

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY  
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD.



March 2, 1981.

FINAL APPROVAL OF THESIS

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by TARIQ MAHMOOD and it is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the degree of Master of Science in Anthropology.

COMMITTEE

1. Miss Naveed-i-Rahat,  
Chairman.

Naveed-i-Rahat

2. Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq,  
Member,  
(External)

Anwar-ul-Haq

3. Dr. A.K.M. AMINUL ISLAM,  
MEMBER,  
(Supervisor)

A.K.M. Aminul Islam

4. Dr. Mohammad A. Rauf,  
Member.

Mohammad A. Rauf

## PREFACE

In this study, I have focussed on the stratification system of a Punjabi village. The subject of the study is sociological but the methodology and techniques used, are anthropological in nature.

This thesis writing, had been a learning experience for me, hence I am aware of the deficiencies in this work. I urge upon my readers to take it in the same spirit. If I have been successful in utilizing the anthropological knowledge, I gained from my teachers even in fragments, I would consider my effort a success.

This thesis writing, however, have taught me more about 'what not to do' than about 'what to do.' Hopefully, this will enable me to produce something more scholarly and academic work in the future.

T. N.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all I wish to express my deep gratitude to my guide Dr. A.K.M. Amin-ul-Islam who is not only an able teacher but also a loving friend. It was all because of his critical and intellectual remarks that I could produce this thesis.

I am highly indebted to Miss Naveed-i-Rahat, Chairperson, Department of Anthropology whose academic and sympathetic attitude motivated me to complete my thesis without any further delay. I also owe a great intellectual debt to Dr. Mohammad A. Rauf from whom I learnt the fundamentals of anthropology.

My special thanks go to Miss Sabra Khan who, in addition to being a source of many ideas, saved me from making many errors. She put all efforts and energy towards the completion of this thesis.

Lastly, I am specially grateful to Mr. Mohammad Saeed who sacrificed his rest and sleep for the timely completion of this thesis. He made it presentable.

TARIQ MAHMOOD

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF CHARTS	ix
LIST OF MAPS	x

### PART-I

CHAPTER-1	INTRODUCTION	1
	1.1 Selection of Topic and Locale of Study	2
	1.2 ✓ Problem Stated ✓	4
	1.3 ✓ Hypotheses	7
	1.4 Context of Fieldwork: Metho- dology and Techniques	7
	1.5 Relevant Literature	12
	1.6 Uni-Dimensional Approaches	12
	1.7 Multi-Dimensional Approach	18
	1.7.1 Zat-Caste Distinction	20
CHAPTER-2	VILLAGE IN THE LARGER CONTEXT	31
	2.1 Introduction	31
	2.2 Name, Location, Boundary and ✓ Area of District Gujrat	31

2.3	Physical Features	32
2.4	Rivers and Nullahs	33
2.5	Climate ✓	35
2.6	Irrigation	36
2.7	Agriculture	37 ✓
2.8	Livestock	37 ✓
2.9	Industry	38
2.10	Communication	39
2.11	Trade and Trade Centres	39
2.12	Ethnic Groups	40
2.13	<u>Food</u>	40
2.14	<u>Dress</u>	41
2.15	Occupations ✓	41
2.16	Religion ✓	42
2.17	Educational Facilities	42
2.18	Medical Facilities	43
2.19	<u>The Village Ethnography</u>	43
2.19.1	Location	44
2.19.2	Physical Layout	45
2.19.3	Population ✓ <i>People</i>	46
2.19.4	Electrification ✓	47
2.19.5	<u>Food</u> ✓	48
2.19.6	<u>Dress</u> ✓	48
2.19.7	Health ✓	48
2.19.8	Education ←	49
2.19.9	Shops ✓	50
2.19.10	Mass Media	50

2.19.11	Communication	51
2.19.12	Service Area	51
2.19.13	Religion ✓	52
2.19.14	Agriculture	53
✓ 2.19.15	Livestock	54
<u>2.20</u> ✓	<u>Social Organization of the</u> <u>Village</u>	54
2.20.1	The Lumberdar	54
2.20.2	The Patwari	55
2.20.3	The Agriculturists	55
2.20.4	Kumhar (Potter)	55
2.20.5	Tarkhan (Carpenter)	56
2.20.6	Mochi (Cobbler)	56
2.20.7	Nai (barber)	56
2.20.8	Machi (Water carrier)	56
2.20.9	Lohar (ironsmith)	57
2.20.10	Musalli (sweeper)	57
2.20.11	Dhoba (washerman)	57
2.20.12	Imam Masjid (leader of prayers)	57
2.21	Summary	58

#### PART-II

Social Stratification Introduction	59
---------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER-3	SOCIAL STRATIFICATION-1: OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION	61
3.1	Introduction	61
3.2	Agriculturists	66
3.2.1	The Landlord Farmers	68
3.2.2	The Farmers ✓	70
3.2.3	The Farmer-Tenants	72
3.2.4	The Tenants	73
3.3	The Agricultural Labour	83
3.3.1	Artisans	83
3.3.2	Seasonal or Migratory Labour	86
3.4	Service Abroad	87
3.5	Service (Employees)	88
3.6	Business	90
3.7	Non-Agricultural Labour	91
3.8	Others	92
3.9	Summary	93
CHAPTER-4	SOCIAL STRATIFICATION-2: ZAT STRATIFICATION	94
4.1	Introduction	94
4.2	The Gujjars	98
4.2.1	The Khatana	101
4.2.2	Non-Khatana Gujjars	102

4.3	Occupational Zats	108
4.4	Syed(Religious Zat)	115
4.5	Arain	115
4.6	Paswal	115
4.7	Summary	116

## PART-III

CHAPTER-5	ANALYSIS	117
CHAPTER-6	SUMMARY & CONCLUSION	130
NOTES		139
BIBLIOGRAPHY		141



LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Description	Page No.
1.	Distribution of Village Households by Occupation	62
2.	Distribution of Agricultural Land and Farming Households by Type of Lease	67
3.	Distribution of farming Households by Size of Farm	76
4.	Distribution of Farms by Size and Type of Lease.	77
5.	Distribution of Farming Households by Size of Farm and Type of Lease	79
6.	Distribution of Zats by Households	96
7.	Distribution of Households by Zat and Occupation	97
8.	Distribution of Gujjar Households by Aal	100
9.	Distribution of Non-Khatana Gujjar Households by Aal and Type of Lease	102
10.	Distribution of Non-Khatana Households by Aal and Occupation	104

## LIST OF CHARTS

Chart No.	Description of Charts	Page No.
1.	Literacy rate in the District	43
2.	Cropping Pattern for Landlord Farmers (1978)	69
3.	Cropping Pattern for farmers (1978)	71
4.	Cropping Pattern for farmer-tenants (1978)	72
5.	Cropping pattern for tenants (1978)	75
6.	Households of Seype-Kammis	84
7.	Types of services and payments	85
8.	Types of services and number of households of employces	88
9.	Number and Distribution of Zamindar and Kammi Quom.	95
10.	Number of Zamindar and Kammi Households according to their Traditional and Non- traditional Occupations.	95
11.	Gujjar Farming households, their land and type of leave.	99
12.	Distribution of Households following tradi- tional occupations.	109

LIST OF MAPS

Map No.	Description	Facing Page of
1.	District Gujrat and Village Chak Jani	31
2.	Physical Layout of 'Chak Jani	45

PART-I

## CHAPTER-1

### INTRODUCTION

The fundamental characteristic of all hitherto existing human societies is social division of labour. This division is necessitated by divergent and dissimilar functions which are essential for the survival of the members of a society. Hence social differentiation becomes a vital condition for the existence of any human society.

Some aspects of differentiation arise out of biological variation while others are socially determined. These socially determined aspects of differentiation termed as "Social Stratification" are the main concern of this research.

More specifically, the present research is aimed at investigating the social stratification in an agrarian community of Punjab. In this research stratification is viewed as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Different factors such as, occupation, land-holding composition, 'Zat',<sup>1</sup> etc., are taken into consideration to account for stratification in a Punjabi village.

## 1.1 SELECTION OF TOPIC AND LOCALE OF STUDY

The interest in the topic, "Stratification in a Punjabi Village," is two-fold. First, the very existence of this complex phenomenon is of great academic interest and significance. Stratification is a favourite subject of a great number of social scientists. There exists a voluminous body of literature on stratification, both in sociology and anthropology. There is a long chain of discussion on the nature and mechanism of stratification in both the above-stated disciplines. Social philosophers like Karl Marx (1961), Max Weber (1964), Emile Durkheim (1949) and modern social scientists like Kingsley Davis (1945), Parsons (1963) and Ebersole (1955), all have said something about stratification, its nature and working. The writings of the above-mentioned social theorists, sociologists and anthropologists, inspired me to look closely at the theoretical aspects of stratification and then focus on its actual working in the society — specifically in a Punjabi village.

Secondly, the studies on stratification in Punjab }  
are almost non-existent. This scarcity of literature also  
called for attention. At present, there are only two signi-  
ficant studies on stratification in Punjabi villages:

1. Class and Power in a Punjabi Village, by Saghir Ahmad, an anthropologist; and
2. Two Pakistani Villages: A Study in Social Stratification, by Mohammad Rafique Raza, a sociologist.

These two studies inspired and helped me in my research. Later they have been reviewed briefly in this chapter showing their relevance to the present study.

The necessary conditions to carry out this research were to select:

- a. An agricultural village with sufficient occupational variation;
- b. The research site should be easily approachable and
- c. The research site should be in an area other than Districts of <sup>SARGODHA</sup>~~Sahiwal~~ and Faisalabad, in which the above-mentioned two studies were conducted.

Keeping these conditions in mind, I selected a village in District Gujrat, an agricultural village which meets all the conditions stated above including the require-

ments of occupational variation. The village is linked with the metalled road by two and a half kilometers of 'kacha' track, hence easily approachable.

*Name.*

( The village named 'Chak Jani' is situated on the north-western side of the city of Gujrat at a distance of about 55 kilometers. The city of Kharian lies towards the east of the village at a distance of about 26 kilometers. The village is linked with metalled Dinga-Kharian road. (A detailed description of the village is given late in Chapter-2 pp. 43-58)

## 1.2 PROBLEM STATED

Social stratification in its most general sense is a sociological concept. It is used to refer to the fact of both individuals and groups constituting higher and lower differentiated strata or classes in terms of some specific or generalized characteristic or set of characteristics.

Borrowed by analogy from earth sciences, the term stratification has come into sociological and anthropological use, only since about 1940, although the subject to which it refers has been discussed under the heading "Social Class" for a long time. However, in contrast to its usage in earth sciences,



the sociological usage of this concept often includes implicitly or explicitly, some evaluation of the higher and lower layers, which are judged to be better or worse according to a scale of values.

The concept of stratification in the present day sociological and anthropological literature denotes social inequality. Thus Sorokin defines stratification as:

"... differentiation of given population into hierarchically arranged classes. It means the existence of higher and lower strata. Its basic and true essence consists in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duty and responsibility, social riches and scantiness, social power and influence, among the members of a society" (Sorokin, 1928: 570).

Ogburn and Nimkoff call stratification,

"... regulated inequality in which people are arranged higher and lower, in accordance with their social roles and activities" (Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1958: 57).

Davis and Moore say,

"... Hence every society must differentiate persons in terms of both prestige and esteem and must therefore possess certain amount of institutionalized inequality" (Davis and Moore, 1948: 243).

All the social scientists mentioned above, maintain that social differentiation and social inequality are fundamental characteristics of social stratification and both the concepts i.e. social differentiation and social inequality, are one and the same thing with two different labels. My research intends to show that the terms should be differentiated from each other since they connote different meanings and each with distinguishable characteristics. In simple words, I think distinction should be made between social inequality and social differentiation, at least while studying the village life of Punjab focussing on the subject-matter of social stratification. Social differentiation just refers to the fact of social division of functions whereas, social inequality implies existence of higher and lower arrangement of people living in a society in terms of wealth, power and prestige.]

I have used the term stratification in more general and simpler meaning than its current sociological use. Stratification here simply means grouping of individuals together on the basis of one or more than one common characteristics. The main focus of this research is on the principle or the logic of stratification in the village. But the manifestations of social inequality are also brought into focus wherever needed.

### 1.3 HYPOTHESES

The main hypotheses to be examined in this thesis are that:

- a. The pattern of social stratification in rural Punjab is multi-dimensional and;
- b. That it is manifested at different levels of socio-economic life and finally;
- c. That its multi-dimensionality is characterized by a number of determinants.

To test these hypotheses, we need comprehensive ranking criteria which will be spelled out later in this chapter under the heading "Relevant Literature" (P. 12). At this stage it will be worthwhile to describe the context of my fieldwork together with the methodology and techniques used for this research.

### 1.4 CONTEXT OF FIELDWORK: METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

Before going into the field, I got in touch with two of my old friends in that village. I explained to them the objectives of my research. They showed great interest in my proposed study and assured me of their assistance in all

possible ways. We agreed on a fixed date for my arrival in the village.

Encouraged by their interest and promise for cooperation, I packed my luggage and boarded the bus going towards Kharian. From Kharian I reached Dinga, a small town near the research site in the afternoon by a local bus. I took a tonga (a horse-driven carriage) from there and started my journey to the village. The track we were traversing, was dusty and winding. There were mild as well as severe bumps and jerks from time to time and puffs of dust blew up in the air. Sun was setting behind the 'Pabbi' hills of Jhelum. Crimson hue was spreading over the horizon. I watched the fields on both sides of the track and tried to visualize the differences in life style that I was about to encounter in a Pakistani village from that <sup>of</sup> a city life I am accustomed to.

After about half an hour, we crossed the cemented bridge on the 'nullah' near the village and soon <sup>I</sup> was within the boundaries of the village. My friends were waiting there on the bridge. I paid Rs.10 to the tonga-walla and my friends, inspite of my insistance, carried my luggage to the place where I was to reside. We talked about the village life, talked about its changing life-style. It was a hectic

*Tha  
Desta*

and tiring day and we were all exhausted. Late at night we had our meal and retired to bed.

Next day again I had a long exchange of views with my friends. I inquired from them about the village, its history, people, 'Zats', agriculture, education and several other related topics. They were quite knowledgeable persons. They acquainted me with the various aspects of the village life which later helped me varify some of my findings.

For about five days, they took me around the village. We moved into different Mohallas of the village. They introduced me to the village people and explained to them the purpose of my study. Some people were suspicious about my intentions but my friends removed their suspicions by light and convincing arguments.

I met shopkeepers, cultivators, went into different Mohallas, sat with people of different 'Zats' and discussed matters of general interest. In this way I was able to establish rapport with the village-folks. My friends became my key-informants. We usually discussed relevant problems at night and went out in the morning.

After this initial stage, it was now possible for me to move around alone. I made friends with cultivators, went to the fields with them and participated with them in their work, play and festivals. I visited the 'Baithaks' (sitting place for men) of big landlords time and again. I would sit at shops and observe people buying things. I visited my new friends in their own Mohallas, stayed in their homes, ate food with them, observed their general living standard and behavioural patterns. I got information about their occupation, Zats, geneology, education, kinship ties and sometimes about their political affiliations.

It was during this period when I fully realised the utility of the anthropological technique, participant-observation. Through participant-observation, I gathered large amount of data about different zats, their mutual interaction and ranking system. Data on the occupational ranking, interaction between people of different occupations and type of cooperation within the people of one occupation, in short data on inter-and intra-group behaviour, were also collected through this technique.

The village 'Patwari' (a petty clerk from Land Revenue Department) was not particularly cooperative during the initial stages of my research. But after some time,

I succeeded in establishing rapport with him through the agency of some people. Later on, Patwari proved quite helpful and provided me with information about land-ownership, farm-size and about agriculture in general. His role as an informant became significantly important for me. Since information gathered through him later enabled me to compare it with what the land owners of the village told me. Occasionally there were inconsistencies between the two, in which case I had to use my own judgement to accept the correct view. Similarly, I acquired some other informants of different 'Zats' engaged in different occupations who provided me with relevant information about occupation and 'Zats.'

Towards the end of my research, I talked with the heads of households of different occupations and 'Zats.' I put definite questions about their Zats, occupations, change in occupation, their past, relations with other members of their own Zat and with other Zats. This technique of unstructured interviews also proved very fruitful.

I have stated earlier my subject is stratification in a Punjabi village. Before I delve into the ethnographic material, I find it useful here to review some of the relevant literature published in this field.

