
UNIT 3 VILLAGE AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

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3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- explain the nature of economic interdependence between the village and the outside world
- examine the role of caste and kinship in the villages
- describe the process of interaction between religious beliefs and practices of the villages and the wider Indian civilisation
- describe the political linkages between Indian villages and the outside world.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As you have seen in unit 2 of this course, though the village in India has a definable structure, it is not an isolated self-contained unit. In this unit, you will be able to identify how it is and has been traditionally a part of Indian society and civilisation. Here, you will see the village in relation to the outside world.

This unit deals in great length with the process of economic interaction, with special emphasis on the traditional *jajmani system*, and urbanisation and industrialisation in the post World War-I period. Role of caste and kinship in Indian villages has been focused in this unit with suitable illustrations from some village studies. In discussing the socio-cultural linkages we have talked about the process of **universalisation** and **parochialisation**. We have also discussed the process of interaction between the little and great traditions in Indian villages. The unit also shows the political linkages that Indian villages had in the pre-British period. It highlights the pattern of political linkages of the British and the political system of the contemporary period. This unit altogether provides you a broad view of the linkages of Indian villages with the outside world.

3.2 THE VILLAGE AND THE WIDER ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The impression that the village in pre-British India was economically self-sufficient was created by the existence of *jajmani* system (caste-wise division of labour), payment in grain (absence of monetisation), and the poor communications, which limited the flow of goods.

3.2.1 Economic Interdependence before World War-I

The fact that the weekly markets (see figure 3.1) in neighbouring villages existed in traditional India proves that there was dependence on towns for items not locally available such as, silver and gold which was essential for weddings. The institution of weekly markets still prevails in rural India although considerable improvements in transport and communication have made towns with regular markets accessible to villagers. These markets not only serve an economic purpose but also political, recreational and social purposes.

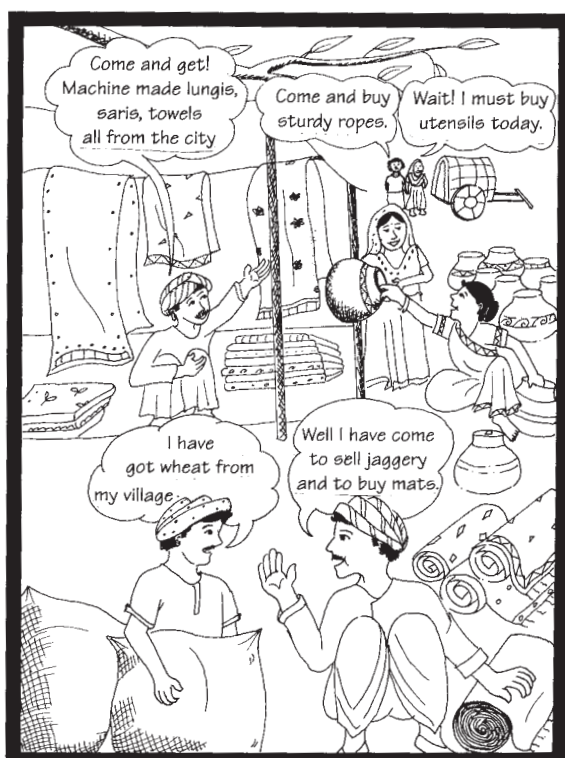


Fig. 3.1: Village and the wider economic system

Again not all the artisan and servicing castes live within a village, particularly in the case of the smaller settlements. The proportion of smaller settlements must have been very high during the pre-British period because it was during British rule that large irrigation projects at all India level were undertaken in different parts of the country. Irrigation enables a large number of people to be supported on a given area. Village studies have shown that certain castes provide services to a number of villages. Villages have always depended on villagers in nearby villages. The urban population depended on the village produce for its basic needs of food grain, raw materials for processed food, and handicrafts.

Activity 1

Have you ever noticed that in your house you have many things, which are produced or manufactured, in rural areas? Today, take a close look at them and list them alphabetically, with a few comments on their place of origin and their utility for you and your family.

3.2.2 Economic Integration in Modern Times

The extension of colonial economy to India brought the Indian villages to the world market for the products like jute and cotton. The availability of new economic opportunities during this century, especially after the World War-I, with industrialisation and urbanisation, has made the village a part of the wider economic system. The new economic opportunities differ in different villages. Taking some case studies we show you how this process occurred.

