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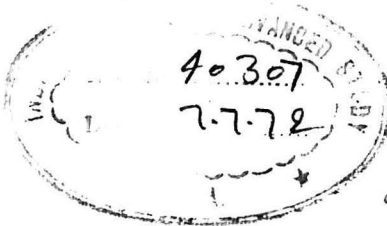
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## FOREWORD

In order to give wide publicity to the findings of the Research Projects sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research, it has been decided to bring out a short monograph on each project as soon as it is completed and its report received. The monographs will be prepared in consultation with the Project Directors and published in a series of booklets.

This booklet is the third in the series and contains monographs on the following research projects.

1. The Relationship Between Value Orientations and Socio-Economic Development in Five Selected Communities of Tarai Region, District Nainital by Dr. B.N. Singh
2. The Role of Weekly Markets in the Tribal, Rural and Urban Setting by Dr. (Mrs.) Irawati Karve and Dr. (Mrs.) Hemlata Acharya
3. A Psycho-Social Study of Tension in College-Going Youth by Dr. Sri Chandra
4. Impact of Social Legislation on Social Change—Attitudinal, Behavioral and Material by Dr. B.B. Chatterjee

The Indian Council of Social Science Research would welcome any suggestions from persons interested for making this series more useful.

**J.P. Naik**  
Member-Secretary

New Delhi  
30th January, 1971





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The following hypotheses were formulated and tested under this study:

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUE ORIENTATIONS  
AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN FIVE  
SELECTED COMMUNITIES OF TARAI REGION,  
DISTRICT NAINITAL\***

By

Dr. B.N. SINGH

This is a study of the relationship between the value orientation and level of socio-economic development in five community clusters in the Tarai region in Nainital district in Uttar Pradesh, namely, (1) settlers from West Pakistan, (2) settlers from East Pakistan, (3) ex-servicemen, (4) political sufferers from Eastern Uttar Pradesh and (5) landless workers from the hills. Land was reclaimed, made cultivable and distributed to these community clusters in plots of 10 to 20 acres and above. People migrated to this new area by the end of the Second World War and as a consequence of the partition of the country. An attempt has been made in this study to examine the processes of socio-economic development of five communities, each with a distinct socio-economic background.

The main objectives kept in view in this study are:

- (1) to study the value orientation of the social groups living in the five community clusters;
- (2) to study their group-life in relation to their agricultural activity pattern;
- (3) to study the functioning of the village institutions; and

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\*A research project on "The relationship between Value Orientations and Socio-Economic Development in Five Selected Communities of Tarai, District Nainital" has been completed by Dr. B.M. Singh, U.P. Agricultural University, District Nainital, with the help of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 29,750 from the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. It has since been transferred to the ICSSR.

—Editor

- (4) to study relationships of value-orientation with economic development and social cohesion.

The following hypotheses were formulated and tested under this study :

- (1) The social groups in the Tarai region significantly differ in their value orientations.
- (2) The value orientations are positively correlated to the level of development.
- (3) Groups that follow materialism and individualism show higher rate of development and achievement than the groups that do not emphasize these two values.
- (4) Groups that value 'honesty' and 'fair play' show more social and political cohesion than the groups that do not emphasize these values.

## METHODOLOGY

To achieve the objectives and to verify the hypotheses, the following methods were employed:

- (1) The villages in the three development blocks of Bazpur, Rudrapur and Khatima were classified into five clusters, based on the type of people inhabiting them.
- (2) Thirty-five villages were selected from all the clusters on a stratified random sample basis.
- (3) Three hundred and eighty-four respondents were selected from these villages, again on stratified random sample basis.
- (4) A schedule was canvassed with them after proper pre-testing and finalization. This enquired into the level of socio-economic development.
- (5) A study of agricultural and occupational activities was made by participant observation and study of agricultural demonstrations, etc.

- (6) A case study of five purposively selected villages was made by the investigating team, one from each community cluster for a relatively deeper probe.
- (7) Value orientation was operationally identified in terms of Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn's definition; and relationship of value orientation with socio-economic development was studied working out score means on the scale of values, obtaining rank order in relation to selected items, and working out coefficient or correlation. Besides, a test of significance of differentiation of values was also worked out.

### MAIN FINDINGS

**Different Patterns of Activity:** The agricultural activity pattern in these community clusters differed from one another. The settlers from West Pakistan cultivate sugarcane, paddy, wheat and mustard. Those from East Pakistan grow paddy and jute and also some pulses. The ex-servicemen concentrate on sugarcane and wheat cultivation, although maize and mustard are also grown by them. The Eastern U.P. political sufferers have a preference for paddy, maize, wheat, sugarcane, mustard and lentil. The settlers from the hills grow maize, paddy, wheat and mustard.

It was found that the settlers from West Pakistan invested considerable time and money and conducted agriculture as a business. The settlers from East Pakistan regarded it as a source of scanty subsistence and paid more attention to leisurely avocations like fishing and gathering.

The ex-servicemen held agriculture as an occupation of pride and excelled by hardwork.

The Eastern U.P. political sufferers were conscious of their social status but had started taking business-like interest in agriculture.

The settlers from the hills were industrious. Women in particular worked hard as intensive cultivators. But this group

did not invest adequate resources to make their occupation really profitable.

**Relationship of value orientation to socio-economic development:** It was found that these social groups differed significantly in their value orientation.

The values related to materialism and long-term investment versus immediate consumption are positively correlated to the socio-economic development. Value on honesty, however, shows negative response to these values. The value, self-centred versus other-centred behaviour, is negatively correlated to economic development as well as educational development. But it has a positive correlation to social participation. Value towards individualism shows the same trend with all the items of socio-economic development. Thus the hypothesis that the value orientations are positively correlated to the level of development and achievement stands supported.

As materialism and individualism happen to be two values and there is no positive correlation between them, one part of hypothesis that the groups that follow materialism show higher rate of development and achievement than the groups which do not emphasize this value, stands supported. The other part of the hypothesis that the groups which follow individualism show higher rate of development and achievement is rejected as this value has negative correlation to the level of socio-economic development. The value of honesty and fair play has positive correlation to social cohesion, and proves the hypothesis that the groups that emphasize honesty and fair-play show more social cohesion.

## CONCLUSION

In any programme of rehabilitation, opportunity should be extended as far as possible to a larger number of persons with different socio-economic background. But in order to obtain

the best results, suitable educational programmes should be formulated for fulfilling the needs of different communities and developing their potentialities. These programmes should aim at bringing about a change in attitudes and motivations through community action programmes, both in the economic and the social welfare fields.

## **THE ROLE OF WEEKLY MARKETS IN THE TRIBAL, RURAL AND URBAN SETTING\***

*By*

**DR. (MRS.) IRAWATI KARVE**

**and**

**DR. (MRS.) HEMALATA ACHARYA**

This study is confined to the Baglan Taluka of Nasik District in Maharashtra which has a mixture of tribal, rural and urban populations.

The principal objectives kept in view in this project are :

- (1) to study the relationship between the castes and occupations of buyers and sellers, the articles they buy and/or sell, distances they travel to attend markets, the persons whom they meet, the places they visit and their activities in the markets;
- (2) to study the market behaviour of individuals and the relationship between the individual market behaviour and the economic organization;
- (3) to study the continuous interactions among individuals participating in the weekly markets through buying and/or selling activity, resulting in sentimental bonds;
- (4) to study the place of non-economic factors underlying economic transactions in the weekly market; and
- (5) to study the drift of the weekly market away from its rural and primary character with consequent cessation of

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\*A research project on "The Role of Weekly Markets in Tribal, Rural and Urban Setting", has been completed by Dr. (Mrs.) Irawati Karve, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, with the help of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 27,660 from the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. It has since been transferred to the ICSSR.

—Editor



social exchange and the simultaneous emergence of economic exchange as the dominant factor.

### METHODOLOGY

The method adopted was necessarily pragmatic. Visitors to the weekly markets could only be interviewed at their convenience and in the limited time available. The method of personal interviews through questionnaires was therefore adopted. Since most of the interviewees were illiterate, special care was taken to probe for answers and understand their replies, especially as there was much resistance and evasion. Reliance has been placed on observation, on information given by informants, on personal interviews and on documentary material.

In an exploratory study of this type, the methodology had to be adjusted to the situation as no single method was found adequate. Moreover, one could not possibly interview all the visitors to even the smaller weekly markets. Consequently, a mixture of 'random' and 'purposive' sampling was adopted as various groups like the tribals, peasants, traders and buyers from among the visitors had to be contacted.

There are 152 villages in the Baglan Taluka of Nasik District, of which 16 are market villages where weekly markets are held once a week. There is only one town in the Taluka where also the weekly market meets every Saturday. Of these sixteen market villages, four villages, namely, Dangsaundane, Mulher, Tahrabad and Lakhampur were selected, in addition to the Satana town. The total population of all the four villages came to 9085, while the population of Satana town, according to 1961 census, was 12,506. The villages chosen were in different locations. Dangsaundane is in the south-west of Baglan, Mulher is in the north-west, and Tahrabad is in the centre while Lakhampur is towards east on the Satana-Malegaon Road. Dangsaundane and Mulher are tribal villages, though the latter falls on the peasant end of the continuum. In the village of Mulher itself, the Brahmins and the Shimpis predominate. Since it happened to be a cultural centre of Brahmanic tradition in the

pre-British period, the Brahmins had settled in the village and some of them were landowners. A few of these Brahmins moved to Baroda for service and/or education. Recently, after the land reforms legislation, some Brahmin families have permanently left Mulher while a few have kept their families in Mulher. This fact is reflected in the sex ratio. There are more females (999) than males (953) in Mulher. This is true of the tribal population also. There are 294 females and 287 males. Tribal males go out of Mulher as far as Gujarat for employment. Tahrabad is even more affected by peasant culture, while Lakhampur is mainly of peasant character. Satana town is almost in the centre of all these four villages.

