

253

CHAPTER VII
THE FACTORY AND TENSIONS
IN THE VILLAGE

I

The Atul Factory:

We have seen in the previous Chapter how the change in the crop-pattern of Haria brought in its train a number of other factors of change which together considerably influenced the life of the village community. This post-afus Haria further came under the impact of another economic change. A large dyes and pharmaceuticals factory, The Atul

Products Limited,¹ was established in the vicinity of the village in 1947.

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- 1 The Atul Factory is a limited concern with an authorized share capital of Rupees five crores and Issed share capital of Rupees one crore only. The person who took the initiative in establishing a big factory in altogether a new field of industry, was Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai, a well-known industrialist of Ahmedabad (Gujarat). He entered into agreement with the American Cyanamid Company in the U.S.A. for technical and other assistance in the manufacture of ~~dyes, pharmaceuticals~~ various dyestuffs, pharmaceuticals and chemicals such as azos, nephols, sulphadizine, aureomycin, folic acid and its intermediaries.

The Atul Factory is located on the river Par, about five miles from the Arabian Sea. On account of such a situation the two important requirements, viz. abundant supply of fresh water and facility to discharge large quantities of dirty waters are easily met with. A bund nearly 100 ft. long and 40 ft. wide has been built up across the river Par to supply fresh water to the factory, and the Sea tides rushing back as far as the bund take away the wash. Another main consideration in establishing the factory in this area is availability of comparatively cheap and plenty of labour supply from the surrounding rural areas.

The Atul Factory, Lederle laboratory and the Atic plant form a group of dyes, pharmaceuticals and chemicals industry. They were still in the stage of development in Jan. 1956 when I stayed there. According to their plans, they will develop into an industrial township, called ~~as~~ Atulnagar, in a couple of decades. Taking their transportation needs into consideration, the Western Railway authorities have opened up a flag station, (at present, siding only) named as Atul, between Pardi and Bulsar.

The Atul factory, occupying an area of about 850 acres, is situated to the East of Haria. The factory is about seven miles from Bulsar and is linked up with the latter by the National Highway No.8. Along with the main Atul factory, there are two other concerns functioning within the premises of the Atul factory. They are Lederle Laboratory and the Atic Industries Limited, the former manufacturing only drugs and the latter vat dyes and its intermediaries. Both of them depend on the main Atul concern for their electricity, gas and water supplies. Otherwise they have independent management.

Although the Atul factory was registered in 1947, it was not before 1951 that it could start production. While Lederle Laboratory started production around the year 1952, Atic Plant did so only in 1956. In February 1956 the Atul factory employed seven hundred and fifty workers, Lederle Laboratory ninety six workers and Atic Industries only fifty four workers.

Thus the three of them together employed nine hundred workers. Over and above this number, about five hundred other workers were also employed in

256

different construction works of plant buildings, quarters for factory workers and roads within the premises of the factory. While the Atul and Atic industries employed only male workers, the Lederle Laboratory employed some female clerks also. But both male and female labourers were employed in various construction works.

The data about the employees of the Atul factory shows that a large majority of the factory workers were drawn from the surrounding rural areas. This data has been laid down in a tabular form below in Table No.20.

Table No.20.

It may be noted from the above Table that out of the seven hundred and fifty Atul factory workers as many as four hundred and forty one (59 per cent) belonged to Bulsar town and twenty villages of Bulsar taluka, one hundred and seven (14 per cent) belonged to Pardi town and half a dozen villages of Pardi taluka; and out of the remaining other one hundred and four (14 per cent) belonged to different places of the State of Gujarat and only ninety eight (13 per cent) came from different parts of India. Putting together the figures of factory employees from both Bulsar and Pardi talukas, it is found that almost three-fourth of the factory personnel is drawn from places lying within a radius of only ten miles from the factory. This is an important characteristic of a big factory established in the heart of rural areas.

From among the local factory workers, those who belong to roundabout villages of Pardi and Bulsar taluka daily travel the distance between their home and the factory either on foot or on bicycle. Some of

them living in Pardi and Bulsar towns come through the State Transport Bus service running between Bulsar, Atul and Pardi. While residential accommodation was provided to a large number of the "out-siders" in the workers' quarters of the factory, some others managed ^{to live in Bulsar, Pardi} or in some of the nearby villages. (Three families live in Haria)

The Table No.20 also shows that as many as two hundred and forty seven (33 per cent) workers were Kolis and one hundred and forty one (19 per cent) tribal castes of Dublas, Naikas and Dhodias. The Kolis and the three other tribal castes, which constitute what may be called as lower Hindu Castes of South Gujarat, put together, formed a clear-cut majority with more than fifty per cent in the factory. These workers were mostly recruited to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in the factory. The other fourteen per cent workers of the factory coming from different parts of Gujarat belonged to various higher and middle castes of Gujarat. These workers along with those coming from various other parts of India were largely employed in skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the factory. Thus the local workers filling in the lower

categories of jobs in the factory provided the necessary labour force to it; and only highly trained and technical personnel were absorbed from distant places.