- i) The first full length study of an Indian Village by S.C. Dube (1955) devotes one full chapter to the nature of changes coming in rural life which include increasing economic ties of Shamirpet village with the city of Hyderabad, even for groups like the washerman.
- ii) McKim Marriott (1955) gives a graphic description of interaction between the people of different villages around Kishan Garhi in Aligarh district of Uttar Pradesh. He writes “Brahman priests, Barbers, Potters, Carpenters, Washermen and Sweepers who live in Kishan Garhi go out to serve hereditary patrons in some fifteen other villages and derive about one half of their income from these outside patrons. Traders who live in Kishan Garhi regularly cover many miles of the county side on their trading tips. Wage workers who maintain homes in Kishan Garhi during the present generation have gone out to work in at least twenty five other places including ten cities. During one period of three months I counted forty four different specialists coming into Kishan Garhi”.
- iii) In the case of Rampura in Karnataka, studied by M.N. Srinivas (1955), World War-II brought increased cash for the dominant landowning Okkaliga caste with wartime rationing and shortages, which encouraged black marketeering. The wartime profits were used in different ways. When the village was electrified two rice mills were set up. Bus lines were also started which made contact with Mysore City much easier. They had “one foot in village and another in the city”.
- iv) In Kumbapettai village, which situated in the Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu and was studied by K. Gough (1955), the migration of members of

the dominant Brahmin group to towns for education and employment and the immigration in Kumbapettai of lower castes from the neighbouring and less fertile areas has been responsible for Kumbapettai coming into more interaction with the wider economic system.

- v) In the case of Yadavpur, a village situated on the fringe of Delhi, studied by M.S.A. Rao (1974), the growth of the metropolitan city of Delhi created diversified opportunities of market gardening, dairy and poultry farming, trader and transport and urban employment.

M.S.A. Rao (1974) identified three types of urban impact on the villages in India. Firstly, there are villages in which a sizable number of people have taken employment in Indian cities and even overseas towns. They send money regularly to their families, which are left behind in the villages. The money earned from the urban employment is used to build fashionable houses in their villages and invested in land and industry. Donations are also made to the establishment of educational institutions etc. All this increases the social prestige of their families. Thus the urban impact is felt by such villages even though they may not be physically situated near a city or town.

The second kind of urban impact is seen in villages, which are situated near an industrial town. Their lands are totally or partially acquired. They receive an influx of immigrant workers, which stimulates a demand for houses and a market inside the village.

The third type of impact on the village is the growth of metropolitan cities. As the city expands it sucks in the villages lying on the outskirts. Many villages lose their land, which is used for urban development. The villagers in these landless villages who get cash compensation may invest in land in far off places or in commerce or squander the money. The villagers generally seek urban employment. Those villages on the fringe of a city whose land has not yet been acquired or particularly acquired may engage in market gardening, dairy farming and poultry keeping. Some may seek employment in the city and start commuting.

To sum up, we can say that the Indian village was not economically self-sufficient even in the British times. Industrialisation and urbanisation, which began during British rule and gained momentum after independence, have made the village a part of the wider economic network. Planned development of the countryside has made further dent in the rural economy. Recent studies in sociology have concentrated on agrarian movements, *Bhoodan* movement, land reforms, community development and the green revolution. The organisation of these activities is carried out on a large scale covering several villages and involving many agencies.

Check Your Progress 1

- i) Give, in four lines, three reasons for the myth of economic self-sufficiency of the Indian village.

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- ii) What are the two factors, responsible for better integration of Kumbapettai village into the wider economic system?

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3.3 THE VILLAGE AND THE WIDER CASTE AND KINSHIP SYSTEM

The village consists of a **vertical interdependence of castes**, i.e., relationships among different castes. It is reflected in the *jajmani* system. But these vertical ties are cut across by the **horizontal ties of caste** and kinship, i.e., the relationships within the caste, which extend beyond the village to other villages and even towns. One’s relatives live in different villages and one has to interact with them on different occasions like births, marriages and deaths. One may also have to depend on them for help in times of need. In north India where village exogamy exists along with caste endogamy, one has to look outside the village for a marriage partner for one’s son or daughter. In south India where village exogamy is not a rule and marriage between a woman and her mother’s brother or marrying one’s mother’s brother’s daughter is preferred, one may still have to look outside the village for a marriage partner.

