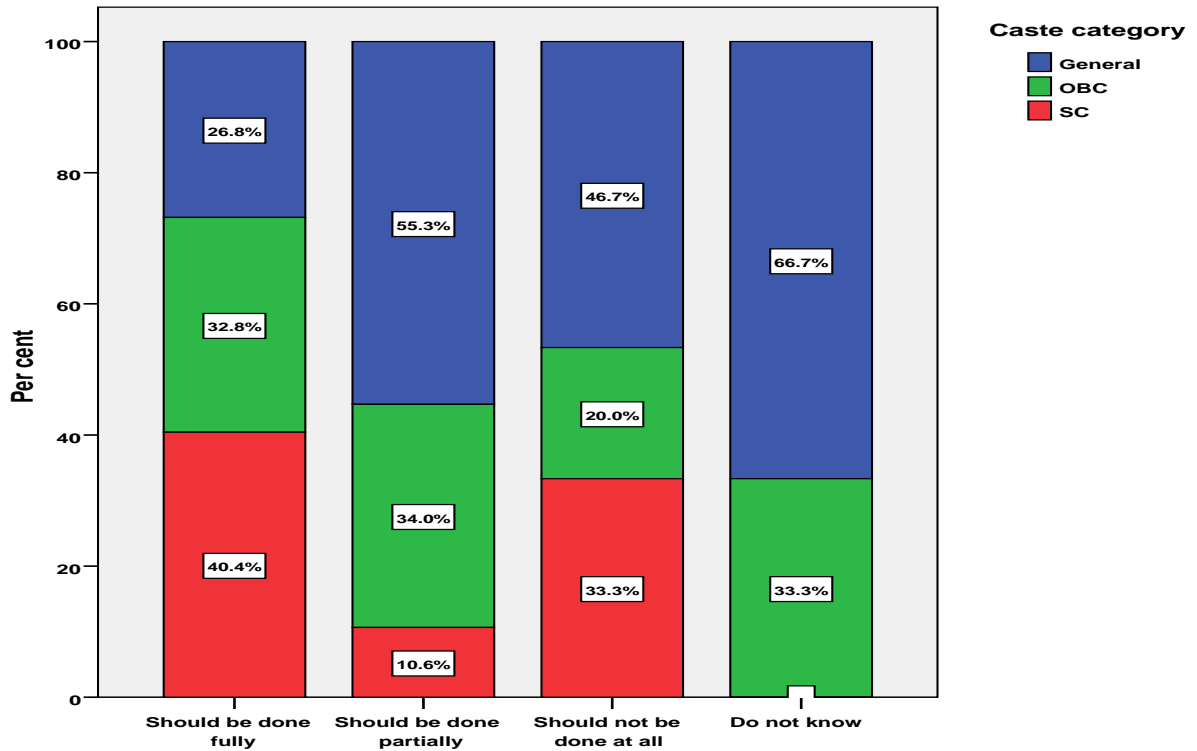


Figure 2.3: Opinion of respondents on food and water should be shared among castes without discrimination

Further, regarding practice, it is evident from Table and Figure 2.4 that out of total 300 respondents overwhelming majority of the respondents (83.7%) always share food and water with castes higher than oneself without caste discrimination and about 14% respondents sometimes share food and water with castes higher than oneself without caste discrimination. In Brahmin caste category most of the people share food and water with castes/sub-castes higher than oneself without caste discrimination. In OBC caste category, about 85% people share food and water with castes higher than oneself without caste discrimination and in SC caste category about 75% people share food and water with castes higher than oneself without caste discrimination. Hence, it is found that discrimination based on caste is prevalent but to a limited extent. Some of the traditional upper and middle castes people who are aged and orthodox keep distance from the lower castes people and they do not share food and water with lower castes.

Table 2.4: Whether respondents share food and water (commensal relations) with caste higher than oneself without caste discrimination

Sr. no.	Category/Caste	Respondents whether share food and water with castes higher than oneself without caste discrimination						Total	
		Always do		Sometimes do		Never do		No.	%
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
General									
1.	Brahmin	93	94.9	3	3.1	2	2.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(93)	(94.9)	(3)	(3.1)	(2)	(2.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC									
2.	Jat	20	20.6	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	20	20.6	4	4.1	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	8	8.2	2	2.0	-	-	10	10.2
8.	Dhiwar	11	11.3	-	-	-	-	11	11.2
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	5	5.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	3	3.1	2	2.0	2	2.0	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(81)	(83.5)	(13)	(13.4)	(3)	(3.1)	(97)	(100.0)
SC									
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	9	8.5	8	7.6	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	62	59.0	7	6.6	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	5	4.7	8	7.6	1	1.0	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(77)	(73.3)	(25)	(23.8)	(3)	(2.8)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		251	83.7	41	13.7	8	2.7	300	100.0

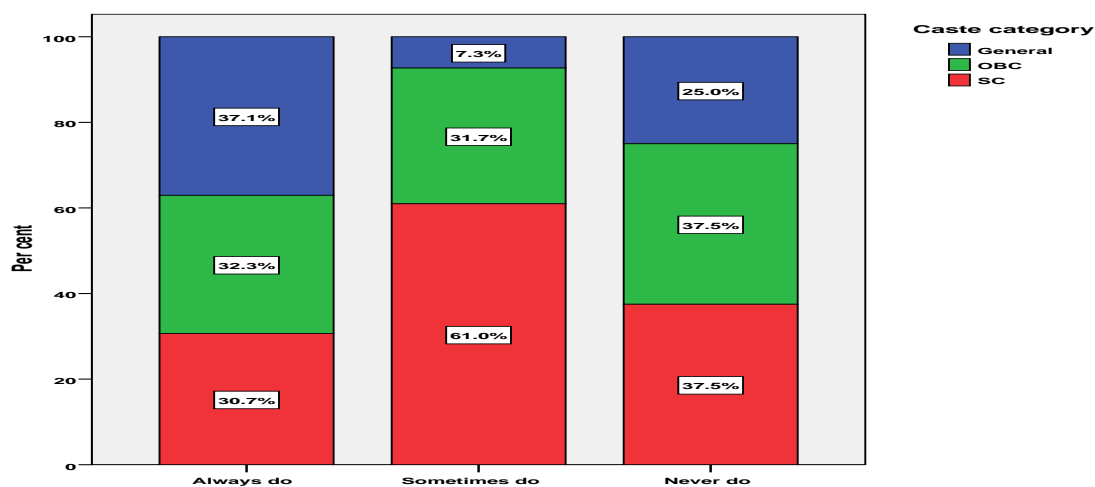


Figure 2.4: Opinion of respondents on sharing food and water with upper castes without discrimination

Belief and practice regarding treating different castes as equal

In caste system there is an issue of civil and religious privileges and disabilities. The higher castes claimed to have ritual, spiritual and racial purity which they maintained by keeping the lower castes away in social interaction. Social hierarchy was maintained as castes higher in hierarchy did not consider castes lower to them as equal which was reflected in their talking to each other, seating practices and participation at social, cultural functions.

Table 2.5: Opinion of respondents on upper and lower castes should treat each other as equals in talking, seating and in social-cultural functions

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Opinion								Total	
		Should be treated as completely		Should be treated as partially		Should not be treated as equal		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	90	91.8	7	7.2	1	1.1	-	-	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(90)	(91.8)	(7)	(7.2)	(1)	(1.1)	-	-	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	19	19.6	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	15	15.4	8	8.2	1	1.0	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	4	4.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	11	11.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	6	6.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	6	6.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(83)	(85.6)	(12)	(12.2)	(1)	(1.0)	(1)	(1.0)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	4	3.7	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	16	15.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	59	56.1	10	9.5	-	-	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	13	12.3	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(92)	(87.6)	(12)	(11.5)	(1)	(1.0)	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		275	91.7	21	7.0	3	1.0	1	0.3	300	100.0

In this regard, Table and Figure 2.5 reflect that out of total 300 respondents, overwhelming majority of the respondents (91.7%) said that each and every caste should be treated equal whether it is upper, middle or lower and about 7% respondents said that upper and lower castes should be partially treated as equal to other castes which are lower to them. In Brahmin caste category most of the people (92%) said that each and every caste should be treated as equal and also on certain occasion of festivals and socio-cultural functions they

treat equal other castes in terms of talking and seating together irrespective of caste and this is the same pattern in other castes too. In Brahmins caste also around 7% those who are more traditional do not sit or talk with some middle and lower castes. Hence, it is found that overwhelming majority of the respondents treat other castes as equal as they are. But in case of panchayat meeting and other socio-cultural settings lower castes are considered equal to the dominant caste called Jats in both of the villages.

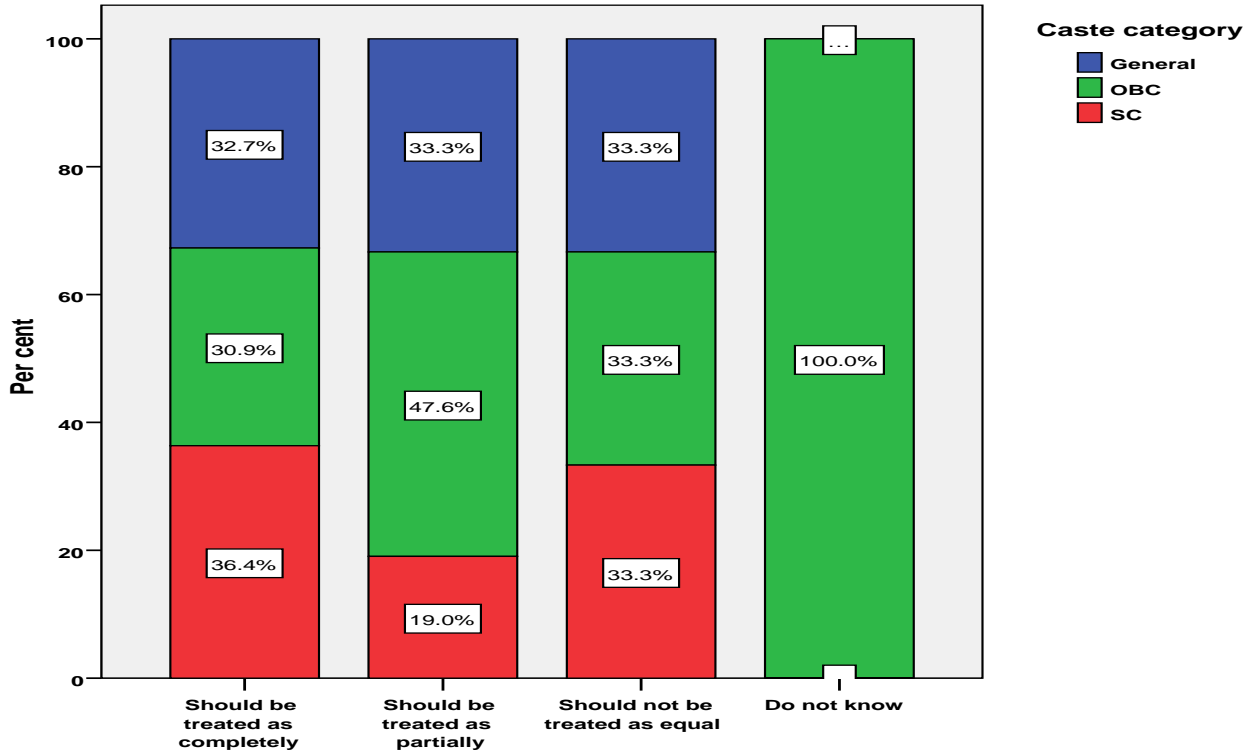


Figure 2.5: Opinion of respondents on talking and seating together they should treat upper and lower castes equal

It is also evident from Table and Figure 2.6 that out of total 300 respondents, most of them around (90%) including the entire three caste category treat always each and every caste as equal in talking and seating together. Caste wise analysis of data indicates that almost each and every caste sometimes attached values and norms associated with their caste. Like Brahmins and the dominant caste Jats do not treat lower castes as equal as they are in panchayat meetings and other socio-cultural settings. In SC caste category there are around 10% traditional mindset respondents those who sometimes treat upper and middle castes as unequal in political sphere like in panchayat meeting and other socio-cultural spheres. It is interesting to note that the SCs those who possessed an average size of land, assets and other

resources, they treat upper and middle castes as equal as they are. Hence, it is found that currently in practice every caste is given equal treatment i.e. no practice of discrimination in the socio-cultural, political and other spheres in talking and seating arrangements in the society on the occasion of socio-cultural functions and in panchayat meetings also.

Table 2.6: Respondents treat castes higher than oneself as equal in talking and seating together

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Treat as equal in talking and seating together								Total	
		Always		Sometimes		Never		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General										
1.	Brahmin	91	92.9	5	5.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(91)	(92.9)	(5)	(5.1)	(1)	(1.0)	(1)	(1.0)	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC										
2.	Jat	20	20.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	23	24.7	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	11	11.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	7	7.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	1		-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	4	4.1	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(89)	(91.8)	(7)	(7.2)	(1)	(1.0)	-	-	(97)	(100.0)
	SC										
15.	Dhobi	2	2.0	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	11	10.4	4	3.8	-	-	2	2.0	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	66	62.8	3	2.8	-	-	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	13	12.3	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(92)	(87.6)	(10)	(9.5)	(1)	(1.0)	(2)	(1.9)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	272	90.7	22	7.3	3	1.0	3	1.0	300	100.0

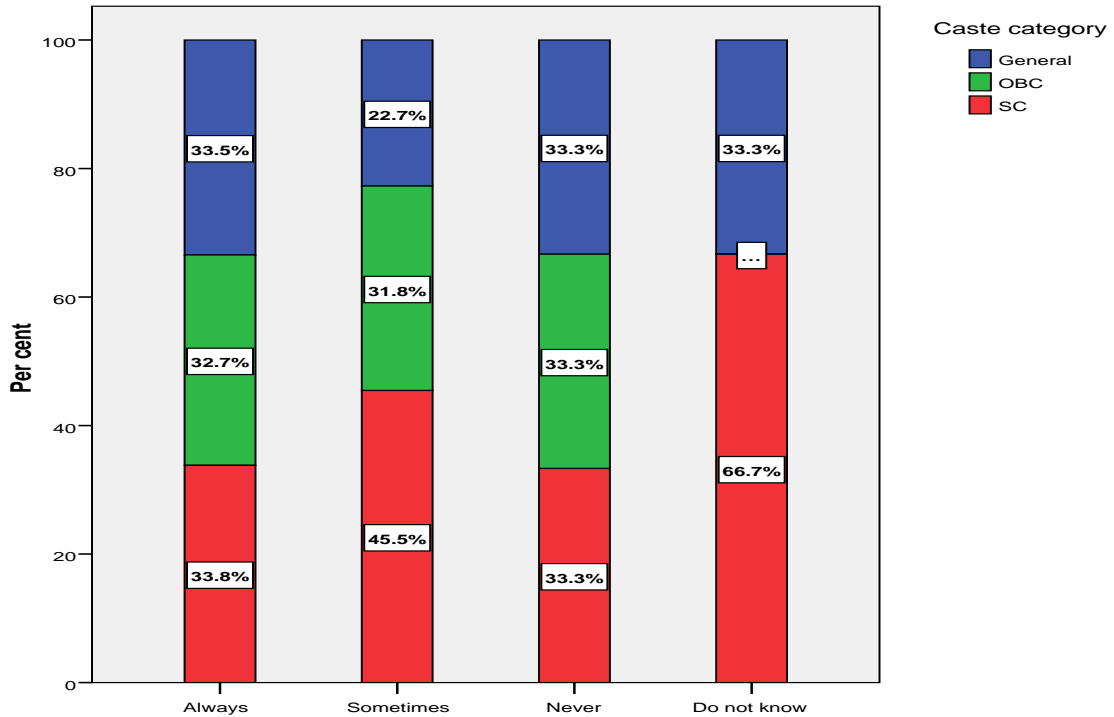


Figure 2.6: Opinion on respondents treat castes higher than oneself as equal in talking and seating together

It is evident from Table and Figure 2.7 that out of total 300 respondents, (71%) including the entire three caste category always treat each and every caste as equal in talking and seating together whether they are higher or lower castes. More than one-fifth (22%) respondents sometimes treat lower castes unequal and also about 5% upper and middle castes respondents never treat lower castes as equal as they are. Caste wise analysis of data indicates that in general caste category half of the respondents (41%) do not treat lower castes equal in talking and seating together with lower castes. It is to some extent followed (about 24%) by OBC category also. Within SC category Dalits (Dhobi, Jatav and Chamar) castes are considered superior to Chuhdas or Balmiki caste who is also Dalit. Old aged people (orthodox traditional) follow the traditional way of life regarding talking and seating together with different castes in their village. Hence, it is found that with the increasing effect of education and leaving traditional hereditary occupations by lower castes most of the people irrespective of castes are treated equal in talking and seating together whether it is socio-cultural setting or political setting.

Table 2.7: Respondents treat castes lower than oneself as equal in talking and seating together

Sr. no.	Category /Caste	Treat as equal in talking and seating together								Total	
		Always		Sometimes		Never		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	45	45.9	40	40.8	10	10.3	3	3.1	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(45)	(45.9)	(40)	(40.8)	(10)	(10.3)	(3)	(3.1)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	14	14.4	6	6.2	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	12	12.3	10	10.3	1	1.0	1	1.0	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	4	4.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	9	9.3	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	9	9.3	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	6	6.2	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	4	4.1	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(67)	(69.1)	(24)	(24.7)	(4)	(4.1)	(2)	(2.1)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	4	3.8	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	15	14.2	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	69	65.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	13	12.3	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(101)	(96.2)	(3)	(2.9)	(1)	(1.0)	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		213	71.0	67	22.3	15	5.0	5	1.7	300	100.0

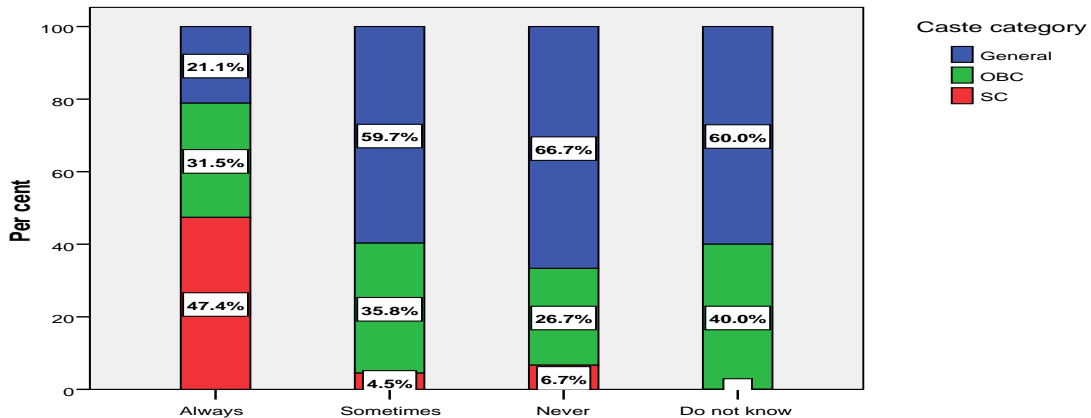


Figure 2.7: Opinion on respondents treat castes lower than oneself as equal in seating and talking together

Belief and practice regarding marriage between different castes

Endogamy is the chief characteristic of caste, i.e. the members of a caste or sub-caste are required to marry within their own caste or sub-caste. The violation of the rule of endogamy led to ostracism and loss of social status. However, hypergamy (the practice of women marrying someone who is higher caste and hypogamy (marriage with a person of lower social status) were also prevalent. Gotra exogamy is maintained in each caste. Every caste is subdivided into different small units on the basis of gotra. The members of one gotra are believed to be successors of a common ancestor-hence prohibition of marriage within the same gotra.

Table 2.8: Opinion of respondents on whether one should one marry in other castes

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Opinion on whether one should marry in other caste						Total	
		Yes		No		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General									
1.	Brahmin	10	10.3	87	88.8	1	1.0	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(10)	(10.3)	(87)	(88.8)	(1)	(1.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC									
2.	Jat	3	3.1	15	15.5	2	2.0	20	20.6
3.	Saini	2	2.0	20	20.6	2	2.0	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	1	1.0	4	4.1	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	2	2.0	3	3.1	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	10	10.3	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	3	3.1	8	8.2	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	7	7.2	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	7	7.2	-	-	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(11)	(11.3)	(82)	(84.5)	(4)	(4.1)	(97)	(100.0)
SC									
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	4	3.8	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	5	4.7	12	11.4	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	3	2.8	59	56.2	7	6.7	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	1	1.0	13	12.5	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(10)	(9.5)	(88)	(83.8)	(7)	(6.6)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		31	10.3	257	85.7	12	4.0	300	100.0

In this matter, Table and Figure 2.8 show that out of total 300 sampling majority of the respondents (86%) said that there should not be marriages in others caste. Further in the argument they said that our culture is different from other castes so why should be it. Only 10% respondents those who have migrated to town or cities in search of employment, education or for earning livelihood said that there should be inter-caste marriage. Caste wise also overwhelming majority of the respondents (85%) said that there should not be inter-caste marriage but about 10% respondents irrespective of caste categories gave an indication that there should be inter-caste marriages in society because if we promote inter-caste marriages then we can get most appropriate bride or groom. Hence, it is found that most of the respondents in villages are not in favour of inter-caste marriage. But still a significant number of respondents of current generation (10%) are in favour of inter-caste marriages and said that there should be inter-caste marriage in village also.

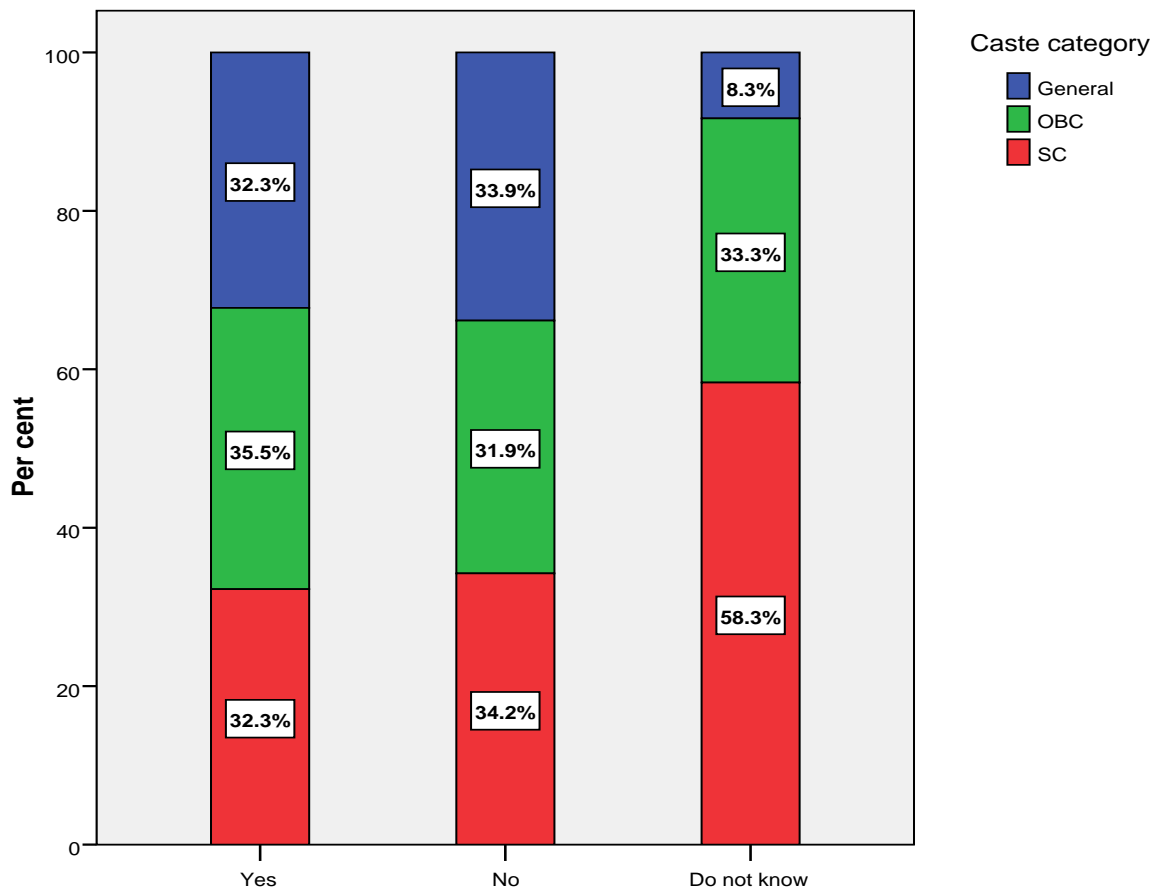


Figure 2.8: Opinion of respondents on whether one should marry in other caste

Table 2.9: Response of respondents on Inter-caste marriage done in the family

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Inter-caste marriage done in the family						Total	
		Yes		No		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General								
1.	Brahmin	7	7.2	91	92.9	-	-	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(7)	(7.2)	(91)	(92.9)	-	-	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC								
2.	Jat	-	-	20	20.6	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	2	2.0	20	20.6	2	2.0	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	1	1.0	4	4.1	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	10	10.3	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	11	11.3	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	7	7.2	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	7	7.2	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(3)	(3.1)	(92)	(94.8)	(2)	(2.0)	(97)	(100.0)
	SC								
15.	Dhobi	-	-	5	4.7	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	-	-	17	16.1	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	-	-	66	62.8	3	2.8	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	14	13.3	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	-	-	(102)	(97.1)	(3)	(2.9)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	10	3.3	285	95.0	5	1.7	300	100.0

It is evident from Table and Figure 2.9 that out of total 300 respondents, overwhelming majority of the respondent (95%) said that in our family no one have done inter-caste marriage so far. Only a small number of respondents (3.5%) said that we have done inter-caste marriage in my family. If we look at caste wise data then we find that in Brahmin caste the frequency is much higher than OBC. Hence, it is found that 95% respondents have not done inter-caste marriages and in their families also no one has done inter-caste marriage so, in most cases we have found that people of our villages are not in favour of inter-caste marriage.

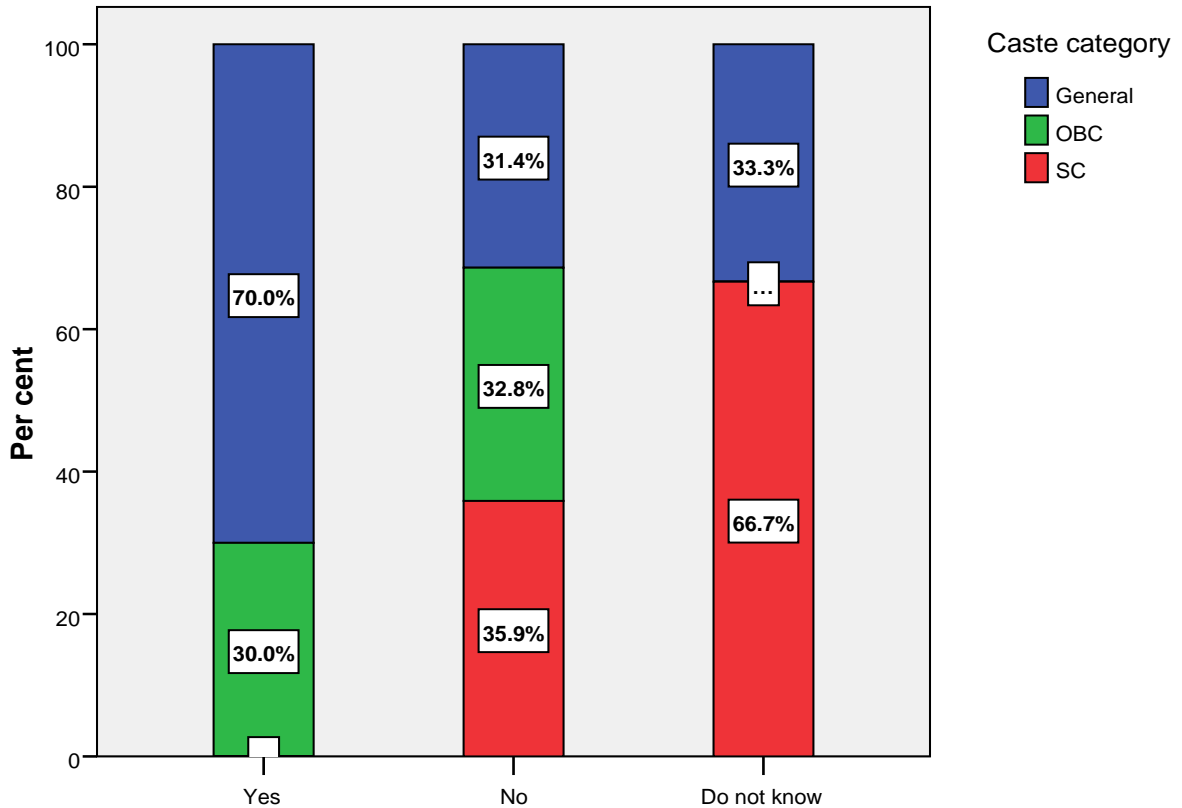


Figure 2.9: Intercaste marriage done in their family

Belief and practice of Untouchability

Since ages, the caste system is a distinct Indian social institution that legitimized and enforces practice of untouchability against lower strata of society viz. the SCs on the basis of notion of purity and pollution. After Independence, the Indian constitution abolished the practice of untouchability and enshrined the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity as the core values for governance of the Indian society.

