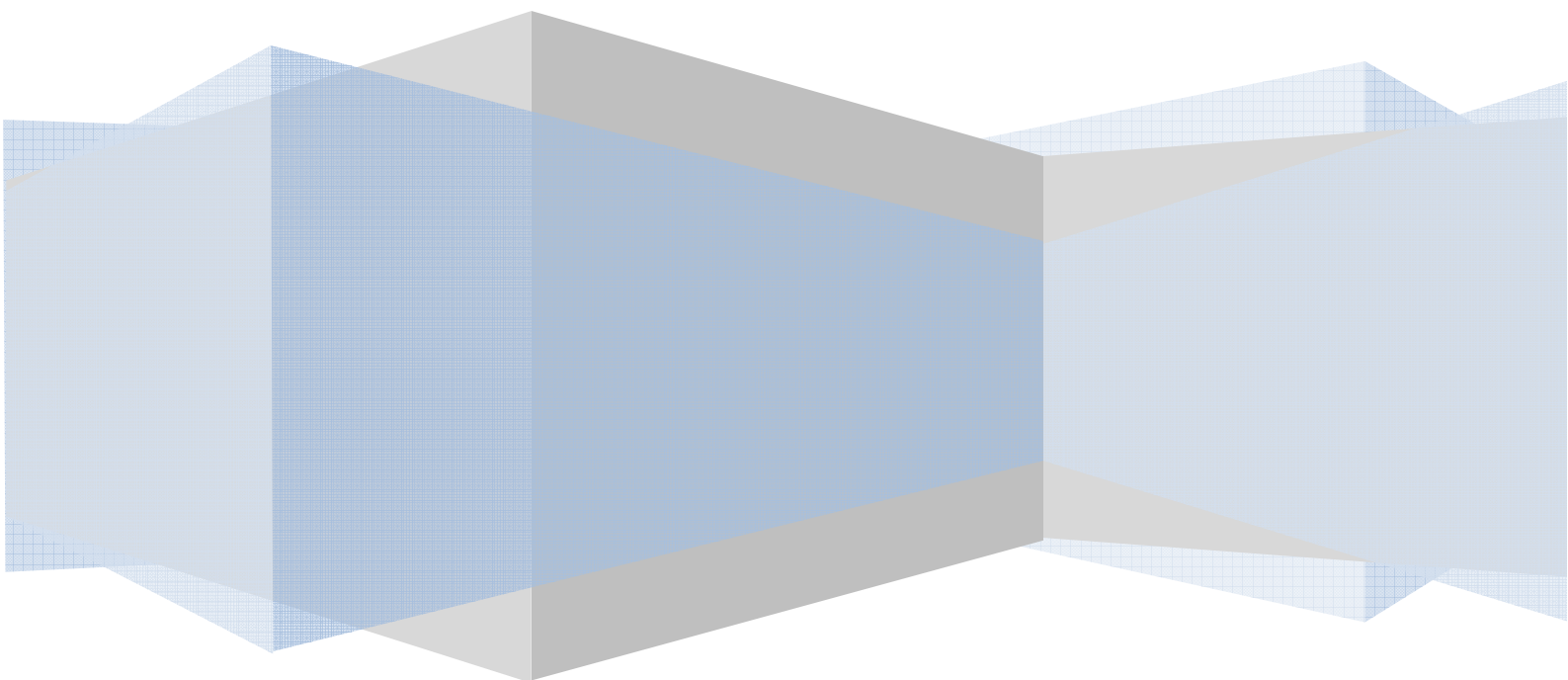


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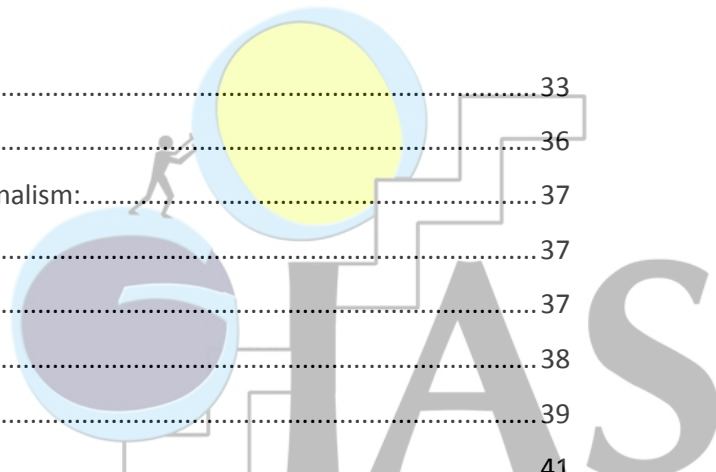
## Sociology-2

Tusharanshu- AIR-75, CSE-2014



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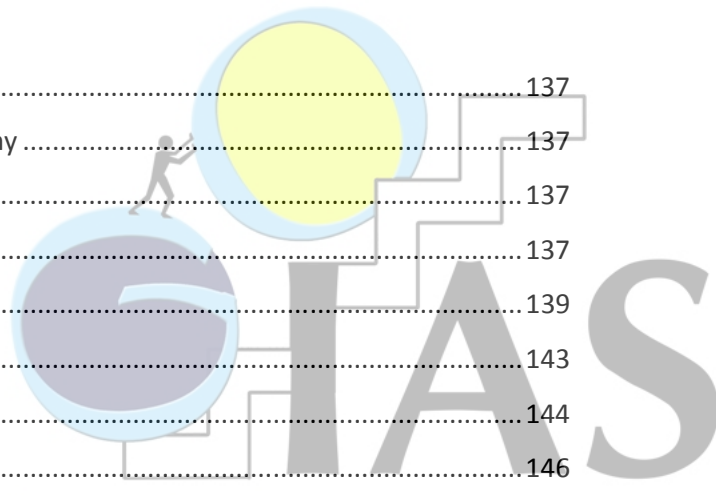


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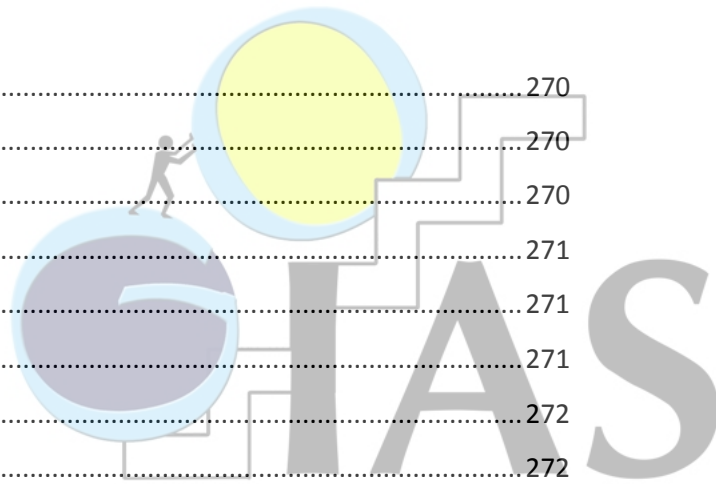


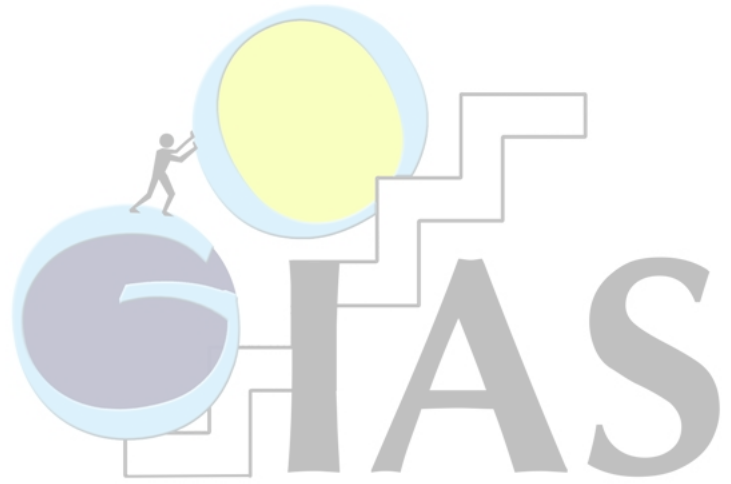
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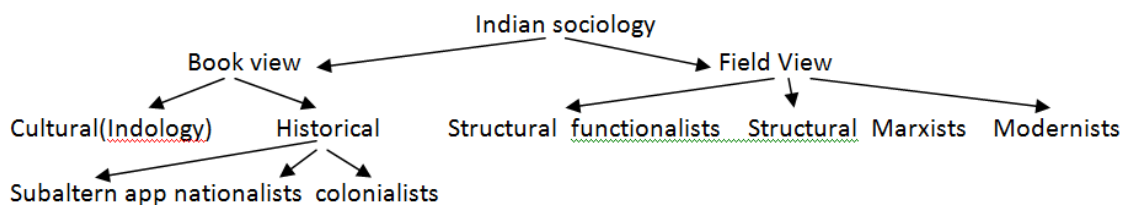


**TOPIC-01- PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIETY**

**Questions asked in previous years**

- Indology (GS. Ghurye).
- Structural functionalism (M N Srinivas).
- Marxist sociology ( A R Desai).
- Indology (**GS. Ghurye**).
- Short note on Indological perspective of GS Ghurye
- Examine utility and limitations of indological source material to understand Indian society

**Structure of Indian sociology:**



**Cultural approach- 3 types:**

- Indological
- Little and Great tradition (Milton Singer and McKim Marriot)
- Pure and Impure theory- Louis Dumont

**Sociological methods to study Indian society- 2 schools**

- **Sociology for India:** Can't compartmentalize sociology. A discipline is not country specific. Indians go abroad to study Sociological theories and then apply them on India. (Dubey, Andre Beteille, AR Desai)
- **Sociology of India:** Culture is guide to human behaviour and Indian sociology is different. It has many of its own context like paap-punya. kanyadaan, pitradaan etc. Indian culture is unique and so should the Indian sociology. Eg: Indologists, culturologists (Ghurye, Dumont, Oommen Chandy)

- **Criticism: SC Dubey-** Hindu culture is not Indian culture. Plus, it is constantly changing and no fixed entity like Indian culture. It tell what society ought to be & not what it actually is. **Andre Beteille:** Follower of Weber; Vast unorganized dichotomous and chaotic.

### Indological or culturological approach

- Indology- literally means- systematic study of Indian society.
- The Indological approach rested on assumption that historically, Indian society & culture are unique and that this 'contextually' specificity of Indian social realities could be grasped better through 'texts'
- It may also be viewed that Indological approach refers to the historical and comparative method based on Indian texts in the study of Indian society. Therefore, Indologists use ancient history, epics, religious manuscripts and texts etc. in the study of Indian social institutions.
- It is seen as a distinct perspective because its followers believe that India cannot be studied through European concepts. The look at scriptural texts to study India
- As social institutions of Indian society are rooted in literary and learned traditions, many sociological studies have made use of textual sources for explaining ideological and jural bases of our institutions.
- Indologists make sense of India through lens of Indian culture.
- The implicit assumption here is that there has been cultural continuity in Indian society as the texts are centuries old. Two main indologists- GS Ghurye and Louis Dumont.
- Indological approach is grounded in 18-19<sup>th</sup> century orientalist approach, which was initiated by Europeans to know India better. The development of sociology in india owes deeply to the contributions made by orientalists like Sir William Jones, Henry Maine, Max Mueller and others. These scholars studied the rich ancient cultural and philosophical tradition of India.
- The study of Sanskrit provided a powerful stimulus not only to Indology but to other disciplines as well, such as- philology, comparative mythology and comparative jurisprudence
- The Indological writings dealing with the Indian philosophy, art and culture are reflected in the works of most of the Indian scholars. Ananda Coomaraswamy. B.K. Sarkar, Radhakamal Mukerjee, G.S. Ghurye, D.P. Mukerji are some of the examples who have revealed this in their works
- It gives **book-view**, They imagine India through the texts left behind. These texts range from literature, art, architecture, dances, rituals, symbols etc. Book view can be **religious** (Mahabharata, Ramayana, Manusmriti, Vedas, Upanishads etc) or **non-religious** (Indica, Arthashastra, Ain-i-Akbari etc). Can be **unauthenticated** like most of the texts left behind or **authentic** like govt. census.
- Celebrate Indian culture. Integrative approach.
- History, Sanskrit and Philosophy are strongly grounded in indological approach

### Limitations of indological approach:

- Fundamentally based on assumption that Indian society unchanged for 3000 years.

- Equate Indian culture to Hindu culture, and Hindu culture to Brahmanical culture. Brahmins are just 15% of Hindus. Divisive ideas. Brahmanical culture did influence India but that was only one of the many factors.
- Treat entire Indian society as monolithic and has over simplified.

### A. GS Ghurye (Govind Sadashiv Ghurye- 1893-1984)

- Sanskrit scholar- studied from Brahmanic perspective. He was catholic in his interests & methods.
- He was an ethnographer who studied tribes and castes of India using historical, Indological and statistical data
- Diffusionist theory- followed by Rivers and Franz Boas as well. Aryans did not move physically across India, but it was the culture that spread through diffusion.
- Ghurye emphasised integration. According to him, the guiding force in Indian society was the Hindu ideology. Even the Indian secularism was a product of the tolerant spirit of Hinduism.
- G.S. Ghurye's contributions to Indian sociology were mainly in the areas of ethnography of castes and tribes, rural-urbanisation, religious phenomena, social tensions and Indian Art.
- His students inc MN Srinivas, AR Desai, Irawati Karwe. Ghurye was a staunch nationalist in his approach but wasn't intolerant to different views. Eg: AR Desai, pioneer of Marxist sociology in India was his student.
- His books: Caste and Race in India → explained origin of caste purely on basis on Rigveda where varna meant colour.
- **Ghurye on India:**
  - India is surviving as a nation because of common value consensus. No central authority.
- **Ghurye on religious beliefs and practices**
  - Religious consciousness in ancient India, Egypt and Babylonia was centered around temples.
  - In his work on the role of Gods in Indian religion, Ghurye traced the rise of major deities such as Shiva, Vishnu and Durga to the need to integrate local or sub-regional beliefs into a macro-level system of worship
- **Role of sadhus in Indian Tradition:**
  - In his work, Indian Sadhus, Ghurye examined paradoxical nature of renunciation in India
  - Indian renouncers have acted as the arbiters of religious disputes, patronised learning of scriptures and even defended religion against external attacks.
- **Ghurye on Rural-urbanisation in India**
  - He held the view that the urbanisation in India was not a simple function of industrial growth. In India, the process of urbanisation, at least till 1980s, started from within the rural area itself
  - Hence, in many rural regions, one part of a big village was converted into a market; in turn, this led to a township which developed administrative, judicial and other institutions.

- With coming up of metropolis type manufacturing the urbanisation has started making inroads into the rural hinterland. But, he believed, village continued to survive in its original form.
- **Ghurye on caste and kinship:**
  - He examined the caste system from historical, comparative and integrative perspectives. A particular group was never attached to a particular occupation.
  - Ghurye has described caste system as Brahminical system and believes that conquered non-Aryan race becomes shudras who were debarred from religious and social activity of Aryans.
  - Gradually it became a form of specialization and hereditary. No hierarchy, only difference
  - The term 'varna' literally means colour and it was originally used to refer to the distinction between Arya and Dasa, in ancient India. According to the Rig-Veda, it was not applied to any classes, such as Brahman, Kshatriya, etc. However, the classes which existed at that time later came to be described as varna and the original distinction between Arya and Dasa gave place to the distinction between Arya and Shudra. Ghurye traces elements of caste outside India like Egypt, Western Asia, China, Japan, America, Rome and Tribal Europe.
  - Caste as an exploitative system not part of original culture and magnified with fall of Hindu rulers. Later rulers used it as a tool of division and political benefits.
  - The gotra and charana were kin-categories of Indo-European languages which systematised the rank and status of the people. These categories were derived from names of sages of the past. These sages were the real or eponymous founders of gotra and charana. In India descent has not always been traced to the blood tie; lineages were often based on spiritual descent from sages of the past. Outside kinship we might notice guru-shishya relationship.
  - In contemporary India, he noticed that scramble for privileges was damaging unity of society
- **Ghurye on tribes:**
  - He saw them divided into three classes: "First, such as the Raj Gonds and others who have successfully fought the battle, and are recognized as members of a fairly high status within Hindu society; second the large mass that has been partially Hinduized and has come into closer contact with Hindus; and third the Hill sections, which "have exhibited the greatest power of resistance to alien cultures that have pressed upon their border.
  - Ghurye calls the tribal populations of India as imperfectly integrated segment of the Hindus.
  - Argued for their assimilation in Hindu culture and argued that that's been the case through history
- **Ghurye on art and architecture:**
  - According to him, the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist artistic monuments shared common elements.
  - But Muslim art was Persian or Arabic and had no roots in this soil. He did not agree with the view that the Muslim monuments in India represented a synthesis.



- **Ghurye on hindu Muslim relationships:**
  - Ghurye's works often discussed Hindu-Muslim relationships. He regarded Hindus and Muslims as separate groups, with little possibility of mutual give and take. Ghurye's works have focused on the disturbances during his life-time.
- **Criticism:**
  - Overglorifying Hindu cultural tradition- talks of synthesis of Aryan, dravidian culture and caste, tribal culture. It lacks methodological empiricism and highly text based & biased.
  - More about how unity is maintained and not how unity is questioned. Ignores how throughout history Brahmanic tradition has been questioned. **Sociological romanticism** in his writings.
  - Talks of one Indian culture. but SC Dubey points out that in case of India there are multiple cultures- each family, village, caste, mass, nation has a culture.
  - Berreman (1991) has criticised Brahmanical view on the following basis:
    - The Brahminical view takes a position that the people conform to universal values unquestioning while the truth is that individuals have their own will.
    - The Brahminical view is based on sacred Sanskrit texts. These texts are, in fact, biased and of limited scope. The perspective that emerges from them, therefore, presents caste as rigid, stiff, stereotyped, and idealized construct.
  - They don't lay emphasis on other movements like Bhakti movement which were integrative in character too,, but selectively pickup scriptural cannons.

## B. Structural functionalism (M N Srinivas).-

Previous years questions:

- Indian society can be understood as a system of cognitive structures. how far do u agree?
- Short note on book view versus field view in Indian sociology
- How far structural functional perspective helpful in understanding changes in contemporary society? What are main principles of structural functional perspective?

### Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas (1916-1999):

- Started socio department in DSE, 1959
- PhD from Oxford university- met Hobhouse (learnt liberal philosophy) & AR Radcliffe Brown (learnt how to study small societies by applying structural functional approach)
- PhD topic- Society & Religion among Coorgs in Mysore. Studied village Rampura & wrote a book- 'Remembered village'.
- He is mostly known for his work on caste & caste systems, social stratification, Sanskritisation & Westernisation in southern India & concept of 'Dominant Caste'.
- Colonial assumptions about an unchanging Indian society led to curious assemblage of Sanskrit studies with contemporary issues in most South Asian departments in US & elsewhere. It was strongly believed that an Indian sociology must lie at conjunction of Indology & sociology.
- By inclination, he was not given to utopian constructions: his ideas about justice, equality & eradication of poverty were rooted in his experiences on ground. His integrity in face of

demands that his sociology should take into account new & radical aspirations was one of most moving aspects of his writing. By use of terms such as Sanskritisation, "dominant caste", "vertical (inter-caste) & horizontal (intra-caste) solidarities", Srinivas sought to capture fluid & dynamic essence of caste as a social institution.

- **Methodology:**

- Structural Functionalism:
  - The followers of this perspective focus on the understanding of the 'ordering' and 'patterning' of the social world. Their focus of attention is mainly the 'problem of order' at a societal level. Their theoretical and empirical analyses have generally been based on the assumption that societies can be seen as persistent, cohesive, stable, generally inherited wholes differentiated by their culture and social structural arrangements.
  - According to Srinivas, "In the recent British social anthropology, the two important concepts – structure and function – imply that every society is a whole and that its various parts are interrelated. In other words, the various groups and categories which are part of a society are related to each other"
- Srinivas strongly advocated ethnographic research based on Participant observation
- He was much impressed by AR Radcliffe Brown's structural functionalism (& not Merton's- which was in response to parson's theory). Parson's SF was not suited for a country like India which had many traditional elements. Brown's theory was much more suited.
- Brown doesn't look at a structure as an institution but a product of roles which keep changing.
- India is not exactly traditional where every structure is linked to every other structure or exactly modern where structures are clearly defined & established. Hence, need of British sociology of Brown & not American sociology of Parsons
- Brown gave 3 concepts to study sociology which were applied by Srinivas:
  - Structural unit (eg: mudra/brother-sister r'ship)
  - Structural form (eg: school of bharatnatyam/parent-child r'ship)
  - Structural morphology (eg: Bharatnatyam/Family)
- He was a strong advocate in studying reality outside framework of gr8 theories. He wasn't in favour of using much jargons & gr8 theoretical designs. Thus, he focussed on **field study** & brought sociology closer to social anthropology in case of India. As India lives in villages, Social anthropology more applicable.
- He gave example of dynamic structure- where in Rampura village people unified across castes to protect common village pond from government action.
- **Edmund leach criticizes- says outsider's view important to prevent any biasness-** but Srinivas countered- If sociological perspectives are clear, analysis is bound to be objective. Infact, insider would be more sensitized & give more authenticity to research
- **Respects appropriate methodology instead of going for celebration of a particular**

**Book View versus Field View:**

- **Book view (bookish perspective):** Religion, varna, caste, family, village and geographical structure are the main elements, which are known as the bases of

Indian society. The knowledge about such elements is gained through sacred texts or from books. Srinivas calls it book view or bookish perspective. Book view is also known as Indology, which is not acceptable to Srinivas and he emphasized to the field view

- **Field view (field work):** Srinivas believes that the knowledge about the different regions of Indian society can be attained through field work. This he calls field view. Consequently, he prefers empirical study to understand our society. Srinivas took the path of small regional studies rather than the construction of grand theories. In this context, field work plays an important role to understand the nativity of the rural Indian society
- **Srinivas on caste**
  - Caste is not static system as assumed by Westerners while differentiating it from class. Infact, class is dynamic & undergoes changes over period of time. Book view of caste is driven by **holism** but field view is driven by **empiricism**.
  - he found that varna view of caste is very incomplete & there are huge number of castes. Conflict erupts not just between different castes but is also present within castes.
  - Srinivas differentiates varna from castes by saying that varna scheme refers at most only to broad categories of society & not to actually existing effective units. Relations between castes are governed, among other things by concepts of pollution & purity, & generally maximum commensality i.e. inter-dining occurs within caste.
  - Srinivas states that Varna scheme has certainly distorted picture of caste but it has also enabled ordinary men & women to understand & assess general place of a caste within this framework throughout India. It has provided a common social language, which holds good in all parts of India. This sense of familiarity, even when not based on real facts leads to a sense of unity amongst people.
  - He noted: A caste is considered to be high if its characteristic way of life is high & pure & it is considered to be low if its way of life is low & polluting. By term 'way of life' we mean whether its traditional occupation is ritually pure or polluting. For example, occupation of Brahman Priest is ritually pure while traditional occupation of a leather working caste like Chamars of U.P. is considered to be ritually polluting. But remarkable aspect of caste system is that presumed hierarchy of 'way of life', which includes diet, occupation, etc. does not often correlate with observed order of caste ranking found in several regions of India. For example, in spite of trader castes being vegetarian (which is considered to be ritually higher) in Rampura, a village of Mysore, they are ranked ritually lower than non-vegetarian peasant castes of same village

#### **Srinivas on different structures:**

- **Family:** We did not shift from joint to nuclear but from joint to fission extended families.
- **Village structure:** Srinivas contested colonial notion of Indian village being a completely self-sufficient republic. Village, he argued, 'was always a part of a wider entity. (Srinivas, Village is not just a geographical area but a social space. Village solidarity is manifested during marriages, fairs, festivals, disasters etc. Village is not a

closed entity & people of village always interact with outsiders. Despite urbanization, a village is not losing its perpetual character. Locality- Srinivas argued that individuals in his village had a sense of identification with their village & an insult to one's village had to be avenged like an insult to oneself, one's wife, or one's family

- **Social structure of caste**- changing- Through various reforms- like PRI, Ind reforms etc, ex-lower castes have become dominant castes. Thus ritual domination by Brahmins & secular domination by backward castes.

### Sanskritization

- According to Srinivas, "Sanskritisation is process by which a low Hindu caste or tribe or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology & way of life in direction of a high, & frequently twice-born caste".
- He considers most important reference group of other models as well. In fact culturally patterned expressiveness of Kshatriya is more accessible & has been more widely used than culturally patterned asceticism of Brahmins.
- K. M. Pannikar maintains that last true Kshatriyas were Nandas who disappeared in fifth century. Since then Sudras have produced unusually large number of royal families. In fact it was always king, secular power, that determined hierarchical order of castes on advice of Brahmins,
- Thus through process of Sanskritization, changes in economic interest & political power of groups could be accommodated, for it provided a symbolic justification in terms of caste ideology for de facto results of interactional process. It is important to note that changes we are considering are positional not structural. & mobility here refers not to individual mobility in span of a life-time, or familial mobility across a generation or two, but to community mobility that spans many generations
- Sanskritization has been prevalent throughout history & has assumed various forms. It has been used as mechanism to bridge gap between secular & ritual rank. Whenever a caste achieved secular power it tried to legitimise its status by acquiring traditional symbols of high castes by adopting their customs, rituals. Beliefs & ideas such as vegetarianism & teetotalism. Besides, they tried to obtain services of Brahmin priests, visited pilgrimage centres & acquired knowledge of sacred texts.
- Castes located in middle of stratification system sought mobility by orienting themselves to emulate upper caste behaviour ideologies & ritual. In such endeavour seeking elevated status in prevalent stratification system aspiring categories were required to give up their traditional marks of inferiority especially such practices that were supposedly polluting. Such aspirations for cultural mobility tended to foster & traditionally ordained framework of 'Great Tradition'. Maratha Sagar, Dhangar of Maharashtra, Kurmi & Yadava of Bihar, Koli of Gujarat, Kaibartta of West Bengal, Lingayat of Karnataka & Teli of Orissa are reported to have adopted sanskritization as a strategy to seek elevated corporate status.
- Another very significant pattern of Sanskritization involved increasing Puritanism on part of castes who rejected superiority of twice born e.g. Koris of eastern Uttar Pradesh refused to accept water from Brahmins. Such a process of **de-sanskritization** contributes to crystallization of new groups & greater political mobilization. **Re-sanskritization** is another process in endeavour to attain

mobility. In this case formerly westernised or modernised groups discard many symbols of modernization & revert to traditional sanskritic life styles.

- Sanskritization that was chief channel of mobility in pre-independent India can very easily be described in terms of this theory. But socio-economic changes in post-independent India & particularly new found status of 'citizen' & 'voter' that lower caste groups have activated makes political participation serve as a fundamental alternative towards mobility instead of Sanskritization. Indeed whole Buddhist movement among navbudhs is rightly interpreted as a rejection of Sanskritization.
- Is like a middle range theory introduced by Merton which he uses to study social structures, social relationships & social change, establishing balance between empiricism, historicism & Indology.

- **Westernization:**

- Westernisation, as defined by Srinivas (1980), "characterises changes brought about in society & culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, & term subsumes changes occurring at various levels—technology, institutions, ideology, values".
- Westernization runs in direction opposite to that of Sanskritization, but whereas latter has affected whole indian society for centuries, former is a comparatively recent & largely an urban phenomenon.
- Basic similarity between both sanskritization & Westernization is at cultural level.
- Westernization is a vast, multidimensional & complex process which impinged upon various domains through a number of institutions & hence had a significant bearing on caste mobility. It not only altered existing set up but also opened fresh avenues & doors for social mobility.
- The British rule provided fresh avenues for social mobility altering the nature of pre-existing institutions such as schools and colleges which opened their doors to all castes and establishing new ones such as army, bureaucracy and law courts which recruited members on the basis of merit and hence provided ample source of mobility.
- It must be noted that westernization did not begin and end with British rule. It provided tracks which furthered and accelerated the mobility process. It set the ball rolling which gained further momentum after Independence. The independent India took over from the rationalistic egalitarian and humanitarian principles from the British and created further room for mobility

- **Dominant caste:**

- According to Srinivas (1966), a caste is said to be dominant when it is numerically strongest in village or local area & economically & politically exercises a preponderating influence. status of a dominant caste appears to rest on such criteria as
  - control of economic resources;
  - numerical strength;
  - a relatively high ritual status in caste hierarchy; and
  - educational status of its members.

- Numerical strength alone may not place a group in a bargaining position. It needs an economic power base to backup its strength. Once economic rights are in possession, however size of a group does become important. Control of resources by members of a dominant caste lead in turn, to making decisions for others, which constitutes real dominance. The interesting aspect of this concept is that the ritual ranking of a caste no longer remains the major basis of its position in the social hierarchy.
- Numbers alone do not guarantee power. Caste groups numerically preponderant, but with divided loyalties, creating disunity, may not wield power. It is only when a caste group becomes politically united that it becomes apolitical force.
- **Srinivas on change:**
  - 2 kinds of changes: Orthgenetic (coming from within)-eg--buddhism, Jainism etc & heterogenetic (coming from outside)- eg--british type industries.
  - Based on these, 3 kinds of people:
    - Internal sanskritization & external sanskritization
    - Internal “ ” & external westernization
    - Internal westernization & external “ ” - maximum
  - Book- ‘20<sup>th</sup> century of avatar of caste’, notes how ideologically incompatible cste groups are coming together to capture power.
  - His last lecture on ‘obituary to caste’, caste comes in where there is need & society is not caste-centric as it was in past.
- **Srinivas on gender issues**
  - **Dowry:** article in 80s- ‘some reflections on dowry’- dowry is modern sati. Rapid economic transformation is responsible for commodification of women who are used as instruments of consolidation of private wealth. M.N. Srinivas (1976: 90) has pointed out that in contemporary caste society cognate jatis tend to get telescoped to form a single entity for purposes of marriage caste both imposes constraints & creates dominant ethos which underlie practice of dowry within Hindu society. Increasing social & economic differentiation has increased demands and expectation on part of groom’s family.
  - **Position of women-** house. ‘social world of woman was synonymous with household & kinship group while men inhabited a more heterogeneous world’. Masculine & feminine pursuits were clearly distinguished. He pointed out that two sets of occupations were not only separated but also seen as unequal.
- **Criticism:**
  - Srinivas, for example, admits that while he was collecting genealogies & a household census, he deliberately excluded Harijan ward’. He thought that he ‘should approach Harijans only through headman’. consequence was that his account of village was biased in favour of upper caste Hindus.
  - The life mission of Srinivas has been to understand Indian society. He though talks about economic and technological development but in the study of these areas **sidetracks lower segments of society**. In his endeavour for promoting sanskritization, he has marginalized and alienated religious minorities.



- For him, Indian traditions are those, which are manifested in caste and village. His traditions are Hinduized traditions and in **no sense secular ones**. The **construction of sanskritization and dominant caste** put him closer to Hindutva ideology of cultural nationalism. One can say that his understanding was more **elitist or presents only upper caste view**.
- Now, as a summary of certain characteristics spontaneously observable in society, these **concepts cannot claim any originality**. What Srinivas characterized as sanskritization in the idiom of sociology currently fashionable, had been described by the proto-sociologists Lyall and Risley as 'Aryanization' and 'Brahminization', as mentioned by **Mukherjee** in the first chapter of his book **Sociology of Indian Sociology**.
- **Conclusion:**
- Srinivas occupies an eminent place among the first-generation sociologists of India. His focus on 'field view' over the 'book view' is a remarkable step in understanding the reality of Indian society. This reflects sociology of nativity. His field work among the Coorgs relates his approach as structural-functional and represents an exposition of the complex interrelationship between ritual and social order in Coorg society.
- It also deals with the crucial notion of purity and pollution as also with the process of incorporation of non-Hindu communities into the Hindu social order. This refers to the concept of 'sanskritization' which he used to describe the process of the penetration of Sanskritic values into the remotest parts of India.

### Sanskritization:

**Endogenous changes** in tradition of Hinduism - confined to Sanskritization before Western contact.

**Sanskritization took place in two different forms**

- first, as historical process by collective recognition of lower castes to the ranks of upper castes as a result of their **acts of chivalry, rise in economic and power status and political alliances**. In most such cases mobility was legitimized by consensus of the dominant castes and came into being as a historical necessity. Such legitimating to status upgrading was provided by the established higher castes, even by kings through royal decrees, and by other formal means of admittance to a higher rank recognized by the priestly castes. Here, Sanskritization had a wider historical implication. Although its impact was confined to a region or a sub-region the implicit political and economic relationship in its background gave it a new dimension of importance.
- Second form, Sanskritization has a contextual or local meaning and **generally amounts to unilateral attempt of a caste or sub-caste to move upward in hierarchy**. A major difference in this process from the historical context of Sanskritization is the absence of consensus. Often the opposite of it, that is, resistance by the dominant castes, prevails. Sanskritization in this form is seldom legitimized within the caste system. The maximum empirical cases of Sanskritization refer to this type of change. Sanskritization in the second, or the contextual form, is a slow and non-spectacular process of cultural mobility of castes. It is devoid of wider political implications which this process follows in the historical sense.

