

PEOPLE AND SOCIETY SERIES

PERSPECTIVES
IN THE
RURAL POWER STRUCTURE
IN
WEST PAKISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

These five articles by Mr. Inayat Ullah have been reproduced by the Development Research & Evaluation Group in order to permit American advisors in West Pakistan to learn more about the social, economic and political aspects of selected Punjabi villages and their relationship to the larger environment through the institution of Basic Democracies. We are grateful to Mr. Inayat Ullah for permitting us to circulate his keen insights among US A.I.D. Mission staff.

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Caste, Patti and Faction in the Life of a Panjabi Village

The village Tararwala¹ lies four miles south of the river Chenab, on the north bank of the Nullah Wahag which is usually in spate during the rainy season. Whenever this spate synchronizes with an inundation of the river, the paddy fields are flooded, and if the water stands on the fields for more than two days, the crop is destroyed. This has happened practically in all the last seven years, reducing the villagers to abject poverty and has, in a way, tamed the wild, daring and proud Jat who live here.

The village lies at the tail end of the minor canal which comes from the Lower Chenab Canal this makes the water supply of the village more scarce. The cultivators, for whom the rice crop is both food and cash crop, requiring relatively much water, sometimes give more value to water than to their lives. With his simple wooden plow, primitive tools and emaciated livestock, the farmer toils for three months under the scorching sun of June, July and August. In the exacting process of cultivation of the crop all the village people take part—and this labour in Pakistani climate influences to various degrees the social attitude of the villagers.

Other crops sown are wheat, tobacco and sugar—cane, but they are just enough for local needs.

¹ *A fictitious name*

The rice is sold at the Hafizabad market, fifteen miles from the village. The village is connected with Hafizabad by a road for ten miles; the rest is a muddy zig-zag trail, hardly passable in the rainy season. Hafizabad is a famous rice market of West Pakistan, situated on the railway line connecting Rawalpindi and Lyalipur, where influences of modern life and rural culture are hesitatingly embracing each other, The area is an old settlement and Tararwala is, perhaps, one of the oldest villages of the area.

The majority of the landowning class in the area are Jats, Tarar, a sub caste of the Jats, are most powerful in every respect. The membership in the Provincial Assembly, in the District Board and all other important public offices belong to Tarar members, In the area they are known for their shrewdness, intelligence, diplomacy, power-hunger and pride. Their opponents blame them for lack of fidelity and honesty. The social goal of an individual, and thereby of a family, is to be effective and powerful enough to be of help to friends and awe the enemies. Success of a family and an individual is measured by the extent of one's influence over other people. A person who has no enemy, whom nobody fears and whom nobody obeys, is a worthless person. This social philosophy is shared by all Jats of this area, but Tarars are its fervent exponents and strict followers.

The village has one mosque in the center to which two bath-rooms and one lavatory, meant to be used by all villagers, are attached. Along with the mosque is one room where the travellers with lower status, peddlars, pawndas ² etc. stay at night.

2 An Afghan nomadic tribe, which during the winter, moves into West Pakistan villages. They earn their living by building adobe walls; they often stay in mosques during the night and beg for their meals from door to door.

Other visitors would stay in the village dera.³ There are two dera now in the village. In winter fire is ignited there, around which the villagers sit and gossip. There are two such “fire-places”, and all families take fire for use in the house or the huqqa ⁴ from it. The Dhooandar, who arranges this fire, is paid in grain by every family in each of the two harvesting seasons. In summer, when the men are free from work, they sit under the shade of a tree, sleep, play cards or pasha.⁵ There are four clusters of trees under which the villagers sit. There is no common well in the village; practically all landowning families have installed hand-pumps in their homes. The rest either take their water from these pumps or get it from some well near the village.

The village has one primary school, opened in 1952. As there is no school building, the teacher conducts classes in one courtyard of a dera. There is no playground in the village.

The village houses are in a compact form. There is only one ⁶ separate colony of Sansis, nearly a furlong away from the village. Everybody, except the Sansi, is a Muslim and belongs to the Sunni sect.

3. *A common sitting room of a patti or village, where villagers sit together, usually during the evenings or mornings. Common guests of the dera-owning families are entertained here.*

4. *Hubble bubble, or water-pipe.*

5. *A game, usually played in summer noons in Punjab villages. 8-12 persons can play.*

6. *A caste without any codified religion. They sometimes eat the meat of dead animals and are known for committing thefts. They have a special language, which they speak only among themselves. Economically, they are very depressed. They live usually outside the main colony. Now most of them have embraced Islam and are called ‘Dindars’. Some have recently adopted agriculture as their profession.*

There are 100 families (450 persons) in the village; twelve families with 46 members are refugees. Table 1 will show the caste composition of the village. The heterogeneous caste composition of the village is obvious from it. The castes can be divided, first into two broad categories: zamindars and kammis.

Table 1: Caste Composition of the Village

Name of Caste 1) Zamindars	Persons	Families	Name of Caste 2) Kammiss	Persons	Families
Tarar	38	7	Teli (Oilpresser)	21	6
Warraich	14	3	Barber	15	4
Cheena	7	1	Machhi (Water-carrier)	25	6
Gondal	2	1	Kumhar (Potter)	23	6
Hajra	9	2	Mochi (Shoe-maker)	28	4
Bawra	4	1	Lohar (Blacksmith)	7	1
Faqir	10	2	Tarkhan (Carpenter)	11	2
Joya	22	4	Julaha (Weaver)	24	4
Bhatti	6	1	Arain	7	1
Gakkhar	9	1	Mirasi	10	2
Rajput	23	6	Musalli	81	19
Awan	6	2	3) Miscellaneous		
Sangrana	11	2	Syed	8	1
Lilla	2	1	Dindar (Sansi)	17	5
Mangat	12	1	Unknown	12	4

The zamindar castes include all those agricultural castes that are landowners or whose ancestors were. They are called Jat. Jat in these villages is synonymous with agriculturists and nobody understands it to be a separate caste. There are fourteen Jat castes in the village, with 168 members. All except the Tarars came to the village two or three generations ago. As already mentioned, the Tarar are a domineering caste in this, as well as other nearby villages. All other Jats, except the Hajra, have no political influence in the area; the others have their separate territories of influence in the district, though they are not influential in this specific area. All Rajputs are refugees; they have been allotted the land left by Hindus.

All non-agriculturist castes, i.e. craftsmen or unskilled labourers, are included in the Kammiss. Every kammi caste has a distinct social and economic function in the villages Kammiss are stratified within their own group. For instance, the blacksmith and barber are regarded as higher castes than the Musallis.

There is one Syed family in the village and is revered by the whole village, although they do not own land and have no murid. ⁷

Caste has a special significance in the rural life of the Punjab. The first question to be asked from a visitor is about his caste, as this information decides whether he is to be given a cot to sit on or he is to seat himself on the ground, and whether a special meal is to be cooked for him. If he belongs to a Jat caste, he will receive better treatment than a kammi. A Jat in dirty rags will be seated on a cot, while a clean, even fashionable kammi is to sit on the ground. The pot from which the kammi has eaten and drunk is essentially to be washed before a Jat would use it. A Jat would never give his daughter in marriage to a kammi; the daughter of a kammi could be married by a Jat, if he liked it, but there is strong social pressure against it and such a marriage may result in a boycott by the

community. It will definitely lower the status of the person concerned. There is no such case in the village Tararwala.

Inter-caste marriages among the zamindars are permitted, but some castes disapprove of exogamous marriages, especially of their daughters. When there is no such prejudice, the economic position, the moral reputation and the caste of the family are taken into account.

7. *A person who accepts the religious guidance of a person for his whole life becomes his murid (pupil). Such a guide is known as a pir.*

When both are not the ideals, economic considerations would outweigh moral ones. A landowning family or caste would not like to give its daughter to a non-landowning family of the same caste or other castes. However a bride could be taken even from a non-landowning zamindar.

In Tararwala, the zamindar castes have no such prejudice against te another, but considerations of economic status make such inter-caste marriages within the village less frequent. There is one case of a marriage between Tarar and Hajra, in which the bride is a Hajra; in another case, the bride is Tarar and the bridegroom is Mangat. This marriage was strongly resented by the Tarars but as the girl was a widow, she could not be dissuaded. An attempt to marry a Tarar girl by a Warraich was prevented by the caste. There is only one case of intra-caste marriage in the village in the Warraich caste.

Kammis have their own customs of inter-caste marriages. The mochi, the machhi, the kumhar, the barber, the arain, the mirasi, the mussali and the teli would never marry outside their own castes. The blacksmith and the carpenter could, but the general tendency is towards endogamous marriage. There are a few cases of exogamous marriages among the Mussali, but none in the other castes.

For the individual, caste has an emotional significance too. Any honourable deed done by any member anywhere is a source of pride to all caste brothers, A misdeed by a member, however, would be a slur on the face of the whole caste and members of the caste would feel it. This is specially strong when any woman of the caste is charged with irregular sex relations. Usually, every member of the caste feels it is his duty to defend his caste against every sort of accusation and to live up to the traditions of the caste.

Ownership of land is a sign of wealth and power. One who wants to become more powerful, should have more land. Most of the land in the village is concentrated in the hands of the Tarars. The other agriculturist castes could buy land, but prejudice against the sale of land is very strong; it is regarded as a preposterous step, a sign of dwindling position of the family. Therefore, when

someone tries to buy land, generally no one is willing to sell. But whenever there is such an opportunity, every family tries to purchase it, even if they have to sell ornaments, cattle or mortgage their land. There has been no case of sale of land by the Tarars to the other agriculturist castes, though there are some such instances and several attempts to buy land from other castes. The kammi could not buy land before the abrogation of the Punjab Land Alienation Act (1901). But even after its abrogation there has been no case of purchase of land by a kammi in the village. Even if a kammi is able to buy, his status would not improve for two or three generations, unless he migrated to some other places where his original caste is not known.

Patti

The next important social group for the villager, after the caste, is his patti. Originally, it was an administrative division of the village for the collection of revenue. The revenue authorities appointed one member of the families who have an immediate ancestor in common, for this purpose and he was called "Lambardar". All such families, with the Lambardar their head, constitute one patti. In any village, there could be one or several pattis, usually each having its own lambardar. Gradually, this institution has become a distinct social group.

All those moeens and tenants who exclusively depend upon one such patti for five or six years become members of that patti the landowning families are the nucleus around which they rally. For the landowning families, however, membership is automatic and cannot be changed, while for the other classes it is basically an economic arrangement and can be severed at any time.

Usually, the village population is clearly divided among such pattis. But in some cases the non-landowning families could have relations with several patties.

Pattis tend to be economically and socially self-sufficient. If a member is in need of financial help, he will first turn to his patti. If he is teased or troubled by anyone, he will seek the help of his patti. In any ceremony within the patti, every member is expected to be present. Frequency of visits is higher within the patti families. Between landholding and non-landholding families a special kind of relationship is developed: the artisans and moeens of the patti could come into the house of the landholding families even if the women observed purdah. They can take fodder from their fields without prior permission.

There are four such pattis in Tararwala, In Table 2, they are shown by the first letter of the respective patti lambardar's name. As can be seen, 78% of the families are attached to one or the other patti. The rest are linked to more than one, But out of 35 agriculturist families, only four are associated with more than one patti. These families are of landowner-cum-tenant origin; by virtue of being landowners, they belong to one patti, but due to their being tenants also, they

belong to another 8 Official designation for village artisan or labourer; a substitute for the discriminating word “kammi.”

Among the artisan castes, 21 out of 34 belong exclusively to one of the four pattis. Only ten families have relationships with more than one patti. out of the 29 labourer families are associated with one patti. The Mirasi and Sayyed castes have relations with all the pattis and the carpenter and blacksmith also belong to all.

Table 2: Patti Composition of Tararwala

NAME OF CASTE	Families common to patties							Total
	M	N	G	S	2	3	4	
Tarrar	2	3	2	-	-	-	-	7
Warraich	-	--	3	-	-	-	-	3
Mangat	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Cheema	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gondal	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hajra	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Bawra	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Faqir	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Joya	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Bhatti	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gakkhar	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Rajput	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	6
Awan	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sangrana	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Lilla	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Teli	3	1	-	-	1	-	1	6
Barber	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	4
Machhi	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	6
Kmhar	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
Mochi	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	4
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Tarkhan	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Julaha	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	4
Arain	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mirasi	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Mussali	1 6	-	1	-	1	1	-	19
Sayyed	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Dindar	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	5
Unknown (refugee)	1	-	-	5	-	1	-	4
Total families	5 2	7	1 4	5	8	8	6	

Patti M is the largest in the village, It is more than ten times as large as the smallest patti.

It is comparatively more heterogeneous in respect to castes, Moreover, almost 70% of the cultivated area belongs to this patti. 16 out of the 19 labourer families are associated with it. Heterogeneity is the weakness as well as the strength of this patti, It makes it more extensive, while at the same time it weakens its internal unity.

Factions

The social and economic life of the village cannot be understood with the help of only these two groups of caste and patti. The faction has a far deeper influence. It is a secondary group, super-imposed on the other primary groups. Sometimes it runs parallel and sometimes across, but always seeking cohesion in order to ascertain power or to meet a challenge from another group.

Faction, thus understood is mainly a product of the agricultural rural life. Its membership is more or less optional and not automatic like that of the family, caste and patti; it sometimes breaks these groups. Unity among heterogeneous membership is sought in order to meet a threat to the economic interests, social status or political supremacy of a member family or group. A temporary division in the village population over some minor dispute is not yet a faction, as the life of a faction is for relatively longer periods.