## 1.5 RELEVANT LITERATURE

While studying the stratification in rural Punjab, we are confronted with the problem of ranking criteria or theories of stratification. There are a number of theoretical and methodological differences among the theorists of stratification. The fundamental theoretical division can be characterized by multi-factor or multi-dimensional and uni-factor or uni-dimensional approaches to stratification. But the selection of relevant factor or factors for ranking individuals into strata or classes is also very controversial in both approaches. Hence it will not be out of place to discuss a few theories of stratification in the following paragraphs focussing on the ones, I found relatively more relevant for my own study.

## 1.6 UNI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACHES

### a. Max Weber on Class

Max Weber writes,

"We may speak of a 'class' when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income,



and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour markets."  
(Weber, 1964: 43)

According to Weber the specificity of common chance in the market is central to social class. He further explains:

"It is the most elemental economic fact that the way in which the disposition over material property is distributed among a plurality of people, meeting competitively in the market for the purpose of exchange, in itself creates specific life chances" (Weber, 1963: 68).

Thus people sharing the similar life chances are in the same "class situation" and the pre-requisite for the class situation is "property and lack of property." Hence the class situation is ultimately "market situation" and the competition with respect to property determines the "kind of chance" an individual or plurality of individuals will have.

In Weberian analysis, the market situation determines the life chances which in turn, determine the class position of an individual. But Weber does not explain why a group of individuals has a specific causal component. Who controls the market? Further, the type, mechanism and the circumstances of competition are left unexplained. It appears

to me that Weber's theory is culture-bound, that is, it can be useful in a highly industrialized society where a market situation like Weber's is present and dominates the social life. In an agricultural society which I studied, open competition is non-existent, discouraged and is subject to non-economic pressures like religion, kinship ties, Zat etc. Hence, these factors should be given adequate consideration in addition to Weber's economic factor for the proper understanding of the phenomenon in a Punjabi village.

b. Marxist View of Social Class

The Marxists view social class with reference to the means of production. They hold that relationship of men with respect to means of production determines the class structure of a society. Lenin says,

"Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by their relations (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it "  
(Lenin, 1962: Vol. 29, 421).

The Marxists identify two major classes in the capitalist society; 1) Bourgeoisie and 2) Proletariat. "By bourgeoisie," Marx and Engels wrote, "is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour" (Marx and Engels, 1961: Vol.I, 34). This wage labour constitutes the proletariat class.

The Marxists claim that bourgeois society should be analysed with reference to the alleged struggle between these two classes. This theory can be termed as "Conflict Theory" of stratification. The Marxists assert that the ownership and non-ownership of means of production put people into antagonistic classes.

No doubt the relationship to the means of production is an important factor, but this is only one factor. The social factors such as moral values, education, Zat and political power influence the economic relations to a larger extent. Secondly, my research will show that the owners and non-owners of means of production are not always antagonistic to each other. Occasionally there are conflicts between the haves and have-nots but alignments also take place between the two. This theory simplifies the phenomenon of stratification and perceives it one-sidedly i.e.,

like Weber, in economic terms only, hence though relevant, I did not find it adequate for my purpose.

### c. Functional Approach

In the present day literature, functionalism has emerged as an important theoretical and methodological approach to stratification. In the functional frame of reference,

"... social inequality is interpreted in some way functionally indispensable to the maintenance of society, the parts of which are conceived to be integrated and mutually interrelated as a system in equilibrium" (Becker and Baskoff, 1957:386).

Other exponents of functional analysis are Talcott Parsons (1963), Kingsley Davis (1945) and Wilbert Moore (1945).

The functional approach tells us more about functional nature of stratification rather than its causes, which also constitute one of the purposes of this study. The functional approach takes society as static in which the social position of each individual has been super-imposed and thus fails to focus on dynamic aspects of social stratification in a Punjabi village. <sup>Hence, in this analysis,</sup> a functional approach has been used only in parts, since this approach has also been found inadequate though with occasional relevance.

d. The Distributive Theory

This theory is advanced by George C. Homans (1951). He bases the division of people into classes on the mode of distribution. He promoted to first place such criteria as the mode of acquiring incomes and their size. But the causes of a specific mode of distribution are not explained. Hence, though a respectable theory for the study of stratification, I did not find it comprehensive enough for my purpose.

f. The Psychological Theory

There are sociologists who adopt the subjectivist concept of class as a social-psychological phenomenon. Class consciousness is considered main and decisive factor. Thus Cooley maintains ".... the relationship between the class of employers and the class of manual labour is primarily a matter of individual point of view" (Cooley, 1902: 98).

My study will show that Cooley's hypothesis that "the relationship between the class of employers and the class of manual labour is primarily a matter of individual point of view" fulfils an important part of analysis of the stratification system in a Punjabi village life. However,

to get a complete picture one more variable should be introduced in addition to "individual point of view" and that is "collective point of view" of the members of a society.

We have seen that uni-dimensional theories are not very helpful for our purpose, because these theories look for a single scheme of stratification in which every social group or individual occupies a single position, which is not always the case. Hence, now we will discuss the multi-dimensional theory which for its eclectic nature, proved more helpful for the present research.

#### 1.7 MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH

In multi-dimensional theory division of society into strata is usually based on such factors as occupation, type of dwelling, place of residence, size of income, education etc. L. Ebersole names these factors, "...prestige factors of income, occupation, power, birth and personal qualities" (Ebersole, 1955: 274-75).

The factors on the basis of which particular individual is regarded as belonging to definite stratum, is called status. "Status", writes Merrill, "is the position a person occupies by virtue of his age, sex, birth, occupa-

tion, marriage or achievement" (Merrill, 1962: 179).

The most important proposition of Multi-dimensional theorists is that of coexistence of parallel hierarchies in which an individual occupies a position in each of them. Contrariwise, the uni-dimensional theorists extract a single and vertical stratificational pattern allotting each group or individual a single position. No doubt, stratification usually occurs vertically but the occupation of different and sometimes contradictory positions by a group or individual in different hierarchies, makes the stratification to a certain extent, a horizontal phenomenon. I found this approach to stratification, relatively more all-encompassing and comprehensive than uni-dimensional approach. It embraces all the aspects of stratificational pattern and offers a multi-sided view of the phenomenon.

The prestige factors of education, size of income and type of dwellings were not found very useful in the research because these factors are culture-bound. The educational factor and type of dwellings are relevant for research in an industrialized and literate society. These factors do not help in understanding the principles of stratification in a partially literate and agricultural society. The same is true about personal achievement. The size of

income is also difficult to ascertain due to the suspicions aroused by such questions.

The problem of selecting relevant factors was solved in the context of the research site. Two factors, occupation and birth were found relevant to an understanding of the ranking system of the village. These factors are utilized to rank the groups and individuals with reference to their occupational position and position by birth. Position by birth here implies identification of a group or individual through the rural Zat stratification.

### 1 7.1 ( Zat-Caste Distinction

Zat is a native category, used to identify people in ethnic, religious or occupational terms. The Muslim Zat is partly equivalent to Hindu caste. But it has some characteristics of its own, which distinguish it from Hindu caste. However, we can understand Zat well in the perspective of Hindu caste, since the Zat system in the Muslims of the sub-continent is a product of cultural contact with Hindus, as Weber (1963), O' Malley (1946) and other specialists in this field contend.



According to J.H.Hutton (1964) a caste group has normally seven characteristics:

- "1. A caste is endogamous.
2. There are restrictions on commensality between different castes.
3. There is a hierarchical grading of castes the most easily recognized position being that of Brahman<sup>2</sup> at the top.
4. In various contexts, specially those concerned with food, sex, ritual, a member of a higher caste is liable to be "polluted" by either direct or indirect contact with a member of a lower caste.
5. Castes are commonly associated with traditional occupations.
6. An individual's caste is determined by the circumstances of his birth unless he is expelled from his caste for ritual offence.
7. The system as a whole is always focussed around the prestige accorded to the Brahman" (Hutton, 1964: 164)<sup>3</sup>.

With these characteristics in mind, I explored the Zats of the village 'Chak Jani'. During this exploration, a fair variation was found between Zat and caste along with certain similarities.

*Class, Zat and Caste.*

There are 14 Zats in the village. The first level of Zat identification is 'Quom.'<sup>4</sup> The Gujjars claim their Quom as Zamindar (landowner), while the occupational Zats such as Tarkhan (carpenter), Mochi (cobbler), Nai (barber), etc., are termed 'Kammi'<sup>5</sup> Quom.'

Barth (1960) and Zekeiya Eglar (1958), have treated Quom as caste in their studies on Swat Pathans and Punjabi village, respectively. But what I have found in the village is that Quom is used in a broader and all-inclusive sense, referring to the difference between agricultural and non-agricultural occupations alongwith the people pursuing these occupations.

These two Quoms are further divided into Zats. The first characteristic of caste i.e., endogamy was very much prevalent in all Zats. There was only one exception where a Gujjar landlord's daughter was married into Khokhar Zat<sup>6</sup> in a city. This marriage was not approved by kinsfolk of that Gujjar landlord. This was the only example of exogamy

in the village. Otherwise all Zats are endogamous and endogamy is preferred by all of them.

The restrictions on commensality did not exist as such. But there is a tendency on the part of landlord Gujjars to avoid eating with the members of Musalli (sweepers) Zat. But other small landholding Gujjars and Kammi Zats practice commensality freely.

The hierarchical grading of Zats is not an easy task. No doubt, 'Syeds'<sup>7</sup> are held in esteem but in actual practice the landlord Gujjars are considered superior. At a general level, Gujjar Zat is ranked higher than Kammi but Gujjars are further divided into eleven 'Aals.'<sup>8</sup> The 'Khatana' Aal is ranked higher than the other 10 Gujjar Aals. Among the Kammi, Mussalis are ranked the lowest Zat but other kammi Zats considered themselves parallel to each other or higher. Thus the third characteristic was only vaguely perceived in the grading of all zats, though Gujjars were ranked higher than Kammi.

The fourth criterion was virtually non-existent among the village Zats. Bodily contact is common and normal among all members of different Zats. Sometimes this contact connotes religious significance, like hand-shaking, praying together etc.

The fifth characteristic was of relevance for village Zats. It was found that most Zats were usually identified with specific occupations, e.g. Gujjars considered cultivation as their proper and right occupation. Kammi Zats were identified with specific non-agricultural traditional occupations. But Syeds were exempted from any occupational identification.

But in practice there was marked variation in hereditary and actual occupations in the case of certain Zats. For instance, out of 147 Gujjar households, 96 were engaged in agriculture and 51 had gone to non-agricultural occupations. Same was the case with kammi Zats. Out of 120 kammi households only 42 were engaged in their traditional occupations.

In spite of these variations, these occupational Zats were identified with their traditional occupation. Change of occupation does not always result in change of Zat. Thus the fifth characteristic was only partially met with, in the Zats of the village.

The Zat of an individual is determined at birth, but sometimes change becomes possible with the change of place or economic status. For example, most people opined

the Paswals (a Zat) were originally from kammi Quom. They have changed their Zat after they bought land and settled in this village. Now they are called Paswal, which is not considered a kammi Zat.

There was no ritual associated with Zat and expulsion does not take place. Some dispute may divide a Zat group. For instance, the Mochi split into two groups due to some marriage dispute. Now both these groups do not interact with one another.

The last characteristic in Hutton's was found relevant in the sense that system as<sup>a</sup>/<sub>whole</sub> was focussed around the prestige accorded, not to Syed as O'Malley mentioned, or to some other religious personality, but to big Gujjar landlords. Every Zat strived for upward mobility in economic terms.

This lengthy treatment of Zat suggests that our Zat partly conforms to only five characteristics put forward by Hutton in defining caste. In this sense, these groups are rather caste-like than castes. Hence I have decided to use the terms Zat and or Quom instead of caste as found in published literature.

Another approach to caste is developed by McKim Marriott. He calls caste as an "ethnic group" and defines it as,

"... an hereditary group within a society or constituting a society, which is defined by its members and by others as a separate people, socially, biologically and culturally;..." (Marriott, 1956: 2).

This definition solves some problems of Zat not solved by Huttons. But this approach over-simplifies an intricate social phenomenon that Zat is. This definition ignores occupational dimension of Zat. Moreover, there is some idea of hierarchical arrangement of Zats, not touched on by this definition.

It is obvious that there are similarities as well as dissimilarities between Zat and caste. But it has been now established that a Muslim Zat is somewhat different from a Hindu Caste. Zat in the village context is religious (Syed), ethnic (Gujjars) and occupational (Tarkhan, Mochi etc.). Sometimes these characteristics overlap and sometimes one of them is missing. Instead of definitional problems, I found Zat identification as an important aspect of social stratification in the village.

The second factor i.e. occupation, is used to account for stratification in economic terms. The selection of this factor was also inspired by Saghir Ahmad's study (1977). But my study differs from Ahmed's in that I developed multi-dimensional approach rather than Ahmed's uni-dimensional approach.

Ahmed maintains, "My basic hypothesis is that village social structure can best be described in terms of class or occupational categorization, that occupational categories are linked with socio-economic status, pattern of group behaviour and cultural activities" (Ahmed,1977:84).

Ahmed bases stratification on occupation and extracts socio-economic status and behavioural pattern from occupation. Thus Ahmed views stratification within a uni-dimensional framework taking only one factor for ranking purpose.

Occupation, as I myself found, is an important factor of stratification in the Punjabi village I studied. But I have taken the criterion of occupation to comprehend only one level of stratification. The occupational categorization reveals itself in a generalized form at the first step of stratification. At the second level, this catego-

rization is particularized and earlier division is perceived in terms of occupational specificity e.g., the cultivators are grouped together at first level but are grouped separately at the second level, with reference to use and control of land. At this point, use and control of land becomes an important reference point in occupational categorization.

The occupational categorization is also done in a wider context in this study than Ahmed's. The village was found well-integrated with wider society both at national and international levels. This phenomenon defied the traditional occupational categories used by Ahmed. That is why, I have grouped the people serving abroad and in their own country into two separate non-traditional occupational categories. Hence this study becomes wider in scope than Ahmed's.

The other difference is that I have used Zat as another important ranking criterion. I have explored this area of identification and found it as relevant as occupational ranking.

Another study of stratification in Punjab is done by Raza (1969). The author used socio-economic status as



ranking criterion for stratification. He says,

"....socio-economic status is considered multi-dimensional, the dimensions being economic (income), social (material possessions or style of life), and cultural (education)", (Raza, 1969:13).

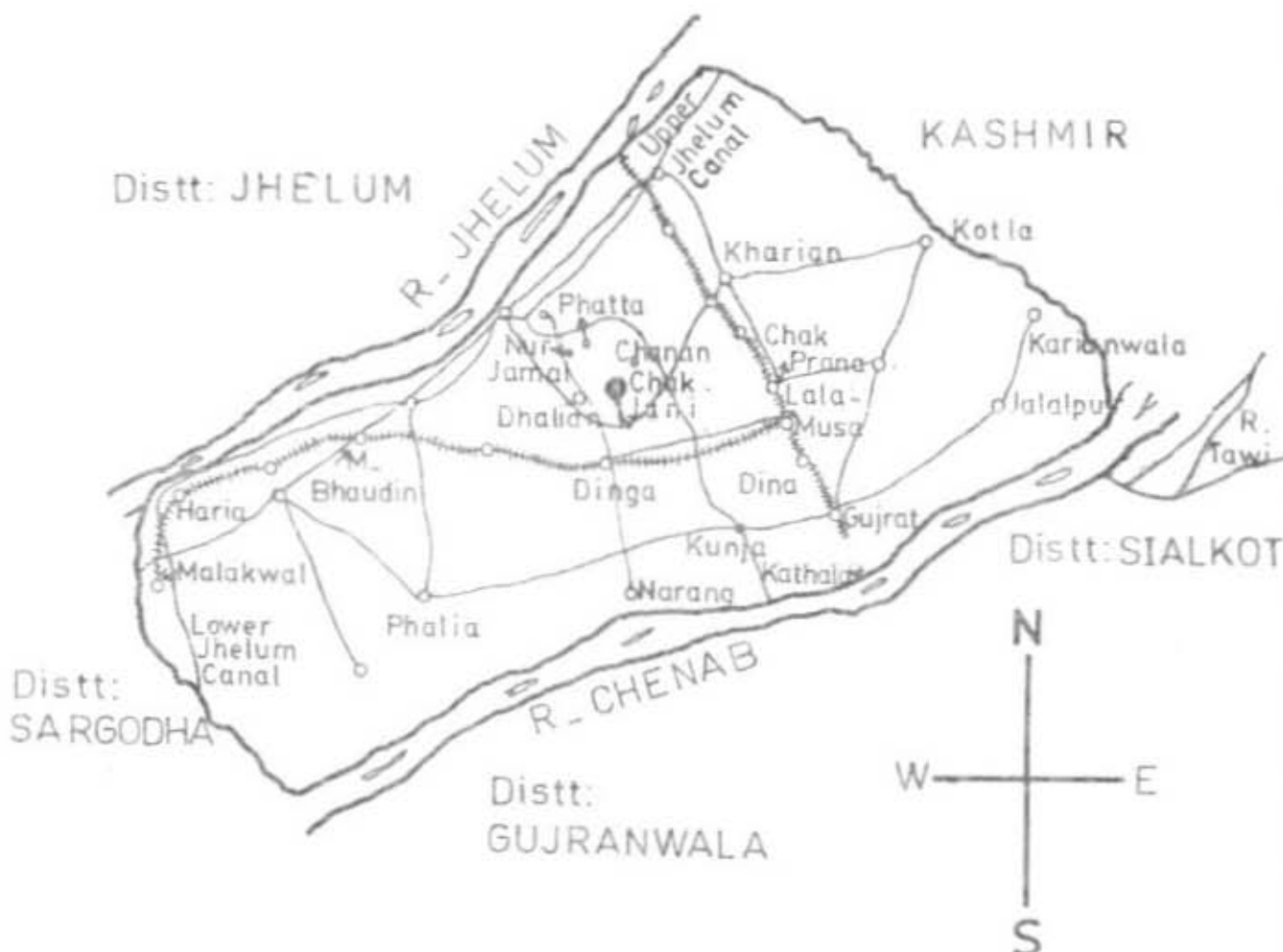
But the concept of (socio-economic status) did not prove much helpful in this area of research. It was found during the research, that social and economic statuses did not always coincide. For example, the Tarkhan land owners economic status was found higher than many landless Gujjar tenants. But in Zat stratification the social status of a Tarkhan was lower than Gujjars. But the landowner Tarkhan was ranked higher than his landless counterparts. The religious Zat 'Syed' was economically lower than many kammi Zats but socially they were ranked higher than all kammi Zats.