II

The Atul factory and Village Haria:

Haria has been affected by the coming of the Atul factory in two ways. In the first place, the factory acquired 98.4 acres of land from Haria;² and secondly, it employed fifty six adult males of the village as permanent employees. In addition to the fifty six permanent employees, there were other thirty five male and female casual labourers of the village who worked, though irregularly, in different construction works going on in factory premises.

By the acquisition of nearly fourteen per cent of the total cultivable land of village Haria, and probably much higher per centage of the other two villages, Dived and Parnera, the factory aroused

2 The remaining land, out of the total of 850 acres of the factoryland, was acquired from the other two adjoining villages, viz. Dived and Parnera.

strong feelings of annoyance and hatred towards the management of the factory in the early years of its establishment. But later on, when they got due compensation for their lands and, more important, when opportunities for new jobs came to their doors, they were calmed down.

But this is a very broad generalisation which needs some facts to support it. The author does not possess any information about the other two villages from which the factory acquired land. However, it may be mentioned here that some of the petty land owners of Dived and Parnera were reported as having 'lost' large parts or all of their lands; and it was this type of landowning cultivators who were most adversely affected by the coming of the factory. We, however, do not possess the exact statistics about such cultivators.

In Haria, the majority of the landowners who gave away their lands to the factory did not lose all of their lands. In fact, many of them owned lands in other parts of the village. Moreover, twenty landowners out of forty two who gave away their lands to

the factory, also owned some land which was lying within the boundaries of village Dived. Therefore, when they gave away their Dived lands, they could keep with them Haria lands. Still another aspect of this land acquisition by the factory, which needs some emphasis here is that a large part (about sixty to seventy per cent) of the total area acquired by the factory was grass-land; only a very small part (about twenty per cent) rice land, and the remaining garden land. It may also be pointed out here that out of the ninety eight acres of land which the factory acquired from Haria as many as sixty five acres were grass-lands, twenty acres rice lands and the remaining thirteen acres were garden lands.

The landowners who gave away their lands to the factory received compensation which was calculated on the basis of the rates fixed up by special government Officers of land revenue department. This was known as the Government Award. Due to some disputes about the quality of land, the Government revised its Award twice and accordingly gave compensation to various

landowners. But there were some landowners of Haria and of the other two villages who did not agree with these rates of compensation, fought in the court of law for still higher rates of compensation for certain lands of high fertility. The court re-examined the question of compensation and declared higher rates of compensation on some lands which were considered as ~~possessing~~ highly fertile. This award was known as Court Award. The landowners of Haria received sizeable sums of money as a result of these awards. The total amount received by the forty two landowners of Haria among themselves runs into a very big figure of -
Rs. 2,97,213.

The factory acquired land from some of the landowners of the three villages; but, on the other hand, offered them and many other local persons decent employment opportunities. Fifty six persons from Haria have been employed as permanent workers in the factory. Out of them eighteen are Anavils, twenty one Dublas, ten Naikas, six Dheds and one Koli. Over and above them there are three other Atul-employees staying in

Haria with their families. These three workers have not been taken into consideration for the purpose of our analysis in this study. Table No.21 given below presents further information about the age, education designation and salary of the factory workers of Haria.

Table No.21

TABLE XXV*

Factory Employees from Haria

Caste Name	Number employed	Age				Education				Designation				Salary		
		18-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	Nil	Primary	Secondary	College	Chemists	Clerk	Operator	Helper	1-50	50-75	75-100
Desais	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2
Bhathelas	16	-	10	4	2	-	3	11	2	2	9	5	-	-	11	4
Total: unavils	18	-	12	4	2	-	3	13	2	2	11	5	-	-	11	6
Kolis	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Dublas	21	3	11	4	3	11	10	-	-	-	-	2	19	11	10	-
Naikas	10	3	3	2	2	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	10	4	6	-
Dheds	6	3	1	1	1	-	4	2	-	-	2	-	4	2	3	1
TOTAL of all Castes	56	9	28	11	8	17	21	15	3	2	13	8	33	17	31	7

Note:- This Table is derived from the data I collected about the Factory employees of different castes of Haria in May, 1957. During the period of over a year 15 Dublas and 4 Naikas were further recruited in the Factory.

The above Table shows that workers from all major castes of Haria have been absorbed in the Factory. But the Dublas and Naikas together form the highest percentage (53%) of the total factory workers from Haria; whereas Anavils came next to them forming thirty two per cent. Among the rest of them are one Koli and six Dheds. From the point of view of the age of factory workers from Haria, a majority of belong to the age-group of twenty -to-thirty; and there is more or less even distribution of them among one lower age-group and two higher age-group. From the point of view of education, there is quite a large number of illiterate Dubla and Naika labourers, but a much larger group than that has taken primary, secondary and university education.

The more important point which may be emphasised here is about their designation. It will be seen from the same table that while two of (them) the eighteen Anavils work as Chemists and as many as eleven as clerks, five also work as operators. These five Anavils

work as operators and, as such, enjoy the same position in the factory as do the two other Dubla and one Koli operators. Again, two Dheds are found working as clerks enjoying the same position in the factory as the eleven Anavil clerks. How far and in what way the new system of work on equal levels prevalent in the factory has affected the intercaste relationships in the village will be examined in a later section of this Chapter.