In this regard, It is evident from the Table and Figure 2.10 that out of total 300 respondents overwhelming majority of them (81.3%) do not believe in the practice of untouchability. But some of them (15%) believe partially or occasionally and also a small but significant number of respondents (3.7%) fully believe in the practice of untouchability with lower castes those who are involved in the scavenging activities. Caste wise also a significant number of respondents in Brahmin groups about 21% partially believe in the practice of untouchability with lower castes. In OBC category also 15% respondents believe in the

practice of untouchability. Hence, it is found that most of the respondents (81.3%) irrespective of caste or category do not believe in the practice of untouchability. But a significant number of respondents (15%) from upper middle and lower castes or those who are traditional still believe in the practice of untouchability with lower castes.

Table 2.10: Belief of respondents in the practice of Untouchability

Sr. no.	Category/Caste	Belief in the practice of untouchability								Total	
		Fully believe		Partially believe		Don't believe		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	6	6.1	21	21.6	71	72.6	-	-	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(6)	(6.1)	(21)	(21.6)	(71)	(72.6)	-	-	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	-	-	2	2.0	18	18.5	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	-	-	5	5.1	18	18.5	1	1.0	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	4	4.1	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	2	2.0	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	1	1.0	8	8.2	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	2	2.0	8	8.2	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	1	1.0	-	-	6	6.1	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	3	3.1	4	4.1	-	-	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(5)	(5.1)	(15)	(15.5)	(76)	(78.4)	(1)	(1.0)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	-	-	-	-	5	4.7	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	-	-	5	4.7	12	11.4	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	-	-	3	2.8	66	62.8	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	-	-	14	13.3	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		-	-	8	(7.6)	97	(92.4)	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		11	3.7	44	14.7	244	81.3	1	0.3	300	100.0

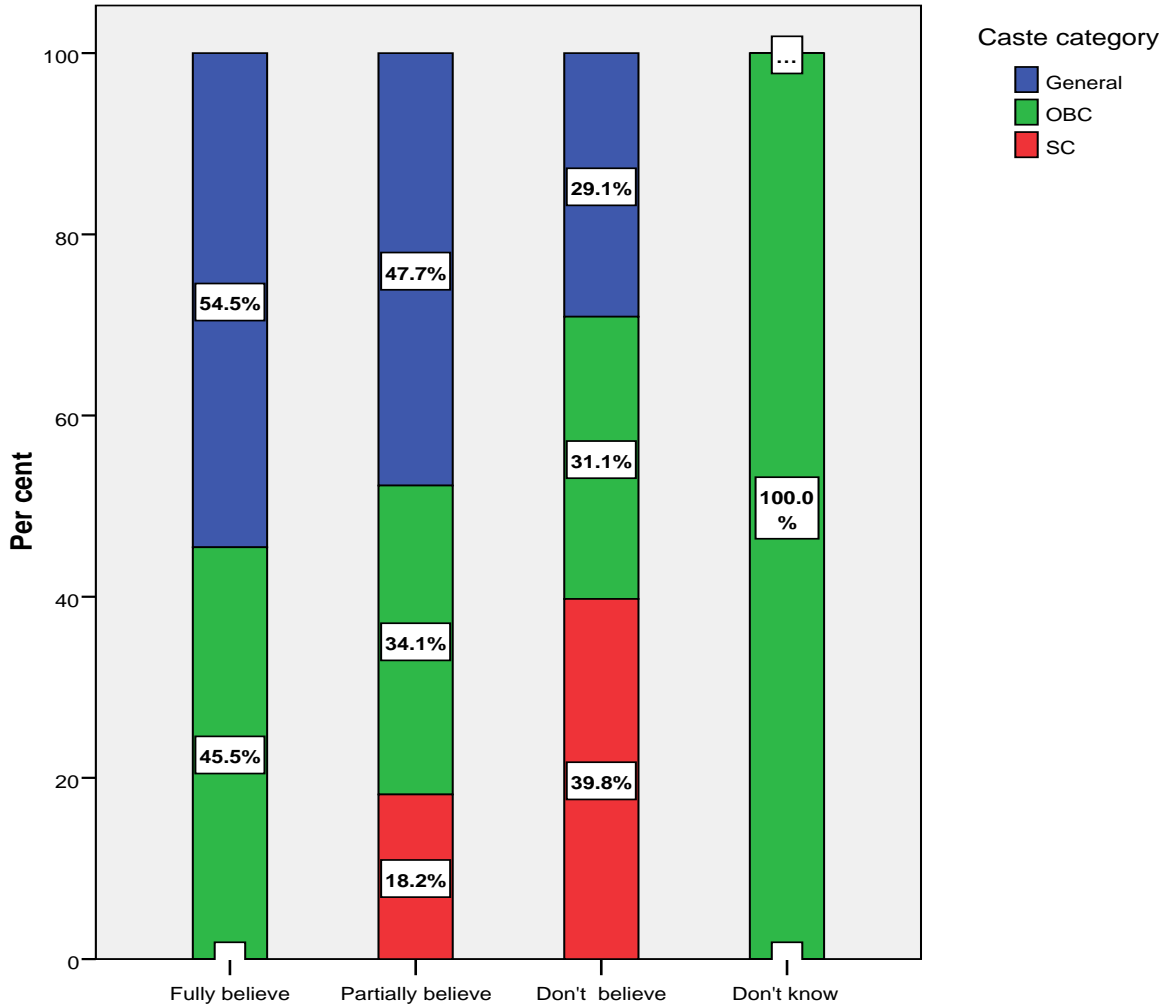


Figure 2.10: Belief in the practice of untouchability by the respondents

It is also evident from Table and Figure 2.11 that out of total 300 respondents majority of them (73.7%) have never follow the practice of untouchability. But around one fourth of the total respondents (26.3%) follow in practice fully/partially. Caste wise also about 36% Brahmin follow the practice of untouchability with lower castes those who are involved in the scavenging activities and also with muslims. Hence, it is found that at the time of festivals like Holi dipawali, Navratri, Dashahra we can see the practice of untouchability. On the day of national festival Holi, Dalits (untouchable castes) fire their separate ‘holika’ and also they enjoy Holi by spreading colours and hugging each other only to their own caste or community members. They are not allowed to go and take part in twice born castes group celebration in the village. In reality, the practice of untouchability is still prevalent in

the terms of the life style followed by the people in village. One of the Harijan's respondents group in our study narrated their views on practice of untouchability. Not to quote them in Hindi language conversation but in our own way of understanding. "Most of the twice born castes have separate utensils for lower castes who work in the fields of farmers and they do not give their own utensils to Chamars, Chuhdas (sweeper castes) and Jatavas like glass, plate, bowl and cups which they regularly use for serving food. Dalits are not allowed to sit on the cots of Brahmin castes and also they do not dare to sit together on the same places where others Brahmins and Jats are sitting." The people those who are vegetarian and do not drink alcohol are respected more by other castes and the people those who are non-vegetarian and take alcohol regularly are given less respect by both the upper and lower castes. The landowning castes mostly upper and middle in our village call Dalit members at their doors on the occasion of crops harvesting, crops irrigation, construction of houses and others agricultural activities for hiring. Some of the farmers (landowning upper and middle castes) have a regular basis contact with labourers who are from their own village and others are from different parts of the states. The labours contact takes place for whole of the years or sometimes it for only one seasonal crop. They are paid cash for agricultural and domestic maintenance. Upper caste members do not interdine with Dalits in any occasion but they are served food in a separate row at last in different occasions like marriage functions and other socio-cultural functions in upper caste families. When any Dalit member invites twice born castes in their house on the occasion of marriage or any other functions the twice born castes do not take food or any other beverage. Although, twice born castes give a gift in cash or food grains as in honour to Dalits family.

Table 2.11: Practice of untouchability followed by the respondents

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Untouchability practiced by respondents						Total	
		Practice fully		Practice partially		Never			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General									
1.	Brahmin	7	7.1	36	36.7	55	56.1	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(7)	(7.1)	(36)	(36.7)	(55)	(56.1)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC									
2.	Jat	-	-	6	6.2	14	14.4	20	20.6
3.	Saini	1	1.0	8	8.2	15	15.5	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	4	4.1	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	2	2.1	-	-	3	3.1	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	1	1.0	8	8.2	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	2	2.0	9	9.2	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	1	1.0	1	1.0	5	5.1	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
12.	Dhooone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	3	3.1	3	3.1	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(6)	(6.1)	(24)	(24.7)	(67)	(69.1)	(97)	(100.0)
SC									
15.	Dhobi	-	-	-	-	5	4.7	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	-	-	4	3.9	13	12.5	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	-	-	-	-	69	65.5	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	2	2.0	12	11.4	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	-	-	(6)	(5.7)	(99)	(94.3)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		13	4.3	66	22.0	221	73.7	300	100.0

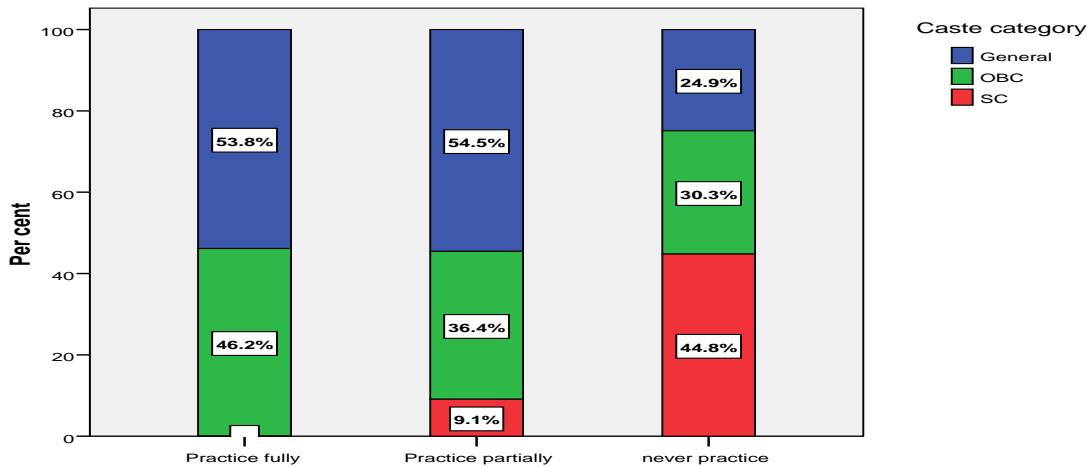


Figure 2.11: Practice of untouchability followed by the respondents

It is also evident from Table and Figure 2.12 that out of total 300 respondents overwhelming majority of them (93.3%) are participating in each and every socio-cultural function whether

it is festivals or common feast served at the time of marriage. But some of the lower castes such as Chamar and Chuhda/Balmiki communities are not allowed to participate in the socio-cultural functions organized by the twice born castes. About 10% lower castes in SC category are not allowed in the socio-cultural function of upper castes. Hence we can see that in spite of being implemented so many restricted laws, provisions against untouchability and other measures to eliminate ill practices embedded in the caste system, yet some dominant castes are not allowing lower castes people to participate in the common festival and other socio-cultural ceremonies/festivals held in the village.

Table 2.12: Participation in religious festivals and ceremonies held in the Village without caste discrimination

Sr. no.	Category/Caste	Participation in religious festivals and ceremonies								Total	
		Yes, participate in all		Yes, participate in Some		Participate in none		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General										
1.	Brahmin	92	93.9	6	6.1	-	-	-	-	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(92)	(93.9)	(6)	(6.1)	-	-	-	-	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC										
2.	Jat	20	20.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	24	24.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	11	11.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	6	6.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	4	4.1	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(91)	(93.8)	(4)	(3.7)	(2)	(2.0)	-	-	(97)	(100.0)
	SC										
15.	Dhobi	4	3.8	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	15	14.2	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	65	61.9	3	2.8	-	-	1	1.0	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	13	12.3	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(97)	(92.4)	(6)	(5.5)	(1)	(1.0)	(1)	(1.0)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	280	93.3	16	5.3	3	1.0	1	0.3	300	100.0

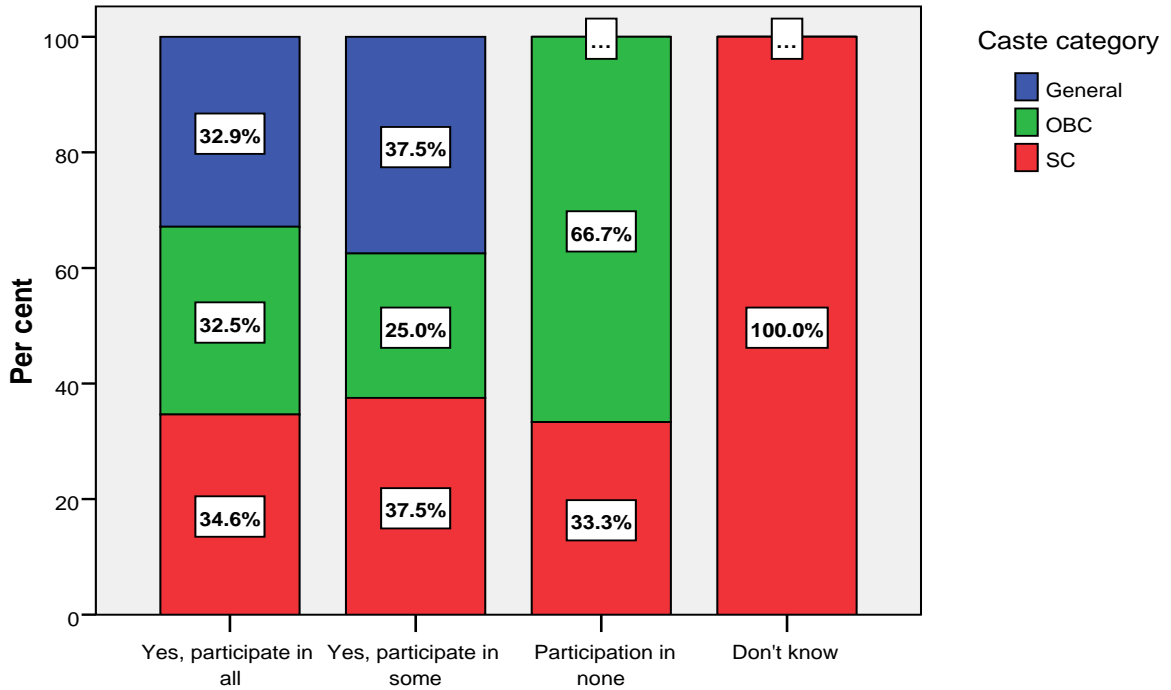


Figure 2.12: Participation of respondents on religious and ritual functions without discrimination in the village

Theory of Karma and Dharma

In simple terms, ‘karma’ means action and ‘dharma’ means righteousness. The words ‘karma’ and ‘dharma’ possess both rhyme and reason. These words represent meanings which cannot be viewed in isolation because ‘dharma’ without ‘karma’ is lame and ‘karma’ without ‘dharma’ is blind. This statement shows the importance of both these concepts in all religious groups and particularly in Hindu life. They are integral parts of Hindu religious philosophy. Practically, belief in the theory of Karma and Dharma means the present socio-economic status of people in society is result of deeds in the past birth. In Indian society there is a proverb ‘which you sow that you ripe’. It literally, means the karma and dharma decides your destiny in life. Traditionally, Hindus believed in the doctrine of Karma and Dharma.

In this connection, Table and Figure 2.13 show that out of total 300 respondents, 33.3% of them fully believe in the theory of karma and dharma, 25% respondents believe partially, 15% respondents don’t believe in theory of Karma, and also a significant number of respondents(25%) don’t know about the theory of Karma. Analysis of caste wise also indicates that about half of the Brahmin caste believes in the theory of Karma. And a

significant number of OBC and SC also believe in the theory of Karma. Some of the respondents said that the doctrine of Karma is a traditional and well-established principle ‘as you sow, so you reap’ inscribed in religious texts. In group discussion guide, some of the members opined that, ‘Now we are living in modern society we have achieved education with scientific temperament, so how we can believe in the theory of Karma. Whatsoever we are at present is a direct result of our present deeds and works.’ So, we don’t believe in the theory of Karma and Dharma. If we honestly and sincerely work for our development, it will give us satisfaction and progress in life.

Table 2.13: Respondent’s belief in the theory of Karma (present socio-economic status is result of deeds in the past birth)

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Belief in the theory of Karma								Total	
		Fully believe		Partially believe		Don’t believe		Don’t know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General										
1.	Brahmin	46	46.9	33	33.7	10	10.3	9	9.1	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(46)	(46.9)	(33)	(33.7)	(10)	(10.3)	(9)	(9.1)	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC										
2.	Jat	9	9.2	1	1.0	5	5.1	5	5.1	20	20.6
3.	Saini	8	8.2	3	3.1	5	5.1	8	8.2	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	2	2.0	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	3	3.1	5	5.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	6	6.1	2	2.0	1	1.0	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	1	1.0	1	1.0	3	3.1	2	2.0	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	3	3.1	1	1.0	-	-	3	42.9	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(38)	(39.2)	(18)	(18.5)	(18)	(18.5)	(23)	(23.7)	(97)	(100.0)
	SC										
15.	Dhobi	-	-	1	1.0	4	3.8	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	6	5.7	6	5.7	3	2.8	2	2.0	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	25	23.8	15	14.2	6	5.7	23	21.9	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	4	3.8	5	4.7	3	2.8	2	2.0	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(35)	(33.3)	(27)	(25.7)	(16)	(15.2)	(27)	(25.7)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	117	39.0	78	26.0	45	15.0	60	20.0	300	100.0

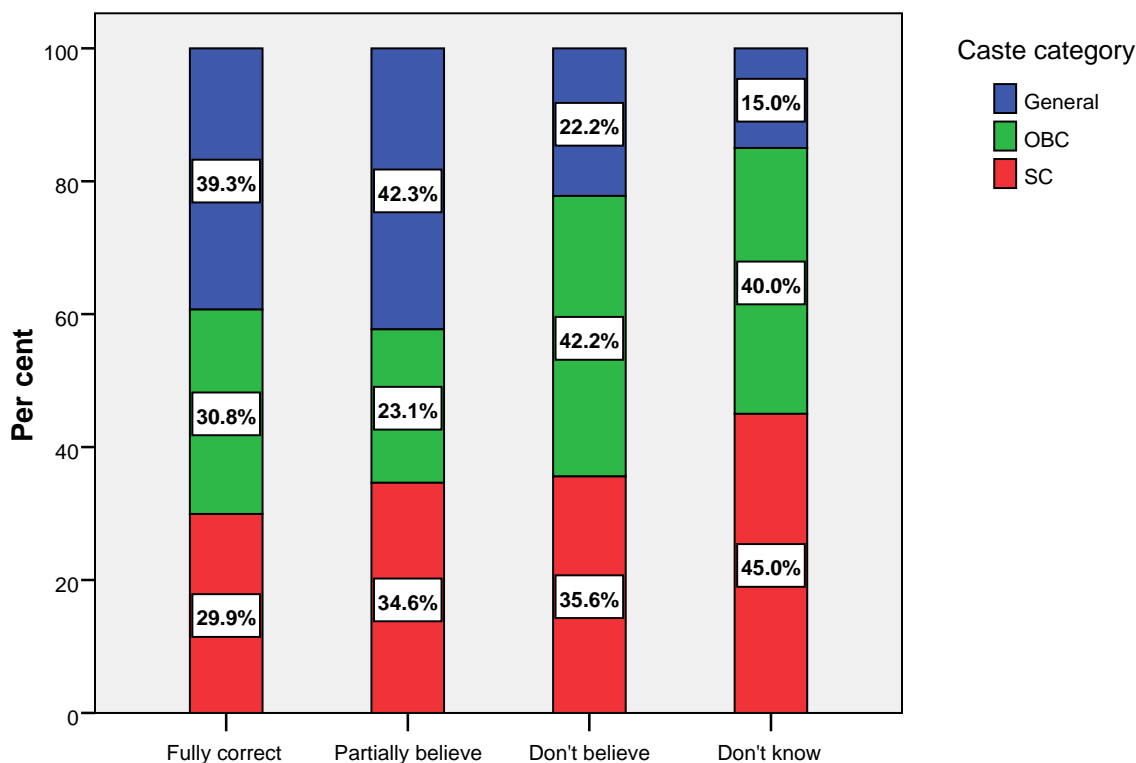


Figure 2.13: Opinion of respondents on the socio-economic condition of present is the result of previous birth

The Existence of Khap Panchayats and Sarva Khap

It was expected that as a result of modernization, including introduction of universal adult franchise and establishment of self governance at local village level, the traditional institutions like, Khap (Caste council) will disappear. Even today, we read in electronic and print media the Khaps the prevalent among the Jat community which follows its own rules and regulations on the issue of inter-caste marriages and other traditional norms and values, and hence, survives to a large extent. The fieldwork done in Bhainsi and Jandheri villages in 2019 indicates that khap and sarva khap are still prevalent in western Uttar Pradesh districts. Khap as a cultural system of the Jat community which maintains and regulates the cultural practices, disputes etc in village setting. In the states of Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, and some parts of the Rajsthan, Khap panchayats are common till now inspite of being banned by the Supreme Court order (in honour killing case) and are still function in harmonious settlements of disputes. Some of the famous Khaps are Balyan, Ahlawat, Rathi, etc. Khap Panchayats are the self-proclaimed councils (courts) which enjoy full legitimacy

and authority among certain castes as the custodian of honour although they have no legal and constitutional basis. The Khap Panchayats generally consist of powerful elements of the dominant caste. They are generally senior citizens who claim to be as upholders of village norms, rural cultures and guardians of public morality Khap Panchayats are understood to have come into existence as a social system i.e. an institution for maintenance of social order. A Sarva khaps is formed on the basis of alliance of eighty four (84) villages. These Sarva khaps are active in western Uttar Pradesh as witnessed during my fieldwork.

Concluding Observations

The above analysis of empirical data shows the trend of both continuity and change in the traditional cultural features of the caste system.

- (i) As per the findings, around one fourth (26.3%) of the total respondents believe that the caste system was created by the God, But majority (60.7%) of them believe it was created by the society. However, category-wise there is some difference in their opinion, as 22% Brahmins thought it was created by the God, whereas the ratio for the OBC and SC was 24% and 26% respectively.
- (ii) As regards commensality, large majority (78.3%) of the total respondents believed it should be done fully, 15.7% believed it is partially, and a small fraction (only 5%) did not support it at all. There is found some difference in their opinion across categories in this matter. Moreover, large majority (83.3%) of them always practiced commensality, 13.7% practiced sometimes, but a tiny majority (2.3%) never practiced it.
- (iii) In respect of inter-caste marriage, large majority (85.7%) was not in favour of it; only a small majority (10.3%) supported it. There was no difference on this across different categories of the respondent. Also, overwhelming majority (95%) of the respondent reported no inter-caste marriage done in their family; only 3.3% reported in the positive.
- (iv) Large majority (81.3%) of the total respondent did not believe in the practice of untouchability, 14.7% believed in it partially and a tiny majority (3.7%) believed in it fully, further large majority 73.7% never practiced untouchability, 22% practiced partially and 4.3% believed fully. There was found some differences across

categories e.g. 7.1% Brahmins practiced untouchability fully whereas the ratio for OBC and SC respondents was 6.9% and nil respectively.

- (v) Majority of the respondents believed in the theory of Karma (39% believed fully, 26% believed partially) whereas small section (15%) of them did not believe in it.
- (vi) Large majority of (73.7%) of the respondent fully believed that different castes are unequal to each other, only 13.3% believed it was completely false to think that castes are unequal, 13.3% considered it partially true.

Moreover, overwhelming majority (91.7%), believed all castes should treat each other as equal. Coming to behaviour aspect, overwhelming majority 90.7% always treated castes higher than oneself as equal to them, 7.3% did so sometimes and almost nil (1%) never did so. Moreover, large majority (71%) of the respondents treated castes lower than oneself always as equal, 22.3% did so sometimes, and 5% never did so. Also overwhelming majority (93.3%) of the respondents participated in religious festivals and ceremonies in the village without any caste discrimination. There is almost no difference among them across categories in this regard. Thus on the whole it is found that there is very high degree of continuity (around 90% respondents) in the belief and behaviour of the respondents regarding inter-caste marriage, high degree of continuity (around 60% respondents) in their belief in the theory of Karma and in their belief that castes are unequal to each other (around 80% respondents). But there is high to very high degree of change in their belief regarding the creation of caste system (around 68% believe society created it, only 26% said created by God) belief in commensality (78% fully believed in commensality), practice of commensality (83% practiced it), belief in untouchability (81% did not believe), practice of untouchability (74% never practiced, only 4% practiced fully), treatment of caste higher than oneself as equal (91% treated always as equal), treatment of castes lower than oneself as equal (71% did so always, only 5% never did so), and participation in religious festivals and ceremonies in the village without any caste discrimination (93% said yes always, only 1% said no), moreover it may be added that there is found some difference in the belief and behaviour of the respondents across categories (i.e. General, SC and OBC) regarding some cultural features of the caste system and almost no difference in case of some other cultural features of the caste system. The continuing existence of khaps even today adds to the caste system as an element of continuity.

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Chapter-3

**Continuity and Change in the Economic
Dimension of the Caste System**

Chapter-3

Continuity and Change in the Economic Dimension of the Caste System

This chapter, first, briefly discusses the concept of social structure and the features of the caste system as a structural phenomenon. Thereafter, it analyses empirically continuity and change in the caste system related to its economic dimension. It is based on the data collected from the respondents of the study pertaining to its economic status.

The concept of social structure

Herbert Spencer was one of the initiators of this concept, and also one of the first sociologists to use the term social structure. For him, a society is made up of different parts, all of which have to work in order to remain healthy, meet the demands of the environment and to survive. Just like an organism, the society adjusts and adapts itself to the demands and pressures of social change in order to survive. The word structure meant originally, the construction of a building. Gradually, structure began to imply inter-relations between the parts of any whole. It also began to be used in anatomical studies. The concept of social structure became popular amongst the sociologists and social anthropologists, in the decade following World War II. During that period it became so fashionable to use this term, that it came to be applied to “almost any ordered arrangement of social phenomenon” (E. Leach 1968, P: 482). One of the major theories of social structure has been given by Nadel in his book, *The Theory of Social Structure* (1969). He has defined social structure in terms of the roles played by the individual actors in society and their consequent social status. He further says, we arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behavior the pattern or network (system) of relationships obtaining between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another Nadel (1969, P: 5).

Caste system as a structural phenomenon

While defining caste system in Indian society, scholars in the field of sociology of caste encountered numerous difficulties, due to its multidimensional and complex nature. I have

already mentioned in the previous chapter that there are two prominent views regarding the caste system. The first view treats caste as a structural reality, and second as a cultural reality. The structural view holds that stratification is a universal reality which can be found in many societies on the basis of caste, class, gender, ethnicity and many and therefore, caste being as an aspect of social stratification falls under the structural reality. 'Both Beteille and Bailey have regarded caste system in Indian society as a structural reality, and also as an extreme form of social stratification, which can be compared with other societies as well in terms of inequality based on social status, wealth and power concentration. They stressed that the caste system is to be defined in terms of structural features which are found not only in Hindu Indian society but the numbers of other societies too (Gould 1990, p: 2). Caste as a structural phenomenon refers to interrelated statuses, patterned interaction among castes on the basis of various restrictions, and a stable set of social relations (Ahuja 2008, p: 36).

The scholars, those who have treated and propagated caste as a structural phenomenon and analyzed it as a category within a general theory of social stratification which is also comparable in many respects to hierarchical organizations elsewhere (cross-culturally comparable phenomenon). They describe caste as a structural phenomenon and view it as a set of pattern of relations among different people in society is primary, whether it is in the case of interdependency, cooperation/conflict of one group to another or in the case of marriage family, kinship relations. In this way for structuralists it becomes quite significant to know that how castes and sub-castes in a particular regional setting maintain or deviate from first their traditionally established pattern of activities and secondly in respect to interaction with other castes. This is because caste as a system is understood not an independent unit but a set of interrelated parts to make a whole. Each and every caste in society is interconnected with other castes for independency, cooperation/conflict and integration whether it is social, cultural, economic or political spheres of the life.

The structural analysis of continuity and change in the caste system differs from the cultural one which is in terms of particularities of customs, values and ideational phenomena, their integration, interaction and change. Structural analysis is focused on the network of social relationships, which though culturally distinct share common and comparable attributes at a higher level of abstraction called social structure. Thus caste, kinship groups, occupational groups, factory and administrative structures which comprise

distinctive fields of social interaction constitute structural realities. They emerge from human needs and existential conditions of man, and are comparable intra-culturally as well as cross-culturally (Singh, 1973 p: 16). Thus, when we look at caste system as a structural phenomenon it is also imperative to discuss its nature, features, and continuity and change based on empirical findings.

Structural Features of the Caste system

The sociologists those who take the structural view of caste look at caste at a higher level of abstraction i.e. 'social structure'. Thus, caste for them is a structural reality. According to them, caste as a social structure is comparable cross-culturally. Caste as a structural phenomenon is considered as a category or type within a general theory of social stratification, comparable in many respects to hierarchical organizations elsewhere. In this vein, Berreman (1972, p: 197) argued that to define caste in terms of its uniquely Indian attributes eliminates or at least diminishes its use as a cross-culturally comparable phenomenon. He preferred to define caste more broadly in order to include, for the purpose of comparison, similar systems of social stratification that occur in other cultures. Berreman argued that a caste system resembles a plural society whose discrete sections are all ranked vertically. Indian caste, therefore, is analogous to social structures elsewhere in which rank is ascribed, such as, for instance, racial differentiation in the United States. In structural terms, Bougle has explained castes as hereditarily specialized and hierarchically arranged group, while as a system; he has referred to its three characteristics: hierarchy, hereditary specialization, and repulsion. Explaining the last characteristic, he claims that different castes repel rather than attract each other. Repulsion is manifested in endogamy, commensality restriction, and social contact. Gough views castes as ranked birth-status groups which are usually endogamous and tend to be associated with an occupation. D' Souza has referred to the definition of caste system as the integration of the interacting and heterogeneous but internally homogeneous hereditary groups into a structure of status hierarchy. This concept not only describes the caste system as a superior or subordinate relationship among hereditary groups in a society, but also explains the conditions under which such a relationship takes place. According to Yogendra Singh, a structural analysis of caste in India should, therefore, concentrate on how castes and sub-castes in different

regional settings maintain or deviate from first, their traditionally established pattern of activities, and secondly, in respect of interaction with other castes. He has also talked about the two most important categories of the structural features of the caste system which are: first, institutionalized circumscription of the spheres of social interactions and secondly, unequal distribution of power. Hence, the structural analysis of caste system mainly focuses on the pattern of relationship between individuals and groups. For example, economic division of labour, interdependency and distribution of power involving dominance and pattern of conflict and cooperation are the structural aspects.