From the above discussion of the relevant literature, it has been apparent that the study of stratification is a dynamic subject and not a static one. Hence to study the stratification in a Pubjabi village life, one has to look at the village society holistically instead of concentrating in what Leach said, "Butterfly Collection."

Hence to get a wider perspective, I would propose here to give an ethnographic description of the village, first in a larger context of the District and then the village itself in the following chapter focussing on the social organization of the village and delimiting the data which I found relevant for my purpose.

MAP No.1

District GUJRAT  
&  
Village CHAK JANI



## CHAPTER-2

### VILLAGE IN A LARGER CONTEXT

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Villages in Pakistan are not isolated islands occupied by so-called "primitive tribes." A village is linked with neighbouring villages, towns and cities and forms a part of a larger complex. Hence to understand the stratification in a village, I find it necessary to look at the larger context first and which is the District of Gujrat.

#### 2.2 NAME, LOCATION, BOUNDARY AND AREA OF DISTRICT GUJRAT

The District takes its name from its headquarter town Gujrat. This town grew up round a fort established by Emperor Akber in 1580 A.D., with the help of the Gujjar inhabitants of the neighbouring areas. (Source: District Census Report, 1972: 1) Its shape is roughly that of a parallelogram and it forms the northern most position of the Chaj Doab between the Chenab and Jhelum rivers.

(see Map No.1)

The District lies between  $32^{\circ}-07'$  to  $30^{\circ}-40'$  north latitudes and  $73^{\circ}-03'$  to  $74^{\circ}-25'$  east longitudes. It is bounded on the northeast by the Indian-held Jammu District, on the northwest by the river Jhelum which separates it from Jhelum District, on the south by the river Chenab, which separates it from the Districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot, on the east by the river Tawi which divides it from Sialkot District and on the west by Sargodha District. The total area of the District is 2,264 square miles.

### 2.3 PHYSICAL FEATURES

The northern corner of the district is plain country, cut off from Jhelum by a range of hills known as 'Pabbi' hills. The district is divided into four parts as follows:-

- a. The sub montane zone: It is the lowest slope of the foothills of the Himalayas. There are numerous streams in this zone which bring down water from the low hills of Pabbi.
- b. The Central Plateau of Bar: It has good firm soil of reddish colour and is mostly flat and extends from Dinga to the western borders of the district. The village 'Chak Jani' is located in this plateau and

is two and a half kilometers away towards the north of Dinga. The whole of this tract is irrigated by the Upper Jhelum Canal.

- c. Old River Beds: The old river bed of the Chenab in Gujrat Tehsil is high. Its low lying land has received a lot of silt which made the land superior in quality to the land above the original bank. The old river bed of Jhelum is still better from <sup>an</sup> agricultural point of view because the river Jhelum carries more silt, while the Chenab carries more sand. The amount of good soil washed down from the Bar into the Jhelum is larger than in the Chenab river area.
- d. The Fringes of the District: This area is considerably affected by the river action. The Chenab valley is inferior while the Jhelum valley is superior in soil productivity.

#### 2.4 RIVERS AND NULJANS

The river Jhelum enters the district from Kashmir hills towards the northeast corner of the district and flows

in a south-westerly direction forming its north-western boundary with the Jhelum District. The river bed of the Jhelum is better because it carries more silt than the Chenab. Wells can easily be sunk in this area<sup>3</sup> because of high water level. The sub-soil is sandy and gets benefit from percolation at a considerable distance from the river.

The old river bed of the Chenab can be seen in a well-marked high bank. At the borders of Gujrat and Phalia Teshils, the original high bank begins to be plainly visible and as the drainage has ceased to deposit silt, the true character of the country can be seen.

The Tawi is a stream which flows from Kashmir into the Chenab and forms the eastern border of the district, though some of the Gujrat villages extend across the stream.

The two main Nullahs are the Bhimbar and the Bhandar. The Bhimbar, which is the larger, used to reach the Chenab in several channels after crossing the Grand Trunk Road, but as its course was crossed by the Upper Jhelum Canal, the stream has now been turned into the bed of a canal. Other drains to the west of Bhimbar after following a winding course join the Chenab at Qadirabad.

## 2.5 CLIMATE

The climate of the district is moderate and even in the hot weather is seldom oppressive except in its western part adjoining Sargodha District. In January and February frost is common, and on a few nights the temperature falls below the freezing point. The weather gets warmer from April onwards. The hottest months are May, June, July and August.

During May and June the day temperature averages  $110^{\circ}\text{F}$ ; while the minimum is as high as  $85^{\circ}\text{F}$ . Frequently mercury touches  $112^{\circ}\text{F}$ , but hot spells are relatively short due to proximity of Azad Kashmir mountains. The winter months are pleasant and the temperature during dry months averages about  $80^{\circ}\text{F}$ ; while the night temperature is in the neighbourhood of  $56^{\circ}\text{F}$ .

The average rainfall varies considerably for different parts of the district. The annual average on the Kashmir border is over 40 inches, at Kharian it is about 30 inches, at Gujrat 26 inches, at Dinga 20 inches at Phalia 21 inches and at Head Fakirian on the extreme western border of the district is 18 inches.



The district is subject to floods from the rivers Jhelum and Chenab which cause great damage every year. However, the flash of floods in Bhimbar and other nullahs cause greater damage than the river floods.

## 2.6 IRRIGATION

The Western half of the district is irrigated by the Upper Jhelum Canal. In 1972-73, 207,175 acres of land was irrigated by the Upper Jhelum Canal (District Census Report, 1972: 4). This is one of the canals of the triple project which provides water for three canals. The Upper Jhelum Canal which irrigates part of Gujrat District flows into the river Chenab to provide irrigation water for the Upper Chenab Canal. It also feeds Gujrat Branch which irrigates the central and southern parts of Phalia Tehsil. The Lower Jhelum Canal and Qadirabad Link Canal take off from Rasool Head Works. The Lower Jhelum canal irrigates western and southern parts of Phalia Tehsil whereas, the Qadirabad Link Canal irrigates the Upper part of Phalia Tehsil. Irrigation in the Bar is perennial except below the old high banks of the Chenab and Jhelum Rivers, where water is available for Kharif<sup>g</sup> crops only. Where the sub-soil water level is high, irrigation by wells is also resorted to.

## 2.7 AGRICULTURE

The land is classified with regard to irrigation as 'Chahi' (well-irrigated), 'Salabi' (flood-irrigated), 'Nahri' (canal-irrigated) and barani (rain-irrigated).

Rabi<sup>10</sup> crops are sown following the monsoons in July, August and September. The winter rains are important for maturing the Rabi crops. Kharif crop is sown generally after the first monsoon rain, although cotton is sown in April. The millets and pulses are reaped in November while cotton picking lasts until the end of December and sugarcane remains in the field till February or March. Wheat and gram are sown in October but if the rain is late these can be sown upto December. Rabi crops need rain in January and February. Harvesting of wheat is done in April but gram and barley are cut earlier. The fact of agricultre-based economy of the district is also important from the point of view of raising livestock and poultry birds.

## 2.8 LIVESTOCK

Buffaloes, sheep, goats, camels, mules, cows, raised oxen, etc., are/in the district. There are 307,000 cattle;

509,000 buffaloes; 116,000 sheep; 357,000 goats; 5,000 camels; 27,000 horses; 4,000 mules and 64,000 donkeys in the district. The number of poultry birds stood at 534,000 (Source: District Agricultural Census Report, 1972: 5).

## 2.9 INDUSTRY

The district which was purely agricultural before independence<sup>11</sup> has made a tremendous progress in the industrial field. Its major industries are electric fans, pottery footwear and furniture. There are 112 registered units of various factories in the district.

There are 35 sizeable units which manufacture electric fans of all types. Manufacture of earthenware was the only small scale industry for which the district was known before Independence. At present there are 12 sizeable units which manufacture China earthenwares in the district, Pakpur Ceramics, Limited, Lalamusa, is the biggest unit. There are 9 sizeable units which deal in furniture.

Service and Basco are the major footwear industries in the district. Besides Bata, these are the two biggest footwear manufacturing factories in the country.

There are two units of silk and art-silk textile, one unit of cotton textile, three units of dyeing and finishing of textile, one unit of plywood, two units of edible oil, one unit of sugar, 2 units of tobacco, one unit of Gypsum and plastic products, four units of agricultural machinery and one unit of cotton-ginning and processing in the district. (Source : District Census Report, 1972: 5)

#### 2.10 COMMUNICATION

The district is traversed by the main line of the Pakistan Railways with station at Kathala, Gujrat, Dina, Lalamusa, Chak Piran, Kharian, Kariala and Sarai Alamgir (see Map No.1). From Lalamusa a branch line to the west serves the district with stations at Jaura, Dinga, Chilianwala, Mandi Bhauddin, Aka, Haria, Malakwal and Mona.

The district headquarter Gujrat is well-connected by metalled roads with all its three Tehsils. About 38 miles of G.T. Road also falls within this district. There are 231 miles of metalled roads, 518 miles of unmetalled roads, 393 post offices and 7 telegraph offices in the district.

#### 2.11 TRADE AND TRADE CENTRES

Gujrat, Phalia, Mandi Bahauddin, Kunja, Lalamusa, Dinga, Malakwal and Sarai Alamgir are the major trade centres

in the Gujrat district. Wheat, sugarcane, rice, pulses, cotton and millets are the major items of trade of these centres. The district is famous for furniture, electrical appliances and crockery. These items are supplied to all parts of the country and exported abroad as well.

#### 2.12 ETHNIC GROUPS

The main ethnic groups of Gujrat district are Jats and Gujjars. Arains, Awans, Balouchs, Qureshis, Mughals, Pathans, Rajputs and Syeds are the minority ethnic groups.

The Jats occupy the strip of land parallel to the Chenab river which is irrigated by wells. They also live in the Bar tract of Phalia. Their sub-groups Waraichs dominate in Gujrat Tehsil, Tarrars and Ranjhas in the Chenab river area of Phalia Tehsil and Gondals in the Bar. The Gujjars occupy the centre of Gujrat and Kharian Tehsils. Rajputs and Awans mostly live in the northern corner of the slopes of Pabbi hills. There are a few villages of Mughals and Khokhar Rajputs in the upper corner of Kharian Tehsil.

#### 2.13 FOOD

The staple diet of the people is wheat 'chapati' (bread) and vegetables cooked with salt and chillies. Maize

and barley is also eaten by the people. Rich food consisting of meat, sweet rice and butter is usually served only on marriages, feasts and other festivals.

#### 2.14 DRESS

The dress of the majority of the people consists of 'Tehband' (loin cloth) which is tied around the waist and allowed to hang in loose folds over the lower part of the body, 'Kurta' (a loose shirt) and turban. Pajamas or trousers are worn only by men in towns. In villages the dress of the woman is like that of men but with the 'dupatta' (scarf) for their head and for covering their bosom. People at times also wear 'shalwar'. In towns a large number of people wear trousers, shirts and coats. The 'Achkan',<sup>12</sup> and shalwar is also worn by town people. Shoes are common in the towns but 'Jooti',<sup>13</sup> is usually worn in villages.

#### 2.15 OCCUPATIONS

In the rural area agriculture is the main occupation. A vast majority are cultivators, but the usual kammas e.g. blacksmith, carpenters, weavers, tailors and cobblers are an essential part of the normal life of rural area as well as of urban areas. A large number of city dwellers and of suburbs deal in business, trade and work

in factories as labourers. Owing to small holdings of land, most people serve in armed forces of Pakistan and abroad. The women mostly work at home and only occasionally in the field.

#### 2.16 RELIGION

Islam is the religion of an overwhelming majority of the people of the district. Sunis, Shias and Wahabis are the main Muslim sects. There are numerous small and big mosques and 'Madrassas' (institution for religious teachings) in the towns and villages of the district. The Ahmedis<sup>14</sup> and the Christians are the only non-Muslim minority groups.

#### 2.17 EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

The literacy rate of the district is 22.4% for both sexes. A chart showing number of institutions and students during 1972 is given below:

Chart No.1

LITERACY RATE IN THE DISTRICT  
(1972)

	INSTITUTIONS/ENROLEMENT BY EDUL: LEVELS			
	Primary	Middle	High	Colleges
Number of institutions	1,435	133	103	10
Number of students enrolled	115,000	41,000	46,000	4,097

(Source: District Census Report, 1972:10)

## 2.18 MEDICAL FACILITIES

The District Health Officer with his headquarters at Gujrat is responsible for the medical facilities in the district. There are 7 hospitals, 45 dispensaries and 2 rural health centres in the district (Source: District Census Report, 1972: 10).

Now parallel to this wider context of the district, we shall focus on the actual village that I studied.

## 2.19 THE VILLAGE ETHNOGRAPHY

The first inhabitants of this village, according to a village legend, go back to pre-Sikh era.<sup>15</sup> The legend narrated by the village folks is that a man of Gujjar tribe name Jani, first settled at this place. The village Chak Jani,



(Chak in Punjabi language stands for a tract of land), takes name from this early settler. The present big Gujjar landlords of the village claim themselves to be the descendants of Jani.

The legend further explains that it was all bushy forest at that time. Jani cleared the land and made it cultivable. He brought kamms with him and also invited the people of Gujjar tribe from neighbouring villages to cultivate land. Majority of the present kamms, Gujjar tenants and small land owners trace their descent from these early settlers.

These early settlers took to their respective occupations in the newly established village. Cultivators started cultivating land and 'kamms' serving these cultivators. Thus came into operation that traditional village social organization which still exists in its mutated form.

#### 2.19.1 Location

Village Chak Jani is situated on the north-western side of Gujrat City at a distance of about 55 kilometers (see Map No.1). The city of Kharian (Tehsil) lies towards the northeast at a distance of 26 kilometers, the city of Lalamusa towards east and Mandi Bahauddin lies towards the

MAP: 2. Physical Lay-out of Chak Jani.



Legend:  
 Muhalla: M  
 Mosque: ☾  
 Shops: □  
 Houses: ▢

west of the village at a distance of about 30 kilometers.

The village Chak Jani is bordered in the south by Dinga, the nearest trading centre of this area, in the west by village Dhalian, in the northwest by Nur Jamal, in the north by Phatta and in the northeastern side by village Channan.

The village Chak Jani is linked with the metalled Dinga-Kharian road by a two and a half kilometers of dusty and winding track. This metalled road branches off the Grand Trunk Road at Kharian and goes to Mandi Bahauddin through the town of Dinga. The only transport available from this town for Chak Jani is 'tonga'.