As regards the incomes received by the factory workers of Haria, it is found that almost fifty per cent of them fall in the group of salary of Rs. 50 to 75; although, a less number than that receives a salary of Rs. 1 to Rs. 50, still less Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 and only one worker receives a salary above Rs. 100. On the whole, an approximate amount of about Rs. 3,000 is earned by the Haria factory workers every month. In addition to this amount, thirty five casual male and female Dubla/Naika labourers earn between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 each, every month, for a period of five to six months in a year. This factory employment has also

given rise to what may be called as secondary and tertiary employment. About seven Dubla/Naika boys (ten to twelve years of age) have been employed by some of the Anavil factory workers as their tiffin-boys for carrying their meals at lunch time from their homes to the factory. Each tiffin-boy is paid between Rs. 2 and Rs. 4 for his services.

Moreover, a village Anavil has opened up (since 1954) a grocery shop in the factory premises and has employed a Dubla boy as his assistant there. Thus the tiffin-boys, the shop-owner and his assistant, all of them derive their incomes from the incomes of the factory workers. The Anavil workers of the Atul factory have now the advantage of earning some incomes without being separated from their families. That means a lot of saving for them in terms of establishment, house rent, and travelling expenditure which they might have to incur if they would have been employed away from their native place. Moreover, they get some time in their off-duty hours and holidays to

help their fathers in agricultural affairs; or if they themselves are heads of their family, they can pay attention to agricultural work, even by taking leave, if necessary, during periods of peak season. This shows that the Atul job is an additional source of income for most of them. This is the reason why about five other Anavil youths of Haria have the aspiration of taking up Atul job (even if lowly paid) rather than go out elsewhere for earning a livelihood. Similarly, for the Dublas and Naikas the factory job has been both a permanent and better source of income. As we have already seen, many of them remained partly unemployed due to the change in the crop-pattern of the village. The factory, being very ~~the~~ near the village, serves as a source of regular income to them. The same observation holds good in the case of the Dheds and the Koli employed in the factory.

Thus by offering employment opportunities, the factory has arrested the drift of the village people towards urban areas which was set in motion since the introduction of afus cultivation in the village.

By the coming of the factory in the neighbourhood of the village, a new set of factors of change has arisen producing both direct as well as indirect effects on the village community. It has not only provided a new source of income to the village people, but has also brought about further diversification in the sources of their incomes. Similarly, it has not only checked further emigration of some of the village people, but has placed them in direct contact with a new system of values and work prevalent in an industry. All this it has done without themselves being detached from their traditional social institutions of family, caste and village. The village community which came under the impact of 'urban culture' after the introduction of afus cultivation in the village, has now been brought under the influences of what may be called as 'industrial culture'. As a result of the combined effects of various factors of change emerging from the impact of these two 'cultures', there have been constant adjustments and adaptations in the spheres of some social institutions; but in the

absence of such adjustments and adaptations, tensions have strained the social relationships between different (caste) groups of the village community. The intensity of tensions between them depended largely on the degree of difference of their readiness in adapting to the changing values of the new ways of life resulting from the impact of those 'cultures'.

We shall now examine the overall effects of various factors of change on family, ^{on} caste, inter-caste and intra-caste relationships and finally the village political organisation, with a view to finding out the strains of this small social system.

III

Tensions in Family:

It was observed that the factory job acted in the case of the one Koli and eighteen Anavil workers from Haria as an additional source of income to each one of them, for they derived some amount of income from the land which they owned. This additional income did not prompt any one of them to separate from their joint families. It is commonly argued that the two causes

which prompts a man for separating from his joint family are his marriage and job. But it may be pointed out that this does not necessarily happen in all cases. It depends upon a number of other factors working along with those two. The author did not note even a single case of separation among Haria Anavil joint families on account of these reasons.

The one case of separation between two brothers has a different background. The ^Police ^Patel of Haria (about sixty) and his younger brother (about fifty) lived until recently with their family members forming one joint family. They owned property (land and house in Haria) jointly. While the Police Patel returned from Tanganyika (British East Africa) before a couple of years only, his younger brother still continues to stay on there. They have married sons, their wives and children, all of whom were until recently living in Africa. But with the return of the Police Patel, his wife and un-married daughters have returned with him leaving behind one married son with his wife and children and the other unmarried son, as well as the whole family of his brother. It was in 1957 that they

separated. Such cases of separation were and still are common among various joint families. But the separated families again grow into joint families within a period of one or two generations. The process continues. But the essential point is that the separation does not necessarily originate from, or is followed by either marriage or an independent source of income. The eighteen Anavils and one Koli have continued to live as members of their joint families.