In its climax, the faction becomes a strongly totalitarian group. Efforts are made to harmonize the economic interests and social activities of every member family to that of the group through social control, till no aspect of the individual life remains uncontrolled,

Within the faction, each member family is assigned a definite role. Some guide and lead the faction. Some finance it in times of trouble. Others provide the hands to fight. Social inequality, which is quite sharp otherwise, is reduced within the faction, as it is less determined by birth or caste privileges and more by devotion to the cause of the group. Desertion of one's faction lowers the moral credit of the family. It is usually regarded an unpardonable offence.

There are three distinct factions in Tararwala. The two great ones, M and G, emerged twenty years ago. In the meantime, there have been several defections and shifts of loyalties and attachments. The third faction emerged only after the murder of the leader of faction M by faction G, as a split in faction G9. The leading group of faction G was arrested and some families belonging to it, but who had not participated in the murder, were driven out of the village. Later, these families were re-admitted into the village on their promise to join faction M. But, in fact, mistrust and suspicions remained always present. When the arrested members of Faction G were released, they did not re-admit the deserting

families, as the latter failed to prove their loyalty to the faction This social isolation has developed in them a faction consciousness with distrust towards faction M and hatred towards the parent faction G.

From Table 3, it can be seen that factions extend their hold over 71% of the families of the village. These families are exclusively attached to one of the three factions. All families belonging to M and G have, a hostile attitude towards one another. But this hostility is most intense among the families which form the nucleus of the factions and decreases among the outer, peripheral families.

9. *Each faction is denoted with the initial letter of the name of the respective leaders of the three factions (table on next page)*

Table 3: Caste Composition of the Factions in 1957

Name of Caste	Factions			Families two factions	Connected with all factions
	M	N	G		
Tarrar	3	2	1	1	-
Warraich	-	-	3	-	-
Mangat	-	-	1	-	-
Cheema	1	-	-	-	-
Gondal	1	-	-	-	-
Gakkhar	-	-	1	-	-
Faqir	1	-	-	1	-
Hajra	-	-	-	2	-
Sangrana	2	-	-	-	-
Bawra	1	-	-	-	-
Jaya	4	-	-	-	-
Lilla	1	-	-	-	-
Awan	2	-	-	-	-
Rajput	2	-	-	1	3
Bhatti	1	-	-	-	-
Teli	3	-	-	2	1
Barber	2	-	2	-	-
Machhi	4	1	1	-	-
Kumhar	5	-	-	1	-
Mochi	1	-	2	1	-
Lohar	-	-	-	-	1
Tarkhan	-	-	-	1	1
Julaha	1	-	-	1	2
Arain	1	-	-	-	-
Mirasi	-	-	-	-	2
Mussali	15	-	1	2	1
Sayyed	-	-	-	-	1
Dindar	3	1	-	1	-
Unknown (refugee)	1	-	-	3	-
Total families	55	4	12	17	12

In faction M the nucleus families are of Tarar caste, while in faction G Mangat, Warraich and Tarar together constitute the base of the faction.

The nucleus families of each faction would not have any social or economic relations with one another; no member of these families would speak to his counterpart. They would not sit, play or smoke *hugga* together.

Wherever a member of one of the nucleus families of one faction sits, *members* of the opposing nucleus families would not sit. They would not exchange greetings. Each one would try never to let his cattle stray into the fields of the other faction, nor go there himself. They would have no business dealings with a member of the opposing faction. They would not rent or borrow land. They would not even perform the Eid and other usual prayers in the same congregation. Even on sad occasions like a funeral, the hostility would persist. Attempts would be made to cause harm to other faction members, whenever possible, openly or secretly: false rumours, damaging the honour of the other group, would be spread; stories of sexual infidelity coined and circulated. Efforts would be made, whenever possible, to turn any benefit of the other faction into a loss. False evidence and sometimes, fictitious suits, would be lodged to harm the opposite group.

In the inner families of both the main factions, some families are Tarar. But the caste ties have been disrupted by faction fights. Caste attachments and feelings for each other are totally absent. The attitude of the "caste brethren" belonging to different factions is not different from the general pattern of hostility. If a fight starts between two factions, caste brothers would not spare one another. This hostility is weaker in the outer, peripheral member families. These families, like the tenants, artisans and labourers, are ceremonially and economically dependent upon the nucleus families. Out of the 28 castes of the village, only three castes--Tarar, Mangat and Warraich--are nucleus families. All others are peripheral. They side with the nucleus families in every crucial matter, but normally they sit, speak and smoke *hugga* together with members of another faction.

Sometimes, however, faction leaders would not allow even these peripheral families to attend social functions or to have economic transactions with the others. The outer families would never act in a manner harmful to their group. Whenever there is a quarrel or fight, they would side with their respective factions.

Caste & Faction

As stated above, the third faction N is still in its infancy: the parent faction G is strongly against it; M is indifferent.

Table 3 shows that, out of the three nucleus castes, the Mangats and the Warraichs have associated themselves entirely with G. But, when both the factions were in their infancy, the Warraichs were split: one family associated itself with M. When G murdered the leader of M and thus became the stronger, the Warraichs in M shifted over to G. Since then it has remained with G. The third nucleus caste, Tarar, has been sharply divided into three factions. Before the present factions emerged, this caste rarely had any inter-marriage within themselves. But patti divisions already had stirred up rivalry among them. Therefore, when the factions emerged, caste ties could not prevent the Tarars from splitting up.

In the peripheral, zamindar castes, no such split within the caste is visible, but that some families of Hajra, Rajput and Faqir have assumed neutrality. The neutral families are economically attached to one faction, but socially to the other. At this stage, such relationship is possible, but when the factions move to more serious situations, neutrality is cast aside. This has been the case with the Hajras, who had to move out of the village. They used to be tenants of M, but had marital relations with G. When the leader of M forced them to sever relations with G, they moved out.

Similarly, the Gakkhars were an old tenant of M, but when they married their daughter to one member of G, they were ejected from the land. Then G gave them land.

All Rajputs are refugees, Three of these six families are neutral. The two families that have exclusively aligned themselves with M are economically dependent upon M. Neutrality for them is possible as they have never had past relations with the local population.

The Sayyeds, by virtue of their sanctity, are common to all factions. Splitting of castes due to factions is more common among the Kammis. But, as in normal times, factions do not exercise a tight control over social or economic relations between the peripheral families of different factions. This split does not necessarily go against the caste ties. Usually the faction leaders keep an eye on the inter—family relations of these families so that they may not develop ties so strong as to weaken the unity of the faction. The leaders would, however, not tolerate such relations between these families of their factions and similar families of the opposite factions. Some peripheral families which have such relations, for reasons of their own, usually find themselves in trouble

Table 3 shows that only 29% of the families are not aligned exclusively to any particular faction. 12% of the families can be called the “citizens” of the village. They would not find group loyalties stronger than claims of village unity and would not be expected to unite for any common cause of the village. But as the majority of these 12% belong to the lower class, they do not prove effective in

village affairs. Moreover, within themselves, they are not bound by any strong social or economic ties and lack group consciousness.

Faction & Patti

We have just described the patti, which originally was a division for the collection of revenue, but now has assumed the character of a social institution. Twenty years ago, when factions emerged, they could not change the administrative set-up of the patti. But the social aspects had to undergo several changes. Patti N disintegrated. One nucleus family joined faction G and two joined faction M. The latter had marital ties with the nucleus family of 14. Later, when the family which joined G deserted the faction and was temporarily admitted to 14, this patti totally became a part of faction M. But, as the mistrust continued, one family of N felt socially isolated. When the leader family of M and this family together installed flour mills, the rivalry led to an antagonism and a third faction emerged. One of the remaining two families of Patti N broke with M and joined the faction of its patti. The cause, it is said, as enmity between these two families because of some sexual offence. When the landlord families of patti N were split up, the non-landowning families had no obligation to join any particular faction. They joined that faction that best suited their interests.

When factions emerged, patti G disintegrated too: one family joined M. But later, when the conflict between 14 and G became more serious, it became neutral. Before Partition (1947), patti S belonged to the Hindus. They have now been replaced by Rajput refugees. Patti S remained intact even after the emergence of factions. However, the majority of its families became neutral, while two families, whose economic resources were fewer, joined faction M.

A juxtaposition of Tables 2 and 3 reveals that when a patti converted itself into a faction, the loyalties of its artisans tenants and labourers did not change. The study of patti and faction indicates another conclusion the patti division of the village, which breeds more or less social exclusiveness, sometimes accelerates and supports the process of disintegration of the faction in the village.

The History of Factions

The village was not always in the same dismal conditions as it is now. It is said that twenty years ago, it was a different villages in which people spoke more of peace, harmony and cooperation and less of conflict. At that time, the population was more heterogeneous The ownership of land was less concentrated. Cultivation of rice was not yet common and canal irrigation had not completely replaced well-irrigation \$ After the days work, the old people sat together in the dera, smoked huqqa and talked on every possible subject concerning village life The youth played various games until late at night.. Exchanging implements and borrowing seeds, etc. was common. Disputes were

settled within the village and the pareh¹⁰ would strongly take note of any quarrel. If a villager was called by the police, his return was anxiously awaited. Almost always the police was unable to secure evidence, even against the guilty person. If there was a theft, the whole village united to find it out. All outside encroachment was stoutly resisted. Women rose early in the morning, churned the milk, cooked the food and carried it to the fields. At noon, back from the farm, they would sit under the shady trees gossiping about the prospective matches and the prices of crops.

10. *An assembly of village leaders that decided disputes in the village.*

Whenever there was a rumour about a murder in the neighbouring village, everybody would be terrified and women would say: "God save us from factions, they are a curse." The daughter of any person was the daughter of the village and nobody dared to talk to a young woman going to the fields with her bhatta (noon meal). Such an offence would never be overlooked. Anybody talking against the character of a girl would immediately be checked and told: "You too have daughters and sisters." All villagers shared in joyous or sad occasions. Visiting marriage parties would be greeted by all. Everybody would be ready to work and offer milk, charpoy (bed) or fodder. On sad occasions, women would immediately visit the bereaved family and men would join the janaza prayers and afterwards say the fateha. The village mosque was thronged with the faithful. The maulvi (religious scholar) was frequently invited to the village. When he talked about the horrors of the Day of Judgment for the liar, backbiter, thief and murderer, the audience shuddered and the next day previous quarrels would be amicably settled.

At that time, the Hindu and Muslim communities were well—marked. They were economically and politically interrelated, though socially separate. Hindus had their own patti and the Hindu agriculturists usually preferred an harmonious life, never aligning themselves with any faction. But the Sikh priest (Bhai ji) would not remain unconcerned towards village strifes. Once the Sikh priests slaughtered an animal in a way the Muslim population did not like. The leader of faction M mobilized public opinion against them. Some families of patti G sided with the priests. This aggravated the relations between the two pattis. Some time later, a quarrel arose over cards between a Sikh priest and the son of the leader of patti M.

The priest attacked him with a sword and inflicted minor injuries. But the leader of M planned such revenge that the priest had to run away until he brought with him the uncle of the leader, who reconciled them.

Meanwhile, there were some changes in the socio-economic set-up : the village. Some of the Hindus who lived in cities and possessed land in the village wanted to sell it. The leader of M bought all this land. He received some land from the government also, which at that time was distributed in Multan District to

farmers of this area. This improved the economic position of the leader of M, and as some peripheral families sided over to his patti, it grew stronger as well as more prosperous. Later, the leader of M married his educated son to the daughter of a nearby landowner, who died after a few years and the ownership of his land was transferred to his son-in-law. Later, the leader of M gave his daughter to an influential landlord of another village and betrothed his son to another landlord's daughter. In this way, according to his own words, "I took the hairs of my sharik (sharers of power and property) under my feet." Along with this, he made friends with influential leaders of other villages. He would send grain to the police officers to win their support. Such a change increased the influence and power of patti M and the role others in village affairs became less significant.

This change had some advantages: the police could not now directly harass the villagers. In fact, no outsider could coerce them. The village was safe from thefts and if there happened such an incident, the leader of M knew how to deal with it. Patti G and the Sikh priest were jealous of this growing influence, but they could not openly challenge his authority.

To achieve more unity between the pattis, M arranged a betrothal between a boy of the Warraich family and a girl of a Tarar family of patti N. But, later he found this union was a potential threat to his influence and he tried to undo it. The families concerned took it as a point of honour and refused to comply with his wishes, M, therefore, ejected the Warraich family from his land. The family survived this blow. Then he had a suit filed against them¹ by one of their relatives. Then the 'rebellious' Warraich family found allies in patti N and G and the Sikh priests. A faction was born.

This unity further increased the fury of M. Strict social and economic measures were applied against all faction members, but especially against the 'rebel'. Artisans of M were prohibited to work for the other faction. No member of M could have common interests with any member of the other faction. G could not use the only indigenous flour mill in the village. They even had to bake their bread at home, because they could not use the common tandoor any more. They were excluded even from collective religious duties. Participation in death or marriage ceremonies of the other faction was strictly prohibited. The friends of the enemy were considered a potential enemy to M. As most of the land in the village belonged to M, faction G had only limited pastures for grazing. If its cattle strayed into the fields of M, they were sent to the police station. The crops of faction G might be drying for lack of water, on the hand, there would be abundant water on the land of faction M,

This boycott brought the Warraich family to its knees. But their apologies were not accepted for M wanted a public apology from them.

