

Shahri Jat and Pahari Jatni: Gendered Ethnicity in an Urbanizing Jat Village in North India

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ABSTRACT This paper discusses women's changing roles in Shahargaon – a rapidly urbanizing Jat village in New Delhi, India. The paper traces the change in women's identity and roles in the context of shifts in subsistence strategy from agriculture to an urban economy and examines how Jat women maintain rural-urban network ties and traditional Jat identity in an urban context. As the Shahargaon Jat community experiences social change brought about by urban expansion and assimilation, cultural practices associated with the traditional peasant Jat identity are now idealized as a means of maintaining ethnic boundaries between the Jats and the surrounding multiethnic urban population. Recent changes in Shahargaon have created new sets of conditions that further marginalize women by excluding them from public income-generating activities. In Shahargaon, like in several other urbanizing communities, women's economic roles as agricultural laborers have been replaced by their roles within the household and as carriers of traditions, customs, and practices associated with the community's agrarian past.

INTRODUCTION

Shahargaon¹ is now an affluent village and its families are rich. But money has made us more rural than before when we were poor.

In these words a middle-aged Jat² woman in Shahargaon described the manner in which men and women have been unevenly affected by the rapid assimilation of their village into the expanding metropolis of New Delhi, India. Based on ethnographic and demographic research conducted in among the Shahargan Jats during 1993-94, this paper examines the ways in which Shahargaon's increased contact with New Delhi has influenced Jat women's lives in the village. In particular, the paper addresses the changes in women's roles relating to production and reproduction with the shift from an agricultural to an urban job-based system of subsistence in Shahargaon.

Presently an "urban agglomeration" of New Delhi, Shahargaon was an isolated village until

the early 1970s. The village agriculture land was acquired by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in the mid-1970s and Shahargaon residents were forced to abandon their agricultural way of life. During the 1980s, a large residential colony and several shopping centers were constructed on Shahargaon's agricultural land. These changes have quickly transformed Shahargaon from an isolated and impoverished village into a region of intense commercial activity and a strategic area of economic growth. In the last few years, real estate values in the village and its adjoining areas have increased and many Jat families have taken advantage of the growing real estate market by selling and renting portions of their residential property. Members of the Shahargaon Jat community have effectively created alternative jobs as traders and street vendors in the expanding urban market and have also found work as security guards and drivers in New Delhi.

Recent urbanization of the village and its surroundings is debated by Shahargaon Jats as both a source of economic prosperity and social conflict. Although most Shahargaon Jat families are now relatively affluent, conflict continually arises between families as a result of increasing social stratification and uneven rates of acculturation to the surrounding urban society. As the Shahargaon Jat community experiences the process of assimilation into the metropolis of New Delhi, there is a corresponding effort in the community to redefine its "peasant identity" by invoking traditions associated with their peasant lifestyle and by reinforcing women's traditional roles in the village.

GENDER AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Many ethnographic studies have examined

Hindu women's marginal status under systems of patriarchy and the impact of social and economic changes on their lives in north India³ (Chowdhry, 1994; Dube et al., 1986; Jacobson and Wadley, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1986, 1988; Minturn, 1993; Omvedt, 1986; Sharma, 1980).

In general, ethnographic research on women's changing lives tends to problematize the notion that women's position is universally subordinate under systems of patriarchy and that women's subordinate status reduces their access to power and authority (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Thompson, 1985; Wadley, 1992).

Instead of presenting Indian women's lives under patriarchy as one of unmitigated exploitation and subjugation, recent ethnographic research on north Indian women tends to emphasize the ways in which women operate to gain control, advantage, and authority within their immediate structures of patriarchy (Kumar, 1994; Raheja and Gold, 1994; Wadley, 1992, 1994, 1995). In their study of gender and expressive traditions in North India, Raheja and Gold (1994) suggest that:

Characterization of South Asian women as repressed and submissive are...half-truths in the sense that, at times, submission and silence may be conscious strategies of self-representation deployed when it is expedient to do so, before particular audiences and in particular contexts.

Raheja and Gold, 1994:11

Hence it is crucial to analyze women's roles and gender relations in historically situated and culturally contextualized situations. Based on long-term ethnographic research on women and social change in the north Indian community of Karimpur, Wadley (1994) argues that identity and gender relations are historically constructed and that an understanding of the interaction between gender ideology and social change is central to the analysis of women's lives in communities transformed by urban contact and assimilation.