A random selection of the visitors to the weekly markets was made, with the added proviso that the sample should have a fair representation of traders and buyers. After interviewing a certain number of visitors, the traders were interviewed in the market place itself. It was found that weekly markets had, on an average, 1000 visitors inclusive of buyers and traders. The questionnaires were completed by visiting each weekly market in succession. If some festival markets were to assemble during the period of investigation, then one or two markets were skipped for attending the festival market. On each market day, between 20/25 questionnaires were completed by the investigators through personal interviews. The interviewer, who was placed at the entrance of the village, was instructed to interview every 25th visitor. If this visitor turned out to be the person already interviewed, then the next one was taken up. In all, 483 individual visitors to weekly markets were interviewed. These included visitors to the Satana Market as well as to the fair held at Satana in honour of Shree Yashwant Maharaj, a local celebrity. We have tribal-rural-urban complex. In addition to these interviews, some families in the sample villages were also interviewed to find out their socio-economic needs and to ascertain whether they were satisfied by the village markets or not. The families were sampled from various castes, no weightage was given to the number of families in each caste. The following table gives a comprehensive view of the sample chosen :

Villages & Town	Individual samples	Head of families	Average visitors to the market
1. Dangsaundane	103	24	1,000
2. Lakhampur	99	37	2,000
3. Mulher	86	11	2,000
4. Tahrabad	78	14	1,000
5. Satana	69	10	5,000
6. Satana Fair	48	—	1,000 (Daily)
Total	483	96	12,000

In the family sample, the head of the family was interviewed in order to locate an average person of the market community (four villages and the town) and to study his needs and his aspirations in the context of the influences of tradition and the impact of changes that were at work. In the case of a buyer and/or seller, an attempt was made to find out what the average buyer and/or seller thought of his visit to the market, from where he came, what he did, whom he met and how he conducted his transactions in the market.

The total number of castes covered in the sample was 49, though all castes were not represented in each village. Dangsaundane sample had 19 castes, Mulher sample 27 castes, Tahrabad 24 castes, Lakhampur 28 castes, and Satana (Market & Fair) 27 castes. The persons interviewed in the weekly market fall in the following occupational categories.

	D	M	T	L	S
(1) Trading or small business	14	33	17	26	12
(2) Cultivators of land (Marathas & Malis)	8	7	30	24	23
(3) Tribals (Konkanas & Bhils)	70	32	6	4	15
(4) Artisans	2	4	11	22	10
(5) Miscellaneous (unskilled manual workers)	9	10	14	23	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>69</b>
D=Dangsaundane;		M=Mulher;		T=Tahrabad;	
L=Lakhamapur;		S=Satana.			

As regards the family sample, 26 castes were covered in the 96 family-heads interviewed. The sample had more Marathas and the Malis as they happened to be in the majority in the villages as cultivators of land. The tribals are small in number as they did not reside in the villages permanently, but visited markets frequently. They went where they found employment. The sample is fairly representative, except for the mobile caste members of the resident groups covered. The breakdown is as follows :—

	<i>Head of families</i>
Trading or small business	14
Cultivators of land	40
Tribals	4
Artisans	18
Miscellaneous	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>

The questionnaire was drafted with an eye on the visitors' time. Since the tribals had to be interviewed, their sociocultural background was kept in view. Schedules A and B of the questionnaires were meant for the basic data regarding the village where the market was held, and about the weekly market respectively. The Questionnaire I was administered to the individual buyers and/or sellers coming to the weekly markets and the Questionnaire II was meant for family heads living in the sample villages.

Questionnaire I covered such matters as the things each respondent bought or sold, whether he walked the distance or came by some vehicle, whether he combined the transactions of buying and selling with visits to friends and/or relatives and some kind of amusement. It also asked whether more than one market was visited, whether the respondent was residing in the market village or came from another village, and what his ancestral and present occupations were. The same questions were asked in Questionnaire II with a few additional questions, namely, whether the respondent got all he had to go to the Taluka town for his needs on different occasions. The usual identificatory data about caste, age, sex, education, occupation were also recorded.

The following report of an interview of 16 traders conducted at the Satana bus station on their way to the Dangsaundane market gives us an idea of the network of markets traversed by the traders. All the 16 traders visit Dangsaundane and Satana markets. 10 visit Mulher, 8 Deola (Kalwan Taluka) market, 8 Nampur (Baglan Taluka), 4 Virgaon and 1 Brahmangaon (both in Baglan). 7 visit Lakhampur Market and 4 go to Kalwan (Kalwan Taluka) of whom 2 to Kalwan and Mulher alternatively, as the weekly markets are held at both these places on Wednesdays. 1 trader goes to Pimpalner (a border town) and 2 visit Malegaon on Fridays. Of these 16 traders, 1 goes to Manamad Mulher and Dangsaundane for buying poultry, 1 visits Nasik for buying potatoes and 1 makes a trip to Malegaon and Poona for buying textile materials. One or two

family members go to these markets, while the head looks after the shop at Satana. Many of these traders, especially the cloth dealers, know the tribals personally and sell cloth on credit. The tribals visit these shops when they come to Satana on some important market days. Thus out of long association in the village market, contacts are established in the town-cum-urban area between the tribals and peasants on the one hand and the shop-keepers on the other.

### MAIN FINDINGS

(1) The primary function of the weekly market seems to be that of attracting people and resources to one place in such a way that the market becomes the centre of maximum social interactions among people coming from different villages and towns.

(2) There develops reciprocity in relationship through the process of communication, because the buyers and the sellers have different roles to perform in the market. Sometimes the buyers have the upper hand, sometimes the sellers dictate the terms.

(3) As a result of this continuity in relationship from one market to another, 'communication' turns into social exchange and people not only transact business, but in the process of transacting business, exchange views and news and gain familiarity with the subjects of their interest and concern.

(4) When people assemble in the market, communication becomes a smooth process. But bad roads, and the consequent isolation of villages in the tribal areas, restrict the social exchange.

(5) The market place as a communicating centre has a very wide appeal. On the market day, it represents a universe very much bigger than the village.

(6) The market is attended predominantly by men. Tea-shops are crowded by men who presumably meet their friends

and relatives and exchange news and views pertaining to the problems which affect them immediately.

(7) Most of the people in the market belong to the Taluka, a few come from the neighbouring Talukas of Malegaon and Kalwan and only half a dozen, and those too very occasionally, come from Nasik or Pimpalner. The latter belong to the category of traders and astrologers. In Dangsaundane and Mulher markets, activities are brisk and attendance of the tribals is large. These come from long distances to buy tobacco to which they are addicted.

(8) Generally, the traders in the market come from Satana, Nampur, Kalwan and Pimpalner, though a few local traders are always present. In the total social system of the area under study, the weekly markets of the sample can be arranged in a sort of hierarchy according to the importance attached to the markets by the visiting traders. The hierarchy would be headed by Dangsaundane and followed by Mulher, Lakhampur and Tahrabad. Satana can be considered a class by itself as it is an urban market. The hierarchy of the markets is also determined by the 'pull' of the dependent villages. Dangsaundane and Mulher have greater 'pull' while Tahrabad stands in the middle. Lakhampur, being sandwiched between Satana and Malegaon, shows an average performance as a market village.

(9) In the accessibility to the market, transport is a crucial variable. So long as certain areas in western Baglan remain unapproachable, because of the non-existence of motorable roads, weekly markets in strategic and relatively populated villages of Dangsaundane and Mulher will retain their attraction to the tribals.

(10) As to the area of operation, Dangsaundane serves the south-west region of Baglan and also a few villages from the neighbouring Kalwan Taluka. Mulher serves the north-west part of Baglan, while Tahrabad's weekly market is restricted to the neighbouring villages in the north, south, east and west.

Lakhampur market draws people from the villages towards its west upto Satana and towards its east in Malegaon Taluka.

(11) In as much as all the market villages send buyers and sellers to Satana, Satana town remains a common focal for all the villages in the Taluka. But within the Taluka, the market villages represent closer communities. The people in these communities are generally acquainted with and meet one another oftener than they do people outside the influence of the market. They make a primary group of interaction. Market is also a place where the tribal comes in contact with peasant, trader and artisan and thus enters the monetized sector of the society. From that point of view, Dangsaundane and Mulher represent the tribal border as also the contact zone between the peasants and the tribals. A web of communication is woven throughout a Taluka by the markets which represent knots of denser interchange.

(12) Of the 579 people interviewed in all, 150, that is 25.9 per cent, have changed occupations. Only 26, that is 44 per cent, have taken to daily labour and left their ancestral occupations, farming or craftsmanship. Again, for Konkanas and Bhils, who make less than half of this sample, daily wage earning may not be considered as taking to an inferior occupation and/or position. To a tribal, doing work on daily wages may confer freedom and give him much needed cash, which he requires to buy the necessities of life. It also frees him from the state of being underemployed. As stated earlier, the tribals of this area go to Gujarat as seasonal workers in sugar factories and earn cash.