On the contrary, the factory job has helped a long way in strengthening the family unit financially and thereby raising its status. This has happened particularly in the case of the Anavils. Factory job is one ^{of} the considerations taken into account by the prospective in-laws of unmarried youths. The factory job can even compensate for a little lower education. One Anavil youth of Bhagod, who married a daughter of a Haria Anavil, was employed in the factory. In spite of his higher education (graduate), he could not get married till he was thirty only because the status of his family was considered to be ^olow. But the Haria

Anavil decided to marry his daughter to the Bhagod youth by giving more importance to his factory job than his family status. The author noted two other similar cases in which the factory job helped in offsetting both low education and family status of the youths. But for this consideration, perhaps, one of them might not have been able to marry at all because he was over thirty years old. The factory job has even led some of the parents of unmarried Anavil youths of the village to asking for bigger amounts of dowry for their sons because they are both educated and employed in the factory. The specific effects of employment in the factory in the case of the Dheds, Dublas and Naikas have not been observed by me. But it seems that in their cases also the effect is that of strengthening the family unit, whether joint or single.

The other question needing adequate answer in this connection is that of tensions arising at the level of family unit. The structure of the joint family is such that the relationships between the

daughter-in-law and mother-in-law are often strained. But there are some strain-easing factors working together with strain-generating factors as a result of which the strain in this or any other type of structural relationships is offset. The other types of strains originating in social change are not so obvious at the family level as they are at the level of inter-caste and intra-caste relationships. The latter types of strains will be taken up for detailed discussion in the following two sections.

IV

Tensions in intercaste Relationships:

Actions and interactions resulting in strains on the social system have been found operating in the field of intercaste relationships of the social system of Haria. The strains which are projected through the social (caste) groups receive momentum from the unevenness in their adjustments to the new values of the fast changing social order. Accordingly the same groups which worked together in harmony in various productive and social activities, gradually begin

taking opposite sides forming two distinct antagonistic groups. Tensions of a similar nature have been arising in the social system of village Haria, especially between the two groups of landowning master-caste, Anavils, on the one hand, and the labouring castes, Dublas and Naikas, on the other. The whole process of gradual change in the social relationships between these two groups of the village community needs an examination of the main factors of change influencing their relationships.

The first factor of change, as we have seen earlier, is the impact of urban culture on the way of life of the people of the village. The Anavils, who were more urbanised on account of their increasing contacts with towns and emigration of a larger section from among themselves, acted as the agents of the urban culture in the village. Nevertheless, with the changes in the village economic organisation, the Dublas and Naikas also began receiving new ideas through their direct contacts with towns people. The increasing social mobility among themselves led to further adoption of urban values of life. The

modern means of propaganda and spread of new ideas, viz. radio, cinema and news paper, the Independence of India and the positive policy of the Indian government to promote the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and increasing rate of literacy among them have also worked together with the other factors in bringing about their social change. We have seen in the earlier Chapter how the low castes of the village have been successful in their Sanskritization and urbanization.

But at the same times, it was revealed that the high caste people, Anavils imbibed some elements of Western system of values (which is generally described by social scientists as Westernization). As a result of this process of social change two forces, viz. Sanskritization were found operating simultaneously, of course in different directions and on two different sections of people, in the social system of Haria. Consequently, the lower caste groups which were attempting to Sanskritize their way of life, began 'adopting vegetarianism and tectotalism and Sanskritizing their ritual and pantheon.' On the other hand the higher

caste group which was gradually becoming more and more westernized, went on discarding some of the Sanskrit aspects of their traditional way of life. We know how they have become not only indifferent but averse to various religious practices, and also how they have simplified wedding ritual. On the contrary, some of them eat non-vegetarian diet and drink alcohol. One elderly Anavil once described the way in which he used to enjoy alcoholic drinks (in company of three other Anavils of the village) whenever he went to Bombay for some work in connection with afus sales. One Anavil was known for preparing tasteful varieties of wines from Chiku, other fruits and some other ingredients. He continued this activity even after the introduction of prohibition in the former State of Bombay. The author has heard reports of about a dozen to twenty village Anavils who at one time or other enjoyed alcoholic drinks before prohibition. Over and above drinking alcohol, while some of them often take eggs, few others eat meat only rarely.

They also dropped some other Sanskrit traditions such as shaving of heads by the widows.

These forces have obviously affected norms of status and hierarchy governing the relationships among different castes of the village community. The restrictions about the acceptance of drinking water and cooked food from the hands of lower castes are not very rigidly observed now. Not only that Dubla/Naika women now fetch even drinking water for the Anavils, but they move about in their kitchen and wash it (including hearths) after the meals are over. The Dubla touching an Anavil who is eating his food is not objected to. Even one Anavil often ate food cooked by his Dubla labourer. Similarly the Anavils do not now take a purificatory bath after touching a Dhed. I know of one Anavil who often spends hours together sitting in the verendah of a Dhed's house for simple gossips. Nevertheless Anavil women are found observing these restrictions of food and water.

More and more people from the village now visit cinema houses and eat snacks in restaurants in the towns. (What to talk of the emigrants living in towns.) They never question the touch of an untouchable (who is not known); and drink tea or eat snacks

in the restaurant where perhaps, on the same table or at an adjoining table, an untouchable or a Dubla/Naika is seated.

With the coming of the factory all these influences of urban culture have been enhanced. As was noted earlier, an Anavil, a Dubla and a Koli work in the factory as operators; and similarly, a Dhed and an Anavil work as clerks. On account of this there are not only more chances for them to meet together in factory canteen or elsewhere; but working on the same plain with and drawing the same salary as an Anavil belonging to his village, inculcates a new spirit of equality with the Anavils in the minds of the Dubla/Naika and Dhed factory workers. The combined effect of all these forces of change is a new awakening and group-consciousness among the lower castes of the village.