Shahargaon's historical circumstances and its present state of urban contact with New Delhi provide a unique opportunity to examine the relationship between social change and gender roles in a community that has recently under-

gone a shift from a peasant subsistence economy to a capitalist-urban economy. Although Shahargaon Jats have lost agriculture as their primary subsistence base and are currently involved in urban-capitalist production, they tend to assert their traditional identity as "peoples of Haryana" (*Haryanavi*) and associate themselves with Haryana Jat communities that practice subsistence and cash farming. It is important to note that among Shahargaon Jats, perceptions of traditions associated with a peasant way of life are not static. Instead these notions provide an extensive and complex historical resource to distinguish Shahargaon Jats from residents of New Delhi. Since Shahargaon's urban surroundings are considered by some as a threat to the traditional Jat identity, a reinforcement of the peasant identity invokes a sense of unity among Shahargaon Jats. In order to maintain a traditional Haryana peasant identity in urban New Delhi, the Shahargaon Jat community has chosen to put its women in the role of conserving tradition and maintaining the rural lifestyle of previous generations. As men adapt to the urbanizing milieu by forging economic ties with New Delhi, Jat women in the village are expected to be the bearers and carriers of the traditional Jat identity.

SHAHARGAON: EARLY SETTLEMENT PERIOD

Shahargaon was established approximately two hundred and fifty years ago by four Jat brothers from an extended family of a village near Rohtak, Haryana. The Shahargaon Jats belong to the Malik clan and claim descent from the Shigotri lineage of the Haryana Jats. Among the Jats of Delhi, Shahargaon is referred to as a "single clan village" (*sagota gaon*) or as "a village of Maliks" (*Malikon ka gaon*). Historically, the landowning, agricultural Jats were the dominant caste in Haryana and occupied a higher economic, ritual, and numerical status than other social groups in the region (Chowdhry, 1995; Mann, 1988). Historical accounts describe the Haryana region as characterized by chronic famines, scarcity of resources, and a subsistence-oriented economy (Chowdhry, 1995).

According to the Shahargaon residents, the

Malik Jat families who founded Shahargaon experienced even greater economic hardship because they had less land than most Jat families in their parental village in Haryana. Every year they were forced to travel long distances to sell subsistence crops in the emerging urban market. Shahargaon was located along their trade route to Delhi, approximately two days travel from their home village in Haryana. When a wealthy Muslim landlord offered to sell the Shahargaon area to the Jat brothers, they saw the opportunity to obtain greater landholding and improve their economic status. Because the land area of Shahargaon was located between Haryana and the trading center of Mehrauli, the Malik brothers could maintain their agricultural way of life while taking advantage of the trading opportunities made possible by the strategic location of the new village.

Marriage and Women's Roles in Shahargaon

According to the above "perceived historical" account by the local residents, unreliable agricultural yields, poverty, distance from traditional marital villages in Haryana, and the practice of village and regional exogamy among Shahargaon Jats made it difficult to arrange marriages and forge marital alliances during the early settlement period. Jats traditionally practice clan (*got*) exogamy in arranging marital alliances. Ideally, clan exogamy should be maintained for the father, mother, paternal grandmother, and maternal grandmother. Shahargaon Jats, however, do not avoid the maternal grandmother's clan in arranging marital alliances. Among Jats, residence after marriage is patrilocal and the inheritance of property is patrilineal.

The ideal marital alliance for Shahargaon Jats after migration continued to be with their traditional marital villages in Haryana, although most Jat families from prosperous villages in Haryana would not establish marital alliances with Shahargaon families. During the early settlement period, Jats from prosperous villages in Haryana often labeled Shahargaon Jats as *pahari* and joked about their poverty and low social status. The village was derogatorily called a "hilly village" (*pahari gaon*) and its women as "hilly Jat women" (*pahari jatin*) who could be purchased

"for a bullock cart of hay" (*bhuse ka thela*).