3.3.1 Some Ethnographic Examples

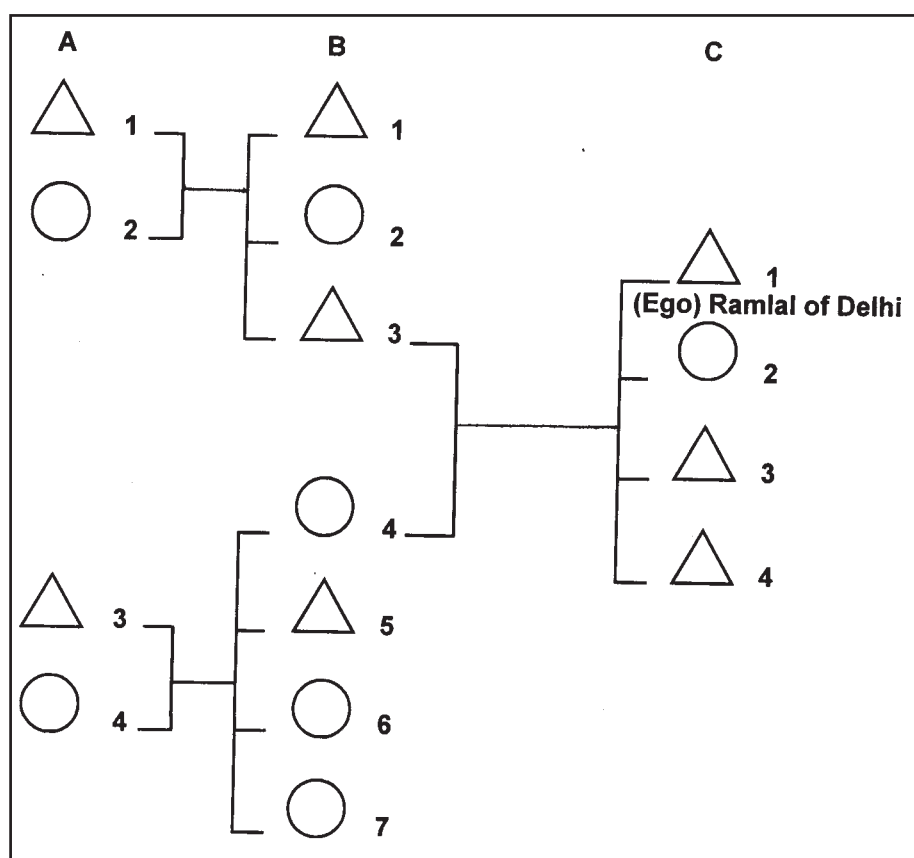
Sociologists, studying Indian villages, have described how the villages form an integral part of the wider caste and kinship system. Oscar Lewis (1955), who made a study of a north Indian village, points out that Rani Khera, like other villages in north India, is basically a part of a larger inter-village network based upon kinship ties. “Other villagers are very often relatives, and entire villages are classified by the kinship terminology as mother’s brother’s village, grandfather’s village, grandmother’s village, etc”.

Similarly in the case of a U.P. village Kishan Garhi, Mckim Marriott (1955) observed that there were forty six local lineage groups in Kishan Garhi, each wholly separate from every other in descent. There was no marriage inside the village within or among any of these groups. Daughters of the village moved out and wives of the village moved in at marriage, moving to and from more than three hundred other villages. At the time, he made the study, he found that fifty seven marriages connected Kishan Garhi with sixteen towns and cities. Half of the marriage ties of groups in Kishan Garhi connected them with places more than fourteen miles away, while 5 percent connected them with places more than forty miles distant.

Activity 2

Draw a genealogical diagram, starting with yourself and show the spread of your kin relationships by giving the place of residence of your relatives on both your father’s and mother’s side including their brothers and sisters. This will give you an idea of the horizontal spread of your kinship ties. To make a genealogical diagram you will have to make use of certain signs. These signs are: Δ = male; O = female;] = marriage; [siblingship; and —

= descent (generation). We are giving you here an example of a genealogical diagram to show you how to use these signs. Imagine there is a person called Ramlal (indicated here by C 1. We will trace his genealogy here, by showing three generations. A, B and C. 'A' generation is Ramlal's grandparent's generation on both his father's and mother's side. 'B' generation is his father and mother's generation and his uncles and aunts or both sides. 'C' generation is his own and his sibling's generation. In each generation the number of persons can be shown by serial numbers of 1,2,3, and so on. In this example, Ramlal's sister is shown in generation C, her number is C 2. Ramlal's brother's number is C 3 and another brother is C 4. Ramlal is C 1. In generation B, you see Ramlal's father, whose number is B 3. His mother's number is B 4. Similarly, Ramlal's mother's brother's number is B 5. In this manner you can go on drawing the actual number of relatives on your father's and mother's side.