#### 2.19.2 Physical Lay Out

The original village is circled by a near-round thorough fare which gives it that shape (see Map No.2). This thorough fare called 'Ghora Gali' (street for horses), is fairly wide and brick-laid. All other streets branch off the thorough fare and goes into the interior parts of the village. These streets are relatively narrow and winding. Some of them are unpaved. Houses have also now been built outside the original boundaries of the village.

To the north and south of the village, are two old water ponds. One pond is with very shallow water and is getting dry, while the other one is full of water. It is used for washing clothes and watering the cattle. There is a nullah on the south side of the village. The bridge on this nullah connects the village track leading to Dinga. Graveyard lies to the west of the village and boys school on the east. Agricultural land encircles the village.

### 2.19.3 Population

( The total population of both sexes according to 1972 census is 2,033 with 1,111 males and 922 females living in 276 households. The total area of the village is 2.76 square miles i.e.0.12% of the area of District. )

Various Zat groups of the village reside in clusters in different parts of the village, called Mohallas. These Mohallas are named after the respective Zats living there. The Gujjars, constituting the majority of the population are living in 6 Mohallas; 1) Mohalla Chaudhrian, 2) Mohalla Chaichi, 3) Mohalla Talayan, 4) Mohalla Miana, 5) Mohalla Lambore and 6) Mohalla Chokar. There are also 1a) Mohalla Musalli (sweeper), 2a) Mohalla Mochi (cobbler), and 3a) Mohalla Julaha (weaver). Other Zat groups are spread all over the village with no exclusive residential area.

## Houses.

Out of the total number of houses in the village, 60% are 'pakka' houses, 25% 'kacha-pakka' and 15% are 'kacha' houses. The houses usually consist of two to five rooms not sufficiently airy. Windows and ventilators are rarely seen. Only 19 houses are double-storeyed.

The structure of house in this village resembles that of other villages in the district. But 'pakka' houses are pretty numerous. Some houses have 'Tandoor' (oven) in the courtyard for baking 'roti' (bread). The courtyard is also used as cattle-shed.

### 2.19.4 Electrification

About half of the total houses of the village are electrified. There are no street-lights as is case in most other villages in the district. Two mosques are also electrified. The only wheat-rolling unit in the village is also electric-powered.

Electricity is mainly used for illumination, radios and fans. Affluent people use it for refrigerators, electric irons and televisions also.

#### 2.19.5 Food

The food of the villagers is the same as that of the rest of the district people. Wheat chappati and cooked vegetable are the most common food. Chappatti and pulses are the usual food of ordinary people. Mutton and beef are cooked on special occasions like marriage or to serve the guests.

#### 2.19.6 Dress

Majority of the population wear Tehband and Kurta as they do in other villages of the district. But well-off people wear shalwar and turban more often than ordinary people do. Some women also take veil.

#### 2.19.7 Health

There is no government or private clinic in the village. None of the districts 45 dispensaries and 2 rural health centres exists here. Only a part-time traditional 'hakim'<sup>16</sup> is available in emergency.

Patients suffering from severe diseases have to go to Kharian or Dinga. But at the initial stages of illness,

most patients resort to village hakim or look for a 'Pir' (Muslim Saint). They also use 'Taweez' (charms) to cure the diseases.

There are two mid-wives in the village. They provide medical services during child-birth. The common diseases in the village are Malaria, Typhoid and intestinal disorders. During winters bad cold and fever are common.

#### 2.19.8 Education

There are only two primary schools, one for boys and one for girls in the village. As compared to the district which has 133 and 103 Middle and High schools respectively, this village is devoid of any such institution. The boys school is situated on the eastern side of the village. It is a poorly-constructed four-room building. The girls school is in a house in the centre of the village. The boys school is not electrified but the girls school is. There is no furniture for students in either of the schools.

There are 200 students enrolled in the boys school. The teaching staff consists of 3 teachers. The girls school has 100 students and 2 teachers. Students aspiring for further education go to other places. At present,

10 boys and 7 girls are studying in the boys and girls high schools at Dinga. 3 girls are studying in college, 2 of them are in Jhelum Inter College and 1 is in B.A. in Gujrat College for Women. There are two graduates and one M.A. in the village. ✓

#### 2.19.9 Shops

There are 8 shops of general merchants in the village. They sell all the goods for daily use. The shopkeepers make one or two trips to Dinga every week to get the required commodities. In summers some shopkeepers sell ice and cold drinks. ✓

#### 2.19.10 Mass Media

A great number of villagers own transistor radios. Some houses have tape recorders. There are 10 houses which own television sets. The people usually prefer to listen to Punjabi songs, but news and agricultural programmes are also popular. ✓

Educated people read daily newspapers. The newspapers read widely are 'Nawa-i-Waqt' and 'Mashriq.' Newspapers are usually read in groups. ✓



### 2.19.11 Communication

The village is linked with the market town of Dinga, by a dusty and winding track. There are three other such tracks which connect the village with the neighbouring villages. The most common transport is Tonga, as it is in the rest of the district. There are three tongas in the village whose owners live in the village. Tongas also come from Dinga to this village. They normally charge Rs. 2 to 3 per passenger. People who have to make daily trips to town own bicycle, donkeys or walk all the way to the town. Two big landlords have cars of their own.

There is no post office or telephone office in the village. The mail is delivered by a postman from Dinga post office. ✓

### 2.19.12 Service Area

The most important centre in the service area is Dinga, which is a famous grain market of the district. The village agriculturists sell their agricultural produce, buy fertilizers, seeds and other goods for household needs from this town.

Dinga has a Police Station, Railway Station, Cinema hall, government hospital, many civil dispensaries, banks and schools. Village is very much linked with this town by socio-economic ties.

People go to Gujrat and Kharian for legal matters. The village has also got linked with Mandi Bahauddin after the establishment of sugar mill in that city.

#### 2.19.13 Religion

All the people living in the village are Muslims as opposed to district which has non-Muslim minorities as well. Majority of the people belong to 'Sunni' sect (Berelvi). The second largest sect is of 'Wahabis' (followers of Abdul Wahab of Najad). Only two households are Shias.

There are 4 mosques in the village. Each mosque has its own 'Imam' (leader of prayers) and 'Musafir' (care-taker). These mosques are called after their location in respective Mohallas. They are: 1) Masjid Miana, 2) Masjid Chaudhrian, 3) Masjid Talyan and 4) Masjid Chaichi.

Two mosques are electirified and loudspeakers are used for prayer-calls.

#### 2.19.14 Agriculture

The village economy like that of the district is agriculture-based. Agriculture is also the main occupational activity of about 61.6% of the households.

The total cultivated land of the village is 1751 acres. Two hundred and fifty acres are tubewell-irrigated and 75 acres are rain-irrigated. The remaining 1426 acres are irrigated by Upper Jhelum Canal along with other 205,749 acres in the district. Unlike the district there is no well-irrigated land in the village.

The cropping pattern is very much like that of the district. All the Rabi and Kharif crops of district are grown here.

Agricultural work is usually done by traditional implements such as, ox-driven plough, winnowing etc. But mechanical implements are also being used by big landowners. There are five tractors, three wheat- threshers and one harvester in the village.

The average yield of wheat, cotton, sugar-cane and rice per acre is 20 maunds, 2 maunds, 200 maunds and 280 maunds, respectively. These are also the major cash crops produced in the village.

### 2.19.15 Livestock

There are 136 cows, 220 buffaloes, 37 horses, 200 oxen, 25 donkeys, 44 goats and 48 sheep owned by the villagers. Unlike the district there are no camels and mules in the village.

## 2.20 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

As will be seen in the following chapters on stratification, the social organization of the village is rather a complex one. However, in a cursory view the social organization may be divided into a few groups the description of which follows in the following paragraphs:

### 2.20.1 The Lumberdar

A big landlord is the lumberdar of the village. His position as lumberdar is hereditary. He is responsible for collecting land revenue and depositing it in the government treasury. He gets 'Panjotra' i.e., five percent of the total amount deposited, for his work.

If a landowner in the village, wants to sell his land, the lumberdar will assure him whether the seller is the

real owner of the land. His evidence in the concerned legal courts about village disputes, is considered reliable. He is also responsible for informing the concerned authorities about floods, locust and pest in the village.

#### 2.20.2 The Patwari

The Patwari is a petty official from the Land Revenue Department. He is responsible to maintain all the land record of the village.

#### 2.20.3 The Agriculturists

Agriculturists are the people who cultivate land and raise crops. Agricultural work is considered the most prestigious occupation. They work on the lands around the year. They also rear cattle. Their women sometimes work in the fields with them.

#### 2.20.4 Kumhar (potter)

Kumhar carries the harvested crops from the fields to the agriculturists' houses. He carries crops to machines for further processing and sometimes to the market for selling.

He also carries clay to houses for plastering of roofs and floors. He owns donkey and horses for carrying load.

2.20.5 Tarkhan (carpenter)

The work of Tarkhan is to make wooden furniture, doors and windows for the villagers. He also manufactures and repairs the agricultural implements. Sometimes he does the work of mason as well.

2.20.6 Mochi (cobbler)

Mochi mends the shoes and makes the traditional foot wears. He also does winnowing.

2.20.7 Nai (barber)

Nai cuts hair and shaves of the village menfolk. He also cooks food on social occasions such as, marriages, deaths and births. He also acts as messenger on the above-mentioned occasions.

2.20.8 Machi (Water carrier)

Machi carries water to the houses and also cuts wood from the fields for villagers. Machi carries the 'Doli'

(palanquin of bride) as well. The wife of Machi bakes chappatis for the villagers in the oven.

2.20.9 Lohar (ironsmith)

Lohar maintains the agricultural implements and does iron work for the villagers.

2.20.10 Musalli (sweeper)

Musalli does cleaning and sweeping of the houses. He also tends to the cattle of the agriculturists. His wife does the household work in the houses of villagers.

2.20.11 Dhoba (washerman)

Dhoba washes clothes of the villagers. He also does sewing and mending of the clothes.

2.20.12 Imam Masjid (leader of prayers)

He leads prayers in the mosque, teaches Holy Quran to the children and arranges religious functions in the mosque. He bathes the dead bodies and leads the death prayers.

## 2.21 SUMMARY

It has been apparent that the village Chak Jani is typical village of the district, having all the generalized characteristics described earlier for the district. Although there is paucity in specific spheres such as, lack of high schools and medical facilities, the village Chak Jani can be considered not as an atypical village, and hence, at a micro-level indicates all the characteristics of the district. The social organization of the village indicates presence of various occupational groups. These groups at times as will be seen, coalesce to form larger groups in the village disputes or split into factional rival groups. This phenomenon of coalescing and splitting occasionally coincide with the stratification system of the village. As will be seen later, occupational categories and the system of stratification are parallel to each other. And this is another justification for my selection of this village. At this stage, we will focus on the actual stratification system of the village and its relationship to the social organization in the following chapters.



PART-II

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

In this part, attempt is made to spell out the different levels of stratification in the village Chak Jani of Punjab. This will include those distinguishing characteristics which provide cut-off points for meaningful schema of socio-economic cleavages. These characteristics are not wholly arbitrarily chosen. On the contrary, there is a fair amount of amalgamation of emic and etic categories.

The stratification here as defined earlier (P. 6 ) simply means grouping of people together on the basis of one or more than one common characteristics. This fits well in the eclectic multi-dimensional approach to stratification.

This part is again divided into two chapters, the first deals with stratification at occupational level. This expresses the aspects of rural identificational pattern in economic terms. At first step people are grouped together with reference to general occupational activities. At the second step, the land-factor is taken into consideration to account for the next level of economic identification.

The second chapter deals with stratification at Zat level. Zat identification is central to the pattern of

social stratification in non-economic terms. This level of identification is much more pronounced on social occasions such as marriage, death, birth and 'Vertan Bhanji' (ceremonial gift-exchange) relations.

## CHAPTER-3

### SOCIAL STRATIFICATION-I OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the fundamental functions of any human society is to satisfy the biological needs of its members. To achieve this objective, the members of a society must organize themselves in a particular way to produce their subsistence. The process of organizing, gives rise to a definite pattern of social differentiation based on the division of labour. This division of labour, indicates a stratified system in human societies. ( cf. Durkheim, 1949: Marx, 1961: Weber, 1963) This stratification system, characterised by occupational positions of the members of a society, is the main concern of this chapter. In this chapter, we will look at the occupational stratification of Chak Jani and see the relevance of occupation for stratification system.

The primary-level division of the population is based on occupation. Occupation here means the type of the art of subsistence. The households are roughly classified

on the basis of major economic activity of the family.  
(see Table-1)

TABLE-1

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGE HOUSE-  
HOLDS BY OCCUPATION

Agricul- turists	Agri. labour	Service abroad	Service	Business	Labour	Others	Total HHs
112	58	35	22	17	16	16	276
Percentage							
40.6%	21.0 %	12.7%	8.0 %	6.1%	5.8%	5.8%	100 %

The largest occupational category as shown in the table, is that of agriculturists. The agriculturists are those people who are directly and relatively permanently engaged in the process of cultivation and raising of crops. Agriculture is their vital economic activity and land is their main source of livelihood.

The emic category for agriculturists is 'Wahi Joti Karnay Aalay,' (plough men). Their occupation is called 'Wahi Biji' or 'Wahi Joti' (ploughing and sowing).

The second occupational category which I have indicated as agricultural labour in the table, includes people who provide specific types of services to agriculturists in particular, and to all villagers in general. They are paid either in cash or in kind.

This category can further be broken down on the basis of types of services. There are traditional artisans, so-called 'kammi', like 'lohar (ironsmith), 'tarkhan' (carpenter), 'dhoba' (washerman) etc., and 'lava' (seasonal or migratory labour). This migratory labour is employed on daily wages by agriculturists in particular seasons.

The kammis also occupy an important position in the Zat stratification by virtue of their hereditary occupations. But the extent of variation between their traditional and non-traditional occupations demands that they should be treated separately in both the stratificational patterns. Because the kammis who are engaged in non-traditional occupations, are still identified by their occupational Zats, occupational Zat becomes an independent variable of identification. Moreover, kammis are viewed as forming a separate group because of the non-agricultural content of their occupations. But they are distinguished from each other on the basis of their specific occupational Zats and

endogamous character of these Zats over shadows the occupational character in Zat stratification. This justifies may placing the kammis in the occupational as well as in Zat stratifications.

Looking at the table-1, we notice that as many as 35 heads of the households are working abroad. Though they are not involved in any productive activity in the village, yet they hold a special position in the village. Almost everyone in the village knows who is working 'Bahar' (abroad).

The next category is of those people who are employees, governmental and non-governmental. They constitute the salaried stratum in the village. They are called by their fellows as 'Naukar' (servant) or 'Babu' (clerk). These people are employed in government departments, corporations and schools in different parts of the country.

The 'Karo Bari Lok' i.e. businessmen are petty traders. They are not like urban traders purely motivated by profit-motives, but they try to follow the same commercial principles.

The non-agricultural labourers indicated in the table-1 as labour, are those people who do manual work. They do not involve themselves in agricultural production. They are called 'Mazdoor' (labour) doing 'Mehnat Mazdoori' (hard labour). They are not like industrial labourers working at some place on permanent basis.

The "Other" category is purely subjectively chosen for analytical facility. It includes people doing such work as cannot be included in any of the aforementioned occupational categories. Nor do they themselves form a unified whole. Their non-inclusiveness puts them together ipso facto. The village-folks identify them by their individual 'kam' (work).

Having defined each occupational category, it is now possible to deal with each category in detail. To start with, we take first two categories, that of agriculturists and agricultural labourers. Because these two categories constitute the majority of the households i.e. 61.6% which are in one way or another, involved in agriculture. This fact highlights the significance of land-factor in the village social organization. In the following pages we will discuss the occupational positions



of agriculturists and agricultural labourers and trace the relevance of land factor for stratificational pattern at <sup>an</sup> other level.

### 3.2 THE AGRICULTURISTS

At the first level of stratification, agriculturists were viewed as farming a single occupational category. No reference was made to their specific occupational position in the organization of agricultural production. Because their occupation is considered as a natural and respectful economic activity, agriculturists are grouped together and counterposed to all other occupations which are considered inferior to agriculture.

Making sure that agriculture is fundamentally different type of occupation, agriculturists are divided on the basis of their relationship with land. Their specific position in the organization of production is brought to surface very vividly at this juncture. (see Table-2).