We know that the Anavils and Dublas/Naikas were bound by a long tradition of master-servant relationship. This relationship was strained during recent years.

We have already seen how due to the change in the crop-pattern the group of village labourers became virtually free from the bondage of the Anavil masters. The 'freedom' they achieved was, however, at the cost of their employment. As the new crop-pattern reduced the pressure of agricultural work, the total number of working days for the village labourers came down from the previous 365 days to about 200 days in the year. This obviously meant semi-starvation for the labourers. Some of them maintained by borrowing advance money, khavati from some of the village Anavils. This they repaid by working for those Anavils during agricultural season. Their relationship with the Anavils was strained because the payment of cash wages for their labour inculcated in them a strong feeling that what they received was inadequate in proportion to the work they did.

After the coming of the Atul factory the tensions existing between Anavils on the one side and Dublas and Naikas on the other increased due to several factors. As more and more labourers from the village

started taking up factory jobs, the Anavils fell short of labourers in agriculture. Scarcity of labour not only raised the wage rate from twelve annas to one rupee per day in the village, but also strengthened the position of the labourers. Twenty one Dublas/Naikas worked as regular employees and thirty-five as intermittant employees in the factory. This brought steadiness in their work all throughout the year. Hence the factory job was a source of steady (regular) income for them. Still another aspect of the factory job was that almost all Dubla/Naika families of Haria sent one or more of their members to the factory for work. At times, the husband, the wife and their aged daughter or son - all of them worked ⁱⁿ different departments in the factory. Such families earned better than before. Thus the factory job was both a dependable and better source of income for the village labourers. They can now put aside some amount of their income as a saving which they use in different ways. Six out of the fourteen Dubla/Naika women, who worked as casual labourers in the factory purchased silver

and lets out of the savings from their factory income. Two Dubla boys purchased wrist watch and four others intended to do so from their savings. All of them spend a portion (varying between five to fifteen percent of their income as canteen expenses (tea and snacks) in the factory every month. In short, the factory incomes have raised their standard of living. Not only that but they enjoy now relative independence in earning their incomes in the new system of employment and wages in industry.

The Anavils do not like this new development of the Dublas and Naikas. They resent it and often express their dislike at it by various means. The Dublas and Naikas, who are no more dependant upon the village Anavils alone for earning their livelihood, also look to Anavils with disregard and at times even with hatred. There is a growing antagonism between the Anavils on the one hand, and the Dublas and Naikas on the other.

This antagonism was clearly expressed during the last General Elections in February, 1957. Two candidates, one of the Congress party and the other of the

Praja Socialist party contested from the Bulsar constituency for one seat of Loksabha. Anavils of Haria favoured the Congress candidate. They persuaded the local Dublas and Naikas also to vote for the Congress candidate. Although some of the Congress and Praja Socialist workers addressed the village Dublas and Naikas, they were unable to follow the high-sounding politics of either party. They understood only one thing that as the village Anavils supported the Congress candidate, they should oppose him. They openly expressed their opposition thus. On the night before the election day about seventy Dubla and Naika youths of Haria went round the village in procession (an unprecedented event in Haria), shouting slogans such as "Samajva^d Zindabad; Congress murdabad" (long live Socialism; death to Congress). After the election day they proudly talked about the fact that they voted for the Praja Socialist candidate. They did this particularly to annoy the Anavils.

The change in the very attitude of the Dublas and Naikas toward the village Anavils, and viceversa, may be seen from some of their expressions and -

behavioural reactions also. During the season of transplantation weeding and harvest of paddy very often the Anavils have to go to the huts of the Dubla/Naika labourers for persuading them to work on their fields. In spite of their persuasion when the labourers at times do not turn up for work the Anavils get very much annoyed with them and say:

" These Dublas and Naikas do not now care to see whether our crops grow or fail; they have become quite useless people".

The Dublas and Naikas also likewise feel that:

" The Anavils approach us only when they are in need of our services; otherwise they just do not care to know about our well-being."

Moreover, almost all Anavils complained about the lack of sincerity in work on the part of the labourers, who according to them "wasted time in gossips and enjoyed frequent intervals for a smoke during work". If, however, the Anavil master rebuked the labourers for wasting time frequently, the latter would resent it. They would say that:

" It is better to work in the Atul factory than to work under an Anavil master, for he gives us much little and asks us to work very hard; how is it possible?"

Some of the Anavils who were known for such 'harassment' to the labourers found it much difficult to get labourers to work for them. Therefore, the Anavils had to remain silent and keep enough patience until their work was over, best the labourers should suddenly stop working for them.

Once a cowboy was seen by the author throwing throughout the house of his master the ^akathol of val pulses. The cowboy did not like the same kathol in place of vegetable. In order to express his annoyance only he threw away kathol on that day.

Moreover, I have heard some Dubla/Naika maid servants often complaining about their morning tea prepared by adding jaggery instead of sugar (jaggery is cheaper than sugar).