- In both forms, Sanskritization needs some **structural pre-requisites**. These are:
  - A **change in the self-image of castes** or groups followed by higher status aspiration;
  - Some **improvement in social and economic status** of these castes
  - The **closure of stratification system** in respect of other avenues **except emulation**
  - The **absence of social & psychological pressures among aspiring castes** to identify upper caste status as negative reference group either due to deeper commitment to ideology of traditional society or force of habit; and
  - The **absence of organized opposition** from the upper castes to such behaviour.
- In the light of these pre-requisites which in various combinations are present in all reported cases of Sanskritization, whether historical or con-textual, many structural implications of this process can be seen. **Sanskrit-ization, might not be a result of lower castes' greater acceptance of the values of the Great tradition held by the upper castes, but it might be used as the only pragmatic means available** to them for status mobility in a closed system of social stratification.
- Sanskritization denotes changes in cultural and not structural aspect of tradition and society.
- Owen M. Lynch writes: Under the frame or analysis provided by reference group and status role theories, **Sanskritization can be defined not only culturally but also structurally.**
- **Such social action has the intended consequence** of a rise in status within the caste hierarchy and an opening of the power and opportunity structure to the members of the Sanskrits tang caste. More often than not, such social action has the **unintended consequence of 'conflict' or 'contradiction'.**
- Important distinctions that Merton has introduced while formulating his reference group conceptual frame.
- These are:
  - The distinction between **membership and non-membership** groups based on the feeling of relative deprivation of members within a group ;
  - The process of **anticipatory socialization** of members willing to renounce their existing membership to a group in favor of some non-membership group; and
  - The important role of **closure or openness of membership** of the aspired for non-membership group which would finally define the limit of success or failure.
- Sanskritization process found in some, castes is **more like anticipatory socialization** in the hope of status enhancement; but it must be stated that this hope is rarely if ever realized.
- The **fatavas of Agra** whose cases he cites could never be accepted within the membership fold of the upper castes; their interaction with upper (Kshatriya or Brahmin) castes could never be either **commensally or connubial, the two most significant and key forms of interactions which define the structure of the caste system.**
- In a more comprehensive treatment of the **reference group theory as applied to the study of mobility in the caste system** Y.B. Damle writes: The caste system is characterized as a closed system and inclusion into a caste (jati) other than one's own (by birth) is not normally possible. But the **reference group theory sets forth the pre-requisites for positive orientation in an open system,**
- Anticipatory socialization can thus occur and it **has the effect of reducing distance and repulsion between castes** even if it does not ensure ultimate absorption or inclusion.



- This renders it clear that Sanskritization as a process only refers to changes in cultural attributes of a caste and not to a structural change in its system; the structural factors, however, are highly meaningful; mention may be made of the five structural pre-requisites of Sanskritization we mentioned above.
- Despite these limitations, Sanskritization is an extremely viable concept to understand the changes in the traditional system of Indian society, where the social stratification system was closed and the normative principles were correspondingly hierarchical and holistic; the latter strengthened the former and thus a relatively stable social equilibrium was achieved.
- The changes which took place within tradition were seldom contradictor to this system of stratification and the value-themes. On the contrary legitimating was sought for changes and innovations from within these twin structural-normative attributes of the traditional society. Sanskritization connotes the special form that change takes place in the framework of Indian tradition.
- But what were the forms of structural changes in the traditional Indian society? To analyse such changes we have made a distinction between micro-structures and macro-structures of society. Heuristically, this categorization is attempted on the basis of extension of networks of relationships.
- The range of extension of relationships of micro-structure is limited both in terms of territory and choices of activities involved. Its instances are: family, caste and sub-caste, and village community. The caste structure played crucial role in defining the networks of relationship both of the family and community in the traditional society.
- Empirical studies suggest that its own boundaries of interaction very rarely outcrosses the limits set by the regional-linguistic and cultural inclusiveness, which in territorial terms extended not beyond two to three hundred miles.
- The macro-structures, on the other hand, have an inter-regional and pan-Indian spread of relational networks. Instances of such macro-structures in traditional India were the imperial and feudal political networks, the institutions of banking and commerce and monastic and other religious structures, etc.
- An important aspect of structural change in the traditional society was determined by the nature of the relationship which existed between the micro-structures and the macro-structures. These relationships were characterized by a high degree of autonomy; its consequence was that changes and upheavals at macro-structural levels could seldom generate corresponding repercussions at the micro-level of society.
- Hence, the spectacular continuity of cultural practices and norms in India despite the steady stream of encroachments to its cultural identity from alien sources. The inter-structural autonomy helped in selective syncretism of new cultural modes, forms of behavior and structure. Innovation at one level could be effected without causing breakdown in the social structure as a whole.
- This structural characteristic of traditional Indian society proved to be extremely helpful in its adaptive transformations towards modernization, beginning with the British regime. This attribute of traditional society also set a limit to the nature and direction of structural changes.

- These changes were characterized by circular processes: a joint family would become nuclear and then again grow, joint in structure; townships and trading centers would appear and dis-appear and re-appear; there would be circulation of elite and rulers from among the same class and caste, etc. without major structural transformations.
- The changes were, therefore, adaptive rather than structural in the real sense. Fluctuating nature of these changes would be evident from the estimates of India's population between 300 B.C. and 1845; population during this period fluctuated between 100 and 140 millions. Only after 1855 a rising trend in population seems to have stabilized in India.
- The social structure had, thus a 'fused' character without much functional differentiation of roles. This was because most innovations were re-inter-pretative adjustments in structural forms and activities (role-structures) within the traditional principles of legitimating and not alternative evolutionary solutions. This pattern continued even after the first major exogenous impact, that of Islam, on the traditional Hindu social structure

### (c) Marxist sociology ( A R Desai)

- Limitations of dialectical approach to study of Indian society

#### Akshay Ramanlal Desai (1915-1994)

He graduated from University of Bombay, and also obtained a law degree and a PhD in sociology under G.S. Ghurye from same university in 1946. In 1953, he took membership of Trotskyites Revolutionary Socialist Party and resigned from its membership in 1981

#### Methodology:

He consistently advocated and applied dialectical-historical model in his sociological studies. Desai closely studied works of Marx and Engels and writings of Leon Trotsky by whom he was very much influenced. He may be regarded as one of **pioneers in introducing modern Marxist approach to empirical investigations** involving **bibliographical** and **field research**.

He is a **doctrinaire Marxist**. He **rejects any interpretations of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities**. It is essentially a secular phenomenon. Its nature is **economic and it originates and develops in economics**. He finds it in family, village and other social institutions. He also does not find origin of tradition in western culture.

His studies mainly of **nationalism and its social configuration**, his examination of **community development programmes** for economic development in villages, his diagnosis of interface between state and society in India or **relationship between polity and social structure**, his **treatment of urban slums and their demographic problems**, and finally his study of peasant movements **are all based on a Marxist method of historical-dialectical materialism**.

He considers that **emerging contradictions in Indian process of social transformation arise mainly from growing nexus among capitalist bourgeoisie, rural petty-bourgeoisie and a state apparatus, all drawn from similar social roots**.

#### *Writings of Desai:*

Here, we would discuss important contributions of Desai on major themes as follows:

- Village structure
- Transformation of Indian society
- Social background of Indian nationalism
- Peasant struggles
- State and society



- **Village Structure:**

- It is **viewed** that **Indian village** was a self-sufficient unit in pre-British period. village population was mainly composed of peasants. peasant families enjoyed **traditional hereditary right to possess and cultivate his holding from generation to generation.** Therefore, village was based on agriculture carried on with primitive plough and bullock-power and handicraft by means of primitive equipment. village council was de facto owner of village land, which represented village community. All exchange of products produced by village workers was limited to village community. **village did not have any appreciable exchange relations with outside world.** Culture of **pre-British India was feudal in nature**, which was predominantly mystical in character. This was due to fact that society was **economically on a low level, stationary and socially rigid.** Whatever changes occurred was **quantitative and not qualitative in character.**

- **Transformation of Indian Society:**

- **Transformation of pre-British India from feudal economy to capitalist economy was a result of British conquest of India.** British government adopted capitalist path of development in their political and economic policies at three levels, viz., **trade, industry and finance.** Introduction of new economic reforms of British government **disrupted old economic system.** Consequently, it decayed old land relations and artisans with emergence of new land relations and modern industries. In place of village commune appeared modern peasant proprietors or zamindars, as private owner of land. **New classes like capitalist, industrial workers, agricultural labourers, tenants, merchants etc. emerged.** It led to transformation of economic anatomy of Indian society, but also its social physiognomy.
- At higher level, **this resulted in growing polarization of classes in agrarian areas, poverty in rural areas and exploitation by owners of land.** It gives rise to new class structure in agrarian society with categories like zamindars, absentee landlords, tenants, peasant proprietors, agricultural labourers, moneylenders and merchant class. Similarly, in urban society, there were capitalist industrial working class, petty traders, professional class like doctors, lawyers, engineers etc.
- British government also introduced railways, postal services, centralized uniform law, English education, modern industry and many more, which brought qualitative change in Indian society. It is said that although British government had **various exploitative mechanisms in India, but unintentionally these efforts led to unification of Indian society.** Role of railways and press is significant in this direction. It has brought scattered and disintegrated Indians into mainstream. implication was social movements, collective representations, national sentiments, and consciousness

among Indian people and formation of unionism at various levels. Such a social infrastructural set-up gave rise to nationalist freedom movement and awakening of Indian nationalism.

- **Social Background of Indian Nationalism:**

- Desai applies Marxist approach to study of 'nationalism' in India during British rule. He spells out historical-dialectical materialism and applies it to study of various types of movements – rural and urban, caste and class structure, social mobility, education and other aspects of Indian society.
- Quite like other Marxists, he employs production relations for explanation of traditional social background of Indian nationalism in his classical work. The book is an excellent effort to trace emergence of Indian nationalism from dialectical perspective.
- According to Desai, India's nationalism is result of material conditions created by British colonialism. Britishers developed new economic relations by introducing industrialization and modern-ization.
- This economic relationship is predominantly a stabilizing factor in continuity of traditional institutions in India, which would undergo changes as these relations would change. Desai thinks that when traditions are linked with economic relations, change in latter would eventually change traditions. It is in this context that he thinks that caste will disintegrate with creation of new social and material conditions, such as industries, economic growth, education, etc.
- Desai's definition of tradition is a watershed. He does not trace it from caste, religion or ritual. Dialectical history of India that he presents very clearly shows that traditions have their roots in India's economy and production relations.

### **Criticism by Yogendra Singh of dialectical materialism approach**

What is wrong with Desai is that he was very profound when he applies principles of Marxism in analyzing Indian situation but fails at level of empirical support. In other words, his theoretical framework can be challenged by strength of substantial data. In theoretical terms, however, this approach can be more visible for analysis of processes of change and conflict in India provided it is founded upon a sound tradition of scientific research. Despite this limitation, some studies conducted on this model offer useful hypotheses, which can be further tested in course of studies on social change.

The theme of relation between state and capitalist class was explored in his writings. To him, administrative level apparatus of state performed twin functions of protecting propertied classes and suppressing struggles of exploited classes.

- **Peasant Struggles:**

- In his two volumes entitled **Peasant Struggles in India** (1979) and **Agrarian Struggles in India after Independence** (1986), Desai has compiled excellent material on peasant struggles in India during colonial rule and after independence.
- Agrarian struggles, at present, Desai suggests, are waged by newly-emerged propertied classes as well as agrarian poor, especially agrarian proletariat, whereas former fight for a greater share in fruits of development.

- The poor comprising pauperized peasants and labourers belonging to low castes and tribal communities struggle for survival and for a better life for themselves. Thus, Desai maintained, progress could be achieved only by radically transforming exploitative capitalist system in India.
- **State and Society:**
  - In State and Society in India book, Desai provided a critique of theories of modernization accepted by a large number of academic establishments. He clearly stated that in reality concept assumed “modernization on capitalist path a desirable value premise”. It, however, served as a valuable ideological vehicle to ruling class pursuing capitalist path. In many of his later works he pursued theme of repressive role of state and growing resistance to it. In **Violation of Democratic Rights in India** (book), **Repression and Resistance in India** (book) , **Expanding Governmental Lawlessness** (book), he highlights violation of democratic rights of minorities, women, slum dwellers in urban India, press and other media by state
  - According to Desai, polarization of class interest, especially of bourgeoisie, is foundation of modern society in India. It has thus inherent in it class contradictions and logic of its dialectics.

### Relevance of Marxist Approach:

In fifties and early sixties, American structural-functionalism and British functionalism dominated social sciences in general and sociological researches in particular. However, Desai undeterred by these imperialistic influences continued to write on Indian society and state from perspective of an involved scholarship.

Thus, in his presidential address, Desai focused on relevance of Marxist approach to study of Indian society. According to him, **Marxist approach helps one to raise relevant questions, conduct researches in right direction, formulate adequate hypotheses, evolve proper concepts, adopt and combine appropriate research techniques and locate central tendencies of transformation with its major implications.**

Hence, Marxist approach will help Indian scholars to designate type of society and its class character, role of state and specificity of path of development with all implications. Desai argues that property relations are crucial because they shape purpose, nature, control, direction and objectives under-lying production. Further, property relations determine norms about who shall get how much and on what grounds.

In this context, Desai tried to understand Indian society which also reflects in his works. Desai not only did give notice to mainstream that Marx has a place in sociology, but also, he provided a forum for radical-minded scholars to broaden their horizon of research.

### Analysis of Indian Society through Marxist Approach:

Marx pointed out that different sub-formations within a society could not be understood adequately if seen in context of historical level. Thus, Marxist approach endeavours to locate, within a specific society, forces which preserve and forces which prompt it to change, i.e., forces driving to take a leap into a new or a higher form of social organization, which would unleash productive power of mankind to a next higher level.

Marxist approach further considers that focusing on type of property relations prevailing in Indian society as crucial-axial element for properly understanding nature of transformation that has been taking place in country. This approach does not demand crude reducing of every phenomenon to economic factor; it also does not deny autonomy, or prevalence of distinct institutional and normative features peculiar to a particular society.

For instance, it does not deny necessity of understanding institution like caste system, religions, linguistic or tribal groups or even specific cultural traditions which are characteristics of Indian society.

Desai feels that adoption of Marxist approach will be helpful in studying industrial relations, not merely as management-labour relations, but as capital-labour relations, and also in context of state wedded to capitalist path of development, shaping these relations.

The constitution evolved its bourgeois constitution and leadership is representing capitalist class and is reshaping economy and society on capitalist path. The slogan of socialistic pattern is a hoax to create illusion and confuse masses. The real intentions and practices are geared to development on capitalist lines.

According to Desai, bourgeoisie is dominant class in India. Indian society is based on capitalist economy. The dominant culture in our country is therefore culture of dominant capitalist class. Indian capitalism was a by-product of imperialist capitalism.

Desai argues that Indian bourgeoisie built up a fundamentally secular bourgeois democratic state, which has been imparting modern scientific, technological and liberal democratic education. This class and its intelligentsia have been, in cultural field revivalist and more and more popularizing supporting and spreading old religious and ideal-istic philosophic concepts among people. The idealistic and religio-mystical philosophies of ruling bourgeois class, further reinforced by crude mythological culture rampant among masses, constitute dominant culture of Indian people today.

The social role played by this culture is reactionary since it gives myopic picture of physical universe and social world, a mis-explanation of fundamental causes of economic and social crises, opiates consciousness of masses and tries to divert latter from advancing on road of specific solutions of their problems.

### **Conclusion:**

We have tried to focus upon works of A.R. Desai, which show that how Marxist approach can be applied in understanding Indian social reality. Social Background of Indian Nationalism reflects on economic interpretation of Indian society. Desai applies historical materialism for understanding transformation of Indian society.

He explains that how national consciousness emerged through qualitative changes in Indian society. It must be observed by concluding words that in all his writings Desai has examined usefulness of Marxian framework to understand Indian's reality. Desai's all other writings also reflect Marxist approach to understand Indian society.



## Miscellaneous topics

- Interaction of little tradition with great tradition
- Positional change versus structural change
- Significance of empirical approach in study of Indian society. How does use of historical approach enrich empirical orientation
- Examine features of continuity and change of Indian society in historical perspective
- Write short note on Grihasth-ashram

### Historical perspective:

- Plenty texts left behind by Indian and foreign scholars giving account of Indian history
- History and sociology- sociology is present history and vice versa- GE Howard
- Not possible to make sense of India today, unless its history thoroughly understood

### Different colonialisms

- External vs Internal i.e. British Vs Landlords, Industrialists etc
- Old Vs new i.e. British Vs Globalisation (Critical theorists angle)
- Brahmanic Vs Patriarchal (Subaltern angle)
- 

### Milton Singer and McKim Marriott- Little Versus Great tradition

## Hinduism belief systems:

### *Different Ashrams:*

- **Bhramacharya Ashram:** studying scriptures, accumulating knowledge & following a rigorous way of life a Hindu may fulfil his obligation to the sages. These are the activities of the Brahmacharya ashram.
- **Grihasthashram:** The obligation to the ancestors can be fulfilled by leading the life of a householder. As a householder his responsibilities are to procreate, to maintain the tradition of his ancestor, to take care of the young who are at the stage of learning, to take care of those who treat the foresters and wanderers stages of life.
- **Vanaprastha:** openings are made to be one with the gods. Leaving home behind the lives the life of homelessness. "So be one with gods means to be one with all manifest powers reflected in all elements, all living beings and all nature". This stage of life prepares him for such a manifestation
- **Sanyasashram:** In the fourth and the final stage he fulfils his obligation to all beings. He becomes nameless, homeless wanderer and becomes a renouncer.

### *Moksha*

- The concept of Moksha (liberation from the chain of rebirth) is closely related to the notion of Karma and in turn with Dharma. It is the reward of the persistent good deeds, Karma, that liberates the individual from the cycle of birth, death and rebirth; and ultimately brings him in contact with the Brahman (the universal soul). Hindu theology is largely preoccupied with the issue of achievement of Moksha.
- It is significant to mention here that Bhagavad Gita has given a new direction for achieving Moksha. The Bhagavad Gita has emphasised on the way of works and devotion to bring liberation with the reach of "man-in-the-World", including women and lower castes.

### *Karma*

- The notions of Dharma and Karma are closely interlinked to each other and on many occasion they are indistinguishable and inseparable." If Dharma is a social consciousness about the good life, Karma is the individual actor's effort to live according to it". The literary meaning of the notion of Karma is action. According to the message of Bhagavad Gita the direction of the Karma is value neutral and one must perform Karma without expecting the rewards which may be desirable or undesirable. It also accords highest emphasis on the accomplishment of Karma.
- Orthodox Hindu will explain Karma in terms of certain rituals in the form of worship or prayer of favourite Gods and Goddesses which are popularly known as puja.

### *Rins*

- There are four important obligations (Rins) for a Hindu. These are obligations to the sages, to the ancestors, to god and to human beings. These obligations are fulfilled through the performance of duties in various stages of life (ashrama).

### *Purushartha*

- There has been a constant quest towards achieving a fruitful life in Hinduism. Pursuits of certain goals has been considered inhabitable, for the achievement of such life. The integrated life of a Hindu involves the pursuit of four goals: Dharma, Artha, (material pursuits) Karna (love desire) and Moksha (salvation). The pursuit of these four fold goals is known as purushartha.

### *Dharma*

- Dharma has plural meanings. It "includes cosmological, ethical, social and legal principles that provide the basis for the notion of an ordered universe. In the social context, it stands for the imperative or righteousness in the definition of good life. Put simply, for every person there is a mode of conduct that is most appropriate: it is his or her svadharma, which may be translated as 'vocation'.



## TOPIC -02 - Impact of colonial rule on Indian society :

- (a) Social background of Indian nationalism.
- (b) Modernization of Indian tradition.
- (c) Protests and movements during the colonial period.
- (d) Social reforms

### Growth of Modern Nationalism in India

A.R. Desai's book, **Social Background of Indian Nationalism**, is another thoroughgoing account of the colonial period and the rise of nationalism from a Marxist perspective.

It focuses on the **rise of nationalism** in India. Desai **traces the growth of the national movement in five phases, each phase based on particular social classes which supported and sustained it.**

#### PHASE-1:

- **'Indian nationalism had a very narrow social basis'.**
- Pioneered by the **intelligentsia who were the product of the modern system of education.** Desai considers Raja Rammohan Roy and his followers as the 'pioneers of Indian nationalism'. **This phase continued till 1885 when Indian National Congress was founded.**

#### PHASE-2:

- Extended from **1885-1905.**
- **represented 'the interests of the development of the new bourgeois society in India'.**
- Development in the modern education had created an **educated middle class**
- the development of the Indian and international trade had given rise to a **merchant class.**
- The **modern industries had created a class of industrialists.**
- National movement '**voiced the demands of the educated classes and the trading bourgeoisie** such as the **Indianization of Services**, the **association of the Indians with the administrative machinery** of the state, the **stoppage of economic drain**, and others

#### PHASE-3:

- Period from **1905 to 1918.**
- National movement became **militant and challenging** and acquired a **wider social basis.**

#### PHASE-4:

- began from **1918 and continued till the end of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1934,**
- **the social base of the national movement was enormously enlarged.**
- The movement 'which was hitherto restricted mainly to upper and middle classes, further extended ... to sections of the Indian masses.'
- However, according to Desai, the **leadership of the Congress** remained **in the hands** of those who were **under the strong influence of the Indian capitalist class :**
- Two other significant developments -rise of **socialist & communist groups -tried to introduce pro-people agenda&consolidation of communalism-** sought to divide society.

#### PHASE-5:

- The fifth phase (**1934-39**)- **growing disenchantment with the Gandhian ideology within the Congress** and **further rise of the Socialists** who represented the **petty bourgeois elements.**
- **Outside the Congress various movements** were taking place.

- The *peasants, the workers, the depressed classes and various linguistic nationalities started agitations for their demands*. Moreover, there was *further growth of communalism*. However, according to Desai, all these stirrings were not of much consequence and the mainstream was still solidly occupied by the *Gandhian Congress which represented the interests of the dominant classes*.

Firstly, He interprets the 'peaceful and bloodless' approach of struggle adopted by the nationalist leadership as 'a basic guarantee to the propertied classes that they would at no time be faced with a situation in which their interests might be put in jeopardy even temporarily'.

Secondly, Although the masses came into nationalist fold during the Gandhian period, they were not politicised and the lower classes of agricultural workers and poor peasants in most parts of country were never politically mobilised, 'so that the social base of the national movement was still not very strong in 1947'. And even when they were mobilised, the masses remained outside the decision-making process and the gulf between them and the leaders was 'unbridged'

Thirdly, the nationalist leaders in all phases of the movement stressed that the process of achievement of national freedom would be evolutionary, and not revolutionary. The basic strategy to attain this goal would be pressure-compromise-pressure. In this strategy, pressure would be brought upon the colonial rulers through agitations, political work and mobilisation of the people

**Nationalism meaning:** Nationalism is a sense of loyalty towards one's own nation. It creates a sense of *psychological bond with thenation*. The bond of affinity is strong to such an extent that people belonging to a particular nation are suspicious of foreigners.

Nationalism implies the consciousness of one nationhood and its related sense of political identity, which results from political consensus. Its sociological manifestation is the idea of a nation-state.

In the West, historical origins of democracy and nationalism can be associated with the breakdown of the feudal hier-archical system of estates and rise of the philosophies of the Reformation and the Enlightenment. Both nationalism and democracy in India have come into being in a different historical context. The cultural consequences of these systems may be as radical for India as it was for the West, but its historical manifestation cannot be identical. *From Rammohan Roy to Gandhi, the nationalistic consciousness was oriented towards the Indian tradition; in this matter there were differences of degrees but not of kind.*

- According to *Hans Kohn* "nationalism is *a state of mind permeating* the large majority of people. It is the *supreme loyalty* of a man towards his nation."
- According to *Prof Ashirvatham*, *Nationalism is a process* by which *nationalities are transferred into political units*.
- The *term nation* has been used to denote a human group with the following characteristics:
  - Idea of a common Government whether as a reality in present or past, or as an aspiration of the future.
  - A certain size and closeness of contact between all its individual members.
  - More or less defined territory.
  - Certain characteristics clearly distinguishing the nations and non-national groups.
  - Certain interests' common to the individual members.

- A certain degree of common feeling or will associated with a picture of the nation in the minds of the individual members.

### **Origin of nationalism in India:**

The growth of nationalism in India can be traced back to the period of ancient India. It can be traced through different stages. They include:

- Nationalism under **ancient India**
  - The Rigvedic hymns refer to India as “BharataVarsha or BharataKhanda
  - feeling of nationalism was strengthened in the age of Mauryas and Guptas
  - The supreme power loyalty towards the king itself was considered as nationalism
  - The idea of nationalism did not receive concrete shape during ancient India; nationalism was almost equated with Regionalism.
- Nationalism in the **medieval period**.
  - Among Muslim rulers Mughal rulers made some contribution to idea of nationalism.
  - During the Mughal rule the imperial authority of the king was respected and loyalty towards the king was treated as nationalism.
- Nationalism in the **pre-independence period**.
  - The freedom struggle which took place in India marked concrete idea of nationalism.
  - Sepoy Mutiny: 1857
  - Formation of Indian National Congress: 1885
  - Swadeshi movement
  - Non cooperation movement
  - Civil disobedience movement
  - Quit India movement
  - RIN Revolts and INA trials
  - Sub nationalism- divided India
- Nationalism in the **post independent period**.
  - Constitution of India
  - National symbols
  - Single citizenship, Single constitution, Fundamental rights, strong centre.
  - **Inhibitions:**
    - Separate status to J&K
    - Parochialism and divisions on linguistic basis
    - Multiplicity of religions
    - Multiplicity of religions, casteism
    - Growing threats- terrorism, secessionism, ethnic wars etc

### **Different types of Indian nationalism**

- **Economic nationalism**- Drain theory by Naoroji, Later Gandhiji- foreign goods boycott movement etc.
- **Social nationalism**- Many reform movements- of downtrodden and against social atrocities. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, JyotibaPhuleetc
- **Cultural nationalism**: Tilak used Ganesh festival to propagate. Temple entry, Khilafat, and Akali movement were integral part of Indian nationalist movement

- **Political nationalism**: Transport, Press, English language brought leaders together
- **Revolutionary nationalism**: Extremism phase- 1. Recognition of the True Nature of British Rule 2. Growth of Confidence and Self-Respect 3. Growth of Education 4. International Influences 5. Reaction to Increasing Westernisation 6. Dissatisfaction with Achievements of Moderates 7. Reactionary Policies of Curzon 8. Existence of a Militant School of Thought 9. A Trained Leadership Had Emerged.
- **Trans-national nationalism**
  - Gadhar party
  - Mohan Singh and INA
  - Indian diaspora abroad
- **Calamity driven nationalism**: Floods, cyclones, wars bring Indians together.
- **Sports nationalism**

#### *Important factors in building up of nationalism in India:*

- **Understanding of Contradiction in Indian and Colonial Interests**: The nationalist movement arose to take up the challenge of these contradictions inherent in the character and policies of colonial rule
- **Political, Administrative and Economic Unification of the Country**: A professional civil service, a unified judiciary and codified civil and criminal laws throughout the length and breadth of the country imparted a new dimension of political unity to the hitherto cultural unity that had existed in India for centuries. From the nationalists' point of view, this process of unification had a two-fold effect:
  - **Economic fate of the people of different regions got linked together**
  - **Modern means of transport and communication brought people, especially the leaders, from different regions together**
- **Western thought and action**: The liberal and radical thought of European writers like Milton, Shelley, John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Paine, Spencer and Voltaire helped many Indians imbibe modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist ideas. This ever-expanding English educated class formed the middle class intelligentsia who constituted the nucleus for the newly arising political unrest.
- **Role of Press and Literature**: The second half of the nineteenth century saw an unprecedented growth of Indian- owned English and vernacular newspapers, despite numerous restrictions imposed on the press by the colonial rulers from time to time. It was a form of political participation for people to read newspapers in public.
- **Rediscovery of India's Past**: The historical researches by European scholars, such as Max Mueller, Monier Williams, Roth and Sassoon, and by Indian scholars such as R.G. Bhandarkar, R.L. Mitra and later Swami Vivekananda, created an entirely new picture of India's past. The theory put forward by European scholars, that the Indo-Aryans belonged to the same ethnic group from which other nations of Europe had evolved, gave a psychological boost to the educated Indians.
- **Progressive Character of Socio-religious Reform Movements**: These reform movements sought to remove social evils which divided Indian society; & had effect of bringing different sections together & proved to be an important factor in growth of Indian nationalism.

- **Rise of Middle Class Intelligentsia:** This class, prominent because of its education, new position and its close ties with the ruling class, came to the forefront. The leadership to the Indian National Congress in all its stages of growth was provided by this class.
- **Impact of Contemporary Movements Worldwide:** Rise of a number of nations on ruins of Spanish & Portuguese empires in S.America, and national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in general and of Ireland in particular deeply influenced the nationalist ranks.
- **Reactionary Policies and Racial Arrogance of Rulers:** Lytton's reactionary policies such as reduction of maximum age limit for the I.C.S. examination from 21 years to 19 years (1876), the grand Delhi Durbar of 1877 when the country was in the severe grip of famine, the Vernacular Press Act (1878) and the Arms Act (1878) provoked a storm of opposition in the country.

### National integration

**National integration has been viewed by Weiner as follows:**

- (1) A process of **bringing together culturally and socially discreet groups** into a **single territorial unit** and the **establishment of a national identity**.
- (2) The **process of establishing a national**, central authority over subordinate political units and regions which may or may not coincide with distinct cultural or social groups.
- (3) The problem of **binding Government** with Government; and
- (4) The **problem of evolving the minimum value consensus necessary to maintain a social order**, referring either to the norms and processes to be accepted or to the goals to be achieved.

National integration implies a sense of belongingness as feeling of togetherness and of unity. It is a process in which people of a nation are made to know, feel and act as people of one nation. A **person should have a set of loyalties such as loyalty to the State he lives, to his region, religion, language etc. But national loyalty is primary.**

### **Brief History of Nationalist Foreign Policies of India**

- At independence, India was member of 51 l'nal organisations & signatory - 600 odd treaties.
- So, the emerging themes during 1880-1914 were:
- **Solidarity with other colonies** fighting for freedom, such as Russia, Ireland, Egypt, Turkey, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burma and Afghanistan;
- **Pan-Asian feeling** reflected in:
  - I. Condemnation of annexation of Burma in 1885,
  - II. Inspiration from Japan as an example of industrial development,
  - III. Condemnation of international suppression of the I-Ho-Tuan uprising (1895),
  - IV. Condemnation of the imperialist efforts to divide China,
  - V. Defeat of Czarist Russia by Japan which exploded myth of European superiority,
  - VI. Congress support for Burma's freedom.
- **World War I:** nationalists supported the British Indian Government in the belief that Britain would apply the same principles of democracy for which they were supposed to be fighting.

- **1920s and 1930s—Identifying with Socialists:** In 1926 and 1927, Nehru was in Europe where he came in contact with the socialists and other leftist leaders. Earlier, Dadabhai Naoroji attended the Hague session of the International Socialist Congress.
- **After 1936—Anti-Fascism:** The 1930s saw the rise of Fascism in Europe and the struggle against it. The nationalists saw imperialism and fascism as organs of capitalism.
- **Post-independence and non-alignment**

#### AR DESAI and Social Background of Indian Nationalism:

According to him, India's nationalism is the **result of the material conditions** created by the British colonialism. The **Britishers developed new economic relations** by introducing industrialization and modernization. The economic relationship is predominantly a stabilizing factor in the continuity of traditional institutions in India, which would undergo changes as these relations change.

#### (b) Modernization of Indian tradition.

Previous years questions:

- Westernization and **institutional changes** in India
- Critically examine on the **heterogenic features that influenced Indian tradition according to Yogendra Singh**
- Write a short note on **Colonial hangover** and its social impact
- Differentiate between **social exchange and modernization**? Examples from Indian society
- Major aspects of traditional Hindu social organization? How far are they relevant for present Indian society?
- Discuss the ethical and metaphysical basis of Hindu social organization?
- Ways in which Indian society can be strengthened as multi cultural society? Is dominance of a single culture hindrance to multiculturalism in India?
- Short note on- Impact of west on Indian society
- Short note: Impact of Buddhism and Islam on Indian society
- Short note: Response of Indian society to early impact of west
- Tradition and modernity exist in contemporary Indian society. Discuss factors for such continuity and change
- Short note on: Ethnic diversity and community integration
- Analyze impact of modern west on traditional social values in India
- Assess impact of west in shaping Indian renaissance movement in 19<sup>th</sup> century
- short note on: Indian intellectual between tradition and modernity.