Among Haryana Jats, social status is primarily determined on the basis of the ownership of agricultural land and the economic status of the family (Chowdhry, 1995). During the early settlement period, Shahargaon Jats ranked low according to the above criteria and could not establish extensive marital ties with wealthy Jat families in Haryana. The unavailability of Jat brides from Haryana and the cost of brideprice occasionally led to the practice of fraternal polyandry in the early settlement period in Shahargaon. Elders recount that marriage by capture and in some instances of marriages with non-Jat women were also forged, thus reinforcing Shahargaon's unfavorable *pahari* image among Haryana Jats. Shahargaon Jats practiced levirate and widow remarriage to protect lineage ownership over land and to exploit the productive and reproductive roles of women. In Shahargaon, levirate marriages are described as "wearing bangles" (*chura pahenana*) which represents social consent for cohabitation between a widow and her brother-in-law.

Traditionally, Haryana Jats offered brideprice to obtain brides from poor families and provided dowry to ensure a hypergamous alliance for their daughters (Chowdhry, 1995). According to my informants, Shahargaon Jats did occasionally accept brides from non-Jat groups and were flexible in traditional marriage rules. However, Jat women from Shahargaon were always married back into the Haryana Jat community and brideprice was usually offered by the wealthier Haryana Jats. Because the Shahargaon Jat community was poorer than their Haryana home communities, most Shahargaon families could not achieve the ideal of hypergamy by providing an adequate dowry when arranging marriages for their daughters.

My informants described that during the early settlement period, delayed marriages were common for Shahargaon Jat women because of the cost of dowry, the value of daughters' labor to their natal family, the perception that Shahargaon Jat women were "hilly women," and the social stigma of accepting brideprice as a marker of lower socioeconomic status. During the early settlement period, the labor intensive agricultural needs in Shahargaon forced families to involve

women in agricultural production. Although women made a labor contribution to agricultural production and animal husbandry, they were devalued when it came time to arrange their marriages. Village elders recount that there were many unmarried young women in the village. Many families could not meet the dowry demands for a hypergamous alliance and refused the dishonor of accepting brideprice. These families faced social condemnation for having unmarried older daughters at home. I was told that much intravillage conflict arose as a result of sexual indiscretions and that suicide was occasionally resorted to by unmarried daughters.

The small size of the settlement population and the poor land quality made labor a crucial resource problem in Shahargaon. To eke an existence out of the land, Jat families employed labor intensive agricultural methods that demanded a large family and, in particular, as many sons as possible. In order to meet household labor demands, women would have closely-spaced pregnancies while continuing to participate in agricultural activities. There was no attempt to limit family size, but elders report that in order to maximize the number of sons, female infanticide was practiced as a means of reducing the number of daughters in a family.

In spite of women's labor contribution and the practice of brideprice, Shahargaon has always been characterized by an ideology of strong son preference. While men in Shahargaon represented the economic and social prestige of a family, women presented a serious responsibility for the family and were commoditized as a result of brideprice, dowry, and their value as laborers and reproducers. Daughters in Shahargaon were considered a source of social humiliation when accepting brideprice or a risk to the social honor of the family while they remained in the natal home as laborers. Furthermore, the labor of daughters was not considered a permanent asset in their natal households, and although valued on a temporary basis, their labor contributions were not perceived as equal to the material investment that a family would make in raising a daughter. In Shahargaon, female infanticide and daughter neglect were often rationalized by the argument that a daughter is "like a bottomless well" and that "one should not

throw in what cannot be extracted later."

SHAHARGAON IN TRANSITION: NEITHER CITY NOR VILLAGE

Jats still form the largest social group (72.8 per cent) in Shahargaon and owned all of the agricultural land in the village until 1972 when their land was acquired by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA). Consequently, agricultural activities sharply declined in Shahargaon with a corresponding increase in the number of Shahargaon residents seeking employment in New Delhi or initiating small-scale businesses.

With the expansion of the Delhi metropolis area and the establishment of a middle to upper-income residential colony around the village, Shahargaon no longer remained a self-contained rural village. The state highway runs through the village and the village area adjacent to the highway has become a place of intensive commercial activity. Initially, villagers opened small shops but now the whole area has turned into a bustling marketing and business center. Recent changes in Shahargaon have not only influenced the economic status of many Jat families, but have also brought increased education and health care opportunities to the village. Shahargaon is no longer isolated from its neighboring communities, especially from the residential and commercial colony that surrounds the village. The colony provides a rich clientele for small-scale commercial opportunities in Shahargaon, and the everyday interaction superimposes an urban context on the rural identity of the village. Shahargaon Jats now interact with people from the residential colony on a daily basis — people who are labeled by Jats as "urban" (*shehri* or non-*Haryanavis*). Improvement in class status through success in business has become the new status-enhancing symbol to be achieved by Shahargaon Jats in order to align themselves with the educated, affluent and "modern" society of New Delhi. Daily interaction in Shahargaon is indicative of the ways in which its residents attempt to show-off by using English words in casual conversation, by seeking treatment from an expensive allopathic specialist, and by sending sons to private English-medium schools in New Delhi. The shift from

agriculture to urban economy demands that Shahargaon Jats redefine their identity from that of a "hilly peasant and warrior" to that of an "educated and urbanized" that is *shehri* or non-*Haryanavi*.