Two Dublas boys once refused doing work as cow-boys for an Anavil master, just because their landlady used to scold them often for not keeping time and for stealing sopcakes. Only after much pursua^sion and with a condition not to scold them again ~~that~~ they resumed work.

The Anavils are also averse to Dublas and Naikas receiving education. Anavil women often exclaim while seeing young Dubla/Naika girls going to the village school:

" Who will now do domestic work for us
when these Dublas girls have started
going to School?"

Formerly a Dubla/Naika labourer could not utter a single word against his Anavil master. If a labourer disobeyed his master or opposed him on some occasion, the latter could not only scold but even beat the former. Such cases, though very rare in Haria, did take place in the past. But now a master beating his labourer is unheard of. On the contrary, ^{now} recent events suggest that a labourer often disobeys and opposes his master when the latter ~~this to~~ scolds him. The incidents briefly narrated below will support this observation. The Police Patel of Haria (an Anavil) employed a young Dubla boy as a casual labourer. Without any previous intimation, the latter remained absent for a couple of days. On the third day morning the Police Patel saw the mother of that Dubla boy. She worked as the Police Patel's neighbour's maid servant. He asked her the

reason for her son's unreported absence for two days continuously. She said that her son was not keeping good health and therefore was taking rest. The Police Patel, however, believed that she was giving false excuses in order to defend her son. Hence he shouted at her saying that he would slap her son if he remained -absent the next day. At once she was enraged and shouted out:

"What does it matter if he is a Police Patel? He does not give wages as alms; he extracts work from my son; how can he slap my son without any offense? Can my son not enjoy leave for a day or two"?.

She spoke in such a loud voice that almost all people living in the street could clearly hear her. The Police Patel formerly wielded such power in the village that the Dublas and Naikas could not easily approach him. In fact, they were afraid of him, lest he should beat them. In the past, once or twice the Police Patel gave good beatings to a Dubla who abused his Anavil master. But now the Police Patel's authority is often questioned by the Dublas and Naikas.

At another occasion, a Dubla woman, in a similar way passed through the same street loudly speaking

abuses to her Anavil master, who as she complained, paid her much less than the current seasonal wage rate. She also added that she could collect her money from him only after she approached him not less than four times!

Once again, an Anavil master, who found that his Dubla labourer worked elsewhere instead of working on his land, went to the field where that labourer was working. He started abusing him and then, asked him to give up that work and follow him immediately. The labourer was reluctant and denied to do so. The master being excited rushed upon the labourer in order to strike him down. But the labourer who was also equally infuriated by now, pulled the master down and gave him good beatings. It was only after some other labourers intervened that the master was released from the clutches of that infuriated labourer. After this event, that labourer never went to work under that master and nobody in the village could do anything to him for beating his master.

Finally, the following two similar events very clearly show that the Dublas and Naikas of Haria who

could formerly be suppressed by the village Anavil masters could not easily be suppressed by them in recent years. The author could not, however, find out the exact date of the two events. But as the village informants put it, the first occurred before the Independence of India and the second one after it.

A Desai boy from the Desaisheri had illicit - sexual relations with an unmarried Naika girl of Haria as a result of which the latter was pregnant and delivered a daughter. The village Dubla/Naika Panch held a meeting to decide the fatherhood of that Naika girl's daughter the person who was responsible for it. By investigation, the Panch came to know of the Desai boy who was actually responsible for it. But the Panch was by no means able to punish the Desai boy of the village in those days. Nevertheless, that Desai boy's father bribed that Naika girl's father so that the latter stopped speaking ill of his son. Moreover, the uncle of that Desai boy was a very influential person in the village. He told that Naika girl's father and some other village Dublas and Naikas not to utter a single word about this matter and with a firm.

hand suppressed the whole affair. The Panch however, shelved the matter by resolving that a stranger³ who stayed in the village for some time was responsible for the fatherhood of the girl child. Although that stranger did not agree with the village Panch's decision, he observed silence as he was also sufficiently bribed by that Desai boy's father.

After some years the same Naika woman came in contact with another unmarried middle-aged Bhathela of Haria. At this time she was engaged as a maid by that Bhathela. As a result of illicit sexual relations between them, the Naika woman became pregnant. This time when that very woman conceived again by having illicit sexual relations with another Anavil, the village Dublas and Naikas protested very strongly. As one of the Dubla village informants put it:

"During those days of British rule, we were afraid of Bhathelas, for the reason that they would drag us to the Police Patel for a lock up for twenty four hours or for severe beating. But now we are least afraid of them. We know that we need no longer be afraid of the Police Patel in free India."

Accordingly the village Dubla/Waika Panch held a

3 Who was a tribesman from Dharampur side.

meeting and investigated into the whole affair. They openly gave the name of the Bhathela who was responsible for that Naika woman's pregnancy. However, a cousin brother of that Bhathela intervened and asked the latter to pay about Rs. 150 to that Naika woman as a fine which the Dubla/Naika Panch inflicted upon him. Overnight she was married to a Dubla from a distant village who did not know of this affair; and the affair was brought to an end.