#### Modernization of Indian Tradition: Analysis

There are several theorists who have provided a theoretical framework for modernity.

**Giddens** talks about different stages of modernity: radical modernity, high modernity and late modernity. **Beck** and **Bauman** theorizes modernity in its worse form – it is a **risk society, full of dangers-a holocaust**. **Ritzer**, on the other hand, defines modernity in terms of **hyper-**

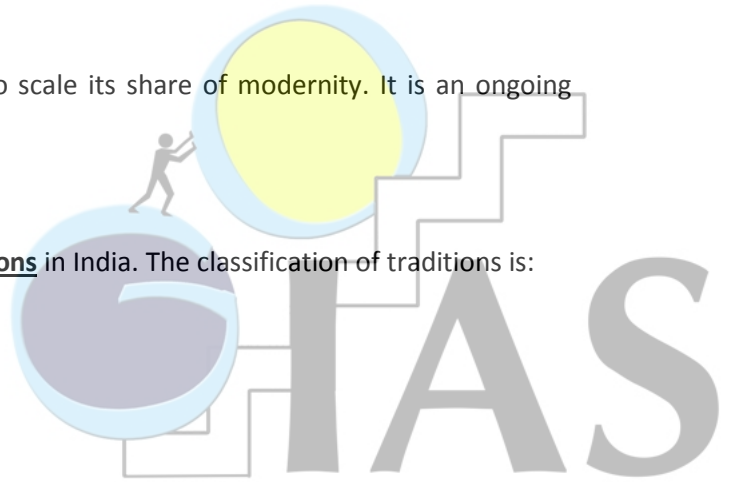


**rationality.** Habermas argues that Europe has still to scale its share of modernity. It is an ongoing project.

**Tradition:**

S.C. Dube has given a **six-fold classification of traditions** in India. The classification of traditions is:

- Classical traditions,
- Emergent national traditions,
- Regional traditions,
- Local traditions,
- Western traditions, and
- Local sub-cultural traditions of social groups.



Looking at all the explanations of Indian traditions, it could be safely said that these are multiple traditions consisting of varying hierarchies

**The Meaning and Role of Tradition in India**

***The structuralist, ethno-methodological approach***

With the publication of Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* (1970), there appeared 'structuralist' approach to the study of traditions. In his study of caste stratification in *Homo Hierarchicus*, Dumont has established that India is a religious society and the concept of pure and impure is solely guided by traditions. The hierarchical caste stratification, in fact, is a tradition-bound social order. It is based on the principle of inequality. He looks at India from a cultural perspective and considers that modernity is an impossibility in India. He sees traditional linkage and its resurgence in form of caste in power as an obstacle to modernity in India. The Dumont effect made it clear that traditions must be used to understand Indian society.

TN Madan counters Louis Dumont in his book-'Modern myths and locked minds' where he questions the very basic premise of need for west-like modernity in India. Similarly according to Ashish Nandi, question should not be that why India isn't modern but does India need modernity?

***Dimensional approach to social structure:***

Yogendra Singh identifies dimensional approach to the study of Indian structure. This approach does not consider tradition as its focus of enquiry. Instead, it applies multi-dimensional perspective to the understanding of society. Yogendra Singh (1986) explains his multi-dimensional approach as below:

Many studies of social structure in India, however, do not consciously use the notion of tradition as a normative framework in their analysis. Instead, social structure is defined in a multi-dimensional perspective using sets of social variables or categories. The approach sometimes approximates the Weberian typological formulation and dimensions of social structure such as 'status', 'wealth' and 'power'. Yogendra Singh (1972) identifies structural modernization as India's powerful aspect. It consists of normative variables such as social mobilization, growth of communication, market domination, media exposure, democratic political institutions, and values, morals and norms. He observes: Modernization is supposed to follow as a result of the presence of these variables in the social system; their intensity and proportion would determine the nature and extent of modernization in specific situations.

- **value-themes in entire social system** of Indian society prior to beginning of modernization
- **organized on the principles of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence.** These four value-themes were **deeply interlocked with Indian social structure.**
  - **Hierarchy** -not only in system of caste & sub-caste stratification but also in concepts of human nature, life cycles (ashramas) & moral duties (dharma).
  - **Holism**- relationship between individual and group-former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights-had precedence here was community or sangha and not the individual. This assumption of individual by collectively persisted all along the line of traditional social structure, e.g., family, village community, caste.
  - **Transcendence**- legitimating of traditional values could never be challenged on grounds of rationality derived from the non-sacred or profane' scales of evaluation.
- Organization of tradition based on these value-components could not be called typical only of the Indian society, since at one level similar phenomenon also existed in traditional West.
- This **temporal depth of civilization in traditional Indian society has relevance**-
  - for analyzing the direction the process of modernization might eventually take
  - for understanding causality & sequence thru which modernization has made impact
  - might reveal the manner in which **initial structural and cultural conditions** of modernization in India **contribute to such institutional adaptations which may be universalistic in orientation yet particularistic in form.** The form of traditional institutions may remain intact but their substance might undergo major transformations incorporating modernization.

The emphasis on historicity in preference to universality defining the context of modernization the pre-eminence of structural changes in society to render adaptive process of modernization successful in the developing countries particularly India and eclectic nature of cultural and ideological response of India to challenges of modernization represent some of unifying principles.

Historically, **social structure and tradition in India remained impervious** to major elements of modernity **until the contact with the West began through colonization.** The **earlier encounters with Islam only reinforced the tradition**-basically organized on value-themes which were traditional;

Though Islam has **messianic, non-hierarchical & monotheistic non-idolism values**, in its Persian transformation had already imbibed some elements of hierarchical stratific'n when came to India.

Despite the apparent dissimilarities, the contact between the Great traditions of Hinduism and Islam was only a contact between two traditional systems. Its impact on **family, caste and village community was insignificant**, and in **macro-structures too it did not set out any basically new forms.** Islamic polity and judicial administration were essentially feudal and patrimonial; the legal principles and norms were also hierarchical and did not fully recognize the principles of equality and equity in political and civil rights. This explains why Islamic impact unlike that of the West failed to contribute to modernization.

### Social Changes in Traditional India:

**Distinction between social change & modernization**- to evaluate changes in traditional society. In traditional India there were continual instances of **social change without implying modernization.**



These *changes were from one traditional structure to another, without, transcending them for a qualitatively distinctive evolutionary differentiation*. The changes were *initiated both through orthogenetic and heterogenetic causal sources*.

The traditional cultural structure comprising the *little and Great traditions* in India *experienced many changes before the beginning of the Western contact*.

- ***Buddhism and Jainism*** emerged as ***protest movements*** against the Hindu caste system. These movements had political and economic impact. Jainism - urban movement, and both Jainism and Buddhism led to the emergence of new mercantile castes in urban centers.
- ***Orthogenetic movements—Sikhism, Bhakti, AryaSamaj, BrahmaSamaj & mvmnt***

The changes *-confined within framework of traditional social structure & values; structural changes were very few, and those which took were limited in respect of the types of roles. eg Sangha. The role differentiations also had an elitist character* since all were led by members of upper class.

The *main structural deprivations here were those of power and social status, which Dumont rightly characterizes as an equation between 'power and religion'*. In all traditional societies - system of social stratification is closed- no legitimate structural means to climb up in social hierarchy, *the change of faith, or of customs and rituals might offer a relatively secure means of gambling for higher status- Also revealed by analysis of little and great traditions by Redfield & Singer*. An important causal factor here is that of *'relative deprivation' of groups* and castes in comparison to other groups and castes, this form a part of the *theory of reference group analysis*.

#### **Structural Changes and Sanskritization:**

***Endogenous changes*** in tradition of Hinduism - confined to Sanskritization before Western contact. ***Sanskritization took place in two different forms***

- as historical process by collective recognition of lower castes to the ranks of upper castes as a result of their ***acts of chivalry, rise in economic and power status and political alliances***.
- Second form, Sanskritization has a contextual or local meaning and ***generally amounts to unilateral attempt of a caste or sub-caste to move upward in hierarchy***.
- Hence, Sanskritization ***may often disguise the seed-beds of effective modernization***. Sanskritization is psychologically or even structurally, akin to modernization in so far as the ***motive forces*** to ***challenge the deprivations imposed by Great tradition are stronger***. However, if the reaction of upper castes is hostile or is perceived to be so by lower castes, it is likely that latter (lower castes) would define the former as a negative reference group, and from this a break-away movement in the caste system would follow. Particular mention may be made of conversion to Islam in the medieval period, to Christianity during the British period, and ***current neo-Buddhist movement*** among scheduled castes and tribes in India.
- Numerous examples to show (like fatavas of Agra) that ***Sanskritization as a process only refers to changes in cultural attributes of a caste & not to a structural change in its system***
- After Independence, with political & legal rights available to fight out, not Sanskritization but formation of politically oriented caste associations is practice.

The other person who studies India using structural approach is **Robert D Lambert** who in his study of Pune highlights changes in family structure towards nucleated living and relationships based on contract

### **Processes of Modernization:**

Modernization in India **started mainly with the Western contact** brought about many far reaching changes in culture & social structure of Indian society. Not all, however, could be called modernizing.

Basic **direction - towards modern'n**-in process- variety of traditional instis also got reinforcement. This demonstrates the **weakness of assuming a neat contrariety between tradition and modernity.**

However, **only after the establishment of British rule in India, modern cultural institutions** and forms of social structure were introduced. The Western tradition at the time of contact had itself **undergone fundamental transformations** through Industrial Revolution and social reformation. Its place was now being taken by **rational-individualism in economy and society.**

**Attitude of the British rulers and administrators about modernization in India** - With the exception of a handful of Orientalists who were overwhelmed by the textual grandeur of Indian tradition, majority were only impressed by contrasts which Indian society presented to their Western society.

The significance of British contribution to modernization mainly lies in the **creation of such networks of social structure and culture which were modern and pan-Indian.**

Initially, → sub-**culture or Little tradition of Westernization**, → small nucleus of interpreters, trader-cum-middlemen emerged **who were slowly being socialized to Western ways**; subsequently, → emerged sects which emphasized assimilation of Western cultural norms, e.g. Brahmosamaj, PrarthanaSamaj → these ran a crusade against obscurantism Hindu traditions.

Its components were: a **universalistic legal system, expansion of Western form of education, urbanization and industrialization, spread of new means of communication and transport and social reforms.** Along with these modern-ization norms structural modernization also took place.

Growth of **industrial entrepreneurship also contributed to the emergence of industrial working class and trade unions organized on corporate lines as in the West.**

There was, however, **one important feature of Indian modernization during the British period. The growth of this process was selective and segmental.** It was **not integrated with the micro-structures of Indian society, such as family, caste and village community.**

**For a long time caste and ethnic factors were given recognition in recruitment of officers to army and middle and lower ranks of bureaucracy.** Later, in the twentieth century, as the nationalist movement gathered momentum, a **communal electorate system** was introduced.

These historical factors have **deeply influenced the process of modernization** followed during post-colonial period. It increased **contingency of traditional institutions** to Indian process of modern'n.

**Freedom movement ushered in a new political culture of modernization.** At its centre was the personality of **Mahatma Gandhi whose one foot was always deeply embedded in tradition.** Abhijit Pathak writes that Gandhi though a traditionalist in many ways, chose Nehru as his

successor, who had a modernistic view of development. Thus, India's modernity based on contradictory platforms.

Following Independence, modernization process in India has undergone a basic change from its colonial pattern. Introduction of adult suffrage & a federal parliamentary form of political structure have carried politicization to every sector of social organization. Conscious legal reforms in Hindu marriage & inheritance laws have deeply affected foundations of traditional Hindu family structure.

Community Development Projects, panchayatsetc have carried the cultural norms and role-strictures of modernity to each and every village in India.

Caste has in the process undergone radical transformation of roles, developed new functional adaptations and activated aspirations unleashed by democratization of polity and power structure. As the process of modernization becomes all encompassing, it also generates inter-structural tensions and conflicts between traditions (past and contemporary).

### Approaches to Modernization

Most approaches could be grouped under two broad categories: structural and evolutionary.

- Structural approach is rather preponderant in social sciences. It seeks to analyze modernization with the help of selected social or normative variables. Such variables as 'social mobilization', 'communication', 'media exposure'; democratic political institutions etc
- Evolutionary approach to modernization → based on more systematic theoretical assumptions. It treats modernization as an evolutionary stage in the life of human society.

### Methodological formulation- structural functional and dialectical

Its methodological formulation may either be structural functional or dialectical; similarly direction of evolution may also be either unilinear or multilinear. A major difference between dialectical (Marxist) and structural-functional evolutionary approaches to modernization is that the former treats 'breakdown' in the established political, economic and structural framework of a society as a necessary and inevitable condition for development towards modernization. Structural-functional evolutionary treatment is drawn primarily from an organism analogy

There are many assumptions in Parsons' evolutionary theory of modernization which may not be accepted by other sociologists. For instance, his assertion that democratic association' is the highest evolutionary stage in the modernization of Indian tradition: analysis process of modernization could be variously interpreted or even refuted both by Marxist and non-Marxist sociologists. Gunnar Myrdal in a recent study on Asian prospect of development and modernization writes: Yet it may be doubted whether this ideal of political democracy with political power based on free elections and with freedom of assembly, press, and other civil liberties—should be given weight in formulating the modernization ideals. This is not because the ideal is at present not very fully met, and may not be met in the future: value premises represent merely an angle from which actual conditions are viewed and need not be 'realistic' in that sense. Stratification is one important factor which causes bottlenecks in rapid modern'n of India by its rigidity & non-egalitarian character.

Formulations closely resembling those of Parsons but without similar theoretical presumption have also been made by Marion J. Levy, E.S.N. Eisenstadt and Gunnar Myrdal. Much responsibility for

either 'breakdown' or smooth transition to modernization is attributed by these sociologists to **structural and normative 'initial conditions' in the developing societies. Diff b/w China & Japan**

### **The Indian Scene:**

Modernization, in its initial stages in India, **according to Eisenstadt, did not lead to any serious breakdown because of the peculiar structural characteristics of the Indian society.** Here, **cultural system was fairly independent of political system.**

**Louis Dumont** writes: "This domain (polity or artha) is relatively autonomous to absolute values" there was also independence between the political system and the system of caste stratification.

**Castes had their own panchayats and plural traditions, and similarly there also existed autonomy for groups and regional committees. Modernity, mainly developed as a sub-structure and sub-culture without pervasive expansion in all sectors of life.**

The **cultural pre-requisites of a comprehensive modernization necessitate adaptive changes in the system of values.** For instance, secularism, untouchability, non-parochialism are cultural demands of modernization in contemporary India which its traditional value system continues to resist.

**Objective analysis of important trends of social & cultural changes** in India which are relevant to modernization.

In **cultural sphere**, major changes have been introduced by legislations. These seek to abolish social inequalities and exploitations handed down by tradition and accord democratic rights and constitutional privileges to all members of society. This has led to a trend away from Sanskritization

However, the **tradition also gets reinforcement in the process; modern media of communication and transport are increasingly used for spreading ritual order and for rational organization of religious groups and their mode of activities and social participation.**

**Inconsistencies** are similarly there in structural changes that India has undergone during the post-colonial phase of modernization. **Micro-structures like caste, family and village community have retained their traditional character; caste has shown unexpected elasticity and latent potential for adaptation with modern institutions, such as democratic participation.**

**These contradictions are, however, further magnified at the level of macro- structures,** such as the political system, bureaucracy, elite structure, industry and economy. The colonial period of modernization had homogeneity in elite structure. **These elite from industrial, civil and military bureaucracies, as well as political spheres came from similar class-caste stratum; they had equitable exposure to Western education, and socialization.**

Thus, major potential sources of breakdown in the Indian process of modernization may, in one form or another, be attributed to **structural inconsistencies, such as: democratization without spread of civic culture (education), bureaucratization without commitment to universalistic norms, rise in media participation (communication) and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justice, verbalization of a welfare ideology without its diffusion in social structure**

**and its implementation as a social policy, over-urbanization without industrialization and finally modernization without meaningful changes in the stratification system.**

**Gunnar Myrdal refers to similar impediments to modernization in India and other Asian countries in his work Asian Drama.** Nationalism and democratic institutions themselves, according to him, have grown in a structurally uneven form in these countries.

“In Europe, strong independent State with a fairly effective government and a common pattern of law enforcement,” he says, “preceded nationalism, and both preceded democracy;” in South Asian countries democratic ideology if not reality, has, due to special historicity, preceded strong and independent State & effective government & this is further complicated by onslaught of nationalism.

In India planned economic growth has not made as deep an impact towards liberalizing the structural bottlenecks for modernization as should have been expected.

According to Myrdal, India's 'soft-state' policy after Independence inhibited its leadership from going to the root of the problem, that is, introduction of basic changes in the institutional structure of society.

Myrdal's well known position on **theory of social change** and **development is that of circular causation and cumulative change.** The **crucial factor in development is an 'upward' movement of the social system as a whole with all its component 'conditions'.**

**These conditions for South Asian countries as described by Myrdal are:** Output & income; Conditions of prod'n; Levels of living; Attitudes towards life & work; Institutions; & Policies.

Myrdal's **theory of modernization** could best be evaluated through the distinction **he introduces between 'independent' and 'instrumental' values**

The **'independent values'** of a traditional society differ from those of a modern society, and more often they are mutually contradictory. But the 'independent values' cannot be demonstrated to be false or irrelevant without transforming them into 'instrumental values'.

Since, the institutions and attitudes towards life and work in a traditional society come to be valued for their 'independent values', it is necessary to demonstrate their poverty over 'independent values' of a modern society in order to motivate people to renounce them for the latter.

**Caste, which represents institutionalized form of inequality sanctioned by tradition now fights battles against inequality and inequality its own rational self-transformation into associations;**

#### **Historicity of Modernization:**

The problems connected with **historicity of modernization emerge from the 'initial conditions' of different societies from where modernization as a process starts.**

There are both logical and substantive grounds why growth of modernization might vary in pattern from society to society. **Often, modernization is defined through attributes which are too abstract and partial in nature.** Modernization is understood as growth of a uniform set of cultural and role-



structural attributes, but **attention is not paid as to how these attributes develop typical adaptations within the traditional conditions of each society.**

This limitation, in our view, **can be avoided if we conceptualize both tradition and modernization as sets of values and role-structures which interact as they come into contact and between them a selective process of assimilation and syncretism starts.**

The crucial role in selective acceptance is played by the system of values. **These values in each society are differentiated into (1) categorical or independent and (2) instrumental types.** All role-structures **whether traditional or modern inhere both categorical and instrumental standards,** and this leads to a combination of both; **a person who is well-trained in the modern role-structure with high instrumental value, for instance a surgeon or an engineer or a scientist, may be deeply committed to traditional categorical values.**

This is logically quite possible, because the **categorical values enjoy autonomy over the instrumental values. Such instances are quite common in the Indian society,** but it is presumed that no society would be an exception to this rule.

As for modernization in India, **we find a growing trend that traditional role-structures are giving way to modern ones.**

Generally, **ritual order and religion which are essentially based on categorical values of a traditional nature do not show evidence of decline,** nor is there an easy possibility of their disappearance in the near future.

**This would explain the diversity in the pattern of modernization in different societies.** But it would be **wrong to deduce from this argument that modernization will not bring about structural and cultural similarity among the peoples of the world.**

As modernization proceeds, **it would create uniform sets of role-structures with accompanying modern value commitments, instrumental or categorical.** Inconsistent combinations of roles and values may still persist but a **large sector of societal and cultural life of societies would share uniformity of standards with other modern societies.**

The divergence of political ideologies, contradictions in cultural and racial identities coupled with **inequality of resources among nations create basic schism in the value-structure of modernization.** Hence, particularistic growth pattern of modernization seems to be more credible than universalistic form of its development.

### **Modernity: Disenchantment and its Challenges in India**

In the early period of this encounter brought by modernity of British Raj, there grew disenchantment towards tradition. But, with the widening of modernization & globalization, there has grown disenchantment against modernization too. Many of expectations of modernity remain unfulfilled.

Challenges from the grass roots create bottlenecks for the processes of modernity. On one hand, people feel that the **age-old traditions have become irrelevant to fulfill their needs** and on the other, they are **dissatisfied with the processes of modernization.** This is precisely the situation of disenchantment.

- **Ethnicity and its challenge:**
- **Emergence of new social movements:**
- **The increasing pace of modernization has given rise to a new kind of social movements such as environmental movements, gender movements and human rights movements.**
- **Challenge by fundamentalism**
- **Pervasive ideas of freedom and development:** V.S. Naipaul (1990) says - awareness which modern has given to people would mobilize them to commit not one but millions of mutinies
- **Empowerment of women**

### **Debate on Tradition and Modernity in India**

**Yogendra Singh has defined Indian society and its traditions with reference to hierarchy, holism, transmigration or continuity and transcendence.**

In west also, when modernization began after enlightenment, there was a serious debate on religion, science, state and fundamentalism.

Feudalism was challenged by rationality, capitalism and science. In India, modernity needs to be analyzed in the context of liberalism, democracy and capitalism.

***The princely rulers were highly antagonistic to modernity. Their survival depended on continuity & strengthening of tradition.*** Thus, it is meaningful to discuss modernity in terms of India's traditions.

#### **1. D.P. Mukerji's analysis of tradition:**

He was a Marxist but **preferred to call himself a Marxiologist, i.e., a social scientist of Marxism.**

He argued that there is dialectical relation between India's **tradition and modernity**, **British colonialism and nationalism** and **individualism and collectivity**, i.e., sangha. His concept of dialectics was anchored in liberal humanism. He believed, encounter between tradition and modernity, therefore, ends up in two consequences:

- Conflict and
- Synthesis.

It was through assimilation & conflict of such varying forces that Indian culture became what it is today, neither Hindu / Islamic, neither a replica of western mode of living / a purely Asiatic product.

D.P. tried to provide a classification of **Indian traditions under three heads**, viz., primary, secondary and tertiary. The ***primary traditions have been primordial and authentic to Indian society.*** The secondary traditions were ***given second ranking when the Muslims*** arrived in the country. And third- by the time of the British arrival, Hindus and Muslims had yet not achieved a full synthesis at all levels of social existence. In tertiary traditions differences survived prominently.

#### **2. D.N. Majumdar:**

His understanding of Indian traditions, therefore, came through his study of tribals. Close to his interest in tribal groups, he also conducted studies of Indian villages. As a social anthropologist, Majumdar's area of interest was culture. The content of his culture, naturally, was tradition.

Though the ideological perspectives of D.P. Mukerji and D.N. Majumdar are different – the former being a Marxist and the latter a functionalist, both agree to a synthesis of tradition and modernity. **D.P. talks about adaptive changes to modernity** whereas **Majumdar argues that those who are misfits to modernity will be obliged to fit themselves with the modernizing system.**

### **3. G.S. Ghurye:**

For Ghurye, tradition was a heuristic method for sociological analysis. Indian traditions are actually Hindu traditions and to understand Indian society one must know the Hindu traditions.

In his work, ***Social Tensions in India (1968)***, he argues that **Hindus and Muslims are two separate and cultural distinct groups that can hardly have any chances of integration.**

### **4. M.N. Srinivas:**

M.N. Srinivas considers village as the microcosm of Indian society and civilization. ***It is the village, which retains the traditional components of India's tradition.***

***Srinivas thinks that the only meaningful social change is that which takes place among the weaker sections for attaining higher status by imitating values of twice-born.***

For him, Indian traditions are high-caste Hindu traditions, lower caste traditions are no Indian traditions. Obviously, Srinivas anchors tradition into sanskritization. Srinivas was actually interested in caste. He considered it to be the 'structural basis' of Hinduism. He was not fascinated by Hinduism in its holistic form. He looked for it in the caste system.

Besides caste, Srinivas looks for yet another source or manifestation of **tradition. He found it in the notion of 'dominant caste'.**

Srinivas in a straightforward way rejects secularism and stands in favour of Hindu traditions. In his critique of Indian secularism which appeared in a short article in the Times of India in 1993, he finds secularism wanting because he believes that India needs a new philosophy to solve the cultural and spiritual crisis facing the country and that philosophy cannot be secular humanism. But, any tradition emanating from caste system cannot be nation's tradition as the constitution has rejected caste.

He is not comfortable with concept of modernity as considers it a value loaded concept. He tries to explain it using sanskritisation and westernization. Hierarchy is not fixed (counters Louis dumont's homo-heirarchicus)

### **5. A.R. Desai:**

A.R. Desai is a **doctrinaire Marxist**. He **rejects any interpretation of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities.** It is essentially a **secular phenomenon**. Its nature is economic and it originates and develops in economics. He finds it in family, village and other social institutions. Desai thinks that when traditions are linked with economic relations, the change in the latter would eventually change the traditions.

Despite merit of the dialectical approach applied by A.R. Desai in the definition of tradition, **Yogendra Singh** argues that the merits are not without their weaknesses.



What is wrong with A.R. Desai is that he is very profound when he applies principles of Marxism in analyzing Indian situations, but fails at the level of empirical support.

Thus 2 approaches to modernity in india:

- Cultural- Louis Dumont and others
- Dialectical- DP Mukerji, AR Desai, Randhir Singh

Randhir Singh studies post-independence modernity in Indian agriculture. He says, it has given rise to bourgeois and petty bourgeois in countryside in form rich landlords, travel agents etc as turned agriculture on capitalistic lines. Similarly, in mining belt, tribals have been displaced. It has gratified to class interest.

### **Modernity in India**

**Anthony Giddens says:** The other widely expressed way of coming to grips with our lack of true modernity is to say that ***there are "multiple modernities"***, and that the Indian variety is just another expression of modernity.

Dipankar Gupta in his book, *Mistaken Modernity* (2000), modernity in this country has to be defined in **terms of social-historical and cultural conditions** of different regions or social segments of nation.

The pioneers of sociology – Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Simmel – were the products of modernity, i.e., **capitalism, democracy and industrialism**. Indian social conditions were different. Our challenges were serious. There was **colonialism and in princely states, feudalism**. **Our first priority was to get freedom, and our ambition was to build India into a nation.**

Our pioneering sociologists, G.S. Ghurye, M.N. Srinivas, D.P. Mukerji, B.K. Sarkar, Radhakamal Mukherjee, drew their value premises & perspectives on the approach to studying Indian society from **nationalist reformation leadership of the 19th century**. All these men had not encountered challenges of industrialism and capitalism. Nor had they any experience of western modernity.

Yogendra Singh spells out the issues of social relevance and says that pioneers of sociology in India ***wanted to focus on social change.***

**Indian sociologists paid very little attention to the study of modernity and its impact on Indian society. Modernity as a distinct form of enquiry came late during the seventies.**

According to Srinivas, Thus, the definition and meaning of modernization boils down to the following points according to Srinivas:

- Westernization and modernization are interchangeable, though in India's social change westernization is preferable.
- Modernization includes humanitarianism and rationalism.
- Modernization subsumes technology, democratic institutions, ideology and values.
- Building of nation-state.
- Development of political culture.

- There is sanskritization at the level of caste system; there is westernization or modernization at the nation-state level. Modernization is more widespread at the individual level than sanskritization.
- Traditionalism goes hand-in-hand with modernization.

### Yogendra Singh on modernity:

Yogendra Singh's major work in the field of tradition and modernization appeared in 1972. *Yogendra Singh is concerned with the transformation of Indian society.*

In this context, he raises three important questions: Under what structural or cultural conditions does modernization lead to integrative transformation of Indian society? What are the structural prerequisites for institutionalization of modernizing changes without breakdown? How does the *Indian case warrant the possibility of institutionalization of modernity* or alternatively of structural breakdown in the process?

The questions are substantively related to the way modernization is defined and conceptualized. In-depth analysis of change studies indicates that sociologists have adopted two broad approaches in the study of modernization in India. These approaches are structural and evolutionary (done b4)

Drawing from both these approaches to study of modernization, Yogendra Singh defines it as under:

Modernization approximates to such a cultural order. It symbolizes a rational attitude towards issues, and their evaluation from a universalistic and not particularistic viewpoint; modernization is rooted in the scientific worldview; it has deeper and positive association with levels of diffusion of scientific knowledge technological skill and technological resources in a particular society.

It includes the following important elements or features of modernity:

- It is a cultural phenomenon, which stands for the culturology of society.
- It is rational attitudes towards societal issues and problems.
- Its norms are universalistic, applicable to the totality of all the societies.
- Its worldview is scientific.
- It contains scientific knowledge and technological skill,
- Encourages internaliz'n of humanistic & philosophical attitudes- inherent to sc'fic knowledge

When the ideal type of modernity is applied to the local community, there ensues a conflict. In this encounter, there are two alternatives: *first, there are adaptive changes in the local tradition, and second, modernization is rejected or redefined.*

What Yogendra Singh argues is that modernity is a universal- cultural phenomenon, whereas tradition is local and is observed by the immediate society only. The challenge of modernity with its universal features and characteristics is the same in all societies but the responses to it are varying.

This gives rise to multiple modernities. And, therefore, Yogendra Singh very rightly says that "the substantive adaptation to modernization should be distinguished from modernization per se since in all likelihood, not for a long time to come (perhaps never), anywhere in the world shall we have a fully modern society".

**Dipankar Gupta: India's mistaken modernity:**

In his book, **Mistaken Modernity: India between Worlds** (2000), Dipankar defines the concept of modernity in India's context and says: "**The mode of relations among people in our country is still not modern. Family connections, privileges of caste and status, as well as the willingness to break every law in the book characterize our social relations very deeply. Modernity is an attitude, which represents universalistic norms, where the dignity of an individual as a citizen is inviolable** . Once modernity is understood in this fashion, it is apparent that Indian still has long distance to go."

**He says, Contemporary is not necessarily modern:**

Some people think that whatever is contemporary is modern. Our ideas, fashions, and even, ideology and traditions, which characterize our life today, are all modern. ***Spending lakhs of rupees on the celebration of festivals and marriages, which was never done earlier, is considered as modern.***

***There is an exorbitant excitement in the celebration of certain religious festivals such as Ganesh Mahotsava, Garba, Diwali and Holi.***

**Is technology, the only modernity?**: In Dipankar's views, technology is only one part of modernity. Modernity involves certain ***other features also such as human values and relationships.***

**Only consumerism is not modernity:**

Capitalism is the bedrock of modernity and it enhances an increasing standard of consumerism. The situation in India is different. In our country, consumerism has given rise to inequality; the poor have become poorer in the race of uplifting their standard. And, in such a situation, it is mistaken to align modernity with increasing consumerism.

**Traditionalism is often defined as modernity:**

In most of the cases, the elites and the middle class define traditionalism as modernization. Fundamentalism and the ideology of Hindutva could be referred to as new forms of modernity. In fact, traditionalism has reappeared in the form of modernization. Such a modernization is fake.

Dipankar says that a modern society is one in which at least the following characteristics must be present:

- Dignity of the individual;
- Adherence to universalistic norms;
- Elevation of individual achievement over privileges or dis-privileges of birth; and
- Accountability in public life.

**Concluding observations on modernity in India:**

Modernization as a theoretical construct, in a broader way, is pluralization of worldview. In the west, it is argued that it is a multi-dimensional process & begins from evaluation of new classes, technology & communications resulting from decay of feudalism and emergence of capitalism and democratic nation-state.

### Modernization and Social Change in India

Changes in Indian society are massive indeed. But what is the direction of this massive change. Yogendra Singh says, there has emerged a tradition among Indian sociologists to evaluate social change in India from structural components of caste, family and village. Some of these components include:

- Sanskritization and westernization,
- Little and great traditions,
- Parochialization and universalization,
- Dialectical process, and
- Cognitive historical or ideological processes.

Strangely enough, the notion, that is, modernity, has constitutionally abandoned caste system and has given equal status to all, irrespective of sex and religion, the sociologists did not show any guts to analyze social change with the perspective of the norms and values of modernity. Obviously, social change does not mean Hindu social change. It must mean change in the secular direction, change for all. Diff aspects of social change:

- **Sociological writings on secularism**: With secularism in place, sociologists observe that religious violence is rearing its head again. Ashis Nandy in his conclusion says that as India gets modernized, religious violence is increasing. Quite like Nandy, T.N. Madan is also sceptical about the future of secularism when he says that in South Asia secularism as a shared credo of life is impossible.
- **Sociology of science and technology**.
- **Industrialism and factory system**. The five changes are as under:
  - Economic relations are determined by contract.
  - There has emerged complex division of labour. This has created functional interdependence.
  - Achieved status.
  - Vertical and horizontal mobility.
  - New aspirations for improvement.
- **Modernization and social change in societal institutions**
- **Equity, mobility and the education of the disadvantaged**
- **Modernization and emphasis on professions**:

### Islam and Modernization in India

#### Islam:

The *earlier encounters with Islam only reinforced the tradition* - basically organized on value-themes which were traditional; ideally, Islam had no place for hierarchical differentiation of individuals within its community of believers; its world-view was messianic-historical in contrast with the Hindu view of continuity; the principle of transcendence in Islam was strictly monotheistic and here too it differed from Hinduism.