The Warrachs then 'went to his married daughter and "placed a cloth" ¹¹ upon her. She recommended them to her father. The strict controls were temporarily relaxed, but the dark suspicions could not be cleared. Mistrust and doubts sustained the suspended hatred.

In the meantime, a dispute arose about claims to a particular water channel between M and one family of G. M channelled the water to his fields by force. A complaint then was lodged with the police. But the police officers were friends of M. Now hostility between the two factions became more intense. M placed an unlicensed gun in the cattle yard of the Warrach family and pointed it out to the police. Some stolen animals were also driven to their cattle-yard. The Police then arrested the Warrachs.

One member of this family had married a widow with property. M approached the widow's relatives and a case was filed against the couple. Some other case was instituted against another member of the faction. Faction G approached the Senior Police Officer and twenty members of each faction were released on bail. Other members of the faction rarely had disagreed with M in this policy. Only his married daughter strongly disliked it and sometimes told her father what the consequence might be. M's old uncle told him that he feared for M's life, to which M replied: "Dear uncle, the night I have to sleep in the graveyard, I cannot live on the back of the earth. But my enemies are too weak and cowards. Once they laid an ambush for me on the way, but when the hooves of my horse resounded, they ran away."

One night M prepared for a journey to Sheikhpura District.

11. *When a person found no means to improve his relations with another person or no means to gain his favour, he would go to his daughter and place a cloth on her. This invariably proved an effective device*

His sons advised him to take along his unlicensed pistol, but he paid no heed. Only one man accompanied him with a stick: When they had left the village and were passing a garden, seven persons from faction G, armed with sticks and knives fell upon him and murdered him. M's body was brought back in a cart. When the news reached faction M, it besieged the houses of G. But all its male members had fled. Seven persons were later involved in the murder case and were jailed. Those families of G who had not taken part in the murder, tried to effect a reconciliation. They were admitted to the village when they joined M. For two years; no male member of G was allowed to enter the village, Their fields, during this period, remained uncultivated and their houses fell into disrepair,

After two years, the case was decided in favour of G. For three months the murderers did not enter the village, When they came, the old tussel was resumed with renewed fury, Members of each faction walked in groups, armed with rifles and sticks, They placed a watch at night. One of the leaders of the murdering

gang was besieged in his house but he escaped somehow. Soon he retaliated, Then the successor of M, his older son, was chased by an armed group. On this faction M gathered in all their strength to decide the question, Some wise mediation averted a clash, but it was gathered from this that faction G was no longer weak. The two families that had deserted G wanted to be re-admitted. They were not trusted by M, The family belonging to patti G was re-admitted but the other one belonging to patti N was refused admission, This laid the foundation for the third faction N.

As faction G grew stronger, it demanded back its supply of water M, which thus far was using this water forcibly, resisted. G called re-inforcements and one dark night, when about ten members of M were guarding the water supply, G made a sudden attack armed with sticks and rifles and killed one prominent member of M. In this feud a group of M incidentally got hold of the leader of G, whom they killed, cut him to pieces and threw the pieces into the river. About twenty-five persons were arrested from both sides. After a year all were released. In the meantime, the village became poorer. The recurrent floods destroyed the crops for seven years. The litigation expenditure forced the nucleus families to sell their ornaments. Both factions, after exhausting their energies, decided to avoid any further clash. For three years life in the village was normal.

The last time I visited the village this winter (1956/57), a pir¹² had come to the village. The leader of M was requesting the pir to pray for the village as there was such division and disunity in it. A proposal was made that all members of the factions would assemble in the presence of the pir and pray for unity.

Whether the prayers of the pir will be successful in wiping out the ugly past from the minds of the successors of the three murdered men, is unpredictable. A villager, however, will answer this question with a categorical "No".

12. *A spiritual guide, usually a Sayyed, who is rarely disobeyed by his murids.*

ATTITUDES & BELIEFS OF THE PANJABI VILLAGER

The tremendous pace of technological development in the last two three centuries, by annihilating the barriers of space and time, has de cultural isolation an impossibility. The old cultures of the world, raid a forceful current of a new culture developed by the innovators of these technocracies, are in process of either readjustment or disintegration. This on-rushing stream is sweeping away the old principles, philosophies, values, social institutions, economic systems and political fabrics along with the primitive technologies of the cultures. After safely establishing itself in the soil of Europe and conquering the most part of urban life of the East, this cultural movement is now knocking at the remote doors of Asia and Africa-the doors behind which spreads e vast land where several mighty cultures have been born, have breathed and been buried, If left to circumstances,

it appears that in the next two or three decades this unreclaimed area would not prove an exception the world, for better or worse would be under the sway of a single approach to human problems and a single attitude towards world and universe as formed by western man. At this historical juncture a study into the attitudes and beliefs of the Punjabi villager would not only reveal the spirit of our rural society and its compatibility or otherwise with the invading culture, but help us to appreciate the problems which may crop up in this process of change.

Nature

For a Panjabi villager the world is not a round planet revolving around the sun, but a vast round plate spread over water; to his imagination the surface of the earth is flat except that there are mounds and mountains. Above the earth is the sky, a blue, round sheet to which are attached the stars, visible only at night and disappearing during the day. The villager cannot imagine the presence of any star during day time, The stars are fixed to the sky and they appear and disappear with the rotation, of the sky. About the milky way, there are different speculations and one commonly held one is that it is the way on which the Prophet travelled when he went to Heaven to meet God. Whenever a comet or any other heavenly body appears in the sky, it is considered a portent of some calamity. There are seven skies of similar form and on the highest sits God, the Almighty. The seven earths rest on one horn of a cow. Whenever she is tired, she changes the horn, and the earth shakes-this is an earthquake. An earthquake is a portent of some calamity. If at the time of an earthquake one sieves the sand, there would appear some foot print on it. If it were of some animal, the 'burden is on-an animal', which means that there is going to be an epidemic. If it were of a child, the incidence of child deaths would increase.

Every morning four angels bring the sun to rise. When it sets, it rests behind some hill and then these angels bring it back to the east. Few villagers understand the effect of the sun on vegetation. However, they know that when there is scorching sun and no wind hurricanes would follow and then it may rain.

They think that there are ghosts moving in the whirlwind. If one threw a shoe immersed in urine into the whirlwind, the ghost would throw the shoe back at him.

When a whirlwind is passing near, the help of Prophet Solomon is invoked with the belief that all jins are under his control. The clouds are made of some unknown stuff. Some believe that they are cause of rain, others do not. The latter think that it is God who throws water on the earth and clouds are just the signs. When a baby asks where the clouds are moving to, the mother replies that they are going to drink from the mountains.

The moon is closely associated with the farmer's life. Every month, when the moon comes out, he will say prayers for a lucky month for himself and his

community. Marriage dates are usually in terms of the lunar calendar, The appearance of the new moon of Ramadan, Eid a Muharram creates a special enthusiasm. It is believed that the black shades in the moon are the spinning wheels of the daughter of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Emotional attachment to the moon is stronger than that to the sun. A fable goes like this: once the mother if the moon and the sun was taking a bath. She placed a curtain between herself and her sons. The sun peeped through the curtain to see his .naked mother. She therefore cursed him and from that day nobody looks at the sun without a squinted eye. The moon had remained modest and he was blessed by the mother.

An eclipse of the sun and the moon is regarded as a punishment to them for their misdeeds, A pregnant woman should not sit during an eclipse but walk or lie on the bed, otherwise a mark of this violation would be left on the body of the child. Even animals are no exception to this d blowing from the East is sure to bring rain, while wind from the West takes away the clouds. The rains which *start* on Thursday will continue for a week at least, "A cloudy Thursday means no cottage, no beam", runs a saying.

Religion

God has created the Universe out of love for the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) The soul of the Prophet and some say it stayed in the Northern star for a long time. What was before the emergence of the world? Such a question rarely disturbs the villager

The unity of God and the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) are basic tenets of his creed God occupies his throne on the seventh heaven from where He manages the affairs of the whole universe What He orders is quickly executed by the angels Though He sits in the seventh heaven, He is present everywhere and can see the actions of every person Even the movement of a leaf is known to Him Ordinarily, He is beneficent and kind to His creatures But if they disobey, He punishes them through draughts, floods, diseases and earthquakes, He can adopt even more direct methods. Those who obey God will be rewarded in the other world Those who disobey will be thrown into the flames of hell, All human beings are equal in the eyes of God; the poor and the insane may even be nearer to Him. People who have no enemy, who are free from jealousy and hatred are called "the folk of God".

Much significance is attached to the formal practices of religion. like prayers and fasts, but along with this goes the belief in 'purity of the heart", which is the ultimate goal of religious practices. Without achieving this "purity of heart" one cannot achieve the love and good-will of God.

However, there are some people who regard the ultimate goal of human life as assimilation in the personality of God and they give less importance to

formal religious practices and concentrate on meditations and suppression of lust (nafas), Two major sins are theft and adultery (chaury and han), Telling a lie, backbiting, quarrelling are minor sins But if a person resorts to repentance (tauba) from the depth of his heart, God will forgive him his every sin, No individual is a sinner by nature or birth, Even the person most steeped with sins can transform himself into a saint (wali). There is a belief that ultimately the benevolence of God will overcome His wrath and whoever pronounced the Kalima would go to heaven.

To achieve the good will of God or to reach Him, a guide is required, "As the Kheer could not be made without milk, so without a murshid one cannot find the true path", Nothing could be achieved without a means. then how could one reach God without a murshid? person without a Pir is looked down upon and is considered beguiled (gumrah), Sometimes a difference is made between a Pir and a Murshid. A Pir is hereditary and every member of the family automatically becomes his Murid, He comes once or twice per year to his Murid and receives his nazarana, He has to pray for the prosperity of the family, A Murshid is an individual's own selection and different members of a family can have relations with different Murshids, A Murshid, too, receives nazarana, but more than this, he gives tawajo (attention) to the Murid and through this process helps him to overcome his lust (nafas) Usually, the Murshid asks the Murid for verses from the Quran to be recited at a particular place and time, keeping the image of the Murshid before him. Some Murids believe that the Murshid comes to their help whenever they are in distress, and thus invoke his help. Usually, such help is sought in disease, to win a case in court, to receive property, etc.

When a renowned Pir dies, usually a tomb is erected on his grave, and in some cases the anniversary is celebrated, in which case nazaranas are offered. People would make Manat by saying, would offer so much to such and such Pir, if I am helped in this difficulty". Even the dead Pirs are considered alive and they are believed to watch the conditions of their Murids and help them. Ordinarily, Pirs refrain from intervening in the social life of the Murids. In some cases, however, they settle disputes, contract marriages, effect divorces. When a dispute between two families becomes unresolvable the family most eager to, achieve reconciliation would bring the Mela of the Pir to the other family. His arrival is rarely ineffective.

Pirs have sometimes to drive out ghosts from ghost-possessed persons. He would mumble some words, the ghost speaks, the Pir orders him to leave; at first he is stubborn, but when the Pir recites some stronger formulas, he would leave the person destroying some of the belongings of the victims, which is a sign of his departure. To drive out a ghost, the Pir sometimes has to beat the victim. Pirs write taweez which the people keep to be safe from some disease or to win some suits. Sometimes, Pirs are asked to locate a thief or stolen property, or discover taweez whose spell was working against some family.

The Miari Ji (Maulvi) says the azan, leads prayers, gives religious instructions and educates the young children. In most villages, there is a sort of tension between the Pir and the Mian Ji. Usually, a tussel goes on. Thus the Mian Ji stresses more the value of formal practices of religion and the Pir claims to try to get the spirit of it.

Morality

The villager's religion is not a personal relation with God but it governs his relations with man too. Religion tells him what conduct is genuine, how he should earn and spend his earnings, and what are the rights of society upon him. But he has very insufficient knowledge of religion to guide him in every problem. Therefore he has to seek the help of Mian Ji, who himself is not always well-versed in religion. Therefore, though professedly his morality is based on religion, actually it is not different from secular moralities. Following are the concepts he usually employs to show his moral approval or disapproval:

1). Ratth is one who, according to a Punjabi verse by the famous folk-poet Noon, scarifies his life for his words. He will not attack his unarmed enemy. If he is sought for a judgement, he will seek to give justice, even if it goes against his interest. He will give money to the poor without expecting a reward. He will be ready to kill an adultress relative. He is most hospitable and liberal. He will not forget to revenge any murder and will lay down his life for it. This character type is near to the knight of European literature.

2). Marad: he is inferior to a Ratth, is daring, proud and could fight very successfully. However, he feels anger where it is necessary. He does not require much incentive to make a sacrifice for his Izzat.

3). Sauoo: amicable, has endless patience, is never sentimental; can face any situation without losing his balance and is self-composed, never takes revenge, is never dishonest nor wicked and would never affront anybody.

4). Bhalla-Mans: will not harm anybody, will not feel jealous, will not speak ill of anybody, will be co-operative, submissive, obedient, will not look towards other's women.

5). Gharane Da: is one who is a Sauoo, but has a very good family tradition, He is not a Sauoo out of his own temperament nor his own self-control, but only because he belongs to a good family. If he does any good to anybody, or if he is generous, it is attributed to his family.

6). Jhuddo: is one who is unsuccessful in his social life, He is dominated by his wife. He is disrespected even by his children, is a dullard, lacks cleverness and sophistication,

7). Katcha: is a man who is out of time with the standard fashion of the society, is most talkative, cannot withhold any secret, is unreliable and undependable.