Industrious Jat families in Shahargaon that have more successfully utilized the DDA compensation money by investing in businesses and real estate schemes demonstrate a greater degree of acculturation to urban society. Conversely, less successful Jat families tend to exaggerate their agricultural identity. As the Jat population experiences the process of assimilation, there is a corresponding process of ethnic revitalization. Cultural practices associated with traditional agricultural Jat identity are now idealized as a means of maintaining ethnic boundaries between the Jat population and the surrounding multiethnic urban population.

Marriage and Women's Roles in Urbanizing Shahargaon

Although a shift in the economic and occupational base of the village has occurred and the village is no longer a politically self-contained unit, son preference continues and daughter discrimination has become more intense than in the past. The birth of a son is considered an economic and political asset associated with the honor of a family, whereas a daughter is thought to be an expense and a moral burden. Although Shahargaon Jats are under no threat of physical violence from surrounding communities and subsistence is no longer labor intensive, a family with fewer sons is still perceived as economically and politically weak. Parents rely upon their sons to manage business and real estate schemes and to negotiate their relationships with the surrounding urban society.

Son preference and daughter disfavor appear to be intensifying rather than decreasing in urbanizing Shahargaon. Over the past five years, prenatal sex determination technology and abortion facilities have become readily available to the urbanizing Shahargaon Jat community (Khanna, 1997). These services, coupled with widely available family planning services, favorably respond to the new preference for small family size while providing a means to reduce the number of daughters per family.

Shahargaon parents are living under the constant fear that their community is no longer a village and that the old ways of life are no longer respected. Most Jat parents do not feel secure allowing a young daughter to go out on her own or leaving her alone without another family member in the house. Consequently, women's seclusion and restrictions on mobility are now more strongly reinforced in urbanizing Shahargaon. In 1993-94, 13.6 percent of the girls in the under 15 age category as compared with 39 percent of the boys in the same age category, were studying beyond the eight level available at the village school. A major parental concern is the fear of a daughter's emerging sexuality and of any dishonor that a sexual indiscretion could bring to the family. If a daughter is permitted to attend school, adolescence invariably marks the end of her educational experience. Girls are not allowed to study beyond the eight level available at the village school primarily because many Jat parents feel that it is difficult to find a suitable match in rural Haryana for an educated Jat girl and that the learning experience of a daughter should be limited to a level that prepares her to assist in her children's education, to write letters to family members, and at the same time does not allow her to form opinions of her own.

Daughters in urbanizing Shahargaon must be raised in a manner that will allow them to adjust well into the agricultural lifestyle rural Haryana. An educated (*pari likhi*) woman is perceived as having the ability to form her own opinion and is considered to be unsuitable to the rural life in Haryana and a potential source of divisiveness in the family. Young and educated women were considered as "lacking in these good qualities" by older Jat women.

The difficulty in arranging marriages for Shahargaon daughters has been ameliorated by their parents' improved economic status. Families can now afford the high dowries necessary to arrange marriages for their daughters wealthier Jat families of Haryana and no longer sell their daughters for money. In fact, landholding Jat families in Haryana are seeking alliances with Shahargaon Jat families to gain access to opportunities for upward mobility provided by the process of urbanization in Shahargaon. Although

daughters in Shahargaon are no longer seen as a potential source of humiliation and as a marker of lower socioeconomic status when accepting brideprice, the burden of dowry and the anxiety over maintaining a daughter's seclusion in an urban environment have created a new set of reasons for the continuing daughter disfavor in the village. With an increase in the village land value and improved socioeconomic status, a majority of the Shahargaon Jat families are now demanding higher dowries from their affinal relatives in Haryana. On several occasions, I was informed that Shahargaon Jats have rejected matrimonial alliances with Haryana Jats if adequate dowry was not arranged. In Shahargaon, money is considered the most suitable form of dowry because the groom's family can invest it and take advantage of expanding business opportunities. The dowry received upon a son's marriage is now seen valuable as the family makes the transition from a subsistence oriented to a capitalist economy.