Δ = male; O = female;] = marriage; [siblingship; and — = descent (generation)

3.3.2 Spatial Expansion of Intra-Caste Relations

Since caste endogamy is the rule (i.e., one has to marry within one's caste), one's kin normally belong to one's caste. Intra-caste relations and other caste matters are regulated by a caste panchayat whose members belong to different villages. In pre-British India, the horizontal expansion of caste ties was limited by the political boundaries of a number of small kingdoms as well as poor roads and communication. With the unification of the country brought about by the British and the introduction of better roads and railways, cheap postage and printing, there was a rapid spread in intra-caste relations because it was easier to keep in regular touch with each other.

Caste associations were formed which worked for the welfare of caste members. Educational institutions and hostels were set up and scholarships were provided to the needy members of the caste. Each caste also worked at regulating the lifestyle of its members so that the attempt at mobility of the caste, through **Sanskritisation** could be successful.

In the last sixty years or more, horizontal unity of the caste has increased and the strong walls erected between sub-castes have begun to crumble. This is primarily due to two factors. (i) Since numbers are important in a parliamentary democracy, horizontal unity of caste over a wide area provides a ‘vote bank’ that can ensure the election of a candidate from one’s caste. (ii) The need to find educated life partners for one’s children and the demand for dowry particularly among the higher castes has widened the endogamous circle and increased the horizontal spread of caste ties.

Thus, you can easily make out that the village has always had ties with other villages and towns for kinship and caste purposes. This was limited in pre-British India when communication was poor and small kingdoms existed whose boundaries acted as effective barriers. The horizontal spread of caste ties greatly increased during British rule and since Independence it linked the village to a much wider area.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) What were the limitations on the development of intra-caste relations over a wide area in pre-British India? Use about five lines for your answer.

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- ii) Account, in six lines, for the horizontal spread of caste-ties during the twentieth century?

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3.4 THE VILLAGE AND THE WIDER RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

A study of the religion of any Indian village shows a double process of interaction at work between the religious beliefs and practices of the village

and the wider Indian civilisation. McKim Marriott, taking the concepts of ‘**great tradition**’ and ‘**little tradition**’ from Robert Redfield (1955) points out that certain elements of ritual and belief are contributions from village life which spread upward to the formation of India’s great Sanskrit tradition, while other elements represent local modification of elements of the great tradition communicated downward to it. Marriott has given the terms universalisation and parochialisation respectively to refer to the two aspects of this double process of interaction between the little and great traditions. Taking the ethnographic details from Marriott’s work, we explain these terms further in the following section.

3.4.1 Universalisation

Marriott (1955) mentions the festival of *Raksha Bandhan* as an example of upward universalisation. This festival coincides and blends in Kishan Garhi with the festival known regionally as *Saluno*, a festival which marks the end of that annual fortnight during which most young wives return for a visit to their parents and siblings. On *Saluno* day many husbands arrive at their ‘wives’ villages to take them back. Before going back with their husbands, the wives as well as their unmarried sisters express their devotion to their brothers by placing young shoots of barley, the locally sacred grain, on the heads and ears of their brothers. Since brothers should accept nothing from their sisters as a free gift they reciprocate with some money. On the same day along with the ceremony of *Saluno*, the ceremony of *Charm Tying* (*Rakhi Bandhan*) is also held. The Brahman domestic priests of Kishan Garhi goes to each patron and ties a polychrome thread with tassels upon his wrist. He also utters a blessing and is rewarded by his patron with some cash because it is considered impious to accept anything free from a priest.

A close parallel can be seen between the Brahmanical festival of *Charm Tying* and the familial festival of *Saluno*. It may be possible that *Charm Tying* had its roots in some such ‘little tradition’ festival like *Saluno*. The thread *charms* of the priests are now factory made and are sold by a local caste group called *Jogis*. A few sisters in Kishan Garhi have now taken to tying these thread *charms* on their brothers’ wrists. These thread *charms* are also convenient for mailing in letters to brothers who are living far away in cities and towns.