(13) The largest number of women (about 18%) attend Dangsaundane, the predominantly tribal market, which is accessible by some mode of transport. Lakhampur and Tahrabad have these facilities, while Dangsaundane and Mulher are accessible to the tribals only on foot.

(14) It was found that among the people interviewed in the markets of sample villages, Dangsaundane had the lowest



literacy while Lakhampur showed the highest. The latter also had a larger number of residents whose education had gone beyond the primary level. Regarding Mulher, since it was dominated by the Brahmins and the Shimpis (tailors), the level of education among the residents was quite high. One or two individuals of Shimpi (tailor) caste were found to be permanently settled abroad.

(15) Among the buyers coming to the weekly markets, a large number belonged to the same Taluka, i.e., Baglan. In the case of Lakhampur and Dangsaundane, some buyers did come from the neighbouring Talukas of Malegaon and Kalwan respectively. In the case of traders, a few came from the Dhulia District of Khandesh (Pimpalner) and Malegaon and Kalwan Talukas of Nasik District.

(16) In the case of Dangsaundane, the largest number of the sample visitors had come to buy, while the Lakhampur sample indicated dominance of sellers. But mostly, the visitors to the market did no selling and buying. That is because most of the buyers were subsistent buyers and had no cash to buy. This was specially true of the tribals and the peasants. These brought with them whatever they collected from the jungle or what they had produced on the farm respectively. After selling these articles, they bought their necessities like cereals, vegetables, dried fish, spices, sometimes cloth, bangles, etc. Some of the specialists like tailors, blacksmiths, horseshoers, barbers, cobblers did their work for the visitors on the weekly market days. The horseshoers were Muslims and did additional work as tinsmiths and ironsmiths. The weekly market was dominated by grain, cloth, and clothes dealers and small sellers of dried fish, fodder and faggot. Many odds and ends like cutlery, bangles, brass and aluminium pots were also sold.

(17) It was found that most of the sample visitors to the market came alone. However, in Dangsaundane and Satana, quite a few people were accompanied by their neighbours or

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relatives. Generally, a market is a socio-economic affair and is viewed as a social occasion to be enjoyed with friends. A few individuals came just to watch the fun. Nearly 60 per cent of the visitors said that they attended the market regularly. About 20 to 30 per cent visited occasionally. The rest gave no information. People who do not visit any other market made up 30% in Dangsaundane, Mulher and Satana. From Lakhampur, nearly 50% visited other markets. Those who visited weekly markets for fun, or for meeting friends, were mostly found in Satana. In other markets, most of the people combined business with amusement.

(18) Nearly 40 per cent of the marketeers walked to the market in Dangsaundane and Mulher; most of the visitors to Lakhampur, Tahrabad and Satana markets used bus, while quite a large number walked part of the distance and used bus or bicycle or cart, whichever was available, for the rest of the journey although bus was preferred. In recent years, since the people, lacking means of transport, cannot easily move out interested parties like rural entrepreneurs and politicians themselves go to the area in jeeps and exploit the ignorance of the tribals by telling them all sorts of stories about life on the plain. This rouses people's curiosity and sharpens their desire to possess things which they hear about.

(19) It is necessary to note one important development. Even in the absence of a manufacturing centre, a market town exercises a 'pull' on the neighbouring tribals and the peasants. But its capacity to absorb people is limited as it has no potential for growth. Satana so far has remained functionally a market town. In addition to the weekly market, there is an active agricultural market yard, where 'Adatas' (middlemen) from Bombay come to buy cotton and oilseeds. But it has no industry worth the name.

(20) Enterprising farmers of Satana and of the surrounding area have taken to money crop cultivation and they are showing

signs of prosperity. However, such farmers are small in number and their impact is not very significant. Yet, Baglan does show some signs of change. Generally, people want small industries to be established in Satana. A college is already functioning. Electricity has arrived. Some of the mobile castes are leaving the villages and are settling down in Satana. These trends towards modernization and urbanization have given rise to aspirations to improve one's standard of living.

### CONCLUSION

From the study of the structure of the weekly market and the behaviour of individuals and groups, our main proposition that weekly markets are not merely an economic affair, but also a social concern, is validated. The study has shown that in the market mutuality prevails and that this mutuality controls the behaviour of the participants. Traders are allowed to have reasonable profits, but if they are to go beyond the permitted margin, public condemnation of this greedy behaviour follows. This opprobrium maintains a kind of static state of affairs, in ways which keep the buyers willing to buy and under the obligation of traders. The latter maintain the relation of mutuality. There is no killing of the goose that lays the golden eggs. The traders do make profits, but there is no 'conspicuous behaviour' of inequality which leads to 'demonstration effects'.

Interactions between groups and among group members—repetitive and continuous—make the tribals conscious of their present subsistence living. This consciousness comes through the contact with the politically interested groups as well as through the contact with the social reforms and employment in factories. Since up to now the means of communications are not very much developed, the awareness has not gone to the point of explosiveness, but a situation of tension has undoubtedly been created. Another reason for the acceptance of this status of submission is that the tribals do not occupy any

strategic frontier like the one on the Himalayan Border. It is true, that they do occupy a disputed border between Maharashtra and Gujarat and that some interested groups try to make capital out of this situation. It was also found that distrust and a relationship of suspicion has developed between the tribals and peasants. The tribals are the traditional servants of the peasants. In recent years, the tribals have become aware that the traders also cheat them and once in a while they resort to violence. These violent actions, though spontaneous, are sporadic and to that extent not very disturbing, so far, to the prevalent social order of the region. But such a situation does emphasize the need for taking positive action, by the welfare-oriented Government, for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the tribals in this area. Through the dynamics of exogenous social change, the tribals have acquired familiarity with the wider social system. They can no longer remain contented. The Government should provide cheap grain and other necessities of life to the tribals in their remote habitat. In the weekly markets, there must be some control exercised by the Government, over the prices charged and paid by the traders. By reorganizing the structure and function of the weekly markets (independent variable), it will be possible to make relationship (activities, interactions, sentiments and norms) in the weekly markets compatible with the social setting and compensatory to individual aspirations.

As far as the question of leadership was concerned, it was found that no particular individual or group was entirely involved in the modernizing process voluntarily, except Government (Tribal Development Project) and social welfare agencies. The Dang Seva Mandal has made an impact, but it is facing difficulties on account of the organized opposition of some political groups. From what has been observed, it can be said that the tribals lack direction and leadership of the type which would further tribal welfare and well-being and not that of their so-called leaders. When agriculture is already crowded and land is scarce, the tribals must be allowed to choose

occupations in which they feel interested. Only a few tribal groups are efficient agriculturists. Others may like to work in factories or in the army. An organized effort is necessary to find out what exactly the tribals aspire to do and what they are suited for so that their economic status can be improved quickly.

## **A PSYCHO-SOCIAL STUDY OF TENSION IN COLLEGE-GOING YOUTH\***

By

Dr. SRI CHANDRA

The study undertakes an empirical examination of the psychological factors that underlie tension in college students and strives to understand the psycho-social factors that account for the growing unrest, tension and frustration in the youth of the country. It tests a number of hypotheses among which the following may be mentioned:

- (1) Discrepancy between achievement and aspiration levels may be higher among the group with high tension than among the group with low tension.
- (2) Absence of adequate role models may be more among the high tension than among the low tension group.
- (3) Lack of clear-cut idea as to the choice of the future career may be more among the high tension than among the low tension group.
- (4) Lack of crystallisation of either the traditional or the modern values may be more among the high tension than among the low tension group.
- (5) Tension in youth may be due to unfavourable attitude towards (a) University authorities, (b) Police authorities, (c) Student Union leaders, (d) Political parties and (e) Government. -

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\* A research project on "Psycho-Social Study of Tension in College-going Youth" has been completed by Dr. Sri Chandra, University of Lucknow, with the help of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 45,412 from the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. It has since been transferred to the ICSSR. —Editor

- (6) Tension in the youth may be due to lack of communication between students and teachers.
- (7) Tension may be higher among the students with urban background than those coming from rural background.
- (8) Tension may be higher among students from low and middle income groups than those from higher income groups.
- (9) Tension may be higher among students from non-agricultural than those from agricultural families.

### METHODOLOGY

In addition to the requirements of the project, the study also covered a number of other meaningful aspects. For example, the questionnaire sought information about personal data and psychological factors such as goals, motivations, aspirations and achievement levels. It also sought to obtain data regarding patterns of communication between students and teachers, students' attitude toward authority figures, influence of student union or political leaders and their attitude towards traditional and modern values.

**Pre-testing of Sample:** For purposes of pre-testing, the questionnaire was first administered to a random sample of 200 students who belonged to different colleges in the city of Lucknow and in rural areas. The sample covered male and female students of various age levels between 16 and 24 years. As many as 190 questionnaires were collected. Response frequencies for each item, other than those which covered inventories and personal data, were tabulated. The frequency chart was examined against the criterion of the normalcy of response patterns, the try-out Form of the questionnaire was revised in the light of this evaluation, suggestions offered by judges (psychologists) and difficulties of comprehension and ambiguity etc., reported by the respondents.