TABLE-2

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURE LAND AND FARMING HOUSEHOLDS  
BY TYPE OF LEASE

	A Number of HHs	B Number of Farms	C Land Owned in acres	D Land cul- tivated (in acres)	E Land given on Tenancy (in acres)	F Land taken on tenancy (in acres)
Landlord- Farmers	8 7.1%	6 5.9%	1300 74.2%	736 (56.6% of C) 42.0 %	564 (43.4% of C)	-
Farmers	53 47.3%	45 44.1%	392 22.4%	392 22.4%	-	-
Farmer Tenants	28 25.0%	28 27.5%	59 (17.5% of D)	337 19.2%	-	278 (82.5% of D) 49.3% (21.4% of C)
Tenants	23 20.5%	23 22.5%		286 16.3%		285 (22% of of C) 50.7%
Total	112 100 %	102 100 %	1751 100 %	1751 100 %	564	564 100 %

This table-2 gives a graphic picture of this new level of stratification. The further categorization of agriculturists is marked by their use and control of land. Thus the use and control of land determines their specific position in the production organization. They are identified and grouped separately on the basis of their relationship with land.

### 3.2.1 The Landlord Farmers

The term landlord-farmer denotes big landed-people, owning 74.2% of the total agricultural land of the village. They are landlords as far as 43.4% of their land is cultivated by tenants and are farmers as far as 56.6% of the land is cultivated by landlords themselves. They are doing mechanized farming on their part of the land.

They own tractors, wheat-threshers and hire wage-labourers for agricultural work on their lands. They also do agricultural work in person on their farms. The output of the land cultivated by landlord-farmers themselves is shown in the following chart.

CHART NO.2 CROPPING PATTERN FOR LANDLORD FARMERS ( 1978)

Total Cultivated land (in acres)	Wheat	Sugarcane	Gram	Fruit	Vegetable	Fodder	Fallow	Total
----------------------------------	-------	-----------	------	-------	-----------	--------	--------	-------

RABI SEASON

736	425	122	45	10	38	67	29	736
100 %	57.8%	16.6%	6.1%	1.4%	5.1%	9.1%	3.9%	100 %

KHARIF SEASON

Total Cultivated land (in acres)	Rice	Sugarcane	Cotton	Fodder	Vegetable	Oil-seeds	Fallow	Total
----------------------------------	------	-----------	--------	--------	-----------	-----------	--------	-------

736	385	122	30	57	53	25	64	736
100%	52.3%	16.6%	4.1%	7.7%	7.2%	3.4%	8.7%	100%

The landlord-farmers carry the title of 'Chaudhry' which signifies their status as landlords. They are also called 'Wadday Zamindar' (big land-owners). The present lumberdar of the village is one of the landlords

Some landlords also pursue non-agricultural economic activities. Two landlords own brick-kilns. One landlord owns a big house in the town of Gujrat, which he has rented out.

The women of the landlords group do not participate in any economic activity. They observe purdah (veil) and hence are mostly confined to their homes. It can, therefore, be seen that the landlords although taken together, do not constitute a strictly homogeneous group since there are some who are engaged partly at least in non-agricultural activities. Yet, despite being owner of brick-kiln and owner of rental property in the town of Gujrat, their main economic standing in the society is agriculture based. It is this that gives them a homogenous character. In the social ladder of the village, they occupy the highest rung.

### 3.2.1 The Farmers

The farmers are self-cultivators and small land owners. They own about 22.4% of the total cultivated land which is divided into 45 farms. They rarely get tenants for cultivation. They are called as 'Nikkay Zamindar' (small land-owners), which indicates that their status is lower than that of landlord-farmers.

The farmers, generally, practice traditional methods of cultivation. Though some households hire tractors and wheat threshers on the occasions of ploughing and threshing. Hired labour is also used at times.

Their cropping pattern is shown below:-

CHART NO.3 CROPPING PATTERN FOR FARMERS  
(1978)

RABI SEASON

Total land (in acres)	Wheat	Surgarcane	Fodder	others	Total
392	278	26.5	39.5	48	392
100 %	70.9%	6.8%	10.1%	12.2%	100 %

KHARIF SEASON

Total land (in acres)	Rice	Sugarcane	Fodder	Cotton	Total
392	252	26.5	19	94.5	392
100%	64.3%	6.8%	4.8%	24.1%	100 %

Usually all the members of a farmer's household are involved in agriculture. But some members in addition, may pursue other non-agricultural occupations. For the purpose of social stratification farmers may be considered little lower than the previous group, but the significance of this social differentiation is not so conspicuous. For all practical purposes, the interaction between these two

### 3.2.2 The Farmer-Tenants

The farmer-tenants are those cultivators who own land but not of sufficient quantity. So, they also work as tenants on the land taken from landlord-formers. At present, they own 59 acres of land and have got 278 acres on tenancy.

The usual form of lease is share-cropping. Both landlord-farmers and farmer-tenants provide half of seeds and fertilizers and divide the agricultural produce equally. The land revenue and water-charges are also shared equally. But the farmer-tenant is solely responsible for the cultivation of land. He himself provides all the agricultural implements and manages the irrigation, sowing and harvesting. The choice of crops to be grown, is discussed with the owner of the land. The cropping pattern for the total cultivated land is shown in the following chart.

CHART NO.4 CROPPING PATTERN FOR FARMER-TENANTS  
(1978)

#### RABI SEASON

Total Cul- tivated land (acres)	Wheat	Sugarcane	Fodder	Gram	Others	Total
337	267 79.2%	38.5 11.4%	24.5 7.2%	4 1.2%	3 1.0%	337 100%

#### KHARIF SEASON

Total Cul- tivated land (acres)	Rice	Sugarcane	Fodder	Others	Total
337	267 79.2%	38.5 11.4%	2 .6%	29.5 8.8%	337 100%

Again, the farmer-tenant group, though in a sense dependent on the landlord farmers, yet they are considered as partners and not as dependents. In other words both the groups consider their dependency as mutual and not obligatory. Landlords need the farmer-tenant's help to have their own land cultivated, as the farmer-tenants need the landlord-farmer's land to subsidize their own earning. This mutual cooperation and understanding brings two groups together at the social-interactional level. Though the distribution of wealth cannot be considered equal under any stretch of imagination between different groups, yet there is very little social-barrier between landlord-farmers, farmers and the farmer-tenants at the village level stratification due to this particular differences in wealth.

### 3.2.3 The Tenants

The tenants are landless cultivators of land, called 'Mozara' (tenant). They are cultivating 289 acres of land owned by landlord-farmers. They work on land round the year with the full participation of all the members of their households. They also tend to landlord's cattle. Their females also participate with them in the process of production. They (females) also go to landlord's houses to do household work. The extent of dependency of tenants



on landlords is much greater than that of the farmer-tenants, because tenants do not possess any land at all.

The terms of production for tenants are same as that for farmer-tenants. But tenants sometimes get help from landlords for ploughing the land with tractor and plough shares. Moreover, their relationship with landlord-farmers is permanent and in some cases hereditary. Thus the landlords also help them financially on social occasions of rites de passage such as marriage, death, birth and during illness. Thus it can be noticed that though all these four categories - landlord-farmers, farmers, tenant-farmers and tenants - may be looked at a hierarchical order, there is a common denominator which brings all of them at the same level. That common denominator is land and agriculture. This justifies my grouping all of them together (Table-1) as agriculturists, the most prestigious strata of the village society.

The cropping pattern for tenants is illustrated in the following chart:

CHART NO.5 CROPPING PATTERN FOR TENANTS  
(1978)

RABI SEASON

Total Cultivated land (in acres)	Wheat	Sugarcane	Fodder	Gram	Total
286 100 %	225.5 78.8 %	38 13.3	18.5 6.5%	4 1.4%	286 100%

KHARIF SEASON

Total Cultivated land (in acres)	Rice	Sugarcane	Others	Total
286	225.5 78.8%	38 13.3%	22.5 7.9%	286 100%

We have explained above in detail the conditions and circumstances of grouping within agriculturists. The fundamental logic of this grouping is the type of relationship of the agriculturists with land. Now we explore this relationship in terms of size of land and type of lease with reference to individual households of agriculturists. In this process we will further elucidate the initial proposition about use and control of land as the basis for the above mentioned categorization.

TABLE-3

DISTRIBUTION OF FARMING HOUSEHOLDS  
BY SIZE OF FARM

FARM-SIZE (in acres)	No. of Hhs	Percentage
0 - 5	12	10.7
Above 5 - 10	46	41.1
" 10 - 15	26	23.2
" 15 - 20	20	17.9
" 20 - 25	-	-
" 25 - 50	-	-
" 50 -100	3	2.7
" 100 -150	4	3.6
" 150 -200	-	-
" 200 -300	1	0.8
TOTAL	112	100 %

Table No.3 gives us basic information of agricultur-  
farm-size means  
ists' households with definite farm-size. The  $\frac{1}{2}$  an area of  
land cultivated as one unit by one or more than one household  
collectively. In some cases a number of households do collec-  
tive farming on a collectively-owned tract of land and share  
the input and out-put equally. This does not imply the

existence of voluntary cooperative farming. Usually the land is held collectively by virtue of common inheritance. But such cases of collective farming are rare.

After this initial division of households by farm-size, we elaborate this point with reference to the type of lease (see Table-4)

TABLE-4

DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS BY SIZE  
AND TYPE OF LEASE

Farm Size (in acres)	NUMBER OF FARMS				TOTAL	Per- centage
	Farmers	Farmer- Tenants	Tena- nts	landlord- farmers		
0 - 5	10	-	1	-	11	10.8
Above 5 - 10	25	11	7	-	43	42.2
10 - 15	3	11	11	-	25	24.5
15 - 20	7	6	4	-	17	16.6
20 - 25	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 - 50	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 - 100	-	-	-	3	3	2.9
100 - 150	-	-	-	2	2	2.0
150 - 200	-	-	-	-	-	-
200 - 300	-	-	-	1	1	1.0
TOTAL	45	28	23	6	102	- 100%
Percent- age by type of lease	41.1	27.5	22.5	5.9	100	

As many as 43 farms are of the size of 5 to 10 acres. Out of these 43 farms, 25 (58%) are owned by farmers 11 (26%) by farmer-tenants and 7(16%) by tenants. Thus no category except landlord-farmers, have farms above 20 acres. All the landlord-farmers own farms above the size of 50 acres.

This fact is further demonstrated by individual households of each farming category and the amount of land cultivated by them (see Table-5). It becomes obvious that the extent of variation in farm-size among the households of different farming categories is quite sharp.

The vast inequality in farm-size between landlord farmers and all other categories is quite sharp. This inequality could bring other categories closer as opposed to landlord-farmers. But the difference in the remaining categories is that of ownership and non-ownership of cultivated land. This fact of difference in land ownership divides them among themselves. Thus the use and control of land should allot the agriculturists their position in the stratificational pattern vis-a-vis political decision-making process in the village - a possibility which will be explored further later on.

TABLE-5

DISTRIBUTION OF FARMING HOUSE-  
HOLDS BY SIZE OF FARMS AND TYPE  
OF LEASE

Farm-size (in acres)	NUMBER OF FARMING HOUSEHOLDS				TOTAL
	landlord- farmers	Farmers	Farmer- Tenants	Tenants	
0 - 5	-	11	-	1	12
above					
5 - 10	-	28	11	7	46
10 - 15	-	4	11	11	26
15 - 20	-	10	6	4	20
20 - 25	-	-	-	-	-
25 - 50	-	-	-	-	-
50 - 100	3	-	-	-	3
100 - 150	4	-	-	-	4
150 - 200	-	-	-	-	-
200 - 300	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	8	53	28	23	112

The landlord-farmers are the most active political elements in the village. Though they are not committed to any political party yet they participated enthusiastically in the General Elections of March, 1977.

The data collected about the political campaign revealed that out of 8 landlords, 6 sided with Pakistan Peoples Party and 2 with Pakistan National Alliance. The landlords who sided with PNA were closely-related with a parliamentary candidate for the said party from a neighbouring village. The landlords who sided with PPP were more closely related among themselves than with their opponents. Two out of these six landlords, were further involved in marital bond with a landlord of another village, who was PPP candidate for Provincial Assembly. This candidate joined PPP somewhere in 1975 and hoped for a portfolio in the Ministry in case his party succeeded.

Majority of the tenants and farmer-tenants followed their respective landlords. The farmer-tenants and tenants supported PPP more for their own reasons than for their dependency on the landlord. Most of them often talked against their landlords. The common sign of resentment against the landlords is expressed by leaving one landlord for another.

The farmers were split into two groups on the issue of their political support. Each group aligned itself with one of the two struggling factions of landlords. But at local level the farmers were sometimes critical of landlords. For example, on the eve of land consolidation, two patwaris came to village to inform the land-owners about

the proposed scheme. These patwaris were opposed by most of the representatives of the land-owners. The landlord-farmers feared that land disputes might arise due to land consolidation. The farmer-tenants were afraid of losing fertile land. But the two representatives of the farmers approved the idea of land consolidation. These farmers later offered the explanation for landlord's refusal saying, "they (landlords) are afraid lest they should lose usurped land,"

Further, the farmers are faced with many agricultural problems which are easily solved by landlord-farmers on the basis of affluent position and wider social contacts of the latter. Such problems pertain to water-charges, timely irrigation of fields, procurement of fertilizers and loans. The farmers and farmer-tenants, both are in a similar problematic situation in this respect. These two landed-strata have special complaints against the Patwari. The most common complaint is related with anomalies in water-charges. If the Patwari is not pleased with some amount of bribe money which he receives from time to time, he might show more irrigated acreage in his land record than the actual one. Hence he can increase the amount of water-charges. Similarly, one farmer-tenant told me that he had to bribe the operator of the government tubewell for the timely irrigation of his fields. But the tenants are in a



much safer position than farmers and farmer-tenants. They get these problems solved through the agency of their landlords.

Thus the farmers and farmer-tenants instead of supporting the landlords in politics, express their dislike for the landlords in the general social life of the village. The farmers enter into free interaction with agricultural labourers, tenants and farmer-tenants. Once talking to an agricultural labourer, a farmer said that it was better to make friends with these people than with the landlords. No doubt, this farmer himself was very close to a landlord.

In this respect the tenants were observed to interact with agricultural labourers and farmer-tenants in more equal terms than farmers did. Because these three strata are in one way or another dependent upon the landlords hence they are more or less in an identical social position.

We have seen that the major conflict in the village, arises not due to presence or absence of agricultural land among the agriculturists, but because of political affiliation, kinship-ties and other personal interests. The village society as such is of one strata among the agriculturists, but there are occasions when they split into conflicting

groups and lobby around a political entrepreneur. We notice that even a single stratum of the village, namely, the agriculturists may split into factional disputes around their own political nominees, rather than around the landholding composition of the group. The solitary exception to this may be the landlords and the other agriculture oriented villagers.

### 3.3 THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

The next occupational category in the first division is that of agricultural labourers. The agricultural labourers as explained earlier (see page:63 ), are of two types: 1) artisans and 2) lavas. Below we discuss each separately:-

#### 3.3.1 Artisans:

The artisans or so-called kammis, belong to different occupations. But their specific social position resulting from their relevant occupational standing, put them together. They are involved in 'Seype' relations<sup>17</sup> with the agriculturists in particular and with other villagers in general. Their total households are as follows:

CHART NO.6 HOUSEHOLDS OF SEYPE-KAMMIS

Sr. No.	OCCUPATIONS		House-holds
	Local Name	Translation	
1.	Mochi	Cobbler	14
2.	Mussalli	Sweeper	10
3.	Dhoba	Washerman	4
4.	Tarkhan	Carpenter	3
5.	Kumhar	Potter	2
6.	Machi	Water carrier	2
7.	Nai	Barber	2
8.	Lohar	Ironsmith	1
TOTAL			38

The above 38 households of kammis are engaged in their traditional occupations in the village. But all of them are not having the complete traditional 'seype' relationship. Most of them also work for cash. Thus payment in cash and/or kind express the elements of change in the traditional social organization of the village.

The artisans provide specific services to all the village. Besides their traditional occupational pursuits like shoe-making, sweeping and shaving, they also take part in agriculture in specific seasons. For example, Mochi

usually does winnowing, Mussalli harvesting and kumhar carries grains to the houses of the agriculturists from the fields. For these services they are paid in kind or in cash. The payment by agriculturists is usually in kind.. The following chart gives the details of services and payments:-

CHART NO.7 TYPES OF SERVICES AND PAYMENTS

Sr. No.	Occupation	Services	Payments
1.	Dhoba	Sewing, washing	4 to 8 topa <sup>18</sup> of wheat
2.	Kumhar	Grain carrying	4 topa of wheat
3.	Lohar	Maintains agricultural implements	4 to 6 topa of wheat
4.	Machi	Wood cutting, water carrying	2 to 4 topa of wheat
5.	Mochi	Shoe-making and repairing, winnowing	4 to 8 topa of wheat
6.	Musalli	Sweeping, Household work	4 to 6 topa of wheat
7.	Nai	Shaving, messenger, cooking	4 to 6 topa of wheat
8.	Tarkhan	Maintains agricultural implements, house building	4 to 6 topa of wheat

The artisans are also paid on special occasions like birth and marriages. They also work for cash. Nowadays most of them like to be paid in cash although in earlier days most of the payments used to be in kind only. The agriculturists knowing this fact sometimes increase the amount of remuneration and sometimes pay in cash as well. Thus they are being given an extra incentive<sup>to</sup> work for the agriculturists.