The principle of holism which no doubt was present both in Islam and Hinduism also varied in sociological meaning in the two civilizations. In Hinduism, holism implied individual's social and moral subordination to the group without theocratic implications, so basic in Islam.

Despite these dissimilarities in ideal value-themes of the Hindu and Islamic traditions, there took place a synthesis between them which reinforced the traditional character of Indian society without significant break-down in its organization.

Though Islam has a messianic, non-hierarchical and monotheistic non-idolism values, in its Persian transformation had already imbibed some elements of hierarchical stratification when it came to India from there, and in the midst of the caste-stratified Hindu society, more so, owing to large-scale conversion to Islam by caste Hindus, Islamic social structure in this country soon developed its own pattern of caste hierarchy.

In political structure too feudal monarchical system followed by the Muslim rulers was not fundamentally different from those of the traditional Hindu rulers, and even where there were variations attempt was made to accommodate Hindu norms of political order through institutional adjustments.

Hindu princes and administrative functionaries held important offices at the courts of Muslim rulers in the North. Consequently, there took place a high degree of cultural as well as institutional syncretism between the two systems without major breakdowns. From the view-point of modernization, therefore, the Islamic contact was more tradition-reinforcing than otherwise.

The Islamic tradition in India **came from a heterogenetic source**; its establishment by conquest introduced a complex emotional variable right from the beginning which has continued through time. Value-themes of Islam were holistic but the **principle of hierarchy or caste was not accepted in theory**; the **idea of continuity was also less pronounced as Islam**, like all religions of Semitic origin, was based on the conception of historical time; its value-theme on transcendence too was rooted in the principle of absolute monotheism.

These contrasts of history and value-themes could not, however, render Islam as a systematic exogenous source for radical transformation in the Indian tradition. Despite the apparent dissimilarities, the contact between the Great traditions of Hinduism and Islam was only a contact between two traditional systems.

Large-scale conversions to Islam during the Muslim rule in India might be said to have offered a structural outlet for the deprived Hindu castes for social, economic and cultural mobility. But the extent to which the converts succeeded in it was always limited.

Ashrafs (the four immigrant Muslim groups) generally maintained their social distance from these converts in matters of marriage and kinship ties; they never recognized them as their equals. The caste hierarchy continued within the convert Muslims and in most cases traditional occupations and caste rituals were also maintained.

Yet, it is reasonable to believe that there must have been some advantages; being a Muslim in a political set-up where Muslim kings and chiefs were the rulers did offer security and other peripheral benefits to these groups.

These facts, however, do not support the view that conversion to Islam was motivated by cultural rigidity of the caste system and its dysfunctions. Both caste and cultural deprivations did largely survive among the converts within the Islamic social structure. ***A stronger motivation behind conversion, therefore, might have been that of the felt structural deprivations (in terms of new economic opportunities, security and power) rather than cultural deprivation of the caste system.***

The spirit behind conversion may not have been merely that of escape but also of innovation. However, the groups which took readily to the Islamic faith were from the lower castes for which psychological appeal of belonging to the ruling community must have been stronger apart from the material benefits they must have anticipated.

The ***main structural deprivations here were those of power and social status, which Dumont rightly characterizes as an equation between 'power and religion'***. In all traditional societies where the system of social stratification is closed and there are no legitimate structural means to climb up in social hierarchy, ***the change of faith, or of customs and rituals might offer a relatively secure means of gambling for higher status.***

Both Hinduism and Islam in India have maintained these little traditions. Plurality of the little traditions was preserved through caste structure and its local cultural expressions especially among the castes of lower and intermediate ranks. These castes, both Hindu and Muslim, formed their own plural traditions and micro-structures.

**Little and great tradition:** (SC Dubey contradicted this theory as used by Milton Singer by calling it euro-centric- Milton had proposed primary civilization where elite culture is derived from mass culture and secondary civilization where elite culture is different from mass culture. Over a period of time all converted to modern. Eg Europe)

Kinship and social ties of castes hardly ever extend beyond the radius of two hundred miles in any part of India; the diversity of languages and communication barriers traditionally delimited the scope of caste interaction. Thus, plural traditions of these castes formed the little traditions in India.

Two important processes of change which have traditionally been active in the little traditions are those of Sanskritization and Islamization. Sanskritization refers to the processes of change from within the Hindu tradition whereas Islamization has been in response to the contact with an external tradition.

Both these processes reflect a tendency among the strongly deprived groups to adapt or change their local traditions in conformity with the normative elements of a Great tradition, whether orthogenetic or hetero- genetic in origin. There is considerable literature on Sanskritization which has grown since the pioneering studies conducted by M.N. Srinivas.

Similar empirical studies on the process of Islamization are, however, lamentably scarce, although both Sanskritization and Islamization are at one point homologous processes. This homology arises from the similarity of structural contexts in which the motivation for these changes comes in-to being.



***Islamization: An Encounter between Two Traditional Systems:***

For social change Islamic influence on India was limited & not conducive to modernization. However, its diffusion gave birth to emergence of new great and little traditions, although it is not clear to what extent Islam led to innovations in micro & macro-social structures of Indian society.

Its impact on family, caste and village community was insignificant, and in macro-structures too it did not set out any basically new forms. Islamic polity and judicial administration were essentially feudal and patrimonial; the legal principles and norms were also hierarchical and did not fully recognize the principles of equality and equity in political and civil rights. This explains why Islamic impact unlike that of the West failed to contribute to modernization.

The cultural changes which the impact of Islam initiated emerged from the growth of Islamic Great tradition on Indian soil. Since Islam established itself in India by conquest some element of force in the spread of this tradition cannot be ruled out, but a important reason for its growth was structural factors which in early Hindu tradition motivated castes towards Sanskritization.

It is revealing that both Sanskritization and conversion to Islam or Islamization had been most popular among the lower castes of India. The structural pre-requisites for Islamization too were the re-definition of self-image, frustration from closure of existing system of stratification & anticipation that conversion would improve social chances; same factors were active also in Sanskritization.

Important difference, however, was in the reaction of the Hindus to such changes which presumably was of definite hostility and isolation. Islamization at every stage might have meant an active and hostile reaction from the original membership group towards the converts and their complete exclusion from its membership. This was not the case in Sanskritization.

Hence, Islamization also led to some structural changes through continual differentiation and segmentation of new castes who got converted to Islam. As the sub-culture of these Muslim castes even to this day suggests, they did not renounce many of their former rituals and practices.

This led to formation of little traditions of Islam. With formation of little traditions of Islam, Islamization further developed structural similarities with Sanskritization.

The lower caste converts began to strive for the status of Ashrafs (the Muslim upper castes or groups) and a caste of pseudo-Ashrafs emerged. As in Sanskritization, here too the claim for higher status is not recognized by the upper Muslim castes.

With the establishment of the British power gradually the relations between Hindu and Muslim groups and traditions began to be politicized. This was sparked off by many factors, such as the emergence of Hindu revivalist movements (e.g. the AryaSamaj professed to reconvert Muslims to Hindu faith). The result of this politicization was finally the division of India, adding a new dimension to the minority status of the Indian Muslims.

There has now emerged a new awakening among the Muslims to level off the differences of their little traditions and of caste 'sub-cultures' of the past by encouraging purist conformity with the Great tradition of Islam. Tabligh movement, for instance, is directly oriented to this goal. Muslim communalism has also become active and forceful in some parts of northern India and Kerala. The



*process of vertical mobility to new caste status by Islamization is now being replaced by emphasis upon horizontal solidarity of the entire Muslim community.*

Thus, we see how *Islamization as a cultural process has completed a full cycle in India.* It began as a process of external impact and conversion of low caste Hindus to Muslim Great tradition, then it emerged as a process of status mobility within the Islamic social structure very much like Sanskrit-ization, and finally it regained its earlier orthodoxy; sub-cultural frills which ate outside the tradition of Islam are purposely renounced with the view that Muslims must consolidate themselves into an organic whole irrespective of divergent Little traditions (of language, caste & sub-caste etc)

This turn in the process of Islamization corresponds with the *new movement among the lower Hindu castes to form caste associations and establish horizontal solidarity* instead of seeking status mobility within the caste system through Sanskritization.

The causal background for both seems to be structurally identical. It emanates from the realization that in a *democratic society power and status mobility would more easily be gained by consolidation of one's rank and formation of effective power* and protest groups rather than by imitating a traditionally defined higher status which is difficult to get.

It may well be that latent reasons for *such changes both in the Hindu and Islamic cultural tradition are disguised protest movements against the established system of stratification and power.*

Attempt is not only towards *forming horizontal communal solidarities* but also to *give them organizational shape of modern corporate groups, based on rational norms, allocation of duties and obligations and rational means of communication and propaganda.* This aspect of the movements which may apparently seem to be traditionalizing is highly relevant to our analysis of modernization.

- Islamic cultural tradition in India, in size and significance second only to that of Hinduism,
- poses unique problems to the process of cultural modernization.
- Modernization implies a policy of cultural liberalism and pragmatism.
- These values are generated within a particular type of cultural and social framework.
- However, the dominant elites in Islam—the ulema— constitute a conservative force which does not have an equivalent in the Hindu tradition.
- The development of powerful political elites and middle classes in countries like Pakistan, Indonesia and some Arab nations which could override the influence of the religious elites has contributed to the process of cultural modernization. The case of Turkey is one where the religious elite were almost overthrown by the political
- Modernization in the Muslim countries of the Middle East, as reported by *Lerner*, is coming through the rise of urbanization, leading to literacy, to greater access to media.
- The fact that the Muslim community is now showing trends of high political mobilization and identity formation, may *ultimately be a forerunner to the development of socio-cultural forces and leadership sympathetic to modernization.*
- A source of greater resistance to modernization lies in the immutability of Islamic social codes. However, even social codes, as analyzed by scholars, have not been rigid for all times.

Clifford Geertz writes:

The **fact that renovation of 'Islam' as a religious system tends to find its centre of gravity in educational reform**, rather than **reorganization of ecclesiastical hierarchy** or re-orientation of theological speculation has some important implications for whole process of 'modernization in Islamic society', not only in Indonesia.

Traditionally, education was imparted to Muslims through madarsas. These madarsas had neither modern methods of teaching nor of learning and did not emphasize the teaching of modern secular subjects like science and humanities. The **situation, however, changed with the arrival of the British**. In **1875, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College**, which later became AMU, was established; in 1919, **Osmania University** was established at Hyderabad, and then Jamila Milia of Delhi where medium of instruction was Urdu.

At present although many traditional Muslim institutions of education continue to impart instruction on traditional lines, the trend is towards the modern education. Even the old institutions have tended slightly in the direction of modernization. **Modern influence affects even the Dar-ul-Islam at Deoband**, a theological college in Uttar Pradesh, which is one of the homes of extreme orthodoxy. The Calcutta Madarsa, which is controlled by the Government, has a modern site, and the Delhi Arabic College has to submit to the standards of the Delhi University.

**An interesting feature of modernization of Islam in India is that the pull towards this cultural system is never without an agonizing consciousness of deviation from the traditional path.** New sources of legitimating of modernizing adaptations by Muslims have not yet been fully institutionalized.

This lack of confidence is the major bottleneck in the growth of new principles of legitimating which are necessary for modernization. Logically, the Hindu community can help remove this suspicion and strengthen the forces of modernization in Islam.

Until then, modernization will continue to be a half-hearted response and will remain eclectic in nature. The reasons are more expedient than real. But then, is this not a universal psychology in modernization of all developing societies? Islam alone is, therefore, not an exception.

### **Theory of Tradition-Modernity Continuum!**

There is yet another theory, which explains the emergence of modernity. This is also a classical theory. According to it, modernity is explained from historical-evolutionary perspective. The author of the theory is a German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies who gave the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.

It is a theory based on the continuum of tradition and modernity. Tradition is Gemeinschaft and modernity is Gesellschaft. For Tönnies, the meaning of Gemeinschaft is community and for Gesellschaft it is society. European modernization is explained by Tönnies through these two concepts.

Tönnies's theory is that European society has passed from tradition to modernity, that is, Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft through a rationalizing process involving a move from relationships based upon family and kin to those based on rationality and calculation. Gemeinschaft was the

world of close, emotional, face-to-face ties, attachment to place, ascribed social status, and a homogeneous and regulated community. It is basically a traditional society.

Gesellschaft is liked with a society, which is characterized, by urbanism, industrial life, mobility, heterogeneity and impersonality. This is precisely a modern society. Tonnies' continuum – from tradition to modernity – resembles Durkheim's theory of solidarity. Durkheim explained modernity in terms of mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.

Both for Tonnies and Durkheim, rationalization of society is the key determinant of modernization. At a later stage Parsons developed his pattern variable on the model of Tonnies. Parsons distinguished tradition and modernity on the value orientations in pattern variable. Thus, he said that there is distinction between particularism and universalism, ascription and achievement.

Tonnies' theory of tradition-modern continuum needs to be explained in a proper perspective. He says that no traditional or modern society is exclusively traditional or modern. There are elements of modernity in traditional society and vice versa. What is important is that traditional society in the process of rationalization becomes modern society.

#### **Modernisation of Indian tradition- summary**

European modernity- ideal for the world-renaissance-art of questioning and enquiry-secularism in Europe.;Education- secular- liberated from church domination.; Value transformation- political sovereignty- equality-fraternity-democracy

**Nehru**-glorified Indian modernity- rural urban divide in indian modernity; India-selective modernity- Europe-absolute modernity

**Gandhiji**- not a symbol of modernity- varna system but not based on birth- believed in hinduism but believed in equality.

**Peter Berger**- modernity-cancer-throws people out of country-alien in other places- confusion among masses-social hopelessness among the new generations.

**Anthony Giddens**- modernity has glorified bourgeois capitalist interest.

British era modernity- **Bengal intellectual capital- Delhi political capital-Bombay economic capital.**

Tradition and modernity in dialectical relationship- can modernity effect is same across traditions- can modernity and tradition share same set of attributes. Modernity is not endogamous to India-a European concept.

#### **Modernity in Europe**

Celebration phase-questioning phase-rejection phase

Simon,Comte,Spencer,Marx,Weber,Parson- celebrated modernity for diff reasons.

**Immanuel Kant**- modernity spirit of human reason-away from dogmas,superstitions,myths.

Comte and Spenser- modernity-industrialisation-emotions,ritualism and orthodoxy are replaced by law,rationality,growth,technological development and rise of inclusive society.

**Modernity-cant be said as good or bad- modernity gives rise to industrialisation**-controlled by capitalist class-alienation of working class- state should take control of it for equity and happiness of the masses.

Weber-modernity-rise of rational legal authorit.

Parson and Durkheim- modernity-technocratic division of labour-social integration-chances of mobility.

After first WW- modernity was questioned- armed race.

**Peter Worsley and Anthony Giddens**- modernity double edged weapons- economic development vs homelessness, disillusionment and dependency- in recent times rebellion against modernity -----

### **Modernity and tradition in India**

British justified colonial rule saying- they can liberate people from uncivilised society to advancement and morality- Hence early reform leaders accepted western thoughts to modernise India.

**Yogendra Singh**- BrahmoSamaj- first step towards modernity-AryaSamaj- blend of modernity & tradition.

**Abhijit Pathak**- Indian intelligentsia accepted modernity with scepticism-from **Dayanand Saraswati to Gandhi and Nehru Anglo Sankritik education.**

**Vivekananda and Arobinda Ghosh**- Connectivity between Indian and western values.

**Tilak used ritual festivals** for political unification.

**Gandhi also used religious unity** not political unity.

**MN Srinivas** in his analysis of **westernisation and social change** in India. He considers **modernisation is a value loaded concept because it is generally perceived as anything modern is necessarily good.** He prefers to use **westernisation as against modernisation to understand social change** in India advocating 150 years of British rule has resulted into **technological changes, institutional changes and value transformation** in Indian society. However these **changes are selective, optional than being completely wholesome.** He gave the example of modern technologies like **printing press, telephopnes, newspapers** and other agencies of mass media to imply how they glorified traditional values without compromising their modern desirable roles. Therefore tradition and modernity are mutually coexistent and India and one can't replace outrightly the other. The Indian modernity selective, preferential and partial modernity.

**Yogendra Singh**- highly forceful to dismantle tradition- **book "modernisation of Indian tradition"**- laws like abolition of child marriage act, abolition of Sati, Hindu marriage act, Hindu adoption and maintenance act enormously influenced the status of women in India. Women in traditional Indian society didn't have right over their family, children, property, right to divorce that has now been granted to them. Hence self-assurance to women, respect to their dignity and equality can be considered as impact of modernity in India.

Modernity-technology-industry-agriculture-massive employment opportunity-occupational mobility. But the benefits have not been reached to all sections of society.

Yogendra Singh- **modernity- competitive character among all the stakeholders. Political modernity-** democracy- political parties- constitutional rules- citizenship-acceleration of public participation in democratic process- traditional domination of selective bodies has gone- peasants, factory workers, rural people are demanding mobility and political power. Traditional values are on the verge of extinction- MS Gore and SC Dubey supported Singh's view.

**TN Madan** writes that people who accepted modernity have a closed mind as compared to those who don't go for modernity and have an open mind as they question modernity.

**State and religion-** Indian constitution preamble says secular- But social life influenced by religion- e.g. food also has cultural implications- veg or non veg.

**Hilferding Rudolf- selective modernity- GR as a symbol of modernity-** but beneficiaries of modernity are going for **political domination without forgetting tradition and caste**- Therefore Indian modernity is Indian in character wherein **Andre Beteille tells that "caste old is replaced by caste new"**.

**BR Ambedkar indicated that modernity should be universalistic in character.** Its benefit should not be pocketed by few people therefore reservation is essential for unprotected people for a long period of time. To make modernity influential in India one should be allowed to choose his own caste. He was allergic to Hinduism and Christianity but he too wanted religion **Gandhiji wanted Hinduism and Ambedkar wanted Buddhism. They both wanted tradition and modernity juxtaposition but how, it differed.**

Feminist view on modernity points out that **women are twisted between official and domestic demands**. Sexual harassment and exploitation at place of work, unequal pay for equal work etc.

**(c) Protests and movements during the colonial period-** comes later

#### **(d) Social reforms**

Buddhism and Jainism emerged as protest movements against the Hindu caste system; their growth led to formation of new caste-like seminary groups which later degenerated into castes contributing further to pluralistic tradition.

**Protest-** people's desire to change- may not bring change-gives a sense of satisfaction- not accidental- **driven by ideology** and interest- when driven by ideology, becomes sustainable- offers foundation to social movements.

- **Liberal sociologist-** protest can be **multi dimensional-** political, cultural, economic and social.

- **RamchandraGuha** considers protest is manifested in different forms like Pradarshan, RastaRoko,, Jal Samadhi, Fast unto Death( recent Anna Hazares protest), Gherao etc.
- Sociologist say about **protest- manifestation of People's Power who are dissatisfied with the policies, programmes and symbolic form of cultural domination introduced either by dominant class or by the state.**

### Reformist movements

**Hindu reform programme**-2 aims- hindu unity- to prove that equality and inclusiveness in hindu culture-AryaSamaj movement- Theosophical movement or Suddhi movement- Brahmosamaj movement taken up by Ramakrishna mission.

- **AryaSamaj movement**- Vedas should be considered sacred-unity of faith among all Hindus- abandon caste system, pilgrims visit, untouchability and glorify idea of purity of soul and promote fraternity- eliminate attributes of polytheism, ritualism, Brahminic supremacy, sectarian division.  
Once Varna was greatly **based upon its qualities and capabilities** than on the basis of birth. This movement **fascinated a large body of Shudras** in case of North India to go for **Sanskritisation and challenge Brahminic monopoly**. rise of Jats in North India can be attributed to the impact of AryaSamaj movement. supported by LalaLajpatRai.  
**AryaSamajists accelerated Suddhi movement**- encouraged the converts to revert back into the fold of Hindu community. glorification of Hindu culture-foundation of nationalist movement in India.
- **Theosophical society** driven **by ideology of Max Muller** perceived that Hindu cultural tradition is both **unique and ancient**. glorified the teachings of Bhagwat Gita, Vedas, Upanishads and indicated Hindu theological doctrine are analytical & logical and could offer a solution to all the problems of the world.
- **BrahmoSamaj Movement**- Liberal cultural movement- **more dynamic and inclusive than arya samaj** movement- **emphasised on women empowerment**, liberal education, secular values & challenged caste system ,Brahminic orthodoxy & Hindu religion in totality- ideas from Upanishads .  
**Strong link between BrahmoSamaj and Ramkrishna mission**-as they talk about secular values, unity of God, Universality of truth, fraternity among people belonging to different religious faith. No political agenda like fighting war against British. It emphasised on creation of missionaries and provided a platform for glorification of religious tolerance, missionaries activities. It opened upschools and colleges- salvation only through knowledge.
- **All the three- AryaSamaj-BrahmoSamaj-Ramkrishna Mission- initiated by upper-class, upper caste Indians to bring reforms in Hindu society** preaching that there shouldn't be hierarchical social order and that society can be transformed into egalitarian system.**Critics- all these started by upper caste and class people-no influence on the masses- their ideas were not understood by masses.**



- **Ghanashyam Saha**- distinction between culture and class movement- reform movements wanted changes in the system- peasant movement wanted change of the system.
- **Yogendra Singh**- Reforms movements indications for *quest for modernity*-they were driven by high caste and class people-so *modernity in india primarily enter through upper caste and upper class.*

### Subaltern Reform movements

- **SatyaSodhakSamaj- JyotibaPhule**-MH- glorified the ideology that *indigenous rulers of India belong to Shudra community*- with the *advent of Aryans into North India* and subsequently their conquest over the other parts of the country injected caste systems into traditional egalitarian society- Caste identity, variation in occupations based upon caste divided the Shudras who were historically equal-*The Shudras in their own soil, forgetting their own culture started fighting war with each other-people started evaluating their status with reference to Brahminic ideas*, practices and the concept of PaapPunya - JyotibaPhule wanted all the non-Brahmins of West India to develop a newfound identity of Bahujan and stand unified together against Hindu culture, Brahminic orthodoxy- He gave new identity to all the non-Brahmins of Maharashtra as Marathas- rise of Maratha consciousness as against Brahminic consciousness is manifestation of subaltern cultural protest.
- **Self-Respect movement- E V RamasamyNaicker- Tamil Nadu**- encourage unity among all the non-Brahmins of South India indicating that South Indian culture is ancient, unique and endogenous-*Caste is pathological element introduced into egalitarian sort Indian society*- encourage the *non-Brahmins to go for education-small family names-stay away from spiritual activities-commit oneself to intensive economic activities*-He asked people to glorify their self-identity- rather than to be tempted by Sanskritisation and added reservation in provincial assemblies on the basis of caste.  
With the effect of SRM- *from 1920- people forgetting intercaste differences*- took the state power- under Dravidian movement- During this movement *anti-Brahminic, anti Sanskritic, anti Hindu and anti-North Indian sentiments got momentum.*  
This movement *cannot be considered as secessionist movement because it was a Protest against an alien culture enforced upon the indigenous community.* When GS Ghurye considers this movement as secessionist MS Rao call this movement as reactionary reflexive movement.
- **SNDP Movement- Sri Narayan Dharma Paripalana- Narayan Guru- Kerala**- protest against the Brahmin in Kerala- asking the non Brahmins and non Nair caste to stand unified- parallel schools and temples for lower caste in which *priests and teachers were belonging to lower caste* origin- indicated that Brahminic supremacy is a product of the access to education- If non-Brahmins follow this secular standard then they will be never subdued to Brahmins.
- The subaltern movement offered foundation to Dr Ambedkar to search for justice and equality for the Dalits in India. Ambedkar rejected Manu Smriti- He instituted Jat-Pat-TodakMandal- believed that one cannot get justice and equality staying within the



framework of caste and Hinduism- Hence *he encouraged conversion into the fold of Buddhism*- He believed that historic discrimination associated with them cannot be addressed by social reforms - Hence *he suggested constitutional guarantee for freedom, liberty and equality for the Dalit community in India.*

- **Social reform movements**- first started by upper caste and class groups such as- Aryasamaj movement- BrahmoSamaj movement- Ramakrishna mission. Then started the subaltern movements such as Satyasodhaksamaj, Self respect movement- SNDP movement.

### Peasant movements

- **1857 to 1920**-series of peasant movements- sense of integration cutting across their religious caste and language- Reasons: absentee landlordism- *unauthorised zamindars*- forced eviction of peasants from the land on non-payment of land revenues- land tenure system introduced by British- high interest rates for seasonal peasant loans- no improvements in conditions of agriculture- brutality of police and private army of land lords- no effective measures to protect peasants from natural calamities.
- **Eka movement-Moplah rebellion- Champaran- Kheda Satyagraha**- protest against the exploitative colonial policies.
- **Peasant movement**-foundation of KisanSabha.
- **By 1930s- All India KisanSabha**- all India presence- burning tax records-attacked police- engaged with war against private army of landlords- gives a platform for the coalition for different groups of Indian population- *Resulted coordination between landlords-peasants-intelligentsia-and indian masses- gives platform for Nationalist movement in India.*
- Peasant movement was not restricted in the heartlands- BirsaMunda movement- Santhal rebellion- Koel uprising- got momentum in central part of India.
- **AR Desai** Peasant movement *broke down the linguistic,regional, tribal-caste division* among the people of India injecting into them a common class consciousness. Colonial land revenue policy of capitalist interest affected indian peasants more than proletarian class of Capitalist Britain.Class consciousness in India glorified natinalism.

### Themes of Social Reform in India

1. **Fight for Betterment of Position of Women:** Child marriage, no inheritance, polygamy, sati
2. **Abolition of Sati:** Regulation Act,1929
3. **Female infanticide:**The practice of murdering female infants immediately after birth was common among upper class Bengalis and Rajputs who considered females to be an economic burden.
4. **Widow remarriage:**
  - a. Vishnu ShastriPandit founded the Widow Remarriage Association in the 1850s
  - b. Similar efforts were made by Professor D.K. Karve in western India and by VeerasalingamPantulu in Madras. Karve himself married a widow in 1893.
  - c. due to the efforts of PanditIshwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91), the principal of Sans-krit College, Calcutta that the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856
5. **Child Marriage:**

- a. The relentless efforts of a Parsi reformer, B.M. Malabari, were rewarded by the enactment of the Age of Consent Act (1891) which forbade the marriage of girls below the age of 12.
- b. The Sarda Act (1930) further pushed up the marriage age to 18 and 14 for boys and girls respectively. In free India, the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1978 raised the age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18 years and for boys from 18 to 21.

**6. Education of Women:**

- a. Christian missionaries were the first to set up the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819
- b. Pt. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was associated with no less than 35 girls' schools in Bengal

**7. Legislative Measures in Free India:**

- a. The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
- b. Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956
- c. Factories Act, 1947 provided for establishment of creches where 30 women are employed
- d. Equal Remuneration Act, 1946
- e. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 made the daughter equal co-heir with son

**Social reform institutions:**

1. **The Gujarat Vernacular Society:** established in 1848. The aim of this institute was to decrease the large-scale illiteracy and superstitious beliefs that was a feature of the Gujarati society
2. **The Deccan Education Society:** This society was formed in 1884. The society started girls' schools and encouraged education of women in Maharashtra.
3. **The Ramakrishna Mission:** estb 1897. It set up homes for widows and schools for girls.
4. **The SevaSadan:** SevaSadan was started in 1908, with a view to bringing together enlightened women of different communities who desired to work for the upliftment of backward women.

**Colonial hangover**

Refers to rules and standards of behaviour peculiar only to the old colonial system

- Yogendra Singh (1986) observes that even the debate – whether sociology has universal concepts and techniques or it refers to culturally cognitive styles and structures – could be seen in the context of the hangover of colonialism in independent India today.
- Meghnad Desai: India has a feudal attitude to its ruling class. The idea of a governor general/viceroy at the apex was to reproduce the British monarchy in the colonies. There were governors in each Presidency to reproduce the monarchical illusion. Independent India slavishly adopted this practice as part of its Constitution.
- Lutyens bungalows, red beacons, section 144, mineral rights, RTI displaced official secrecy act
- Take, for example, the Indian obsession with fairness of skin. Far too often have I heard it described as a manifestation of the colonial hangover. It cannot be denied that the powerless, at any point in time, give undue importance to the attributes of people in power

and wish to emulate them. The preference for fair skin, however, probably started with the Aryan-Dravidian conflicts which the former won handily. The far later incursion of the British may only have reinforced the inclination.

- The fact that English is the lingua franca of any pan-Indian operation is another of those things that seems to be the influence of a colonial hangover. To an extent this is true. The colonial period is what truly welded a nation of multiple languages together as a modern nation. Paranjy Guha Thakurta, a political commentator said: He described English as a "colonial hangover".
- Slavish mentality, sycophancy,
- The Indian Police Act of 1861, a colonial relic, needs to be replaced with a law that befits a free country. Behind the rot is the Police Act of 1861 legislated by the British after the Indian Mutiny of 1857 to impose a police force upon their subjects, which could be used solely to consolidate and perpetuate their rule
- Opposite view- England is not laden with such inefficiencies.

### Buddhism and impact on Indian society

- These range from **simple individual acts of charity, teaching and training, organized kinds of service, "Right Livelihood" in and outside the helping professions,** working for a better society. ***Buddhism is a pragmatic teaching which starts from certain fundamental propositions about how we experience the world and how we act in it.***
- Instead, it **uses ethics and meditation philosophy and science, art and poetry to point a Way to this Wisdom.**
- In the East, Buddhism developed **different schools of "traditions," serving the experiences of different cultures, ranging from Sri Lanka through Tibet and Mongolia to Japan.**
- An outstanding example of this, in later times, is the remarkable **"welfare state" created by the Buddhist emperor, Asoka (B.C. 274-236).** Buddhism arose in India as a ***spiritual force against social injustices, against degrading superstitious rites, ceremonies and sacrifices;***
- The Buddhist ***scriptures do indicate the general direction of Buddhist social thinking,*** and to that extent they are suggestive for our own times.
- ***Buddhism, is humanism in that it rejoices in the possibility of a true freedom as something inherent in human nature***
- Several causes account for the decline of Buddhism. ***The period between the 400 BCE and 1000 CE saw gains by Hinduism at the expense of Buddhism.*** Some Hindu rulers resorted to **military means in an effort to suppress Buddhism.** However it is seen that the evolution of Hindu ideology influenced by Buddhism was more important factor for the growth of Hinduism.
- Literary evidences point towards an **absorption of Buddhist elements by Hindu culture** over a period of centuries. ***Anti-Buddhist propaganda*** was also reaching its peak during the 8th century when ***Shankaramodeled his monastic order after the Buddhist Sangha.***
- Ambedkar example: **Neo-Buddhist Movement in India:** Buddhism is against the Brahmanic social order. It is against the caste based social inequality. As it emerged as a response against the Brahmanic cult in the ancient India, in contemporary India. Buddhism has been used as the instrument of eradication of ascribed social inequality. Hence the most

significant Buddhist mass revival of the new age was led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in India. He found in Buddhism the message for the uplift of the oppressed in India. He used and interpreted Buddhism as the ideology to bring social equality and justice for the oppressed mass, especially for the Scheduled Castes.