Many an Anavil of the village was reported having illicit sexual relations with some Dubla or Naika women. But as the Anavils were the sole masters of the village Dubla and Naikas in the past the latter could not raise a protest even though they came to know about various affairs. But after Independence and particularly after the coming of the Atul factory, the Dublas and Naikas do not fail protesting against such affairs, because they have now achieved both political and economic 'independence'.

V

Tensions in intra-caste Relationships:

The forces affecting the relationships between the

two groups of Anavils on the one hand, and Dublas and Naikas on the other, also influenced, though, in a different degree, the relationships of two status-groups among the Anavils, viz, Desais and Bhathelas. The Bhathela\$ families of Haria had by now improved their economic status by the new cash crop (afus) and urban jobs. The Atul job further helped them in raising their standard of living. All this enabled them to claim equality with the Desais who had enjoyed a higher social status for a long period of time. This further reacted upon the traditional hypergamous relationship prevalent between the Desais and Bhathelas.

As was noted earlier, after the abolition of Desagiri, some of the Desais moved to villages and took to agriculture and some others took to some of the urban professions. Nevertheless ^{as} they lost all powers and privileges of Desagiri, their earnings contracted considerably. On the other hand, the Bhathelas increased their earnings not only by their earnestness in developing the new cash crop, but also by the urban and factory jobs. This considerably decreased the economic differences between the two groups. The

Bhathelas are found increasingly using their newly gained wealth in various ways.

This process of levelling between the two groups among the Anavils has greatly affected the Desai-Bhathela hypergamous relationship. The Bhathelas are no longer keen on securing Desai grooms for their daughter. A Bhathela of Haria would now prefer for his daughter an educated and well placed Bhathela groom to a relatively less educated and uninfluential Desai. So much so that recently even some of the Desais have begun marrying their daughters to educated and economically well-off Bhathelas. Four such case were noted by the author in Haria. Consequently, dowry has no longer remained a practice among the Desais only, but it has spread among the Bhathelas too! Both the Desai as well as Bhathela grooms demand a dowry from their prospective fathers-in-law. While formerly the sum of dowry depended mainly upon the social status of the groom's family, now it depends upon the level of education, employment of the groom, and the economic position of his family. With these changes in the hypergamy, both the earlier practices of exchange

marriage and bride price have become things of the past. There is now thus clearly a trend towards endogamous marriage relationships among the Anavil as a whole. The Bhathelas no longer experience the shortage of marriageable girls, and that invariably all adults get married.

This process has, however, not been so smooth as it appears from the above description. The Desais, who enjoyed a higher social status than the Bhathelas for a long period, do not like this new movement among the ~~B~~Bathelas. Therefore, their relations are, to some extent, strained. Each ~~derides~~ derides the other before a third person. The Desais still boast of their past political powers, and proudly talk of the privileges they enjoyed. The author noted in his talks with two elderly Desais of the village that they often emphasised the 'purity' they have maintained till the present day. They would say:

" We (Desais) have never followed practices of exchange marriage and bride price which these people (Bhathelas) did upto now. Therefore, their blood is not as pure as ours. What matters if they put on better dresses now, and look like landlords!"

On the other hand, the Bhathelas express their hatred towards Desais by pointing out the fact that the Desais are trecherous people who even murdered their wives for marrying again in order to get another dowry. Two elderly Bhathela women and three men while narrating an incident said:

" Oh! that Mr. X, who lives in the Desai falia. He killed his wife and reported that being insane she committed a suicide".

One woman added further :

" This does not hold good only for Mr.X; but many a Desai, when put to financial difficulties, did this cruel 'trick' just to get more money in the form of a dowry."

But inspite of this change in their attitudes towards one another, they come together vis-a-vis other caste-groups. The author has not marked developing any overt conflicts between them. The main reason for this is that they are related by kinship ties, past and present. This stops them from splitting into two opposite groups . The tensions in their relationships are not so noticeable as is the case with the relationships between the Anavils and Dublas/Naikas.

Village Hierarchy and Political Organisation:

It should not, however, be concluded from the foregoing analysis that as the Dublas and Naikas of Haria have now been raising their head against the Anavils and that as the relationship between these two major village groups has been marked by increasing tensions, the structural unity of the small rural community has been endangered. It is true that the coming of a new cash crop and a big factory brought over a thorough change in the traditional master-servant relationship, a change from a permanent and inter-familial to an intermittent and contractual relationship.

It is true that some other social and political forces working along with the two major factors of economic change in Haria have tended to arouse strong group feelings particularly among the two labouring castes of the village. It is also true that these labouring castes have been attempting to raise their 'status' by way of educating their children, Sanskritizing their ritual and urbanising their way of life.

But in spite of these economic and social changes in Haria, the structural pattern of the village community has not been much affected. The main reason for this is that all these changes that have taken place in the life of this community have so far preserved the traditional pattern of its social structure. The Anavils still hold not less than ninety per cent of the village lands among themselves. Being owners of large wealth in both land and buildings, they enjoy highest economic status in the village. Likewise they enjoy highest social and ritual status in the village hierarchy. In the middle order are the Mendicant, the Shoemaker and the recently immigrated Koli. The group of Dublas and Naikas still occupy^{ies} the same position in the hierarchical order of the village as ^{it} they did in the past. They are still landless and that ritually also their status has not risen up in the scale of the village hierarchy. In other words, their claims for a higher social status have not so far been recognised by the other village caste-groups. Therefore, they continue to hold the same position in the village hierarchy as

they did formerly.