### 3.3.2 Seasonal or Migratory Labour

The seasonal labourers work on the field. They do harvesting, winnowing, cotton-picking etc. They also work in the season of rice-plantation. They are paid in cash but sometimes also in kind.

There are twenty households whose subsistence depend upon such seasonal work. The wives of seasonal labourers usually share their work and also get paid. These people also go to the neighbouring villages in search of such seasonal work. Sometimes they engage in non-agricultural work, but their normal occupational activity is that of an agricultural labourer.

### 3.4 SERVICE ABROAD

The people serving abroad, mostly in the Middle Eastern countries, enjoy a special position in the village. It is an occasion of great happiness for a person to go abroad. People usually go to the airport in groups to see the person off. When a villager comes back his kin and friends gather around him and listen to his adventures abroad.

The usual method of going abroad is through the agency of a recruiting agent. The landed people wishing to go abroad sell all or part of their land and give the money to the agent. There is no formal contract between the agent and the person wishing to go abroad. So there are many cases of fraud. To rule out the possibility of being deceived, the people now contact the agent through family links.

The money earned from abroad is usually spent on the construction of pakka houses and on household luxury items such as radio, tape-recorders, refrigerators and television sets. After returning from abroad, some people have migrated to the town of Dinga. They have built houses there and opened shops. Some people have bought more agricultural land than what they might have sold before going abroad.

The common denominator of people serving abroad and outside the village is that their source of livelihood lies outside the pale of the village economy. But they differ from each other in terms of their economic status. People serving abroad are wealthier than people serving in their own country. Now we shall discuss the people serving in their own country.

### 3.5 SERVICE (EMPLOYEES):

There are 22 households forming the salaried stratum of the village. They are working in government departments, corporations and in private sector, in different parts of the country. This phenomenon indicates the integration of village Chak Jani with wider society. The following chart shows the types of services performed by the people of this group.

CHART NO.8 TYPES OF SERVICES AND NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS OF EMPLOYEES

Sr. No.	Services	Households
1.	Armed forces	8
2.	Drivers	3
3.	Peon	1
4.	Police	2
5.	Postman	1
6.	Railway Clerks	3
7.	Storekeeper	1
8.	Sweeper (in Municipality of Dinga)	1
9.	Teacher	1
10.	Wapda Clerk	1
	TOTAL	22

According to this chart it is evident that armed forces have attracted more people than any other service. There is only one school teacher. He is a graduate and teaches in Dinga High School. The white-collar people are rather few in the village. They acquired jobs on the basis of the little education they have.

These people (white-collar) are rather independent of village economic structure. Their source of income lies out of the pale of the village and they get monthly salary. Whatever meager amount of money they get, have given them the chance to experience the direct impact of money economy. They directly face the price fluctuations in the market. Thus they are more concerned about the over-all economic system than with the village economy. But at the same time they are proud of the fact that they can stand the intrusion of money-market into an agriculture-based community. Hence in a sense, they have acquired a feeling of superiority over their fellow-villagers, which they do not hesitate to reflect in their everyday dealings with others in the village. Similarly the businessmen have also developed this sort of attitude because they are personally involved in the processes of money market. We now take this category and discuss it in the following paragraphs.



## 3.6 BUSINESS

All the eight shops in the village are owned and run by the people living in the village. The shops are small and mostly opened into the house of the shopkeepers. The shopkeepers go to the town and bring goods of household use. They sell these things with some profit.

The buyers pay the price in kind or in cash. They also buy things on credit. The shopkeepers usually keep an ordinary note-book to write down the names of such customers who buy on credit.

Naturally, the shopkeepers try to run their business with the view of making profit. But there creeps in an uneasy situation when a customer tries to pay less than the price fixed and addresses the shopkeeper by some fictive kinship terms, such as 'Chacha' (uncle), 'Baba' (elderly respectable person) etc.

There is a half-expressed sense of competition among the shopkeepers. They usually talk in a mild tone against each other. Sometimes a shopkeeper will lower the price of a commodity unilaterally to enhance his sale.

Three out of the remaining nine businessmen have shops in Dinga and Kharian. Two are tailors and run a tailoring shop in Kharian. One is an ironsmith who shifted his smithy to Dinga. These three businessmen are engaged in their traditional occupations but they have moved out of the village in the hope of making more money. Nowadays if they work for their village folks, they demand payment in cash. Other five households are of cattle-traders. Cattle-traders buy cattle from the villagers and sell them to people in other villages and vice-versa. There is one wheat-rolling unit run by a 'Julaha' (weaver).

### 3.7 NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

There are 16 households of non-agricultural labourers in the village. They solely depend upon their physical power for their livelihood. They do manual work in the village and out of the village. Some of them go to the nearest town of Dinga and work on daily wages.

Out of 16 heads of households, 11 are 'Bhatta Mazdoor' (brick-kiln labourers). They work on brick kilns in the town. Sometimes they go to far off cities to do the same job. The remaining 5 households usually do load carrying in the village or in the town. Sometimes they go to

the town in the morning and come back in the evening.

In the end we discuss the last occupational category indicated in the Table-1 as "Others." People comprising this category are put together only for the purpose of analysis. Otherwise these people pursue definite occupations.

### 3.8 OTHERS

This category includes people involved in different occupations. Three households own tonga (horse-driven cart). They load fares from village to the town and back. Some of them go to the town for the whole day and run their tongas over there. Three heads of the households are working as mechanics in the town. Four people are 'Musafir' (care taker) in the village mosques and four are regular Imam Masjids. These eight people are paid in kind and cash by people of respective mosques.

There is one household whose head, popularly called 'Hakim', practices traditional medicines. He also teaches the Holy Quran to the children. He is paid in cash for his services. Sometimes he goes to other villages for long periods and practices his 'Hikmat',<sup>19</sup> over there.

The last household is of a grave-digger. He digs graves for the dead in return for money. But he does not reside

permanently in the village. Sometimes he does manual work in the town of Dinga.

### 3.9 SUMMARY

We have spelled out in this chapter, the occupational aspects of social stratification in a Punjabi village. The first level of stratificational pattern is characterized by general economic activity of the village folks. /The ~~economic~~ activity is perceived by the village people through various identificational references such as, agriculture, business, outward occupational mobility, etc. At the second level, the land-factor becomes an important reference point for the identification of people involved in the cultivation of land. These structural differentiations of the village populace indicate a stratified system, based on the occupation and land-holding composition. Their stratification can also be comprehended from an entirely different angle, which will be <sup>the</sup> subject-matter of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER-4

### SOCIAL STRATIFICATION-2

#### ZAT STRATIFICATION

##### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Regardless of its complexity, any society has a system of stratification that ranks people according to specific criteria. We have thus far looked at the Chak Jani village system and its stratification pattern on the basis of occupation. Stratification, the process of ranking, is also readily evident in this village which can be seen using an entirely different criterion. In this chapter, I would focus on the stratification system of the village on the basis of Zat and Quom division. These are social norms and statuses in the village that have no physiological basis.

The first level division is based on Quom. 267 village households are identified with two major Quoms: Zamindar (landowner) and Kammi (artisans) Quoms.<sup>20</sup> The following chart shows the number and distribution in each Quom.

CHART NO. 9 NUMBER & DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS  
OF ZAMINDAR AND KAMMI QUOMS

Sr. No.	Quom	No. of households
1.	Zamindar	147
2.	Kammi	120
TOTAL		267

In a sense this initial division has both occupational and ethnic connotations. The Zamindar Quom is identified as cultivators as shown before, and the kammi Quom as non-cultivators. The word Quom is used to separate them ethnically as well as occupationally. In this sense, both Quoms are divided as separate ethnic entities, identified by their historically and traditionally prescribed occupations. It matters little whether they hold their traditional occupation or not. We can see the occupational variation from the Chart given below:

CHART NO. 10 NO. OF ZAMINDAR AND KAMMI HOUSEHOLDS  
ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL AND NON-  
TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Sr. No.	Occupations	Kammi Quom	Zamindar Quom	Total
1.	Traditional	42 (35%)	96 (65%)	138 (52%)
2.	Non-Traditional	78 (65%)	51 (35%)	129 (48%)
TOTAL		120 (100%)	147 (100%)	267 (100%)

After this initial division both Quoms have been divided into separate Zats. At this point, formerly excluded (see page:94 ). Paswal, Arain and Syeds are also placed in the Zat stratification (see Table-6).

TABLE-6

## DISTRIBUTION OF ZATS BY HOUSEHOLDS

Sr. No.	Zat	Number of households
1.	Gujjar	147
2.	Mussalli	41
3.	Mochi	21
4.	Julaha	21
5.	Tarkhan	11
6.	Nai	7
7.	Dhoba	6
8.	Arain	5
9.	Machi	5
10.	Kumhar	3
11.	Taili	3
12.	Lohar	2
13.	Paswal	2
14.	Syed	2
TOTAL		276

This categorization includes all types of Zats i.e. occupational, religious and ethnic. Most of the occupational Zats or a part of them, are engaged in their traditional occupations but non-traditional occupations are also being pursued by a whole Zat or by some of its members (see Table-7).

TABLE-7

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY  
ZAT AND OCCUPATIONS

Sr. No.	Zat	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS							TOTAL
		Agricul- turists	Agri. labour	Service abroad	Service	Busi- ness	Labour	Others	
1.	Grjjar	96	3	21	14	9	3	1	147
2.	Arain	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	5
3.	Taili	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	3
4.	Julaha	2	5	4	3	2	-	5	21
5.	Tarkhan	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	11
6.	Rumhar	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
7.	Lohar	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
8.	Dhoba	-	4	-	-	2	-	-	6
9.	Mochi	-	14	5	1	-	1	-	21
10.	Nai	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	7
11.	Machi	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	5
12.	Paswal	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
13.	Syed	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
14.	Musalli	-	20	1	3	-	11	6	41
TOTAL		112	58	35	22	17	16	16	276



After this fundamental and basic information about Zat we now discuss each Zat separately. To start with, we take the Gujjar Zat, because Gujjars comprise numerically the largest group of people in the village. Majority of them are doing cultivation which is considered their traditional occupation.

#### 4.2 THE GUJJARS

The Gujjars claiming their Quom as Zamindar, are on the top of Zat hierarchy. They consider land cultivation as their traditional occupation and the noblest economic activity.

Out of 147 Gujjar households, 96 are involved in agriculture. 77 of these farming households own 95.7% of the total agricultural land of the village (see Chart-11). This fact accounts for their claim as Zamindar Quom. The type of Gujjar farming households and the amount of their land is as follows:-

CHART NO.11 GUJJAR FARMING HOUSEHOLDS, THEIR  
LAND AND TYPE OF LEASE

Sr. No.	Zat	Type of lease	House-holds	Land owned (in acres)	Land owned as % of total cultivated land of the village
1.	Gujjars	Landlord-farmers	8	1300.00	74.2
		Farmers	41	317.5	18.1
		Farmer-Tenants	28	59.00	3.4
		Tenants	19	00.00	-
TOTAL			96	1676.5	95.7

The Gujjar in fact, is an ethnic Zat. They constitute a part of the larger Gujjar group spread all over Punjab. The city of Gujrat, which was established in 1580 A.D., during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar, takes its name from this ethnic group. The Gujjars now occupy the centre of Gujrat district and Kharian Tehsil. The Gujjars living in the village Chak Jani, are linked with their counter parts in this area through 'Vartan Bhanji' (ceremonial gift exchange).

All the Gujjars trace their descent from 3 Hindu brothers named Hando, Kundo and Khatana. The Gujjars are further divided into eleven sub-Zats known as 'Aal' (see Table-8). Each Aal traces its descent from a near ancestor.

TABLE-8

DISTRIBUTION OF GUJJAR HOUSEHOLDS  
BY AAL

Sr. No.	Aal	Number of house holds
1.	Talyan	46
2.	Chokar	25
3.	Khalifay	19
4.	Godwanay	13
5.	Lambore	11
6.	Khat ana	8
7.	Barray	7
8.	Paknay	7
9.	Seer	5
10.	Hafjay	4
11.	Chaichi	2
TOTAL		147

Though the anthropological term lineage or clan could explain an Aal composition, yet, I refrained from using these terms on the ground that sometimes the Aal ancestor is a known person while sometimes he is believed to have existed in a distant past and hence is no longer traceable in the geneological tree. Aal is neither a lineage nor a clan, although, it is definitely a unilineal descent group. We discuss below each Aal separately:-

#### 4.2.1 The Khatana

The Khatana Gujjars claim themselves to be the descendants of Jani, the first settler of this village. All land of the village was formerly owned by them. At present, they own 74.2% of the total land of the village comprising the landlord-farmer group of the village.

The name Khatana, according to the members of the Aal, is derived from Hindi word Khattar which stands for animal-hide. They are named so, because their Hindu ancestor once sat on animal hide and was called 'Khatana' by his brothers. The Khatana Gujjar also carry the title 'Chaudhry.'

The Khatana Gujjars are an endogamous group. They do not inter-marry with other Gujjars of the village. But they have marital links with big landed Gujjars of the area. There is only one example where a Khatana Gujjar got his daughter married with a non-Gujjar of Khokhar Zat living in a city. But the marriage was not approved by his other Aal members. The Khatana women take veil when they go out of the village. While in the village they are mostly confined to their houses doing their household work.

4.2.2 Non-Khatana Gujjars

According to a myth, the non-Khatana Gujjars came with Khatana's ancestor Jani, for the purpose of land cultivation. Their status at that time was of a landless cultivator. Most of them got land either after the Land Reform Regulation of 1959 or bought it from Khatana Gujjars. Some of them were given land by Khatana's forefathers. But 47 out of their 88 farming households still work as tenants on Khatana's land (see Table-9).

TABLE-9

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-KHATANA  
GUJJAR HOUSEHOLDS BY AAL AND  
TYPE OF LEASE

Sr. No.	Aal	Farm-ers	Farmer Tenants	Tenants	Total
1.	Talyan	10	17	4	31
2.	Chokar	8	4	1	13
3.	Khalifay	7	2	1	10
4.	Lambore	5	1	3	9
5.	Godwany	4	1	1	6
6.	Hafjay	3	-	-	3
7.	Paknay	3	1	2	6
8.	Chaichi	1	-	-	1
9.	Barray	-	1	3	4
10.	Seer	-	1	4	5
TOTAL		41	28	19	88

These Gujjars are distinguishable from Khatana Gujjars on two points; 1) they do not intermarry with Khatana Gujjars and 2) they also pursue non-agricultural occupations as opposed to Khatana Gujjars. These Gujjars prefer to marry within their own Aal but they do not mind marrying into other non-Khatana Gujjar Aals. There were many examples of such marriages among these non-Khatana Gujjar Aals.

A fair majority of these Gujjars, is engaged in land cultivation. Out of their 88 farming households, 69 own about 21.5% of the total agricultural land and 19 households are tenants of Khatana Gujjars (see Table 9 and Chart No.11).

While all the Khatana Gujjars are involved in agriculture, the non-Khatana Gujjars also pursue non-agricultural occupations as well (see Table No.10).