Shahargaon Jat women are not allowed to work outside the home primarily because the surrounding urban community is perceived as threatening to women and girls in the village and the "urban" man are regarded as an "outsider who cannot be trusted." Furthermore, it has become a matter of prestige and a marker of upward mobility to restrict women from participating in income-generating activities. Based on a similar observation in Karimpur, Wadley (1993) argues that, "since a family's status is in part measured by the behavior of its women, purdah restrictions are imposed if a family gains in economic status and seeks a higher social status" (Wadley, 1993:3). Entrepreneurial opportunities have expanded, yet women are denied access because they have become more restricted to the household than they were when the community had an agricultural base and way of life. This was explained as due to the fear of "outside influences" and a "corrupt and dangerous modern world." Shahargaon Jats feel that by allowing women to work outside the village, they are not only risking women's safety but also compromising their reputation as *Haryanavis*. Those Shahargaon Jat families that allowed women to manage shops during the early transition period were negatively labeled as the ones

that "make their women work" (*aurto se dhanda karvate hain*). The term *dhanda* (literally, work), when used in this context, labels a working woman as a prostitute. The Jat husband who listens to his wife and consults her in economic matters is labeled "wife's servant" (*lugai ka naukhar*), and it is firmly believed that "the husband should not take any advice from his wife and should always remember that his wife is like his shoe."

In the present-day urban-capitalist economy, Shahargaon Jat women's roles are marginalized, their mobility is restricted, and they are recognized as more vulnerable to the outside world than when the community had an agricultural way of life. Although increased contact with the urban New Delhi has led to economic prosperity in urbanizing Shahargaon, Jat women's status and their contributions continue to be devalued, perhaps as a demonstration of the tendency for ideological change in gender relations to lag behind social change.

Sibling-set Marriages Among the Malik Jats of Shahargaon

During the early settlement period in Shahargaon, sibling-set marriages were preferred primarily due to economic hardships faced by the Jat community and to maintain solidarity in the extended family system. Typically in a sibling-set arrangement, two sisters are married to two brothers. In her study among the Annana Jats of Jaipur, Kolenda (1978) reports that 26 percent of marriages are of the sibling-set type and that the primary reason for such marital alliances is that "it is economical to perform only a single wedding for two or more daughters" (Kolenda, 1978:265). Despite changes from an agricultural to an urban way of life and an increase in the number of nuclear family households, the incidence of sibling-set marriages remains high (23 percent) among Shahargaon Jats. Shahargaon Jats prefer to establish marital relations with those families with whom they have had success in previous similar relationships. This preference for arranging marriage in a "familiar patrilineage" (*jani-pehchani biradri*) often leads to "delayed" sibling-set marriages when the behavior of the older sibling in his/her affinal home forms the basis for seeking alliance

with the younger sibling. Shahargaon Jat women play important roles in transmitting this important knowledge through their affinal and consanguinal network ties in rural Haryana. Jat women expressed preference for sibling-set marriage arrangements because they found it comforting to have a member of their own lineage in their affinal home. A Jat woman recalled that having a sister share her affinal home saved her from the fear of leaving her parents and the intimidation of her mother-in-law. This custom clearly is a means of modifying the harsh consequences of patrilocality and the isolation of a woman after her marriage. The security gained from sharing an affinal home with a sister often went beyond emotional support to include cases in which one sister allowed another to adopt one of her sons when the latter failed to give birth to a son after many years of marriage. I observed that sisters were more supportive of each other in nurturance and child care. Shahargaon Jat women believe that in a sibling-set arrangement, sisters have a better sense of companionship and they adjust easily in the affinal home. The only major objection I heard to the above mentioned pattern of marriage was from a Jat mother-in-law who felt that it encouraged disobedience on part of the daughters-in-law and did not allow them to make satisfactory adjustments in their affinal household.