8). Chawal: is a senseless, stupid fellow, unaware of the ethical and customary standards of proper behavior of the community. He talks irresponsibly

In all the above concepts religion and secularism are intermixed with dominant impression of the secular morality. Not in all cases is the villager unaware of this duality. As the knowledge of religion is spreading with increasing literacy, awareness of departure from ideal religious morality is producing intra-personal conflict. There are conflicting attitudes towards the worldly life and its enjoyments. He does not abstain from the enjoyments of life and does not abhor worldly achievements; on the other hand, the desire of izzat, respect, honour, superiority in the society dominates the attitude of the individual. To attain this goal one has to be powerful so as to be of help to friends and awe to enemies. A person who is not effective, and does not command the obedience of some group, is regarded as a worthless man.

This goal which the individual cherishes, stirs him to act so as to get wealth and hold over other persons and a sharp conflict is precipitated which sometimes gains more or less a permanent character. This attachment to the worldly life is undermined by a belief in the transitoriness of this world and responsibility before God for every action in this world. These two trends are incessantly struggling with one another. In some cases the worldly attachment has won the field while in others a temporary equilibrium is achieved by a compromise between the ideals. However, on the whole the villager stands between the Epicurean and the Stoic, tending more towards the latter.

To understand the ideal man in the mind of the farmer, four types were expounded to farmers of varying intelligence and different character. According to the results, the farmers's ideal is predominantly a "messianic" man, a person who is less interested in attaining a worldly position and who endeavours, even at the cost of his personal comforts, to work for the improvement of the world, makes an effort to suppress the evil and creates conditions for the spread of the good. The "heroic" man, who concentrates on control of nature and struggles for personal improvement, is at a larger distance from his ideal man, while the "ascetic" and the "harmonious" types are at equal distance. Fatalism: "Whatever He likes, He does; men are blamed in vain" — says the poet, Waris Shah, in his famous book on Hir and Ranjha. But such clear determinism is not a full representation of the view of the Punjabi villager. In his mind the free will and determinism are co-existing in water-tight compartments which only rarely mix up with one another.

God is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. The whole universe is under His complete control. Even the leaves cannot move without His command.

Therefore, whatever is happening in the world, is not happening without God's permission. But He has given some limited powers to man and has instructed him through his Prophet to follow the good path and refrain from the bad. Now, man is responsible for his misdeeds, and God cannot be blamed for it.

God has guaranteed man his rizq (his daily food, etc.) but this guarantee is conditioned by the initiative and efforts of man: "You work and I will bless it", says God according to a common saying. Therefore, his fatalism rarely stands in his way to make efforts. But his understanding of the socio-economic forces working in the society is very meagre and, therefore, whatever phenomena are unintelligible to him with his simple tools of logic and observation, he will attribute to God or some other abstract being: such powers in Punjabi literature are called Kal or Honi. When there is a conflict in two groups, the disastrous result would not be attributed to God, as God cannot will such things nor is the petty individual responsible; it is the Kal or the Honi, They, have arranged it. Almost all folk—songs (Dhola) about feuds and factions which began with a controversy between Kal and Narad. Kal announces his program of destruction of a particular village through some instigation. Narad answers that he would foil all his attempts, and save the village through some other method. Perhaps this a personification of the two ubiquitous forces of construction and destruction in human society.

This belief in the inevitability of external forces has given an inexhaustible patience to the villager. He can silently suffer the worst catastrophies without ever questioning the worth of life. In a million people there is hardly a single case of suicide.

The Social Order

The pivot of the social order is the family, which is sometimes an extended one, consisting of an old couple, one or more young couples and their children. In such a family, the ultimate authority is vested in the old couple who by virtue of the ownership of the property and pressure of the community usually controls the activities of all members. The opinion of the young couples is sometimes sought in family affairs, but the ultimate decision rests with the old ones. The other members rarely raise any protests against this absolute dispensation, though sometimes they may feel pained. But this type of family is now declining. Yet, in the nuclear family the intra-family relations remain authoritarian in nature; women have an inferior status and the siblings have a minimum voice in decisions concerning their lives.

The shift from a joint to a nuclear family system does not enjoy the conscious support of the community; it is accepted only because the frictions in extended families are becoming unbearable. The disintegration of the extended family is taken as an inevitable but sad occasion. It is sad because it provides to

the Shanks an occasion for rejoicing and the family becomes incapable of behaving as a solid unit in village affairs.

The claims of the family are basic and of primary importance and usually determine the attitude of the individual in inter-personal and intra-village affairs, The attachment to family is so strong that any attacks on it could arouse very violent responses from the villager, From the family he gets many of his prejudices and taboos, his friendships and enmities, his religion and political opinions. He regards the family as a haven, a bulwark against every sort of insecurity. To him "the foreign land starts from the back of the family hearth" and "a half loaf in the family is better than full loaf outside it",

Woman is not regarded as a product of sin, however, she promotes lasciviousness and loose morals in society, According to one proverb, she is one of three sources of discord in the society. She is born to be ruled and whenever she holds the reins of power in a family, the family is doomed to disaster, All the failures and shortcomings of it would be attributed to her domination; she is regarded as inferior to man in intelligence, physique, lacking judgement, discretion and balance of mind; she is easily susceptible to provocation, rarely generous and liberal. She is fit for no adventure. Her dominating characteristic is wickedness and craftiness. Punjabi literature is full of such verses; some booklets by Punjabi poets are written exclusively on this topic. Her loyalty is not unquestionable. According to one verse of Warish Shah, "Women, sword, beggar and horse are friends of nobody".

Her position is surely inferior to that of man. God created man and the woman was born out of his sides. Her social role is complementary and that of a subordinate. However, it differs in different social contexts. As daughter her birth in the family is rarely rejoiced. She is just tolerated, if the parents already have some male babies. In their absence, her arrival is regretted, and if she is born after a number of girls her birth will be mourned. If a male baby is born, the leaves of a tree (shareheen) will be hung on the door of the house, some money will be distributed and in some cases a feast will be arranged, but at the birth of a daughter no such ceremony will ever follow. If a girl dies, though she would be ceremoniously mourned, everybody knows that it is an incident of no great sadness. Itly the daughters of fortunate ones die", goes a saying. There are a few cases in which fathers attempted to kill their girls. The author heard his grandfather advising his daughter-in-law to kill the girl in her delivery bed. But as the daughter grows, her presence is accepted as a sad fact and she is given proper care, though not the same as the male children. The old woman would scorn if a girl is given much milk and cream. However, gradually, the house becomes less hostile and more congenial to her. Meanwhile she has to assist her mother in her housework. The mother is entrusted to safeguard her from sexual advances. Parents are anxious to marry her at an early occasion. In selection of her husband, she is rarely consulted; "wise mothers however would seek her approval" it is said. She cannot initiate any proposal, and public rejection of a

proposal of parents would bring taunting remarks for her in the village community. It is considered her duty to accept the family and husband with whom she is married. It is a question of honour of her father and rarely fails to discharge this duty. However the suppressed pains of a misfit couple found expression in folk songs. father you have not made a suitable union. You have thrown me in the river; you have first injured my body and then sprinkled salt on it. She is given a suitable dowry on her marriage. Her departure arouses mixed feelings in the family. Brothers have no feelings of jealousy or competition for her. Sometimes, they are more kind than the parents. After marriage, the brother would see to her difficulties and leave no call of help from her go unanswered. The love of brothers and sisters has become traditional. The sister would feel the separation of her brothers more than that of her parents.

Before marriage, the chastity of sisters is a great concern of the brother. They are extremely sensitive to any attack on it and would be ready to die for the protection of it. Response to an abuse about the sister would be more violent. After marriage whenever the daughter returns, she receives clothes from her family and can stay in the house as long as she likes. However, frequent visits are not appreciated and if she returns due to some quarrel, it is regarded as ignoble. As wife, she is expected to cook meals, wash clothes of the family, bring up children and in some cases assist her husband in the work in the fields. Rarely, she pursues an independent profession. Besides her economic functions her importance in the family is determined by the influence and the wealth of her family, and the fact whether she has a male issue or not. "An uncultured mother is covered by sons" says a proverb. If several attempts fail to give birth to a son, she loses her importance and the family would think of bringing in another bride.

Theoretically, all property belongs to the husband and the wife is just the custodian of it. She cannot sell her own ornaments and dowry of her own accord. Practically, she has more latitude and in many families it is she who determines the financial "policy" of the houses. In major discussions she is consulted and often her opinion is not disregarded. "The husband is the king and his wife the vizeer", says a saying. An unblemished chastity is expected from her and its loss is rarely tolerated and is followed by corporal punishment, If she persists in adultery, it may lead to dismemberment of a leg or arm or divorce.

Ordinarily marriages are ended by death only, and there are strong feelings against divorce. The earth burns where it is executed, many believe. Due to this belief, divorce is usually executed outside the village. However, no inviolable sanctity is attached to the marriage ties. "A woman is like a shoe, if it fits, alright, and if not, it can be thrown away." Polygamy is not common. The second wife is usually brought in only when there is no male child from the first one, or when a widow of a near relative, usually of a brother, is to be supported. Polygamy out of love is rare. The co-wives are traditional enemies of one another, and a proverb says that a "co-wife even if made of butter, could not be easily put up with ". Only in a few cases, the husband is able to maintain peace in

the house and usually he suffers the most. "With many wives, one is an extreme widower" runs a proverb. In family life competition for a wife comes from her sister-in-law, mother-in-law and the wife of the brother of the husband. Quarrels between wife and her mother-in-law have become a tradition: "When the daughter-in-law is virgin, the mother loves even the street where she walks, but when she is married, the mother-in-law becomes a fork of steel for her."

As mother she holds the most respectable position. She is obeyed, respected and served. This position is sanctified by religion, as it is stated that "heaven is under the feet of the mother".

Next important group to family is Baradari or Sharika. All the families in the village having an ancestor in common constitute a Baradari. Baradari assembles at every 'sad and joyous' 'good and evil' occasion. On several ceremonies most of the management work is done by the members of Baradari. At sad occasions like death, the Baradari gives consolation and some members provide food to the family, for one day, moreover it is a bulwark against every sort of attacks. Its importance for the family can be hardly over-emphasized in a society rent with factions and where rules of the law are not very effective.

But the attitude of the family towards the Baradari is ambivalent. In Freudian terminology it could be compared with the Oedipus complex. It looks to this patriarchal organization for security and therefore inculcates emotional attachment to it, but as most of the competitors in different fields of life and sharers of property come from this group it harbours hatred for it, too. Therefore, though in many cases the family adheres to the decisions of the Baradari, its strongest ties are outside it. Next to Baradari comes Sak Qabila. It consists of all the relatives and kinsmen living in various villages, They meet only on important occasions, but occasional visits are not infrequent, From this group a family receives financial support in time of distress. While the Baradari group may secretly relish in the misery of it, Sak Qabila is fully sincere. Therefore, though the family tries to abide by the decision of Baradari in intra-village affairs, outside the village the Qabila group is more effective, Whenever there is conflict between the claims of the two groups the Sak Qabila supersedes the Baradari.

Next in importance comes the caste group. Caste is a loose confederation of several Baradaries living in different villages and bearing the same caste name. This name is either the name of an ancestor from whom all the Baradaries descend or a qualitative epithet of such an ancestor. Merely this commonness of name creates in the members a group consciousness, though not always very sharp and distinct, which exists sometimes inspite of lack of spatial proximity, of cultural homogeneity and community of economic ends. This consciousness militates against a liberal selection of mate, against moral obligations towards fellow beings and political responsibilities of a member of a modern democratic state. The caste group being an extension of Baradari, their

requests from the family rarely come into conflict with the Sak Qabila group; the case is different, if the caste regulates marriages. All the Sak Qabila would belong to the same caste and hence there is no problem for the family, while if it contracts exogamous marriages there is possibility of a conflict. What behavior the family would adopt depends upon the intensity of attachment towards the two groups. However, in many cases Sak Qabila supersedes the caste. After this comes a wider division of the whole population of the village into Zamindar and Kammi. All the families that own land and if they do not now own land are known to have owned some a few generations back, and are not known for having a Kammi profession in present or past are Zamindars. All those families which do not own land and adopt a Kammi profession like shoe-making, oil crushing, etc. are Kammis. Zamindar is considered superior and Kammi inferior, The two groups are clearly defined and can be traced easily. In the village Dora, those who are sitting on the charpoy are Zamindars; those who are sitting on the ground are Kammis, If there is a Huqqa group, the one who is moving the Huqqa for the group is a Kammi. If some liquid is being served, the first to be served will be the Zamindar and the last will be the Kanuni, The Zamindar *guests* could sit together for taking meals, while the Kanuni is served meals separately. The utensils used by Kammi are to be essentially washed, while ordinarily it is not necessary,

The two classes cannot inter-marry. A Zamindar could not have the idea of giving his daughter to a Kanuni, while a Zamindar could marry a Kammi girl though there is strong social pressure against it. He will be invariably regarded as an inferior member of the family and his children will not be given the equal Status in the Baradari, But the ranking system does not preclude a working integration of the village population, Two groups are functionally related to each other. If every Kammi has some obligation towards his Zamindar he has some definite rights, too, which are rarely encroached upon, In all the ceremonies of death and birth, participation of some particular Kammi is necessary with a fixed monetary reward.