TABLE-10

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-KHATANA GUJJAR  
HOUSEHOLDS BY AAL AND OCCUPATION

Sr. No.	Aal	Agricul- turists	Service abroad	Service	Business	Agri: labour	Labour	Others	TOTAL
1.	Talyan	31	5	4	2	2	2	-	46
2.	Chokar	13	6	3	2	-	-	1	25
3.	Khalifay	10	3	3	2	1	-	-	19
4.	Godwanay	6	5	2	-	-	-	-	13
5.	Lambore	9	1	1	-	-	-	-	11
6.	Barray	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	7
7.	Paknay	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	7
8.	Seer	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
9.	Hafjay	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
10.	Chaichi	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
TOTAL		88	21	14	9	3	3	1	139

After these basic facts about Zat and Aal division of non-Khatana Gujjars, we discuss below each Aal briefly:-

a. Talyan:

Talyan are named after their ancestral village Talyan, near the village Chak Jani. They are divided into two groups. Each group follows two different Khatana landlords and support their respective landlords in social and political matters.

b. Chokar

The Chokars are called so because their ancestors came from a village named Chokar. Their women do not take veil. The women of farmer-tenants and tenants participate in agricultural work. The Chokar has Vartan Bhanji relations with other non-Khatana Gujjar.

c. Lambore

Lambores claim that their ancestors came from village Lambore. There are 11 households of Lambore in the village. They have close relations with Chokars. They are



not treated equally by other Gujjars because once they got entangled with Talyan Gujjars due to some land dispute. They have gained some respect after one Lambore got a job in the Police Department.

d. Seer

The Seers are not clear about the name of their Aal. They have five households in the village, 4 are tenants and one is farmer-tenant of Khatana Gujjars.

e. Barray

One of their ancestors was 'Pir' named Barra. They take their name from that saint. They are close to another Gujjar Aal, called Paknay. They claim that ancestors of both the Aals were brothers.

f. Chaichi

Chaichis ancestors also came from a village named Chaichi. There are only two Chaichi households in the village. Most of them have migrated to neighbouring villages and are working there as tenants. One household owns 8 acres of land while the other one is of<sup>a</sup> labourer. They have closer

relations with their other Aal members in other villages than with the Gujjars of this village.

The remaining four Gujjar Aals are different from other 6 Aals in that, they carry the title 'Miana.' This title stands for a religious teacher. These Gujjars have got their title from their ancestors who were thought to be religious people. For example, 'Hafjay' are called so because one of their ancestors was 'Hafiz-i-Quran' (one who knows Quran by heart). The ancestor of 'Paknay' was a 'Wali-u-Allah' (friend of God). Khalifay Gujjars narrate an interesting story to account for the name of their Aal. The story runs like this ; their ancestors were custodian of a hair of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be Upon him). People used to see this hair on the day of Haj. They would give offerings to the custodians. Hence they are called Khalifay (vicegerent). The Godwanays are named after their ancestor who was a saint and used to wear 'Guddri' (patched-cloth).

There are 43 Miana households, in the village. They have regular and permanent Vartan Bhanji relationship with each other. They usually consult each other on political and social affairs.

It seems here that there is hardly any social mobility in this village. Social mobility, a change in a persons' social

status, depends upon several social factors, that are beyond anyone's personal control. Particularly, the Quom and Zat are mostly ascribed positions, hence one can hardly cross the boundary lines. The flexibility or rigidity of the stratification system can be visualized in the occupational field, but certainly not in Quom or Zat division. The degree of inequality in class divisions and even family position affect the degree of mobility that exists in any given society. If Zat and Quom can be considered as horizontal line, occupation will be considered as vertical. In Chak Jani, there is no perceptible horizontal movement, may be there is some vertical movement in the case of kammi occupational Zats. Because as will be seen later the kammis are occupationally more mobile than Gujjars. We discuss below the kammi occupational Zats of Chak Jani and see the elements of vertical and horizontal movements in them.

#### 4.3 OCCUPATIONAL ZATS

There are 10 occupational zats in the village claiming their membership in 120 households. But only 42 households are engaged in their traditional occupations. They are as follows:

CHART NO.12      DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSHOELDS FOLLOWING  
TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Sr. No.	Occupations	House-holds
1.	Mochi	14
2.	Musalli	11
3.	Dhoba	6
4.	Tarkhan	3
5.	Kumhar	2
6.	Lohar	2
7.	Machi	2
8.	Nai	2
TOTAL		42

The remaining 78 households are engaged in non-traditional occupations (see Table-7).

These occupational Zats have traditional seype relations with the villagers, but the nature of their seype relation is changing. Now they also work for cash and seype relations are being commercialized gradually. All the occupational Zats are endogamous. Some Zats like Mochi, Tarkhan, Nai etc. do differentiate between their occupational and "real" Zat, but they are normally called by their occupational Zat. It is very rare

when a kammi agriculturist is called kammi Zamindar, but their status as agriculturists is recognised tacitly. We now describe below each occupational Zat separately.

a. Mochi (Cobbler)

Because of the nature of their occupation, Mochis are not considered clean people. Sometimes they are identified with animal-hide with which they make shoes. But they are ranked higher than Julaha, Teli and Musallis. Some Mochis differentiate between their occupational and real Zats. They call themselves Khatana, which infact, is a Gujjar Aal of the village.

The Mochis split into two groups over a marriage dispute. One group rallied under the chieftainship of a well-off Mochi, whose two sons are abroad and who is considered primus inter pares. This Mochi and his group tell their "real" Zat as Khatana. Now both these groups express their allegiance to two separate Khatana landlords and do not interact with one another.

b. Musalli (Sweeper)

Musallis are more numerous than any other occupational Zat in the village. There are 41 Musalli households in the village but only 11 households pursue their traditional

occupation. The Musallis are ranked the lowest in the Zat stratification. Sometimes the word Musalli is used to express hate and filth.

c. Dhoba (Washerman)

Four Dhoba households practice their traditional occupation in the village and the remaining two have opened a tailoring shop in the city. These two households now demand cash if they work for the villagers.

d. Tarkhan (carpenter)

Out of 11 Tarkhan households 8 are agriculturists. They own 49 acres of land which they cultivate themselves. These agriculturist Tarkhans tell their Zat as Mughal. But they are generally called Tarkhan. They are ranked higher than their landless counterparts.

e. Kumhar (potter)

Kumhars are no more potters but are still called so. Two Kumhar households have seype relations with agriculturists. They carry grain to the houses from the fields of the agriculturists and are paid in kind. One member of the Kumhar Zat is serving abroad.

f. Lohar (ironsmith)

There are only two Lohar households in the village. One Lohar works in the village while the other has shifted his smithy to the town, severing all seype relations. The one Lohar working in the village is very sought-after because he is the only one to maintain agricultural implements. He is paid heavily by the agriculturists.

g. Nai (barber)

Out of 7 Nai households 2 are agriculturists and own 7.5% acres of land. They are sometimes sarcastically called kammi Zamindars. These Nais claim their 'real' Zat to be Bhatti. But they are called Nai by the village people. Other Nais do not differentiate between their Zat and occupation.

h. Machi (water carrier)

Machis are traditionally wood-cutters and water-carriers, of the village. Their females called 'Machan' bake chappattis in the oven for the villagers. At present only two Machis are engaged in their traditional occupation. Three Machis own tongas and ply between the village and town.

All these occupational Zats or some members of them are pursuing their traditional occupations. Those who do not practice their traditional occupations are nevertheless called by their occupational Zats. Though some of them do differentiate between their real and occupational Zats, yet they are identified by their occupational Zats in the village Zat stratification system. There are only two occupational Zats who are not practicing their traditional occupations. They are as follows:-

a. Julaha (weaver)

None of the 21 Julaha households practices its traditional occupation. Some Julahas differentiate between their occupational and "real" Zats. They call themselves as 'Raja & Janjua', but are called Julahas by the villagers. Some Julahas who have served abroad, even talked against the Zat identifications. They wish to be identified in terms of their economic status rather than in terms of Zat.

b. Taili (oil presser)

All the Taili households are engaged in non-traditional occupations. 2 households work as 'Lavas' and one is Imam Masjid. They all are called by their occupational



Zat. Tailis do not differentiate between their Zat and occupation. Sometimes they are degraded by making reference to a common saying, Taili is no one's friend."

It has been apparent from the above description of Kammi Zats that the trend of vertical movement in these Zats is well observable. One explanation of this vertical movement may be found in the fact that Kammi Zats and their occupations are considered inferior to that of Gujjars and their occupations. But the vertical movement does not entail horizontal movement of the population. Hence the achieved status does not have any visible effect on the ascribed status. Thus, people with different achieved statuses are grouped together on the basis of their ascribed status in the village Zat stratification.

All these occupational Zats termed as Kammi Quom, are considered inferior to Gujjars but like the Hindu caste system, there is no idea of pollution associated with any Zat. People belonging to different Zats interact freely with each other. But zat identification always remains at conscious level. The endogamous character of the zats reinforces zat identification. In social interactions, references are often made to one's zat.

After the analysis of these zats, we discuss below the remaining three zats which are not identified by

the villagers in terms of Quom or occupation.

#### 4.4 Syed (Religious zat)

There are two Syed households in the village who claim themselves to be the descendants of Hazrat Fatima, daughter of Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him). The Syeds are strictly endogamous Zat. They consider themselves superior to all other Zats but in actual practice the Gujjars of Khatana Aal are more respected than Syeds. However, Syeds are considered superior to all other Zats.

#### 4.5 Arain

The Arains are called 'Mohajirs' (refugees), because they migrated from India at the time of partition of India. They call their Zat as 'Arain' but are normally known as 'Muhajirs.' They are not included in village Zat stratification system because of their recent arrival and peripheral economic position.

#### 4.6 Paswal

The households of Paswals are self-cultivators. They own 18 acres of land. Though they claim their zat to be 'Paswal', the villagers do not believe them. Most people

opine that they belong to kammi Quom, but have changed their Zat after they bought land in this village and settled here. However, they are now called Paswals by the villagers.

#### 4.7 SUMMARY

We have revealed in this part of the thesis, various aspects of social stratification in the village. The pattern of social stratification is expressed at a multi-dimensional level through occupation and Zat. These different levels of stratification are not existing in isolation or independent of each other. Contrariwise, they overlap and affect each other but the conditions of their existence make them distinct and pronounced. In the following chapter attempt will be made to analyse the data presented in the preceding chapters and show the dynamics of social stratification in a Pakistani village.

PART-III.

## CHAPTER-V

### ANALYSIS

The data presented in the preceding chapters, gives the fundamental elements of social organization of the village Chak Jani. The structural differentiation of the populace reveals a multi-dimensional stratificational pattern. / This stratificational pattern is permeated through with two distinct types of relations; 1) relations of economic identification in terms of occupational position and 2) relations of social identification in terms of Zat and Quom. /

These two types of relations express themselves at different levels of socio-economic life of the community. But these relations are not existing totally separate or parallel. Contrariwise, they are interrelated and are overlapping. Sometimes they appear parallel and sometimes forming a network. There are always some elements of distinction which differentiate one type of relations from that of other. Here we analyse the manifestation of these relations in the socio-economic life of the village synchronically.

The relations of identification to an extent, are influenced by relations of dependency, which take shape among

people with reference to land. As we have noted before (see Chapter-3) , the landlord-farmers own 74.2% of the total land. They have given 22% of their land to tenants and 21.4% to farmer-tenants. Hence 45.5% of the total farming households, are partly or totally, dependent on 8 households (see Table-2). This dependency is expressed in terms of socio-economic inequality between these strata and in terms of decision-making process at political level.

4 The landlords are the most active political element in the village. There is no permanent and regular unit of any political party in the village. Nor are these landlords subject to the discipline of a particular political party. Political decisions are reached at on the eve of elections and political loyalties are declared after taking into account a host of socio-economic and kinship references.)

As noted before (see Chapter-3) the pattern of political alliance during 1977 General Elections, was very much influenced by kinship ties, expressed through Zat association and by overall political development. Both groups of landlords supported two rival candidates on the basis of their relationship with the relevant candidates. But the landlords who sided with PPP, also took into consideration the fact that PPP was apparently more popular than PNA. So, they supported a candidate of their own choice who was also closely-related to them.

This pattern of alignment reveals interesting aspects of political activity of big landed stratum of the village. The political alignment and kinship structure are inter-related in such a way that to understand one, we need to understand the other. The political development at one level, is weakening and reinforcing the kinship ties simultaneously. Yet at another level, it is giving rise to rift among the power group of the village.

This rift is expressed through inadequate social interaction among the landlords during the peak days of political struggle. But with the passage of these hectic days, hesitant interaction replaces erstwhile rift and sense of unity is restored by the bond of common Aal.

The political rivalry among the landlords spread to the people who are directly and indirectly, dependent on them by economic ties. In this respect, the tenants are more exposed to landlord's influence than farmer-tenants and agricultural labourers. Because the farmer-tenants own some amount of land which gives them a sense of independence (P:73 ). In the same manner, agricultural labourers, in the case of Lovas, are more mobile and feel the economic dependency on occasions. In the case of artisans, they possess a skill and are commercializing

their occupation(PF:36&109).Hence lessening the extent of dependency. But the tenants are wholly dependent on landlords.

The tenants are tied with landlords by two types of relations; 1) relations of pure economic dependency and 2) relations of social security. Direct social interaction between the landlords and tenants on many social occasions such as, marriage, death, birth, illness etc., and financial support by landlords, are manifestations of relations of social security. Then the close association between the two in the process of production on land owned by landlords, strengthens the relations of economic dependency, which in turn , create uneasiness and lack of self-expression on the part of tenants.

But we should not consider the relations of dependency as complete. No doubt, majority of the tenants supported PPP and were in league with their respective landlords. They sometimes also express their dislike for the landlords by leaving one landlord for another. Many tenants of landlords supporting PNA, were silent supporters of PPP. They supported PPP in the hope of getting some economic benefit from that party. But the continuum of dependency and security impedes any open political expression on the part of tenants.



The tenants, farmer-tenants and agricultural labourers are more or less in an identical socio-economic political situation in this respect. We can observe here some relevance of distributive theory of stratification. Because the mode of acquiring income of these strata is more or less the same. They are tied with the landlords by various socio-economic links. Especially, the agricultural labourers having seype relations, can be identified by applying the distributive theory to the full. But these strata differ from each other with respect to the extent of their dependency on landlords. However, the extent of social interaction among these strata is fairly extensive. But this interaction is sometimes hindered by the social identification perceived through the Zat of the persons involved in the interaction. (Majority of the tenants and farmer-tenants are Gujjars and the agricultural labourers belong to kammi Quom except for three households. Thus the Gujjar tenants and farmer-tenants come closer as opposed to non-Gujjar tenants and agricultural labourers. Again the agricultural labourers split into various endogamous occupational Zats occupying distinguishable position in Zat stratification.)

At this juncture, the homogeneity of the agricultural labourers, brought about by the application of the distributive theory, turns into zat heterogeneity. Similarly the behavioural pattern of farmer-tenants is distinguishable

from tenants in that the former owns land. But nearly 82.5% of the land cultivated by farmer-tenants is owned by landlords (see table No2). The presence of these two contradictory characteristics in this stratum is expressed vividly in various social situations.

( On the one hand, they are dependent on the landlords and on the other, they have to handle the unruly Patwari, bear the burden of water-charges, fertilizers and manage timely irrigation of their fields. Such problems are very common among farmers and farmer-tenants. Both these strata have to face such problems from time to time. This situation brings them together as opposed to landlords and tenants. Landlords solve these problems by virtue of their superior economic position and tenants in turn, get these problems solved by the help of their landlords. /

The farmers are more conscious of this situation and strive to counter-balance the influence of landlords. Though they own only 22.4% of the total land (see Table No.2), yet their status as independent self-cultivators put them in a horizontal position with respect to landlords in Zat consideration. However, they are in a vertical position to landlords with respect to the amount of land owned and occupation. Thus their strivings are directed to achieve the

influence and respect accorded to landlords.

The question arises here is can we rightfully label the landlord group of having control of power and wealth and equate them with what Karl Marx labelled as Bourgeoisie and the rest i.e., the farmer-tenants and tenants as proletariat? The answer will be an obvious no. The conflict theory of stratification (see PP:14-15), developed by Karl Marx, which contends that there are basically two conflicting classes, the bourgeoisie who controls power and wealth, and the proletariat or working men. In this village, what we have found does not negate Karl Marx's conflict theory involving two classes, but demonstrate the presence of multidimensional system where the Zamindar landlord group are not always antagonistic to the so-called proletariat i.e. non-land owning groups. There are labourers such as those who work in factories, cities, towns and in Middle East, who can claim high status in the society - as can the white collar employees - without being landlords.

Actually social class in this village is not always determined by one's relationship to the means of production as Karl Marx has suggested. Here, those who own land and industry do not hold total control or have complete power over those who are merely employed. In this system,

the maze of stratification is much more complex than it is generally deemed of in a uni-dimensional analysis.

In this village the farmers try to carve a social position for themselves among the kammi whenever opportunity arises. They gave political support to landlords but in local matters they sometimes oppose them (see Chapter-3). In spite of such mild opposition the farmers try to imitate the landlords in their social life. Majority of the women from farmer's households do not take part in agricultural work like landlords' women who also abstain from such activities. But interestingly, the women of kammi farmers do take part in agriculture. In this way the Gujjar farmers differentiate themselves from kammi farmers and people of relatively low-economic status.