Y. Singh further makes a division in the analysis of caste as structural phenomena into two categories in terms of their universalistic and particularistic orientation. Structural Universalistic orientation means the caste system is regarded as just another manifestation of universal phenomena of social stratification. According to Weber status is one of the universal principles of social stratification.. Thus, status based stratification is found in all societies. Caste system according to Weber is an example of system of stratification in which, groups is ranked in hierarchy, according to ideas, beliefs, norms, values, life-style and etc. Proponent of this view can be found among the Marxist and Structural-functionalist sociologists. For example A. R. Desai a Marxist sociologist regards system of caste as yet another social manifestation of the modes of production and ownership of property. Caste system is nothing but the representation of class relation in caste ideas. On the other hand, Structural Particularistic orientation means that caste system is viewed as a system of stratification which is unique to Indian society. Here, caste is treated as an institutionalized system of interaction among hierarchically ranked hereditary group for occupation, economic division of labor, economic and political dominance, marriage and enforcement of norms and values. Structural analysis of caste views it as a system of institutionalized inequality and therefore, tries to analyze the notion of caste inequality and its changing patterns in various social settings. Thus, the structural features of the caste system mainly focus on the pattern of economic relationship and interaction among hierarchically ranked hereditary groups, in terms of occupation or economic division of labor, ownership of land, durable items, income and distribution of power. Hence, in this chapter we have given a detailed description of Continuity and change in the structural features (economic and political aspects) of the caste system.

Economic aspect of the caste system

Economic aspect mainly focus on the pattern of economic status of the hierarchically ranked hereditary caste groups, in terms of type of residence, occupation or economic division of labor, ownership of land, other durable assets, main source of income, etc.

Type of houses

Rural villages usually consist of settlements and the agricultural land around them. Types of houses, where people live in reflect their economic status. The analysis given here deal with caste/category-wise details of types of houses people lived in the selected villages of the study.

It is evident from Table and Figure 3.1 that out of total 300 respondents a majority of them (63.7%) live in pakka house which is made of concrete material like stone, bricks, iron rods and cement. About one quarter of the respondents (24.3%) are live in mixed type of houses where we find half portion of house made of concrete material and of the rest portion is made of clay. And a significant proportion of total respondents (11% and 1%) till now lives in kachcha houses and hut respectively among different caste category. Hence, it is found that the numbers of respondent across caste category living in pakka houses is higher (64%) than othertype of residence like kachcha, mixed and hut. It is significant to mention that there is a slight difference in different category like about 80% in general castes, 67% in OBC and about 46% in SC are live in pakka houses today.

Further, in both the studies villages all the General category (Brahmins) is settled in the core of the village. The other castes are residing in whole of the village territory. Some of the Saini, Jats and other backward caste are settled in core and others are in the periphery of the village geography. Whereas the Dalit communities in both the villages are residing in one corner or 'Tola' of the village geography i.e. the south-western part of the village territory. Socially, they are excluded from the mainstream sections of the society. The pattern of economic interdependenc in the villages has changed today compared with the past. Today, villages do not look like remote village any more. Means of transport and communication, education, migration, diversified occupational choices, political consciousness, modern beliefs, norms and values and mobility have made them like more rurban settings.

Table 3.1: Caste and category-wise type of house of respondents

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Type of house								Total	
		Kachcha		Pakka		Mixed		Hut			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	4	4.1	78	79.6	15	15.3	1	1.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(4)	(4.1)	(78)	(79.6)	(15)	(15.3)	(1)	(1.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	2	2.0	17	17.5	1	1.0	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	1	1.0	17	17.5	6	6.2	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	-	-	3	3.1	2	2.0	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	2	2.0	6	6.2	2	2.0	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	1	1.0	3	3.1	3	3.1	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	2	2.0	1	1.0	4	4.1	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(11)	(11.3)	(65)	(67.0)	(21)	(21.6)	-	-	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	2	2.0	-	-	3	2.8	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	2	2.0	10	9.5	4	3.7	1	1.0	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	13	12.3	29	27.6	26	24.7	1	1.0	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	1	1.0	9	8.5	4	3.7	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(18)	(17.1)	(48)	(45.7)	(37)	(35.2)	(2)	(2.0)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	33	11.0	191	63.7	73	24.3	3	1.0	300	100.0

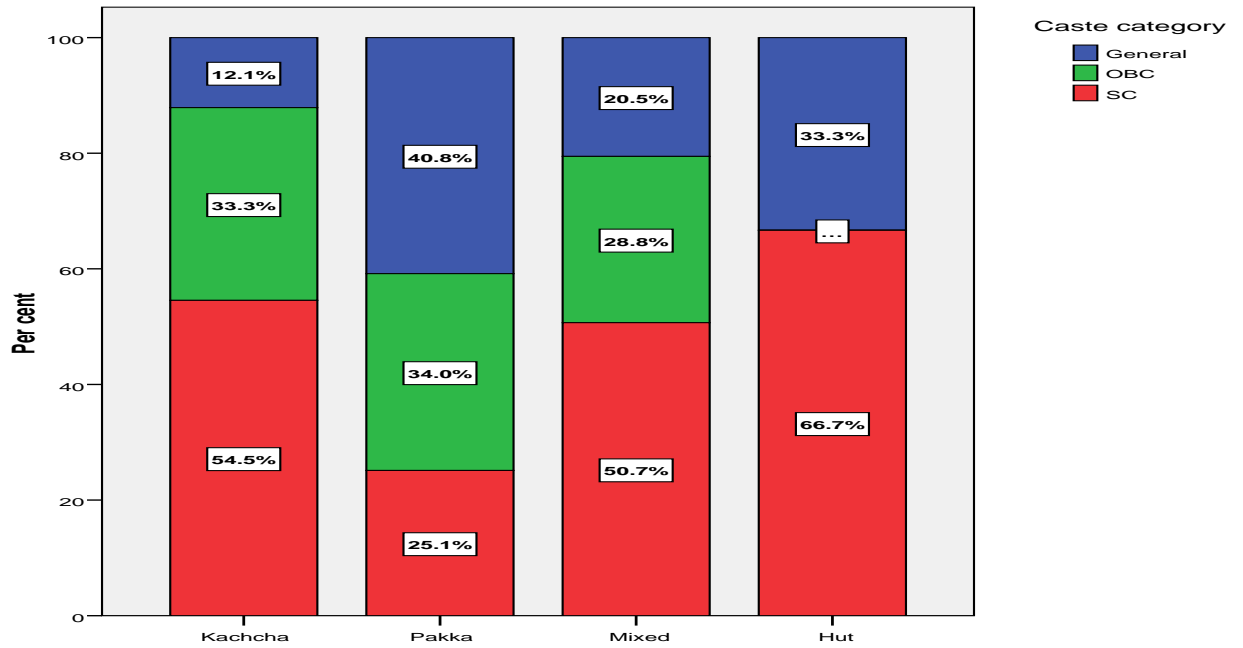


Figure 3.1: Type of houses of respondents

Main family occupation pattern

A fundamental characteristics feature of the caste system in Indian society is that a specific occupation was associated hereditarily with each caste in past. But due to effect of modernization many people (castes) have abandoned their traditional occupation and now they are engaged in other occupations.

While describing the earlier generation's main occupation of the respondents, it is clear from the Table and Figure 3.2 that out of total 300 respondents around 36% were engaged in agricultural activities, 6.3% were in business, 11.7% in government services, around 27% respondent's were engaged in manual labour or daily wage labour and more than 17% of the total respondents of earlier generation occupation had other occupation. It is found that the general caste's involvement in agricultural activities was higher (18%) than the others like OBC 11% and SC 6% as their earlier generation occupation. earlier general castes share in government jobs was significantly higher (21%) than the other caste category. It is also significant to mention that the percentage of general caste's involvement in daily wage labour or manual labour was significantly low (4%) than others like in OBC it is about 9% and in SCs is about 14%.

Further, it was also found during interviews with General, OBC and SC respondent's family members that majority of the OBC category respondents said that 'the earlier generation's occupation of their families was traditional occupations'. Jats and Saini were engaged in agricultural activities, Jogi were local Ayurvedic medicine practicers and distributors and Yoga teachers. Badai caste was engaged in carpentry, Gaderia in animal husbandry and sheep and goat rearing. Kumhars were in pot making, Dhiwar in fishing and selling of fish business. Nais were in traditional occupations such as cutting hairs and participation in Hindus rituals like attending birth of child, marriages and funeral functions. Nai/ barbers played an important role/duty in Hindu religion. Telis or oil pressing and vending caste were involved in oil business. Although Sonar caste's traditional occupation is the business of gold and silver (selling jewellery) but now, they are poor that is why they are involved in manual labour/daily wage earner. Dhunia or Dhune caste was involved in cotton carding, cleaning and re-fluff the cotton with a vibrating bowstring. Rangrej caste was in painting/colouring the clothes and Julaha in weaving and till now they are in their traditional

occupation. While in General caste (Brahmin) a few were in ritual performer, a few business, and majority in agricultural activities and a significant proportion in government services. In SCs castes, mostly people were engaged in agricultural labour and a few in business and government services.

Table 3.2: Caste/category-wise main family occupation of respondents' earlier generation

Sr. no.	Category / caste	Main occupation of respondents' family in earlier generations										Total	
		Agriculture		Business		Service		Labour		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General													
1.	Brahmin	55	56.1	4	4.2	21	21.4	12	12.2	6	6.2	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(55)	(56.1)	(4)	(4.2)	(21)	(21.4)	(12)	(12.2)	(6)	(6.2)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC													
2.	Jat	14	14.4	1	1.0	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	20	20.4
3.	Saini	15	15.4	-	-	3	3.1	2	2.1	4	4.1	24	24.5
4.	Jogi	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.1	3	3.1	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.1
6.	Gaderia	1	1.0	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	8	8.2	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	9	9.2	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.1
10.	Teli	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.2	7	7.2
11.	Somar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.1
14.	Julaha	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	6	6.2	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(34)	(35.0)	(8)	(8.2)	(9)	(9.2)	(27)	(27.9)	(19)	(19.7)	(97)	(100.0)
SCs													
15.	Dhobi	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	1	1.0	2	1.9	5	4.7
16.	Jatav	3	2.8	3	3.1	2	2.0	5	4.7	4	3.7	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	17	16.2	1	1.0	2	2.0	30	29.0	19	18.5	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	8	7.6	4	3.7	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(20)	(19.0)	(7)	(7.2)	(5)	(5.1)	(44)	(41.9)	(29)	(28.0)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand Total	109	36.3	19	6.3	35	11.7	83	27.7	53	17.7	300	100.0

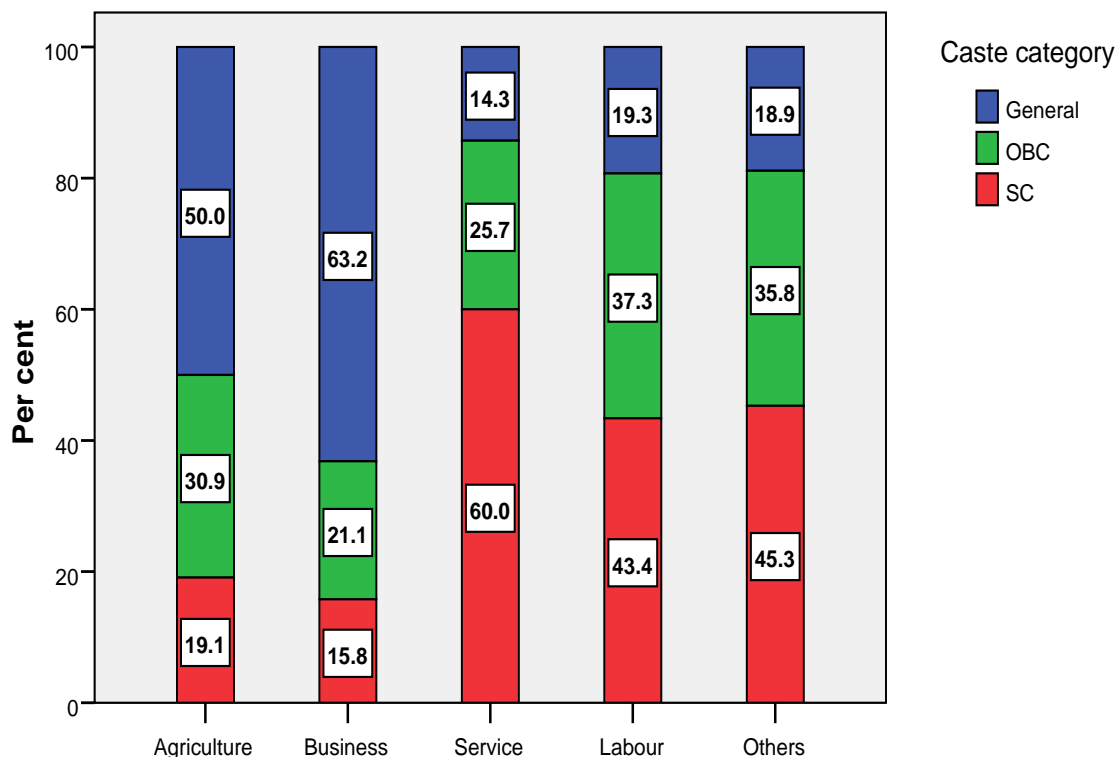


Figure 3.2: Main occupation of respondent's earlier generation

Table and Figure 3.3 reflect that out of total 300 respondents more than one quarter (28.3%) are engaged in agriculture and allied activities, whereas 15.7% in business, 10% in government services, and 7% in other activities as their main occupation. A large proportion of the total respondents are still in manual labour/daily wage earning. In general caste 50% respondents are in agricultural activities, in OBC only 20.4% in agriculture and in SC only around 15% are engaged in agricultural activities. Hence, it is found that a majority of the respondents in both the villages have abandoned their traditional occupations and are now involved in a variety of occupations. It can be said that the main occupation of respondent's family in general caste-category is farming and agricultural activities. In OBC category, largely people are engaged either in business or daily wage earner. In SC, castes are largely dependent on daily wage labour as their main occupation.

Further, it has been noticed that there is a gradual change in the jajmani system these days. Earlier people preferred the hand-made local craft goods. Now, some service provider castes prefer to take cash instead of food grains at the time of seasonal harvesting. Hardly two or

three castes like Dhobi, Teli, Nai are engaged in their traditional occupations. The jajmani relations is declining as a result of machine manufactured goods, technology based services, mill-made cloth and shoes, manufactured stainless steel and brass vessels instead of traditional, pottery etc. Population increase has also meant that landholdings have fragmented; many are so small that landholders cannot afford the traditional panoply of servant and artisan dependents. The geographical condition of this region does not allow farmers to grow any food grains except sugar cane and cash cropping has meant that producers prefer to sell their produce, rather than share it with their dependents. Either unemployment or population pressure or both have led to some specialists leaving the villages. In rural areas, carpenters continue to be well- employed, while water-carriers have largely been displaced by courtyard pumps, or else people can no longer afford to employ them. In brief, it can be said that all the factors which are responsible for decline and disintegration of the caste system are also responsible for the decline and disintegration of the jajmani system. The jajmani system of service-relationships is now broken up significantly under the influence of monetisation, urbanization and industrialization. The traditional jajmani system which was based on reciprocity and interdependency in terms of exchange of goods and services is now replaced by that of competition. A tension emerging from contradictions of class interest cut across the reciprocity and interdependence on which Jajmani relations was mostly organized. Even in those cases where the dominant castes regulated the jajmani relationships, new caste associations have challenged their authority and actively compete with them in the arena of power. This shows that the phenomenon of caste association to a great extent subsumes the relationships characteristic of a class structure.

Table 3.3: Caste and category-wise main occupation of respondents' family at present

Sr. no.	Category / caste	Main occupation of respondents' family at present										Total	
		Agriculture		Business		Service		Labour		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General													
1.	Brahmin	49	50.0	9	9.2	14	14.3	15	15.3	11	11.3	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(49)	(50.0)	(9)	(9.2)	(14)	(14.3)	(15)	(15.3)	(11)	(11.3)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC													
2.	Jat	11	11.3	3	3.1	3	3.1	3	3.1	-	-	20	20.4
3.	Saini	6	6.2	9	9.2	3	3.1	2	2.1	4	4.1	24	24.5
4.	Jogi	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	2	2.1	1	1.0	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.1
6.	Gaderia	1	1.0	2	2.1	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	3	3.1	-	-	6	6.2	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	8	8.2	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.1
10.	Teli	-	-	4	4.1	2	2.1	1	1.0	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Somar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.1
14.	Julaha	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	6	6.2	-	-	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(20)	(20.4)	(27)	(27.5)	(11)	(11.2)	(32)	(32.4)	(7)	(7.2)	(97)	(100.0)
SCs													
15.	Dhobi	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0	1	1.0	5	4.7
16.	Jatav	3	2.8	3	2.8	2	2.0	9	8.5	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	10	9.5	5	4.7	2	2.0	50	47.5	2	2.0	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	3	2.7	1	1.0	1	1.0	9	8.5	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(16)	(15.4)	(11)	(10.5)	(5)	(4.7)	(70)	(65.5)	(3)	(2.7)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand Total		85	28.3	47	15.7	30	10.0	112	37.3	21	7.0	300	100.0

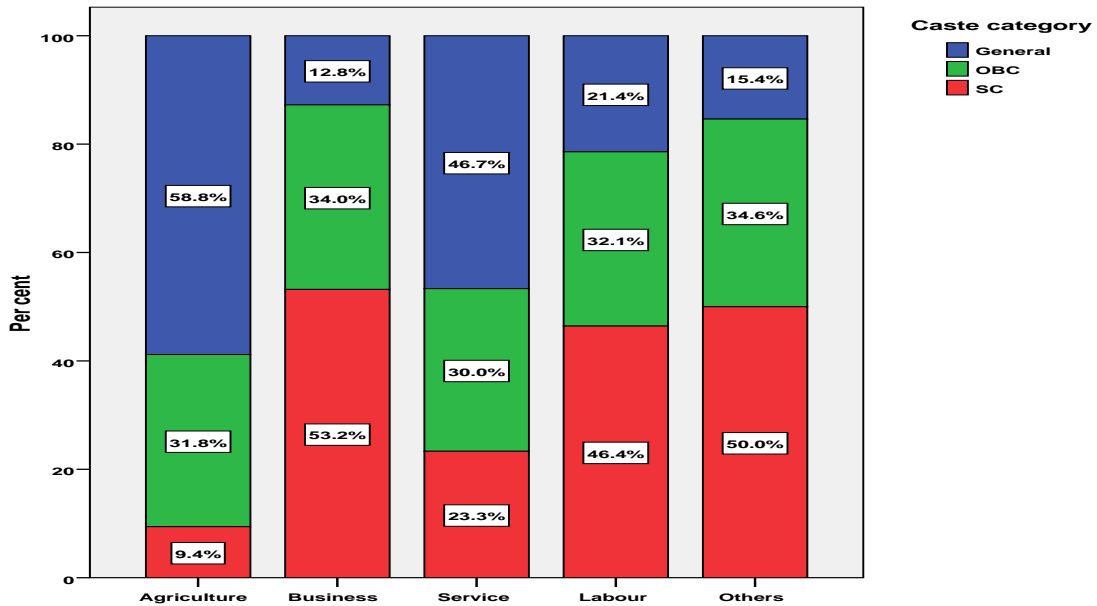


Figure 3.3: Present main occupation of respondents

Table and Figure 3.4 show that out of total 300 respondents around 14.3% respondents consider education as main reason behind change in main family occupation over generations, 35.3% consider increase in income is main reason behind change in main family occupation over generations. Now, people are getting more government jobs in different sectors and due to industrialization and modernization a varieties of employment attract youths to earn more than their traditional occupations. 23.7% consider change of business which gives more profit than their traditional occupation, and rest of the 26.7% consider other factors like payment of cash mode for labor, fragmentation of land over generations, no scope for doing traditional occupation, migration of castes to town and cities for better earning because there is no chance to uplift socio-economic position of their own by practicing their traditional occupation which make them to earn more instead of doing their traditional occupation. This is almost same pattern in caste category-wise also. Also, it is found that because of the circulation of monetary system which in past was based on kinds and food grain exchange, now altered with skilled based professional and educational attainment, easier access to employment in town and cities and others had contributed to change in main family occupation over generations. Hence, there are various reasons that facilitate to change in main family occupation over generations. People while choosing their occupations attach greater importance to income rather than anything else. Respondents in the new generation have lost their attraction for traditional occupations due to less remuneration. The respondents who are educated wish to join and some had joined the public services and some other continuing their traditional occupation in a sophisticated manner. The people of the present generation are much interested in non-traditional occupations. They are leaving their traditional occupation due to ill feeling of their own occupation. They desire to achieve high status in the society and to obtain more income from other occupations. These causes were responsible to leave their traditional occupations. Further the study also reveals that there are various reasons of less occupational mobility among the Schedule castes and more occupational mobility among General and OBCs. Poverty among the SCs is high compared to other category. The main reason of financial problem among SCs is that they are mostly dependent on wage laboring and other agricultural activities. Due to lack of interest in education their children remain engaged in their traditional occupations like manual laboring (agricultural laborers, wage laborers in

construction sites) and hardly earn a little amount in cash which is only hand to mouth. This little amount in cash of these laborers does not allow them to send their children to school and collages. So, the main occupations of SCs remain unchanged. They are still engaged in manual labor and earn their livelihood from daily wage labour.

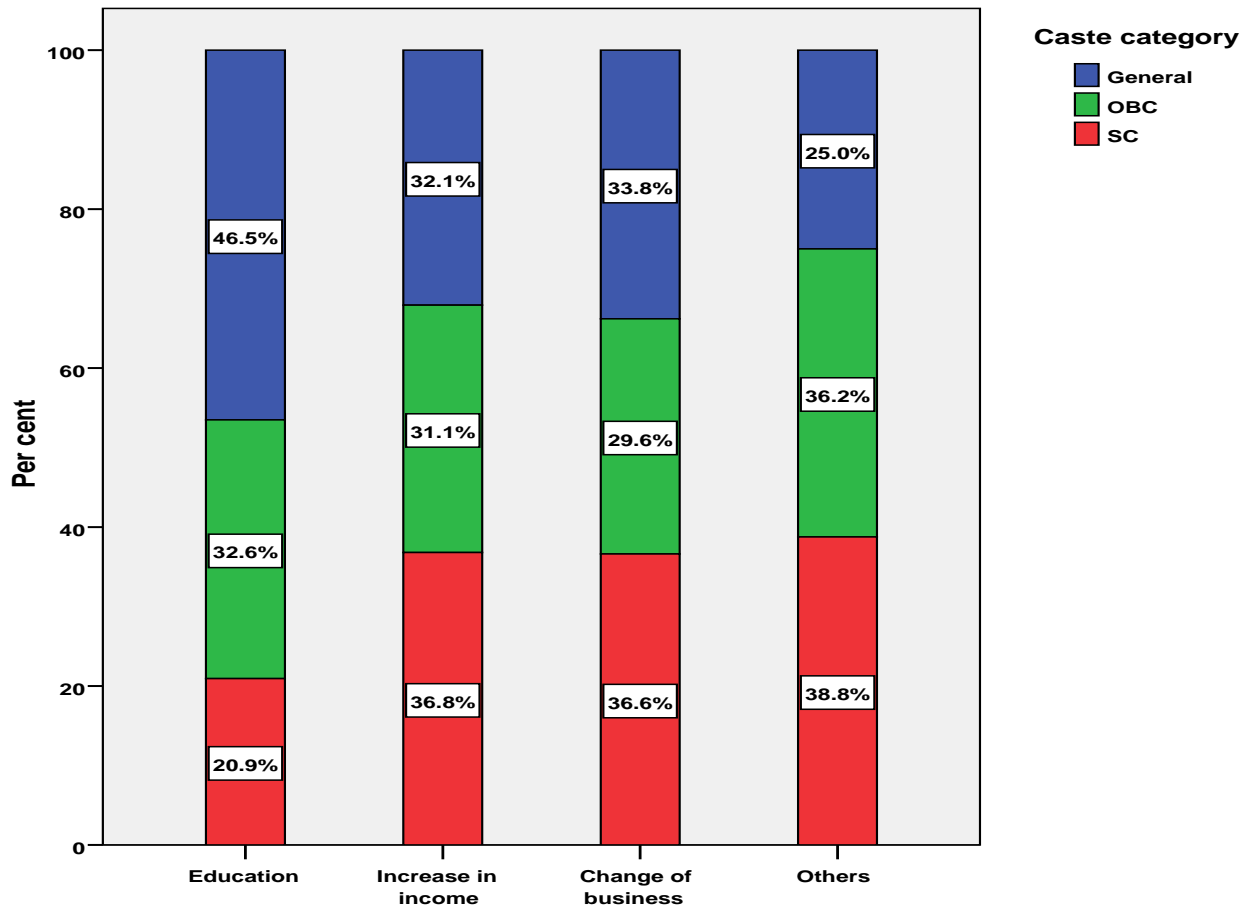


Figure 3.4: Reason behind the changes in the occupation

Table 3.4: Caste and category-wise reasons behind change in main family occupation of respondent's over generations

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Reasons behind change in main family occupation over generation								Total	
		Education		Increase in income		Change of business		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	20	20.6	34	34.8	24	24.7	20	20.6	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(20)	(20.6)	(34)	(34.8)	(24)	(24.7)	(20)	(20.6)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	3	3.1	12	12.3	3	3.1	2	2.0	20	20.6
3.	Saini	2	2.0	12	12.3	5	5.1	5	5.1	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	3	3.1	3	3.1	3	3.1	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	5.1	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	3	3.1	3	3.1	1	1.0	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	5	5.1	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(14)	(14.4)	(33)	(34.0)	(21)	(21.6)	(29)	(29.9)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	2	2.0	5	4.7	2	2.0	8	7.6	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	2	2.0	31	29.5	20	19.0	16	15.2	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	4	3.7	3	2.8	2	2.0	5	4.7	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(9)	(8.4)	(39)	(37.1)	(26)	(24.8)	(31)	(29.5)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		43	14.3	106	35.3	71	23.7	80	26.7	300	100.0

Main sources of family income

There are various sources (like agriculture, business, government job, labour and etc) of generating income to fulfill individual and family basic needs.

Table and Figure 3.5 reflect that out of total (300) respondents more than one quarter (26%) are dependent on agriculture and involved in farming and agricultural activities as their most important source of income at present. while 17.3% respondents are involved in business and around 10% respondent's main family income comes from government services. A large section of village population is still dependent on manual labor or daily wage labor as their present occupation for livelihood and main sources of income. In general castes around half of the totals (50%) are earn income from agriculture. Caste-category wise also around 20% in general, 40% in OBC and 50% in SC category are engaged in daily wage labour as their present occupations as their most important source of income and about 50% general category, 20% OBC category and 15% SC category respondent are engaged in agriculture as their present occupation for income. The above Table also describes that around 10% in all

caste-category are engaged in government services as their present main source of income and occupation. It is significant to mention that the share of OBC in business is higher than the other caste category. Hence, it is found that general caste's involvement in agricultural activities is higher (50%) than others. It is also significant to mention that the share of caste-category wise in daily wage labour or manual labour is significantly low (around 20%) in general castes than others like in OBC it is around 40% and around 50% in SC category.