No special measures were taken to test the reliability and

validity of the questionnaire. The criterion of the normalcy of response serves as a rough measure of reliability and its validity is implicit in the assumptions. Moreover, as the number of items revised was small, a second try-out was not deemed necessary.

**Sample Studied:** A specified number of colleges in the Lucknow district were randomly selected, both from the urban and rural areas and, from these, a total number of 803 students in the age-group of 17 to 24 years were also randomly selected on the basis of a fixed proportion. The break-down of the sample is as follows:

Name of the Institution/College	No.
Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow	45
Loreto Convent College, Lucknow	37
Mahila College, Lucknow	59
Nari Shiksha Niketan, Lucknow	38
Shashi Bhushan College, Lucknow	30
Colvin Taluqdars' College, Lucknow	23
Aminabad Intermediate College, Lucknow	21
Industrial Intermediate College, Lucknow	29
Nav Jeevan Intermediate College, Mohanlalganj, Lucknow	79
Intermediate College, Gosainganj, Lucknow	55
Intermediate College, Bakshi Ka Talab, Lucknow	56
Lucknow University, Lucknow	331
Total	803

Special measures were taken to get a good response. The respondents were personally approached at the intermediate and degree colleges and in the different departments of Lucknow University. The investigators made appointments with the heads of the institutions and went to them with copies of the questionnaire at the appointed hour and distributed the same among the students in the classrooms. The instructions were explained to the students at the outset and, if any doubt was



expressed during the course of filling up the questionnaire, the investigators gave the necessary clarifications.

## MAJOR FINDINGS

By and large, the total sample of 803 students studied reflects an almost average amount of tension on its three indices namely level of adjustment, anxiety and insecurity. The medians in each of the three cases are found to closely approach the respective means.

The two criterion groups, the low scorers (LS) and the high scorers (HS), numbering 164 and 161 respectively, were compared on the different hypotheses mentioned earlier and the results have been indicated in the paragraphs that follow:

**1. Tension is higher among students from low and middle income groups than those from higher income groups.** In the high income group (Rs. 750-1000), the number of students in the high tension group is smaller and CR value (3.86) shows that the difference is significant. In the middle income group (Rs. 300-749) also, the proportion of students in the high tension group is smaller and the CR value (6.38) shows that the difference is significant. On the other hand, the percentage of students in the high tension group in families with low incomes is larger than that in the low tension group. The CR value (2.24) shows that the difference is significant. It may, on the whole, be concluded that tension is higher among students from low and middle income groups than those from the higher income groups.

**2. Tension is higher among the students with urban background than those coming from rural background.** The analysis of data reveals that a large majority of students comprising the LS group, as compared to those of the HS group, have a rural background. The CR value (4.66) indicates that a significantly higher percentage of students of the low tension group come from rural areas. It is further found that a large percentage of respondents of the HS group, as against a small percentage of subjects of

the LS group, hail from urban areas. The CR value (5.10) indicates that a significantly higher percentage of students of the high tension group have an urban background.

**3. Lack of clear-cut idea as to the choice of a vocation is greater among the high than among the low tension group.** The analysis of responses to relevant items indicates that a lesser percentage of students comprising the HS group, in comparison with a greater percentage of students of the LS group, have a clear-cut idea regarding the vocation that they would finally take up. The CR value (2.82) shows that the difference is significant. Further, a majority of the respondents comprising the HS group, as against only about 33% students in the LS group, express indecision in this regard. The difference is also significant (CR=3.57).

The analysis of responses also shows that a large majority of students comprising the high tension group, as compared to a much smaller number of respondents of the low tension group, express the view that the students of today lack a definite purpose and direction in their life. The CR value (5.60) shows that the difference is significant. It is further found that an overwhelming number of respondents constituting the high tension group feel that most of the students are faced with an uncertain future. Comparatively, a small number of subjects of the low tension group share this feeling. The  $X^2$  value (71.52) indicates that the difference between the two groups in this regard is significant. A feeling of uncertainty about the future on the part of the students may thus be responsible for building up a considerable amount of tension in them.

**4. Tension in youth may be due to lack of communication between students and teachers.** The analysis of responses to pertinent items reveals that a smaller number of respondents comprising the high tension group, as compared to those of the low tension group, frequently go to their teachers in connection with their educational problems. Here, the difference between the two groups is found to be highly significant

(CR=3.48). Further, a sizeable number of students belonging to the high tension group, as compared to a smaller number of students from the LS group, indicate that they rarely go to their teachers in connection with their educational problems. The CR value (2.82) shows that the difference is significant.

The analysis of data further shows that very few respondents of the HS group, as compared to a sizeable percentage of students of the LS group, frequently go to their teachers in connection with their personal problems. The CR value (3.45) indicates that the two groups differ significantly in this regard. It is further found that a large majority respondents comprising the HS group, as compared to a small number of students of the LS group, reveal that they rarely go to their teachers in connection with their personal problems. The CR value (3.45) indicates that the high tension group differs significantly from the low tension group in so far as the degree of their contact with their teacher is concerned.

Statistical analysis of data brings out the fact that, while only about 19% of the students comprising the high tension group express the view that teachers frequently give them opportunity to discuss their problems with them, a much greater number of students belonging to the low tension group express this to be so. Here also, the two groups are found to differ significantly (CR=4.77, >p.01). On the contrary, a significantly large percentage of students of the high tension group indicate that their teachers rarely give them opportunity to discuss their problems (CR=3.86 > .01). It is thus evident that there is a greater lack of contact with teachers among the students of high tension group than among those of low tension group.

Analysis of data further shows that, as compared to a large percentage of students of low tension group, a smaller percentage of students comprising the high tension group feel that their teachers are very helpful. The CR value of 2.10 indicates that the HS group differs significantly from the LS group in

this regard. On the other hand, about 25% students of high tension group, as compared to a much smaller number of students constituting the low tension group, indicate that their teachers are indifferent towards them (CR=2.63,  $p > .01$ ). This is obviously indicative of the comparative lack of communication between the students of high tension group and their teachers.

**5. Tension in youth may be due to unfavourable attitude towards: (a) University authorities, (b) Police authorities, (c) Student Union leaders, (d) Political parties, or (e) Government.** An analysis of responses to relevant items shows that a significantly larger percentage of the students of the HS group, as compared to that of the LS group, feel that political parties take undue advantage of students (CR=3.18  $> .01$ ). Similarly, a significantly higher percentage of students belonging to the high tension group feels that government frequently exercises undue interference in the affairs of the students (CR=5.13,  $p > .01$ ). In regard to the attitude of students toward their union leaders, no appreciable difference between the two groups is discernible ( $X^2=0.58$ ,  $p < .05$ ); and a considerable number of students belonging to both the high and low tension groups are unfavourably disposed towards the police. The Chi-square value of 1.33 is, however, not found to be significant in this case and, on the other hand, a larger percentage of subjects of the high tension group, as compared to a much smaller number of respondents belonging to the low tension group, feel that the University/College authorities frequently interfere in the affairs of the student community. The CR value (2.62,  $p > .01$ ) shows that the two groups differ significantly in this regard. These findings show that tension in the youth may be related to their unfavourable attitudes towards authorities.

**6. Lack of crystallization of either the traditional or modern values is greater among the high tension than among the low tension group.** The analysis of data to relevant items of the questionnaire shows :

(a) that, as compared to a small number of respondents of

the high tension group, a much larger percentage of subjects belonging to the low tension group feel that customs and traditions of their family are acceptable today, the CR value (3.10,  $p > .01$ ) showing that the difference is significant;

- (b) that a significantly higher percentage of students comprising the high tension group reflect an attitude of indecision in regard to acceptability of family customs and traditions (CR=2.65,  $p > .05$ );
- (c) that a significantly large percentage of students of the LS group, as compared to those of the HS group, feel that intercaste marriages would be useful for the society (CR=5.79), while a significantly larger number of respondents, comprising the HS group, express indecision towards the usefulness of intercaste marriages for the society (CR=3.63,  $p > .01$ );
- (d) that a significantly larger percentage of students of the HS group, as compared to those of the LS group, show indecision in regard to the usefulness of joint-family system (CR=5.82,  $p > .01$ );
- (e) that a significantly larger percentage of students comprising the HS group, than those of the LS group, express a state of indecision in regard to their attitude towards the role of an educated girl in home life (CR  $\times$  5.79,  $p > .01$ ); and
- (f) that a significantly larger percentage of students belonging to the HS group, as compared to those of LS group, express indecision in regard to their preference for traditional over modern values (CR  $\times$  6.24,  $p > .01$ ).

On the basis of the above findings, it may be concluded that lack of crystalization of either the traditional or modern values is greater among the high tension than among the low tension group.

#### **7. Discrepancy between achievement and aspiration level is**

**higher among the group with high tension than among the group with low tension.** A comparison of present ratings with past ratings on Cantril's Self-anchoring Scale constitutes an index of the subject's perception of his achievement and a comparison of present ratings with the future ratings reflects his level of aspiration. The difference between the values of present Vs future and present Vs past would give us the discrepancy score. When the difference between the values of present Vs future and present Vs past is positive, it shows that the level of aspiration is higher than the level of achievement. If this difference is negative, it implies that the level of aspiration is lower than the achievement level.