3.4.2 Parochialisation

Parochialisation or the downward spread of elements from the ‘great tradition’ to the ‘little tradition’ and the transformation or modification it undergoes can be seen in the festival of Cow Nourisher Worship as it is celebrated in Kishan Garhi. This festival is explained by a story from the Sanskrit book *Bhagavata Purana* of the tenth century A.D. The story concerns Krishna’s adventures with his cowherd companions at a hill named *Gobardhan*. In this story Krishna directs the cowherds of *Braj* to worship the hill that is near at hand rather than such great but distant gods as *Indra*. *Indra*, the God of rain, gets angry over the defection of his worshippers and sends violent rainstorms to destroy the cowherds and their cows. Krishna lifts the hill on his finger to provide them shelter and all are saved. At the actual hill of *Gobardhan* in *Mathura District* a ceremony is performed annually.

In Kishan Garhi the celebration of this festival has taken on some homely details which have no mention in the Sanskrit myth. Instead of accepting the

meaning of 'Cow Nourisher' (*Go + vardhana*) they explain it as *Gobar + dhan* or 'Cow-dung Wealth'. Hence the women and children of each household construct a small 'hill' made of cowdung with straw and cotton on top to represent 'trees'. Little models of a cowboy and cows are made of dung and placed on the hill. In the evening all the agnates of each family worship it jointly by placing a lamp on it and winding thread around its 'trees' and shouting '*Gobardhan Baba ki jai*', 'Long Live Grandfather Cowdung Wealth'. The next morning, members of the Weaver caste are paid to sing a Cowdung Wealth Song, after which the hill and models are broken up for use as daily fuel. But a portion of the cowdung is kept aside, dried and preserved until the Holi festival when it is used for the annual village bonfire. This case is presented as an example of adding local details to Sanskrit festival.

Marriott admits that since universalisation and parochialisation have both proceeded for a very long time, we are ordinarily unable to trace the course of either process with certainty, or to decide whether a given present configuration of religious contents is the result of one and not also the result of the other of these two processes. But the important point to remember is that in matters relating to observance of festivals, there has been a give and take among the village traditions and the nationwide tradition-thereby showing how the village has not been self-sufficient in this manner.

3.4.3 More Examples of Interaction between Great and Little Traditions

M.N. Srinivas' (1950) concept of Sanskritisation also shows the interaction between religion at the local level and all India Hinduism which is Sanskritic. Sanskritic elements are spread from the higher castes to the lower castes. The spread of Sanskrit theological ideas increased during British rule and after, due to the development of communications and spread of literacy. Western technology - railways, printing press, radio, films and now, television have helped the spread of Sanskritisation. They have popularised the epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata and other religious stories about the lives of Saints like Mira, Tulsidas etc. and made the village a part of the wider universe.

One important aspect of the process of Sanskritisation is the identification of a local god or goddess with some deity of the Hindu pantheon. Thus among the Coorgs, Ketrappa is identified with the vedic deity Kshetrapala while the local cobra deity is identified with Subramanya or Skanda, the warrior son of Shiva. This helped the Coorg religious community to become incorporated in the wider Hindu religious community.

Apart from festivals and deities, another important aspect of the religion of the village community is pilgrimage. Pilgrimage centres have attracted people from distant places in India. Thus in Kishan Garhi, Marriott (1955) recorded the names of more than fifty places to which the villagers had gone on pilgrimage. In traditional India, temple towns and sacred cities like Gaya, Mathura, Ajmer, Varanasi, Puri, Tirupathi and Amritsar attracted pilgrims even though roads were very poor and unsafe. Thus we see a continuous interaction between the little and great tradition in the religion of the village.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) Define the processes of universalisation and parochialisation. Use about six lines for your answer.

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- ii) Give, in three lines, two examples of the incorporation of Coorg religious community in the wider Hindu religious community.