So far no dissatisfaction is visible against this ranking system in the village. The two groups accept it as eternal and unchangeable. However, there is an under-current of discontentment which occasionally finds expression. It comes from the religious teachings which emphasize the common genesis of man and hence repudiate all the parochial social groupings, and preach fraternity and equality of religious status Wherever the religion has a stronger hold, the discrimination has been submerged under wider community feelings.

Next to all these groups comes the village itself, The family and Baradari groups lie in the village. The nature of inter-relationship of these groups determines the attitude towards the village, In cases where they lead to conflict, the village unity is destroyed and the village ceases to have any claim on the individual or the family except in situations when the existence of the whole village is seriously threatened. But most of the villages are safe from such

serious conflicts which could endanger the unity of the village. However, the ties of the Sak Qabila, which usually link the village to other villages, generally run across the village unity.

Beyond these groups the villager has no feelings of affiliation to any group, organized on language basis or on territorial grounds. The consciousness of nationality is weak, vague and indeterminate in comparison to an awareness of Muslim Millat. The latter has found expression whenever a Muslim country has been attacked by any non-Muslim power.

Historical Consciousness

Historical consciousness is warped into a feeling of disappointment and grumble. The past that has gone is glory, a glory that will never return; the ideal morality, ideal health, ideal interpersonal relations, things that existed only in the past. The people are less hospitable, less co-operative, more lecherous and lascivious than in the past. This degeneration is assuming an alarming proportion in the future generation which lacks obedience and respect for the elder. They have less regard for the religion and are against the customs of the society, One of them says "the world is progressing and improving materially, but on the moral side it is decaying, luxury and debauchery are rampant. The people in the past were better in every respect."

Another dilates on the same subject, "Our ancestors were better than the coming and future generation. They were good due to following reasons:- (1) Magnanimous, tolerant and less emotional (2) shared sorrow and suffering of each other, settled their disputes among themselves, were true to their words. The coming generation is bad, as they show no respect for the elder.

The conditions of the world are deteriorating in the following sense- (1) Formerly the bribery was offered secretly, now it is an honour" Another says, "The conditions of the world are worsening. The feuds are increasing, whatever people saved is spent on litigation". This grumbling, this feeling of loss of a glorious past is perhaps an attempt to hide ones face from the unintelligible and the compromising change in the social structure. It is thought that this degeneration is steeping towards the doomsday which is the lowest point of this swing. The world, it is thought will sound its death knell in the fourteenth century.

This glorious past is probably a survival in his sub-conscious life of the Prophet and Khalifate-Rashada. Most conspicuous figures in human history for his mind are the Prophets, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Christ, Muhammad, the four great successors of the Prophet, his two grand-sons Hasan and Hussain. About Prophet Abraham, Jacob, Joseph. and Prophet Muhammad, two great Khalifas (Umar and Au), and Imam Hussain he has more and better information than about the others. Events from their life would be quoted.

After this era, down to the Mughals in India, his mind is entirely blank about the Muslim and Hindu history, not to speak of world history, except a few stories about Khalif a Haroon Rashid. Among Mughal rulers the names of Akbar and Aurangzeb are sometimes mentioned. The Sikh period is known but for its mismanagement and chaos. The English period is associated with settlement, peace and prosperity and introduction of machinery. In recent events the two great world wars and partition of the subcontinent are most fresh. Usually other events are dated with reference to them.

Besides this, lives of some Hindu and Muslim heroes are remembered, which are narrated by the bards, There is no record or memories of village history except scanty scattered events. However, most families have their Mirasee who remembers and on certain occasions recites their genealogies.

Political Consciousness

His political knowledge is derived from the Punjabi literature and folk-stories, The little knowledge he gains from the contacts with the city, he tries to fit into this general frame-work which the above-mentioned resources have given him, and any institution that cannot fit into it remains mostly unintelligible.

He cannot imagine any government system other than absolute monarchy. There cannot be a government without a king who has absolute power over his subjects. The king can order the death of any person, confiscate any property, expell anybody from the country. A law other than the will of the monarch is out of the question, The actual administrative power lies with the vizeer, who is a very intelligent and clever person. Every unresolvable knotty problem would be referred to the vizeer, who would definitely come out with some solution. But the vizeer derives his powers from the pleasure of the king and has no power of his own. He could not always understand the British Administrative System. He would call its machinery as Sarkar, which again, is autocratic, despotic and irresponsible. There is no question of rights and duties of citizen. The only duty of the citizens is not to commit any offence and arrange food for the visiting officers.

If the government does anything useful to the villager it is out of benevolence of the Sarkar. What could the poor villager do if the Sarkar does not do any favour? At the most they expect from the Sarkar remission of revenue when their crops are destroyed, and regular supply of canal water.

A responsible President and three independent divisions of Government are unimagineable to him. He cannot believe that there can be a trial against the Badshah of the country and that he could expect equality of treatment from the judiciary. The recent provincial elections however, have aroused some curiosity about the function and power of the members of the Legislative Assembly. It is believed that these members receive chairs in the Darbar of Sarkar and can get

any work done by the official. There cannot be any motive to stand in the election except to gain honour and power.

Attitude towards Sex

Punjabi villagers have no superstitions or fear about sex. Neither is it regarded as something inherently unclean or sinful. No ritual cobweb surrounds the beginning of puberty both in males and females. Neither does the first night after marriage inspire any unusual agitation in the minds of either sex. There is no direct training of the couple in sexual affairs, except whatever one has gleaned from his friends or has deduced from overheard conversations of the elder.

To have sexual contact with one's wife is a duty and the husband feels inferior if he can not satisfy her. For the couple the pleasure of marriage means the pleasure from sexual contact, in most cases the only form of sexual gratification. But after the first issue has been born love is partially transferred to it. Not much emphasis is placed on complete satisfaction and most of the women do not know much of it. Before marriage very few girls could have sexual experience, while the number of boys with experience is not small. The girls are punished more severely while a reprehension would suffice the boy. A girl committing fornication is bringing disrepute for the family and is darkening the prospects of her marriage, while such an offence by a boy is of no great concern.

Extra-marital relations are strongly disapproved, but the offence is comparatively lighter than fornication. The husband could resort to beating his wife and only in extreme cases the occasion for a divorce arises.

The first night after marriage, the couple is usually unknown to each other, except when it is a cousin or parallel cousin marriage. An interview between the prospective couple is strongly disapproved by the community. On the other hand, sexual contacts at the first night are compulsory as otherwise there would be talk about the impotency of husband, and the old women would be foretelling the separation of the couple. After marriage the couple has usually to stay in an extended family. The accommodation being limited, there is no private room for the couple, and as the community does not approve the open expression of love, there is partial suppression in the couple. Husband and wife are expected not to show any sign of love for one another in the presence of others, especially in the presence of family members. She cannot sit on the same charpoy. Even after a long separation, husband and wife will not exchange greetings when they meet, and in many cases would not even talk to each other. Usually, the wife refrains from mentioning the name of her husband. Open expression of love is regarded as a sign of superfluity and shallowness, and the society expresses a dislike for it and regards it as temporary. According to a proverb "there are few days of fondness and then would follow the bark of a dog". But such restraints are relaxed as the marriage becomes old.

Suppression is much idealised by the community. A widow who does not have illicit relations, is extolled. Similarly a wife of an impotent or old man, who does not have extra marital relations, is eulogized by the community.

Attitude Towards Work

Everybody has to do some work for his living. But it is not the job of hard work which is enviable, but the position of an idle boss who could command the services of several persons. In agricultural castes the ideal life would be of a Choudhry, who sits in the dera the whole day gossiping and settling the disputes of the villagers or roams in the villages, free from work. But idleness is not generally appreciated and is disapproved especially where it leads to starvation. The proverb says "The work is fortune". All the work is clearly divided into two categories, one that is only for women, the other than only men should do. There are few jobs which both could do. The work of women, men would not like to do and vice versa, and if anybody violates this boundary, it brings the censure of the community for him. All the work in the house is to be done by women. They cook the food, wash the clothes of the family, cleanse the utensils, plaster the house, winnow the grains, prepare the cakes from cow-dung. All this is womanish work. The work outside the house is to be done by the men. They milk the cows, plough the fields, bring fodder for the animals, harvest and thresh the crops. The women would not do it, while purchasing the family requirements, to bring meals to the fields, could be done by both sexes.

The second classification of work is made on professional basis. Again, the boundary is as inviolable as in case of women. The professions of Kammis, a Zamindar would not adopt, though a Kammi could come over to the Zamindar profession. All the jobs that are non—agricultural like blacksmithy, carpentry, barbering, shoe—making etc., are the professions of Kammi class. Even the job of Mian Ji is of the Kammi category.

Democracy in Rural Communities of West Pakistan I

The Punjabi villager voted for the first time in his history in 1951 on the basis of adult franchise, to elect the members of the Provincial Assembly. Before this there had prevailed the rule of Limited Franchise, according to which only literate and landowning people could vote. This was a new and novel experience for the farmer. He had no parallel of it, nor had he learned anything about it from his ancestors.

Moreover the socio-economic structure of his society which inalienably linked the individual to the decision of various groups and gave the patriarch an unlimited control over the members of the family, which through economic and social control gave extensive power to the Zamindar over tenants and Kammi,

was not accommodative to an institution whose proper functioning requires the freedom of the individual from various pressures and at least a minimum of education and moral responsibility. Democracy was here on alien lands.

To understand the forces which influence the behavior of an individual in an election, the social and economic structure of the village as well as the different links that integrate it with other villages are to be fully comprehended.

II

The first important fact about the village life is that it is not an aggregate of individuals. In fact, the real individual in the sense of Western urban society does not exist in the village. He is an inalienable part of multiple groups which completely overshadow his individuality. He is not master of his own will and architect of his own fate. The various decisions in different fields of life are made by groups for him and he rarely feels the need to challenge them. Conflict may arise from claims of different groups on him, but such conflict rarely becomes intra-personal as he needs no rationalization of his behavior in ethical and political phraseology. Invincibility of the strongest pull is a sufficient explanation.

Family: The first and most important group for the individual is the family which makes for him the major decisions in life. The eldest in the family decides, in the light of custom and tradition what profession one should adopt, how much education one should receive whom one should marry and what type of inter-personal relations one should maintain.

Baradari: Next to the family comes the Baradari group. For a landowning family the Baradari means all the families in the village which descend from an immediate common ancestor; for a Kammi family, it means all the families in the village that belong to the same profession. The Baradari protects the family from every assault and shares with its joys and sorrows, But as there is competition for supremacy and discord over division of property, the internal unity of it is not very strong.

Caste Group: Next to Baradari comes the caste group which is a confederation of several Baradaris in different villages having a common ancestor several generations ago, Caste considerations are important at the occasion of selection of a mate, and they have sentimental value too. The family, Baradari and caste group are parallel groups and there is rarely any conflict among their claims upon the individual.

Zamindar and Kammi: The rural population is divided into the two broad categories of Zamindar and Kammi, except for a few cases where they do not belong to either. All those families that own land, or if they do not own land, are known to have owned land some generations ago, and do not practice a Kammi

profession are Zamindars. All the non-agriculturist families which are doing the profession of a Kammi like shoe-making, shaving etc. are Kammi.

As the Kammi do not own land, and as even the plots on which they erect their cottages belong to the Zamindar, while they work for the Zamindar families for six-monthly wages, they have to follow the line suggested by Zamindars in intra-village and intervillage affairs. Usually a Kammi sides with the Zamindar with whom he is attached through saip ties, Some Zamindars have no land and others have surplus land. As land is relatively scarce, and other jobs neither easily available nor adoptable, a tenant could adopt an independent policy only at the cost of ejection from land. Thus, within the village the individual is first under the strong control of family and Baradari, and if he is not a landowner he faces economic sanctions against his independence.

A village is not a self-sufficient, isolated abode of man. It is integrated with other villages into a complex network of relationships. Three ties are most important:- (1) kinship ties, (2) caste ties, (3) factional affiliation. Kinship ties link a family to several villages at various distances. Take two families who were linked for one or more generations. They devotedly take interest in the welfare of each other and consult each other in important family affairs. The kinsmen come to the help of a family in economic troubles and sometimes support it in internal strifes. Therefore, a family invariably takes into consideration the advice offered in intervillage affairs.

In the village the Baradari is a rival of this group. When the Baradari is strong and there is no dynamic and influential leader in the kinship group, the Baradari wins the adherence of the family; on the other hand, when the Baradari is weak, kinship ties out-do it in strength. If a family practices endogamous marriage, automatically kinship and caste groups coincide, which otherwise may run across each other. The Baradari and caste group are generally parallel, as the caste group is an extension of the Baradari in other villages.

Factional affiliation: The need for factional affiliation arises due to tension within the village, ignorance of the law and legal procedures of the villagers and arbitrary powers of the police. In all these situations, a family needs the help of a person who has influence with the police, knows the law and legal procedures, and has effective friendship all around. Such a person is usually a big landlord who could spare the time for such activities. In an area there can be one or several such leaders, and they may have links among themselves.

A family could have either direct contact with a "leader" or through some relatives or through the village headman. On the other hand, these "leaders" try to align themselves with another leader on a higher level of influence and gradually the link touches the political party in power. Thus factional affiliations ultimately connect the village to one or more political parties, the main links being the local village leader, the territorial leader, the semi political leader, and on the

top the political party. The factional affiliations are growing gradually, especially as the isolation and social and economic self-sufficiency of the village is breaking down.

There is a possibility of conflict in the interests of Baradari and caste if the territorial leader does not belong to these groups; but if he belongs to it, his position in the village is further strengthened. Such is the web of socio-economic relationships in the village.