Table 3.5: Caste and category-wise most important source of family income of respondents

Sr. no.	Category / caste	Most important source of family income of respondents at present										Total	
		Agriculture		Business		Service		Labour		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General													
1.	Brahmin	42	42.9	4	4.1	10	10.3	17	17.4	25	25.5	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(42)	(42.9)	(4)	(4.1)	(10)	(10.3)	(17)	(17.4)	(25)	(25.5)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC													
2.	Jat	11	11.3	6	6.2	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	8	8.2	6	6.2	3	3.1	7	7.2	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	1	1.0	2	2.1	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.1
6.	Gaderia	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	8	8.2	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	3	3.1	1	1.0	7	7.2	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.1
10.	Teli	-	-	3	3.1	2	2.1	-	-	2	2.1	7	7.2
11.	Somar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	2	2.1
14.	Julaha	-	-	2	2.1	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(20)	(20.5)	(28)	(28.8)	(11)	(11.2)	(36)	(37.1)	(2)	(2.1)	(97)	(100.0)
SCs													
15.	Dhobi	-	-	2	1.9	-	-	3	2.8	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatav	5	4.7	3	2.8	2	2.0	7	6.5	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	10	9.5	12	11.2	5	4.7	32	30.5	10	9.5	69	65.5
18.	Balmiki	1	1.0	3	2.8	1	1.0	9	8.5	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(16)	(15.2)	(20)	(19.0)	(8)	(7.5)	(51)	(48.6)	(10)	(9.5)	(105)	(100.0)
	Total	78	26.0	52	17.3	29	9.7	104	34.7	37	12.3	300	100.0

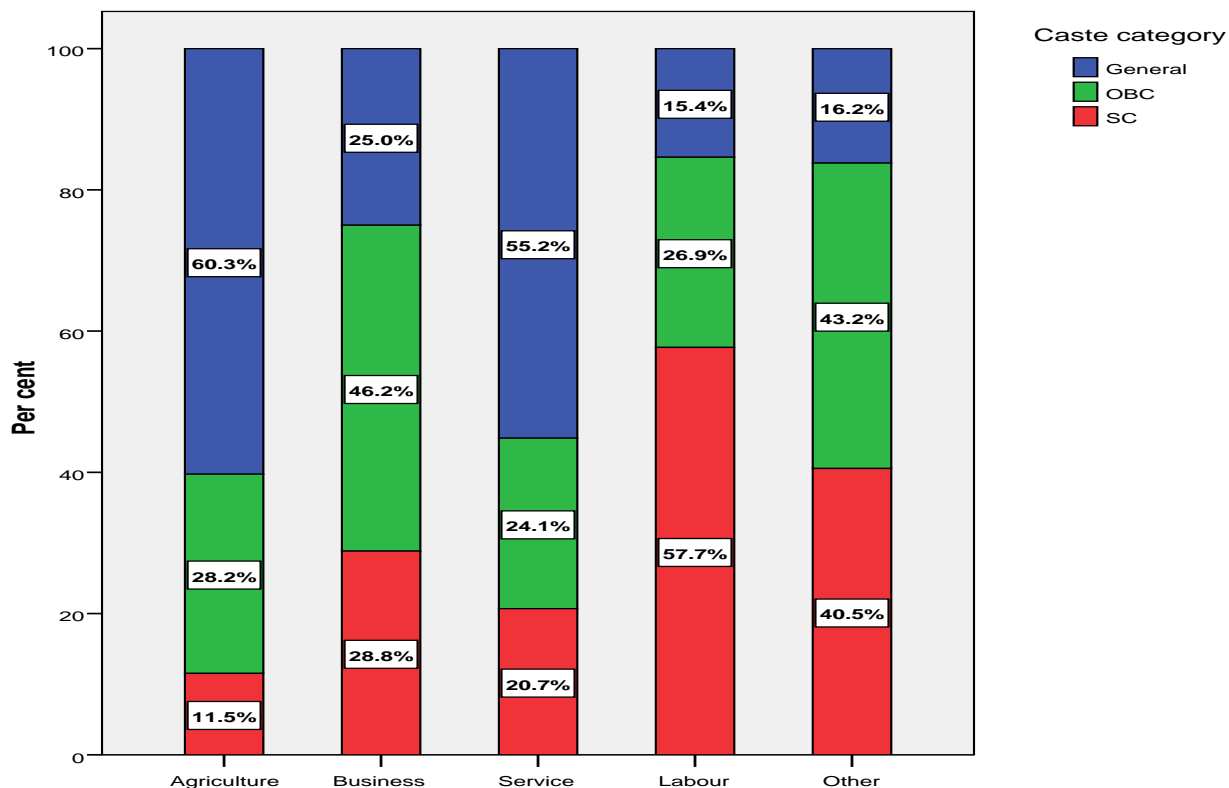


Figure 3.5: Most important source of family income

Agricultural landholding pattern

Unequal distribution of agricultural landholding among different caste groups in terms of size of landholding, namely marginal, small, medium big and landless among the respondents of the selected villages in rural western Uttar Pradesh is analyzed here.

Table and Figure 3.6 demonstrate that out of total 300 respondents majority of families (75.7%) belong to small/marginal landholding category, about 15.3% belong to medium land holding, 2% respondents family belong to big landholding, whereas 5.7% have no landholding. If we analyze the Table 3.6, category-wise, then we got a different pattern. Out of total 98 respondents in general caste category there are four families who own big land holdings i.e. more than 10 hectares. There is no such family in general caste which has no land ownership in both of the selected villages. In OBC caste/category only two castes (two Jats families and one Saini caste) have big land holding in both the villages, whereas, in SC category no one has big land holdings in both of the villages. Hence, it is evident that in general and OBC caste categories there are big landholdings but in SC there is no big landholding and even many (17 families out of 105 families) of them have no agricultural

land holdings from decades even after successful implementation of land reform Acts after independence. They are surviving as agricultural labourers working in the fields of big and medium farmers for earning their bread and others expenditures. It is seen that most of the SCs are agricultural labourers and daily wage earners because they don't have either sufficient land ownership or no land holdings. If we compare all the three categories, then we find that SCs are more in labour force than the general and OBC categories. Many of the OBCs have their own business and are engaged in agriculture whereas in general caste category many of the families are engaged either in agriculture or labour force. Only a small percentage of family members across all the categories are in government services.

Table 3.6: Caste/category-wise distribution of respondents as per landholding size

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Category of farmer respondent's family belonging										Total	
		No landholding		Marginal/Small landholding		Medium landholding		Big landholding		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General												
1.	Brahmin	4	4.1	64	65.3	25	25.5	3	3.1	2	2.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(4)	(4.1)	(64)	(65.3)	(25)	(25.5)	(3)	(3.1)	(2)	(2.0)	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC												
2.	Jat	-	-	5	5.1	13	12.4	2	2.0	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	-	-	18	18.6	5	5.	1	1.0	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	-	-	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	9	9.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	7	7.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0					-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	6	6.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(3)	(3.1)	(70)	(72.2)	(21)	(21.5)	(3)	(3.1)	-	-	(97)	(100.0)
	SC												
15.	Dhobi	2	2.0	3	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	1	1.0	16	15.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	6	5.7	62	59.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	1	1.0	12	11.4	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(10)	(9.5)	(93)	(88.6)	-	-	-	-	(2)	(2.0)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	17	5.7	227	75.7	46	15.3	6	2.0	4	1.3	300	100.0

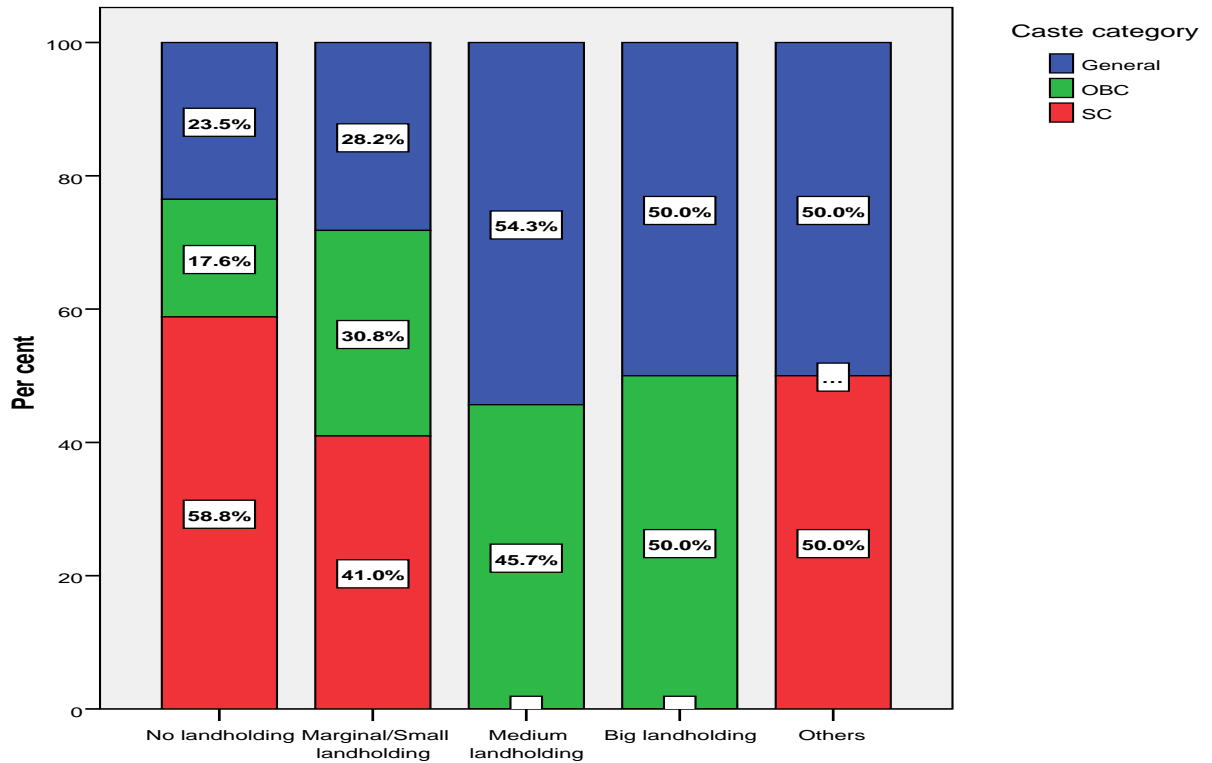


Figure 3.6: Caste-wise distribution of respondents as per landholding size

It is also evident from Table and Figure 3.7 that out of total 300 respondents more than half of the respondents (58.7%) consider partition of family landholding is one of the causes to change in the family landholding, 15.3% said increase by buying, and 14.7% argued decreased by selling as the main cause of Change in size of family landholding where as 11.3% opine that other there is no factor which facilitate to change in the size of family landholding. There is also the same pattern in caste categories. Hence, it is found that there are various factors described above which contribute to change in the family size of landholding in villages recently.

Table 3.7: Caste/category-wise reasons for change in size of family landholding

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Change in family landholding size								Total	
		Increased by buying		Decreased by selling		Decreased due to partition		No change			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	15	15.3	22	22.4	12	12.3	49	50.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(15)	(5.0)	(22)	(7.3)	(12)	(12.3)	49	(50.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	6	6.1	2	2.0	5	5.1	7	7.2	20	20.6
3.	Saini	12	12.3	-	-	7	7.2	5	5.1	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	4	4.1	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	7	7.2	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	8	8.3	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	5	5.1	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	6	6.1	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(21)	(21.6)	(8)	(8.2)	(17)	(17.5)	(51)	(52.5)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	4	3.8	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	4	3.8	-	-	13	12.4	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	5	4.7	13	12.3	46	43.8	5	4.7	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	1	1.0	13	12.4	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(10)	(9.5)	(14)	(13.3)	(76)	(72.4)	(5)	(5.1)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	46	15.3	44	14.7	176	58.7	34	11.3	300	100.0

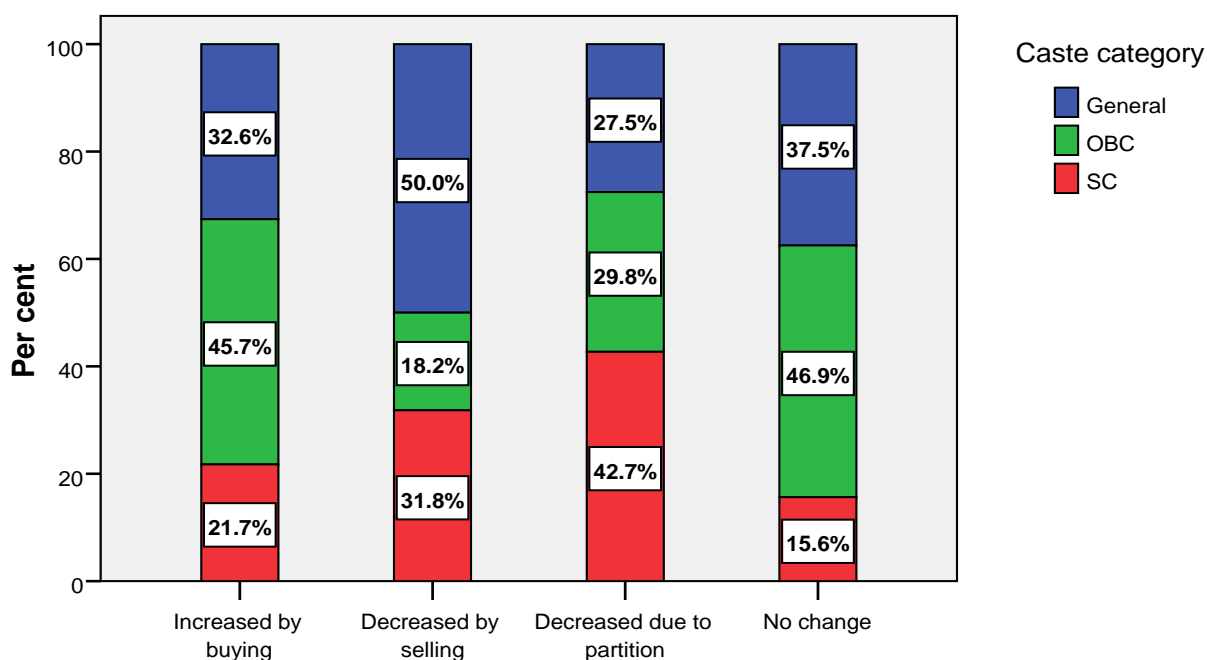


Figure 3.7: Change in size of family landholding due to purchase/sale

Table 3.8: caste/category-wise improvement in economic status of respondents' Families compared with earlier generations

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Improvement in economic status of family								Total	
		Yes		No		No change		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General										
1.	Brahmin	71	72.4	22	22.6	5	5.1	-	-	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(71)	(72.4)	(22)	(22.6)	(5)	(5.1)	-	-	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC										
2.	Jat	18	18.6	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	16	16.5	8	8.2	-	-	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	4	4.1	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	3	3.1	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	7	7.2	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	8	8.2	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	6	6.1	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	2	2.0	3	3.1	2	2.0	-	-	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(72)	(73.5)	(18)	(18.4)	(6)	(6.1)	(1)	(1.0)	(97)	(100.0)
	SC										
15.	Dhobi	2	2.0	3	2.8	-	-	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	10	9.5	5	4.7	2	2.0	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	55	52.3	14	13.3	-	-	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	11	10.5	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(78)	(74.4)	(24)	(22.5)	(3)	(3.1)	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	221	73.7	64	21.3	14	4.7	1	0.3	300	100.0

Table and Figure 3.8 reflect that out of total 300 respondents, majority of them (73.7%), say that there is positive improvement in economic status of family compared with earlier generations. Around 21.3% respondents say that there is no positive improvement in the economic status of family compared with earlier generations and 4.7% respondents say that there is no change in economic status of family compared with earlier generation. Caste category-wise also there is same pattern. Hence, it has been found that in general OBC and SC have improved their economic status over the generations due to various reasons like ample opportunities of employment in various sectors, migration, educational attainment, circulation of monetary system, preferences of doing business and etc.

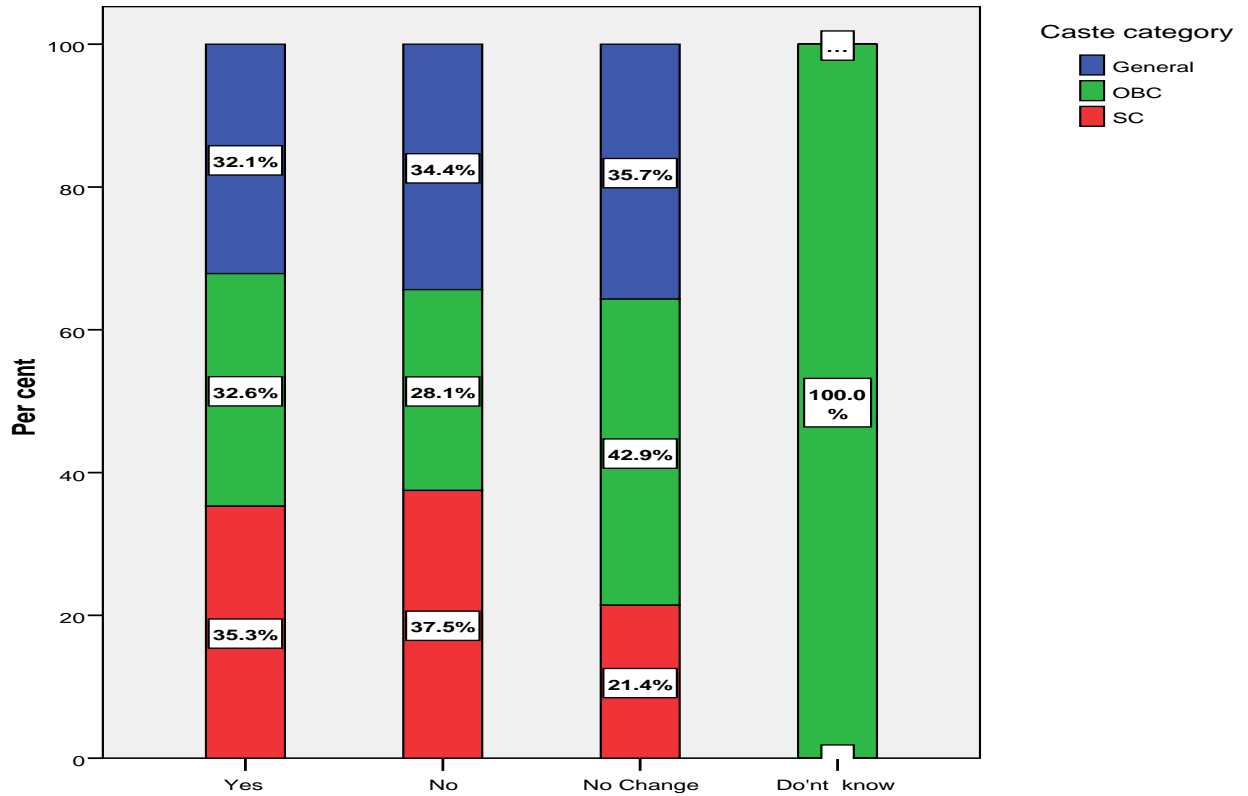


Figure 3.8: Improvement in the economic status of respondents family compared with earlier generations

Table 3.9 reflects that there is no uniformity among all the caste regarding total annual family income of respondents from all sources. Out of total 300 respondents 16.7 % respondents earn 10-25,000, 14.3% respondents earn 25-50000 and more than one quarter (27.7%) of the respondents earn 50,000 to 1, 00,000 as their annual family income from all sources in rupees. These categories of respondents are mainly from SCs and OBCs community those who have not secured a minimum landholding size and mainly dependent on agricultural labour forces. 18% respondents earn 1-2 lakh, 15% respondents earn 2-5 lakh, and 5.3% respondents earn 5-10 lakh as their total annual family income from all sources in rupees. Caste categories-wise also there is the same pattern among all the castes. Hence, it is found that General and OBC castes have higher annual family income than the SC category. Only 2% respondents in general caste category earn 10-20 lakh as their total annual family income from all the sources.

Table 3.9: Caste/category-wise total annual income of respondent's family from all sources

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Total annual family income from all sources (Rs.)																Total	
		1-10,000		10,000-25,000		25,000-50,000		50,000-100,000		1- 2 lakh		2- 5 lakh		5- 10 lakh		10-20 lakh			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General																			
1.	Brahmin	1	1.0	6	6.1	8	8.2	24	24.7	30	30.9	19	19.5	8	8.2	2	2.0	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(1)	(1.0)	(6)	(6.1)	(8)	(8.2)	(24)	(24.7)	(30)	(30.9)	(19)	(19.5)	(8)	(8.2)	(2)	(2.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC																			
2.	Jat	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	1	1.0	9	9.3	7	7.2	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saini	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	8	8.2	4	4.1	8	8.2	1	1.0	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	-	-	3	3.1	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	4	4.1	1	1.0	3	3.1	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	3	3.1	1	1.0	4	4.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	4	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	2	2.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(3)	(3.1)	(17)	(17.4)	(17)	(17.4)	(25)	(25.7)	(12)	(12.3)	(21)	(21.6)	(8)	(8.2)	-	-	(97)	(100.0)
SC																			
15.	Dhobi	-	-	5	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	1	1.0	4	3.8	2	2.0	6	5.7	3	2.8	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	1	1.0	15	14.2	18	17.1	24	22.8	8	7.6	3	2.8	-	-	-	-	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	1	1.0	3	2.8	4	3.8	4	3.8	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(3)	(2.8)	(27)	(25.7)	(24)	(23.6)	(34)	(32.4)	(12)	(11.5)	(5)	(4.7)	-	-	-	-	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		7	2.3	50	16.7	43	14.3	83	27.7	54	18.0	45	15.0	16	5.3	2	0.7	300	100.0

Distribution of consumer durables and other assets

Here, the analysis includes distribution of consumer durables, transport vehicles and agricultural machinery among different caste/categories in the selected villages.

Table 3.10: Caste/category-wise possession of consumer durables in respondents' families

(Total respondents = 300)

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Consumer durables possessed by respondents' families														Total no. of respondents
		A.C.		Fridge		Cooler		Washing machine		Television		Gas cylinder		None of these		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
	General															
1.	Brahmin	2	2.0	62	63.2	33	33.6	21	21.4	78	79.5	89	90.5	1	1.0	
	(Sub-total)	(2)	(2.0)	(62)	(63.2)	(33)	(33.6)	(21)	(21.4)	(78)	(79.5)	(89)	(90.5)	(1)	(1.0)	98
	OBC															
2.	Jat	3	3.1	16	16.4	8	8.2	6	6.1	16	16.4	19	19.5	-	-	
3.	Saini	2	2.0	16	16.4	6	6.1	5	5.1	12	12.3	17	17.4	-	-	
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	3	3.1	-	-	
5.	Badai	-	-	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
6.	Gadaria	-	-	3	3.1	2	2.0	2	2.0	3	3.1	5	5.1	-	-	
7.	Kumhar	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	1	1.0	7	7.2	6	6.1	1	1.0	
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	4	4.1	2	2.0	1	1.0	6	6.1	7	7.2	-	-	
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
10.	Teli	-	-	4	4.1	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.1	7	7.2	-	-	
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
14.	Julaha	-	-	2	2.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	3	3.0	2	2.0	
	(Sub-total)	(5)	(5.1)	(53)	(54.6)	(21)	(21.6)	(17)	(17.5)	(62)	(63.9)	(75)	(77.3)	(3)	(3.1)	97
	SC															
15.	Dhobi	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	3	2.9	5	4.7	-	-	
16.	Jatava	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	9	8.5	12	11.4	-	-	
17.	Chamar	-	-	3	2.9	3	2.9	2	1.9	32	30.4	54	51.4	5	4.7	
18.	Balmiki	-	-	2	1.9	2	1.9	-	-	9	8.5	7	6.6	2	1.9	
	(Sub-total)	-	-	(7)	(6.6)	(5)	(4.7)	(2)	(2.0)	(53)	(50.4)	(78)	(74.2)	(7)	(6.6)	105
	Total	7	2.3	122	40.7	59	19.7	40	13.3	193	64.3	242	80.7	11	3.7	300

Note: No. and Percentage figures are item-wise with respect to total number of respondents in each category Viz. General (98), OBC (97), SC (105) and total respondents (300).

Table 3.10 demonstrates that out of total 300 respondents majority of them (80.7%) have gas cylinder in their home and about 64.3% respondents have television in their home. About 40.7% respondents have acquired refrigerator in their home and 19.7% have cooler, 13.3% have washing machine in their home. In the analysis of caste category-wise also it has been found that across all the caste groups overwhelming majority of the households are acquiring gas cylinder. More than

75% households acquire television in general caste category. In OBC and SC category also most of the people have television in their homes. In the possession of A.C. it is confined to only Brahmins and in OBC (Jat and Saini). If we compare within OBC then we have a graded (from expensive to cheaper) maximum consumer durables concentrated in the hands of Jat followed by Saini and then other respective castes. It is same pattern in the SC category also. Jatava and Chamar with respect to their percentage some have fridge; cooler and gas cylinder and rest of the SCs have no possession. So, if we compare all these three categories in a holistic way then we can find out that in the possession of these items (consumer durables) the three castes Brahmins, Jats and Saini have higher concentration of expensive items then followed by other castes, and it is same pattern in the analysis of category-wise also.

Table 3.11: Caste-wise possession of Transport vehicles by respondents' families

(Total respondents = 300)

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Transport vehicles possessed by respondents' families for each item										Total no. of respondents
		Truck/bus		Car/jeep		Motorcycle/scooter		Cycle		None of them		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
General												
1.	Brahmin	3	3.1	12	12.2	74	75.5	83	84.6	6	6.1	98
	(Sub-total)	(3)	(3.1)	(12)	(12.2)	(74)	(75.5)	(83)	(84.6)	(6)	(6.1)	
OBC												
2.	Jat	3	3.1	7	7.3	18	18.5	18	18.5	1	1.0	97
3.	Saini	2	2.0	6	6.2	15	15.4	21	21.6	1	1.0	
4.	Jogi	-	-	-	-	3	3.1	5	5.2	-	-	
5.	Badai	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
6.	Gadaria	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.1	5	5.1	-	-	
7.	Kumhar	-	-	1	1.0	10	10.2	10	10.2	-	-	
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	2	2.0	8	8.1	11	11.2	-	-	
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
10.	Teli	-	-	-	-	7	7.1	7	7.1	-	-	
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
14.	Julaha	-	-	-	-	5	5.1	7	7.2	1	1.0	
	(Sub-total)	(5)	(5.1)	(19)	(19.6)	(79)	(81.4)	(92)	(94.8)	(3)	(3.1)	
SC												
15.	Dhobi	-	-	-	-	4	3.9	5	4.7	-	-	105
16.	Jatava	-	-	2	2.0	13	12.3	17	16.1	-	-	
17.	Chamar	-	-	6	5.7	53	50.4	63	60.0	6	5.7	
18.	Balmiki	-	-	-	-	10	9.5	12	11.4	2	1.9	
	(Sub-total)	-	-	(8)	(7.6)	(80)	(76.1)	(97)	(92.3)	(8)	(7.6)	
Total		8	2.7	39	13	233	77.7	272	90.7	17	5.7	300

Note: No. and Percentage figures are item-wise with respect to total number of respondents in each category viz. General (98), OBC (97), SC (105) and total respondents (300).

It is clear from Table 3.11 that in the possession of transport vehicles that out of total 300 respondents overwhelming majority of them about 90.7% have possessed cycle for transport purposes and majority of them (77.7%) have motorcycle/scooter. while only 13% of the total respondents have car/jeep and 2.7% of the total respondents have expensive motor vehicle like

bus/truck. There are about 5.7% of total respondents those who have none of them for transport purposes. Caste category-wise also only 3% general caste i.e. Brahmins have truck/bus, and 5 per cent OBC have truck/bus. If we look at the second item (Car/Jeep) it has been found that 12 per cent general caste, 19 per cent OBC and 8 per cent SC have car/jeep. In the possession of motorcycle/scooter general caste have 75 per cent OBC 81 and SC have 76 per cent. 84 per cent general castes 94 per cent OBC and 92 per cent SC have cycle. Whereas 6 per cent general 3 per cent OBC and 8 per cent SC have none of these transport vehicles. If we compare within OBC then we have a graded inequality (from expensive to cheaper) maximum transport vehicles in the hands of Jats followed by Saini and then other castes. It is same pattern in the SC category also. Jatava and Chamar with respect to their percentage some have car/jeep and rest of the SCs have no possession. So, if we compare all these three categories in a holistic way then we can find out that in the possession of these (transport vehicles) the two castes Brahmins and Jats have higher concentration of expensive items then followed by other castes in the selected two village analysis.

It is also clear from Table 3.12 that in the possession of agricultural machinery that out of total 300 respondents at least half of the respondents (44.7%) have diesel engine, 13.7% tube wells for agricultural irrigation and 15.7 % have tractors, 18.3% trolley/jugad for transportation of food grains in the nearby markets. Only 1% in OBC (Jat) caste have harvester for cutting the crops. While, there are 38.7% respondents, who don't have agricultural machinery because they don't have agricultural land. If we look at category-wise also it has been found that 13.3 per cent general caste, 24.7 per cent OBC and

9.5 per cent SC have tractors. In the possession of trolley/jugad general caste have 19.3 per cent OBC 26.7 and SC have 9.5 per cent. 22.4 per cent general caste 12.3 per cent OBC and 6.6 per cent SC have own tubewells, and 52 per cent general 50 per cent OBC and 33.3 per cent SC have diesel engine for agriculture. If we compare all the three caste categories (General, OBC and SC) then we have graded inequalities (from expensive to cheaper) maximum agricultural machinery are in the hands of Brahmins followed by Jat and Saini and then other respective castes. It is same pattern in the SC category also. Jatava and Chamar with respect to their percentage some have agricultural machinery and rest of the SCs have no possession. So, if we compare all these three categories in a holistic way then we can find out that in the possession of these items (agricultural machinery) the two castes Brahmins and Jats have higher concentration of expensive items then followed by other castes.

Table 3.12: Caste/category-wise ownership of agricultural machinery by respondents' families

(Total respondents = 300)

Sr. no.	Category / Caste	Ownership of agricultural machinery by respondents' families												Total no. of respondents
		Harvester		Tractor		Trolly/Jugad		Tubewell		Diesel Engine		None of them		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
	General													
1.	Brahmin	-	-	13	13.2	19	19.3	22	22.4	51	52.0	17	17.3	
	(Sub-total)	-	-	(13)	(13.2)	(19)	(19.3)	(22)	(22.4)	(51)	(52.0)	(17)	(17.3)	98
	OBC													
2.	Jat	1	1.0	10	10.2	6	6.1	3	3.1	13	13.2	3	3.1	
3.	Saini	-	-	9	9.2	9	9.2	3	3.1	9	9.2	5	5.1	
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	3	3.1	2	2.0	
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	
6.	Gadaria	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	
7.	Kumhar	-	-	1	1.0	3	3.1	-	-	6	6.1	4	4.1	
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	2	2.0	4	4.1	-	-	6	6.1	5	5.0	
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	
10.	Teli	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	3	3.1	2	2.0	
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	
14.	Julaha	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.2	
	(Sub-total)	(1)	(1.0)	(24)	(24.7)	(26)	(26.7)	(12)	(12.3)	(48)	(49.4)	(29)	(29.8)	97
	SC													
15.	Dhobi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.9	3	2.8	
16.	Jatava	-	-	3	2.8	3	2.8	2	1.9	5	4.7	12	11.4	
17.	Chamar	-	-	5	4.7	4	3.9	4	3.9	19	18.5	50	47.6	
18.	Balmiki	-	-	2	1.9	3	2.8	1	1.0	9	8.5	5	4.7	
	(Sub-total)	-	-	(10)	(9.5)	(10)	(9.5)	(7)	(6.6)	(35)	(33.3)	(70)	(66.6)	105
Total		1	0.3	47	15.7	55	18.3	41	13.7	134	44.7	116	38.7	300

Note: (i) No. and Percentage figures are item-wise with respect to total number of respondents in each category viz. General (98), OBC (97), SC (105) and total respondents (300).