The analysis of data shows that the level of achievement is almost the same for both high and low scores on measures of tension. The mean ratings in the two cases do not show any significant difference ( $CR=1.29, p<.05$ ). The exception in regard to the future on the part of students of the high tension group, as compared to that of the low tension group, is significantly different ( $CR=2.09, p>.05$ ) and the level of aspiration in the case of the former group is significantly higher than that of the latter. The high level of aspiration on the part of High Scorers may be related to their level of tension.

The findings further reveal that the discrepancy between achievement and aspiration levels in the case of high scorers is statistically significant ( $CR=4.46, p>.01$ ). Subjects of the low tension group on the other hand do not reflect a statistically significant discrepancy ( $CR=1.33, p<.05$ ).

These findings confirm our hypothesis that the discrepancy between achievement and aspiration level is higher among the group with high tension than among the group with low tension.

**Student Unrest:** A section of the questionnaire was also devoted to the factors contributing to unrest among students. The analysis of data concerning this section reveals that economic difficulties, exploitation of students by political

parties, lack of opportunities for proper utilisation of leisure, lack of leadership on the part of teachers, lack of proper advice and guidance, lack of facilities for learning, defective content of education and inappropriate methods of teaching, inadequate contact between students and teachers, lack of adequate employment opportunities at the end of one's career and the leniency shown by authorities in matters of discipline are some of the major factors responsible for unrest among the students. Another factor in this context is the lack of rewarding social exercises in leisure time. All that most students can do is to see movies, gossip and roam on the streets or listen to the radio.

### CONCLUSION

In the light of these findings, the need to introduce certain educational reforms gets highlighted. For instance, a radical reconstruction of the educational system to meet the needs and aspirations of the people seems to be urgently called for. Guidance and counselling programmes need to be incorporated as an integral part of education to assist the students to make decisions and adjustments in accordance with the needs of the situation and there should be an earnest effort to improve the conditions of work for students in the colleges and universities. Students will have to be assisted to make a more fruitful use of their leisure and additional employment opportunities will have to be created for the educated groups.

The communication between teachers and students will have to be vigorously promoted. The teachers should maintain effective and adequate contact with students and should be able to act as their friend, philosopher and guide. They should also give proper advice to the students with regard to academic and other matters. From this point of view, the student-teacher ratio will have to be improved. What is even more important is a change of attitudes. The teacher has to be made to realise that his responsibility is not only to teach but to behave in a manner that is conducive to the creation of a psychological

climate propitious for the development of the academic life of the student. The student, on his part, should strive to shape himself in a manner which, apart from helping and developing his personality, elicits the approbation and sympathy of his teachers and peers.

A sizeable percentage of students is harassed by economic difficulties. Appropriate steps will have to be taken to help them in as many different ways as possible.



# IMPACT OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION ON SOCIAL CHANGE — ATTITUDINAL, BEHAVIORAL AND MATERIAL\*

By

DR. B.B. CHATTERJEE

The main theme of this study is social legislation and it strives to examine how, and to what extent, laws are related to emergent social changes in the rural society of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Side by side, the study also strives to examine the nature of the impact of communicational factors on the process of change. The investigation, in particular, aims at studying the following aspects of legislation and social change :

- (1) General awareness of law among the rural people and their attitudes to legislators, legislature and legislation;
- (2) Pattern of communication of knowledge and information about legislation to the people; and
- (3) Impact of legislation relating to abolition of untouchability, marriage, dowry, divorce, inheritance, succession and adoption on the rural people.

## METHODOLOGY

**Sample villages:** Four villages in Varanasi district were selected for this study, keeping in view their general regional characteristics. The main guiding factor in selection was

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\* A research project on "Impact of Social Legislation on Social Change—Attitudinal, Behavioral and Material", has been completed by Dr. B.B. Chatterjee, Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, with the help of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,700 from the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. It has since been transferred to the ICSSR.

—Editor

'communication facility'. One village from each of the four revenue sub-divisions of the district was chosen as shown in the following table :

**Table No. 1**  
*Villages Selected*

Revenue Sub Division	Name of the Village Selected	Location	Communication Facility
1. Sadar	Umraha	12 km. N.E.	Excellent: Train, Bus, Rickshaw, Cycle
2. Chandauli	Bichhia	30 km. E.	Very Good : Train, Bus
3. Gyanpur	Jagapur	70 km. N.W.	Good : Bus station, (Gopiganj) 5 km.
4. Chakia	Shamsherpur	90 km. S.E.	Poor : Nearest bus station 20 km. away

The caste composition of these four villages varied rather distinctly, as will be seen from the following table :

**Table No. 2**  
Caste Composition of the Four Selected Villages  
on Household Basis

Village	<i>Upper</i>		<i>Backward</i>		<i>Scheduled</i>		<i>Muslims</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	T & C No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Umraha	34	15.75	87	42.86	67	33.00	15	7.39	203	100
2. Bichhia	16	14.83	43	39.81	36	33.33	13	12.03	108	100
3. Jagapur	27	21.26	61	48.03	33	25.98	6	4.72	127	
4. Shamsherpur	8	8.33	32	33.33	56*	58.34*	—	—	96	100
<b>All 4 villages together</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>15.92</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>41.76</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>35.95</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>6.36</b>	<b>534</b>	

\* Scheduled Caste: 22 (22.99%)  
Scheduled Tribe: 34 (35.42%)

It is noteworthy that, in terms of proportion of upper caste and backward Hindus, the first three villages are rather similar. In terms of proportion of scheduled caste households also, all the three villages are similar. But in the fourth village, Shamsherpur, the proportion of upper caste households is rather small. There are no Muslims and there is a substantial proportion of scheduled tribe households. This village falls in a predominantly tribal belt.

The socio-economic condition obtaining in these four villages has been brought out clearly in the following table :

**Sample of Respondents :** In each village, 40 to 50% of the households were sampled on a strictly random stratified sampling basis, the control variables being caste, educational level and economic status. The total sample size was only 200, this being fully representative of the entire cross-section of the rural community.

The selection of respondents was made on the basis of random sampling of four caste strata, namely, Muslims, upper castes, backward castes and scheduled castes and tribes. There were three strata in the variable of educational level, namely, the illiterate, just literate, studied up to primary stage and studied above the primary stage. Economic affluence variable had four strata, namely, the landless, owning land upto 5 acres, owning land between 5 and 15 acres and owning land above 15 acres. Approximately 50% of the households in each cell from all strata were selected.

The caste composition and socio-economic status of the respondents selected has been given in Table No. 4 (Page 40) and Table No. 5 (Pages 62 to 64).

Table No. 4

Caste-Composition of the Sample of Respondents  
Drawn from Four Villages

Village	Upper		Backward		Schedule		Muslims		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Umraha	12	24	19	38	14	28	5	10	50	100
2. Bichhia	9	18	19	38	16	32	6	12	50	100
3. Jagapur	14	21	23	46	9	18	4	8	50	100
4. Sham- sherpur	4	8	16	32	30	60	—	—	50	100
Four villages together	39	19.5	77	38.5	69	34.5	15	7.5	200	100

The excellent fit between the proportion of different caste groups of the sample of respondents (Table No. IV) with those of the universe of the four villages (Table No. II) should be noted. It should also be noted that the literacy level proportions in the sample (Table No. V) are fairly similar to those of the universe (Table No. III). The proportion of landless in the sample (16%) is much less than in the universe (37.26). Again the proportion of the "Above 15 acres" bracket in the sample (28.5%) is much higher than in the universe (5.80%). This is due to the fact that, in the universe (all households of the 4 villages) only landholding *per se* was considered; but during sampling, other incomes were also taken into consideration so that the classification was based, not strictly on the basis of land possessed, but on "total economic affluence". Otherwise, the sample is fairly representative of the universe.

**Tools :** Three schedules and three attitude scales which were

specially prepared for this study are as follows :

- (1) **Village Schedule** : It was framed to collect data on social, economic and educational background on the one hand and the changing nature of village institutions, associations, feuds, social crimes and similar entities on the other. Besides demographic, geographical information was also obtained.
- (2) **Focussed Interview Schedule** : It included items on various aspects of village life such as village customs, norms of behaviour and practices of arbitration and mediation.
- (3) **Household Schedule** : This was the main instrument of data collection for the study. This schedule had five sub-sections :
  - (i) Personal data and background information of the respondent;
  - (ii) Knowledge, information and pattern of communication;
  - (iii) Hindu Marriage Law, dowry system and inter-caste marriages;
  - (iv) Adoption and succession laws; and
  - (v) Abolition of untouchability.

Various types of items, varying in degree of structuredness, were used to obtain data about knowledge, information, awareness, attitude and opinion from the respondents. Some items required the respondents to make decisions in hypothetical social situations and on problems. The schedule was so constructed as to elicit data about changes taking place over the last decade, and in some cases, involved a projection in the future also.

- (4) **Attitude Scales**: Three attitude scales were specially prepared by the Thurstone technique to measure atti-

tudes towards legislation, legislature and legislators. In actual testing, however, it was found that the respondents could not follow the instructions properly. Hence, the data were not included in this study.

**Data Analysis :** Data analysis was made by first considering the coding system developed to represent different sub-groups of respondents, determined by the different strata of the four independent variables, namely, communication facility, caste, educational level and economic affluence.