III

The village Bavera under our study, has 44 families of which 19 belong to agricultural castes and 22 are Kammi, one Syed and 2 Mian Ji. The 19 Zamindar families are divided into four Baradaris. The Bavera Baradari has three units with five families. This Baradari has their A common ancestor four generations up. The three units are inter-linked by marital ties, but due to quarrels among the women on distribution of common water they do not have very amicable relations. Half of the cultivated area in the village belongs to the Bavera Baradari. The first two units, each with two families, have land just sufficient for their livelihood, but as the three leaders of the village are from these two units, they are quite influential. The third unit with one family is headed by a widow. The family had enough land to spare and has four families of tenants among the Kammi. The Lambardar (Headman) of the village belongs to this Baradari and the responsibility to finance the entertainment of common guests of the village rests with it.

The second Baradari is of Virks who were previously tenants but had recently bought land from the next village. They take less interest in village affairs. These Baradari consists of 4 families. The third Baradari is of Tarars with two families. The two families have nothing in common except the caste name. They own land just sufficient for their living. The head of one family is member of the village Pareh,

The Gujjar Baradari consists of four families who are refugees from India, had no marital ties among themselves, nor with any other family in the village. They have been allotted land which is just sufficient for their living. Some of the members of this group *have* been in the second World War and are interested in country politics,

These four Baradaris are independent units having no material ties. They have no history of feuds and factions, except some occasional minor disputes which have rarely become a permanent problem.

All the Kammi are considered a Baradari, though each profession individually is one Baradari. As the social and economic position of the Kammi is weak, therefore they usually take their cue from the four main Baradaris.

As the village is small, each Baradari cannot have a separate set of Kammi. All the Kammi are Kammi of the whole village. But as the social and economic position of the Bavera Baradari is comparatively great, it has more hold on the Kammi. There are no strong feelings of village unity and neither is there any sharp schism

Picture

in it. There is no tight control over Kanuni as is characteristic of Tarar villages. The village is known for its peaceful life.

Kinship ties of Bavera village: As discussed above, kinship ties are the most important connections between two families and thereby between two villages. These relations make the people of the two villages acquainted with each other. The relationship is not only limited to the family concerned, but through them the other families, too, get intimate. B1 F1, one family from one unit of the Bavera family, has kinship relations with a Tarar family (see diagram, p. 56) in the village Mehdiabad, The relationship is several generations old and in this way the whole Bavera Baradari is indirectly connected with it. In fact most of the villagers of Bavera are acquainted with the residents of Mehdiabad and at "sad and joyous" occasions many people from each village would exchange visits. As the family is a territorial leader of the area, the other Baradaris which are not related to it through kinship, have factional affiliations with it. Family B1 F1 has other kinship ties in one Chatta family (N), in a village 10 miles away. The relationship is a new one, but as the head of N is active in village affairs, some villagers expect help from him. The other kinship ties are not important for our study. B1 P2 has its important kinship ties in a nearby village at 2 miles distance. As the ties are very close and the family concerned is active in village politics, B1 P2 always seeks guidance from it in all important problems. B2 F1 have their oldest kinship ties with S in Mehdiabad. The family is headed by a widow who wanted to remarry in S. But as there was encouraging response from S, relations became strained. It was suspected that the widow has had a hand in a plot one member of S. Since then the kinship has turned into enmity. Now usually B2 F1 follows a negative Policy towards S. The next kinship ties of the family are in a Tarar village of 4 miles distance. The two families did not have good relations, but since B2 F1 and S have become enemies, the old relationships were revived. The third set of relatives are in Bavera village but these are not important for either family,

B3 F1 had its important kinship relations with B1 F1, B1 P2, B2 F1 within the village and with a Ja family in another village at 12 miles distance, As kinship in the village was weakened by Sharika (rivalry) feelings, the ties with the Jag family have become stronger. B3 P2 has its important kinship relation in nearby Rajra village. As this family is a 'lead-r' family too, B3 B2 is always under the sway of it The Tarar family TF1 had its kinship ties in a village at 10 miles, and

further ties at 2 miles distance, TF2 had only one important kin in a village at 1 mile distance and most of the decisions of the family are made by these kins,

The two Baradaris Gujjar and Virk have no kinship ties,

Factional Affiliations There is no centralised leadership in the village; in Bavera the Ealrera Baradari vests the local leadership. Through them contacts are established with territorial leaders. For most of the families of this Baradari, S in Mehdiabad is the leader. The Virk and Gujjar Baradari, too, accept the hegemony of this family. Only B3 P2, B2 F1 and TF1 have their factional leaders elsewhere. Bi FI is attached to two factions. The Kammi ordinarily recognize the territorial leadership of S.

IV

Village Bavera is one of several villages of the Vvera Caste. The Vavera caste is known for its simplicity, shyness, submissiveness and passivity. Most of them are illiterate and lack dynamic leadership in the community. The local administration is very weak and the ranking system is not as tight as in the neighbouring Tarar community. The Bavera caste is a sub-caste of Hajra caste which is further a sub-caste of Jats. The difference between caste and sub-caste is nominal, at least in this case, and no significance is attached to the difference. The groups' temperament, economic and social organization are not much different.

To the west, south-west and north-west of Bavera spreads the Tarar caste. Some of the Tarar are very big Jagirdars. They are more educated and have been in the arena of local and national politics from the beginning of the century. One of them has been a member of the Council of States in 1942 in the Central Government of India. Some Tarars hold very important posts in the civil and military administration. All important public offices of the area are held by them. They consider themselves as the leaders of the area and contemptuously call the Bavera "sheep". There are three important Tarar villages: Kolo, Rasulpur and Vanika. The more educated and rich Tarars live in these villages, while the others live in the smaller villages of the area. These in the smaller villages are divided between the leadership of the three large villages. Beyond the Tarars in the south-west spread the Bhattis, a sub-caste of the Rajput. They are close to the Tarar in many respects and are as educated and influential. As the Bhattis practice endogamous marriages, they have become an isolated group.

In the north and north east lies the Chatta Caste - a sub-caste of Jats. The Chattas are closer to the Baveras in group temperament than to Tarar and Bhattis. Not many of them are educated and the few who are, either stay in the village or hold ordinary jobs in cities. Chattas have no custom to prohibit them from concluding exogamous marriage. They intermarry with Baveras and Tarars.

V

The constituency demarcated for provincial elections of 1951 combined the police station Vanika Tarar with Jalalpur. This demarcation included the majority of, Tarars, Chattas and Baveras, while a major portion of Bhattis went to another constituency. As the Baveras considered themselves a part of the Hajra caste, and when most villages fell in another constituency, they felt that they were dismembered and could not muster a majority in the election.

One Tarar R from Rasulpur and Tarar A from Kollo applied for the Muslim League party ticket - i.e. the party which was in power in the center as well as in the provinces and was popular with the people because of its part in the creation of Pakistan R was an old Leaguer and had relatives in the Parliamentary Board appointed for distributing party tickets. The other applicant A joined the Muslim League after Partition. He was indirectly related to the then President of the provincial Muslim League, It was a strong contest.

The Parliamentary Board demanded an oath of allegiance to the decisions of it by the applicants. Both the candidates took the oath upon the Holy Book (Quran) publicly. The ticket was given to R. A violated the oath and decided to contest the elections independently. The third candidate was put up by the Azad Pakistan party, a pro-left party recently organised. He was a Chatta teacher; but as the candidate did not consult his caste group on this problem and depended more on the party, the caste group did not show much enthusiasm for him.

The Baveras were ambitious to put up their own candidate, They called a meeting of the community in which also some Hajra participated But as several members were not willing to contest the election and lack of funds and the strength of the community did not ensure a safe victory, the idea of putting up a Bavera candidate was *dropped*. At this occasion, the independent candidate, joined the meeting and proposed that if the Bavera community supported him, he would be helping them in the next election of the District Board. The Baveras agreed and the meeting ended. All the candidates had three fronts. The first was publicity and propaganda. The loudspeakers were fitted into jeeps and the announcer would visit every village and speak in favor of their candidate. The Muslim League candidate dilated upon the achievements of their party, like the creation of Pakistan and the conference of the right of ownership of property to the women. The independent candidate first spoke against the inefficiency of the League candidate and his apathetic and arrogant attitude towards the common man. In some villages they would take the Quran with them and say, that if their candidate came into power they would establish Islamic order in the society.

The Azad Pakistan party's main theme was the transference of ownership of land to tenants and removal of poverty and economic inequality.

The second front was the pressure upon the voters through Baradari, caste kinship and factional ties. The candidates had entrusted the territorial leaders in their support with this job, supervising it personally. The territorial leaders would find out all possible relations connecting a family and would find ways and means to influence the voters, Most of the vote gained by a candidate came under this pressure, while the results of the publicity were nil,

The third front and the ultima ratio of the candidate was the Mela, The candidate would take his sister or daughter to the house of an influential member of the community to request for the vote of the community. This would be called the Mela of daughter or sister. The candidate may take the Mela of the Pir of a family. The Pir would either go to the family himself or would write a letter to the family. The Mela technique is rarely ineffective.

The independent candidate had an old enmity with his uncle who had killed his brother. He told him that he could forgo the revenge if he (the uncle) supported him. The uncle agreed.

In some villages the voters received money too. But this was regarded ignoble by the villagers, Money usually is not paid directly for votes. The candidate would give money to a family and say that this was for the expenditure they would make on his behalf for serving the voters.

The Bavera community had decided in favour of A. But first this decision was more in the nature of advice than a mandate. Second it was obligatory only for the Bavera Baradari. The Gujjar, Tarar and Virk Baradari could make their own policy.

All Gujjars and Virk recognised the leadership of the S family in Mehdiabad and S was in favour of A due to kinship, caste and faction pressure, therefore Gujjar and Virk voted for A. The TF1 had decided to vote for A in compliance with the wishes of the Bavera Baradari. But a few days before polling, kins from the Chatta village who were under the influence of a territorial leader supporting R came and changed its first opinion. It finally voted for K. TF2 voted for A as his candidate; besides the support of Bavera, he was receiving the support of his one kinsman. The B1 and B3 units of the Bavera decided to vote for A, both in compliance with community mandate and the wishes of the territorial leader, S of Mehdiabad, B2 decided to vote against A, as he was being supported by S, its enemy. Later, when kinsmen the family asked to vote for R, it had further reason to vote for R.

A few days before the elections the Chatta kinsman of Bi FI came to get votes for R, to whom he was related by marital ties. BiFI was under the stress of two opposing pulls. Finally, half of the family voted for S and half for R, Bi P2 voted for A, the candidate of S, as their caste mandate, factional affiliations and kinshipties all supported him.

B3 FI voted for A as asked by S and further strengthened by caste mandate. However Jag kinsmen pulled him for R. Later, when B3 FI visited these kinsmen, there was a lot of trouble for him.

B3 P2 voted for R in defiance of community mandate and according to the wishes of its territorial leader in another village. Moreover, he wanted to oblige the N kinsman of B1 F1. As all the tenants were attached to B3 FI, they all voted for the candidate of their landlord. The Kammis were divided by the supporters of both leaders, it gave half of its votes to one and half to the other. The difficulty for the Kanuni arose when both parties wanted all the votes from it. In such cases a few families were threatened by the Zamindars.

The third Chatta candidate received no vote from this village. A member of Bi FI who was studying in a college and sympathised with the program of the party wrote his family to vote for him. But as the other influence on the family were stronger, they did not vote for him.

The attached graph indicates the different forces working on the voter and the division of village Vavera over the elections.

Democracy can function successfully only, if the voter is aware of the consequences his choice of candidate would lead to, and if he is free from economic and social pressures that can compel him to vote for a candidate he does not like to elect. The third prerequisite is that he is conscious of unity of social progress and is enlightened enough to place the interests of nation and mankind above all.

All these prerequisites are not present even in well-established and advanced democracies. But they are almost completely absent from the under-developed rural population of Asia. Though their societies on the whole have set themselves on the path of democracy, their cultural and economic set-up lag far behind these ideals.

As our above data show, the political party concerned was not a homogeneous unit of people aspiring for the pursuit of a particular program, but rather a conglomeration of families linked by caste, kinship and factional affiliations, with a desire to gain power in the name of the party. When the party did not give the ticket to one member, he contested the election against his party. When successful, he was admitted as the member of the party just to swell its ranks, No party had any following in the area and in most cases the voters did not know the name of the party, not to speak of its program. Both the candidates did not approach the voters directly. Neither did they attempt to enlist their support with a program to improve the condition of the voters; on the other hand, they exploited the attachment and dependence of the individual over different groups. While voting for any particular candidate, the voter did not care about the

moral status or efficiency of the candidate but voted for the strongest pressure, This sometimes led to a split in the caste, kinship and Baradari groups and sometimes created very embarrassing situations for the downtrodden group of Kammis.

Impact of Basic Democracies on Rural Power Structure A Theoretical Analysis

Every political institution needs a conducive socio-economic environment for its successful functioning. A very unfavorable environment may kill a new social form in the bud. On the other hand a social innovation introduced by a forceful and effective leadership with a realistic insight into the socio-economic basis of the society may prove a wedge in the social structure and gradually create conditions for its successful functioning. In this article, we propose to discuss the power structure of our rural society and examine what changes the Basic Democracies can bring about in the present power structure.

Power is defined by sociologists as the capacity to mobilise human and material resources. This capacity is distributed in the whole society and the modes of this distribution vary in different societies in accordance with their socio—cultural conditions.