Concluding Observations

Traditionally, Indian Society was rigidly stratified along caste lines in social economic and political domains. The forgoing empirical analysis in the chapter has dealt with the nature of economic inequalities presently existing along caste lines in the villages selected for the study. The findings of the study are as follows:

1. The data show that the ratio of SC respondents living in Kaccha houses is the highest (i.e. 17.1%), among the SCs followed by the OBCs (11.3%) and General

category Brahmins (only 4.1%). But ratio of the respondent living in Pakka houses is highest among the General category/ Brahmins (79.6%), followed by the OBCs (67%) and lowest among the SCs (45.7%).

2. Agriculture used to be the main family occupation of about half (66%) of the General/ Brahmins households in the earlier generation, followed by slightly more than one-third (35%) of the OBCs and about one-fifth (19%) SCs households. But agriculture as the main family occupation has declined in the present generation as the ratio in case of General/ Brahmins, OBCs and SCs category 50%, (6% decline), 20.4% (around 10% decline), and 15.4% (around 4% decline) respectively.
3. In case of labour as the main family occupation, the ratio has increased over generations in all categories. In the earlier generations labour as the main source of family occupation was highest among the SCs (around 42%), followed by OBCs (28%) and the General category/Brahmins (12%). The ratio increased in all categories but the pattern remained the same in the present generation as the ratio in the present generation stood at 65.5% for the SCs, 32.4% for the OBCs and only 15.3% for Brahmins. The intergenerational increase in ratio is found to be about 25%, 4% and 3% and in case of SCs, OBCs and General (Brahmins) respectively. The ratio of business as the main family occupation has increased over generations the most in case of OBCs (around 8% in earlier generation to 28% in present generation i.e. 20% increased followed by General/Brahmins categories 4% to 9% now i.e. 5% increased) and SCs (7% to 10% now i.e. 3% increased). The ratio of sources as main family occupation has decreased in case of General (Brahmins) category (around 21% in earlier generation to 14% in present generation i.e. 7% decline), but has increased among the OBCs (about 9% earlier to 11% now i.e. 2% increased), and remained roughly the same among the SCs (i.e. about 5% earlier as well as now).
4. As regard main source of present family income dependence on labour is the highest (48.6% families among the SCs, followed by business 19% and agriculture 15% families). The trend is similar among the OBCs in whose case dependence on labour as the main source of income is the highest (about 37% families), followed

by business (about 29% families), and agriculture (21%). But in case of the General (Brahmins) category, the highest ratio of main source of income is agriculture (about 43% families), followed by labour (17.4% families) and service (10.3%).

5. Further as regard the size of landholding, it is found that the ratio of families without any landholding is highest among the SCs (around 10%), followed by General (Brahmin) category (4%) and the OBCs (3%). Again the ratio of those having marginal/ small landholding is highest among the SCs (around 89% families), followed by the OBCs (72% families) and the General (Brahmins) category (65%). In contrast, those having medium landholding are highest (about 26%) among the General/ Brahmins category, closely followed by the OBCs (around 22% families), and nil medium landholding by the SCs. Among the OBCs, around half of the medium landholding the Jats have (12.4% out of 22% for the OBCs as a whole). Large landholding is possessed by the General (Brahmin) category (around 3% families) and the OBCs (3% families), but none by the SCs. So the SCs possess no medium or large landholding. And among the OBCs, mainly the Jats have large landholding (2% families out of total 3% OBCs families).
6. Moving further, it is found that the respondents belonging to all three categories reported improvement in their economic status at present compared with their earlier generation. As substantial majority (around three-fourth of total families) belonging to all categories reported intergenerational improvement in their economic status- the ratio being around 72%, 74% and 75% families for the General (Brahmins), OBCs and SCs categories. Around one-fifth of the families in all categories reported no intergenerational improvement in their economic status- the ratio being around 23%, 18% and 23% families among the General (Brahmins), OBCs and SCs categories. Only around 5% families reported no change in their economic status from the earlier to present generation.
7. Coming to total family income from all sources ranging between Rs. 1-25000, the ratio of SCs families is the highest (i.e. around 28%), followed by the OBCs (around 21%) and lowest among the General (Brahmin) category (7% families

only). In the range of family income between Rs. 25000-Rs. 1 Lakh, the ratio of families is 56%, 43% and 33% among the SCs , OBCs and General (Brahmins) categories respectively. The ratio of family income in the range of Rs. 1-2 Lakhs in case of the SCs, OBCs and General (Brahmins) categories is 11.5%, 12.3% and 31% respectively. The ratio of family income in ranging between Rs. 2-5 Lakhs is around 20%, 29% and 5% families respectively for the General (Brahmin), OBCs and SCs. In the range of family income between Rs 5-10 Lakhs the ratio is found to be 8.2%, 8.24 and nil families in case of the General (Brahmin), OBCs and SCs categories. The ratio is the highest range of total family income between Rs. 10-20 Lakhs, there are only 2% families belonging to the General (Brahmins) category and nine from the OBCs and SCs. In the higher range of total family income between Rs 2-5 lakhs and Rs. 5-10 Lakhs among the OBC families, it is the Jats which constitute the main caste. So the main trend of total family income follows the caste hierarchy i.e. higher the cast status higher the family income and lower the caste status of the family lower is the family income.

8. In terms of possession of consumer durables at family level, except AC, General Brahmin category respondents are at the top followed by the OBCs and SCs. For instance refrigerator is possessed by majority of the families of General (Brahmin) category (63.2% families) and the OBCs (54.6% families) but only 40.7% SCs families. Cooler is possessed by 33.6% General (Brahmins) category families followed by the OBCs (21.6%) and SCs families (only 4.7%). The possession of washing machine at family level is 21.4%, 17.5% and 2% families among General (Brahmins) category, OBCs and SCs respectively. Televisions set is possessed by 79.5% General (Brahmins) category families followed by 63.9% families among the OBCs and 50.4% families among the SCs. Gas cylinder is possessed 90.5% General (Brahmins) categories families followed by 77.3% OBCs family and 74.2% SCs families. As regards distribution of non-possession of any of the above items, the ratio is highest among the SCs (6.6% families), followed by the OBCs families (3.1%) and the General (Brahmin) category families (only 1%). AC is possessed by 2% families in General (Brahmin) category, 5.1% OBCs families (i.e. 3.1% Jats and 2% Sainis) and none from the SCs categories. Among the

OBCs, the more expensive consumer durable are possessed by mostly the Jats families followed by the Sainis in some cases and very few by the other OBCs.

The possession high value transport vehicles is highest by the Jats and then Sainis among the OBCs families, followed by General (Brahmins) category and none or least by the SCs. For example, Trucks/Buses are possessed by 5.1% OBCs families (3.1% by Jats and 2% Sainis families followed by General (Brahmins) category (3.1%) and none by the SCs families. Around 20% OBCs families (7.3% Jats and 6.2% Sainis families) possess Car/Jeep, followed by General (Brahmin) category families (12.2%) and only 7.6% SCs families. Motorcycle/ Scooters are possessed by significant majority of families across categories- the ratio being 81.4% OBCs families, followed by 76% SCs families and 75.5% General (Brahmin) category families. The possession of cycle is most common across overwhelming majority of families in all categories- the ratio being 94.8% OBCs, 92.3% SCs and 75.5% General (Brahmin) category families. Possession of none of these items is highest among the SCs (7.6%) category (6.1%) and the OBCs (3.1%) families. The ratio of possession of high values agricultural machinery is highest among the OBCs followed by the General (Brahmin) category and none of the lowest among the SCs. For instance, harvester is possessed by only 1% Jats families (OBCs) and not at all by the General and SCs category families. The possession of Tractor is highest among the OBCs (24.7% which includes 10.2% Jat families and 9.2% Sainis families) followed by the General (Brahmin) category (13.2%) families and the SCs families (9.5%). Trolley is possessed by 26.7% OBCs (including 6% Jats and 9% Sainis families), followed by 19.3% General (Brahmin) category families and only 9.5% SCs families, the possession of tubewell is the highest among the General (Brahmin) category families (22.4%) followed by the OBCs (12.3% families) and only 6.6% SC families. Diesel engine is possessed by 52% General (Brahmin) category families, followed by 49.4% OBCs and 33.3% SCs. In terms of possession of none of these items, the ratio of the SCs is the highest (66.6% families), followed by 29.8% OBCs and 17.3% General (Brahmin) category families. Hence, it emerges that in terms of possession of expensive consumer durable as well as high value agricultural machinery, the OBCs (mostly the Jats followed by Sainis) are at the top, followed by the General category (Brahmin) in the middle and the SCs families at the bottom.

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Chapter-4

Continuity and Change in the Political Dimension of the Caste System

Chapter-4

Continuity and Change in the Political Dimension of the Caste System

This chapter provides a brief analysis of political dimension of the caste system. Traditionally, the upper castes used to be dominant politically at different levels of power hierarchy in the public domain. In the decades after Independence, they generally monopolized power positions at village, states and national levels. However, as a result of introduction of adult franchise, affirmative state policies and gradual increase in awareness among OBCs and SCs the situation has started changing at all levels. The analysis below deals with the nature of political representation of different caste groups at the village panchayat level and their voting behavior. It is based on the empirical data collected from the two study villages in Uttar Pradesh.

Political aspect of the Caste System

It was hoped that with the adoption of modernization and introduction of democratic politics after Independence, the caste system would gradually disappear. Caste as an important distinguishing feature of Indian social system influences the structures and functions of the Indian political system. In fact, many people belonging to a particular caste have their own political relationships whether ideologically or structurally. We see the influence of caste while casting vote, representation, participation and even dominance of certain caste in grass-root level democratic politics. Caste influences the nature, organization, and working of political parties, interest groups, and all political structures and their functions. We have described here the pattern of representation, voting behavior and dominance of particular caste over time in the selected villages of the study.

Representation and Dominance at the village panchayat level

Since, the formation of the Panchayat Raj system in the late 1950s the big landlords and people of higher caste controlled the power structure in the countryside. The OBCs, SCs, STs, small peasants, agricultural labourers and other poorer sections of the society were

expected to enter in public arena on equal terms and they had not been given decision making power.

It has been found in our study of two selected village and the Table 4.1 also reflects that from 1975 to till now (2020) only Jat caste comes into power in village panchayat election in Bhainsi village. Even when there is reserved seat for SCs, the dominant Jats used to support SC caste candidates and exercise their power in decision making process. We have details of Pradhan (Head) of the village panchayat of two villages- Bhainsi and Jandheri. In Bhainsi village where there upper caste/ Brahmins are in numerical preponderance, they never win the village panchayat election. From 1975-1995, a Jat caste candidate named Shishupal Ahlawat won four times and became Pradhan, in 1995-2005 two times another Jat candidate named Jai Prakash Shashtri became Pradhan of the village panchayat. From 2005-2010, Suresh Vati, a Jat caste women won gram panchayat election as Pradhan and came to power as Pradhan. In 2010-15, another woman named Mukesh won Pradhani election and in 2015-20 the husband of Mukesh, Suneel Ahlawat won the village panchayat election. So, in this way we can see the dominance of Jats in Bhainsi village, western Uttar Pradesh.

Table 4.1: Village and Category/caste-wise elected Pradhan in village panchayat (1975-2020)

S. No.	Year of Election	Category/Caste of the head (Pradhan) in Bhainsi village panchayat	Category/Caste of the head (Pradhan) in Jandheri village panchayat
1.	2015-20	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Jat)
2.	2010-15	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Jat)
3.	2005-10	OBC (Jat)	SC (Balmiki)
4.	2000-2005	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Jat)
5.	1995-2000	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Saini)
6.	1990-95	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Jat)
7.	1985-90	OBC (Jat)	SC (Chamar)
8.	1980-85	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Jat)
9.	1975-80	OBC (Jat)	OBC (Jat)

In the second village called Jandheri where the lower castes have numerical preponderance, they are not dominant at village panchayat level representation and decision making. From 1975-1985, a Jat caste candidate named Gamman Saini won two times and became Pradhan. In 1985-1990, a Chamar (SC) caste candidate named Babu Ram became the Pradhan of the village panchayat. From 1990-1995, Gaje Singh, a Jat caste candidate

won gram panchayat election and came into the power as Pradhan. In 1995-2000, another woman named Jagveera, a Saini caste won election and in 2000-2005, a Jat caste candidate named Dheer Singh won the village panchayat election as Pradhan. In 2005-2010, a Balmiki (SC) caste, named Ram Lal, won the election as Pradhan in Jandheri village panchayat. From 2010-20, a Jat caste candidate named Yajuvendra Arya, won the election and is the Pradhan of village panchayat.

Thus, it is found that the Jats have occupied the position of the Pradhan at village panchayat level in Bhainsi village for decades despite being just around 10% of the total voters in the village. The Brahmin caste voters are about half of the total voters of the village, but have not become Pradhan. But in Jandheri village the SC castes form the majority of voters in the village and hence have been able to win election of Pradhani in the village, a few times in the village in the recent decades. The Jats forms only around 15% of the total population/ voters in this village, but they have become Pradhan frequently in the village. They exercise their influence/power in decision making at the panchayat level in the village panchayat even during the period of SCs being Pradhan in the village panchayat. This reflects political dominance of the Jats in both the villages.

Table 4.2: Village and Category/caste-wise elected Members in 2021 Village Panchayat

S. No.	Caste/category of Bhainsi village panchayat Members	Caste/category of Jandheri village panchayat Members
1.	Jatav (SC)	Chamar (SC)
2.	Jat (OBC)	Jat (OBC)
3.	Jat (OBC)	Saini (OBC)
4.	Brahmin (General)	Saini (OBC)
5.	Brahmin (General)	Jat (OBC)
6.	Brahmin (General)	Chamar (SC)
7.	Chamar (SC)	Balmiki (SC)
8.	Chamar (SC)	Balmiki (SC)
9.	Brahmin (General)	Jat (OBC)
10.	Jat (OBC)	Jat (OBC)
11.	Brahmin General	Gaderia (OBC)
12.	Saini (OBC)	Saini (OBC)
13.	Brahmin (General)	Saini (OBC)
14.	Brahmin (General)	Badai (OBC)
15.	Jat (OBC)	Jat (OBC)

Source: State Election Commission, Uttar Pradesh

Table 4.3: Village and Category-wise representation of members in village panchayat

S. No.	Category	Bhainsi		Jandheri	
		% of total Voters	% of total V. P. Members	% of total Voters	% of total V. P. Members
1.	General	44.0	47.0	9.1	0.0
2.	OBC	35.2	33.3	40.3	73.3
3.	SC	20.8	20.0	50.6	26.7

Source: Fieldwork, 2019; for 2021, www.sec.up.in

Table 4.2 and 4.3 show that the representation of different caste/category in 2021 elections of village panchayat ward members in the two selected villages. In both Bhainsi and Jandheri village panchayats there are fifteen wards which have one ward member each, i.e. there are 15 ward members of village panchayat in each of the two villages. In Bhainsi village panchayat, the ratio of General/Brahmin, OBC and SC categories in the total voters was about 44%, 35% and 21% respectively, and their respective ratio of the ward members who won in 2021 village panchayat elections was 47%, 33% and 20%. Hence, the ratio of ward members who won election from different categories comes to roughly the same as their ration in total population of voters, though the ratio of general category was slightly higher and that of the OBCs slightly lower than their respective share in voters' population. Further, in case of Jandheri village panchayat, it is observed that General/Brahmin category constitutes 9.1% of the total voters in the village but they won no seat of ward member in 2021 village panchayat elections. But the OBCs who form 40.3% of the total voters won 73.3% post of ward members, i.e. little less than double their ratio in the total voters. The SCs form 50.6% of the total voters but they could win only 26.7% of the post of ward members, i.e. almost half of their share in the total voters. Among OBCs, the Jats won more seats than others (i.e. five out of total 11 seats won by the OBCs). So, the power distribution in terms of holding the post of ward member in the village panchayat in Jandheri village is in the order of first the OBC (mainly Jats) followed by the SCs, and General Category being nil. But in case of Bhaisi village the order is first the General category, followed by the OBCs (mainly Jats) and lastly the SCs. Finally, as regards power distribution at the village panchayat level, the post of village panchayat Pradhan has been held for decades by the OBC (Jats) in the Bhaisi village, but the ward members are presently higher in number from the General/ Brahmin category than the OBCs and SCs taken separately. But in Jandheri

village where the SCs are in majority they have won the post of Pradhan twice only in the period after 1975, whereas the post was won by OBCs for the remaining period (six times by the Jats out of total seven times by the OBCs). But as regards ward member, the position of the SCs is better than in case of the post of Pradhan. On the whole, the in the village power structure, the OBCs (say Jats) are dominant and the position of the SCs has slightly improved in the present compared with the past mainly due to the Constitutional Amendment providing reservation in PRIs. The General/Brahmin category is not at the top in PRI in the selected villages.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act (1992) relating to the panchayati raj institutions provided for reservation in representation and decision making at the local power structure. It was designed to empower the backward sections and bring them collectively into the process of local government and rural development ensuring their adequate representation in power structure. PRI based on adult franchise is also aimed at breaking the traditional power structure in rural areas. But the reality is still different despite implementation of reservation for the backward sections of the society in village panchayat. The dominance of a particular caste i.e. Jat is found to be unabated at the village panchayat level in the selected two villages.

Voting Behavior among different Castes

Voting behavior defines in itself the pattern of casting vote or the factors that influence people to cast their vote during elections. It deals with the factors that determine or influence voter's choice of voting. It also covers psychological aspects such as voters' perception, emotion, etc. and their relation to political action and institutional patterns. There are various determinants of voting behavior among people, these are not only determined by party's ideology, caste, candidate's character, money factor, use of force but also by other factors such as caste, class, community, nationality, religion, ethnicity, language, political wave etc. The political parties use these determinants to attract voters for winning the election. These determinants are used by all the representative of political parties to win election. Voters also cast their votes because of these determinants.

We have found in the two selected villages of our study that more than half of the total 300 respondents voted on the basis of candidate's character. They cast their vote to that candidate who is honest, sincere, educated, well wisher of people of their constituency/local level village panchayat and really play a key role in providing basic services for well-being of the people like providing drinking water, sanitation (ODF toilets), electricity, road and streets, etc. Caste also affects the voting behavior of people to support a candidate. In both the villages we have found that more than 20 per cent respondents cast their vote on the basis of caste. Castes as homogeneous groups are found to support only those candidates who belong to their own caste. Around 20 per cent respondents said that they vote in parliamentary and legislative assembly elections on the basis of party's ideology. Hence, it is clear from the above analysis that in both parliamentary and legislative assembly elections mostly people cast their vote on the basis of party and in local panchayat level election people mostly cast their vote on the basis of candidate's character.

Now, we discuss in detail the voting behavior of the people of the selected two villages. It is clear from Table 4.4 and Figure 4.1 that there is no uniformity among castes while casting their votes in the general elections. Around 13.3% respondents opine that one should vote on the basis of party's ideology whether it is at regional or national level. Caste and Category-wise also the pattern is same. Across caste groups some respondents (6.3%) think that one should vote on the basis of caste identity. Overwhelming majority of the respondents, (about 77.7%) say that one should vote to candidates who are honest and well wisher of the people living in the village.

Further, group discussion revealed that in village level elections there are various determinants of casting votes. People votes in villages are not only determined by party's ideology, caste, candidate's character, money factor, use of force but also by other factors such as class, community, nationality, religion, ethnicity, language, political wave etc.

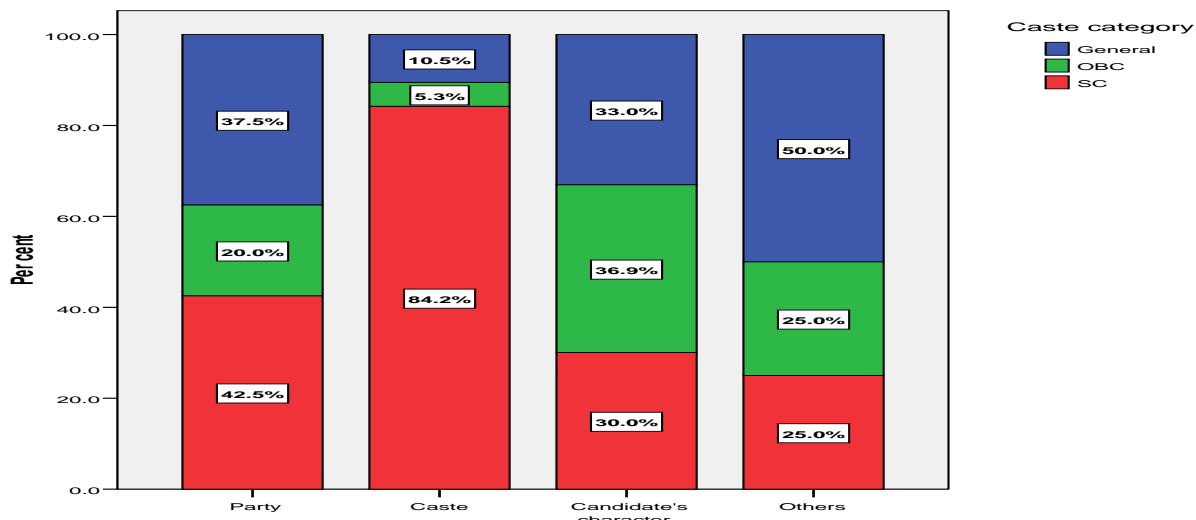


Figure 4.1: The main basis on which one should vote in elections

Table 4.4: Opinion of respondents on the main basis on which one should vote in elections

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Opinion on what should be the main basis to vote in elections								Total	
		Party basis		Caste basis		Candidate's character		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	15	15.3	2	2.0	77	78.6	4	4.1	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(15)	(15.3)	(2)	(2.0)	(77)	(78.6)	(4)	(4.1)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	4	4.1	-	-	16	16.5	-	-	20	20.6
3.	Saimi	-	-	1	1.0	23	23.7	-	-	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	-	-	-	-	4	4.1	1	1.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	-	-	10	10.3	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	4	4.1	-	-	6	6.1	1	1.0	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	-	-	7	7.1	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	-	-	7	7.1	-	-	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(8)	(8.2)	(1)	(1.0)	(86)	(88.6)	(2)	(2.0)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	4	3.7	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	3	2.8	1	1.0	13	12.3	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	7	6.7	13	12.3	47	44.7	2	2.0	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	6	5.7	2	2.0	6	5.7	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(17)	(16.2)	(16)	(15.2)	(70)	(66.7)	(2)	(2.0)	(105)	(100.0)
Total		40	13.3	19	6.3	233	77.7	8	2.7	300	100.0

It is evident from Table 4.5 and Figure 4.2 that out of total 300 respondents more than half (55.7%) had casted their votes on the basis of candidate's character in 2019 parliamentary election. More than one-fourth (35 had voted on the party basis and 6% casted their vote on the basis of their caste belongings. Caste category-wise also the pattern of casting vote is same. Hence, it is found that mostly people cast their votes on the basis of candidate's character; the candidates those who are not corrupt i.e. honest person, educated, well-wisher of their people, and really take steps for development in their constituency.

Table 4.5: Main basis on which respondents voted in 2019 parliamentary election

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Main basis on which respondents voted in 2019 parliamentary election								Total	
		Party basis		Caste basis		Candidate's character		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	37	37.8	3	3.1	56	57.1	2	2.0	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(37)	(37.8)	(3)	(3.1)	(56)	(57.1)	(2)	(2.0)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	7		-	-	11	11.3	2	2.0	20	20.6
3.	Saini	13		1	1.0	9	9.2	1	1.0	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	4		-	-	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1		-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	1	1.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	3		-	-	7	7.1	-	-	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	2		-	-	9	9.2	-	-	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-		-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
10.	Teli	4		-	-	3	3.1	-	-	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	-	-	4	4.1	2	2.0	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(36)	(37.1)	(1)	(1.0)	(54)	(55.7)	(6)	(6.1)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	3	2.8	1	1.0	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	3	2.8	4	3.7	10	9.5	-	-	17	6.2
17.	Chamar	19	18.1	9	8.5	40	38.1	1	1.0	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	9	8.5	1	1.0	4	3.7	-	-	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(32)	(30.5)	(14)	(13.3)	(57)	(54.3)	(2)	(2.0)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		105	35.0	18	6.0	167	55.7	(10)	3.3	300	100.0

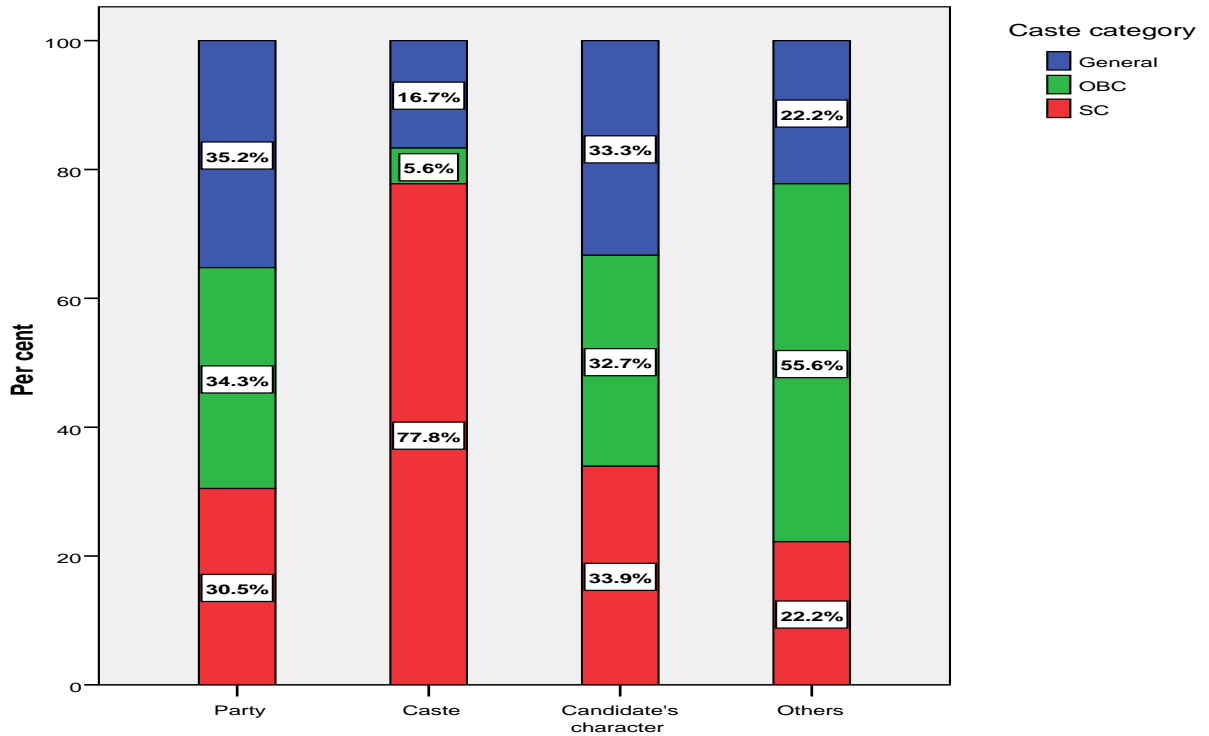


Figure 4.2: The main basis to voted in 2019 Parliamentary election

Table 4.6 and Figure 4.3 show that out of total 300 respondents more than half (53.3%) had casted their vote on the basis of candidate's character in 2014 parliamentary elections. More than one fourth (35.3%) had voted on the party basis, 6% casted their vote on the basis of their caste belongings and 5.3% people casted their votes other basis. Both caste and category-wise the pattern of casting vote is same. Hence, it is found that mostly people cast their votes on the basis of candidate's character, the candidates who are honest, simple and think of other's development.