## MAJOR FINDINGS

### I. Information, Knowledge and Communication

It is assumed that it is from Varanasi, the district headquarters, that effective modernizing influences emanate and percolate to other places. It follows, therefore, that the extent of the impact of the modernizing influences emanating from the centre will be an inverse function of the ease of communication with the centre. Following this line of argument, the "extent of facility of communication" with the centre (i.e. the district headquarters) was made a major background variable for selecting the villages to be included in the study.

The four villages of this study represent four different levels of facilities of communication : Shamsheerpur occupies the lowest level and is followed by Jagapur, Bichhia and Umraha in that order. A rough dichotomy could also be assumed by taking Shamsheerpur and Jagapur together as villages having poor communication facilities with the centre while Bichhia and Umraha may be regarded as villages having good communication facilities with the centre. It is generally found that "the stage of advancement, progress or development" in the areas of attitude and behaviour has been in step with the level of "communication facility" enjoyed by these four villages.

**Information and Knowledge :** As regards "knowledge and information" about law-makers, the trend of the findings has

been clear-cut and unambiguous : the quantum of knowledge and information increases from the lowest end of the four background variables to the highest end. Another important finding is that the inter-action between communication facility and education is significant. Yet another interesting finding is that, among alternative methods of changing governments, "changing people's attitude" is favoured by more persons (nearly 50%) as compared to "changing through legislation" (nearly 29%) or "changing the government" (about 21%). Again, a large proportion of the respondents in the four villages (60%) hold that strict enforcement of laws could check the spread of corruption. By and large, their attitude towards the effectiveness of laws in making social changes and in bringing about social progress was positive. But laws, by themselves, were not perceived as entities of "intimate social reality". They tended to remain remote, not as a part of the normal, day-to-day activities, but becoming operative only under abnormal, atypical or deviant situations.

**Communication :** Coming to the source of communication of matters relating to laws, some interesting features have been noted. A measure called "appropriateness of the source of communication" has been developed on the assumption that an M.P. or M.L.A. is a more appropriate source of communication than a Sarpanch and so on. The higher the position of the respondents in the hierarchy of communication facility, caste, educational level, or socio-economic status, the greater is the accuracy of their judgement of the appropriateness of the sources of communication about matters pertaining to law. These factors also appreciably interact among each other to accentuate differences between sub-groups in the matter of mean scores of accuracy of judgement.

But the villagers took no initiative to meet the authentic sources of communication for gathering information or knowledge, the situation in the more "modernized" villages being a little better than in the more "backward" ones.

Listening to radio and reading newspapers were habits more in evidence in Umraha and Bichhia, a little less in Jagapur but much less in Shamsherpur. Economic affluence and education enter quite significantly in this regard. Radio listening is able to replace newspaper reading to some extent, because literacy is not a pre-requisite for the former.

As regards communication from person to person, it was found that the officials connected with Panchayati Raj came out very well in all the four villages consistently. As against the contacts offered by Panchayati Raj officers, contacts with legislators depended more on accessibility of the village than on any other factor. The Block Development Officer has also figured prominently as a source of person-to-person communication. The crucial role played by the Sarpanch and the Panchayat Secretary, as sources of person-to-person communication, is brought out strikingly in this study.

A general apathy and indifference regarding law and legal matters and their enforcement seem to characterise the areas of activities and interests of this group of villages. This statement permits of one exception, namely, their relatively greater concern for "corruption" and methods of its eradication, by legal means or otherwise. A little closer look at the findings in this regard may be rewarding. Out of 200 respondents, 121 (60.5%) were categorically positive about the power of laws in ending corruption in society. At the same time, 47 (23.5%) were equally pessimistic. Further probing questions revealed that some villagers were able to offer suggestions as to how laws could be made more effective in eradicating corruption. The importance of these findings lies in the responses being free-recall type, the respondents themselves suggesting measures calculated to strengthen the arm of the law.

Communication as a total complex process, however, is hampered, by certain structural characteristics, from having its full play in making this awareness a vehicle of tangible social changes. The findings of the study in this regard have been



revealing. They give a good picture of the manner in which the process of communication (person-to-person or through mass-media) is functioning in these four typical villages and its variations in terms of facilities of contact with urban centres of cultural influences. The limitations that are in-built within the system are also forcefully brought into focus. Yet, within these limitations, the process of communication goes on exercising its impact—sometimes weakly but often strongly, contributing its share to the social and attitudinal changes. The conclusion is inescapable. Even the remotest villages are not completely immune to social impacts from outside, however low the level of their intensity might be. Once the impact is felt, dynamic changes are set in motion and may proceed ahead at varying paces.

## II. Impact of Untouchability Laws

A substantial proportion of the respondent sample (20.5%) were of the view that untouchability was "an age-old tradition-based custom". A number of respondents held the view that untouchability is a result of one's actions in one's previous birth. A further probe into the perception of linking untouchability with religious sanction showed that nearly 50% of the respondents did believe in such religious sanction. But 30.5% of the respondents denied any such sanction for untouchability.

In the most tradition-bound village of Jagapur, only 10% held a liberal view, which rose to 42% in Umraha and to 48% in Bichhia. Next, 46.67% of the Muslims, and of the 47.83% of the scheduled caste respondents held this view against only 16.88% of backward castes and 28.26% of the upper castes. The impact of education and economic affluence on respondents holding a more liberal view is not very clear and the class character of the belief in scriptural sanction for untouchability comes out distinctly.

To the crucial question : "Do you practise untouchability?", 147 out of 200 respondents (73.5%) said "yes", and 47 (23.5%) said 'no'; only 6 (3%) expressed no opinion. The finding is of

signal importance for one reason. A tendency to respond in a perceived socially desirable manner to such a question is to be expected. Yet 147 out of 200 respondents did not deny practising untouchability. Out of 47 who said 'no', there might be quite a few who would actually be practising untouchability while orally denying it. The only factor which consistently militates against this practice (at the verbal level at least) is communicational facility.

Another notable feature is that backward castes practised untouchability more universally than any other group (88.31%), followed by the economically most affluent group (80.70%).

It may also be noted that those who do not practise untouchability profess rational conviction against untouchability. But no one has referred to the existence of a law prohibiting untouchability.

About the future of untouchability, eight respondents opined that 'untouchability is finished' and another 140 said that it will fade out. Against these 148, there were 28 who held opposite views : 23 thought that "it will be as before", and 5 thought that "it will be on the increase". The fact that only 23% of the respondents said that they did not practise untouchability has to be considered together with the other fact that 74% of the respondents thought that untouchability had no future in society.

To the question "Why should untouchability be on the wane?", 40 respondents mentioned the "advent of hotels, cinemas, etc." as contributory factors. Another 16 respondents opined that spread of education was the cause. Impact of law was mentioned by 45 and Gandhiji's influence was mentioned by 5. Two respondents even deplored the passing away of untouchability.

**Untouchables on Untouchability :** The practice of untouchability divides the population in an asymmetrical fashion as superior and inferior. It becomes, therefore, necessary to explore

the nature of the perception of untouchability from the two different non-overlapping points of view, one of the scheduled castes themselves and the other of the caste Hindus. In the first instance, the problem was viewed through the eyes of the scheduled castes and tribes.

An opinion question, "Do you think that the untouchability law has been implemented?", was addressed to this section. 14 respondents out of 69 (20.29%) thought that the untouchability law had been implemented; 30 (43.61%) thought it had not been implemented, and 25 (36.23%) were uncertain. A larger number of respondents from the advantageously placed villages of Bichhia and Umraha tend to hold the view that the untouchability law has not been properly implemented. The more affluent members of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe sections may suffer less discrimination, which may make them feel that untouchability is being successfully curbed in society in general.

What are the reasons for the non-implementation of the untouchability law? Four reasons were advanced. The "weakness of the government machinery in implementing the law" received highest number of endorsements, followed by "lack of information about the laws", "government itself is of the higher castes", and "opposition from religious institutions". Communication facility is one factor greatly influencing the endorsement pattern of these reasons.

To the question, "Has anybody belonging to higher castes taken meals in your home?", as many as 50 respondents out of 69 (72.96%) answered in the negative. There were also 15 out of the 69 (21.64%) who did say "yes", leaving 4 who were uncertain. The 15 respondents who hosted upper caste members to dine at their own homes were only from the most affluent section among them, residing in the most advantageous villages. The fact is significant because about one-fifth of the Harijans and Adivasis have upper caste members visit their homes for lunching or dining, a fact indicative of the way how

the strict observance of untouchability is breaking down in villages. It is slow progress, but it is progress all the same. ...

The next question was : "If today, someone of the upper castes wants to dine at your place, will you refuse or agree to invite him?" 28 out of 69 respondents did say that they would refuse to invite an upper caste member to their homes. Another 40 respondents, however, said that they would invite upper caste members to their homes. The first 28 respondents then represent that section of the scheduled caste/scheduled tribe members who would actively assist the maintenance of the gap between the two sections of the people. This hardened mentality is more to be seen in the more advantaged sub-sections of these people.

"Will people, belonging to upper castes, drink water drawn by you with your own hands?" 46% of the respondents answered in the affirmative; but 52% still felt that the untouchability taboo would operate. It is rather significant that offering water appears to be connected with a greater degree of taboo and resistance than inviting an upper caste member to dinner at one's home. The discrepancy between the two situations can be understood if it is remembered that, in one case, the supposed behaviour of upper caste members is taken into account, and in the other case, the expressed behaviour of the respondents is considered.