For Shahargaon Jats, sibling-set marital alliances are "safe and beneficial" and allow for regional integration and extending community network ties. Although sibling-set marriages are economically beneficial and adaptive in terms of reducing the risk to the division of commercial and residential property, the high incidence of sibling-set marriages and "delayed" sibling-set marriages in Shahargaon also indicates the ways in which Jat women assert their power in arranging marital alliances. For them, sibling-set marriages not only serve to maintain their social ties with rural Haryana, but also help in the reinforcement of a rural peasant identity in an urban context. Shahargaon Jats exemplify a community that is not bounded by geographical space because, primarily through its women, it consistently attempts to maintain marital and economic network ties with rural Jat communities in Haryana.

CONCLUSION

In the above discussion I argue that Shahargaon Jats have responded to increased urban contact and the shift from agriculture to urban economy by adopting a dual or combined identity that allows them to take advantage in the growing urban market in New Delhi as well as to maintain marital ties with their rural Jat relatives in Haryana. The rural Jat identity embraces the traditional peasant *Haryanavi* identity while the urban context demands a "refined" individual devoid of rural (*dehati*) mannerisms. While Jat men are expected to maintain a dual rural-urban (*dehati-shehri*) identity, Jat women are expected to act as carriers of Jat agricultural tradition and to maintain Jat agricultural identity in Shahargaon.

Among Shahargaon Jats, attempts toward maintaining traditions and practices associated with their agricultural past reflect processes of boundary maintenance between rural Shahargaon and its urban context. As *Haryanavi* peasant Jat identity is compromised by processes of urbanization and acculturation, the burden of maintaining an agricultural ethos is largely embedded in women's roles. Wives are chosen from Haryana because they are seen as representing an agricultural way of life and as the means of bringing that tradition into the Jat community. In order to be married back into the Haryana rural Jat community, Shahargaon daughters must be raised conservatively and should not be exposed to the "dangerous and corrupt" urban environment. By imposing restrictions on women's mobility and participation in income-generating activities in the village, Shahargaon Jats are attempting to maintain a higher status with respect to the rural Jat families in Haryana. Furthermore, by reinforcing women's seclusion, the Shahargaon Jat community assures its "purity" from the "dangerous" urban context.

As a result of Shahargaon's unique history and its current assimilation into urban New Delhi, the new sets of demands placed on women's lives suggest a trend toward greater control of women's behavior. Although Shahargaon Jat women do not strongly argue for change, they are well aware of restrictions imposed on their mobility and the marginalization

of their economic roles. On many occasions I found that older Jat women eulogized their ability to endure patriarchal intensification and "all the hardships they faced." A woman's "patience" (*dhamal*) and her ability to "bear" (*sehna*) are considered virtues and markers of her strength. By performing their roles as carriers of the Jat peasant culture and by encouraging rural marital ties, Jat women have significantly transformed their lives in urbanizing Shahargaon.

In addition, three Jat women in the village are actively participating as village-level (*anganvadi*) workers in the state-sponsored Maternal and Child Health Program in Shahargaon. As *anganvadi* workers Jat women maintain child immunization registers, health reports, and provide family planning counseling and services. These women have strong network ties with other families in the village and have been successful in pursuing many Jat couples to utilize the available health care services for pregnant women and children. Although I would not exaggerate the empowerment value of women's roles in arranging marital alliances and as *anganvadi* workers, Jat women themselves felt a sense of positive reinforcement through these engagements and a feeling of social support through extended network ties in Shahargaon as well as in Haryana.

Clearly, urban assimilation and the corresponding improvement in economic status have not been favorable for the Shahargaon Jat women. Instead, these changes have produced new sets of conditions that further marginalize women by excluding them from public spheres. In Shahargaon, like in many other communities responding to the shift from agriculture to urban economy, women's economic roles as agricultural laborers have been replaced by their roles within the household and they are increasingly perceived as carriers of traditions and as a means of maintaining customs and practices associated with the community's agrarian past.

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NOTES

1. Shahargaon (a pseudonym meaning "city-village") is a small, urbanizing Jat village established by Haryana Jat migrants during the early Eighteenth century in the south of New Delhi. Shahargaon's total population in October 1993 was 1074 (176 households).
2. The Arabic equivalent of Jat is *zutt*, a generic term used for "men from India" (S. Westphal-Hellbusch and H. Westphal 1964).
3. For an extensive review of studies on Hindu women's lives in north India, refer to Fruzzetti (1989).
4. Berreman (1972) provides a detailed description of *Pahari* communities in North India.
5. Refer to Khanna (1997) for a detailed account on the incidence of prenatal sex selective abortion and female fetocide among Shahargaon Jats.

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