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3.5 THE VILLAGE AND THE WIDER POLITICAL SYSTEM

Indian villages had been described by British administrators in the early nineteenth century as ‘**little republics**’ with their simple form of self government and, almost no interference from the higher political authority except for claiming a share in the produce of the land and demanding young men to serve in the wars. The villages functioned normally, unconcerned about who sat on the throne in the kingdoms of which they were territorially a part. They were also described as being economically self-sufficient having nearly everything that they wanted within themselves. This description of Indian villages is an over-simplified one. Yet it influenced the views of important scholars like Karl Marx and Henry Maine and Indian nationalists like Mahatma Gandhi. It was only after gaining Independence that some social anthropologists who made intensive field studies of Indian villages began to question the conventional description of the Indian village. On the basis of their findings they demonstrated that the Indian village has been a part of the wider society and civilisation and not “little republics” as described by British administrators.

3.5.1 The Village in Pre-British India

To say that in pre-British India (i.e. roughly covering the period just before the consolidation of British rule in India) the village was politically autonomous except for paying tax to the local chieftain or the king and providing him young men for his wars is incorrect. The relation between the king and his subjects was a complex one. The king performed several duties towards his subjects. He built roads, tanks and canals for irrigation. He also built temples and gave gifts of land to pious and learned Brahmins. He was the head of all caste panchayats and disputes regarding mutual caste rank were ultimately

settled by him. This function was not confined to Hindu rulers, even the Mughal Kings and feudatory lords settled questions affecting a caste.

The villages in pre-British India were not passive in their relation to the State (mostly the princely states, also known as the Native States). They were certainly concerned about who sat on the throne. They would prefer a king who would protect them from thugs and marauding troops. If the king or chief belonged to a locally dominant caste, his caste fellows would come to his aid in a crisis.

The villages were not helpless in their relationship with rulers. Villagers could rebel and support a rival to the throne (see the example of the Dimasa ruler in Cachar, given in section 17.5 of unit 17 in Block 5 of the first elective course in sociology). Collective flight was another sanction available to villagers against oppression. The ruler was very often the loser when such collective flights occurred. Since land was available for settlement while labour was scarce a ruler would find it difficult to get his land tilled and would lose revenue.

Thus the relation between the village and the ruler was a complex one and it is wrong to describe the village in pre-British India as a 'little republic'. It must however be pointed out that due to the absence of roads and poor communication, the village did enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy as well as discreteness from the higher levels of the political system. The kings let the villagers govern themselves in day-to-day matter. The village panchayat formed mainly of the dominant caste exercised authority in local matters, settled inter-caste disputes and maintained law and order in the village.

3.5.2 The Village in British India

British rule changed the relationship between the village and the ruler. Political conquest was followed by the development of communications. This enabled the British to establish an effective administration. Government employees like the police, revenue official, and others, came to the village. The British established a system of law courts. Major disputes and criminal offences had to be settled in court. This greatly reduced the power of the village panchayat.

3.5.3 The Village in Contemporary India

Since Independence, the introduction of parliamentary democracy and **adult franchise** has made the village even more fully integrated with the wider political system. Villagers not only elect members of local bodies like the gram panchayat but also elect members of the state legislature and parliament. Regional and national political parties are active in the village doing propaganda and mobilising support for their parties. Government policies and programmes like the Community Development Schemes affect the village.

Although the village is a political unit with an elected panchayat to run the day-to-day administration, it is part of the district or *zilla*, which is part of the state. The state is part of the Indian Union. There is interaction between these different levels of the political system.

Check Your Progress 4

- i) Why was the village in pre-British India described as a ‘little republic’? Use about four lines for your answer.

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- ii) Explain why village is a ‘little republic’ was an over simplified statement. Use about six lines for your answer.

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we discussed that although the village has a definable structure and is a clear entity for the villagers themselves, it is also a sub-system within the larger political, economic, social and religious system in which it exists. In pre-British India the absence of roads and poor communications limited interaction between villages, and between villages and towns. Nevertheless, the interaction was there. Even traditionally the village was not self-sufficient economically. Essential items like salt, kerosene, metals, sugarcane, etc., were not produced in most of the villages and they had to visit weekly markets and towns for them. Again every village did not have all the essential artisan and servicing caste and there was mutual dependence between villages for this purpose. Industrialisation and urbanisation during this century, particularly since Independence, have made the village a part of the wider economic network.