### Jainism and impact on Indian society

- Jainism's impact on Indian society can be seen in a couple of ways. **The first is that Jainism stresses a strong notion of secularism in its relationship between political orders and religion.**
- Jains' profound impact on Indian society is It is an individualistic relationship, one that the individual has with the divine realm. It is highly subjective, one in which the priest does not play an essential role and there is little presence of mediator.
- They share a common belief in the triratna (three jewels): right faith, knowledge & conduct
- Stupas were among the first monuments to be erected by the Jain community. Soon the Buddhists alone continued this tradition, so that in effect, the Jains have two main types of architectural masterpieces: rock-cut and structural temples. It is probably in western India that the Jain temples are the most numerous and impressive
- Their culture is both original and influenced by the Brahmanic society surrounding them. Conversely, their presence has probably encouraged certain tendencies of Hinduism, perhaps most outstanding of which are high value set on ***asceticism and the faith in ahimsa***

## TOPIC 03- Rural and Agrarian Social Structure

### Idea of Indian Village and village studies

#### Introduction:

- Village occupies an important place in the social & cultural landscape of contemporary India.
- Apart from it being an important **demographic** and **structural reality** characterising contemporary India, village has also been an important **ideological category**
- As Andre Beteille writes, 'The village was not merely a place where people lived; it had a ***design in which were reflected the basic values of Indian civilisation***'

#### Historical Background & context

- **Metcalfe**, in his celebrated remark stated that 'the Indian village communities were ***little republics***, having nearly everything they wanted within themselves, and almost independent of foreign relations. They seemed to last where nothing else lasted. Dynasty after dynasty tumbled down; revolution succeeded revolution but the village community remained the same.'
- The stereotypical image of the Indian village as a self-sufficient community was challenged by many
  - **Beteille**, for example, argued 'at least as far back in time as living memory went, there was no reason to believe that the village (he studied) was fully self-sufficient in the economic sphere
  - Similarly **Srinivas** too contested the colonial notion of the Indian village being a completely self-sufficient republic. The village, he argued, '***was always a part of a wider entity.***
- India, it was the 'unity' of the village that was underlined by most anthropologists. While villages had horizontalities, it was the vertical ties within the village that governed much of the life of an average person in the village.
- **Srinivas** argued that individuals in his village had a sense of identification with their village and an insult to one's village had to be avenged like an insult to oneself, one's wife, or one's family.
- **Dube**: The village settlement, as a unit of social organisation, represented a kind of solidarity which was different from that of the kin, the caste, and the class.
- **Jajmani system**: Reciprocity implied, explicitly or implicitly, an exchange of equal services and non-exploitative relations
- **F.G. Bailey**, for example provided a radical critique of the 'unity-reciprocity' thesis: those who find the caste system to their taste have exaggerated the harmony with which the system works
- **Gandhi** was careful enough not to glorify the decaying village of British India, he nevertheless celebrated the so-called simplicity and authenticity of village life, an image largely derived from colonial representations of the Indian village.

## Social Structure of the Village: Caste, Class and Gender

**i) The Caste System:** The legitimate occupations - by people - major categories (varnas) - defined by tradition. Some believed caste to be fixed while others mobile. **Dube** identified 6 factors - status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet: religion and caste; landownership; wealth; position in government service and village organisation; age; and distinctive personality traits. Position was negotiated b/w these elements

**ii) Land and Class:** There was a certain amount of overlap between the twin hierarchies of caste and land. Harijans contributed a substantial number of landless labourers.

**iii) Gender Differences:** **Srinivas**- The social world of the woman was synonymous with the household and kinship group while the men inhabited a more heterogeneous world'. **Dube**- 'It was considered a mark of respectability in women if they walked with their eyes downcast'. The rules of patriarchy were clearly laid out. **After caste, gender was the most important factor** that governed the division of labour in the village

### Different views

Sociologist like **Dipankar Gupta** says that — “The **village is shrinking as a sociological reality**, though it still exists as space. Nowhere else does one find the level of hopeless disenchantment as one does in the rural regions of India. In urban slums there is squalour, there is filth and crime, but there is hope and the excitement that tomorrow might be quite different from today. Rarely would a villager today **want to be a farmer if given an opportunity elsewhere**. Indeed, there are few rural institutions that have not been mauled severely from within. The **joint family is disappearing**, the rural caste hierarchy is losing its tenacity, and the much romanticised harmony of village life is now exposed for the sham it perhaps always was.

B.R. Ambedkar's analysis of the Indian village that strikes the truest of all. It was Ambedkar who said that the village was a cesspool of **degradation, corruption and worse**.

### Village studies:

#### Economic Integration in Modern Times:

- The first full length study of an Indian Village by **S.C. Dube** -increasing economic ties of **Shamirpet village with the city of Hyderabad**, even for groups like the washerman.
- **Mckimmarriot** (1955) gives a graphic description of interaction between the people of different villages around **KishanGarhi in Aligarh district** of UP. He writes “Brahman priests, Barbers, Potters, Carpenters, Washermen and Sweepers who live in KishanGarhi go out to serve hereditary patrons in some fifteen other villages and derive about 1/2 of their income from these outside patrons
- In the case of **Rampura in Karnataka, studied by M.N. Srinivas**, WW-II brought increased cash for dominant landowning Okkaliga caste - wartime rationing & shortages,-encouraged black marketing.



- In the case of **Yadavpur**, a village situated on the **fringe of Delhi, studied by M.S.A. Rao**, the growth of the metropolitan city of Delhi created diversified opportunities of market gardening, dairy and poultry farming, trade and transport and urban employment.
- **M.S.A. Rao** identified three types of **urban impact** on the villages in India.
  - sizable number of people have taken employment in Indian cities & even overseas towns
  - villages, which are situated near industrial town. - lands totally or partially acquired. - influx of immigrant workers, - stimulates demand for houses & a market inside village.
  - impact on the village is the growth of metropolitan cities. As the city expands it sucks in the villages lying on the outskirts. Many villages lose their land, - used for urban development

### The village and the wider caste and kinship system

The village consists of a vertical interdependence of castes, i.e., relationships among different castes. It is reflected in the jajmani system. But these vertical ties are cut across by the horizontal ties of caste and kinship, i.e., the relationships within the caste, which extend beyond the village to other villages and even towns. **Ethnographic Examples:**

- **Oscar Lewis**, - study of a north Indian village - **Rani Khera**, - basically a part of a larger inter-village network based upon kinship ties. Other villagers - often relatives, and entire villages - classified by the kinship terminology - mother's brother's village, grandfather's village, grandmother's village
- Similarly in the case of a U.P. village **Kishan Garhi**, **Mckim Marriott** observed that there were forty six local lineage groups in Kishan Garhi, each wholly separate from every other in descent. There was **no marriage inside the village** within or among any of these groups.
- **Little & Great tradition: Mckim Marriott**, taking the concepts of '**great tradition**' and '**little tradition**' from **Robert Redfield** points out that certain elements of ritual and belief are contributions from village life which spread upward to the formation of India's great Sanskrit tradition. Marriott has given the terms **universalization and parochialisation** respectively to refer to the two aspects of this **double process of interaction between the little and great traditions**
  - **Universalisation:** Marriott mentions the festival of Raksha Bandhan as an example of upward universalization. This festival coincides and blends in Kishan Garhi with the festival known regionally as Saluno, a festival which marks the end of that annual fortnight during which most young wives return for a visit to their parents and siblings. On the same day along with the ceremony of Saluno, the ceremony of Charm Tying (Rakhi Bandhan) is also held. The Brahman domestic priests of Kishan Garhi goes to each patron and ties a polychrome thread with tassels upon his wrist
  - **Parochialisation:** Parochialisation or the downward spread of elements from the 'great tradition' to the 'little tradition' and the transformation or modification it undergoes can be seen in the festival of Cow Nourisher Worship as it is celebrated in Kishan Garhi. The story concerns Krishna's adventures with his cowherd companions at a hill named Gobardhan. In Kishan Garhi the celebration of this festival has taken



on some homely details which have no mention in the Sanskrit myth. meaning of 'Cow Nourisher' (Go + vardhana) they explain it as Gobar + dhan or 'Cow-dung Wealth'. Hence the women and children of each house hold construct a small 'hill' made of cowdung with straw and cotton on top to represent 'trees'

1. **Village in pre-British India:** The relation between the king and his subjects was a complex one. The king performed several duties towards his subjects. He built roads, tanks and canals for irrigation. He also built temples and gave gifts of land to pious and learned Brahmins. Villages were certainly concerned about who sat on the throne. They would prefer a king who would protect them from thugs and marauding troops. Thus the relation between the village and the ruler was a complex one and it is wrong to describe the village in pre-British India as a 'little republic'. It must however be pointed out that due to the absence of roads and poor communication, the village did enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy as well as discretion from the higher levels of the political system.
2. **The Village in British India:** The British established a system of law courts. Major disputes and criminal offences had to be settled in court. This greatly reduced the power of the village panchayat
3. **The Village in Contemporary India:** democratisation, schemes etc.

#### Field study:

- An anthropologist typically selected a single "middle" sized village where he/she carried-out an intensive fieldwork, generally by staying with the "community" for a fairly long period of time, ranging from one to two years, and at the end of the stay he/she was supposed to come out with a "holistic" account of the social and cultural life of the village people.
  - The most important feature that qualified these studies to be called was the fieldwork component and the use of "**participant observation**". Anthropologists criticised economists and official planners view because they tended 'to treat people like **dough in their hands.**
- Qualitative study**
- However, despite this 'self-image' of a scientist and a **repeated emphasis on "value-neutrality"** towards the subjects being studied, a close reading of what these **students of Indian village have written about their experiences of fieldwork** provides a completely different picture:
    - **Betelle**, was "permitted" to live in a Brahmin house in the agraharam (the Brahmin locality), 'a privilege', he was told, 'never extended to an outsider and a non-Brahmin before.
    - Underlining the role gender played in "fieldwork", **Leela Dube**, -, "I was a Brahmin and a woman, and this the village people could never forget"
    - **Srinivas**: The older villagers gave him the role of a Brahmin and a landowner. By so doing they were able to make him behave towards them in certain predictable ways
  - Conclusion: The studies of Indian villages carried-out by social anthropologists during the 1950s and 1960s were undoubtedly an important landmark in the history of Indian social sciences. However, village studies were also constrained by a number of factors but still useful insights.

**Other notes:**

- Village India - from Caste, kinship, demographical, Division of labour, modes of Prod'n perspectives
- Marxian approach to village study → no technology, no industry, no class exploitation, no surplus, son following father's occupation → never have class consciousness. Thanks to British- took lands- consolidated- surplus- stagnating to market economy- now liberation possible.
- MN Srinivas- villages not self sufficient as envisaged by colonialist and nationalists → village exogamy, land village distance, jajmani system, specialized markets (cattle, vegetable, cloth), cultural connectivity (dharmyatra, festivals), not politically autonomous- gram sabha (village) & jatisabha (across territorial boundaries of village)
- **Village studies tradition in india**
  - Credit to Srinivas. Influenced by Radcliffe Brown (Book- Andamans in India) and Ghurye teacher WH Rivers had studied Todas of nilgiri hills.
  - Srinivas wrote remembered village- from his memoirs of Rampura Village. Others who followed suit → McKim Marriott- Village India, SC Dubey- Indian Villages, RS Chauhan- Rural profiles; BN Mishra- My village my life; Andre beteille- Encounter and experience.
  - **Criticism- Yogendra Singh** believes village studies to microscopic to understand larger macro issues that India experienced. Two changes-orthogenetic and heterogenetic. Debate still on. **Louis Dumont** also believes, deep structure needs to be studied instead of different descriptions of relations driven by same ideologies. **Feminists** like Uma Chakravarty and Tulsi Patel highlight the gender angle which was amiss in Indian village studies till recent times.
    - **Uma Chakravarty**- Book- **Gender in Caste** → Brahmin woman- cultural exploitation (fast, last to sleep first to wake, malnourished, family centred) & Dalit woman (relatively equalitarian in economic sphere but fruits of labour grabbed plus physical exploitation). Go for gender studies
    - **Tulsi Patel**- Studies villages in Rajasthan. A woman is mother in law at age of 36. Believes son will stand as buffer to neutralize physical abuse of husband.
  - **Politics and village study:**
    - **Anand Chakravarty**- **study of DEVISAR village** , speaks of political change in village from traditional domination to mix of traditional, LR & charismatic domination → not shifted from traditional to modernity as in west
    - **Rudolph and Rudolph**- 20 villages of UP → voting behaviour not just on caste lines but also family, kinship, personal contact, quality of l'ship.
    - **FG Bailey**- study PRIs and how behaviour of Panchayats caste & gender driven
  - **Development and village study**
    - **BS Baviskar**- study of cooperatives of maharashtra
    - **Shanti George**- book '**operation flood**'
    - **Susan Wadley**- study of cooperatives in LizzatPapad
  - Village becoming centre of studies- Bank sathi programme, SHGs, ASHA workers, MGNREGA, PMGSY etc all centred in village.

## Agrarian social structure - evolution of land tenure system, land reforms

**Scarlett Epstein**- impact of irrigation project & green revolution 2 south indian villages- relation between landholdings and caste.

**Kathleen Gaugh- Kumbapetta village**- Agrarian modernity has consolidated class division big bourgeois, rich farmers, petty bourgeois, semi proletariat, pure proletariat.

**Daniel Thorner**- green revolution and land reforms did not help the poor- linkage between caste and class in agrarian India- capitalist agriculture- Malik(upper caste), Kisan(middle caste), mazdoor(lower caste).

Colonial Land tenure system- Zamindari-Ryotwari-Mahalwari- exploitation by British- ignorance among people aggravated the situation-poverty. Forceful cash crop cultivation-Economic interest by British- destruction of artisan industry- surplus labour for agriculture- British exploited.-->Moplah rebellion-Kheda Satyagraha- Champaransatyagraha- Bardoli movement- Kisansabha movement.

### Impact of tenure system :

Gandhian- relation between land lords and peasants- they should come together and give extra lands to the land less peasant.-->Nationalist- State should take the responsibility to improve agriculture via cheap loans, credit, education etc.-->Marxian-State should not take steps in reforming the land. Peasants should self mobilise themselves and carry arms and they should go for naxalite movement. WB and Kerala land reforms was successful due to communist govt.

### Implication of land reforms of system:

After 20 years of implementation of land reforms- no change in landholdings of the upper class- strong link between caste and class- development of capitalist agriculture.-->Benami transfers supported by state administration- caste and class strong nexus- primary source inequality.

**GS Bhalla and GK Chadha**- study on impact of green revolution in 20 villages of Punjab- both LR or GR have not helped land less and poor farmers- the benefits of GR and LR pocketed by rich farmers who have control over seed cooperatives, credit cooperatives and irrigation cooperatives. Inequalities mass movements- maoist movements and naxal movements- rural development programmes should be reoriented to address the issues of poor.

**Social Consequences of LR:** Bhojias of Bihar ,Jats of Haryana and Punjab- emerged as dominant class- more inequality and more polarisation.

### Sir notes:

Rural economy grounded on land → can be understood in two phases pre-british and post british

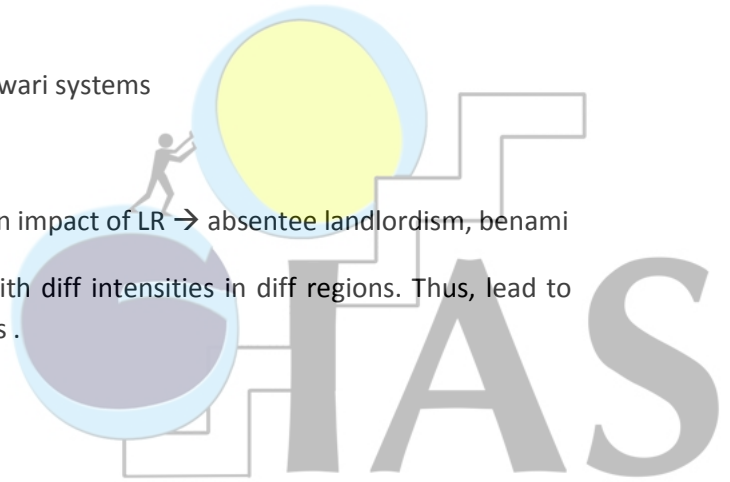
1. Pre British-(a) dual ownership of King as well as village (b) land grants were given for religious purposes (c) also nishkar lands or tax free lands given to royals. (d) Tax collectors in form of taluqdars, Majumdars, Zamindars existed who had no ownership rights (e) under muslim also lakhiraj system (donating land for religious purposes) and waqf land donations continued.

2. British Phase- (a) Zamindari (b) Ryotwari (c) Mahalwari systems

**Do land reforms from GS-3**

**Daniel Thorner Book – Agrarian prospects in India** on impact of LR → absentee landlordism, benami

**Dandekar-** LR lead to no socialism- implemented with diff intensities in diff regions. Thus, lead to semi-feudal, feudal, semi capitalist, capitalist growths .



## TOPIC 04- Caste System:

Perspectives on the study of caste system- GS Ghurye, MN Srinivas, Louis Dumont, Andre Beteille

### 1. GS ghurye

- Indologist, Nationalist, Diffusionist, Historicist.
- Studies caste from different sources- observes caste → undergoing transformation from one time to other because of internal compulsions and external influences.
- Looks at understanding of caste by outsiders and looks at their limitations to explain caste through historical and cultural approach.
- Colonial studies → westerners interested in caste because: pervasive, all inclusive (food, dress, symbols etc) & glaring contrasting differences in social organisation of India.
- Diff colonial studies:
  - **Sir Herbert Risley:** gave race theory of caste through his study of castes in Bengal → Aryans came from outside Caucasoid race and indigenous people- Australoids → inter mixing → Ghurye calls it conjectural
  - **JH Hutton-**Hutton had described the caste structure in his book Caste in India. Hutton held that the central feature of the caste system was endogamy. Around this fact are built up the various restrictions and taboos. Interaction must not violate these restrictions placed on the various castes. Another important feature of the caste system as seen by Hutton was the taboo on taking cooked food from any caste but one's own. Such restrictions raise questions in themselves:
    - i) Who cooks the food'?
    - ii) What type of pot was the food cooked in'?
    - iii) Is the food "kaccha" uncooked or (cooked in water) or "pakka" (fried oil). The latter is acceptable from other castes as well.
    - iv) There is a hierarchy of food and vegetarian food is ranked higher than non-vegetarian food. Brahmins are usually vegetarian but not everywhere in Bengal and Kashmir Brahmins eat non-vegetarian food as well.
  - **Nesfield** → **occupation theory of caste** → rejected- occupation may be caste construct but not basis of division
  - **Hocart Ritual theory** → shudras- rituals glorify land, carpenter-tools, vaishyas-lakshmi, Brahmins-peace → rejected- today no rituals, still caste+ Lakshmi by all
  - **Commensality theory** → **M. Senart** → based on kinship → eating together → imp- carries some weight- problem- region specific and not everywhere
- **GHURYE- structural features of caste:**
  - **Segmental division of society:**
    - India- society of societies
    - Eg: British period- inside camp- class; outside camp- caste
    - very powerful institution all pervasive & punishments for not following
    - binds people at one level but contributes to segmentation of people
  - **Hierarchy**
    - Refers to John Frayer- visited India 1670- so not biased - perpetuating rule
    - Vertically arranged. But not fixed → caste origin maybe different from caste destination- competitive hierarchy- but hierarchy nonetheless
  - **Restrictions on commensality**

- Parameters for accepting food fixed
- Differentiate between kaccha food (prepared using water alone) and pacca food (using ghee/oil)- ghee and oil further follow different rules.
- Rules on preparation of food, kitchen to be used, who the cook will be etc
- Strong correspondence between food and caste hierarchy
- Lower caste→highest number of food items from highest no. of caste groups; highest caste→ lowest no. of food items from lowest no. of castes
- regional variations present but restrictions nonetheless. Sometimes sanskritized groups don't acknowledge born caste groups & restrict food. Eg. Lingayat Brahmins of K'taka don't take food from born brahmins
- today food rules maynot be relevant but imp source of commensality
- This point is also present McKimMariott's interactional theory of caste
- caste system product of inter-relation b/w and within castes
- **Civil & religious privileges and disabilities**
  - people with diff castes- differential rights- distance pollution, shadow polln
  - rajputs of rajasthan→ thorny bush for untouchables
  - Gujarat→ pot around neck to spit in it
  - S. India→untouchables o/s vill. in place called CHERRIE→ groom cannot ride horse- house without windows, only mud structures- no dhoti below knee- women to remain topless, no jewellery
  - UntouchabilityVs Dalit- Untouchable given identity; dalit- constructed identity, proud concept. India's come from untouchable to dalit identity
  - Punjab relatively less visibility- because intermixing with islam max→ but present nonetheless→ beat drums announcing entry
- **Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation**
  - determined by birth and controlled by caste panchayats
  - mobility allowed→eg only Brahmin village shashan→ had to agri too
  - but not totally unrestricted→ other Brahmins till the land- shudras trade etc
  - Ghurye mentions from census data 1911 that in Bengal there were 8 diff castes who were potters, 12 – agriculturalists and 6 fishermen
  - Andre Beteille – caste old vs new→ Brahmins of pasts are university profs today and Kshatriyas of past are armymen- rajputana regiment.
- **Endogamy**
  - Baniyas of Gujarat→shrimolis-porwals-modh {vis - das(surat& Bombay)}
  - Das of Surat earlier marrying within own group, then vis too. but still wider category under modhs and baniyas only.
  - Hypergamy (anuloma) and hypogamy (pratiloma) rules

## 2. MN srinivas

Questioned to indological approach—he's open to historical approach though- thus gives emprirical approach- 3 parts of his study (1) diff b/w varna and caste (2) distinction b/w ritual nd secular hierarchy of caste- sanskritization & dominant caste (3) contemporary relevance of caste

- **Varna Vs Caste**

- (1) caste is implicit in varna (2) caste is diff from varna (3) reg engaged in conflict



- (1) **Varna is textual but caste is contextual**- caste is all inclusive → rigveda- arya and dasyusvarnas. Purushukta (90<sup>th</sup> hymn of 10<sup>th</sup> book) of rigveda- Brahmin, Kshatriya, vis, shudra → no mention of UTbles; before Aryans hierarchy absent; religion gave justification to social inequality; taittiriya samhita of yajurveda → shudras from foot- so like feet meant to serve all higher castes.
  - (2) caste view diff from varna view → caste much more complex- mobile. Egvarna view considers shudras to be one community → but within shudras difference → Kshatriyas not homogenized groups- even santhals demanded kshatriya status → varna says Brahmins at top but within Brahmins- lingayat Brahmins- not Brahmins by birth? no food from born Brahmins.
  - **Why varna still present?**- (i) offers mobility- easier to enter a varna than a caste (ii) to facilitate inter-regional communication.
  - **Summary**- Book view diff from field view → competitive character of castes-
- **Distinction between religious and secular hierarchy**
    - Ritual → birth, food, language, rituals
    - Secular → landholding, education, occupation, access to power
    - Secular hierarchy creates aspiration for religious hierarchy
    - studied Rampura Village, Tamil Nadu → peasant caste like vokkaligas and lingayats dominant in secular structure.
    - **Oscar Lewis**- study of Rampur village , UP → rajputs and jats dominate in secular sphere and look down upon Brahmins.
    - **Thus, India needs to be studied from competitive hierarchy than fixed hierarchy**
  - **Caste and politics: Dominant caste**
    - brought political sociology as a distinct branch of Indian sociology
    - British introduced reservation
    - Periyar- anti-brahmanic movement- OBC caste cluster → TN reservation → sought 69% reservation
    - Karnataka- HAVANUR BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION → reported all minus Brahmins backwards
    - Ideology and interest bringing them together
    - Eg Jats went for Sanskritization earlier for mobilization (through Arya Samajists) and now for secularization for political advantages → Jat Mahasabha → INLD
    - **Thus, 3 features of dominant caste-** (i) **numerical strength**- caste constellation coming together for political benefit eg Odisha non-brahmins of many castes coming together under umbrella of KHANDAYATS to muster power (ii) **secular ideology** (iii) **economically prosperous** (concept of OBC defeated as agriculture and small business hard to determine) (iv) **aspire for power** (v) **education**
    - **Srinivas contradicts Weiner and Myrdal who had believed that constitution, caste free employment, rural devpgms , process of democratisation all will lead to decline in caste in India.** More India becoming modern, more castes homogenizing.
    - **TK Oomen** counters → (i) power reservoirs (ii) power exercisers → only latter benefit → dynasty politics etc

- **YOGESH ATAL** counters → meaning of dominant caste diff from one area to other → concept of dominant families in villages → varnization of caste at higher level and castization of caste at lower levels. Thus caste becomes stronger.
- **RAJNI KOTHARI**- caste needs politics as much as politics needs caste.
- **May it be politics, right over land, government employment or even psychic pride- signature of caste present everywhere**
- **'20<sup>th</sup> century new avatar of caste'**
  - Reflects on changing caste structure of UP
  - new role of castes and parties like SP and BSP , first joining hands- then parting- even supporting congress- caste is going to stay, but only on basis of caste mobilization not possible- caste being evoked only for need
- **Obituary to caste**
  - After seeing phenomenal rise of Bangalore after IT boom. Landlord not enquiring caste of tenant.- caste playing dominant role only in pol. structure- otherwise dying from private domain.

### 3. Louis dumont

French scholar- Rejected application of western ideology or MNSs Book Vs field view. He was a culturologist by training and came across article of his teacher Bugle on caste- interested in caste- studied it in 65-70

**Influencers**- (i) Durkheim, Marcel Mauss—can be studied through classifications—reductional analysis (ii) caste driven by ideology (from german idealists) (iii) **Levi Strauss**- cultural anthropologist- founder of structural theory of **deep and super structure** → strauss suggested go for universal type than for Weber's ideal type → deep structure of seemingly different super structures same— Dumont applied → so many castes but still ideology similar- pure impure → impressed by this concept of opposite binaries & combined with deep structure to form **cognitive approach** of caste

**He fights for sociology of India. borrows only ideas & not western theories** . Believes- **empirical behaviour largely determined by cultural ideology- every r'ship legitimized by consciousness-**

**Bogle in his study of caste- identified few characteristics of caste:** (i) hereditary transmission of caste (ii) Every caste defines its status depending upon proximity/distance from Brahmins (iii) each caste is different fom other caste and difference is unamendable. Thus Bogle identified three core features of caste system, viz., **hereditary occupation, hierarchy and mutual repulsion**

#### **Homo Hierarchicus**

- cultural ideology → caste consciousness → caste roles → caste structure
- Caste. Dumont argues, was above all an ideology, 'a system of ideas, beliefs and values'. It was in the ideological aspect of the caste system that one should look for the essential structure of the Hindu society. It was only via ideology that the essence of castes could be grasped and true principle behind the system could be known. Ideology for him was not a residual factor or part of superstructure, as the term is understood in the Marxist theory. In his framework, ideology was an autonomous sphere and could not be reduced to any other factor or treated secondary to politico-economic factor.

- Caste can never go unless ideology goes. Caste exists at conscious level.
- Foundation of caste is centred around dichotomy between pollution and purity → its not an individual perception but a cultural perception. Culturally endorsed & universally accepted
- Pure-impure dichotomy is unamendable- Indians suffer from socio-centric bias and fail to see unamendability of **structural gap**. Positions of Brahmins and dalits is fixed and **structural gap between the two can never be bridged**
  - When dealing with Brahmins- dharma & status; when dealing with Kshatriyas- class & power. **Ritual hierarchy is fixed like a mountain, even if secular hierarchy doesn't matter because at deep structure level unamendable → secular hierarchy is product of interest and ritual hierarchy is product of ideology.**
- When behaviour deviates from normal- guilt → unchanging role of caste
- Caste is hierarchical and cannot be compared to class
- More caste is changing, more is it going for substantialism
- He criticizes structural functionalists like MNS for going for superficial mobility- who believe caste is changing @ economic & political level. Homo-hierarchicus can not be homo-equalis
- Homo-hierarchicus → slavish orientation towards culture; other worldly values, lack of innovation, hierarchical; homo equalis → optimistic; liberal; this worldly; stratified.
- Every society is held together by values (bit of Durkheim)
- To sum up Dumont's theory, we can identify the following core points that he makes:
  - The Hindu caste system could not be explained in terms of politico-economic factors Caste was not just another form of class or an extreme form of stratification.
  - It should be explained in terms of its underlying structure of ideas and values. i.e. ideology.
  - The nature of the value system (ideology) and the framework of social organization in the traditional societies were totally different from that of the modern societies of the West.
  - The ideology of Hindu caste system was that of hierarchy. the structure of hierarchy was explained in terms of the dialectical relationship (unity and opposition) between the "pure" and "impure". Pure was superior to the impure.
  - One of the core features of caste system was the distinction that it made between status and power. It was the ideology of hierarchy (that allocated status to diff groups in society) that was more important than the material position of a person in the caste system. Priest, at least in principle, was superior to the king.

#### Criticism:

- Brahmanical viewpoint
- Talks of what India ought to be than what India is
- Ignoring continuous changes in Brahmanic values over time
- **Joan Quigley** → Kings were central to society & not Brahmins. Power central to Indian history
- **Jonathan Perry** → purity is ascribed and achieved. New cults Hinduism (even Bhakti mvmnt)
- **JPS Uberoi, Beena Das, Beteille** → India 3 diff perspectives → Raja/Brahmin & Sadhu & their position not hierarchical. All bow to each other when rise.
- **G.D. Berreman** → **Studied untouchables of Kumaon & Garwhal**. Caste not producing purity & pollution but subordination & domination; security & anxiety; privileges and disprivileges.

- **Harold Gould**→ Harold Gould writes, often the motive force behind sanskritisation is not of cultural imitation per se but an expression of challenge and revolt against the socioeconomic deprivations. Thus, caste is fluid.
- **It does not correspond with the lived reality of caste**
- **Status and power are: not independent of each other**- Berreman insists, went together everywhere and the Indian case was no exception. Power and status were two sides of the same coin. He cites the example of the integration of Gonds, a tribal group into the caste system. They were included as untouchables but where they had land and power they were treated differently
- **Dumont works with a false dichotomy between the "traditional" and "modern" societies**
- **Dumont's theory gives no agency to the individuals who practice it**
- **Dumont does not acknowledge the social movements against the caste ideology**

#### 4. Andre Beteille

Committed to sociology of India→ inequality is normatively defined→ can be legitimized by norms or by rule of law. Studied Srioram village of Thanjavur Distt, TN.

3 books→ 1. Caste, class and power; 2. caste-old and new; 3. backward class and new social order.

Sees cultural reproduction of not just caste but also of poverty, family & kinship. **3 sources of social reproduction**- Caste, Family & Kinship and Occupation. He believes, today's generation carries caste in a selective way, but not completely absent. Book wise summary:

- **Caste, Class and power**→
  - Multi dimensional character of **stratification**. (Borrowing ideas from Weber)
  - Can be **caste, class or power**.
  - **Sripuram village- 3 division- Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, Adidraividans**
  - **Brahmins** (acc to Louis Dumont would've been a homogenous unit with advantage of purity) .**Division between Vedic Brahmins and non-vedic Brahmins. Vedic Brahmins of 2 types- Srivaishnavs (Iyengars- Vishnu worshippers) and Smartha (Iyersshiva worshippers) . Non Vedic Brahmins of 2 types- Shiva temples (Bhattachari) and Vishnu temples (Acharkars). Iyengars of 2 types- swadesi and vaideshi and Iyers of 2 types- Panchasahasranam and AshtaSahasranam.**
  - **Competitive hierarchy between diff kinds of Brahmins.**
  - He observes secular change happening in non-brahmins→economic upliftment. **Earlier caste dominant and now caste and class coming together.**
  - **Go for education and identify themselves as Kala- a peasant caste becomes Mudaliyars and not Brahmins.**
  - **Thus he finds**
    - Competitive and dynamic hierarchy
    - Class and caste together determine social ranking of commensality
    - Within caste system hierarchy and differences exist
    - Social distance b/w Brahmins & non-brahmins is not absolutist
    - India should be studied from stratificational pov than caste perspective
    - Caste today is not a product of value consensus

- In his study of Caste, Class and Power Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village, Andre Beteille(1966) wrote that in pre-British period education was a virtual monopoly of the Brahmans who dominated this area. But at the time of his study, the educational system had become far more open, both in principle and in practice. Many non-Brahman and even untouchable boys attended the schools at Sripuram (the village studied by Beteille) and the adjacent town of Thiruvaiyur. Because of this education the non-Brahmans and the Adi-Dravidas (the lowest castes) could compete on more equal terms with the Brahmans for white-collar jobs. It helped them to participate in the political affairs.
- **Caste old and new**
  - discusses (i) **system of hierarchical gradation of people** (ii) **vertical ties b/w individual and family** (iii) **hierarchical gradation of values** (Ghurye talks of value consensus- AB talks of value diff)
  - Study India within which caste is present and not just caste perspective.
  - Change in all these happening and India changing
- **Backward class and new social order**
  - criticizing to extension of reservation policy to OBC
    - differently graded & coming together as OBC
    - Initiated by progressive caste groups in search of vote bank
    - Anti-merit → making caste consciousness stronger
    - offers compensation for historic discrimination- anti-democratic
    - Strengthening identity focus of politics
- **Article- pollution and poverty**
  - Poverty is more contagious than pollution
  - Indian policies should be redesigned to address poverty, cutting across caste
- **Debate with Louis Dumont:**
  - Value consensus has always been challenged in Indian society
  - Medieval Europe was hierarchical (feudalism)- revolutions turned fixed hierarchy to competitive hierarchy. Similar stuff in India
  - Values are not fixed and identical. Often contradicting.
  - If Indian sociologists suffer from socio-centric bias, Dumont has Euro-centric bias
  - Concludes by saying man has a mind, who driven by contemporary interests questions to existential inequality. No society absolutely closed/open and matters of degree than of kind.
- **Social reproduction article**
  - There are hierarchical positions within stratificational system. (caste, family, kinship, occupation)
  - Reality is so dynamic that should go for empirical, historical, comparative approach.
  - Thus, liberated Indian sociology from bondage of just caste, culturology, ideological explanations and explains Indian society from dynamic & stratificational perspective.