Another question was framed thus : "In public feasts, do you dine with all others or separately?" Only 11 out of 69 respondents said that they dine *with* caste Hindus, but 56 out of 69 said that they dine separately. This is a grim picture of the stark reality as it obtains in the rural areas. 59 out of the 69 scheduled caste/scheduled tribe respondents said that they were not discriminated against in town/city hotels. The remaining 10 respondents were silent, but there was no one who complained of discrimination in a town hotel.

"Is there discrimination, if scheduled caste and tribe members wanted to enter religious temples?" Here also, a similar pattern of liberalization exists, only six respondents saying that such

barrier to the entry into temples for the Harijans still existed. This is an important finding because it faithfully reflects a change in the psychological atmosphere in the countryside not directly related to founding of modern institutions like hotels or movies. Within the scheduled caste and tribe respondents, the more advantaged and affluent sections evince least discrimination, a finding fitting in appropriately with normal social expectations.

Another interesting finding is the confirmation by the respondents that untouchability was still being practised within the scheduled castes and tribes themselves: 51 out of 69 respondents endorsed this view, only 8 opposing it and 10 remaining uncertain. That such social evils within the scheduled caste and tribe members could be tackled through proper legislation was underlined by some.

**Caste Hindus and Untouchability :** There were 77 members belonging to the backward castes and 39 to the upper castes, residing in the four villages. As a group, they were more literate and more affluent, as compared to the persons from the scheduled castes and tribes.

To the first question, "Do you allow Harijans to draw water from the well near your house?", 92 out of the 116 (79.31%) respondents answered in the affirmative and 23(19.83%) answered in the negative. The most important point to be noted here is that whereas communication facility tends consistently to promote liberalization, higher educational level, caste or economic stability tend to foster conservative behaviour. The most striking feature is that in the communicationally advantaged Umraha village, all the 31 respondents are "liberal" compared to 65% at Shamsherpur, communicationally the most disadvantaged village.

In regard to admitting Harijans into temples and religious places, the trend of the responses is similar, 61.21% being in favour of a permissive policy and 37.93% being against. It

may be recalled that 10.69% of the scheduled caste/tribe respondents opined that barriers to temple-entry existed. This, taken together with the fact that 37.93% of the caste Hindus are opposed to the entry of Harijans into temples, represents an opinion gap, which may be reflecting the impact of legal measures against discrimination.

Refusal by majority of caste Hindus to take drinking water from Harijans appears to be a persistent habit (only 6% of the caste Hindu respondents would agree to drink water offered by a Harijan). In this context, education, communicational facilities and economic affluence have made little difference to the situation.

It was observed that caste Hindu parents are not very much opposed to their offsprings having their mid-day lunch at school along with Harijan children. As regards reservation of posts for the Harijans, the attitude of the Hindus appeared to be liberal.

By and large, Hindu respondents advocated changes in the law to ensure more advantages to, and removal of disabilities of, the Harijans. But a small number of respondents was in favour of scrapping the untouchability laws altogether.

### **III. Impact of Laws related to Marriage, Separation, Dowry and Inheritance**

While laying down certain codes in clear terms, the Hindu Marriage Amendment Act of 1956 has also made provision to cover practices which, though going against the letter and spirit of the prescribed new codes, have the sanction of "custom or usage". Such relaxation, for instance, is permitted in the matter of marriages between parties within "degrees of prohibited relationship"; but they are not permitted for such items as (1) minimum age of the partners; (2) freedom of both parties from certain diseases or disabilities; or (3) neither party having a living spouse at the time of marriage. This background has to be borne in mind while examining the findings of this study.

**Age of Marriage:** Out of the 200 respondents interviewed, as many as 193 were married, the remarkable point to be noted being that about two-thirds of the sample of respondents were married by the time they attained the age of 17 years. By 21, the proportion of married persons reaches 87.50%. It is quite clear that early marriage is still the most characteristic quality of the matrimonial practices in this part of the country. It may also be pointed out that 137 (71%) persons had violated the legally prescribed minimum age for the marriage of a male.

Out of the 200 respondents, 82 felt that there was nothing wrong or improper in their children marrying before the age of 15 years (15 years of age is the mean between the minimum age of marriage for males and females). The view is obviously based on traditional values or on pragmatic considerations.

It was also observed that 75.5 per cent of the respondents were in favour of laws prescribing a minimum age for marriages. Only 19.0 per cent were against such a practice and 5.5 per cent were uncertain.

**Expenses in Marriage:** Another interesting point to be noted is that most of the respondents (164 out of 200) did feel that the Hindus spent more than was necessary in marriages. In the two modernized villages, Umraha and Bichhia, only 3 respondents thought that Hindu marriages did not involve excessive expenditure. But in the 2 backward villages, Jagapur and Shamsherpur, as many as 20 respondents held the same view. The knowledge, that it is an offence to spend more than a specified sum of money during a marriage, does not seem to have reached the rural communities. With such wide-spread ignorance of the law among the people, it is futile to look for much impact of the law upon people's behaviour in marriage practices.

**Caste Considerations in Marriage:** Out of the 200 respondents, 50 per cent thought that caste considerations received a lot of attention in marriage. This view was more prevalent among

the better off sections of the community who seem to be prone to feel that modernization in marriage practices *is* taking place. A large proportion of people also hold the view that government is encouraging inter-caste marriages by (1) removing all legal restrictions on such marriages, (2) giving help to persons marrying outside their castes, and (3) giving cash awards or offering government service. The role of legislative measures in the liberalisation of marriage customs thus seems to find some recognition.

**Love-Marriages:** In the matter of love-marriages, education exercises the utmost influence, followed by caste, communication facility and landed property. Ninety-two of the respondents thought that parents should disown their offsprings, if they married outside their caste. But 42 out of these 92 came from only one village, Jagapur, which is the most conservative of the four villages. Other punitive measures suggested varied in intensity from "scolding" or "not dining with them", to "driving them out of the family" or "excommunication from their own caste". Ten respondents, however, opined that the errant offsprings should be tolerated. The majority of the community is fairly conservative in its attitude to love-marriages.

**Decision-making in Marriage:** The respondents were only poorly aware of the most important provision of the marriage law, namely, that the consent of both the bride and the bridegroom was a pre-requisite to marriage. Only 29 persons out of 200 knew this fact, and these were from the better off section of the community. When requested to comment on the desirability or otherwise of this provision of obtaining consent of the bride and bridegroom before marriage, 73 persons supported the provision, 82 were opposed to it and 45 could not decide one way or the other. When asked to give reasons for their views, they did come out with some which appeared to be rational or in conformity with the current norms of the society. Two points are noteworthy: (1) Muslims appear to be more conservative or undecided in this regard than even the scheduled castes or tribes; and (2) the economically affluent section of the



community is more rigid and authoritarian than the section just below it. It thus appears that, while the traditionalism inherent in social customs is clearly recognised by the respondents, there is also no doubt that it is being increasingly replaced by more liberal practices, especially in the two more advanced villages.

**Dowry System:** The state of knowledge among the respondents with regard to the legal position of the dowry system is rather dismal. Only 21% respondents seemed to know that taking or giving of dowry was not legal. As many as 73% did not know about any legal sanctions against the dowry system. It was observed that 155 out of 200 respondents are in favour of having legal sanctions against dowry. Only 7.5% do not want any such sanctions, and another 15% are uncertain. Further, the economic implication of the dowry system is well brought out by the fact that the less affluent section of the people is more in favour of legal sanctions against the dowry system than the more affluent ones. Thus 31 out of 32 landless persons favour legal sanctions against the dowry system. But 44 out of 57 respondents having more than 15 acres of land are in its favour. The more educated sections of the sample are also in favour of legal sanctions against dowry system. The poorest section is against the system. The richest section has a sub-section which is not against it; but the middle and lower middle-class lack the moral courage to take a stand on the issue.

The economic implication of the dowry system was further probed with the help of a pointed question: "What should parents do, if they had no money to pay dowry while marrying their offsprings?" The answers obtained fell into three categories :

- (1) Practical suggestions which offer a way out of the difficulty but do not connote discontinuance of the dowry system;
- (2) Suggestions which have a protestant or rebellious connotation; and

- (3) Suggestions which smack of defeatism and submission to the situation.

**Divorce :** The first finding is that 50% of the respondents knew about the provision regarding divorce in the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, 47% did not know about it and 3% were uncertain. According to 30 out of 72 respondents, divorce was increasing; 33 thought it was neither increasing nor decreasing; and 9 thought it was on the decrease. Only a few reasons, mostly based on commonsense, were given to explain this alleged increase in the incidence of divorce.

The pattern of endorsements on the various grounds listed for granting divorce is revealing. "Adultery" has been endorsed most frequently, followed by "Change of religion", "insanity", "leprosy", "contagious disease" or "partner missing", in that order. A tremendous gap exists between the vague knowledge about the phenomenon called 'divorce', and the legal grounds which provide the basis for divorce.

A very interesting finding is about the justifiability or otherwise of the seven legally defined grounds for granting divorce. "Adultery", as a ground for divorce, finds favour with 72 respondents, with 7 against. But "change of religion" is favoured as a ground for divorce by only 53, with 15 against. Again, "absence of one partner for more than 7 years" is endorsed by 43 persons, with 34 against. The number of persons who are opposed to grant divorce on the remaining three grounds—"leprosy", "insanity" and "contagious disease"—is greater than that of those who support it.