Thus the farmers from the kammi Quom are socially distinguishable from the farmers of Gujjar Zat. In the same manner, the kammi land-owners after acquiring land, feel themselves on a higher rung in social hierarchy than their landless counterparts in the village. But they are still waiting for full social recognition of their new economic status. Most of the kammi land-owners, being conscious of their changed occupational position, differentiate themselves from their zat-fellows. Some of them even claim their Zat different from the previous one (see Chapter-4). Hence one

*Changy J. J. J.*

can rightly claim that the village has actually an ideal open class system though not perfect, it is a system in which chances of mobility at least partly, depends upon personal merit and ambition. One can here get out of his traditional occupation and or Zat or Quom-directed professions, become a skilled workman or even go to far away countries like Middle East to enhance his social position. But we will have to remember that changes in economic status <sup>do</sup> not always or necessarily, bring changes in social status, particularly at the Zat or Quom level.

This process of change has disrupted the traditional social organization and pattern of intra-and inter-Zat relations. For example, the Mochi Zat group split over a marriage dispute (see Chap-4). Now both these groups follow two different landlords and do not interact with one another. This phenomenon also suggests that changes in economic status do not always bring about change in the social status simultaneously. The kammi zats after getting rich often associate themselves with landlords in order to express confidently their new social location. But they are not still able to establish their separate identity independent of previous hierarchical arrangement. )

We observe here the relevance of collective point of view of the members of a society for the determination of an individual's social position in the stratification system. No doubt, Cooley's hypothesis of "individual point of view" reveals some aspects of stratification as can be seen from the process of change in the economic and social statuses of some kammas. The vertical movement of an individual to an extent, paves the way for horizontal movement in Zat stratification and the new economic status such as that of kammi agriculturists, provides flickering chances for the recognition of individual's point of view. But the individual's point of view is often superseded by the collective point of view of the members of the village society.

However, in the process of such changes, the traditional social relations are giving way to new relations. But the emergence of new relations is tinged with some elements of old relations. These social relations manifest themselves at two different levels. They maintain social equilibrium, disturbed by the rapid upward mobility of a section of a Zat group previously at par with the main part. On the other hand, the pattern of change manifests itself in the form of outward mobility of people. For instance, one of two Lohars, has shifted his smithy to the nearest town. Two Dhobas are working in another city (see Chapter-4). These people are pursuing their traditional occupations under totally different socio-economic conditions. Their behavioural pattern carries the

marks of their new role as purely money-oriented. While in the village, they will work for cash rather than for kinds. They are now more independent of socio-economic pressure of the village than the kammis involved in traditional seype relations.

This changing pattern of social relations is more pronounced in the case of people serving abroad or in their own country. These strata are the product of integration of village with wider society. They are more exposed to urban influence than their village-fellows. This exposition to urban life has raised their aspirational level much higher and they feel more strongly the rural-urban contrast than other village-folks do.

Especially the people serving in their own country, are faced with the problem of integration with the urban society. In this process of integration, they are to some extent, alienated from their own social background. Their usual adaptive mechanism is social isolation. Because most of them are on clerical jobs and are constantly destabilized by the shocks of money-oriented economy. They are more concerned about their survival, dependent upon the larger society, than their social position in the village.

In a sense, all these above-mentioned strata can be said to be put in a "market situation" as Weber would have us believed. But the circumstances of competition are different from that of an industrialized society. Here, inspite of being put in an identical competitive situation and constituting important strata in the village, these people form separate groups on the basis of their Quom and or Zat. For example, some member of Julah Zats serving abroad, talk against the prevailing village Zat system (see Chapter-4). These kammis and the Gujjars serving abroad, are in one class situation from the angle of competition with respect to property. But the village Zat stratification split them and the social status substitutes the economic status.

However, the people serving abroad are more stable and challenging from the people serving in their own country. Their houses do not lack in modern household applicances. They are envied by everyone in the village. The people abroad from kammi Quom, seek to be identified in economic terms rather than in terms of their Zat.

From this short analysis, we can infer that rural social organisation is based on relations of identification in terms of economic activity on the one hand and in terms of Zat on the other. These relations exist parallel



to each other as well as overlap each other, when they manifest themselves parallel to each other there arises a situation of stress in the village. From a functionalistic point of view, we can say that the situation of stress is the result of disturbance in the functioning of structural differentiation of the society. But the situation of stress is overcome by the working of overlapping manifestation of the relations of identification. At this point changes become perceptible in the traditional arrangement of different strata of population and dysfunctionality manifests itself at another and new functional level.

## CHAPTER-6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### I

The present research was conducted in a Punjabi village in District Gujrat. (This research was aimed at investigating the rural social stratification. The term stratification was used in a simpler way meaning as the grouping of people together on the basis of one or more than one common characteristics.

The main hypotheses to be examined in this study were that;

- i. The pattern of social stratification in rural Punjab is multi-dimensional.
- ii. That it is manifested at different levels of socio-economic life and;
- iii. That its multi-dimensionality is characterized by a number of determinants.

I reviewed different theories of stratification for the purpose of finding relevant criteria to rank the village populace into strata. The uni-dimensional theories of stratification did not prove very helpful for the present study, because these theories are culture-bound and perceive the phenomenon one-sidedly. They were helpful only in comprehending one or the

other aspect of stratification in rural Punjab, hence limited in application. That is why, I pursued multi-dimensional or multi-factor approach to study the pattern of stratification in rural area of Punjab.

The multi-dimensional approach proved very relevant because of its eclectic nature. The selection of relevant factors for the study of stratification was done in the context of the village. Such factors as Zats, land-holding composition and occupation were taken into consideration to account for the multi-dimensionality of rural stratification system.

These factors were relevant for the present study in the sense that the village I studied, is an agricultural one with sufficient occupational diversity. The Zat factor was also relevant because of the historical roots of Zat system in the Punjabi villages. I avoided using the term caste because of certain variations, which I found between the Muslim Zat and the Hindu caste system.

## II

With the help of these factors I studied the stratification system of village Chak Jani in district Gujrat. I selected this district because of the fact that no study on stratification in this district has been conducted so far. Saghir Ahmad (1977) and Rafique Raza (1969) studied stratification in the districts of Sahiwal and Faisalabad respectively.

So I planned to study the same phenomenon in another area of Punjab which was district Gujrat.

District Gujrat is one of the important districts of Punjab both from economic and social viewpoints. The economy of district is agriculture-based. Agriculture is the major occupational activity of the district population, especially in rural areas. But industries are also being established in the district. The industrial products such as fans, shoes, crockery, earthenware etc. are exported to other countries. Thus the district is well integrated with other districts vis-a-vis neighbouring countries.

The district is also well-linked with other districts of Punjab by roads and railways. The villages and towns in the district are also interlinked with each other by a number of metalled and un-metalled roads.

The population composition of the district is characterized by a number of different ethnic groups. The Gujjars and Jats are the most numerous of them. The main occupation is agriculture but people are also serving in the armed forces and abroad, working in factories and on clerical jobs.

The villages of the districts reflect all or some characteristics of district at a micro-level. Especially Chak Jani is a typical village of this district. This fact also justified my selection of this village for the purpose of present research.

Chak Jani is an agricultural village and agriculture is the major occupational activity of the majority of people. This fact speaks for the similarity between village Chak Jani and district Gujrat. The village very much resembles to other villages in the district with respect to housing structure, food, dress, and occupation. The social organization of the village has a great similarity with that of the district. The agriculturists and the kammis form the basis of the village social organisation. These occupational groups have provided the basic ingredients of one manifestation of stratification system in the village.

### III

The occupational stratification of Chak Jani has been characterized by various identificational references such as agriculture, business, outward occupational mobility etc. The whole populace has been stratified on the basis of divergent economic pursuits of village folks. There are agriculturists who are involved in land cultivation and crop-

raising. At the first level of occupational stratification, these agriculturists have been perceived as forming a single strata. But at the second level they have been divided on the basis of use and control of land. At this level, we have landlord farmers, farmers, farmer-tenants and tenants. Thus landholding composition have become an important dimension of occupational stratification. This phenomenon has brought forth the significance of land factor for stratification system at a different level. This factor has also involved agricultural labourers in the sense that they provide specific types of services to the agriculturists in particular and to non-agriculturists in general. These strata are the component parts of traditional village social organisation. But the process of integration of village with larger society has given rise to such occupational strata as that of people serving abroad and in their own country. These strata indicate the pattern of integration of village with wider society both at national and international levels.

Similarly the presense of business people indicate the creeping process of commercialization in a traditional agri-based society. Another result of these changes is the emergence of non-agricultural labour stratum. These people work on daily wages and earn their livelihood. This pattern of structural differentiation reveals one type of stratification system.

The second level of stratification system has been based on entirely different factors i.e. Quom and Zat.

#### IV

At this level the primary division has been characterized by Zamindar Quom and traditional artisans as kammi Quom. Arain, Paswal and Syed have been excluded from this division. But they have been placed in Zat stratification.

The Zat-factor has brought forth yet another pattern of stratification characterized by social statuses and nomrs. At this level we have got ethnic, religious and ascribed occupational Zats. The ethnic Zat, Gujjar is considered superior to other zats. But the Gujjars have been divided into sub-Zats or Aals. The Khatan-Gujjars who form the landlord group of the village, hold a distinct position among all the Gujjars. Thus the Khatana-Gujjars and non-Khatana-Gujjars have formed separate Aal strata. The Gujjars have been identified with agricultural occupation. But the extent of variation between the ascribed and actual occupations has rendered the Zat-factor an independent variable of identification. Similarly the kammi zats have been identified with non-agricultural occupations. But again the difference between traditional and actual occupations has made the Zat identification an independent reference point for Zat stratification.

The endogamous character of all these Zats has become an important factor for the determination of an individual's social status in Zat stratification. Moreover the intra-zat Vartan Bhanji relations have strengthened the separate identity of Zat groups.

## V

We have seen that the stratification system of Chak Jani has been based on a number of factors such as, ethnic, religious, Zat, occupation and landholding composition. This stratification system has been manifested at multi-dimensional levels. These levels are not mutually exclusive hence do not exist in isolation or as independent of each other. They are inter-related and are overlapping. But the conditions of their existence, zat and occupation, have made them somewhat distinct and pronounced.

The socio-economic status of an individual to a larger extent, depends upon his position in Zat and occupational stratifications. The Zat and occupational factors have also been found relevant to understand the behavioural pattern of different strata of village populace. For example, the landholding composition has split the agriculturists into four different strata. These strata differ from each other with



reference to their relationship with the means of production. The socio-economic status of landlords is superior to that of remaining three strata. There are occasions when these strata oppose each other but they are not always anathagonistic to each other as Karl Marks has put it (P.15). Thus the Marxist conflict theory of class was not proved in toto. Further, these strata have been put into different and opposing position in Zat stratification.

But the stratification system is not as rigid and static as was deemed of in functional theory. There are chances of vertical mobility i.e. advancement of one's economic status, in the village stratification system. People have gone to towns, to Middle East and have become skilled workmen. This vertical movement has not produced horizontal movement in the same proportion. No doubt, some people have made efforts to change their social status after changes in their economic status. But the collective point of view dominates an individual's point of view. In spite of the domination of collective point of view, people have got out of their Zat-directed occupations. The village has got integrated with the wider society and some strata of population have been put in a market situation. But the social and economic identifications do not always coincide with Zat-Quom and other traditional identification markers and populace is stratified at multi-dimentional levels.

Finally, what we have found in this thesis is that the wider socio-economic and political changes have opened up new possibilities of interaction in a Punjabi village, which though not breaking up the structure of society, bringing it to a melting pot, but certainly helping it get re-structured at different levels. But stratification in a village remains in many ways the same as always the villages in Pakistan consists of groups of people connected by kinship, friendship, sect lines, occupational similarities and Quom or Zat divisions. What we learn here is that the modern cultivated society is a veneer over a more fundamental life, governed by forces of nature and timed to the rhythm of cultural factors; and that it confirms one of the great truths of anthropology, "Structures change more slowly than functions, and often continue to be vessels in which very different wine is held" (Islam, 1974: 157).

## NOTES

Note No.	Description
1.	It suffices to state here that Zat is partly equivalent to caste. For a detailed discussion see PP: 20-26 of this chapter.
2.	The highest Hindu priestly caste.
3.	Ahmed has also used Hutton's definition of caste. (see <u>Class and Power in a Punjabi Village</u> . 1977 P.72)
4.	The concept 'Quom' is sufficiently explained in Chapter-4 of this thesis.
5.	Kammis are traditional village artisans.
6.	The Khokhar is a sub-zat of 'Rajput' (ethnic group).
7.	The descendants of Fatima, daughter of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him).
8.	Aal is a unilineal descent group, the ancestor of which may or may not be traced.
9.	Kharif Crops such as, rice, cotton etc., that are sown from April till September.
10.	Rabi Crops such as wheat, gram etc., are generally sown from October till December.
11.	Pakistan achieved independence from Britain in 1947.
12.	Long loose open coat sewn in the style of a shirt.
13.	Traditional footwear made by the village cobbler.

14. Ahmedis are followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed (1835-1908) of Qadian (India), who claimed himself to be the Prophet of God. Ahmedis were declared non-Muslims in 1974 by the then government after demonstrations and agitation by all other sects of Muslims. These Muslim sects contended that Ahmadis are not Muslims, because they do not believe in the finality of Prophethood of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him).
15. The Sikh ruled Punjab from 1767 to 1949 A.D.
16. Traditional medical practitioner in the village.
17. A hereditary relationship between agriculturists and village artisans; involving payments of grain in return for services.
18. One topa is roughly equal to 2 kilograms.
19. Traditional medical practice of a 'Hakim.'
20. Arain, Paswal and Syed households are excluded from this division. We will discuss their social identification later in this chapter.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ahmed, Saghir (1977) ✓ Class and Power in a Punjabi Village. Lahore: Punjab Adabi Markez.
2. Barth, Fredrick (1960) The System of Social Stratification in Swat, North Pakistan in E.R. Leech (ed.), Aspects of Caste in South India, Cylon and North-West Pakistan Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
3. Becker, Haward and Alvin, Baskoff (1957) Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change. New York: Drydeon Press.
4. Cooley, C.H. (1902) Human Nature and the Social Order. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
5. Davis, Kingsley and Moore, Wilbert, E. (1945) "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review, 10: 242-249.
6. Durkheim, E. (1949) The Division of Labour in Society Glencoe: The Free Press.
7. Ebersole, L. (1955) American Society; An Introductory Analysis. New York:
8. Eglar, Zekiya (1960) ✓ A Punjabi Village in Pakistan. New York: Columbia University Press.
9. Homans, George, C. (1951a)
10. (1961b) The Human Group New York: Hercourt, Brace & Co.  
Social Behaviour: Its Elementary Forms. New York: Hercourt, Brace & Co.
11. Hutton, J.H. (1955) Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
12. Islam, A.K.M.A (1974) A Bangladesh Village: Conflict and Cohesion. Massachuset: Schenllman Publishing Company.

13. Lauman, E.O. et al  
(1971) The Logic of Social Hierar-  
chies (ed.), Chicago:  
Markham Publishing Company.
14. Leach, E.R.  
(1961) Rethinking Anthropology. London:  
Athlone Press.
15. Marriot, Mckim  
(1955) Caste Ranking and Community  
Structures in Five Regions of  
India and Pakistan. Poona  
Deccan College.
16. Marx, Karl  
(1961) Economic and Philosophic  
Manuscripts of 1844. Moscow:  
Foreign Languages Publishing  
House.
17. Marx, Karl and  
Engels, Fredrick  
(1961) Selected Works. Volume-1  
Moscow: Foreign Languages  
Publishing House.
18. Merrill, F. E.  
(1962) Society and Culture. New York;  
Ronald Press.
19. Ogburn, W.F. and Nimkoff  
M.E.  
(1950) Sociology. New York: Viking  
Press.
20. O' Malley, L.S.S.  
(1946) "Indian Caste Customs," in  
H. Hutton (ed.), Caste in India.  
Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press.
21. Parsons, Talcott  
(1963) "A Revised Analytical Approach  
to Social Stratification, in  
Reinhard Bendix and Martin Lipset  
(ed.), Class, Status and Powers.  
Glencoe: The Free Press.
22. Population Census  
of Pakistan  
(1972) ✓ District Census Report: Gujrat.  
Compiled and published under the  
authority of the Census Commissio-  
ner, Karachi: Manager of Publication:
23. Raza, M. Rafique  
(1969) Two Pakistani Villages: A Study  
in Social Stratification. Lahore:  
Punjab University Sociologists  
Alumni Association.