### Caste associations

Nadars of Tamil Nadu, a low caste of toddy tappers, who through the efforts of their association, the Nadar Mahajana Sangam formed in 1910, acquired not only higher status but a modern organisation to serve their needs. According to Kothari (1970: 115), some of the objectives of this association are

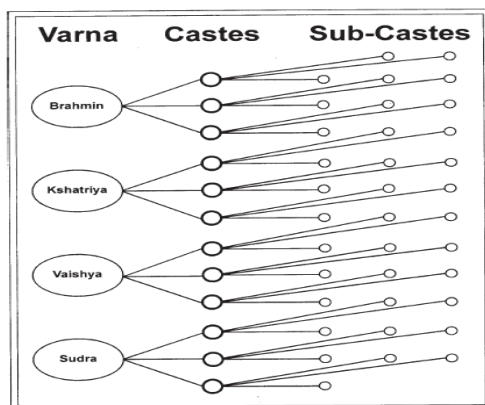
- To promote the social, material and general welfare of the Nadars
- To take practical measures for the social, moral, and intellectual advancement of the Nadars
- To start schools and colleges for imparting western education to Nadar children and to help poor but deserving pupils belonging to the community with scholarships, books, fees, etc.
- To encourage and promote commercial and industrial enterprise among the members of the community

### Features of Caste System

The term "caste" is not of Indian origin. Its origin has been located in the Portuguese word *casta*, meaning 'race' or 'pure stock'. Also it was outsiders, those who came from the West, who first used the term "caste" to make sense of the social organization of the Indian society.

G.S Ghurye, a famous sociologist, identified six different features of the Hindu caste system.

- **Segmental division of society:** Castes were groups with well-developed life-styles of their own. The membership of the groups was determined by birth and not by choice. The status of a person depended not on the amount of wealth he possessed but on the rank that his caste enjoyed in the Hindu society.
- **Hierarchy:** There was definite scheme of social precedence amongst castes. Each group was given a specific status in the overall framework of hierarchy.
- **Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse:** There were minute rules as to what sort of food or drink could be accepted by a person and from what caste.
- **Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections:** Segregation of individual castes or groups of castes in the village was the most obvious mark of civil privileges and disabilities. Certain sacraments could not be performed by any caste other than the Brahmins. Similarly, shudras and other lower castes were not allowed to read or learn the sacred scriptures.
- **Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation:** Generally each caste considered a particular occupation as its legitimate calling. To abandon the hereditary occupation in pursuit of another, even if it was more lucrative, was not considered right.
- **Restrictions on marriage:** Caste groups observed strict endogamy. Members of a caste group married only within their castes. However, there were a few exceptions. In some regions of India, the upper caste man could marry a lower caste woman. This kind of marriage alliance is known as hypergamy.





## 5. RISLEY:

According to **Risley**, "a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor; human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give opinions as forming a singly homogenous community. The name generally denotes or is associated with a specific occupation. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle, but within the circle there are usually a number of smaller circles each of which is also endogamous".

## 6. KETKAR

- Ketkar defines a caste as a social group having two characteristics:
  - membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born.
  - the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group. Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called. Several of such small aggregates are grouped together under a common name, while these larger groups are but subdivisions of groups still larger which have independent names.

**Bougle**, the French writer, concludes that the caste system divides the whole society into a large number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and connected together by three characteristics:

- separation in matters of marriage and contact, whether direct or indirect (food);
- division of labour, each group having, in theory or by tradition, a profession from which their members can depart only with certain limits;
- and finally hierarchy, which ranks the groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another.

## Theoretical perspectives of caste:

**1. Interactional:** The interactional approach is the more prevalent one today. However, the uni-dimensional model has been found inadequate, specially the orthodox Marxist model with its economic reductionism, which seems hardly credible when the religious and political overtones of caste are reduced to epi-phenomena in the super-structure. The classic multi-dimensional model of Weber has greater potentiality for a better understanding of caste and has been frequently used ever since Weber himself first applied it to caste. Beteille has applied the Weberian model in a careful case study of a South Indian village. Beteille concludes to a trend towards a shift from a closed to an open stratification system. Whereas fifty years ago the caste structure largely subsumed economic and political gradations, today with the emergence of caste-free occupations and power resources other than the ones tied to land, there is less status consistency. Between the three areas of caste, class and power, and a trend to the autonomization of each. The Sanskritization that was the chief channel of mobility in pre-independent India can very easily be described in terms of this theory. But the socio-economic changes in post-independent India and particularly the new found status of 'citizen' and 'voter' that lower caste groups have activated makes political participation serve as a fundamental alternative towards mobility instead of Sanskritization. Indeed the whole Buddhist movement among the navbudhs is rightly interpreted as a rejection of Sanskritization. Lynch is emphatic "that political participation ... is the path that mobility movements will increasingly follow in India."

**2. Attributional: Ghurye, Hutton and Srinivas:** The interactional approach to caste draws attention to the structural aspect as opposed to attributional one. However, for an institution like caste the 'ideology' supporting it of critical importance to a proper understanding of caste and the identity politics of today. In the Indian context Louis Dumont as made an incisive statement against the use of a stratification model for caste in his Homo Hierarchicus and has forced attention to the ideological approach once again.

### Caste and Class

Caste stratification has been deterrent to the development of 'class conflict' or 'proletarian consciousness. Further, that most of the 'problems' created by the caste system are still of a class nature. related to economic domination and subjugation, privileges and deprivations, conspicuous waste and bare survival.

The view that caste and class are ideological opposites is not correct. The assumption that class can emerge as a social reality when caste has been destroyed in an erroneous conception of the relationship between the two. Both - inseparable parts of India's social formation, and hence study of their nexus, continuity & change.

Caste is a very complex system, for it is not simply a system of power relations and economic activities in a non-linear sense. If it gets weakened in one aspect, it also gets strengthened in another, no doubt with certain alternations, additions and accretions. There is after all a class basis to rituals, pollution -purity and other non-material aspects of social life. For example, an organization like Jat Sabha is not a simple caste association, but in effect, it is an organization of peasants. Similarly, the Kisan Sabha is not simple orgn of peasants, it is very much an association of castes engaged in agriculture

- caste- extremely effective mechanism of exploitation. Dominant class also acquires political power & social prestige which furthers consolidation of caste hierarchy
- caste riots reflect conflict of class interests- The ongoing conflict between Ranbir Sena and a workers left movement in Bihar has led to killings and counter-killings of the poor low caste people and the upper caste Bhumihars in particular.
- Caste also refers to relations of production as it controls the access of groups and individuals to conditions of production .
- BR Ambedkar- caste system is not just DOL of labour but also Division of labourers.
- Caste and religion are also used to perpetuate class structure.

Four basic points for the understanding of caste and class relations and their transformations may be noted. These are: (i) **dialectics**, (ii) **history**, (iii) **culture**, and (iv) **structure**.

- Dialectics do not simply refer to binary fission in the cognitive structure of the society. It refers to the effective notions which being about contradictions and highlights relations between unequal segments and men and women.
- History is not conjectural based on mythology, scriptures and idealistic constructions, but it provides a substantial account of existent conditions of work and relationships.

- Culture does not include just cultural practices, rituals, rites of passage etc., it defines the rules of the game, the nature of relations between the privileged and the deprived, and modes of resistance or consensus.
- Structure is no doubt a product of dialectical contradictions, historical forces and certain rules of the game, but it becomes 'formation' once it has emerged, and in return, becomes a sort of 'force' to determine in some way the course of history. Thus structure refers to relations between social segments as a point of time, but more as a historical product and reality. Having these elements as the kernel of structural-historical approach, changes in caste and class structure could be considered as "transformational processes".

The following processes of structural changes emanating from the above paradigmatic

- I. Downward mobility and proletarianisation,
- II. Upward mobility and embourgeoisement,
- III. Urban income for rural people and mobility in the village.
- IV. Rural non-agricultural income and mobility.

## Untouchability- forms and perspectives

### Dalits

- ***"Dalit" in Sanskrit is derived from the root "dal" which means to split, break, crack, and so on.***
- ***Jyotiba Phule***, the founder of the Satya Shodak Samaj, used the term to refer to the outcastes and untouchables as the victims of the caste-based social division of the Indian society.
- Dalits—earlier known- "untouchables" and "outcastes" for centuries.
- replaced by ***British administration by "Depressed Classes" in 1919. Gandhiji called them Harijans.***
- ***Ambedkar did not accept Gandhi's term-*** separate electorate demanded "Depressed Classes", and pro-posed term- "**Protestant Hindus**". 1935-British- "Scheduled Castes." **Dalit Panther Movement**, 1970s of Maharashtra popularized the term Dalit. ***Today, the term is used for Dalit people of various religions and protest movements.***
- Dalits ***occupy the lowest position*** in the ***caste hierarchy based on ritual purity and occupation-outside the Varna system-traditional name Panchavarna-*** oppressed-occupations ***like disposing dead bodies, working with leather, cleaning toilets and sewage,*** etc.
- **To this day**, thousands of villages have a ***separate area for Dalit houses, separate wells for Dalits, class rooms where Dalit children sit separately, and tea shops with separate glasses for Dalits.*** Such discrimination occurs despite laws against such practices.
- ***A large number of Dalits converted to religions including Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism for equality and human dignity.*** Dr Ambedkar believed that **neither Marxism nor bourgeois nationalism nor republicanism provided any solution to the problem of caste.**
- So, he turned to religion. ***He rejected Christianity and Islam, because they did not originate to fight the caste system. He chose Buddhism and converted to it along with millions of***

**Mahars.** Ambedkar noted that the Buddha created his Sangha as a model of casteless society.

### Origin of Untouchability:

The **two important theories pertaining to the origin of untouchability** are as follows:

1. The first theory **says that the discovery that the Indus valley people** spoke a proto- Dravidian language suggests that the people conquered by the Aryans were Dravidians. They subsequently moved down south and subjugated the indigenous people there. **When Aryan influence spread to the South, the Varna system and the “untouchability” came into existence.** Thus, the Dalits were among the original tribes of South India, who became isolated from the rest of the world and so were looked down upon by others.

2. Why the Aryans developed a social organization wherein the Chandalas occupied the lowest position is answered by the **“mixed caste” theory offered by Manu.** This theory explains the existence of the four Varnas as divinely-ordained and the **other castes outside the Varna scheme as a result of unlawful sexual alliances between men and women of different Varnas. The Chandala resulted as the offspring of a Brahman woman and a Shudra man. Four other groups were also included among the “untouchables”. In the years after 200 AD, “untouchability” came to include more groups.**

### Dalits: Degradation of Dalits and Ameliorative Measures in India

- Though our Constitution outlawed - Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955 - yet since Hindus still deeply -purity & pollution, practice of untouchability - not completely up-rooted -social & religious life
- Thus, untouchability may be understood from two angles:
  - stigma attached to certain people because of ceremonial pollution they allegedly convey, an
  - set-practice by rest of society to protect itself - pollution conveyed by untouchables.
- Though many dalits have given up -traditional caste-based occupations - good number is still engaged
- A large number of Harijans suffer from an inbred inferiority complex which makes them sensitive
- The changes among dalits have come through three avenues:
  - state policy in regard to untouchable groups,
  - reform movements at various periods of time, and
  - process of sanskritisation and westernisation.
- The two features observed about dalits in rural society are:
  - (i) Most dalits do not own land nor are they tenants, and
  - (ii) Most dalits earn their income by working on land of others and

### Dalit Consciousness:

Legislation alone will not do away with their disabilities. Along with dalits' own efforts for achieving resources, change in the attitudes of the caste Hindus is equally important for banishing untouchability. We agree with Sachchidananda (1976:172) who holds that the combination of factors like ameliorative efforts of the government, the growing consciousness of the dalits and the

liberal attitudes of caste Hindus will diminish the disabilities and discriminations with the passage of time.

Politically, dalits are becoming conscious -**Janata Dal or the BSP, etc., Religious and social, reformers like Buddha, Ramanuja, Ramanand, Chitanya, Kabir, Nank, Tukaram and others, made great efforts to eradicate it as far as possible.** The BrahmoSamaj and the AryaSamaj, and other social organizations by propaganda, education, and practical measures, did much to secure the social, religious and cultural equality to them. The **establishment and consolidation of the British Raj All India Harijans Sevak Sangh** founded by Gandhi in 1923.

Seven factors responsible for the rise of the modern Dalit movement are as follows: **1. Military Service 2. Dalit Reform Movements 3. Dalit Education 4. Conversions 5. Missionary Activity 6. Islamic Revivalism 7. Hindu Reformers**

### **Dynamics of Dalit Movement**

The strategies, ideologies, approaches of Dalit movement varied from leader to leader, place to place and time to time. The **'Dalit consciousness' came to the fore in different forms and shades.** Thus, some Dalit leaders followed the process *of 'Sanskritization'* to elevate themselves to the higher position in caste hierarchy.

They adopted Brahman manners, including vegetarianism, putting sandalwood paste on forehead, wearing sacred thread, etc. ***Thus Dalit leaders like Swami Thykkad (Kerala), Pandi Sunder Lai Sagar (UP), MuldasVaishya (Gujarat), Moon VithobaRaojiPande (Maharashtra) and others tried to adopt established cultural norms and practices of the higher castes.***

Imitation of the high caste manners by Dalits was an assertion of their right to equality. Treating Dalits as outside the fourfold Varna system, and describing them as 'outcastes' or 'Panchama' gave rise to a movement called Adi-Hindu movement. Thus, certain section of Dalit leadership believed that Dalits were the original inhabitants of India and they were not Hindus. That Aryans or Brahmins who invaded this country forcibly imposed untouchability on the original inhabitants of this land.

They believed that if Hinduism was discarded, untouchability would automatically come to an end. That Dalits began to call themselves Adi-Andhras in Andhra, Adi- Karnataka in Karnataka, Adi-Dravidas in Tamil Nadu, ***Adi-Hindus in Uttar Pradesh and Adi-Dharmis in Punjab.*** Dalits also followed the route of conversion with a purpose of getting rid of untouchability and to develop their moral and financial conditions. A good number of Dalits were converted to Christianity, especially in Kerala.

They are known as **Mazhabis, Namdharis, KabirPanthis etc.** Dalits also got converted to Buddhism. Dr. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism along with his millions of followers at Nagpur in 1956. As a protest against Hinduism some of the Dalit leaders founded their own sects or religions. Guru Ghasi Das (MP) founded Satnami Sect. Gurtichand Thakur (Bengal) founded Matua Sect. Ayyan Kali (Kerala) founded SJPY (Sadha Jana ParipalanYogam) and Mangu Ram (Panjab) founded AdiDharam.

Attempts were also made to organize Dalits politically in order to fight against socioeconomic problems. Dr. Ambedkar formed the independent Labour Party in 1936. He tried to abolish the exploitative Khoti system prevailing in Kokan part of Maharashtra, and Vetti or Maharaki system a

wage free hereditary service to the caste Hindus in the local administration. **He tried to convince the Government to recruit the Mahars in Military. Ultimately he became successful in 1941 when the first Mahar Regiment was formed.**

### **Dalit Movement in India After the Death of Ambedkar**

Immediately after Ambedkar's death, certain important developments took place in the Dalit movement. One was the formation of the **Republican Party of India** and the other was formation of **Dalit Panther Movement**.

The Republican Party of India replaced the All India Scheduled Castes Federation in 1957. Its founder was N. Sivaraj, who remained its President till 1964.

The **Republican Party of India** worked in many areas such as:

- To voice their concern against the atrocities committed to Dalits and to make them conscious.
- Revitalization of the SamataSainik, founded by Dr Ambedkar in 1928, to maintain discipline in party.
- All India/Women's Conference was organized in 1957 at Nagpur.
- It contributed enormously to the Dalit SahityaSangh,
- All India Republic Students Federation was established by the Republican Party of India.
- The Republican Party of India also spread the message of Lord Buddha.

**Dalit Panther Movement:**The Dalit Panther Movement was formed in 1972, when the Dalit youths came forward and took up the task of bringing all the Dalits on to one single platform and mobilizes them for the struggle for their civil rights and justice. They shattered the myth that harijans are mute passive receivers.

### **1. Effects of Urbanisation on Caste System in India:**

As regards effect of urbanisation on caste, scholars like **Ramu , Hemlata Acharya, and D.A. Chekki** **have pointed out both change as well as continuity in caste and kinship networks**. A person in a city derives his status not only from caste but also from other considerations. Broadly speaking, it will not be wrong to say that caste identity tends to diminish with urbanisation. Urbanites participate in networks which include persons of several castes.

According to **Rajni Kothari**, the structure of particularistic loyalties has been overlaid by a more sophisticated system of social and political participation with crosscutting allegiances. Andre Beteille has pointed out that among the westernised elite, class ties are much more important than caste ties.

**Kolenda** has identified three kinds of fusion:

(i) Persons of different castes and sub-castes meet in their work-places and in newer neighborhoods in the city. They are usually of approximately equal rank. Neighbourhood or office group solidarity develops. This has been generally found in government housing colonies in big cities;



(ii) Inter-sub caste marriages take place, promoting fusion of sub-castes. This is because many a time it is difficult to find a sufficiently educated groom for an educated daughter within one's own sub-caste, but one may find it in neighbouring sub-caste; and

(iii) Democratic politics fosters fusion of sub-castes and of adjacent castes. For example, the Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (DMK) and the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (ADMK) parties of Tamil Nadu composed of members of higher non-Brahmin castes.

## 2. Relationship between Caste and Politics in India

The Awareness: The interest and awareness of various castes in politics may be studied in terms of four factors: interest of castes in politics, political knowledge and political awareness of castes, identification of castes with political parties, and influence of castes on political affairs. These four aspects were studied by Anil Bhatt

Rajni Kothari examined the relationship between caste and politics by analysing the issue as to what happens to political system because of the vote of castes. He found that three factors—education, government patronage, and slowly expanding franchise (including 18-21 year old young persons in electorate)—have penetrated the caste system because of which it (caste system) has come to affect democratic politics in the country.

Kothari has talked of the third stage also in relationship between caste and politics. While in the first stage, 'entrenched' high castes are first politicised and 'ascendant' high castes respond with resentment and feeling of relative deprivation (e.g., entrenched caste of Brahmins and ascendant caste of Marathas in Maharashtra) and in the second stage factions emerge within the competing (entrenched and ascendant) castes and lower castes are also brought in for support, in the third stage, identifications other than those of caste are likely to become more important with advancing education, urbanisation and adoption of modern achievement orientation. There, thus, emerge cross-cutting alliances.

## 3. Caste System in India: Future of Caste System in India

here is no sign of caste system losing its grip. The only visible change is in the attitude of different castes to rise in caste hierarchy and gain social prestige. While changes in the caste system are continuous and regular, the (caste) system remains intact for all practical purposes. It must be held that change is not in the direction of dissolving the caste system. Some sort of class consciousness has crept into different castes. Electrified by the in-group feeling, they want to hold on to the caste system all the more tenaciously. Nowadays, a caste tries to organise itself for social, economic, and political purposes. Elections are being fought on caste basis. There are caste organisations like All India Kshatriya Mahasabha, All India Mahar Sangh, All India Bhargava Organisation, etc.

Progressive Hindus take three distinct stands about the future of the caste system:

- That caste is something evil and it should be abolished;
- That the caste system has degenerated and efforts should be made to reinstate the traditional four orders. The greatest exponent of this thought was Mahatma Gandhi (young India) and
- That the caste system should be continued but it should be rein-stated under totally different conditions.

**Two functions appear to be crucial today:**

- It provides opportunity for power, and
- It makes so-cial mobility feasible (if we accept Srinivas's view of the possibility of sanskritisation)

Mobility—occupational, economic and so-cial—in modern societies depends on education, training, material resources, nepotic networks available, personal influence, social refine-ment, as well as caste rank. It may, thus, be concluded that the caste system will continue to be a reality in the years and decades to come.

**4. Difference between Caste and Varna**

Though in Rig Veda, there is mention of two varnish— Arya and Dasa—and the division of society into three or-ders—Bramha (priests), Kshatra (warriors) and Vis (common people) but there is no mention of the fourth order, i.e., Sudras. However, there is a reference to groups despised by the Aryans, like Ayogyia, Chandal, and Nishad, etc. These four orders ultimately became four varnas.

Varna, thus, provided a framework which conditioned all Indian thinking about and reaction to caste. Srinivas also suggests that varna has provided a common social language which holds good for India as a whole, i.e., it has enabled ordinary men and women to grasp the caste system by providing them with a simple and a clear scheme which is ap-plicable to all parts of India. He further holds that the importance of the varna system consists in that it furnishes an all India frame into which the jatis occupying the lower rungs have throughout tried to raise their status by taking over the customs and rituals of the top jatis. This has helped the spread of a uniform culture throughout the Hindu society.

**5. Is Caste a Particularistic or a Universalistic Phenomenon?**

Is caste a particularistic or a universalistic phenomenon? Is it a unique sys-tem found only in India or it is found in other countries too? The main view is that caste when viewed as a cultural phenomenon (i.e., as a matter of ideology or value system) is found only in India while when it is viewed as a structural phenomenon, it is found in other societies too.

Singh has referred to four approaches to caste by distin-guishing between the two levels of theoretical formulation, i.e., cultural and structural, and universalistic and particularistic. These four ap-proaches are cultural-universalistic, cultural-particularistic, structural- universalistic and structural-particularistic.

While Leach using structural-particularistic view of caste has maintained that caste system is restricted to the Indian society, others who view caste as a structural-universalistic category hold that caste in India is a general phenomenon of a closed form of social stratification. The third position of sociologists like Ghurye who treat caste as a cultural universalistic phenome-non, particularly in terms of hierarchy which forms the basis for ranking of persons or groups, maintains that caste-like cultural bases of stratifica-tion are found in most traditional societies.

**6. Caste Mobility: Caste Mobility in India**

Yogendra Singh is of the opinion that the tradition-modernity dichotomy in the studies of social mobility has often led to a confusion of perspectives. Such confusion was found among western scholars. It led them to contend that mobility was absent in the social system of traditional India which was said to have a closed system (ascriptive-oriented) of social stratification.

We will, thus, study caste mobility at different levels:

- **Through warfare:** M.N. Srinivas and Pauline Kolenda have referred to caste mobility through resort to warfare in Mughal period. Kolenda has said that until the British unification in the first half of the nineteenth century, the most effective way to rise in the caste system was by the acquisition of territory either through conquest or by peaceful occupancy of sparsely populated or empty land
- **Through serving rulers:** Another example of rise in caste through service to rulers is that of Kayasthas, a caste of scribes (who, before the invention of printing, were professional letter-writers, or who made copies of writing, or who kept records). The Kayasthas made themselves useful first to the Moghuls, then to the British rulers.
- **Through census commissioners at different levels:** Recording jati identities in census enumerations from 1891 to 1931, many middle and low castes made efforts to get themselves registered as members of the twice-born varnas. These claims reached a peak in 1901 census when Herbert Risley, the Census Commissioner, tried to rank all castes. Hundreds of jatis tried to ensure a higher rank by claiming high varna titles. For example, the Kurmi cultivators of Bengal wanted to be Kurmi Kshatriyas
- **Through social processes of sanskritisation and westernisation, and**
- **By use of politics:** The Mahars of Maharashtra, constituting about 10 per cent of the population of the state (out of the total 13 per cent scheduled caste population), initially operated under conditions of social degradation but ultimately used politics for ameliorating their social condition. Ambedkar organised them into a political force and formed a Scheduled Caste Federation which was ultimately used as a political tool for achieving the goals of social equality and social mobility.

### 7. Difference between Caste and Sub-Caste

Difference between caste and sub-caste is not clear-cut. Both have similar attributes. However, a sub-caste is a sub-division of a caste. Brahmin is designated both as a Varna and a caste. Kanyakubja, Suryupari and Gaur Brahmins are examples of castes, and Shrimali, Purohit and Pushkarna Brahmins are examples of sub-castes, while Bhardwaj, Gautam and Kashyap Brahmins are examples of gotras. Castes and sub-castes are endo-genous groups but gotra is an exogamous group.

According to Ghurya, the sub-castes came to be distinguished from castes due to territorial separateness, mixed origin, occupational distinction, difference in technique of occupation, dissimilarity of customs, and due to nicknames. Risley, Hutton and Majumdar have referred to sub-castes breaking away from the main castes/tribes to raise their status.

Castes and sub-castes today are assigned different functions and activities. The three functions performed by sub-castes are: controlling marriages, restricting commensal relations, and regulating behaviour or communal life in terms of subsisting within the larger society. The three functions performed by castes are: assigning status, delimiting civil and religious rights and determining the occupation.

### 8. Relationship between Caste and Class

Caste and class are both 'status groups' in Max Weber's phraseology. A 'status group' is a collection of persons who share a distinctive style of life and a certain consciousness of kind. While caste is

perceived as a hereditary group with a fixed ritual status, a social class is a category of people who have a similar socio-economic status in relation to other segments of their community or society. The individuals and families who compose a social class are relatively similar in educational, economic and prestige status. Those who are classified as part of the same social class have similar life chances.

Caste system is characterised by 'cumulative inequality' but class system is characterised by 'dispersed inequality'. The members of a class have a similar socio-economic status in relation to other classes in the society, while the members of a caste have either a high or low ritual status in relation to other castes.

Andre Beteille on the basis of his study of caste and class in Sripuram in South India found that classes do not constitute a basis for communal and political action.

Yet another difference between caste and class is that caste has an organic character but class has a segmentary character. In caste system, upper castes compete with each other for the services of the lower castes but in the class system, lower classes compete with each other for the favour of the upper classes.

Further, in the caste system, status of a caste is determined not by the economic and the political privileges but by the ritualistic legitimation of authority, i.e., in the caste system, ritual norms encompass the norms of power and wealth (Dumont)

Maclver says, "When status is wholly predetermined, so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of caste. **According to Sangeetha Rao, if castes are detached from religion, class may run parallel to castes.**

To conclude, there are sociologists like Y. Singh and K.L. Sharma who take the synthetic view of caste and point out the class dimension of caste and caste dimension of class. There is no doubt that all the high castes are property owners. But there are also exceptions. According to Bailey, division of wealth no longer followed the same lines as caste divisions. In his study of Bisipara village in Orissa, Bailey also maintains that although there was an internal reshuffle of positions, the caste system continued to order political relations between the groups concerned and to reflect their economic status.

Caste has inhaled in class and class is also inhaled in caste for centuries in the Indian context, and Indian society continues to have this inseparable mix even today. Role of caste and class in elections is an evidence of this mix. However, caste operating as a 'marriage circle' is a different way from the way it functions in other arenas.

Hypergamy explains the role of status and wealth within caste. Class-like distinctions within caste and caste-like styles within a class are part of the people's life situations. Class has been an in-built mechanism within caste, and therefore, caste cannot be seen simply as a 'ritualistic system, and class cannot be seen as an open system as it has often been influenced by the institution of caste. In order to go deep into such a phenomenon the structural-historical perspective becomes inescapable.

### 9. Casteism: Meaning, Causes, Solution and Suggestion

Casteism leads the members of one caste to exploit the members of other caste for their own vested interest in the name of superiority or inferiority. According to R. N. Sharma, 'casteism is a blind group loyalty towards one's own caste or sub-caste, which does not care for the interests of other castes, and seeks to realize the social, economic, political and other interests of its own group'.

There are many causes of casteism. Some of them are as follows:

- i. Casteism increases, when a particular group tends to improve the status of its own caste.
- ii. Marital rules such as endogamy, i.e., marriage within the group is another factor. Under the caste system, which allows casteism to perpetuate, such restrictions placed on marriage forces an individual to marry within his own caste group, which brings about cohesion within the group, thereby increasing casteism.
- iii. Communication between rural and urban areas became easy through urbanization. The feelings of caste were easily carried through the members from rural areas to urban areas through migration.
- iv. Easy access to means of transport and communication is another factor

#### Solutions to casteism

- i. According to G. S. Ghurye, the conflict originating in casteism can be removed by encouraging inter-caste marriages. Co-education should be introduced at the primary level and boys and girls should be given the opportunity to come together. This will lead to improvement of behaviour between different sexes simultaneously, with which casteism will be actively refuted.
- ii. According to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, in order to put an end to casteism and to deprive it of its very basis, the creation of some optional groups is necessary through which the communal tendencies of the individuals can be manifested and organized. As these increase, casteism decreases because the individuals will have the chance to express their instincts and motives outside the caste.
- iii. According to Mrs. Irawati Karve, in order to put an end to the conflicts arising out of casteism, it is necessary to create economic and cultural equality between the castes.
- iv. Professor P. N. Prabhu is of the opinion that the conflicts created by casteism can be ended only when the internal aspects of conduct are influenced. For this, it is necessary to try and develop new attitudes in the people

### 10. Jajmani system: Definition, Function and Other Details

**Jajmani system- socio-economic institution of the pre-industrial self-subsistent village economy.** The term 'jajmani' is derived from a Vedic term 'Yajman' which means a patron- essentially based on caste system.

The system has two institutional connotations—religious and economic. Religiously, a *jajman is one, who employs a Brahmin for the performance of any solemn or religious ceremony.*

The relationship between the 'served' castes and the 'serving' castes was not based on contract, nor was it individual and temporary. It is a permanent relationship, which is caste-oriented.

In the jajmani system, the high caste landowning families are rendered services and products by the lower castes. The serving castes are called **kamins**, whereas the served castes are known as jajmans. **The kamins are paid in cash or kind for their services** (Ram Ahuja, Indian Social System, p. 322).

Definitions of the Jajmani System:

- **Harold Gould has described the jajmani system as an inter-familial, inter-caste relationship pertaining to patterning of superordinate-subordinate relations b/w patrons & suppliers of services.**
- Y. Singh - a system governed by a relationship **based on reciprocity** in inter-caste relations in villages.

According to **VidyaBhushan and Sachdeva**, some of the important features of jajmani system are as follows:

- Jajmani Relations are **Permanent**:
- Jajmani System is **Hereditary**:
- Barter System

**Functions, Roles, Norms and Values** Involved in the Jajmani System:

Jajmani system is important as it performs important functions and roles **both economic and social**. Its role is to regulate the **division of labour and economic interdependence** of castes. It serves to maintain the Indian village as a **self-sufficing unit**. It distributes the agricultural produce in exchange for menial and craft services.

**Disintegration of the Jajmani System:**

The challenge in the jajmani system came when India was under the British rule. Here, the Britishers were more interested in developing their economy at the cost of Indian economy. –Industrialization gave economic opportunities etc

Rao, Kolenda, Orenstein and Gould have also maintained that condemning jajmani arrangements as brutally exploitative is too sweeping and obfuscating a generalisation.

## 11. Tribe and caste

- **Castes** - regulated by the hereditary division of labour, hierarchy, principle of purity and pollution, etc.
- **Tribes** on other hand -seen as one characterized by the absence of features attributed to the caste.
- Said: kinship govern the tribal society. Each individual is hence considered to be equal to others; in contrast inequality, dependency and subordination is an integral feature of caste society; tribes: maintain similar forms, practices and behaviour pattern for both function of the religion; also shown to be different in respect of the psychological disposition of its members (said to take direct, unalloyed satisfaction in pleasures of the senses whether in food, drink, sex, dance or song)
- Assumptions misleading → In India, hardly any tribes which show all of these characteristics. May be relatively homogenous as compared to castes but not devoid of inequalities & differences.