Table 4.6: Main basis on which respondents voted in 2014 parliamentary election

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Main basis on which respondents voted in 2014 parliamentary election								Total	
		Party basis		Caste basis		Candidate character		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	39	39.8	4	4.1	51	52.0	4	4.1	98	32.7
(Sub-total)		(39)	(13.0)	(4)	(1.3)	(51)	(17.0)	(4)	(1.3)	(98)	(32.7)
OBC											
2.	Jat	11	11.3	-	-	8	8.2	1	1.0	20	6.7
3.	Saini	12	12.3	1	1.0	8	8.2	3	3.1	24	8.0
4.	Jogi	4	4.1	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	5	1.7
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	0.7
6.	Gadaria	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	1	1.0	5	1.7
7.	Kumhar	3	3.1	-	-	7	7.1	-	-	10	3.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	-	-	9	9.2	-	-	11	3.7
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	0.7
10.	Teli	3	3.1	-	-	4	4.1	-	-	7	2.3
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.3
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.3
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	0.7
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	-	-	5	5.1	1	1.0	7	2.3
(Sub-total)		(38)	(12.7)	(1)	(0.3)	(52)	(17.3)	(6)	(2.0)	(97)	(32.3)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	3	2.8	1	1.0	5	1.7
16.	Jatava	3	2.8	4	3.7	10	9.5	-	-	17	5.7
17.	Chamar	17	16.3	9	8.5	39	37.1	4	3.7	69	23.0
18.	Balmiki	8	7.6	-	-	5	4.7	1	1.0	14	4.7
(Sub-total)		(29)	(9.7)	(13)	(4.3)	(57)	(19.0)	(6)	(2.0)	(105)	(35.0)
Grand total		106	35.3	18	6.0	160	53.3	16	5.3	300	100.0

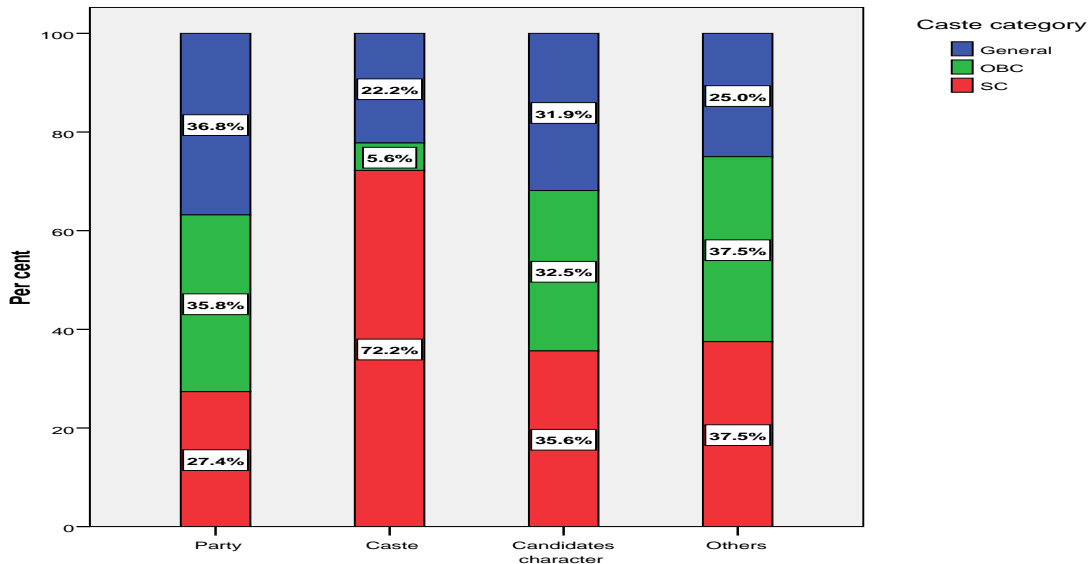


Figure 4.3: The main basis to voted in 2014 Parliamentary election

Table 4.7 and Figure 4.4 reflect that out of total 300 respondents half (50%) had casted their vote on the basis of candidate's character in 2017 legislative assembly elections. As around more than one third respondents, (34.7%) those who had voted on the party basis, 8% voted on the basis of their caste and 7.3% people casted their votes on other basis. Caste category-wise also the pattern of casting vote is same among castes. Hence, it is found that mostly people voted on the basis of candidate's character, i.e. the candidates who are honest, simple and think other's development.

Table 4.7: Main basis on which respondents voted in 2017 Legislative Assembly election

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Main basis on which respondents voted in 2017 Legislative Assembly election									
		Party basis		Caste basis		Candidate's character		Others		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General										
1.	Brahmin	38	38.8	5	5.1	49	50.0	6	6.1	98	32.7
	(Sub-total)	(38)	(12.7)	(5)	(1.7)	(49)	(16.3)	(6)	(2.0)	(98)	(32.7)
	OBC										
2.	Jat	10	10.2	-	-	9	9.2	1	1.0	20	6.7
3.	Saini	11	11.2	2	2.0	9	9.2	2	2.0	24	8.0
4.	Jogi	3	3.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	5	1.7
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	0.7
6.	Gadaria	-	-	-	-	4	4.1	1	1.0	5	1.7
7.	Kumhar	4	4.1	-	-	6	6.1	-	-	10	3.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	-	-	9	9.2	-	-	11	3.7
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	0.7
10.	Teli	3	3.1	-	-	4	4.1	-	-	7	2.3
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.3
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.3
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	0.7
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	3	3.1	7	2.3
	(Sub-total)	(36)	(12.0)	(3)	(1.0)	(50)	(16.7)	(8)	(2.7)	(97)	(32.3)
	SC										
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	1.7
16.	Jatava	4	3.7	4	3.7	9	8.6	-	-	17	5.7
17.	Chamar	18	17.1	12	11.4	35	33.3	4	3.8	69	23.0
18.	Balmiki	7	6.7	-	-	5	4.7	2	2.0	14	4.7
	(Sub-total)	(30)	(10.0)	(16)	(5.3)	(51)	(17.0)	(8)	(2.7)	(105)	(35.0)
	Grand total	104	34.7	24	8.0	150	50.0	22	7.3	300	100.0

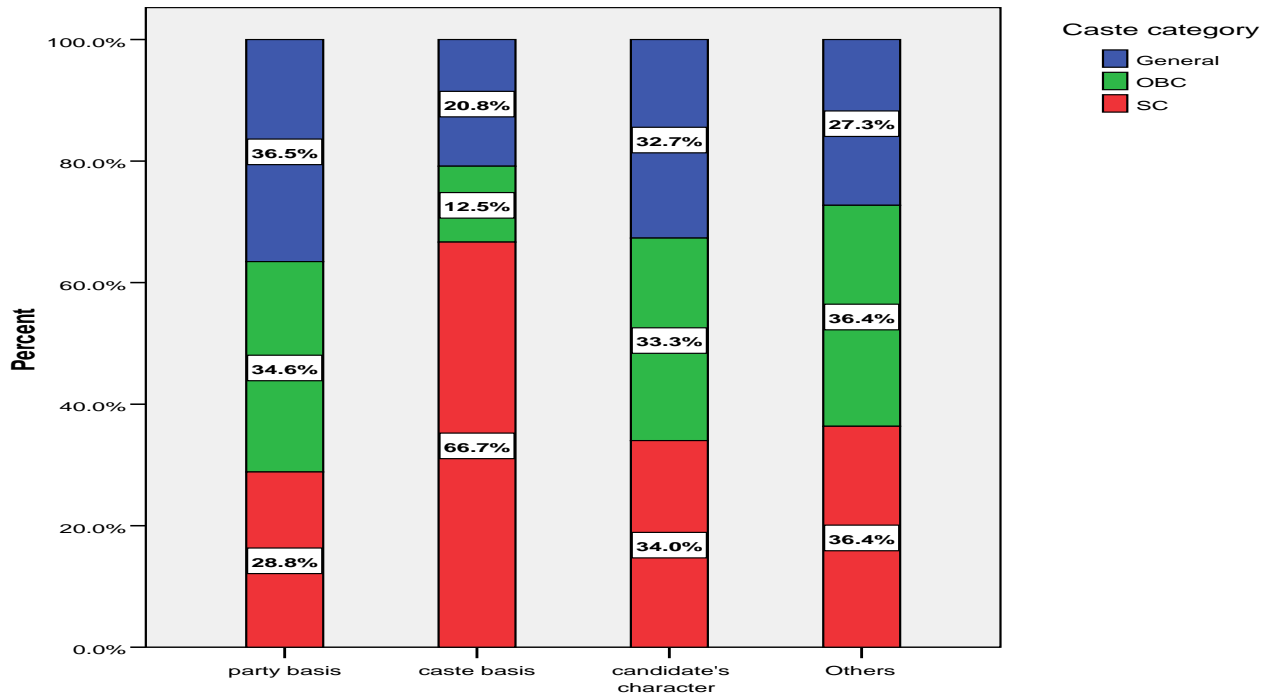


Figure 4.4: The main basis to voted in 2017 Lagislative Assembly election

Table 4.8 and Figure 4.5 show that out of total 300 respondents around half (49%) had casted their vote on the basis of candidate's character. Around one third (32%) had voted on the party basis, 7.7% casted their vote on the basis of their caste and 11.3% casted their votes on other basis. Caste and category-wise the pattern of casting vote is same. Hence, it is found that mostly people voted on the basis of candidate's character, the candidates who are honest, simple and think development of others.

Table 4.8: Main basis on which respondents voted in 2012 Legislative Assembly election

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Main basis on which respondents voted in 2012 Legislative Assembly election								Total	
		Party basis		Caste basis		Candidates' character		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	35	35.5	5	5.1	45	49.9	13	13.3	98	32.7
(Sub-total)		(35)	(11.7)	(5)	(1.7)	(45)	(15.0)	(13)	(4.3)	(98)	(32.7)
OBC											
2.	Jat	6	6.1	1	1.0	9	9.2	1	1.0	20	6.7
3.	Saini	9	9.2	2	2.0	9	9.2	4	4.1	24	8.0
4.	Jogi	3	3.1	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	5	1.7
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	0.7
6.	Gadaria	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	1	1.0	5	1.7
7.	Kumhar	3	3.1	-	-	6	6.1	1	1.0	10	3.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	1	1.0	9	9.2	-	-	11	3.7
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	0.7
10.	Teli	4	4.1	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	7	2.3
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	0.3
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	0.3
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	0.7
14.	Julaha	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.0	3	3.1	7	2.3
(Sub-total)		(32)	(10.7)	(4)	(1.3)	(50)	(16.7)	(11)	(3.7)	(97)	(32.3)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	1.7
16.	Jatava	4	3.7	3	2.8	10	9.5	-	-	17	5.7
17.	Chamar	17	16.2	11	10.5	35	33.3	6	5.7	69	23.0
18.	Balmiki	7	6.7	-	-	5	4.7	2	2.0	14	4.7
(Sub-total)		(29)	(9.7)	(14)	(4.7)	(52)	(17.3)	(10)	(3.3)	(105)	(35.0)
Grand total		96	32.0	23	7.7	147	49.0	34	11.3	300	100.0

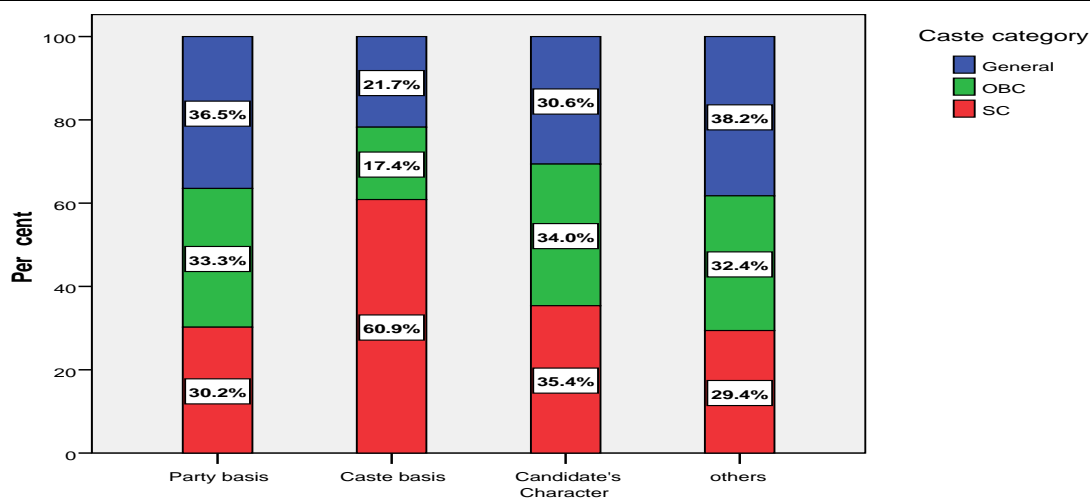


Figure 4.5: The main basis to voted in 2012 Lagislative Assembly election

It is evident from Table 4.9 and Figure 4.6 that in the 2015 village panchayat election out of total 300 respondents, overwhelming majority of them (83%) had casted their vote on the basis of candidate's character. There are 7.3% who voted on other basis and around 6% had voted on caste basis. Both caste and category-wise also the pattern of casting vote is same. Hence, it is found that majority of the respondents casted their votes on the basis of candidate's character; the candidates those who are honest, simple and thinks the development of other. Moreover, it is observed one per cent respondents were forced to cast their vote in favour of the dominant caste groups. In interviews, some of the respondents also said that they are given gift in terms of money, meat and clothes during local body election to vote in favour of dominant castes.

Table 4.9: Main basis on which respondents voted in 2015 village panchayat election

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Main basis on which voted in 2015 village panchayat election										Total	
		Caste basis		Candidate's character		Money basis		Use of force		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General													
1.	Brahmin	8	8.2	82	83.7	3	3.1	2	2.0	3	3.1	98	32.7
(Sub-total)		(8)	(2.7)	(82)	(27.3)	(3)	(1.0)	(2)	(0.7)	(3)	(1.0)	(98)	(32.7)
OBC													
2.	Jat	3	3.1	16	16.5	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	20	6.7
3.	Saini	3	3.1	16	16.5	-	-	-	-	5	5.1	24	8.0
4.	Jogi	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.7
5.	Badai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
6.	Gadaria	1	0.0	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	5	1.7
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	9	9.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	3.3
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	11	11.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	3.7
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
10.	Teli	-	-	6	6.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	7	2.3
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
13.	Rangrej	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
14.	Julaha	-	-	7	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2.3
(Sub-total)		(8)	(2.7)	(81)	(27.0)	-	-	-	-	(8)	(2.7)	(97)	(32.3)
SC													
15.	Dhobi	-	-	4	3.7	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	5	1.7
16.	Jatava	2	2.0	14	13.3	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	17	5.7
17.	Chamar	2	2.0	58	55.2	-	-	-	-	9	8.5	69	23.0
18.	Balmiki	-	-	13	2.3	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	14	4.7
(Sub-total)		(4)	(1.3)	(89)	(29.7)	-	-	(1)	(0.3)	(11)	(3.7)	(105)	(35.0)
Grand total		20	6.7	252	84.0	3	1.0	3	1.0	22	7.3	300	100.0

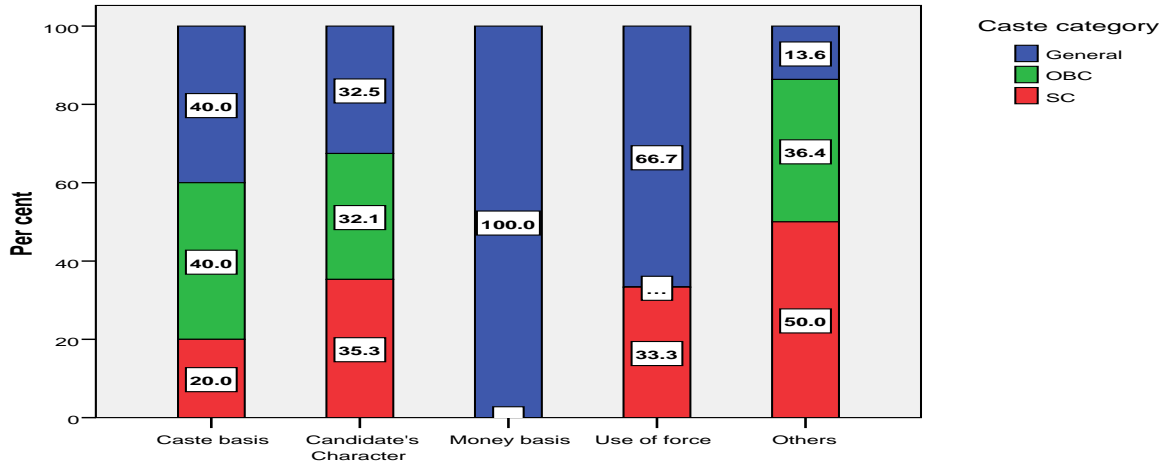


Figure 4.6: The main basis to voted in 2015 village panchayat election

Table 4.10 and Figure 4.7 show that in the 2010 village panchayat election out of total 300 respondents large majority of them (79.3%) had casted their vote on the basis of candidate's character. There are 8% who voted on caste basis and more than 10% had voted on other basis. Both caste and category-wise also the pattern of casting vote is same. Hence, it is found that majority of the respondents casted their votes on the basis of candidate's character, i.e. the candidates who are honest, simple and thinks the development of other. A small number of respondents are forced to cast their vote for the dominant caste groups. Some of the respondents also shared that they were given gift in terms of money, meat and clothes during local body election to give vote in favour of dominant caste's candidate.

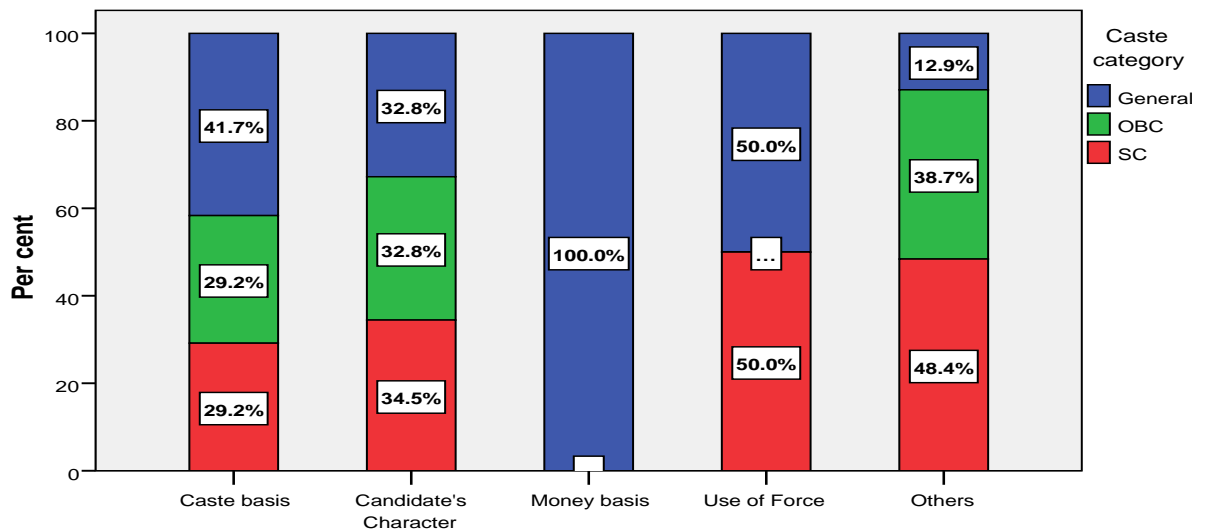


Figure 4.7: The main basis to voted in 2010 village panchayat election

Table 4.10: Main basis on which respondents voted in 2010 village panchayat election

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Main basis on which voted in 2010 village panchayat election										Total	
		Caste basis		Candidate's character		Money basis		Use of force		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General												
1.	Brahmin	10	10.2	78	79.6	5	5.1	1	1.0	4	4.1	98	32.7
	(Sub-total)	(10)	(3.3)	(78)	(26.0)	(5)	(1.7)	(1)	(0.3)	(4)	(1.3)	(98)	(32.7)
	OBC												
2.	Jat	2	2.0	15	15.5	-	-	-	-	3	3.1	20	6.7
3.	Saini	2	2.0	15	15.5	-	-	-	-	7	7.1	24	8.0
4.	Jogi	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.7
5.	Badai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
6.	Gadaria	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	5	1.7
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	9	9.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	3.3
8.	Dhiwar	1	1.0	10	10.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	3.7
9.	Nai	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
10.	Teli	-	-	6	6.1	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	7	2.3
11.	Sunar	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
13.	Rangrej	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
14.	Julaha	-	-	7	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2.3
	(Sub-total)	(7)	(2.3)	(78)	(26.0)	-	-	-	-	(12)	(4.0)	(97)	(32.3)
	SC												
15.	Dhobi	-	-	4	3.7	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	5	1.7
16.	Jatava	4	3.7	11	10.5	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	17	5.7
17.	Chamar	3	2.8	55	52.3	-	-	-	-	11	10.5	69	23.0
18.	Balmiki	-	-	12	11.2	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	14	4.7
	(Sub-total)	(7)	(2.3)	(82)	(27.3)	-	-	(1)	(0.3)	(15)	(5.0)	(105)	(35.0)
	Grand total	24	8.0	238	79.3	5	1.7	2	0.7	31	10.3	300	100.0

The issue of Jat agitation for Reservation

The Indian society remained highly inegalitarian and rigidly stratified along caste, class and gender lines for centuries. Though gradual changes had happened the society remained largely so at the time India's Independence from the British colonial rule. With the adoption of the Indian Constitution, the country embarked on the path of transformation along egalitarian democratic lines to ensure justice to the marginalized sections of society. So, India introduced the policy of reservation for upliftment of the marginalized sections, viz. the SCs and STs in political representation, jobs and education, as provided under the Indian Constitution. The reservation for these sections was given in government jobs and admission in educational institutions both by the Central and state governments. State governments also provided reservation for the OBCs in jobs and education. Later, in 1992 the Central government introduced reservation for OBCs in government jobs and admission in educational institutions. Some traditionally dominant middle castes could not be included in the Central list of OBC reservation. Hence, in recent years agitations have been launched in different parts of the country by castes.

The agitation of Jats in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Western Uttar Pradesh, Marathas in Maharashtra and Patidars in Gujarat demanded reservation in Central government jobs and admission in government educational institutions. In so far as the Uttar Pradesh state is concerned, the National Commission for Backward Castes (NCBC) had rejected the inclusion of Jats in Central list of backward class. The state government had included Jats in state list of OBCs in 2000. The recent protest of Jats in Western Uttar Pradesh is for inclusion in the Central list of OBCs for reservation in Central government jobs and admission in government educational institutions.

During the group discussion and interviews in selected villages the Jats community people said that they have demanded OBC classification and reservation in government jobs which is driven by the extended govt. neglect of their backwardness. In western Uttar Pradesh, farmers grow sugarcane and other cash crops for their livelihood. And because of the unresponsive minimum price announced by the government, cut-down of subsidy on electric tubewells, fertilizers, agricultural equipment and increase in prices of petroleum oils farmers are aggressive in their agitation for reservation. They also said that action by Jat community

like disruption of train, road traffic and the destruction of public property are caused by the delayed and unresponsive approach of the government.

Now, a detailed analysis of the respondents of the two selected villages is given below.

It is evident from Table 4.11 and Figure 4.8 that there is no uniformity among respondents opinion regarding the main cause of Jat agitation for reservation. Out of total 300 respondents, 12.3% say that the decline of economic status of Jats over decades is main reason for demand of reservation. Only 1.3% say that backwardness in education is main reason, while 1.3% again say that declining dominance in the village is main reason. But 40% respondents say that because other castes are taking benefits in terms of reservation, so, the Jats also want to take benefits of government provisions. 6.7% respondents say that they want to increase share in job and education, 13% respondents say that decline in agricultural income is main reason to get included in the Central list of OBC caste category. It is interesting to note that yet there are around one quarter of the respondents who do not know what is the main reason for demand of reservation by the Jat community.

Further, there is found a clear difference of opinion between the Jats and other castes regarding the main cause of Jat agitation in Central government jobs and admission in educational institutions. For example, out of total 300 respondents, overall 12% respondents hold that decline in economic status of the Jats is the main reason of their agitation for reservation, whereas, only 6% respondents think so. In fact, 40% of the total respondents opine that the main reason of the Jat agitation is their desire to take benefits of the Central government policy of reservation for the OBCs, but none of the Jats thinks so. Around 7% of the total respondents think that the Jats interest in increasing their share in jobs and education is the cause of agitation, but only 1% Jats thinks so. 13% of the total respondents think that decline in the agricultural income of the Jats is the cause of their agitation, but 11% Jats think so, which shows high degree of similarity in the response of the Jats with others. Moreover, there is found significant differences between the opinions of the General, OBC and SC category respondents as regards different causes of the Jat agitation in western Uttar Pradesh.

Table 4.11: Opinion of respondents on the main reason for demand of reservation by the Jat community

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Opinion about main reason for demanding reservation by the Jat community														Total	
		Decline of economic status		Backwardness in education		Declining dominance in the village		To take benefits of government provisions		Increase share in job and education		Decline in agricultural income		Don't know			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General																
1.	Brahmin	19	19.4	2	2.0	2	2.0	27	27.6	11	11.2	15	15.3	22	22.4	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(19)	(19.4)	(2)	(2.0)	(2)	(2.0)	(27)	(27.6)	(11)	(11.2)	(15)	(15.3)	(22)	(22.4)	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC																
2.	Jat	6	6.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	11	11.3	2	2.0	20	20.6
3.	Saini	2	2.0	-	-	1	1.0	14	14.4	-	-	1	1.0	5	5.1	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	1	1.0	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	4	4.1	-	-	-	-	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5.1	-	-	2	2.0	3	3.1	10	10.2
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	3	3.1	2	2.0	1	1.0	3	3.1	11	11.3
9.	Nai	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	3	3.1	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7.1	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(14)	(14.4)	(2)	(2.0)	(1)	(1.0)	(28)	(28.8)	(8)	(7.7)	(20)	(20.6)	(24)	(24.7)	(97)	(100.0)
	SC																
15.	Dhobi	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.7	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0	7	6.7	-	-	1	1.0	7	6.7	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	3	2.7	-	-	-	-	44	41.9	1	1.0	3	2.7	18	17.1	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	10.5	-	-	-	-	3	2.7	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(4)	(3.7)	-	-	(1)	(1.0)	(65)	(61.9)	(1)	(1.0)	(4)	(3.7)	(30)	(28.6)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	37	12.3	4	1.3	4	1.3	120	40.0	20	6.7	39	13.0	76	25.3	300	100.0

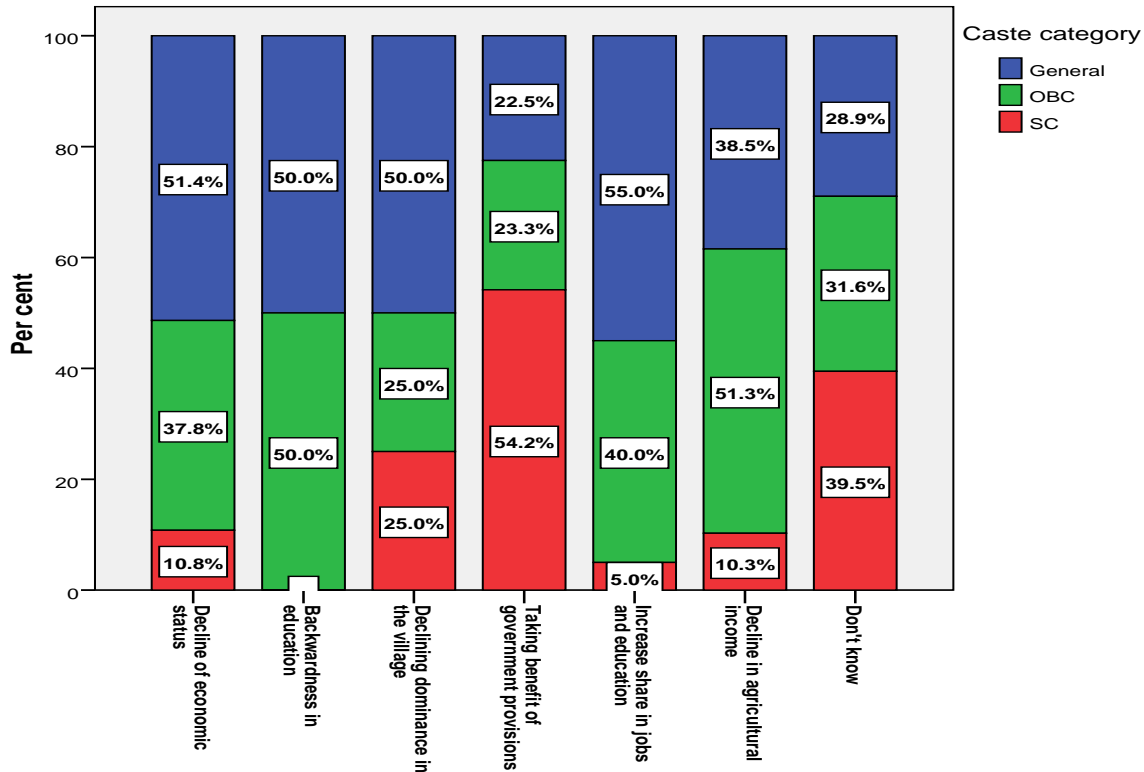


Figure 4.8: Opinion on the main reason for demand of ...

Concluding Observations

Traditionally as well as after few decades since independence, the upper caste monopolized the power position at different levels in the public domain, i.e. from the Central to the local levels in the country. Their ratio in the total population has always been much lower numerically than the middle and lower caste in the population. With the Introduction of Universal adult suffrage based democracy after independence, it was envisioned and expected that middle and lower caste representation in democratic bodies and say in decision making would increase substantially given their numerical preponderance in the countries' population. However, it was observed that the upper caste continued to monopolize power positions and decision making at different levels for decades after independence. The middle and lower caste kept voting mostly for the upper caste, more so in the North Indian States, including Uttar Pradesh. However, gradually the nature of power distribution across caste groups started changing as a result of increasing political consciousness among the middle/OBC and lower/SC castes, including in Uttar Pradesh. Political

parties having dominance of the OBCs and SCs emerged gradually in the states of Uttar Pradesh, like many other northern States in the countries especially since 1980s. These parties could form government at state level with leaders of the OBC and SC castes becoming chief minister and ministers. The contestation between the upper/General caste dominated and middle lower caste dominated political parties for acquisition of power at different levels has become common in recent decades. The traditional Congruence between the castes (social) status and political status in the caste system has loosened to a considerable extent as a General trend. Several sociological studies have shown that congruence between caste (social) status and political status has weakened more than the congruence between caste social status and economic status in the society.