As the structural pattern of the village community has been preserved so far, its structural unity also has not been much weakened. As the Anavils still employ a larger section of the village labourers, the latter depend upon the former for earning their livelihood. Therefore, the labourers as well as the other two present servicing castes look to the Village Anavils as their patrons. This patron-client relationship is still the basis of the structural unity of the village. One can notice the glimpses of the village unity when all the castes join together in fighting a common external enemy. This can be seen from the following recent incident. It was a hot summer evening when most of the people in Haria were still tossing in their beds after completing their dinner. At about ten O'clock sudden shouts for help were heard. Those shouts were of the Dubla watchmen who were being beaten by about a dozen thieves in afus-orchards. Within a few minutes a number of young Anavils, Dublas, and Naikas rushed to the scene with torches and sticks and jointly chased the thieves upto a long distance.

Although instances such as this are few and far between, they definitely point out that the feeling of belonging to a village community still persists among the castes, inspite of the fact that their inter-relationships are strained.

None of the two factors of change, viz. the introduction of a commercial crop and the establishment of a big factory in the neighbourhood of the village, has brought about any change in the position of the dominant caste of the village, the Anavils. On the contrary, the commercial crop, if not so much the factory, has enormously shot up the economic status of that caste in the village. The economic prosperity, on account of the coming of the factory, of the other lower castes has been much less as compared to that of the Anavils. Thus, both near monopoly in ownership of land and increased earnings from the new crop have, in fact, much strengthened the position of the dominant caste in the village.

But the increasing dominance of the Anavils has been counteracted by certain forces of social change operating

in the social system. Consequently, the influence of the dominant caste is not so effective today as it was before. There is not only a change in the intercaste service relationships, but one now finds that the bonds among them have been loosened on account ~~ed~~ of the diversification in the sources of their incomes. As a result of this today not all the members of the servicing and labouring castes depend upon them for earning a livelihood. Thus, both the loosening of bonds and relative independence in earning a livelihood have gone a long way in weakening the influence of the dominant caste, Anavils, upon the other castes of the village. We have seen in the previous Chapter how the lower castes have been gradually attempting to raise their status in the village, and also how the intercaste relationships have been strained subsequently. On account of that the village Panch (which consisted of some members of the Anavil caste) lost almost all support of the other castes of the village which it formerly enjoyed. Moreover, formerly when almost all members of the village community lived in the village, the village Panch could function

quite effectively because the area of its control was considerably limited. But the position is quite reverse today because of the emigration of nearly one-fourth of the village population. The area of the Panch's control has been much widened, and this obviously reduced the strength of its authority. As a result of this there is to-day an absence of anybody which may be called as village Panch in Haria. The court of law has now taken the place of arbitration provided by the village Panch.

It is not that the influence of the village Panch only is weakened, but more or less, in a similar way the influence of various caste Panchs upon their members has also been gradually reduced. While the higher - castes have shown increasing social and spatial mobility the lower castes are, however, less inclined to it. As a result of this it is found that the caste Panch of the Anavils has hardly any influence upon its members to-day. A widow-remarriage in a neighbouring village was highly criticized by some orthodox Anavil men and women of Haria, but the caste Panch did not inflict any punishment upon her. On the contrary, she was

invited to tea and treated well on her recent visit to the village.

But the influence of caste Panchs is as strong as before among the lower castes, viz. the Dublas, Naikas and Dheds. The caste Panch of the Dublas and Naikas still handles cases of divorces, disputed fatherhood of a child, and the like. Similarly among the Dheds, caste-Panch enjoys considerable extent of control upon its members. The cloth-weaver in the Dhed falia, who is also the sectional Patel of Haria Dheds, informed me about the way in which he, together with other sectional Patels, recently disposed off a dispute over divorce and fined the guilty party. Thus, it is only among the Anavils, the high Hindu caste, that caste Panch does not function effectively now. Thus, it is found the higher the level of social and spatial mobility among the members of a caste, the greater the weakening of the influence of the caste Panch upon its members.

The absence of an effective village Panch and diffused authority of the caste Panchs has not, in any way, strengthened the position of the Police Patel

in the village. He has been functioning as the village level officer of the State, but does not play an influential role in village affairs.

Nevertheless, the outer political system has by now made sufficient inroads in the village body politic with the increasing influence of the court of law, new election machinery, revenue affairs and other State policies like prohibition and development plans reaching as far as interior villages.

Thus the factory led to further diversification in the sources of income of the village people and also checked further emigration from Haria. It brought about some economic prosperity to the village people. At the same time it generated such forces in the social system, which was already under the impact of urban culture, that there came about maladjustments in the adaptation of new values of a foreign culture. Consequently, the intercaste as well as intercaste relationships of this social system were strained. But the degree of intensity of strains differed in the two cases of relationships between the status groups of one caste and those between two separate castes. However, the tensions have not undermined the structural unity of the village Community.