Two Categories

The people of a typical village can be divided into two broad categories, those who are known as Zainindars and those who are known as Kanunis. The Zaanindar group includes all those who own or cultivate land. The Kaimni group includes all those who have a Kainmi profession even if, in some cases, they are cultivators and in rare cases land owners. There are families like Syeds and Maulvis who do not precisely fall in either category. The Zamindar group is regarded as more powerful and most of the decisions about the collective village affairs are entirely taken by it. This group derives this power from ownership of land which is the major source of livelihood in an agricultural society. The Kammi group supplies services and commodities which are exchanged for the land produce. The exchange is not a contractual one in which equally strong parties settle the terms of contract without any personal dependence. Rather it is an exchange which has an element of obligation towards the Zamindars. Besides, the fact that most of the Kammis built their houses on the common land of the Zamindars, and their cattle graze on it, further necessitates this dependence.

The rural culture defines Kammis, as people who do not have prestige and power. They are supposed to obey and follow, and display a humble and submissive attitude. The Kammis are further divided vertically and horizontally. There are the artisans who consider themselves higher in prestige than the

unskilled Kammis. Both the categories may be further divided into smaller Baradaris. Vertically speaking the artisans have no power over the unskilled labour. The exchange of manual services that unskilled labour provides and the commodities and skilled labour that artisans supply purely a barter. However, the smaller units of Baradaris have some cohesion and there exists a leadership hierarchy to make decisions about the purely group problems like dispute between two members, divorces, etc. However, there is no clear demarcation of the sphere of influence and quite frequently the Zamindar leadership barges in to the group affairs of the Kammi.

The Monopolist

Naturally in such socio-economic structure, the Zamindar group emerges as the monopolist of power. In fact the culture of this group places a high value on the attainment of power which only makes life meaningful to the individual himself. This power comes from multiplication of land owned, from the strength of the family members and a wider sphere of contacts and social relations

Unitary Type

There are three possible power structures existing in our society. The first may be called the unitary type, In this structure, there is a single man who has direct access to every family in the village. Problems come directly to him from the different individuals The individual may be deriving his power from his landownership or from his literacy, or from a combination of these qualities. Such a structure is prevalent in villages where there is single baradari or one baradari is overwhelmingly strong In either case there is usually an implicit or explicit sanction of force behind the acceptance of power group.

Collective Leadership

The second type may be called a collective leadership structure. In such a structure there is no over-riding powerful leader and the power group is constituted of members representing several smaller groups Such a structure is prevalent in villages of peasant proprietors where economic power is more widely distributed in equally strong baradaris in the village. The third type may be called, for lack of any precise term, a centrifugal structure with autonomous units The smaller units are hostile to each other, and there is a tendency to get out of the village social structure. The smaller groups dissipate their energy in social conflict. Such a structure has a very weak foundation and may give way any time.

Four Levels

This, in brief, is the internal power structure of a typical village, but it is part of the wider and larger power structure existing in the whole rural

community. For analytical purposes we divide this hierarchy into four levels. The first level representing the power structure of the Kammi group as a whole. The second level may be the total village power structure mainly representing the zamindar group. The third level may consist of a power group which extends its influence to a smaller community of five or six villages. The fourth level consists of power groups whose sphere of influence extends to a police station or an election constituency.

The third level power group is constituted by land owners whose ownership ranges usually from 50 to 200 acres. They have some education, usually primary. They keep contact with local government officials, and entertain them when they visit the village and send grains or a much cow when they need. They have some understanding of government administration and urban patterns of life.

The third level group derives its power from several sources. First, it may be representing caste communities spreading over several villages. This caste consciousness may knit several villages into one group and its leader may thus have power over all such villages.

Secondly, it may come from fear of the arbitrary use of its powers in the village by police, which needs to be restrained by some sort of social mechanism. The local power group needs to establish its relationship with this group so that whenever there is an occasion for help the third level leadership may be called upon. Third, with the elimination of the former panchayat system, a villager may have to go to Tehsil or district courts about some civil or criminal case. As the court procedures are unknown to him and he believes that justice to him would come only through sifarish, he needs to seek the guidance of the third level leadership. In this way directly or indirectly he is tied to this group.

The Landlords

The fourth level power group consists of big landlords and Jagirdars whose ownership may range between 200 acres and above. Such land owners have extensive contact with the tehsil and district officers. They may have been members of district boards, members of former legislative assemblies, etc. They may have a higher level of education than the third level ranging from middle to graduation. This group had contacts with different political parties (pre-Martial Law period). The third level leadership links itself to this group to get its petty jobs done by tehsil and district officers through it. It may need its help for getting employment for a young matriculate in the city, which this group can secure through political links.

The power group at the top has conflicting interests. For instance formerly when two members of this group would contest the election they would be arraying against each other. In this way a powerful member at the top may have

several followers from the third level leadership. This relationship is sometimes developed into an informal organization with the hierarchy of leadership, extending itself to the second and first levels.

The Impact

What would be the impact of Basic Democracies on this power structure? The first impact that can be predicted is that the influence of top level power would be substantially reduced in the first instance. Gradually this group may disappear.

The first reason for its disappearance is that with the abolition of political parties the top level power group does not wield the power that linked it to the third level group. It cannot influence the top level administration and hence cannot distribute "favours" to its followers. The second reason is that the land reforms have substantially reduced the economic power of this group. On the other hand as quite a number of tenants would become small land owners it is likely that the second and third level leadership becomes more strong. Besides land reform had its psychological impact. This power group is losing its self confidence. The rural people now are gradually realising that the government is no longer in favor of this group and probably can assert themselves more forcefully.

Thirdly, the structure of Basic Democracies reduces the stature of top level leadership. While formerly the top level leader was the single representative in a constituency consisting of several hundred villages, now he would be one of the ten elected members of the council, at least constitutionally equal to the rest of the members coming from third and second levels. Even if he becomes the Chairman of the Union Council, his influence would not be extending beyond five or six villages; on the other hand, the Union Council, however, can elect its chairman from the third and second levels.

The second impact can be that the relationship between the four levels may become more democratic. The first reason is that now any member of different levels of power group may be needing the votes of the group below him but cannot give him much in exchange. This may result from the delegation of some judicial powers to the Union Council which may reduce the influence of police in the villages, and hence would minimise the need of a guide in tehsil and district courts and make the present power groups partly less functional.

The third impact can be that the middle range leadership is more strengthened and may be gradually more enlightened. The new system provides more opportunities for the middle range power group to be elected and work with more autonomy. As literacy would be a functional need in the system, it may provide opportunities for younger but educated members of this group to lead the people.

The further impact can be that gradually the first level of power leadership is included in the Union Council and the distance between the first and second is considerably reduced. The reason for it may be that this group may be stirred to bring about a change when it has observed a change in the top layer of power structure, This change may convince them of the possibility of change in the first level. Secondly, as our rural economy grows and society becomes more and more functionally organised, dependence on the zamindar may be reduced. Thirdly, there may be a possibility of nomination from this group which, though initially may be frowned upon by the second and third. level power group may gradually be accepted by them. Fourthly, the process of election may educate the Kammi group in the democratic process and hence make them conscious of electing their own representatives in Union Councils.

Basic Democracies Election in the Context of Village Power Structure of West Pakistan

(A case study of election of a Union Council)

Introduction

Political and social institutions in a society gradually develop a working relationship in time. But the period of transition is fraught with problems which may be serious enough to threaten the existence of a society facing such problems. This is more likely the case when the two institutions are fundamentally incompatible in spirit and form. Human ingenuity, however, many times discovers solutions short of complete extinction. The interacting institutions adjust their forms and take new meaning in this process. Study of this process is of significance for social scientists and social engineers.

One example of this process is the interaction between the traditional social organization of the rural society and the modern political institutions that are emerging in the newly developing countries with a predominantly rural population. Modern political institutions such as legislative assemblies, which make law through formal procedures and whose membership is elected through majority votes, find no supporting elements from the rural social structure where law is not enacted formally and membership in law-making institutions is not elected by formal procedures. Similarly the principle of representation on the basis of numerical strength which accords equal value to the opinion of every individual irrespective of his status in the society is in conflict with the system of status of the village society.

In the villages of West Pakistan, this interaction between democratic political institutions and rural social structure has not been so direct as to have unfolded this process fully. There was no popular government at the center and the provinces till 1935. However, involvement of people in local political

institutions had started earlier. Lord Rippon's resolution of 1882 recommended the creation of district and tehsil boards which he suggested should have a majority of elected members. But the electorate for these members was limited to a small minority of rural people. Besides, these institutions remained too ineffective to introduce any disturbing element for rural social structure. The formal Pancyats were tried only in a limited number of villages and therefore the process could not become widespread.

After independence the district rural boards remained ineffective in their functions, though the electorate was extended to include all the adult population. This change, however, could not have its full repercussions, firstly, as the district board's constituencies were too big to disturb the village, and secondly no district board had elections more than once. The Provincial Legislative Assembly election was held only once. The village councils introduced by V—AID administration were not political institutions and they were more often constituted on informal implicit consensus rather than formal election.

In October 1959, President Ayub introduced the Basic Democracies Scheme. The Scheme envisaged the creation of five tiers of local government called union council, tehsil council, district council, divisional council and the provincial advisory council.

Out of the 15 members of the union council, the lowest tier, which included an area having a population of nearly 10,000, 10 members were to be elected. Countrywide elections were held in the last week of December 1959 and the first week of January, 1960. As 1,000 people could elect one member of the union council, it offered an opportunity to the different social groups in the village to aspire for political representation. This aspiration was a new element in the equilibrium of rural power structure and it initiated a process of mal-adjustment, The following case study is an attempt to delineate this process,

The Village and its Social Structure

Village Loko is the headquarters of Loko Union Council consisting of eleven villages. Loko has the largest population in the council, nearly 4000. Out of the ten elected seats, therefore, five fell to its share, the remaining five going to the other ten villages,

Loko is five miles away from a pucca road and nine miles away from a town, which is a thriving rice market. It has its own small market of cloth, sweetmeat, indigenous medicine and other household necessities. It has an anglo-vernacular middle school for boys, a primary school for girls, a district board dispensary, and a small government veterinary hospital, which also serves the surrounding villages. Besides these ties, the nearby villages are connected to this village by economic and political ties. The land cultivated by the inhabitants of nearly all the villages within a five mile radius of Loko belongs to the landlords

of this village who have political control over these villages. Loko is dominated by Tarars - a sub-caste of Jats. The influential Tarar families in the three villages are not only linked by sub-caste ties, but are also Inter-woven by inter-marriages, The chiefs in these villages have their zones of influence which sometimes cross each other, but are clearly demarcated.

The political hold of Tarars in this area has remained unchallenged for a long time. A few decades ago, it was despotic and authoritarian. The law of the country would rarely intrude in the chief's zone of influence and whenever it did it supported the authority of the Tarars.

Since independence, due to the changing political climate of the country and replacement of the old guard by younger leadership, though the basic internal and external power structure remained unchanged, anxiety to preserve it has increased. The new leadership is more subtle in its tactics and easily accepts the fact that public relations aspect needs to be developed to make their authority more palatable. Moreover, they try to make themselves more useful by performing the traditional roles more willingly and often more effectively.

The village has no formal local government institution which represents the different groups in the village. Such an institution would naturally have constituted a threat to the "rule of the Tarars". It is stated that the population of the village was always shown less than what it actually is so that government could not order the establishment of a small town committee, a statutory local body which would have weakened the hold of the traditional leadership.

The population of the village is divided into four broad social categories: the Syeds, the zamindars, the kammi and the changars.

The zamindar group consists of 46 families of Joyas, 40 families of Tarars and 20 families of Gills. The other 20 families are of Hajra, Wahind and Chatte castes.

The Joyas are mostly tenants, though some of them combine the rented land with their own small fields. Most of them are illiterate, They have never shown any keen interest in political affairs and before this election they have followed the Tarars, their landlords. Two Joyas have started commission shops in the tehsil market and most of the village produce is sold through them. The Joyas are an exogamous group.

The Gills are very near to Joyas in socio-economic characteristics. Like the Joyas, the Gills too are mostly tenants and mostly illiterate. Like the Joyas, they have remained passive in village affairs, Both the groups share an introvert temperament, besides a common village, a common mosque and a common dera (community hall). Since long they are reported to be on good terms and always sharing sad and all happy occasions.

The Tarars of Loko can be divided into four pattis: patti A, which is headed by Hafizullah and includes four families, owns about 80% of the land in the village — nearly 18,00 acres. Hafizullah's father, who died five years ago, was regarded as the most influential landlord in the tehsil. The District Gazetteer described him as the "largest owner of the tract". He was the zaildar of Loko zail, an honorary Magistrate, a member of the Legislative Council in 1920, and a member of the Council of States in 1941. These political offices gave an early opportunity to this patti to be in contact with political life of the country and made it influential with the tehsil and district administration. In the struggle between the Muslim League and Unionist Party in the Punjab in 1946, this patti remained indecisive about its alignment, but after independence it lost no time in joining the swelling ranks of the victorious party. In 1952, Hafizullah applied for the *Muslim* League ticket to contest the elections for the membership of Provincial Assembly, and as the party did not favor him, he flouted the party decision and contested elections as an independent candidate. He defeated the party candidate but subsequently was admitted to the Muslim League Provincial Parliamentary Party.