The present chapter has analysed above the nature of congruence/ association between caste (social) status and political status at the village panchayat level in the selected villages, and also the voting behaviour of the respondents belonging to these villages in parliamentary, assembly and village panchayat elections. The data shows that despite being just around 11% of the Bhaisi village voter population, the Jats have always won elections and occupied the position of Pradhan at the village panchayat level even after 1975 till the present. Another General caste, the Brahmin who constitutes around half of the total village population have not become village Pradhan, neither any person the OBC and SC castes has ever become village Pradhan at the panchayat level. In case of Jandheri village, the Jats constitute around 15% of the total voter population and the SC castes are in numerical majority. In mine panchayat elections held in this village since 1975, the post of village Pradhan has been won twice by the SCs, once by Saini (an OBC caste) and six times including at present, by the Jats, who belong to the OBC category is the state list as yet. So despite being numerically in minority, the Jats have been able to acquire the most powerful panchayat positives of Pradhan continuously for dreads is Bhaisi village and also six out of nine times in Jandheri village. Even when people belonging to other castes OBC/ SC castes won Pradhan election in Jandheri village the Jats continued to exercise their influence over them in decision making at the village panchayat level.

As regards voting behaviour of the respondents of the two selected villages, it emerged that majority of the respondents (around 55%) said they voted on the basis of candidates character (honest and works for the people) in the Parliamentary elections held in

2014 and 2019, and there is only minor variations in the ratios across caste/ category lines. Secondly, they said to have voted on party lines (over one-third of the respondents i.e. around 35%). Only 6% respondents said they voted in the basis of caste of the candidates. In the state Assembly elections held in 2012 and 2017, around half of the respondents (around 50%) said they voted on the basis of character of the candidates; and over one-third (around 33%) respondents said they voted on the party line only 7 to 8% respondents said they voted considering the caste of the candidates. In the village Panchayat at elections held in 2015 and 2017, large majority (84% in 2015 and 79% in 2017) of respondents said they voted on the basis of candidates character. Only 6.7% and 8% said they voted in 2015 and 2017 respectively on caste basis. Just a few respondents reported use of force and money/ gifts is influencing voting by the dominant caste in the villages. So, candidate's character is reported to be the first important factor, followed by party affiliation as the main factors, which influenced voting behaviour of the respondents in the two villages. Caste remained a very marginal factor in this regard, as reported by the respondents.

Further, as regards the Jat election in western Uttar Pradesh demanding inclusions in the Central OBC list and reservations in Central Government jobs and admissions in central government educational institutions around 40% of the respondents said the agitation happened due to Jats desire to take benefits of the central policy of reservations around 13% respondents said the cause was decline in the agricultural income of the Jats and another 12.3% attributed it to decline in the economic status of the Jats, thus, these two factors added together comes to around 25% respondents who believe the Jat agitation was caused due to economic factors . But only 12% Jats said that the reasons was economic, they did not say getting benefits of central government policy of reservation was their intention there was also some variations across castes in their were on the causal factor of the jats agitation for reservations.

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Chapter-5

**Factors and Processes related to
Continuity and Change**

Chapter-5

Factors and Processes related to Continuity and Change

The caste system has existed in India since ages. However, it has undergone significant changes over time, more so starting with the British colonial rule through decades after Independence, including under the current regime of liberalization, privatization and globalization. But the caste system has not got replaced with some other social order like the class system. There are seen both continuity and change in the features of the caste system. There are several factors and processes which have been associated with change in the caste system. The British rule introduced several measures which adversely affected the caste system. They introduced a new legal system and courts, modern system of education, modern industries, etc. People belonging to marginalized groups under the caste system now had some opportunities for social mobility beyond the confines of the caste system. People belonging to all sections of society, including participated in the freedom struggle in which a vision of new India emerged. After Independence, a systematic and planned effort was made by the government to transform India into a secular democratic republic based on the principle of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. India's drive along the path of modernization and globalization has led to many changes in the caste system. The struggle for justice added the process of change in the caste system.

Jodhka (2015) has noted that the changes in the caste system have come to a variety of efforts: (a) 'From below', i.e. through the social movements of those who have been at the receiving end of the traditional hierarchies, (b) 'From above' i.e. through the constitutional provisions and other policies for empowerment and development of those on the margins of the traditional social order of the caste hierarchy, and (c) 'From the side' i.e. as a consequence of the general processes of social, economic and political changes such as the green revolution, development of the industry and urbanization.

There are several factors which have led to change in the caste system. There was very limited scope for change in the caste system for centuries in the past. But several new factors

got unleashed during the British colonial rule in India which caused significant change over time. After Independence, the government of India has worked systematically for modernization and development of the country for transformation of the old social order. Historically speaking, there have been many processes of change associated with the social structure and culture in India. The factors and processes of change related to the caste system are both macro and micro in nature. These are briefly discussed below:

Influence of the Indian Constitution: Indian Constitution bestows some fundamental rights on the citizens irrespective of caste, creed, colour or sex. It offers equal opportunities to all in the society. In Indian constitution there are many Articles such as Articles 5 to 11, 15, 15(A), 16, 17, 21, 21(A), 29, 30, 46, 330, 332, 335, 338 and etc., which stands for inclusion of backward segments of citizens in the mainstream social order on the principle of equality and Justice. The Constitution by declaring all citizens as equal, directly attacks on the ill practices and rigidness of Hindu social order based on inherited inequality under the caste system.

Universal Adult Franchise: After Independence, India introduces universal adult franchise. It is based on the principle of equality which is a basic to democracy. It demands that the right to vote should be equally available among all. To deny any caste from exercising this right is to violate their right to equality. So, because of the introduction of universal adult franchise people of middle and lower castes are getting represented more and more in power structure and governance. Earlier, in 1950's to 1970's politics was dominated mostly by the upper and landowning castes. But from 1980's onwards lower caste people are representing themselves more and more in politics and have a significant share in decision making process.

The new legal system: The modern legal system and the courts have given a severe blow to the caste system in India. Equality before law irrespective of castes has been firmly instituted. Consequently, the age-old discrimination against the lower castes has been formally removed though it exists to some extent in practice. Further, with the establishment of law courts, the traditional castes panchayats have lost their power and effectiveness to punish the deviants. Not only that A number of Acts like the Untouchability Offences Act of

1955 and the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 have negated certain evil effects of the caste system.

Decentralization and Panchayati Raj Institutions: It was understood soon after Independence that change of India's social structure would require continuous development of rural sectors; but despite that the main emphasis in the five year plans was given on industry. But, when it was realized that social change and progress is not possible without appropriate improvement of rural sector, than Panchayat Raj Institution was introduced to bring the people from grass-root level into the lime light of Indian democratic panorama. But, in early few years, the Panchayat Raj Institution was under the grip of dominant upper castes in society, who used to control villages by virtue of their muscle and money power. It started changing more after the introduction of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act in the year 1992 under which one-third seats in PRIs has been reserved for the scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and OBC candidates. Special provisions of 1/3 reservation has also been provided for women candidates in all tiers of PRIs. The grass root level participation of marginalized sections in governance has contributed to some degree of empowerment of those who were earlier excluded from the democratic politics, i.e. the OBCs, women, SCs and STs. In recent decades we are seeing participation of lower castes in panchayat level election increasing which was low in earlier decades. This is because of 73rd Constitutional Amendment related to PRI's, universal adult franchise, and the facts that many from the formerly propertied castes/classes who were residing in the village earlier have left the village and shifted to urban areas and now no longer have complete economic dominance due to various reasons. The representation and participation in voting increases in case of dalit communities, when the seat is reserved for them. This trend is prevalent now in villages. The participation, representation and interest of upper castes in panchayat elections are going slightly down in recent years in the village panchayat elections.

Modern education: Modern liberal education introduced in the country by the government has played a crucial role in undermining the importance of caste in Indian social life. Modern education is based on democratic values like equality, liberty and fraternity. It is also grounded in scientific values like reason and scientific observation. With the spread of modern education, the people's belief in the divine origin of caste, Karma and Dharma

has received a severe setback. As modern education is usually imparted in co-educational institutions, it encourages inter-caste mixing and also inter-caste marriages to very limited extent. Moreover, it acts as a force towards the removal of untouchability. Modern education combined with the policy of reservation facilitated increasing awareness and social mobility of SCs and STs through occupational mobility, political participation, especially at higher levels of political governance.

Modern means of transport and communication: Modern means of transport and communication are instrumental in increasing spatial mobility of the people and thereby put an end to the caste system. Means of transport like train, bus, taxi, airplane etc. does not provide for maintaining distinctions between castes, and hence, a leveling effect has been brought into the society. During travel one must of necessity take meals without questioning the company of low-caste persons.

Green Revolution: The green revolution began in India in the 1960s with an aim to increase food grain production by introducing high yield varieties (HYVs) of seeds, use of chemical fertilizers pesticides, etc. in agriculture. Government subsidy on purchase of agricultural equipments, electric water pumps, thresher, tractor, etc. transformed the rural socio-cultural setting of villages. Gradually, dependency of manual labourers, largely drawn from lower castes in agricultural production began to decrease and they began to engage in other sources of income generation and in this way the traditional caste system which was earlier based on the relationship between landlords and tenants, and labourers weaken. Increasing commercialization of agriculture gave a big blow causing decline of the jajmani system in villages.

Industrialization: The process of industrialization has affected caste structure to some extent. Industrial growth has provided new sources of livelihood to people and made occupational mobility of lower castes possible. Factories, mills and offices provide jobs to people. In a factory a Brahmin works side by side with a Shudra. He cannot avoid his touch or shadow.

Urbanization: Industrialization has aided to the process of urbanization. New townships have emerged. The rural people migrate to these towns in order to avail better employment opportunities. With the coming up of big hotels, restaurants, theatres, clubs and educational institutions it is not at all possible to observe communal inhibitions and taboos against food-sharing. Kingsley Davis rightly observes that the anonymity, congestion, mobility, secularism and changeability of the city make the operation of the caste virtually impossible particularly in public space.

Rise of new social classes: With the growth of capitalism, modern education and organization, new class structure has emerged which includes the capitalists, white-collar middle class and wage labour based working class that has dented the caste system. White collar jobs in industry, business and also in public sector employment has given rise to the emergence of new social classes. People engaged/working in factory, business, offices are not able to behave and interact with others in caste- like manner at their work place. Many people living in cities and towns are not familiar with their neighbors' caste. An increase in class consciousness also leads to a decrease in caste consciousness.

Social movements: Besides, developmental progressive interventions from the top, India have also witnessed both old and new social movements for change. The old social movements were led by charismatic personality with reformist agenda of social change. Like the Brahmo Samaj movement led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy rejected the barriers of caste divisions and stood for universalisation and brotherhood of man. The Prarthana Sabha movement supported by Justice Ranade brought about certain social reforms like inter-caste marriage, interdining and remarriage of widows, etc. The Arya Samaj movement founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Ramakrishna Mission movement raised voice against the hereditary caste system based on birth and stood for its abolition. In this way all these early social movements succeeded, in some measure, in affecting some of the structural features of the caste system. (a) Peasant movements which occurred during the colonial period gave a fillip to the land reforms done by the government after Independence. The new social movements are issue based (single issue) movements like those related to environment, womens rights and farmers. Farmers movements launched the recent decades focused on demanding from the government subsidization of agricultural inputs and remunerative prices

for their produce and the governments, both at the central and the state level have responded to that from time to time. This push towards further commercialization of agriculture has contributed to weakening of the traditional caste system. Non political castes association like, Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF), and dalit and OBC organizations have been working to eliminate the traditional structure of caste system.

Sanskritization: Srinivas has defined Sanskritization (Srinivas, 1966/2021) as “the process by which a low Hindu caste or tribal or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently ‘twice-born’ caste”. In this process, the lower castes leave their own traditional ideals and behaviour patterns and accept the ideals and standards of higher castes i.e. the locally dominant castes. This process of social mobility of lower castes entails positional change. Through sanskritization the some lower caste people have moved up slightly in the scale of “Jatis’ within a particular varna. In this way some cultural change has been possible within the caste system.

Westernization: Srinivas used the term ‘Westernization’ Srinivas (1966/2021 to signify the changes in the Indian society during and the after British rule. He defined westernization as “the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels, technology, institutions, ideology, and values”. Y. Singh defines westernization in a way that emphasizes on humanitarianism and rationalism. By promoting education, egalitarianism, rationalism, humanism and above all a critical outlook towards various social issues and problems, westernization has gone a long way in undermining the influence of the caste system. It has weakened the practices like child marriage, purity and pollution, commensal restrictions, untouchability, etc. The effects of westernization are visible in changing ways of life, changing cultural norms and practices including the inter-caste and intercommunity marriages, occupational changes, etc. In this way westernization has brought about profound changes in the Indian society.

Secularization: Caste System was and also till now is considered to be the organizing features of the Indian cultural and religious system and particularly Indian Hindu Sanatan religion. However, M. N. Srinivas is of the opinion that it was colonial rule that affected

caste system a lot. M. N. Srinivas writes Secularization means by legitimizing secular ideologies and formal legal doctrines and promoting rationality, scientific attitude and differentiation, secularization has affected certain characteristics of the caste system especially the concept of purity and pollution, commensality, fixity of occupation etc.

Modernization: In the context of the India Hindu and Islamic traditions, Yogendra Singh (1986) viewed modernization as “a psycho-narrative challenge to break away from hierarchy to equality, from ‘holism to individualism’ from ‘continuity to historicity’ and from ‘transcendence to this worldly rationalism and secularism’. Hence, the process modernization of Indian tradition could not be completely smooth; rather it involved tensions and conflicts. It required attitudinal change towards acceptance of new ideas, belief in rational thought and in distributive justice. It involved a cultural response of the Indian tradition to the basically modern universalistic and pan-humanistic, trans ethnic and non-ideological attributes. In facts Singh's notion of modernization combines both cultural as well as structural change dealing with micro level change as in little traditions, caste, family, etc. and macro level changes as reflected in emergence of the institutions of modern bureaucracy, and new class structure in case of India.

Globalization: The contemporary process of globalization has impacted the Indian society and culture with increasing global inter-linkages in economic, social and cultural domains. Qualitative data gathered through group discussion and interviews from the two selected villages show that both the upper and lower caste people now have adopted sophisticated cultural practices. They have mobile phones, television, transport vehicles, and now they are seeing and looking for modern life style. Their food habits are also changing now. Many people in the villages now take tea, coffee and even fast food. Caste system has now lost its most traditional division of labour which was based on jajmani custom in the village. Only Nai, Dhobi and Brahmin (purohit) are important person on certain occasion in the family affairs. Many lower castes people in the village have gone to cities and towns to earn for their family's livelihood. They have migrated to towns and cities also for taking better education and jobs. In the villages many landlords do not give enough wages to the laborers and also the latter are not sure when they will be paid their labour wage. Due to irregularities in payment of wages many do not want to go in the fields of farmers. Most of

the traditional upper castes have now lost their large landholdings due to various reasons, like decrease in size of landholding due to division of joint family and (2) by selling of family's landholding. Most of the lower castes in villages refuse to go to the fields of upper castes for agricultural and menial works. In discussion during fieldwork one elderly Dalit caste person said "we are more secured if we work as labourers in the construction of buildings in the nearby cities and towns and we are also pulling rickshaw in nearby towns to feed family members, but we cannot work for upper castes or any other castes residing in the village because we are not certain that how much we will be paid in the evening and there is no guarantee when we will be paid the wage."

Monetization/Increasing importance of wealth: Under the caste system, ascription was taken as the basis of social status. But today, with increasing wealth has largely replaced ascription as the basis of social prestige. Occupations are now no longer caste based though, caste discrimination in offering jobs are reported sometimes. People while choosing their occupations generally attach greater importance to income rather than anything else. It is because of this reason a high-born may be ill-placed in society while a man of low caste with ample wealth at his disposal has a room at the top in many ways. With this change of emphasis, the Indian caste system is in the gradual process of being replaced by the system of social classification as prevails in western countries.

LPG Policies and agriculture: since 1990, a new model of development has been followed in the country, which is based on the policy paradigm of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). This new set of policy reforms as impacted the agriculture significantly. It has led to reduction in subsidy on various agriculture inputs cost like fertilizers, seeds, agri-machinery, etc. resulting in rise in agricultural input cost which has adversely affected farmers. Moreover, more emphasis is given on production of high value agri- product which causes distress on even suicide by farmers in cases of failure of such crops. Increasing entry of Multinational Corporation and contract farming in agriculture also has weakened farmers' conditions. The agrarian sector has come under increasing stress under the LPG regime. Rural migration has been on the increase. All this has affected the caste system. In some areas it has contributed to rise of agitations by

traditionally dominant middle castes like jats in Uttar Pradesh. For reservation in central government educational institutions, which have raised caste consciousness.

Reasons for change in family occupation: The respondents of the present study reported that their main family occupation has changed now as compared with the earlier generation. They specified several reasons for the change. Table and Figure 5.1 indicates that in case of the General category (Brahmin) respondents, the reason for occupational change were increase in income (35% families), followed by the change of business (25% families) education (21% families) and others (21% families). Regarding the OBCs the reasons were increase in income (34% families), followed by change of business (21% families), education (14% families) and others (30% families). In case of SCs the reasons for change of family occupation were increase in income (37% families), followed by the change of business (25% families) education (8% families) and others (30% families). So, the orders of reasons for change in main family occupation were broadly the same across the categories, i.e. increase in income, followed by change of business, education and others.

Table 5.1: Reasons behind change in main family occupation of respondent's over generations

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Reasons behind change in main family occupation over generation								Total	
		Education		Increase in income		Change of business		Others			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General											
1.	Brahmin	20	20.6	34	34.8	24	24.7	20	20.6	98	100.0
(Sub-total)		(20)	(20.6)	(34)	(34.8)	(24)	(24.7)	(20)	(20.6)	(98)	(100.0)
OBC											
2.	Jat	3	3.1	12	12.3	3	3.1	2	2.0	20	20.6
3.	Saini	2	2.0	12	12.3	5	5.1	5	5.1	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	5.1
5.	Badai	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	1	1.0	3	3.1	3	3.1	3	3.1	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	2	2.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	5.1	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	3	3.1	3	3.1	1	1.0	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	5	5.1	7	7.2
(Sub-total)		(14)	(14.4)	(33)	(34.0)	(21)	(21.6)	(29)	(29.9)	(97)	(100.0)
SC											
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	2	2.0	5	4.7	2	2.0	8	7.6	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	2	2.0	31	29.5	20	19.0	16	15.2	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	4	3.7	3	2.8	2	2.0	5	4.7	14	13.3
(Sub-total)		(9)	(8.4)	(39)	(37.1)	(26)	(24.8)	(31)	(29.5)	(105)	(100.0)
Grand total		43	14.3	106	35.3	71	23.7	80	26.7	300	100.0

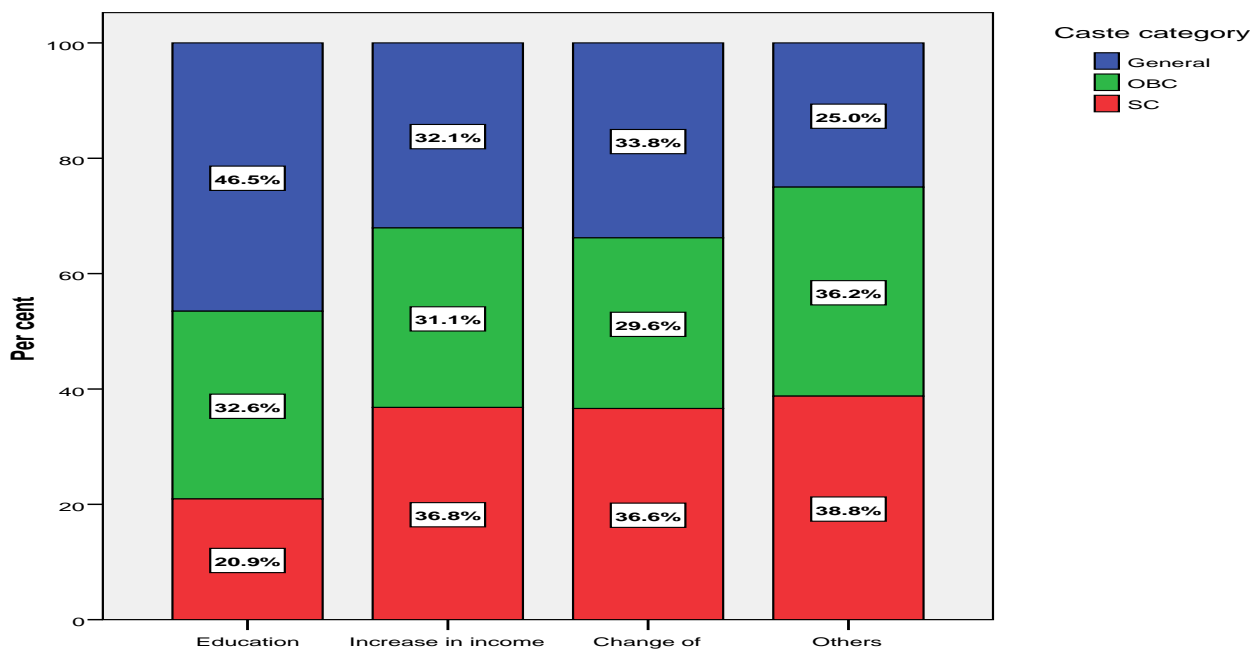


Figure 5.1: Reason behind the changes in the main family occupation

Reasons for change in size of family landholding: Reasons for change in size of family landholding is shown in the Table and Figure 5.2. Respondents of the present study also reported change in the size of their family landholding due to several reasons. In case of around 15% of the total respondents their landholding size increased due to buying of land. The ratio of buying land was highest among the OBCs (22% families), followed by the SCs (10% families) and General category (Brahmin) (5% families). The size of their landholding had also decreased due to selling in case of around 15% of the total respondents again. The ratio of decrease in size of family landholding was highest (i.e. 3% families) among the SCs, followed by the OBCs (8% families) and General category/Brahmin (7% families). The most important factor for decrease in family landholding was partition of the family (59% of the total respondents). The ratio of the respondents regarding decrease in the size of family landholding was highest among the SCs (72% families), followed by the OBCs (18% families) and General category/Brahmin (12% families). In case of around 11% of the total respondents, there was no change in their family landholding size. The ratio of those reporting no change was roughly around half of the total respondents among the OBCs (52.5% families) and General category/Brahmin (50% families) but a very few (only 5% families) among the SCs.

Table 5.2: Reasons for change in size of family landholding due to buying /selling

Sr. no.	Category/ Caste	Change in family landholding size								Total	
		Increased by buying		Decreased by selling		Decreased due to partition		No change			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	General										
1.	Brahmin	15	15.3	22	22.4	12	12.3	49	50.0	98	100.0
	(Sub-total)	(15)	(5.0)	(22)	(7.3)	(12)	(12.3)	49	(50.0)	(98)	(100.0)
	OBC										
2.	Jat	6	6.1	2	2.0	5	5.1	7	7.2	20	20.6
3.	Saini	12	12.3	-	-	7	7.2	5	5.1	24	24.7
4.	Jogi	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	4	4.1	5	5.1
5.	Badai	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0
6.	Gadaria	1	1.0	1	1.0	-	-	3	3.1	5	5.1
7.	Kumhar	2	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	7	7.2	10	10.3
8.	Dhiwar	-	-	1	1.0	2	2.0	8	8.3	11	11.3
9.	Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
10.	Teli	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0	5	5.1	7	7.2
11.	Sunar	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
12.	Dhoone	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	1	1.0
13.	Rangrej	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	2.0
14.	Julaha	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	6	6.1	7	7.2
	(Sub-total)	(21)	(21.6)	(8)	(8.2)	(17)	(17.5)	(51)	(52.5)	(97)	(100.0)
	SC										
15.	Dhobi	1	1.0	-	-	4	3.8	-	-	5	4.7
16.	Jatava	4	3.8	-	-	13	12.4	-	-	17	16.2
17.	Chamar	5	4.7	13	12.3	46	43.8	5	4.7	69	65.7
18.	Balmiki	-	-	1	1.0	13	12.4	-	-	14	13.3
	(Sub-total)	(10)	(9.5)	(14)	(13.3)	(76)	(72.4)	(5)	(5.1)	(105)	(100.0)
	Grand total	46	15.3	44	14.7	176	58.7	34	11.3	300	100.0

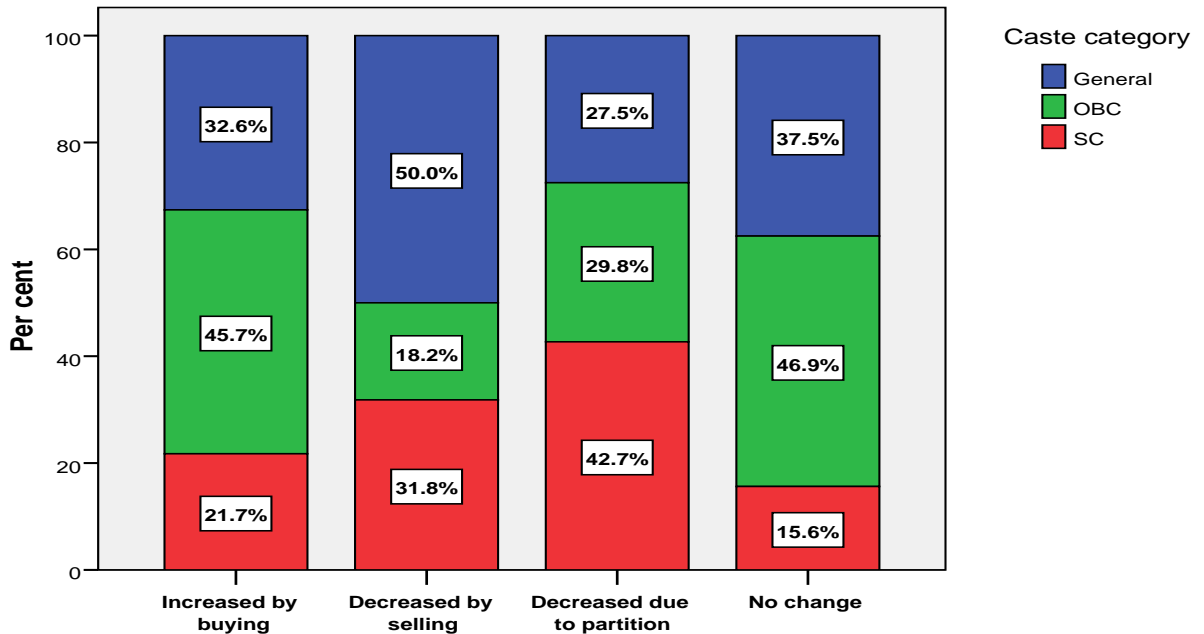


Figure 5.2: Change in size of family landholding due to buying/sale

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Chapter-6

Main Findings and Conclusion

Chapter-6

Main Findings and Conclusion

The present study is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 forms Introduction of the study. It briefly discusses the definition and meaning of the caste system, its features and origin, theoretical perspectives adopted in the study of the caste system and review of literature. Moreover, it provides details about significance of the study, statements of the problem, objectives, hypothesis, methodology and limitations of the study. In addition, it discusses the village-wise social profile of the respondents selected for the study. Chapter 2, first, discusses in brief the concept of culture and cultural features of the caste system. Then, it's empirically analyses on continuity and change in the cultural features of the caste system. The analysis is based on the data collected from the respondents of the study, which results to their opinion and behavior regarding different cultural features of the caste system.

Chapter 3 briefly discusses first, the concept of social structure and the features of the caste system as a structural phenomenon. Then, it analyses empirically continuity and change in the caste system related to its economic dimension which is based on the data collected from the respondents of the study pertaining to their economic status. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of political dimension of the caste system, which deals with continuity and change in the nature of political representation of different caste groups at the village panchayat level and voting behavior of the respondents belonging to two selected villages of the study. Factors and Processes related to change in the caste system are discussed in the chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 provides a brief summary of findings and conclusion of the study. Some important facts are briefly stated below before discussing the main findings and conclusion of the study.

It is well-known that caste has existed in India since ages. Various studies have been conducted on the caste system in India. Some scholars consider it as a structural reality and others as a cultural phenomenon. It is generally held that structural features of the caste system, namely its economic and political aspects have significantly changed; whereas its socio-cultural features are said to be continuing to a large extent, particularly in rural areas. Both continuity and change have been observed in the caste system in

earlier studies. In some recent studies it has been held that caste has taken its modern avatar in contemporary India as reflected increasing in caste-based mobilizations and counter mobilization in politics, demand for reservation by some traditionally dominant castes like Jats, Pattidars and Marathas, and incidences of tensions and conflicts on the issue of reservation.

It was expected that as a result of increasing modernization and development traditional identities like caste would gradually disappear. But that does not seem to have happened. Is it because there are new factors and processes at work in the current period of liberalization, privatization, and globalization, increasing rural-urban migration, increasing commercialization, fragmentation of land holding, identity assertion by lower castes, etc? Hence, there is need to understand the recent changes in the caste system in terms of continuity and change in its structural and cultural features.

Keeping this in view, the present study set three objectives which include -

- i. To know the nature of continuity and change in the socio-cultural features of the caste system;
- ii. To examine the nature of continuity and change in the structural (economic and political) features of the caste system; and
- iii. To understand the factors and processes that are responsible for continuity and change in the caste system.

Related to these objectives the study formulated three hypotheses which are -

- i. Socio-cultural features of caste system have higher degree of continuity than its economic and political features;
- ii. The congruence between social (caste) status and economic status has declined less than congruence between caste (social) status and political status; and
- iii. Several factors and processes have been responsible for continuity and change in the caste system.