- The only thing in common is, **as Beteille puts it**, - they all stand more / less outside Hindu civilization.
- **Transformation to castes**
  - **Sinha**- tribes-dimension of little tradition - cannot be adequately understood unless seen in relation to the great tradition. Thus, viewed in constant change & tribals not static group.
  - Large no. of anthropological works → of post independence era → study phenomena of tribe being assimilated by Hindu caste system
    - **Kosambi** has referred to tribal elements being fused into the general society
    - **Roy Burman** classified tribes as (1) those incorporated in Hindu society (HS), (2) positively oriented to HS, (3) negatively oriented and (4) those indifferent to HS.
    - **Elwin even wrote**- whole aboriginal problem was one of how to enable the tribesmen of the first and the second classes to advance direct into the fourth class without having to suffer the despair and degradation of the third.
  - **Sanskritisation** is also seen as a method through which tribes- absorbed into Hindu society
  - other significant method - what Sinha (1962, 1987) calls as the **state formation**.
  - At times anthropologists –terms as **Kshatriyisation** & **Rajputisation** instead Sanskritisation.
  - **Hinduization is more closely linked to Tribals**- though scholars argue- not possible to be hindu without being engulfed in caste stratification-but that not empirical reality- **Theoretically it is possible** to become Hindu in sense of embracing a form of Hindu faith and practices w/o becoming part of HS in the sense of Hindu social organization viz. caste.
  - **Paradox of hinduization of tribes**- not whole groups - in sections. So, Same tribe both sides
  - **Bhagat movement**-tribes even when they have been hinduized donot describe themselves as Hindus but as Bhagats. It is outsiders who describe them as 'Hindus'.
  - **Similarly language**-not possible -into castesociety without first - into linguistic community
- **Basis for misconception:** Elsewhere in the world where tribes are not linked with the civilization complex, such problems does not arise as studied in own rights & against the backdrop of process.
  - tribes have not been studied in their own right but only in relation to the general Indian society, which was marked by overriding features of caste, peasant and social differentiation.
- tribal studies are not to be categories as caste, peasant or social heterogeneity but groups or communities such as those of the regional communities- the Bengalis, Assamese, Gujratis, etc. The counterparts of tribes are not as case sofar but communities or societies incorporating castes.
- Till today scholars have not been able to arrive at a systematically worked out criterion towards distinguishing tribe from caste

## 12. Scheduled Castes elites:

- The SC is a politico-legal-term. It was first coined by the Simon Commission and then GOI, Act, 1935.
- Scheduled Castes do not constitute a homogeneous group
- Reservations in government appointments, admission to educational instis and LS, Las
- **Scheduled Castes and Social Mobility:** Yogendra Singh, in his book Social Stratification and Change in India has argued that there are two kinds of social movements. One is with the integrative orientation (sanskritization) and the other is with the alienating orientation (conversions) few caste groups like Nadars in Tamil Nadu, Ezhavas in Kerala and the Jatavs of Agra in Uttar Pradesh who have somehow been able to organise themselves to fight against the oppression meted out to them.

### ○ **SOCIAL MOBILITY DURING PREINDEPENDENCEPERIOD:**

- **During the Ancient Period:** during the ancient period were (a)Sanskritisation (b) conversion to Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox sects,(c) migration and (d) renouncing the world and taking to the life of mendicantand preacher.
- **During the Medieval Period:**Bhakti movement, sk'tization , migration

### ○ **SOCIAL MOBILITY DURING THE BRITISHRULE**

- **Sanskritization:** Jatavas and the Nadars startedclaims to Kshatriya status by Sanskritising their way of life. The Jatavas tracedtheir origin to the gotra of Siva and stopped eating beef. Similarly,Nadars began to tie dhoti in fashion of Brahmins
- **Religious:** the SatnamiSect, GorakhPanth, RamanandPanth and KabirPanth. Sri Narayana Guru ofKerala started organising his sect around Izhava priests
- **Westernisation:** SunandaPatwardhan observes: "The Mahar werethe first people to serve the British officers and their wives as butlers. Being beef-eating themselves, the Mahar did not mind working forthe foreign, beef-eating master.
- **Conversion**

### ○ **POSTINDEPENDENT INDIA**

- **Policy of Protective Discrimination**
- **Vertical Mobilisation- Reservation**
- **Horizontal Mobilization- Republican Party of India**
- **Sanskritization: Tiya of WB call themselves Rajbanshior Suryabanshi**
- **Urbanisation:** Srinivas: Rural barbers when they migrate to towns, work in hair cuttingsaloons, washermen start laundries, smith work in furniture shops,oilmen sell oil, if not press oil, Malis work as gardeners, Chamars work in shoe-shops and Brahmins are cooks, teachers and lawyers

### ○ **Present Situation:**

- I.P. Desai: under-represented in Class I and II services but over-represented in Class III and IV services. Educationally, they are still backward. The literacy rate is 21 per cent."trickle down approach" of the planners and "social

mobility approach” in academics for raising the status of the scheduled castes have been a failure.

### 13. Castes among muslims

The Muslim converts of Indian origin are generally called by their caste names.

- **Converts from High Castes:** In the social hierarchy of the Muslims in India, converts from high castes of the Hindus are placed below the rank of Ashraf. By and large these converts still follow some of the Hindu practices, e.g., they do not marry first cousins, either cross or parallel.
- **Clean occupation castes:** Clean castes are those, which are permitted contact with higher castes under certain rules. The castes, belonging to clean occupations rank below the Ashraf and Muslim Rajputs, comprise the bulk of Muslim population in India. Ansari includes the following castes of Uttar Pradesh in this group. Atishbaz (firework maker), Bhand (jester), Bhishti (water carrier), Gaddi (grazier), Julaha (Muslim weaver), Mirasi (Musician), Qassab (butcher), and Faqir (beggar), Darji (tailor), Rangrez (cloth printer)
- **Unclean Castes:** Muslim untouchables, occupying bottom place in the Muslim social hierarchy. In theory, it is possible for a Muslim Bhangi to pray in a mosque, but in practice his entry into a mosque is disapproved. On the other hand, an untouchable Muslim is permitted to learn Quran while an untouchable Hindu is not supposed to learn religious texts.
- **Castes and kinship:**
  - **Endogamy: Zat and biradari-** Muslims use the term zat (equivalent of caste) to express the purity of descent. The zat is, therefore, primarily an endogamous unit of society. The households belonging to each zat in the village conceive of themselves as a collectivity and designate themselves as bhai-band or biradari (literally caste-brotherhood).
  - **Occupational Specialisation** Biradari, which resembles the Hindu caste, is their association with a traditional occupation.. But in the case of many other groups the various names are indicative of the respective traditional occupations.
  - **Hierarchical Ordering:** The Ashrafs, almost by common consensus, are assigned the highest position in the ranking strata by virtue of their supposed descent from Prophet Mohammad.
  - **Restrictions on Social Intercourse and Commensality:** several restrictions on commensal relations with the rest of the caste groupings who are considered inferior to the Ashrafs
  - **Social Control:** direct control through a governing body, such as a council, and indirect control through public opinion. The most frequent punishment among them is a strict social boycott which is termed as huggapani band/biradari bahar.

### 14. Race theories of caste

- The word is derived from the Latin word ‘Custus’, which means ‘pure’. The Portuguese word ‘Casta’ which means **race**, lineage or pure stock.
- **Ghurye** (1932) has described the caste system as Brahminical system and believes that the conquered non-Aryan **race** becomes the shudras- debarred from religious and social activity of the Aryans.

- **Majumdar** (1957) believes that clash of culture and **contact of races** led to social groupings.
- European writers on the subject of caste origins knew about the racial difference between castes, high and low, and consciously and unconsciously linked their findings to race.
  - **Weale** wrote that the whole history of India, from the earliest times, had been one long story of colour prejudice and that more cruelty had probably been displayed there than in the rest of the world, believed that the Aryans races who were 'white' simply devised their on system of caste to prevent the under mixing of a dominant race with a 'black' inferior race.
  - **W.J.Thomas** finds marked physical contracts in the population, correlated with superior and inferior cultures and this according to him is the basis of caste distinctions.
  - **Sir Herbert Risley:** gave race theory of caste through his study of castes in Bengal → Aryans came from outside Caucasoid race and indigenous people- Australoids → inter mixing →
- **Karve**, however does not accept the view that the original meaning of varnawas 'colour'. She argues that in the early scanned literature and in grammatical works varna meant 'class'. Karve continues that 'at a later time the word varna to mean 'colour' and the fourfold division of the ancients was then taken to be based on physical feature, namely colour. Even **Ghurye** calls it conjectural in many ways.

## 15. Caste associations:

### Emergence of Caste Association:

The nature of a caste association is different, in more than one sense, from caste as such. Organizations like KayasthaSamaj, Kshatriya Sabha, Teli association, Vaishya Mahasa8'ha, JatSabha, Bhumi-har-Brahmin Mahasabha -examples of caste association. Emergence of various castes such as Mahars and Reddis in Andhra Pradesh, Lingayat and Okkaliga in Karnataka as political groups - examples of caste association.

The **main purpose** of a caste association has always been to safeguard the interests of their members by building hostels, hospitals, colleges, schools, houses on a cosperative basis, banks, and by founding journals and endowing scholarships. In their proceedings caste associations claimed backwardness in politico-economic field and a high status in cultural or ritual sphere. Therefore, after Independence caste associations tended to become political pressure groups demanding for their members electoral tickets.

Caste associations contribute to fundamental structural and cultural change in Indian society by providing an adaptive institution in which both the traditional as well as modern features of society meet and fuse.

## TOPIC 05- Tribal communities in India:

### Definitional problems

- Write short note on Issues of tribal identity
- distinctive features of tribal communities in India. Discuss the factors affecting tribal identity
- Term tribe is derived from the **Latin word 'tribus'**. Earlier Romans - to designate divisions in society.
- British socialanthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard,-Tribals- **relatively isolated - closed** groups, forming **homogeneousunits** of **produ'n & consum'n**.
- In **Ancient and Medieval Periods**, - known by specific names such as the Gond, the Santhal, the Bhil. Some like the Gond in Central India, the Ahom in North-East India,had large kingdoms.
- **During the British Rule**- not sure howto classify the people, who were neither Hindu nor Muslim. Their confusion - used to classify tribal populations in their decennialcensuses. In different censuses - used were animists, hill and forest tribe,primitive tribes, & tribe..policies - under colonial policy
- The **Constitution**, does not provide a definition of a tribe.The people - listed in Constitution and mentioned in **successive presidential orders** are called scheduled tribes. 1950-212 names, 2003-533
- **Bailey**- only solution to the problemof definition of tribes - to **conceive of a continuum** of which at **one end are tribes** and at the **other are castes**.The tribes have **segmentary, egalitarian** system and are **not mutually inter-dependent**, - castes in a system of **organic solidarity**. They have **direct access to land and no intermediary is involved between them and land**.
- **Sinha- brings concept of civilization** For him, the tribe is **ideally defined** in **terms of its isolation** from the **networks of social relations** and **cultural communications** of the **centres of civilisation**
- **D.N. Majumdar**-except for Eastern India, everywhere else ethnic strains -crisscrossed
- **Betille** relates to 'that they all stand more orless outside Hindu civilization.
- **SC Roy:** Book **Janas and Jatis**: janas and jatis co-existing & interacting –time immemorial
- **Srinivas-sanskritized- For example similar sounding-**
  - **Gaur- Brahmins**
  - **Gauriyas-nagpur- nomadic people (fightin for ST rights)**
  - **Gurvas- Odisha- milkmen- yadav fold**
  - **Gowda- Karnataka**
- **SC Dubey classified-** 1) purest of pure tribes 2) Partailly accultured tribes 3) Substantially accultured tribes 4) Fully accultured tribes 5) Aristocratic tribes
- **Hoffman-** Tribal- technological (hunting, pastoral, skinning etc) caste- institutional
- **Not homogenous- Muslims**-lakshwadeep, Hindus- Central, Christians- NE, Buddhists – Ar P
- **Problem-** differences in level of integration plus, difference in occupations too:
  - **Food Gatherers and Hunters:**Cholanaicken of Kerala
  - **Shifting Cultivators:**Khasi of Meghalaya
  - **Settled Agriculture:** majority
  - **Artisans:**The Kota of the Nilgiris

- **The Pastoralists and Cattle Herders:** Bakarwal and Gaddi in Himachal Pradesh
- **The Folk Artists:** Pradhan tribe of MP
- **Wage labourers:** Santhal in coal mines of Bihar
- On the scholarly level the distinguishing features of tribes are emphasized in comparison to caste. It is assumed that tribes and castes present hvo different kinds of social organisations, attributes like hereditary, division of labour, hierarchy, principle of purity and pollution, civic, and religious disabilities, regulating castes; while tribes function purged of these factors.

**Other notes:**

- Tribal problem- Given identity
- Linked with negative identities throughout history- i.e. what they are not.
- Some studied tribes- AR Radcliffe Brown- Andaman Islanders
- Problem- trying to homogenize tribes and bring them under one definition

**Geographical spread**

- Write short note on Migration and tribal communities

Considering the widespread distribution of tribes all over the country it is necessary to group them into broad geographical regions. **On the basis of ecology**, it is possible to group them into **five distinct regions** namely,

- **Himalayan** region (with tribes like the Gaddi, the Jaunsari, the Naga etc.),
- **Middle** India (with tribes like the Munda, the Santal etc.),
- **Western** India (with tribes like the Bhil, the Grasia),
- **South Indian** Region (with tribes like the Toda, the Chenchu etc,) and
- **Islands Region** (with tribes like the Onge in Bay of Bengal, the Minicoyans in Arabian Sea).

On the **basis of racial features, Guha** considers that they belong to the following three races.

- **The Proto-Australoids:** dark skin colour, sunken nose and lower forehead. Gond, Munda, Ho
- **The Mongoloids:** light skin colour; head and face are broad; the nosebridge is very low and their eyes are slanting with a fold on the upper eye lid- Bhotia, Naga, Khasi, Wanchu
- **The Negrito:** dark skin colour roundhead, broad nose and frizzle hair- Onge, Jarawa

**Linguistically** the situation is far more complex. According to a recent estimate the tribal people speak 105 different languages and 225 subsidiary languages- **Austro-Asiatic family, Tibeto-Chinese family, Indo-European family, Dravidian family**

The Great Andamanese number only in two digits the Toda are in three digits; Hill Miri (Arunachal Pradesh) are in four digits; there are Chenchu in five digits; Saora constitute a population of six digits; the Gond are more than 4 million, and so are the Santal and Bhil.

However, the tribal population of the North-East displays a great deal of heterogeneity and diversity. There are more than 100 tribal groups with different language, religions and cultural patterns



## Colonial policies and tribes

- Write short note on Isolation approach in tribal policy

The areas, which were relatively secluded but rich in natural resources, experienced entry of a new variety of people, namely forest contractors, labourers, officials, neo-settlers, moneylenders etc. British thought of protecting the indigenous populations by bringing a regulation in 1833. In 1874, the British passed Scheduled Area Regulation Act and in due course the idea of a distinct and special arrangement in such areas got accepted.

### The Tribals and the British Policy

- The British policy towards the tribals had two major elements.
  - Firstly, it **favoured isolation** of the tribal areas from the mainstream (**Chowdhary**). This was given the concept of 'excluded' and/or 'partially excluded areas'. Because the British tribal policy was political and colonial, the British administrators feared, that if these tribals (bow-and-arrow armed tribals were often labelled as militant, unruly and jungle) were to have contact with mainstream of Indian society, freedom movements would gain further strength.
  - Secondly, at the level of reform, the British administration was interested in '**civilising**' these people. In an **ethno-centric assessment**, the tribals were viewed at par with stage of bestiality. In the words of **Sir E.B. Tylor**, these people inhabiting the hilly or forested terrain with sparse population and difficult communication were '**social fossils**'
- The neo-converts not only became a part of the Great Tradition of Christianity, but were also linked to the Great Tradition of the Western culture, English language, Western dress, mannerism and medicines, being ineluctable components of the rulers, culture, flourished as far superior and 'advanced' to the local culture. Spread of the Christianity and mission education gave the tribals a distinctive sense of identity and made them apprehensive about their future in independent India
- Influence of the second world war as theatres of war came close to their habitat in the North-East
- **Elwin suggested policy of isolationism**: The Baiga tribe of Madhya Pradesh Elwin, suggested one of the first, most controversial approaches to the tribal problem. According to him, since the genesis of tribal problem lay in their contact with the non-tribal exploiters, the tribes should be The basic issues behind this movement were land and forest alienation, training and job deprivation due to influx of outsiders, cultural submergence & imbalanced development isolated in 'tribal reserve area',
- **3 divisions**- Protected, Reserved, Community

## Tribal Movements

- ***Numerous uprisings and movements*** among the tribes especially in Bihar had occurred as early as in 1772. Some of the important movements among the tribes in British India were Mizos (1810), Kols (1795 & 1831), Mundas (1899)-On Christmas Eve, 1899, Birsa proclaimed a rebellion to establish Munda rule in the land and encouraged 'the killing of thikadars and jagirdars and Rajas and Hakims (rulers) and Christians.' Sai-yug would be established in place of the present-day Kalyug., Santhals (1853), Muria Gonds (1886) and so forth

- The **Tana Bhagat movement**, for example, derived its name from the ritual of expelling from the Oraon land foreign spirits, nefarious powers and ghosts
- The **Kukis in Manipur** revolted against the British in 1917- 19 in response to the alien intervention in the traditional pattern of and way of life of the tribal people
- The **Zeliangrong movement** was started by three tribal groups the Zenlei, Liangmei and the Rongmei who together were called the Zeliangrong. This movement began essentially as a social reform movement and was led by a young Rongmei Naga Jadonang and his cousin Rani Gaidinliu. They formed the Heraka cult which sought to abolish some colonial customs, and to reform and revive the traditional religion, as a response to Hinduism and impact of Christianity.

### Issues of integration and autonomy

- Write short note on Tribal integration
  - changes have taken place in the tribal social stratification pattern in recent times? Factors?
  - socio-cultural consequences of tribals' contacts with the non-tribals. What measures would you suggest to bring the tribals in the national mainstream?
  - Analyze critically the Government of India's tribal policy
  - Write short note on Emergence of classes among tribes
  - problems of tribals in India and impact of tribal development efforts after Independence.
  - Unity and diversity among the tribes in India
  - Analyze the changing nexus between caste and tribe
- 
- ✓ Following Independence of the country, the structural differentiation among most of the tribals has become incontrovertible. The inequality among almost all tribes in the country is striking in tenure of land control, occupational distribution, income employment of labour, spread of education and urbanization, intensity of outside contact, access to productive resources, life style and so on.
  - ✓ Tribes in India are characterised by extreme heterogeneity, being placed at different levels of social and economic development. Each one has reacted differently to the forces of modernisation
  - ✓ Some have become devastated as they came into contact with highly developed societies. In contrast, there are some who have richly benefited from the gains of modernisation. Because of differential impact the tribals have received, it is hazardous to generalise, although some of the basic trends of modernisation and change may be conveniently outlined.

### Contacts of the Tribal Societies with Other Tribal and Non-tribal Social Groups

In anthropology, a tribe was conceptualised as a relatively isolated or semi-isolated community. Such a community had its own cultural system being defined by self sufficiency, political autonomy, a well-demarcated territory, a common dialect, folklore and deities. A large number of examples were offered to show that a tribe was never completely isolated

- ✓ inter-tribal relations, the tribal settlements close to caste Hindu villages had exchange relations on the pattern of jajmani with other patron and occupational castes (**Dumont**)

### 1. Thinkers on tribes

Even the most isolated groups were part of a wider network of economic relations. Some like the Gond in Central India, the Ahom in North-East India, had large kingdoms

- **Ghurye calls the tribal populations of India as imperfectly integrated segment of the Hindus.**
- The Role of Bridge and Buffer: Because of their location of international borders, many of these tribal communities played the role of bridge and buffer communities and so had developed bonds with certain groups across the borders

### 2. Recent Economic changes:

- **Forest resources have dwindled** and forests have been increasingly brought under reservation
- **lost lot of land** to experienced agriculturists/industries, for **big projects** like hydro-electric reservoirs
- **displaced** by such projects and, on the other, they have been given employment as **wage labourers**
- Penetration of market economy resulted in the tribals **producing for market**
- **Development measures** are designed to **promote settled agriculture** and intensive cultivation

### 3. Constitutional Provisions:

- **Article 19(5)**: state to impose restriction on freedom of movement or of residence in the benefit of ST
- **Article 164**: special minister for tribal welfare in MP, Bihar, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa.
- **The Panchayat Raj (extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996** though still excludes tribal areas in the North-East and tribals in non-scheduled areas and urban areas, does provide for consultation with the Gram Sabha (village Council) before making acquisition of land for development projects
- The North-East India, beyond the present-day Assam, was always protected from the entry of the outsiders by the **Inner Line Policy**. Even today, Indians from other states have to seek Inner Line permit to enter certain states of the North-East like Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh

#### **Other welfare schemes, laws, mechanisms, bodies and institutions**

- Scheduled Tribes live in contiguous areas. It is, therefore, much simpler to have an **area-approach** for development activities and also regulatory provisions to protect their interests
- **Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule**
- **Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)**:
  - part of the overall plan of a State/UT or a Central Ministry/Department
  - TSP strategy is being implemented through
    - Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs)/ Agencies (ITDAs),

- 259 Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) and
- 82 Clusters
- **Special Central Assistance for Tribal Sub-Plan**
- **National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation**
- **Special Schemes**
  - Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana (AMSY)
  - Micro-credit scheme – launch of a new scheme
- Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd. (**TRIFED**)

#### 4. Approaches to tribal development:

- **Hutton** and others condemned too much of isolation and also of complete assimilation of tribals.
- **V. Elwin** wanted a revivalist policy to be adopted. His scheme of “**National parks**” pleaded for the **complete non-interference of the British rule and its withdrawal from the tribal areas**
- **G.S. Ghurye**, a senior sociologist, made case for complete assimilation of tribals with rest of people
- **D.N. Majumdar** opines - best policy for tribes - controlled (planned) & limited assimilation
- **Nehru’s Tribal panchsheel:**
  - People should **develop along the lines of their own genius** and - **avoid imposing** anything
  - Tribal **rights in land and forests should be respected**.
  - try to train and build up **team of their own people**- work of administration and development
  - **not over-administer** these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes.
  - We should judge results by the **quality of human character** that is evolved.
- **Vidyarthi**- 3 kinds – 1) All tribes (macro development) 2) Targetted tribes (victims of dev displacement) 3) those on verge of extinction- (isolate, health indicators, rehabilitation etc)

#### 5. Tribal movements since independence:

Since independence, the tribal movements have become more diverse. Despite their heterogeneity at large, the common grievances of tribals is their dispossession and indignity, and aspirations form a common platform with some subjugated non-tribals and thereby. consolidate pan-regional loyalties and consciousness.

**Yet, almost all tribal movements organized so far have been intrinsically associated with the ethnic or nationality question**

**Tribal Elites:** Being a late comer, the tribal elites are not able to compete equal terms with the non-tribal elites and this, tend to be an integral part of their community system. Tribal elites thus, cannot fully separate from their own people

**Naga movement:** A large number of factors acted as catalysts for the Naga Movement. These were:

- ✓ fear of the losing special privileges bestowed upon them by the British
- ✓ the danger of erosion cultural autonomy and district 'ethnic identity'
- ✓ fear of losing the customary ownership of the hills.
- ✓ The spread of Christianity
- ✓ Development of formal education in the Naga Hills.
- ✓ Reaction to the formation of complex political structures

**Tripura:** surrounded by east Pakistan on all (except one) sides, socio-political developments there, particularly communal riots, had a tremendous effect on the state particularly in terms of the influx of the Bengali refugees

**Manipur:** The Meitei State Committee was formed in 1967 in protest at Manipur's merger with the India Union. This organisation gradually became a revolutionary body seeking an independent Manipur governed on the lines of a Socialist ideology developed by Irabot Singh. The movement weakened and the committee surrendered in

**Motives for struggle:**

- The tribal struggles are essentially rooted in three interrelated motive forces namely, the epistemology of individualism, statist ideology and capitalist model of development. The movements are, therefore, for recognition of collective rights over the survival resources and internal self-determination in the legitimate cultural, linguistic spheres as well as dynamic strategy for sustainable development.
- Nearly 85 % of the tribal families remain below the poverty line as against national average of 38 %.
- Sixty per cent of them are nutritionally deficient
- With the reservation of forests, came closures of areas for military and national security purposes, large scale immigration of non-tribal population, extraction of mineral, hydrological, and environmental resources, they have been losing their land and land based endowments, and facing de-culturalization.
- Much has been said about the expenditure on tribal welfare. But actual expenditure had remained less than one per cent of the plan outlay till the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Since then, it did increase to about three per cent but largely due to the inclusion of infrastructural and administrative costs.

**6. Tribes and education:**

- One of the basic problems plaguing the tribals is their economic, deprivation and backwardness.
- The medium of instruction is another hindrance for promotion of education]
- Apa Tani have made tremendous progress in the direction of modernisation. Despite the literacy rate of 14.04 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh, they have done extremely well in seeking modern education. Many of them were studying in the universities of Guwahati, Dibrugarh, Shillong and Delhi
- In Kohima district, for example, both English and Angami are equally strong; in Meghalaya, both English and Khasi have been developed, among the Toda, Tamil and English equally accepted.

**7. Tribals and emergent social stratification**

- Some sociologists have even called the tribes as backward Hindus. Historical and contextual evidence rarely supports the thesis of the trend of transformation of tribes into castes as such. For a couple of decades, emulation of the dominant culture through sanskritization swayed the tribal people. But as these attempts hardly improved their status of material conditions of life, most have retrieved their unique ethnic identity.
- Characterization of tribal peasant society varied from more or less undifferentiated communities of peasants to stratified groups and further as a class society. -motive forces of change - exogenous, endogenous or both - remain -unexplored arena in tribal research.

- processes of economic liberalization and globalization have further accentuated class and community divisions albeit regional and sectoral inequalities. This is the process of the intensification of marginalization of tribal masses.

## 8. Tribes and modernisation

### 1. Santhal Tribe in Transition:

- ✓ The first exposure of the Santal to exogenously introduced changes was when the outsiders
- ✓ Santal Uprising (also called Santal Rebellion) 1855-1857 took place
- ✓ The building of steel mill and company city at Jamshedpur had an important bearing on the Santal, where both the educated and illiterate could find suitable work.
- ✓ Having close interaction with caste Hindus, the Santal, especially of upper classes, imbibed Hindu religion, caste practices, and claimed the status of Kshatriya
- ✓ As a result of the revival movement, mainly to save the Santal from a steady loss of land, exploitative and oppressive interests of the outsiders, the Santal leaders rejected the Hindu model
- ✓ With Jharkhanda Party, the Santal acquired an important political organ formobilising their interests

### 2. Different aspects of modernisation in relation to the tribal societies

- ✓ **Industrialisation:** During the last four decades and particularly during the Plan periods, there has been an acceleration of mining and manufacturing industries. Forest resources have been gradually exploited, leading eventually to deforestation, in the hilly and forested belts of tribal India.
- ✓ **Education:** The missionaries have played an outstanding role in spreading Western education. Literacy rate for STs was lowest in Andhra Pradesh (17.16 percent) and highest was in Mizoram (82 percent). Ashram schools, meant for tribal children living in remote and isolated villages, have been opened up
- ✓ Certainly there has been an increase in tribal literacy. But the number of students continuing to stay in schools till higher classes and then entering the portals of colleges very low. Dropout rate, as said earlier, is very high, and for girls, it is much higher
- ✓ There are several reasons accounting for high dropout rate. The curriculum in most cases is not relevant to the conditions in which the tribals live. They find education a kind of onerous burden. Low standard of teaching and facilities in tribal schools is another factor.
- ✓ **Adverse Effects of Modernity:** construction of dams and launching of development plans in tribal zones has necessitated displacement of the local population
- ✓ The tribals not fully conversant with cash economy squandered the money on various attractions that were available in nearby industrial towns. Eventually they were proletarianised.
- ✓ Modern diseases unknown to tribals have been introduced with the entry of outsiders in tribal areas. Measles and influenza, the killer diseases for those who had not developed any resistance to them, played havoc with the Andaman tribals. Similarly, at the time of Independence, the Toda population had fallen to under 500. The chief cause of their decline was the prevalence of venereal diseases



- ✓ As a response to modernity, and the fact that traditional institutions of the people disintegrate under its impact, there have been conscious attempts to revive traditional ways of living
- ✓ One of the best studied cases is of **Jharkhanda movement**. The **Jharkhanda Party, founded by Jai Pal Singh, an Oxford educated Christian of the Munda tribe**, demanded carving out of a new state,
- ✓ The basic issues behind this movement were land and forest alienation, training and job deprivation due to influx of the outsiders, cultural submergence, and imbalanced development
- ✓ **Madhu Sarin**- "The impoverishment and alienation of forest dependent villagers resulted in widespread forest destruction & state forest deptt being in perpetual conflict with forest communities.
- ✓ **Garrett Hardin** in his '**The Tragedy of the Commons**' discusses the impossibility of sustaining commons under conditions of rapid . Understanding is that the 'commons' is natural resource shared by the local community that decides who uses it and how. **There is another side to this phenomenon namely; more often than not those who suffer are not responsible for the problem.** Shifting cultivation is sustainable because it defines relations to land and forest in terms of individual rights and collective responsibility. Any family will move from one clearing to another once in two years, over at least 24 clearings. The internal logic of the system is that a clearing is husbanded for one year and fallow for forty-eight years. In these forty-eight years the clearing is re-forested
- ✓ There are no technical solutions to this problem, that is to say no technology or technique can measure it. This makes it the commons. The commons are indispensable and for this reason people have a relationship with it. Their recovery is thus not confined to the restoration of community ownership.
- ✓ **Vidyarthi book- Nature Man Spirit complex**- De-tribalization is a product of deforestation
- ✓ **AR Desai**- British- systematic destitution.

## Miscellaneous:

### 1. Caste versus tribe

- **Bailey**- only solution to the problem of definition of tribes - to **conceive of a continuum** of which at **one end are tribes** and at the **other are castes**. The tribes have **segmentary, egalitarian** system and are **not mutually inter-dependent**, - castes in a system of **organic solidarity**. - **direct access to land and no intermediary is involved**

### 2. The pastoralist and polyandrous: the toda

- practice adelphic polyandry- a woman on her marriage automatically becomes the wife of all brothers
- only tribe who claims to be vegetarians. Their subsistence is dependent on their buffaloes-dairy
- According to the Toda tradition **no woman can be around their dairy or buffalo pen**; and no Toda man who has not been properly ordained can enter into their dairy
- Biological paternity - no importance. **Paternity for social purpose** is recognised when a man performs bow and arrow ceremony in the seventh month of the pregnancy of his wife.

Thereafter, all the children born of that woman would be considered his unit until someone, usually his brother would perform another bow and arrow ceremony.

### Tribe and caste

- **Castes** - regulated by the hereditary division of labour, hierarchy, principle of purity and pollution, etc.
- **Tribes** on other hand - seen as one characterized by the absence of features attributed to the caste.
- Said: kinship govern the tribal society. Each individual is hence considered to be equal to others; in contrast inequality, dependency and subordination is an integral feature of caste society; tribes: maintain similar forms, practices and behaviour pattern for both function of the religion; also shown to be different in respect of the psychological disposition of its members (said to take direct, unalloyed satisfaction in pleasures of the senses whether in food, drink, sex, dance or song)
- Assumptions misleading → In India, hardly any tribes which show all of these characteristics. May be relatively homogenous as compared to castes but not devoid of inequalities & differences.
- The only thing in common is, **as Beteille puts it**, - they all stand more / less outside Hindu civilization.
- **Transformation to castes**
  - **Sinha**- tribes-dimension of little tradition - cannot be adequately understood unless seen in relation to the great tradition. Thus, viewed in constant change & tribals not static group.
  - Large no. of anthropological works → of post independence era → study phenomena of tribe being assimilated by Hindu caste system
    - **Kosambi** has referred to tribal elements being fused into the general society
    - **Roy Burman** classified tribes as (1) those incorporated in Hindu society (HS), (2) positively oriented to HS, (3) negatively oriented and (4) those indifferent to HS.
    - **Elwin even wrote** - whole problem was - how to enable tribesmen of first and second classes to advance direct into fourth class without having to suffer despair and degradation of third.
  - **Sanskritisation** is also seen as a method through which tribes- absorbed into Hindu society
  - other significant method - what Sinha calls as the **state formation**.
  - At times anthropologists – terms as **Kshatriyisation** & **Rajputisation** instead Sanskritisation.
  - **Hinduization is more closely linked to Tribals**- though scholars argue- not possible to be hindu without being engulfed in caste stratification-but that not empirical reality- **Theoretically it is possible** to become Hindu in sense of embracing a form of Hindu faith and practices w/o becoming part of HS in the sense of Hindu social organization viz. caste.
  - **Paradox of hinduization of tribes**- not whole groups - in sections. So, Same tribe both sides

- **Bhagat movement**-tribes even when they have been hinduized do not describe themselves as Hindus but as Bhagats. It is outsiders who describe them as 'Hindus'.
- **Similarly language**-not possible -into caste society without first - into linguistic community
- **Basis for misconception** Elsewhere in the world where tribes are not linked with the civilization complex, such problems does not arise as studied in own rights & against the backdrop of process.
  - tribes have not been studied in their own right but only in relation to the general Indian society, which was marked by overriding features of caste, peasant and social differentiation.
- tribal studies are not to be categories as caste, peasant or social heterogeneity but groups or communities such as those of the regional communities- the Bengalis, Assamese, Gujratis, etc. The counterparts of tribes are not as case so far but communities or societies incorporating castes.
- Till today scholars - not arrived at a systematically worked out criterion towards distinguishing tribe from caste

## TOPIC-06- Social classes in India

### Agrarian class structure

#### Different divisions

Revenue assessment of land- Zamindari, Ryotwari, Mahalwari.

Zamindari- Zamindar, tenants and agricultural labours ;Ryotwari- landlord and peasants; Agrarian class-Feudal character- Zamindars collected tax- non working owners of the land- peasants were having no security of tenure.