Since Azhar, the head of one component family of the Patti, killed the elder brother of Hafizullah, this Patti has not been a cohesive unit. Azhar, after expiry of his term of imprisonment, settled in Lahore. But when Hafizullah needed Azhar's help in the Provincial Elections of 1952, the two families settled their dispute. Later when Azhar came out successful in District Board elections in 1954 with active assistance of Hafizullah, the two families regained lost mutual trust. Azhar is still settled in Lahore. However, his son, Akram, has come to the village to reside there permanently.

Patti B is headed by Lutfullah, and, as his sister is the widow of the murdered brother of Hafizullah, the two Pattis are very intimately linked. Therefore, this Patti, for political purposes, is considered a part of Patti A. Lutfullah, is quite intelligent and takes an active interest in national politics and is considered an important adviser of Hafizullah. This Patti owns nearly 1500 acres of land.

Patti C is not a cohesive unit since it had a long drawn out land dispute which could be settled only recently. Most of the members are illiterate except for one person who is a matriculate. This section is passive in village affairs since the death of one old and influential member. In both Provincial and District elections, it supported Section A. It owns nearly 500 acres of land and consists of five families.

Patti D is relatively poor as its ownership does not exceed 150 acres. Its component families are seven. Twenty years before, the role of this section was insignificant in village affairs. But since Shahzore has started taking interest in village politics, this Patti is assuming increasing significance. In fact, Shahzore, though a small landowner, has proved a serious challenge to the influence of the

father of Hafizullah, He used to help any person who got any maltreatment from Patti A. This gathered around him all the people dissatisfied with that Patti. This opposition became quite evident when Shahzore actively supported the opponent of Hafizullah in the provincial election of 1951. As this tussle was mostly a personal power contest between the fathers of Hal izullah and Shahzore, it has subsided since the father's death in 1955, Since then, the relations between the two pattis are improving. In fact, Hal izullah's tactfulness has paved the way for an alliance between the two pattis.

The fourteen Syed families are not grouped with either of the two groups as they are not Kamnii, because they own lands and are considered to be of higher status than both the Zamindar and the Kammi by virtue of their descendance from the grandson of the prophet of Islam. Some of these families live on Nazranas, i.e. funds collected from the rest of Muslims spiritually attached to them. The Syeds have a long history of internal disputes.

The Changars are another group who cannot be grouped with either category. They are refugees from India, do not own land and most of them sell brass-utensils in the villages. A few of them collect bones and sell them in the city. In status hierarchy, they would be regarded lower than the two categories. For political analysis, the Syed could be categorised with Zamindars while the Changars with the Kammi.

Kammi group includes more than 75 percent population of the village. it includes families who are non-landowners and have a profession like shoe-making, shop-keeping, or farm labourers. As these families depend on agricultural groups for their jobs they usually accept the authority of Zamindars with whom they are economically attached. This was more true before independence than now. The instances are now common when a Kammi family or a Kanuni sub-group refuses to be led by the Zamindars.

The Kammi can be divided into three groups; first, those who very closely follow the Zamindar groups as their profession intimately connects them to Zamindars. This group is Mirassee, barbers and Muslim Sheikbs. The Muslim Sheikhs are usually personal servants or farm labourers; the Mirasseees recite genealogies and perform certain other functions on the occasions of death and marital ceremonies. Some of the Mirasseees' functions are shared by barbers, except that they do shaving and hair dressing too. Second group would include carpenters, blacksmiths, and mechanics who enjoy relatively more independence from the Zamindar than the former group. The third group consists of the Sheikhs and the Arian who are almost free from any influence of the Zamindars. The Arians, though regarded as Kammi are cultivators and their main occupation is to sell vegetables in the village.

Most of the Sheikhs are petty shop-keepers; some of them buy hides and skins from neighbouring villages and sell them in the city. They are very

industrious, calculating and enterprising. Due to these habits,, some of them saved money from their small business and moved to Lahore, the provincial capital, where they now have a prosperous business. Quite a few of these city dwellers have obtained high education and are quite influential. Interestingly, two generations of urban life have not weakened their traditional link with their rural community and the city dweller section keeps active interest in the village affairs and support their brethren in every respect. This link has given the Sheikhs more political consciousness and more self-reliance than before.

As the above description indicates, the Tarar caste is the most powerful group in the village and Hafizullah is the most powerful individual. But the power equilibrium has been precariously balanced. The educated Syeds, the political-minded Sheikhs, the increasing literacy of Joyas, Gills and the artisans, and growing political consciousness awakened by radio, newspaper and the contact with urban life are the potential dynamic elements. The military regime's land reforms, though not substantially affecting the size of ownerships of the Tarars, further made this equilibrium unstable by raising doubts in the minds of the village folk whether landlords still enjoyed the support of law and administration. The elections of Union Council also added to this thinking.

The Process of Election

As the news about the election spread in the village through newspapers and verbal communications, there were talks about it in every corner of the village. The first perceptible activity was the movement initiated by one Syed, one Tarar and one Arian to hold a meeting of the Kanunis and smaller Zamindars to decide about the nomination of candidates. This meeting, while it emphasised that the Kammis and smaller Zamindars should unite and put up candidates from among themselves, could not agree about actual candidates. It was postponed for a week. Meanwhile Hafizullah, Akram, Shahzore, came to know about the prospective meeting and themselves called a meeting in which all of the important members of the village communities including the Syed and the Sheikhs were invited. Hat izullah suggested that the village should have five seats of which one should be given to the Kammis, one to the refugees, one to the Section D of Tarars and two to Section A. The Kammis were asked to nominate their candidate and they did it promptly by nominating Rehman, the shoe-maker. The refugees nominated Zahir Shah, a local practitioner in indigenous medicine. The names of Shahzore, Akram and Hat izullah were suggested to represent Sections D and A. There was no active opposition expressed to these decisions except that Joyas demanded a seat. Hat izullah explained that as Tarars and Joyas were brethren, he (Hat izullah) represented them too.

Soon it precipitated that the decisions made by the meeting sponsored by Hat izullah were not acceptable to our major communities. The Sheikh had already sent someone to Lahore after group consultation to consult the city-

dwellers' brethren. Once they consented, Rahim Sheikh submitted his application of nomination.

Meanwhile, the Tarars of Section C who remained entirely unrepresented assured the Joya community of their support if they put up their candidate. They (Joyas), after several days of consultations, among themselves and immediate neighbouring group Gill, decided to put up their candidate, Kemal. The Arians promised their support to this group.

The Syeds were not consulted in the nomination meeting as their leaders were not on good terms with Hafizullah. They have always proved a formidable opposition to section A of Tarars, and are more politically awakened. The new system offered them an opportunity to come on to the political front. They put up Noor Shah.

The Muslim Sheikh who had 70 families and were quite a well-knit unit wanted to have a seat too. The applications of one Sahli was submitted. There were a total of eight seats, but actual applications were eleven. Three applications were of alternative candidates who would contest only in case the papers of three actual candidates were rejected. The five candidates, Hafizullah, Akram, Zahir Shah, Rehaan and Shahzcre, whose names were suggested in the village meeting, made a united front, Hafizullah several times expressed the view that the defeat of any candidate of the party was his moral defeat. Hafizullah's group had decided that they would not try to make up with Syeds and Sheikhs as they were considered the uncompromising and irreconcilable opponents,. Therefore, all efforts were directed towards winning over the recalcitrant Tarars, Joyas, Arians and Muslim Sheikhs.

Hafizullah called some leaders of Joyas and persuaded them to withdraw. They did not yield. Then Hafizullah called Qamar, Joya, the commission agent, to persuade his brethren to withdraw. Hafizullah was a important customer of Qamar and to refuse to help him would mean slackening of business. Qamar called a meeting of Joyas and explained his mission. The Joyas did not yield. However, Qamar was successful in winning over his three families of near relatives for Hafizullah's party. Meanwhile Hafizullah's party collected all the senior leaders and took a mela ¹ to the Tarars of Section D. They did not yield. Then a son-in-law of one family of Patti D who lived in a nearby village was brought to bring his pressure on D. This time it s very difficult for Section D to refuse. They agreed to support the party. Similar mela went to Joyas, but it failed. Later some younger members of Tarars threatened the Joyas that they may be ejected from their lands due to their intransigence A similar mela was, however, fruitful in winning over the Arians.

A mela was also taken to the house of the leaders of Muslim Sheikh. Hafizullah placed hi cap before their leader and asked him to either put the cap on his own head or on the head of Hafizullah. It, in fact, symbolised that respect

of Hafizullah was in the hands of the leader of Muslim Sheikhs, implicitly an emotional appeal. The Muslim Sheikh leader placed the cap on the head of Hafizullah which meant that Muslim Sheikh would support his party. In a few days the Muslim Sheikh candidate withdrew his application.

Now there were eight candidates in the field for five seats. The polling continued for three days. Hafizullah party had pooled all their voters. Their strategy was to keep the trusted voters for the last day so that if it was found out that a candidate was losing

1. *Mela: The candidate would take his sister or daughter to the house of an influential member of the community to request for the vote of the community. The candidate may take the Mela of the Pir of a family. The Pir would either go to the family himself or would write a letter to the family, The mela technique rarely fails.*

losing, he would be supported with the trusted reserved votes. There was a similar understanding between Joyas and the Syeds.

All the candidates had their- separate arrangements of writing the chits for the voter which included serial number of the voter on the voters' list, his name and name of his father. The voters would take the chit to the polling officer who would issue him the ballot which the voter would cast in the ballot box placed in a room inaccessible to any other person.

In case of Hafizullah's party the voter would take the chit from the agents of his candidate and they would send him to Lutafullah. He would instruct him to vote for a particular candidate of the party. Lutafullah was thus trying to balance the votes of all the candidates of the party.

When the ballots of all the candidates were counted on the first day, the Sheikh candidate was leading while the Syed candidate secured the least votes. However, Rehman, the shoe-maker thought that the party leadership was not sincerely supporting him as his position was not secure enough. At night he called the meeting of Kainmi leaders and acquainted them with the situation. Subsequently the supporters of Rehman were asked to vote for him regardless of the instruction of the party leadership. The other three candidates, too, secretly instructed their voters, though apparently abiding by the party decision.

The second day polling results brought out that Syed and Joya candidates could not win. Therefore, in order to defeat at least one candidate of Hafizullah's party, they aligned themselves with the Sheikh candidate. All the trusted voters reserved for the last day of these two candidates were instructed to vote for the Sheikh candidate. When Hafizullah came to know of this decision he contacted the Joya leaders and requested them to support his party, as a compromise even at that stage, according to Hafizullah, could improve the strained relations. But the Joyas did not yield.

The third day polling brought out that four candidates of Hafizullah's party were successful. Only Zahir Shah, the refugee, lost. From the opposition the Sheikh candidate won the second highest votes. The defeated candidate of Hafizullah's party alleged that the party intentionally caused his failure by giving more votes to the losing candidate Shahzore on the third day. The repeated assurance of Hafizullah was not successful in restoring the lost faith of Zahir Shah.

The success of Sheikh candidate was interpreted as a unique phenomenon in the village history when a member of the Kaunni had been able to defeat a nominee of the all influential landlords. There was lot of rejoicing. After the announcement of the result, the leaders of Sheikh went to the Joyas to acknowledge that their success was due to their perseverance.

In the same evening it was given out that the landlords had told five tenants who did not vote for them that they have been ejected from the lands. Some of these tenants contacted the writer and requested legal advice on the question.

The representatives of both the groups say that the attitude of polling officer and police has been unusually impartial and fair to all candidates, Most of the candidates agree that there was not a single bogus vote. Besides there was no serious clash among the parties except that some women exchanged abuses at the polling station.

Conclusion

1. A political system functions and takes its distinct shape within limits set by the frame-work of the social structure. Between the political system and the individual, the social structure is an important intervening factor. Therefore, any realistic political scheme has to take into account the exigencies of the social structure.

The impact of the social structure on the result has been apparent. Most of the seats in the elections were won by the traditional power leaders who were a formidable element in the whole situation. They were trying to maintain the status quo by employing all economic, social and psychological techniques. However, they also understood the sharp weapon of the vote and tried to work out a compromise by including in their party the people who, so far, have not been recognised as part of the power elite. Though the actual power of decision is going to be in the hands of traditional leaders, the new composition of power structure would make it at least less secure by being uncompromising to the larger political and power structure,

2. While working in the context of a given socio-economic relationship the elections in this village have proved to be an instrument of change too, The

process of election indicates how the classes that were not a part of the power structure seized the opportunity to assert themselves; besides, the fact that Joyas and Gills could preserve their unity in spite of all pressures, and the less privileged groups made spontaneous alliance, indicate the presence of political aspirations which were not finding proper outlet. This also indicates the effectiveness of the scheme in encouraging the emergence of a new leadership from all strata of the society and in initiating change in the power structure.

3. The election further indicates that in our rural society the family particularly, and biradari generally are the basic units which make political decisions. As our study indicates, the candidates did not directly contact the individual voters. First it was biradari as a whole which was contacted and when it was realised that there were some families who were loosely integrated to the larger units then pressure was shifted to the family. As, besides biradari, the family is part of a wider relationship of kinship, including in-laws, the external links to the family were also exploited.

4. Our study also indicates that kinship structure is sufficiently strong to be the pivot for secondary organizations in our rural society, The economic interests and political consciousness are forceful only to the extent they coincide with this structure. This also indicates that in the process of integration of this parochial consciousness to the wider national and ideological awareness, sufficient understanding of the intensity of rural social structure is needed.