Methodology of the study: Broadly speaking, research methodology refers to the design of research involving approach and methods used in a piece of research to obtain valid and reliable results that meet the research objectives. The theoretical approach adopted in the present study is the Weberian trichotomous schema of caste, class and power referring to the socio-cultural, economic and political dimensions of the caste

system. Descriptive and diagnostic research design was followed in the present research. The universe of study included two villages namely, Bhainsi and Jandheri, which are located in Khatauli tahsil of Muzaffar Nagar district in Uttar Pradesh: i) Bhainsi village consisting of large population of upper castes, and ii) Jandheri village having numerical preponderance of lower castes. Only two villages were selected for the study mainly due to resource constraints of the researcher in terms of available time, money, etc. Moreover, these villages were selected because in the recent years the district witnessed movements by the Jats, a traditionally dominant caste, demanding reservation in the central government jobs and in admissions in central government educational institutions. I have used purposive sampling approach in the study. The sample size is 150 households each from the two selected villages i.e. total 300 households. For this, 50 households (respondents) were chosen from upper, middle and lower caste groups from each of the two selected villages.

The study uses mixed method approach which combines both quantitative and qualitative strategies of research. Accordingly, two methods have been used to collect empirical data from the respondents – i) Questionnaire (the same used as Interview schedule in case of illiterate respondents), and ii) Interview guide. Data collected through use of these methods form primary source. Secondary sources used here include relevant books, research articles in journals, newspaper reports, government documents, etc. The study area was visited three times to build rapport with the respondents and data collection from them. The fieldwork was completed in the selected villages from August 2019 to December 2019. The data have been interpreted and analysed with the help of tables and figures. SPSS 22 version software was used for data analysis. The findings and conclusions of the study may not be generalized for the state of Uttar Pradesh as a whole because universe of the present study is limited to only two villages in the state.

Findings and Conclusion

The analysis of empirical data relating to socio-cultural, economic and political features of the caste system, pertaining to the study of two villages in UP, shows the following main trends of continuity and change:

Socio-cultural features: Traditionally, the upper castes (General category) were accorded higher social status than the middle (OBCs) and lower castes (SCs) in social

hierarchy of the caste system. The cultural norms governing the caste system ensured maintenance of their higher social status through putting various types of restrictions on interactions with other castes. In this connection, in case of the two selected villages it was found that around one fourth (26.3%) of the total respondents believe that the caste system was created by the God, but majority (60.7%) of them believe it was created by the society. However, category-wise there was some difference in their opinion, as 22% Brahmins thought it was created by the God, whereas the ratio for the OBC and SC was 24% and 26% respectively. (ii) As regards commensality, large majority (78.3%) of the total respondents believed it should be done fully, 15.7% believed it is partially, and a small fraction (only 5%) did not support it at all. There is found some difference in their opinion across categories in this matter. Moreover, large majority (83.3%) of them always practiced commensality, 13.7% practiced sometimes, but a tiny majority (2.3%) never practiced it. (iii) In respect of inter-caste marriage, large majority (85.7%) was not in favour of it; only a small majority (10.3%) supported it. There was no difference on this across different categories of the respondent. Also, overwhelming majority (95%) of the respondent reported no inter-caste marriage done in their family; only 3.3% reported in the positive. (iv) Large majority (81.3%) of the total respondents did not believe in the practice of untouchability, 14.7% believed in it partially and a tiny majority (3.7%) believed in it fully, further large majority 73.7% never practiced untouchability, 22% practiced partially and 4.3% believed fully. There was found some differences across categories e.g. 7.1% Brahmins practiced untouchability fully whereas the ratio for OBC and SC respondents was 6.9% and nil respectively. (v) Majority of the respondents believed in the theory of Karma (39% believed fully and 26% believed partially) whereas small section (15%) of them did not believe in it. (vi) Large majority (73.7%) of the respondents fully believed that different castes are unequal to each other; only 13.3% believed it was completely false to think that castes are unequal, 13.3% considered it partially true. (vii) But overwhelming majority (91.7%) believed all caste should treat each other as equal. Coming to behaviour aspect, overwhelming majority 90.7% always treated castes higher than oneself as equal to them, 7.3% did so sometimes and almost nil (1%) never did so. Moreover, large majority (71%) of the respondents treated castes lower than oneself always as equal, 22.3% did so sometimes, and 5% never did so. Also overwhelming majority (93.3%) of the respondents participated in religious festivals and ceremonies in the village without any caste discrimination. There is found almost no difference among them across categories in this regard.

Thus, on the whole, it is found that there is very high to high degree of continuity in: a) the belief and behaviour of the respondents regarding inter-caste marriage (around 90% respondents), b) very high degree of continuity in their belief that castes are unequal to each other (around 80% respondents), and c) high degree of continuity (around 60% respondents) in their belief in the theory of Karma. d) The continuing existence of khaps even today in the study villages adds to the caste system as an element of continuity. But there is high to very high degree of change in: a) their belief regarding the creation of caste system (around 68% believe society created it, only 26% said create by God), b) belief in commensality (78% fully believed in commensality), practiced commensality (83% practiced it), c) belief in untouchability (81% did not believe), practice of untouchability (74% never practice, only 4% practiced fully), d) treatment of caste higher than oneself as equal (91% treated always as equal), treatment of castes lower than oneself as equal (71% did so always, only 5% never did so), and participation in religious festivals and ceremonies in the village without any caste discrimination (93% said yes always, only 1% said no). So, there is found very high to high degree of continuity in four socio-cultural features of the caste system. And there is also found very high to high degree of change in four socio-cultural features of the caste system. Moreover, it may be noted that there is found some difference in the socio-cultural belief and behaviour of the respondents across categories (i.e. General, SC and OBC) regarding some cultural features of the caste system and almost no difference in case of some other cultural features of the caste system.

Caste and Economic status: Traditionally, there was a congruity between the social (caste) hierarchy and economic hierarchy under the caste system, i.e. the castes that were higher in social status were also higher in economic status and the vice versa. The findings of the empirical analysis regarding economic status of different caste groups in the two villages are : (i) The ratio of SC respondents living in kaccha houses is the highest (i.e. 17.1%), among the SCs followed by the OBCs (11.3%) and General category/Brahmins (only 4.1%). But ratio of the respondent living in pakka houses is highest among the General category/ Brahmins (79.6%), followed by the OBCs (67%) and lowest among the SCs (45.7%). (ii) Agriculture used to be the main family occupation of about half (66%) of the General/ Brahmins households in the earlier generation, followed by slightly more than one-third (35%) of the OBCs and about one-fifth (19%) SC households. But agriculture as the main family occupation has decline in

the present generation as the ratio in case of General/ Brahmins, OBCs and SCs category 50%, (6% decline), 20.4% (around 10% decline), and 15.4% (around 4% decline) respectively. (iii) In case of labour as the main family occupation, the ratio as increased over generations in all categories. In the earlier generations labour as the main source of family occupation was highest among the SCs (around 42%), followed by OBCs (28%) and the General category/Brahmins (12%). The ratio increased in all categories but the pattern remained the same in the present generation as the ratio in the present generation stood at 65.5% for the SCs, 32.4% for the OBCs and only 15.3% for Brahmins. The intergenerational increase in ratio is found to be about 25%, 4% and 3% and in case of SCs, OBCs and General (Brahmins) respectively. (iii) The ratio of business as the main family occupation has increased over generation the most in case of OBCs (around 8% in earlier generation to 28% in present generation i.e. 20% increased followed by General/Brahmins categories 4% to 9% now i.e. 5% increased) and SCs (7% to 10% now i.e. 3% increased). The ratio of sources as main family occupation has decreased in case of General/Brahmins category (around 21% in earlier generation to 14% in present generation i.e. 7% decline), but has increased among the OBCs (about 9% earlier to 11% now i.e. 2% increased), and remained roughly the same among the SCs (i.e. about 5% earlier as well as now).As regard main source of present family income dependence on labour is the highest (48.6% families among the SCs, followed by business 19% and agriculture 15% families). The trend is similar among the OBCs in whose case dependence on labour as the main source of income is the highest (about 37% families), followed by business (about 29% families), and agriculture (21%). But in case of the General (Brahmins) category, the highest ratio of main source of income is agriculture (about 43% families), followed by labour (17.4% families) and service (10.3%). (iv) Further, as regard the size of landholding, it is found that the ratio of families without any landholding is highest among the SCs (around 10%), followed by General (Brahmin) category (4%) and the OBCs (3%). Again the ratio of those having marginal/ small landholding is highest among the SCs (around 89% families), followed by the OBCs (72% families) and the General (Brahmins) category (65%). In contrast, those having medium landholding are highest (about 26%) among the General/ Brahmins category, closely followed by the OBCs (around 22% families), and nil medium landholding by the SCs. Among the OBCs, around half of the medium landholding the Jats have (12.4% out of 22% for the OBCs as a whole). Large landholding is possessed by the General (Brahmin) category (around 3% families) and the OBCs (3% families), but none by the

SCs. So, the SCs possess no medium or large landholding. And among the OBCs, mainly the Jats have large landholding (2% families out of total 3% OBCs families). (v) Moving further, it is found that the respondents belonging to all three categories reported improvement in their economic status at present compared with their earlier generation. As substantial majority (around three-fourth of total families) belonging to all categories reported intergenerational improvement in their economic status- the ratio being around 72%, 74% and 75% families for the General (Brahmins), OBCs and SCs categories. Around one-fifth of the families in all categories reported no intergenerational improvement in their economic status- the ratio being around 23%, 18% and 23% families among the General (Brahmins), OBCs and SCs categories. Only around 5% families reported no change in their economic status from the earlier to present generation. (vi) Coming to total family income from all sources ranging between Rs. 1-25000, the ratio of SCs families is the highest (i.e. around 28%), followed by the OBCs (around 21%) and lowest among the General (Brahmin) category (7% families only). In the range of family income between Rs. 25000-Rs. 1 Lakh, the ratio of families is 56%, 43% and 33% among the SCs, OBCs and General (Brahmins) categories respectively. The ratio of family income in the range of Rs. 1-2 Lakhs in case of the SCs, OBCs and General (Brahmins) categories is 11.5%, 12.3% and 31% respectively. The ratio of family income in ranging between Rs. 2-5 Lakhs is around 20%, 29% and 5% families respectively for the General (Brahmin), OBCs and SCs. In the range of family income between Rs 5-10 Lakhs the ratio is found to be 8.2%, 8.24 and nil families in case of the General (Brahmin), OBCs and SCs categories. The ratio is the highest range of total family income between Rs. 10-20 Lakhs, there are only 2% families belonging to the General (Brahmins) category and nine from the OBCs and SCs. In the higher range of total family income between Rs 2-5 lakhs and Rs. 5-10 Lakhs among the OBC families, it is the Jats which constitute the main caste. So the main trend of total family income follows the caste hierarchy i.e. higher the caste status higher the family income and lower the caste status of the family lower is the family income. (vii) In terms of possession of consumer durables at family level, except AC, General Brahmin category respondents are at the top followed by the OBCs and SCs. For instance refrigerator is possessed by majority of the families of General (Brahmin) category (63.2% families) and the OBCs (54.6% families) but only 40.7% SCs families. Cooler is possessed by 33.6% General (Brahmins) category families followed by the OBCs (21.6%) and SCs families (only 4.7%). The possession of washing machine at family level is 21.4%, 17.5% and 2%

families among General (Brahmins) category, OBCs and SCs respectively. Televisions set is possessed by 79.5% General (Brahmins) category families followed by 63.9% families among the OBCs and 50.4% families among the SCs. Gas cylinder is possessed 90.5% General (Brahmins) categories families followed by 77.3% OBCs family and 74.2% SCs families. As regards distribution of non-possession of any of the above items, the ratio is highest among the SCs (6.6% families), followed by the OBCs families (3.1%) and the General (Brahmin) category families (only 1%). AC is possessed by 2% families in General (Brahmin) category, 5.1% OBCs families (i.e. 3.1% Jats and 2% Sainis) and none from the SCs categories. Among the OBCs, the more expensive consumer durable are possessed by mostly the Jats families followed by the Sainis in some cases and very few by the other OBCs.

(viii) The possession high value transport vehicles is found to be highest by the Jats and then Sainis among the OBCs families, followed by General (Brahmins) category and none or least by the SCs. For example, Trucks/Buses are possessed by 5.1% OBCs families (3.1% by Jats and 2% Sainis families followed by General (Brahmins) category (3.1%) and none by the SCs families. Around 20% OBCs families (7.3% Jats and 6.2% Sainis families) possess Car/Jeep, followed by General (Brahmin) category families (12.2%) and only 7.6% SCs families. Motorcycle/ Scooters are possessed by significant majority of families across categories- the ratio being 81.4% OBCs families, followed by 76% SCs families and 75.5% General (Brahmin) category families. The possession of cycle is most common across overwhelming majority of families in all categories- the ratio being 94.8% OBCs, 92.3% SCs and 75.5% General (Brahmin) category families. Possession of none of these items is highest among the SCs (7.6%) category (6.1%) and the OBCs (3.1%) families. The ratio of possession of high values agricultural machinery is highest among the OBCs followed by the General (Brahmin) category and none of the lowest among the SCs. For instance, harvester is possessed by only 1% Jats families (OBCs) and not at all by the General and SCs category families. The possession of Tractor is highest among the OBCs (24.7% which includes 10.2% Jat families and 9.2% Sainis families) followed by the General (Brahmin) category (13.2%) families and the SCs families (9.5%). Trolley is possessed by 26.7% OBCs (including 6% Jats and 9% Sainis families), followed by 19.3% General (Brahmin) category families and only 9.5% SCs families, the possession of tubewell is the highest among the General (Brahmin) category families (22.4%) followed by the OBCs (12.3% families) and only 6.6% SC

families. Diesel engine is possessed by 52% General (Brahmin) category families, followed by 49.4% OBCs and 33.3% SCs. In terms of possession of none of these items, the ratio of the SCs is the highest (66.6% families), followed by 29.8% OBCs and 17.3% General (Brahmin) category families. Hence, it emerges that in terms of possession of expensive consumer durable as well as high value agricultural machinery, the OBCs (mostly the Jats followed by Sainis) are at the top, followed by the General category (Brahmin) in the middle and the SCs families at the bottom.

Thus, on the whole it is found, as regards the two selected villages, that in terms of certain economic indicators the General category (Brahmins) is at the top but in case some other indicators the OBC (mostly the Jats) category is at the top of economic hierarchy in the village. The SCs continue to remain at the lowest rung of economic hierarchy. So, there is only partial congruity between caste hierarchy and economic hierarchy with respect to upper castes (General category) and middle castes, especially the Jats (OBCs); but there is complete congruity between the lower caste status of the SCs and their position at the lowest rung of the economic hierarchy in the village.

Caste and Power position: Traditionally, there used to be congruity between caste status and power positions occupied by people belonging to different castes at various levels. The empirical findings of this study relating to two villages show the power positions of different caste groups at the village panchayat level. (i) It is found that despite being just around 11% of the Bhaisi village voter population, the Jats have always won elections and occupied the position of Pradhan at the village panchayat level since 1975 till the present. Another General caste, viz. the Brahmin who constitutes around half of the total village population have not become village Pradhan; neither any person of the OBC and SC castes has ever become village Pradhan at the panchayat level in Bhaisi village. (ii) In case of Jandheri village, the Jats constitute around 15% of the total voter population, and the SC castes are in numerical majority. In nine panchayat elections held in this village since 1975, the post of village Pradhan has been won twice by the SCs, once by Saini (an OBC caste) and six times including at present, by the Jats who belong to the OBC category in the state list. So, it emerges that despite being numerically in minority, the Jats have been able to acquire and retain the most powerful panchayat position of Pradhan continuously for decades in Bhaisi village and also six out of nine times in Jandheri village. Even when people belonging to other castes OBC/ SC castes won Pradhan

election is Jandheri village the Jats continue to exercise their influence over them in decision making at the village panchayat level.

(iii) Further, as regards ward members of village panchayat, it is found that in Bhainsi village panchayat, the ratio of General/Brahmin, OBC and SC categories in the total voters was about 44%, 35% and 21% respectively, and their respective ratio of the ward members who won in 2021 village panchayat elections was 47%, 33% and 20%. Hence, the ratio of ward members who won election from different categories comes to roughly the same as their ration in total population of voters, though the ratio of general category was slightly higher and that of the OBCs slightly lower than their respective share in voters' population. In case of Jandheri village panchayat, it is observed that General/Brahmin category constitutes 9.1% of the total voters in the village but they won no seat of ward member in 2021 village panchayat elections. But the OBCs who form 40.3% of the total voters won 73.3% post of ward members, i.e. around double their ratio in the total voters. The SCs form 50.6% of the total voters but they could win only 26.7% of the post of ward members, i.e. almost half of their share in the total voters. Among OBCs, the Jats won more seats than others (i.e. five out of total 11 seats won by the OBCs). So, the power distribution in terms of holding the post of ward member in the village panchayat in Jandheri village is in the order of first the OBC (mainly Jats) followed by the SCs, and General category being nil. But in case of Bhaisi village the order is first the General category, followed by the OBCs (mainly Jats) and lastly the SCs. Finally, as regards power distribution at the village panchayat level, the post of village panchayat Pradhan has been held for decades by the OBC (Jats) in the Bhaisi village, but the ward members are presently higher in number from the General/ Brahmin category than the OBCs and SCs taken separately. But in Jandheri village where the SCs are in majority they have won the post of Pradhan twice only in the period after 1975, whereas the post was won by OBCs for the remaining period (six times by the Jats out of total seven times by the OBCs). But as regards ward member, the position of the SCs is better than in case of the post of Pradhan. On the whole, the in the village power structure, the OBCs (say Jats) are dominant and the position of the SCs has slightly improved in the present compared with the past mainly due to the Constitutional Amendment providing reservation to them in PRIs. The General/Brahmin category is not at the top in PRI in the selected villages. So, there is no significant congruence between social (caste) status of the upper caste (Brahmins) and their position in the power

hierarchy at the village panchayat level. The Jats, who are part of the OBCs, have dominance in power hierarchy in the villages. The SCs continue to largely remain at the bottom of the power pyramid though their position has improved in distribution of power at lower level (as ward member and sometimes as Pradhan) in the village.

Factors and Processes: There are both historical and contemporary factors and processes which have facilitated change in the socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of the caste system, though it has not been replaced with some other system. These factors and processes have operated at both macro and micro levels. Mainly starting from the British period, these forces got further strengthened after Independence with India's march on the path of modernization and current globalization. Processes of sanskritisation, westernization and secularization have been instrumental in change. The introduction of land reforms, green revolution, adoption of democratic political system based on universal adult franchise and PRIs, spread of modern education, etc. have been important factors leading to change in the caste system. Also, there are certain micro-level factors in the selected villages like partition of family, sell of some land by upper castes, increase in population, increasing political awareness among many OBCs and the SCs, that have facilitated change in the caste system to some extent.

Finally, it may be broadly concluded that the Jats are found to have political and economic dominance in the selected villages, not the upper castes. And the SCs remain at the bottom in local hierarchy not only socially but also economically and politically, though it must be noted that their economic condition has improved and they have also started getting representation at village panchayat level where they are numerically significant among voters. Broadly speaking, socio-cultural features of the caste system are not found having much higher degree of continuity (except prohibition on inter-caste marriage) than its economic and political features. Congruence between social (caste) status and economic status has declined much more in respect of status of the upper caste and the OBCs (mainly the Jats) rather than regarding the SCs. There is higher degree of incongruity (dissonance) between respective social (caste) status and political power regarding the upper caste and the OBCs (Jats), but not so in case of the SCs. So, first hypothesis of the study is not valid, but the second and third hypotheses are valid.

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Annexures

Annexure-1

Questionnaire/Interview Schedule

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Topic: “Continuity and Change in the Caste System: A Study of Two Selected Villages in Uttar Pradesh”

Section A: Personal Introduction-

Q.1 Name of your village: (a) Bhainsi (b) Jandheri

Q.2 Name of the head of family.....

Q.3 Total numbers of family members:

(a) Only 2 members, (b) 3 members, (c) 4 members, (d) 5 members,
(e) 6 members, (f) More than 6 members

Q.4 Gender of the respondents:

(a) Male (b) Female (c) Others

Q.5 Your age (in years):

(a) Less than 30, (b) 30-40 years, (c) 40-50 years,
(d) 50-60 years, (e) 60 and above.

Q.6 Your caste (write).....

Q.7 Caste Category:

(a) General, (b) OBC (c) SC (d) ST (e) Other

Q.8 Your religion:

(a) Hindu, (b) Mushlim, (c) Shikh, (d) Christian, (e) Others

Q.9 Your educational status:

(a) Illiterate, (b) Literate, (c) Primary education, (d) Upper primary

- (e) Highschool (f) Intermediate (g) Graduation (h) Post graduation
(i) Others

Q.10 Your marital status:

- (a) Married (b) Unmarried (c) widow/widower

Section B: Social and Cultural aspect of the caste system-

Q.11 Who has created the caste system?

- (a) God (b) Society (c) Brahmins (d) Don't know
(e) Others

Q.12 In your opinion, socially, castes are unequal (higher-lower) to each other?

- (a) Completely true, (b) Completely false, (c) Partially true,
(d) Partially false, (e) Don't know

Q.13 In your opinion, should there be commensality relations (Sharing of food and water) among different castes without discrimination?

- (a) Should be done fully (b) Should be done partially
(c) Should not be done at all (d) Don't know

Q.14 Do you share food and water (commensal relations) with Caste higher than oneself without caste discrimination?

- (a) Always do, (b) Sometime do (c) Never do (d) Don't know

Q.15 In your opinion, upper and lower castes should treat each other as equals in talking, seating together and on social-cultural functions?

- (a) Should be treated equals completely (b) Should be treated equals partially
(c) Should not be treated equals completely (d) Don't know

Q. 16 Do you treat, castes higher than oneself as equal in talking and seating together?

- (a) Always (b) Seldom (c) Never (d) Don't know

Q.17 Do you treat, castes lower than oneself as equal in talking and seating together?

- (a) Always (b) Seldom (c) Never (d) Don't know

Q. 18 Do you think that one should marry in other caste?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know

Q. 19 Do you know in your family anyone has done marriage in other caste?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know

Q. 20 Do you believe in the practice of untouchability?

(a) Fully believe (b) Partially believe (c) Don't believe (d) Don't know

Q. 21 Do you follow Practice of untouchability in your life?

(a) Fully practice (b) Partially practice (c) Don't practice (d) Don't know

Q. 22 Do you believe in the theory of Karma and dharma (present socio-economic status is result of deeds in the past birth)?

(a) Fully believe (b) Partially believe (c) Don't believe (d) Don't know

Q.23 Do you participate in religious festivals and ceremonies held in the village without caste discrimination?

(a) Participate in all, (b) Participate in some

(c) Non-participation, (d) Don't know

Section C: Economic aspect of the caste system-

Q. 24 Which type of your house is?

(a) kachcha (b) pakka (c) Mixed (d) Hut (e) Others

Q. 25 What was the main family occupation of your earlier generations?

(a) Agriculture (b) Jamindari (c) Share cropping (d) Business

(e) labour (f) Ritual performing (g) Government job (h) Any other

Q. 26 What is the main family occupation of your present generation?

(a) Agriculture (b) Jamindari (c) Share cropping (d) Business

(e) labour (f) Ritual performing (g) Government job (h) Any other

Q.27 What are the reasons behind change in main family occupation of respondents over generations?

- (a) Education, (b) Increase in income (c) Change of business (d) Others

Q.28 What is the most important source of family income?

- (a) Agriculture (b) Own land (c) Share cropping (d) Business
(e) labour (f) Ritual performing (g) Government job (h) Any other

Q.29 What is the Category of farmer your family belong to?

- (a) No land holding (b) Small landholding (c) Medium land holding
(d) Big land holding (e) Others

Q. 30 Is it change in size of family landholding due to purchase /sale?

- (a) Increased (b) Decreased (c) Decreased due to fragmentation of family
(d) No change

Q. 31 What are the consumer durables in your family?

- (a) A.C. (b) Fridge (c) Cooler (d) Washing machine
(e) T.V. (e) Gas cylinder (f) No one

Q. 32 What are the transport vehicles in your family?

- (a) Truck/bus (b) Car/jeep (c) Moter cycle/scooter
(d) Cycle (e) No one

Q. 33 What are the agricultural machinery in your family?

- (a) Harvester (b) Tractor (c) jugad/trolley
(d) Tubewells (e) Diesel engine (f) No one

Q. 34 What is the total annual family income of respondents from all sources (Rs.)?

- (a) Up to 10000 (b) 10000-25000 (c) 25000-50000
(d) 50000-100000 (e) 100000-200000 (f) 200000-500000
(g) 500000-1000000 (h) 1000000-2000000 (i) More than 2000000

Q. 35 Is it any Improvement in economic status of your family compared with earlier Generations?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) No change (d) Don't know

Section D: Political aspect of the caste system-

Q. 36 What should be that main basis on which one should vote in elections?

(a) Party (b) Caste (c) Candidate's character
(d) Money (e) Use of force (f) Others

Q. 37 What was the main basis on which you voted in 2019 parliamentary election?

(a) Party (b) Caste (c) Candidate's character
(d) Money (e) Use of force (f) Others

Q. 38 What was the main basis on which you voted in 2014 parliamentary election?

(a) Party (b) Caste (c) Candidate's character
(d) Money (e) Use of force (f) Others

Q. 39 What was the main basis on which you voted in 2017 assembly election?

(a) Party (b) Caste (c) Candidate's character
(d) Money (e) Use of force (f) Others

Q. 40 What was the main basis on which you voted in 2012 assembly election?

(a) Party (b) Caste (c) Candidate's character
(d) Money (e) Use of force (f) Others

Q. 41 What was the main basis on which you voted in 2010 village panchayat election?

(a) Caste (b) Candidate's character (c) Money
(d) Use of force (e) Others

Q. 42 What was the main basis on which you voted in 2015 village panchayat election?

(a) Caste (b) Candidate's character (c) Money

(d) Use of force (e) Others

Q. 43 What is the main reason for demand of reservation by the Jat community?

(a) Decline of economic status (b) Backwardness in education

(c) Declining dominance in the village (d) To take benefits of government provisions

(e) Increase share in job and education (f) Decline in agricultural income

(g) Don't know

Annexure-2 Interview Guide

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Topic: “Continuity and Change in the Caste System: A Study of Two Selected Villages in Uttar Pradesh”

Section A: Personal Introduction:

- Name of Village.....
- Name of person and their position.....
- Caste.....
- Age (in years).....
- Gender.....
- Religion.....
- Marital Status.....

Section B: Socio-Cultural Dimension:

- **On the basis of Hierarchy-**
 1. In your opinion, should there be hierarchical division of castes (Upper/Middle/Lower) in your village?.....
 2. If yes then why?.....
 3. Is there any changes taking place in your caste at present or in past on the basis of social prestige? (nature of change).....
 4. In which decades there have been changes taking place in your caste on the basis of social prestige?.....
 5. According to you what are the causes of change in your caste on the basis of social prestige?.....
 6. According to you should upper castes practice discrimination related with untouchability against lower castes?.....
 7. Do the people of your caste practice discrimination on the basis of untouchability?

(Which type).....

8. Are all the people in your village given equal importance, representation in religious festivals and ceremonies held in the village without caste discrimination? Or there exist some privileges/disabilities? In your opinion should it be so?.....
9. Is there found discrimination on the basis of caste on commensality relations in your village? (Nature).....
10. Behaviour of one caste with other castes (in manner of talking together, manner of seating together, on collective feast (occasion of marriage), water taking, entry in temple, practice of untouchability)? Today and past prevalence (individual and collective basis).....
11. Changes in behavior of one caste with other castes from when? (decades).....
12. Continuity/Change in behavior of one caste against other castes at present?
13. Causes of disabilities/restrictions associated with lower castes in practice (entry in temples, water carrying from wells, commensality relations, etc.) and what continues to exist and changed over the time?.....

Section C: Economic Dimension of the Caste System:

- **On the basis of Land ownership-**

1. In which castes (upper/middle/lower) have maximum/medium/marginal landholding (past and present description of distribution)?.....
2. The nature/type of houses of different castes in the past/present (pakka/kachcha/mixed/hut)?.....
3. Higher/lower economic position of castes (upper/middle/lower) in village on the basis of money in past/present?.....
4. Higher/lower position of different castes (upper/middle/lower) in the possession of consumer durables and other consumer items in past and present?.....
5. Improvement/deterioration in the economic status of yours family compared with earlier generations on the basis of money?.....
6. In which decades there come to be seen change (weak/strong) in the economic status of castes? When?.....
7. The reasons which facilitated change for weakened/stronger of the economic condition of

castes? (Land reform act, land consolidation act, land acquisition act etc.)?

• **On the basis of Source of Occupations/Professions-**

1. What was/ is the main occupation of different castes (upper/middle/lower) in past/present in terms of landowners/tenants/labourers.....
2. What is the secondary occupation of your caste (upper/middle/lower) at present/past?.....
3. The decades (period) of change in the occupation of different castes?.....
4. The reasons of change in the occupation/caste based occupation of different castes (upper/middle/lower) in terms of landowners/tenants/labours?.....
5. The present status of different castes on the basis of main source of income?.....
6. The past status of different castes on the basis of secondary source of income?.....

Section D: Political Dimension of the Caste System:

• **Village Panchayat-**

1. In past/present, which castes members were/are head of the village in your village panchayat?.....
2. The leadership/dominance of castes in your village panchayat in past/present?.....
3. The changes in the leadership of village panchayat on the basis of castes?(decade/when
4. The reason of continuity and change in the leadership of panchayat of upper/middle/lower castes? Why?.....