**Judicial Separation:** Knowledge about the provision of judicial separation was very poor among the respondents. Among grounds on which judicial separation could be granted, "cruelty" was mentioned on more occasions than "virulent disease", "insanity" or "adultery". It is noteworthy that no respondent thought "quarrel" could be a valid legal ground for granting judicial separation.

In case of severe quarrels between a husband and wife, 12 respondents urged some form of reconciliation between the partners, 5 advocated separation of varying degrees of finality, but no one suggested the dissolution of marriage *on this ground*. When husband and wife could not get along smoothly together, the solutions offered followed the same pattern : as many as 84 respondents favoured some form of compromise which, in essence, ensured the status quo, while 57 respondents favoured divorce and 6 advocated separation.

Though divorce and separation, as legal provisions within the ambit of the institution of marriage, are fairly radical measures, their impact upon social acceptance and practice has been minimal. This may be due partly to the hurdles and hardships that legal proceedings entail, even if one sought divorce or separation on the most reasonable grounds.

**Bigamy, Polygamy and Polyandry :** Bigamy, polygamy and polyandry are prohibited by the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955. It was, therefore, expected that the impact of the law on actual marriage practice may be more pervasive.

Knowledge about the legal prohibition of bigamous and polygamous marriage was not too unsatisfactory among the respondent sample because only about half the number of respondents said that they knew the legal position. The better off section of the people is more knowledgeable about the legal position than the rest. Whereas 63.5% of the respondents are in favour of the legal provision making polygamous marriages an offence, only 11.5% are against it, and 25% are uncertain. The most liberal opinion comes from the well-to-do sections of the community who also have better communication facility, caste position and education. In Shamsherpur, communicationally the most backward village, 32% of the respondents did not want law against polygamy. But in communicationally advanced Bichhia, none were opposed to such a law and in Umraha, only 10% of the respondents did so.

Of the various reasons given to justify law against polygamy, the two most frequently mentioned were: (1) "for maintaining peace in family" and (2) "two marriages are basically bad". Most of the reasons flow from the respondents' insight and understanding of the nature and problems of family life. As against this, the reasons for permitting polygamy were very commonplace and were also mentioned only a few times. The number of persons who hold such conservative views is rather negligible.

The following table shows the proportion of people who were in favour of, uncertain about, or opposed to a second wife being taken, for the varying types of disabilities on the part of the first wife :

Situation	Husband can marry again	Husband should not marry again	Uncertain
1. First wife has no issue	75%	22%	2.5%
2. First wife has become insane	53.5%	44%	2.5%
3. First wife is a victim of incurable disease	47.5%	49.5%	3%
4. First wife contracts an infectious disease	47.5%	49%	3.5%
5. First wife is physically disabled and incapacitated	45%	56%	4%

The respondents were quite consistent in giving opinion; and there were as many as 118 respondents who answered with "high level of consistency", as against only 27 respondents who did not so answer. This is very satisfying, considering the large proportion of illiterate and semi-literate respondents in the sample. The inference is that polygamy and bigamy

are already dying out as a social custom in this part of the country.

**Inheritance Laws and Adoption:** Knowledge about the practice of "adoption" was quite adequate as shown by the fact that 161 out of 183 respondents said that they had known about "adoption", and only 22 answered in the negative.

No less than 78.5% of the respondents were in favour of the system of adoption; only 11% were against; and another 10.5% were uncertain. But, in the most disadvantaged village, Shamsherpur, 34 out of 50 were in favour of adoption while the proportion goes up to 46 out of 50 in the most advantaged village of Umraha. The rural people support adoption, though its actual incidence has been extremely meagre. 118 respondents were aware of the fact that a woman also can adopt a child. But out of these, only 35 approved of it, 10 explicitly opposed the provision, and 7 said that the law should be modified.

To the question, "Can a girl be adopted?", 68 respondents replied in the affirmative, while 84 answered in the negative. 15 said that the law approved the adoption of a girl, while 16 said that the law did not do so. Lastly, 6 said that the existing law should be modified, and 7 expressed just the opposite view. It was thus seen that there was considerable lack of knowledge about the provisions of law on the equality of status between girls and boys, in the matter of adoption. It was also seen that opposition to girls being adopted came on the (supposed) grounds of complications that would arise in succession to property when such girls got married. The most important reason given for adopting a girl was "for *Kanyadan* ceremony".

The reasons given by respondents for adopting a son, in a family which had daughters only, were based more on practical rather than religious considerations such as service in old age, continuation of the family name or succession to property. The religious need of "*pinda dan*" was mentioned only twice.

The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 has rectified many of the

iniquities and anomalies of the old Hindu Law of Inheritance. Knowledge about the modern law of inheritance was, however, very poor among the respondents. With such widespread ignorance of the law conferring important rights on women, the impact of the law appears to be feeble indeed.

To the direct question whether a daughter should have a share in the family property, only 13.5% of the respondents gave a positive answer, against 76.5% who denied such rights to the daughters. Why should the daughter be denied any share in her father's property—they were asked. Some of the typical replies were : (i) she gets dowry on her marriage; (ii) she gets a share in her husband's property; and (iii) it will be against tradition to grant her any share. But to the question, "Should there be a law bestowing inheritance rights to the daughter?", 38% were in favour and 52% were against it. Equal share for daughter in her parents' properties is advocated mostly on grounds of justice and ethical considerations. But the grounds of opposition to giving inheritance rights to daughter are based mostly on traditional considerations.

On the whole, it may be said that the better off section of the people are not opposed to liberalisation of laws which remove some of the disabilities and stigma from which women have been suffering from ancient times. But the impact of the existing laws in improving the existing situation in this regard has been marginal.

TABLE No. 3

## Socio-economic Condition on Household-Basis in the Four Sample Villages

Village	Caste Group	Literacy Level			Land Holding				Total
		Ill/just literate	Primary	Above Primary	Landless	Upto 5 acres	Between 5—15 acres	Above 15 acres	
1. Umraha	Upper	15	6	13	2	9	18	5	34
	Backward	74	10	3	29	45	13	—	87
	Scheduled C and T	67	—	—	48	—	—	—	67
	Muslims	4	10	1	11	4	—	—	15
	Total	160	26	17	90	77	31	5	203
	Percentage	78.82	12.81	8.33	44.34	37.93	15.27	2.49	

2.	Bichhia	Upper	2	6	8	1	3	7	5	16
		Backward	34	1	8	5	30	8	—	43
		Sch. C and T	32	1	3	17	19	—	—	36
		Muslims	10	—	3	4	8	—	1	13
		Total	78	8	22	27	60	15	6	108
	Percentage	72.22	7.41	20.37	25.00	55.56	13.89	5.56		
3.	Jagapur	Upper	17	8	2	—	9	14	4	27
		Backward	60	—	1	20	35	4	2	61
		Sch. C and T	33	—	—	27	3	3	—	33
		Muslims	6	—	—	5	1	—	—	6
		Total	116	8	3	52	48	21	6	127
	Percentage	91.34	6.31	2.36	40.94	37.81	16.54	4.73		



4. Sham- sherpur	Upper	—	1	7	—	—	1	7	8
	Backward	28	4	—	3	20	1	6	32
	Sch. Caste	21	1	—	2	10	9	1	22
	Sch. Tribe	34	—	—	25	6	3	—	34
	Total	83	6	7	30	36	16	14	96
	Percentage	86.46	6.25	7.30	31.26	37.51	16.67	14.58	
	Total	437	48	49	199	221	83	31	534
	Percentage	81.83	9.00	9.17	37.26	41.39	15.54	5.80	100.00

TABLE No. 5

## Socio-Economic Condition of the Respondent Sample Drawn from the Four Villages

Village	Caste Group	Literacy Level			Land Holding				Total
		Ill/Just literate	Primary	Above Primary	Landless	Upto 5 acres	Between 5—10 acres	Above 15 acres	
1. Umraha	Upper	3	6	3	—	1	4	7	12
	Backward	18	—	1	4	8	3	4	19
	Sch. C. & T.	14	—	—	1	12	1	—	14
	Muslims	5	—	—	—	4	1	—	5
	Total	40	6	4	5	25	9	11	50
	Percentage	80	12	8	10	50	18	22	100

2. Bichhia	Upper	4	—	5	—	2	1	6	9
	Backward	12	2	5	1	8	2	8	19
	Sch. C. & T.	15	—	1	6	9	1	—	16
	Muslims	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	6
	Total	34	4	12	8	22	5	15	50
	Percentage	68	8	24	16	44	10	30	100
3. Jagapur	Upper	5	4	5	—	—	1	13	14
	Backward	21	1	1	4	8	4	7	23
	Sch. C. & T.	9	—	—	5	4	—	—	9
	Muslims	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	4
	Total	39	5	6	9	16	5	20	50
	Percentage	78	10	12	18	32	10	40	100

4. Sham- sherpur	Upper	—	1	3	—	—	—	4	4
	Backward	14	1	1	1	4	2	9	16
	Sch. C. & T.	29	1	—	9	11	7	3	30
	Muslims	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total		43	3	4	10	15	9	16	50
Percentage		86	6	8	20	30	18	32	100
Total		156	18	26	32	76	35	57	200
Percentage		78	9	13	16	38	17.5	28.5	