Socially too, the village has never been an isolated unit. Kinship and caste ties have extended beyond the village. This is more so in the north, where village exogamy is practised. With the unification of the country under the British rule the barriers to the horizontal spread of caste ties were removed. The building of roads and railways, cheap postage and printing press helped members of a caste spread over a large area to keep in touch. Since Independence, the importance of votes in getting one’s candidate elected has further increased the horizontal unity of the caste.

As far as the religion of the village is concerned, a continuous interaction between the localised little tradition and the great tradition of Indian civilisation takes place through the double process of universalisation and parochialisation.

Politically, although the king was willing to allow villagers to govern themselves in day-to-day matters, the payments of a substantial portion of the produce was a symbol of the village's dependence on the king. Besides, the king performed several duties towards the villagers. The British brought most of the country under their rule. The introduction of a uniform law and a centralised administration made the village a part of the wider political system of the country. The introduction of parliamentary democracy and adult franchise increased further the integration of the village with the different levels of the political system.

Thus we see an integration and a continuity between the village and the wider units of Indian society. This is very much visible today but it also existed in traditional India to a limited extent. To understand a village thoroughly, it is not enough to study its internal structure and organisation, but it is also necessary to study its relation to the wider Indian society. It is equally true that to understand the wider Indian society it is necessary to study its parts. Village communities form the major part of Indian society since an overwhelming majority of Indians live in villages.

3.7 KEYWORDS

Adult-franchise	Right to cast vote in the electoral process.
Great Tradition	Cultural trait or tradition, which is written and widely accepted by the elite of the society who are educated and learned.
Horizontal Ties of Caste	It is the ties of caste and sub-caste members who are spread beyond the boundaries of a single village.
<i>Jajmani</i> System	A traditional system of exchange of goods and services based on caste-wise division of labour.
Little Republic	A small political entity characterised by popular participation in its political process.
Little Tradition	Cultural trait or tradition, which is oral and operates at the village level.
Parochialisation	A process of downward spread of the elements of cultural tradition, which is written and widely accepted by elites of the society.
Sanskritisation	M.N. Srinivas used this concept for the first time to refer to a process of social change whereby a low Hindu caste or tribe adopts the customs ritual, ideology and life style of the higher caste with a view to improve its own caste status.
Universalisation	A process of spread and upward formation of some elements of little tradition, which come to have wider acceptance at the level of masses.

Vertical Interdependence of Caste A pattern of interdependence among higher and lower castes of the same village or a cluster of villages.

3.8 FURTHER READING

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3.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) The impression that the village was economically self-sufficient was created by
- lack of monetisation of the economy;
 - existence of jajmani system; and
 - poor communication which limited the flow of goods. But the existence of weekly markets and the dependence on other villages for certain artisan and servicing castes show that the village was far from self-sufficient economically.
- ii) The two factors are:
- the migration of the Brahmin caste to towns and
 - the immigration of lower castes from neighbouring areas to Kumbapettai.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) The limitations on the development of intra-caste relations over a wide area in pre-British India were
 - a) the existence of many small kingdoms (Political cleavages resulted in social cleavages);
 - b) the very poor roads which made communication extremely difficult.
- ii) The unification of the country during twentieth century removed the political barriers to the horizontal spread of caste ties. The introduction of better roads and railways, cheap postage and printing enabled members of a caste scattered over a wide area to keep in touch. Finally the importance of votes to get the candidate from one's caste elected to the seats of power increased horizontal unity of the caste.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) Universalisation refers to the process by which elements of ritual and belief, which form part of the localised little tradition, spread upwards to form part of the great tradition of Indian civilisation.

Parochialisation refers to the process of downward spread of elements of the great tradition to the little tradition. In both the processes the original elements undergo transformation.

- ii) The two examples are:
 - a) the Coorg deity Ketrappa is identified with the Vedic deity Kshetrapala
 - b) the Cobra deity among the Coorgs is identified with Subramanya or Skanda, the son of Shiva.

Check Your Progress 4

- i) The village enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy as well as discreteness from the higher levels of the political system. The king let the villagers govern themselves in day-to-day matters. This situation was necessitated by the absence of roads and poor communications.
- ii) To consider the village as a 'little republic' is incorrect because the king performed a number of functions in relation to the village like building some roads and canals, providing protection from thugs and marauding troops and being the final authority for settling disputes regarding caste rank. The villagers were not passive and unconcerned as to who sat on the throne. They would rebel against a bad king and provide help to a ruler who belonged to their caste.