- **Daniel Thorner Marxian approach**- Even after land reforms measures- peasants continue to suffer more and the Maliks are enjoying the dominant position- has social relationships- the lower caste works as land less labourers- the landowning belongs to higher caste.
- **PC Joshi 3 trends in agrarian class**- declining feudalistics and customary tenacy- rising of commercially oriented landlords- it increased the efficiency and productivity, but the conflict between the poor peasantry and the agriculture labourers are in rise.
- **TK Oommen**- 5 Categories of classes in rural agrarian India- landlords- rich farmers- middle peasants- poor peasants- landless workers.
- **Andre beteille**- Liberal point of view- Ownership- Control- Use of land.
- **Ownership**: Entrepreneurial landlords- big owners- found in green revolution belt- profit motive.
- **Medium land lords**- land is family property- for namesake they keep themselves attached to the land- absentee landlords
- **Small owners**- dont go for self cultivation for culturl bondage- Cultural landlords
- **Controller**- Some one who sees the land in the absence of the actul landowner-one can be owner, controller and user at the same time.
- **Users**- No ownership- no controlling rights- work there for earning livelihood.
- **Beteille** pointed out how in bengal after land reforms the number of small and marginal farmers expanded, who were earler share croppers.
- **Marxist -classes**- conservative and radical- radical can bring revolution.
- **ARDesai** upper class- middle class- lower class.
- **Utsa Pattnaik**- studied Punjab and Haryana- 5 types- big land lords, rich farmers, middle peasants, small peasants, agricultural labourers. Big landlords- 50 acres or more, profit motive, technology, politically active, use hired labour. Rich farmers- 20 to 40 acres, highly ambitious, hired labours, at times family labours. Middle Peasants- 10 to 20 acres, family labour, little surplus. Small farmers- 5 to 10 acres, marginalised farmers. Agricultural labourers- land less labourers. The first 2 types big land lords and the rich farmers are controlling all the means of production and conslidatingthem.development of capitalist agriculture. In the GR belt polirisation becoming more prominent.
- **Neo Marxist view**: Agrarian class structure cant be studied in isolation with the non-agrarian class. Money lenders, merchants, traders living in urban areas-linkage with the village land lords- procurements in the harvesting season from the small and medium peasants- they dont have voice to raise against them- - Exploitation Migration- suicide.
- **AnandChakravarty**- under class- cant fight against hegemonistic domination of landlords, police and legal courts- they accept inequality and start rebellion.

- **Liberal sociologist**- consider the elements like feudalism, semi feudalism, semi capitalist, capitalist and caste class nexus- Nexus between agrarian class and non-agrarian class makes the situation complex- government programmes should take the holistic view before coming up with any plan.

### Agriculture structure contd..

Like all other economic activities, agricultural production is carried out in a framework of social relationships. Those involved in cultivation of land also interact with each other in different social capacities. For example, in the old system of jajmani relations in the Indian countryside.

The most important aspect of the institutional set-up of agrarian societies is the patterns of land ownership and the nature of relationships among those who own or possess land and those who cultivate them. The terms of employment of labour also vary.

### Marx and Weber on Class

**Marx:** "Marx's philosophical outlook was largely influenced by both Hegel and **Hegel's** materialistic successor Ludwig **Feurbach**. Thus Marx put forward a view of history known as **economic determinism**. 'Classes', in the Marxian framework, are thus defined in terms of the relationships that a grouping of people have with the 'means of production'. Further, in Marx's model, economic domination is tied to political domination. Control of means of production yields political power.

**Weber:** Unlike Marx, he argues that classes develop only in the market economies in which individuals compete for economic gains. Thus, class status of a person, in Weber's terminology, is his "market situation" or, in other words, his purchasing power. The class status of a person also determines his "life chances".

**Notions of Agrarian Societies:** The nature of agrarian class structure varies a great deal from region to region. Thus, no single model of agrarian class structure that can be applied to all societies.

**The Classical Notion of Undifferentiated Peasant Society:** Peasantry, in this anthropological perspective, was essentially an undifferentiated social formation. In terms of their social and economic organisation, peasants were all similar to each other. **Robert Redfield**, - pioneered anthropological research on peasantry, argued - "the peasantry was universal 'human type'. They - attached to land through bonds of sentiments and emotions.

Following this "classical discussion", **Theodor Shanin** developed an "ideal type" of peasant society. - defined peasants as '**small agricultural producers**, - with the help **of simple equipment** and the **labour of their families**, produced mostly for their **own consumption, direct or indirect, and for the fulfilment of obligations** to holders of **political and economic power**'.

But reality not same everywhere: For eg: India- the rural society was divided between different caste groups and only some groups had the right to cultivate land while others were obliged to provide services to the cultivators.

### Feudalism as a Type of Agrarian Society

Compared to the concept of 'peasant society', the term feudalism conveys a very different notion of agrarian class structure. Cultivators in feudal societies were seen as a subordinate class. The land they cultivated did not legally belong to them. They only had the right to cultivate. The distinctive

feature of the agrarian class structure in feudalism was the structures of “dependency” and “patronage” that existed between the cultivators and the “overlords”. The cultivating peasants had to show a sense of “loyalty” and obligation towards overlords. System of begar popular in many parts of India until some time back would be an example of such a system.

### Contemporary Agrarian Societies

Two important changes in agrarian economy that came with industrialisation and development. **First**, agriculture lost its earlier significance and became only a marginal sector of the economy. In India, for example, though a large proportion of the population is still employed in the agricultural sector, its contribution to the total national income has come down substantially. The **second** important change that has been experienced in the agrarian sector is in its internal social organisation. The growing influence of market and money meant that the relations among different categories of population become formalized, w/o sense of loyalty or obligation.

### Class Analysis of Agrarian Societies

Over the years, the writings of Lenin and Mao have become the basis for understanding agrarian class structures in different societies. Dev of capitalism in agri → diff classes → rich landlord etc- 5-6 classes. but only transitory classes → later polarize & form 2 classes- big capitalist landlords & rural proletariats → little evidence to support

### Agrarian Social Structure and Change in India

Traditional Indian “rural communities” and the agrarian social structures were organised within the framework of ‘jajmani system’. This was a peculiarly Indian phenomenon. Participation in this system of reciprocal exchange was not on an equal footing. The caste system in turn provided legitimacy .

### Agrarian Changes during the British Colonial Rule

agrarian policies of the British colonial rulers are regarded as among the most important factors responsible for introducing changes in the agrarian structure of the sub-continent. These changes led to serious indebtedness. peasants losing their lands to moneylenders and big landowners. peasants had no motivation for working hard to improve their lands. -agricultural production declined. big landowners gained at the cost of the small peasants.

### Agrarian Changes after Independence

only in those parts of the country where peasants were politically mobilized and the local state government had the right kind of ‘political will’, the land reforms could be effectively implemented. These included the Community Development Programme (CDP), the Co-operatives and the Green Revolution technology. **Thorner**: Capitalistic agricultural dev in socialist India

**‘Green Revolution’ and Social Mobility**: Yogendra Singh points out that the “Green Revolution” signifies not merely growth in agricultural production but also the use of new technology and new social relationships in production processes. resulted in social mobility, emergence of new power structures and modes of exploitation of the deprived classes. -generated new contradictions in society.



### Agrarian Class Structure in India:

Though agricultural land in most parts of India is still owned by the **traditional cultivating caste groups**, their relations with the landless menials are **no more regulated by the norms of the caste system**.

**D.N. Dhanagare**, 'the relations among classes and social composition of groups that occupy specific class position in relation to land-control and land-use in India are so diverse and complex that it is difficult to incorporate them all in a general schema

**Ashok Rudra**, while analyzing the class composition of the Indian agricultural population, observes that there are only two classes in Indian agriculture -the big landlords, and the agricultural labourers.

**I. David Thorner** suggested that one could divide the agrarian population of India into different class categories by adopting three criteria. **First**, type of **income earned from land** (- 'rent' or 'fruits of own cultivation' or 'wages'). **Second**, the **nature of rights held in land** (such as '**proprietary**' or '**tenancy**' or '**share-cropping** or '**no rights**'). **Third**, the **extent of field-work actually performed**

- **Maliks**: property rights- keep rent high & wages low. 2 categories 1) big landlords-2) rich farmers
- **Kisans**: working peasants- own small plots can be 1) small farmers or 2) substantial tenants
- **Mazdoors**: Donot own- work as wage labourers or sharecroppers.

Not very popular- most regions maliks- enterprising farmers-tenants/sharecroppers as wage earners – middle level cultivators swelled (come from upper castes but own+family labour)

**Landless labourers**: Last category- poorest of poor- Pb&Hry 20-30% of workforce & AP- 50%. **Though the older type of bondage is no more a popular practice, the dependence of landless labourers on the big farmers often makes them surrender their freedom, not only of choosing employers, but invariably also of choosing their political representatives.**

**II. Andre Beteille**: Liberal approach -: On basis of **ownership, control and use of land** → **3 categories**:

- **Owners**- (a) Traditional L/L (b) enterprising L/L (c) Absentee L/L
- **Controllers**- managers/munims- mabe part owner/controller or contractual
- **Users**- Agricultural labourers working for rest

**III. Marxist Approach: 1) Leninist (Kulak, Strendik, Bendik) 2) Neo Marxists 3) Marxist**

**1) Leninist**: based on who's using what kind of labour- level of exploitation

- **Kulaks**: Hired labour
- **Strendiks**- family labour
- **Bendiks**- hire themselves out.

UtsahPatnaik in **Republic of Hunger** and **Bondage and servitude** → Initial phases of green revolution middle class expanded. Later rich farmers took over all the benefits.

2) **Marxist: Kathleen Gough**: Village Kumbapettie (Thanjavur, TN) → 1. **Bourgeois** (Rich farmers) 2. **Pettybourgeois** 3. **Semiproletariat** 4. **Proletariat**.

**3) Neo-Marxists: Duzerfedt and Lindsberg:** Debt trap- small farmers loan from bigger farmers- distress sell produce to big farmers in return- they hoard and ask for higher MSPs. Thus, paradox of development & benefits → suicides, unrest, tension & anxiety. **Telangana last 5 months- 316 farmers have died.**

**IV-Women and Land-** 40 crore women live in villages and 79% women work in agricultural sector as compared to 63% men. – **feminization of Indian agriculture-** Indian govt. recognizes farmer as someone who owns the land and not worker on the land- Only **13% of women own land.** Credit schemes etc can be availed only by owner and someone with residence. Thus, women need to have land- self respect & empowerment. What stops women from owning land? 1) patriarchal setup 2) share in natal property seen as greed 3) stridhan at time of dowry only property 4) UN Women study - 9 years after passage of **Hindu succession amendment act-** neither women, nor revenue admin aware of it. **Women Farmers Entitlement Bill, 2011** which makes wife half owner of husband's land pending.

**Agriculture- Land Leasing in India-** Either restricted or banned in India. Like j&k and Kerala ban leasing out. 2) Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, Assam not legally banned. Research studies- restrictive tenancy laws have prevented optimum allocation of land resources and denied rural poor access to land. Also, led to concealed tenancy. **Why lease??**

- **Population pressure**
- **Better outside employment opportunities**
- **Fills demand supply gap**
- **Acc to NSSO, 60<sup>th</sup> round- 36% tenant farmers are landless while 56% of tenant households are marginal farmers (<1 hectare of land)**

**K.L. Sharma** elaborates the second position, “caste incorporates the element of class and class has a cultural (caste) style, hence the two systems cannot be easily separated even analytically”. They were the three classes of the landowners (zamindars), the tenants and the agricultural labourers. The landowners (zamindars) were tax gatherers and non-cultivating owners of land. They belonged to the upper caste groups. The agricultural labourers were placed in a position of bondsmen and hereditarily attached labourers. They belonged to the lower caste groups. Land reforms led to the eviction of smaller tenants on a large scale. But the intermediate castes of peasants, e.g., the Ahir, Kurmi etc. in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh benefited

**P.C. Joshi** has summarised in the following manner the trends in the agrarian class structure and relationships.

- It led to the decline of feudal and customary types of tenancies. It was replaced by a more exploitative and insecure lease arrangement.
- It gave rise to a new commercial based rich peasant class who were part owners and part tenants. They had resource and enterprise to carry out commercial agriculture.
- It led to the decline of feudal landlord class and another class of commercial farmers emerged for whom agriculture was a business.

**Kotovsky** has noted the process of increasing proletarianisation of the peasantry in villages. The process of social mobility and transformation in rural India has been explained by sociologists by the terms **embourgeoisement and proletarianisation.** Embourgeoisement refers to the phenomenon of upward mobility of the intermediate class peasantry i.e., their emergence as new landlords.

Proletarianisation describes the process of downward mobility, i.e., **depeasantisation** of small and marginal peasants and a few landlords and their entry into the rank of the rural landless agricultural labourers.

## Industrial class structure

- St. Simon first to use word class for estates. Thus, pre-marxian idea
- Classes originated in society due to number of reasons. Some of the important ones being :
  - i) Expansion of productive forces beyond the level needed for subsistence.
  - ii) The extension of division of labour outside the family
  - iii) The accumulation of surplus wealth
  - iv) The emergence of private ownership of resources.
- There are specific characteristics of class: They are :
  - i) Vertical order of social classes - hierarchy in terms of privileges and discrimination.
  - ii) There is also a permanent idea of class interest.
  - iii) Idea of class-consciousness, awareness of class, hierarchy, identity & solidarity is present
- Marx, Aristotle, Weber, Giddens on class
- Industrialization - term that is specifically employed to indicate use of machines in production process.
- what role colonization had on development of industries or de-industrialisation of existing industries.
- **Colonisation of India and Industrialisation:** Before British, Habib speaks of 'multitudes of artisans, peons and servants found in the towns ... in 120 big cities and 3200 townships (in the second half of the 16th century)'. He adds that 'Agra & Fatehpur Sikri (twin cities) were each larger than London.
- 'Economic Drain' from India"
- Very few Indian entrepreneurs started manufacturing business as British policies did not favour them and they were reluctant to enter into unknown fields
- There were however several business communities who were initially the collaborators and middlemen with the British, like the Parsis and Marwaris who ventured in to setting up industries. The Marwaris of Calcutta moved from being traders to industrialist in the jute business.
- The Birlas started their first jute mill in 1919, whereas Goenka and Bangur started theirs after WW-II
- part of the Parsee community was fast to recognise that it was very useful to learn English, to adopt British customs and to intensify their relation with the British in order to improve the socio-economic position of the community in West India.
- The Indian capitalist organized themselves into Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) in light of stiff competition.
- **Industrialisation in Post-independent India:**
  - Nehru who was inspired by Fabian socialism and by the Russian example decided to adopt a socialist pattern of economic development.

- Five year plans- industry PMF- 1991 crisis-
- Gandhi (Swadeshi&Khadi) versus Nehru (Socialist ideal of industrialization)
- **Post-Industrial Society:** Daniel Bell, a professor of sociology was the first to use the term postindustrial society. title of his book Post-Industrial Society (1973). There are three components to a post-industrial society, according to Bell:
  - a shift from manufacturing to services
  - the centrality of the new science-based industries
  - the rise of new technical elites and the advent of a new principle of stratification

### Notes

- **Maurice Dobb-** Industries developed in West in 2 ways 1) Traditional (rationally go for expansion) 2) helpers of traditional workers- aspiration-entrepreneurship.
- **Indian entrepreneurship-** always restricted- 1) colonialism 2) post independence policies
- **Worker-** not much changed position; Post globalisation- managerial rev'n- focus back on skills

### **Middle Class in India**

- **Karl Marx-** MC will vanish (petty bourgeoisie, small merchants - own means of prod'n)
- **Marx Weber and Lockwood-** MC population will grow- with industrialisation and urbanisation- depends on skills- old MC (petty bourgeoisie)- new MC
- **Talcott Parson-** Rise of MC in industrialised society- analysis of *meritocracy society*.
- **Ordinary view-** modern education- rational and competitive value- secularised in approach- consumerist class- aspiring for the mobility- capacity of social change.
- **A R Desai-** talked about Indian middle class and their role in Indian nationalism- evolved from caste structure- MCs role in bringing reforms in culture and religion- Social religious movements are MC movements. British introduced press, railways, tv, radio, bureaucracy, judiciary, education- gave birth to MC- fight against British. MC across caste and region line- hence class unites and caste divides.
- **D L Seth Article MC in Modern India After independence** the base of MC is expanding- In western and south India, MC came out of reform movements like *SatySodhakSamaj of MH, Self Respect movement of Tamil Nadu, SNDP movement of Kerala*- non-traditional and anti Brahminic view- demanding equity and control over power structure. Indian MC grown out of soil- hold tight to the tradition and culture and tries to get benefits from modern institutions. Indian MC is keeping **mix of modernity & tradition**
- **Andre Beteille** : questions the genesis of Indian MC- different sources at different points of time- *not homogenous like west MC*. Habit of reading news paper- going for family vacation- spending money on non consumption- are constantly increasing. But interrelationship between a factory worker, a lower police man and a small trader takes place in hierarchical manner. **Indian MC has expanded but still carry hierarchical ideas** in contrast to YogendraSingh's view that with modernity class will replace caste.
- **1950-1980-** industrialisation- modern education- modern jobs- bureaucracy- green revolution- modern trade- led to massive employment- no wish to consolidate their economic position- sound base to peasant mobilisation- naxal movements - supported by intellectuals - different spheres of life.

- Anti-emergency movement by MC students, teachers etc. After globalisation MCs expanded- interests spheres broadened- women & civil rights issues- env probe- rise of civil society movements

notes:

- Weber, marx etc
- Franc Parkin- Book 'Klass matters': Mde class matters → go for dual closure → not keen on lower/upper
- Buffer zone theory- upper falls in middle. and solid like bedrock- values not very modern
- Nouveaux Riche is actually MC.
- Ancient India (common structure); MC- Colonial construct essentially (product of colonialism & drove it out)- Explain this in detail- education, industries etc; post independence & post liberalization view

Concept of Class:

- Expansion of MC → 1) Expansion of DOL 2) Increased role of state- maintain bureaucracy
- Lipset and Bendix: Classes are distinguished from each other by the difference in their respective positions in the economy
- Marx: laid stress on the importance of subjective awareness as a precondition of organising the class successfully for the economic and the political struggle.
- Weber: defined 'class' as when 1) a number of people have in common a specific casual component of their life chances in so far as 2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income and 3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets. In Weber's theory, class situation is ultimately the 'market situation'
- Schumpeter- Class, as defined by Schumpeter, is more than an aggregation of class members. A class is aware of its identity as a whole, sublimates itself as such, has its own peculiar life and characteristic "spirit". ***Classes, once come into being, harden in their mould & perpetuate themselves, even when social conditions that created them - disappeared***

Concept of the 'MC'

- Anthony Giddens identifies three major classes in advanced capitalist society. They are upper class based on the 'ownership of property in the means of production', a MC based on the 'possession of educational and technical qualifications' and a lower or working class based on the 'possession of manual labourpower'.

Evolution of the MC in India

- BB Mishra: The British rule - emergence of a class of intermediaries -- link b/w people & new rulers.
- Sanjay Joshi: Though economic background of the MC was important, the power and constitution of the MC in India was based not on the economic power it wielded, which was minimal, but on the ability of its members to be cultural entrepreneurs
- Andre Beteille: Andre Beteille views MC in India as part of a relatively new social formation based on religion, caste and kinship. In Beteille's opinion, MC values in India are difficult to

characterise because they are still in the process of formation and have still not acquired a stable form. As such, they are marked by deep and pervasive antinomies meaning contradictions, oppositions and tensions inherent in a set of norms and values.

- **Gurcharan Das:** Commenting on the growing MC, Gurcharan Das (Das, 2000) stated that although the MC is composed of many occupations, commerce has always been at the center- as the businessman mediated between the landed upper classes and the labouring lower classes. Calls MC open, dynamic, liberated and deritualized.

### Modernity and the MC in Contemporary India

- According to **Marshall Berman**, to live in a modern world is to live in 'a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish'
- **Lee**-What is present is essentially, 'fluidization of consumption' i.e. freeing up the previously static and relatively fixed spatial and temporal dimensions of social life
- critical aspect of a modern consumer society is the presence of an open system of stratification with avenues of upward mobility being available to all.
- Modernity confronts the individuals with a diversity of choices in all spheres of life. Universalism, achievement and individualism are the important ingredients of a modern social order.
- **Great Indian MC:** The Indian MC is not just growing at a rapid pace, it has also become the segment driving consumption of "luxury" goods like cars and air-conditioners, according to a survey by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER). Amartya Sen- India's literacy campaign- transferring India into a knowledge based society- sustainable economic growth.
- The Institute of Applied Economics and Research shows- 1947: 12% MC, 1957: 20%, 2001: 58%, in 2020 it will be 70%.- middle class expanded- lower class is squeezed- upper class is not hegemonic- more inclusive India, dynamic, growth oriented

### Values Related to Family, Marriage and Women's Status Amongst the MC

Particularistic criteria continue to provide the normative basis for the formation of intimate relations among people across all classes. There is 'superficial emancipation' as women are choosing clothes that are in tune with the latest in the world of fashion. Since marriage and motherhood are considered to be the most important goals, all decisions have to be in consonance with these. Education is considered important in order to enable them to be better wives and mothers. Also, while forming friendships, particularistic norms continue to play some role as such relationships are based on class similarities i.e. similar economic background & value systems



## TOPIC- 07 Kinship system in India

### Types of kinship systems & Lineage and descent in India

- All **blood** relationships are known by term, **consanguinity**. All relationships **through marriage** are given term **affinity**. Father/mother-in-law and daughter-/son-in-law are affinal.
- Approaches to the study of kinship can be broadly classified under two headings (i) the **Indological approach** and (ii) the **Anthropological approach**.

#### Indological approach

- have used textual sources to explain kinship pattern
- has provided -framework to understand - elements of continuity & change in kinship
- KM Kapadia, Irawati Karwe, PM Prabhu, GS Ghurye

#### Anthropological Approach

- Anthropologists have looked at kinship from the point of view of descent & alliance:
  - **Descent Approach**
    - **Patrilineal**- descent line from father to son
    - **Matrilineal**- descent traced from mother to daughter
    - **double (bilineal)**: from both mother/father - DIFFERENT attributes (eg: mother- movable property & father-immovable property)
    - **cognatic**: attributes are transmitted equally from mother/father
    - **parallel**: women-daughters and men-sons
    - **cross/alternative**: mother-son and father-daughter
  - **Alliance Approach**: includes consideration of patterns and rules of marriage

#### Lineage and Descent in India

- **Lineage**- a body of people who are arranged together on the basis of common blood linkage. Patriarchal society-daughter not part of father's lineage group.
- **Classical anthropologists**- patrilineal-determining descent through the male line. matrilineal-determining descent through the female line.
- **Indologist**- Ghurye- role of descent in defining marriage, family, kinship and India. In northern India- some one can marry within extended kinship group- marriage is driven by rules of kinship and descent. Ghurye indicated- Gotra and Charna are exogamous groups-brings dispersed people together.
- **Gail Omvedt** Caste is an expanded descent system.
- **Andre Beteille**- kinship in India so strong that- Voting is driven by kinship rather than on merit- Primary source of political recruitment :kinship group- Thus Democratic political system in India is engaged in social and cultural reproduction.
- **Krishna Kumar**- Kinship in India is so intensive that- behind every corrupt man- there is an
- **Role of descent and kinship** not only decides private spheres of life like marriage, family etc rather very well defines occupation, political activities etc

#### Kinship system in north India

- **Irawati Karve** identified 4 cultural zones Northern, Central, Southern and the Eastern zones.

- Discussed on basis of i) **kinship groups**, ii) **kinship terminology** iii) **marriage rules**, and iv) **ceremonial exchange of gifts among kin**.
  - **Kinship Groups**
    - **Patrilineage**
      - Cooperation
      - Conflict
      - ***Inheritance of status and property***: Thus, the lineage fellows cooperate for economic and jural reasons.
    - **Clan**: A lineage is an exogamous unit, i.e., a boy and a girl of the same lineage cannot marry. A larger exogamous category is called the clan. Among the Hindus, this category is known as gotra. But the common ancestor of a clan is generally a mythical figure.
    - **Caste and Subcaste**: As castes are endogamous
    - **Fictive Kin: Mahapatra**: For example, in North India where village exogamy is a normal practice, it is rare to find a brother to a daughter-in-law living in the same locality. She can get a brother only through a fictive relationship.
  - **Kinship Terminology**
    - ***Descriptive Nature*** of North Indian Kinship Terms-*bhatija/bhatiji*
    - ***Social behaviour- Surajpuri Brahmins (studied by Louis Dumont)- MAAN- bride take***, also high status
    - Terms ***Signifying Social Behaviour***: *Devarbhabhi-joking* (avoidance)
  - **Marriage Rules**
    - ***Clan Exogamy***
    - ***4 clan rule***- father's/ mother's/ nani's/ dadi's clan not allowed
    - ***Marriages within the Subcaste***- caste among Surajpuri Brahmins divided into 3 subcastes based on status → girl always taken from lower subcaste
    - Rule of no repetition- father's sister ≠ one's own sister
  - **Ceremonial Exchange of Gifts among Kin**:
    - for understanding-patterned behaviour among various categories of kin.
    - L. Dumont - mother's brother (uterine kin) and wife's brother (affinal kin) have similar ceremonial functions.

### ***Kinship system in south india***

- **Kinship Groups**
  - Patrilineage
  - **Dumont**- Vill. ***PramalaiKallar, Madurai***, TN- describes kin groups in terms of patrilineal, patrilocal, exogamous groups- ***kuttam***.
  - coparceners are called ***pangali*** and opposed set- ***mama-machchinan***
- **Kinship Terms**:
  - ***Parallel & cross cousins***: Parallel cousins are those who are children of siblings of same sex. Cross-cousins - children of siblings of opposite sex.
  - Terms even reflect age- younger or elder
- **Marriage Rules**: 3 types of preferential marriages:
  - first preference - marriage between a man and his ***elder sister's daughter***
  - second pref: marriage of a man with his ***father's sister's daughter***

- The third pref is between a man and his *mother's brother's daughter*
- **Ceremonial Exchange of Gifts among Kin**: element of reciprocity present

### A comparison of north and south indian kinship systems

#### Differences:

- **North**- negative rules of marriage; **South**- positive rules of marriage
- **North**- territorial exogamy (far off place) **South**- almost no territorial exogamy
- **North**- coactivity b/w lineage members **South**-bothways
- **North**-Hypergamy**South**- not possible-**hence, isogamy**
- **North**- wife stranger- low status; **South**- not stranger- higher status

#### Similarities

- caste and kinship inextricably linked
- both regions emphasise the role of affinity in social relationships and networks.

### Kinship organisation in matrilineal communities in NE and SW india

- **Matrilineal Descent System- North East**

- **Garo:**

- matrilineage is represented by the households of daughters
- Unmarried daughters /sons live with mother, while married daughters, except the one living in original household, set up households near mother's house.
- The married sons leave their mother's house to join their wives
- But decision-making regarding land and other property –men

- **Khasi**

- man after his marriage lives with his wife's parents.
- follow the rule of **ultimogeniture**-system of inheritance by which youngest daughter in matrilineal societies succeeds property.
- The other daughters live neolocally
- The male child is generally lost to the family he marries into. As a husband, the man is looked upon as a begetter

- **Matrilineal Groups in South-west India**

- **Nayar of Kerala**

- follow the practice of visiting husbands
- Term taravad - for the clan, & lineage. -also referred to property group
- Nambudiri Brahmin, who forms sambandham with a Nayar woman, is called her 'ritual husband'. The children from these unions always belonged to the lineage of Nayar women only.

- **Matrilineal Muslims of Lakshadweep**

- They follow duolocal residence. Duolocal residence implies that the husband and the wife reside separately. - husband visits his wife's home at night

Central India Kinship system- Gujrat, Maharashtra, MP- mixture of elements from NI and SI.Rajputs- marriage- on status of girlss family- no caste bar- girl of their choice.- Marthas-32 divisions- primary, secondary,tertiary divisions- marriage accordingly.- Kumbi of Gujrat- cant marry within one

generations from fathers side and within 3 generations in mothers side. -Rajasthan- On AkshyaTritiya- massive marriage takes place- all age groups-relaxed norms.

**Veena Das**- In north Indian kinship father son relationship precedes over husband wife relationship- on analysis of Punjabi kinship system she said- the natural sexual relationship between husband and wife is subdued to socially established father son relationship glorifying patriarchy.

### Family and marriage in India and Household dimensions of the family

- Comment on the changes in the household dimensions of family under modern economic reforms.
- “Nuclear families grow into joint families and then break into nuclear families. The change from nuclear to joint and from joint to nuclear families is fairly frequent in India.” Explain the changes in the structure and functions of joint family in this context.
- Factors - responsible for instability -Indian family? Will family survive present crisis - modern society?
- Discuss the influence of socio-cultural factors on age of marriage in India
- Write short note: Generation Gap Write short note: Industrialisation and family change in India, with example impact - legal & socio-eco changes on marriage & family. Are these instis weakening?
- What has been the impact of globalization on the cultural aspect(s) of the family?
- Distinction between the concepts of family and household
- Outline the social factors related to generation gap. How has this led to the problem of youth unrest?

### Marriage

- Marriage is **universal** social institution of society. As a **social institution**, - provides **recognised form for entering - a relatively enduring heterosexual relationship** for bearing & rearing of children. It is thus **primarily a way of regulating human reproduction**
- **Leach**: considered marriage as **bundles of rights**:
  - legitimate offspring
  - Socially approved access to the spouse’s sexuality, labour and property
  - Establishment of affinal relationships between persons and between groups.
- But **KathleenGough**: Nayarrs of Kerala- Namboodari-Nayar relation **cannot explain above def’n. Thus, own def’n**: Marriage is a **relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons**, which provides that a **child born** to the woman is not prohibited by rules of the relationship is **accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society** or social stratum.
- but after 377, Evans Pritchard- Nuer woman woman marriage: **Leach**: All universal definitions of marriage are in vain. **Gough**- marriage a polythetic- with open checklist
- Many, esp western societies: the chief aim of marriage is **not only procreation but companionship, emotional, and psychological support** are equally emphasised
- **Forms of marriage**
  - Monogamy
  - Polygamy= polygyny-Islam (some societies- sororal polygyny)+ polyandry-Todas of Nilgiris (some societies fraternal polyandry)

- **Rules of marriage-** done earlier. Add **Anuloma&pratiloma**
- **Mate selection-** In India, caste, religion, family background – been traditionally of great imp
  - **Love,**
  - **arranged-** horoscope; rules etc
  - **Dwarki- patterns of mate selection in India**
    - Marriage by parents’/elders’ choice without consulting either the boy or girl
    - Marriage by self-choice without consulting parents/ elders
    - Marriage by self-choice but with parents’ consent
    - Marriage by parents’ choice but with the consent of boy & girl
    - Marriage by parents’ choice but with consent of only one of two partners involved.
  - **Among tribals**
    - **selection by purchase/service:** Bride price→Gonds- groom to work at bride’s home for years to pay bride’s price
    - **youth dormitories:**wide scope to choose mates- marriage by consent
    - **Selection by capture:** Naga, ho, Bhil, Gond. Usually parents approval and ceremonial. but nagas- female infanticide- fear of raids
    - **Selection by trial:** prove worth and prowess first- generally thru dance game
- **Preferential marriages:** Diff for diff societies:
  - Like south- first pref marriage between a man and his **elder sister’s daughter**
  - Arabs & muslims- marriage b/w **parallel cousins** allowed:2 possible reasons
    - Family wealth is not dispersed
    - relationships donot fade away but become stronger

### India- what & why of marriage:

- Among the Hindus, for instance, marriage is regarded as a socio-religious duty
- ‘**Dharmashastra**’, point out **three main aims** of marriage. These are dharma (**duty**), praja (**progeny**) and rati (sensual **pleasure**) + periodic rituals- like **shraadh**
- **Islam-** views marriage as **Sunnah** or an obligation

### Changes in marriages:

- Historically speaking, a spate of experiments to change the form and practice of marriage itself by social reformers like **JotiraoPhule**, who along with his wife, **Savitribai**, established a **school for untouchable girls** in 1848 and a **home for upper caste widows in 1854. Shinde (1882) commented on sexual economics of marriage and prostitution and considered them as two sides of the same coin.**
- **Forms:** Monogamy- Even in a Muslim country like Pakistan, legislation - introduced - necessary for kazi - plural marriages only if 1st wife gave - written consent.
  - conditions in modern society - made marriage unstable and marriage bond is revokable, individuals are willing to risk another marriage to find happiness.
  - Hence, **-from straight monogamy, to serial monogamy.**
- **Mate selection:** young men/women increasingly being given say
- **Changes in age:**Sarda Act, 1929 and subsequent amendment in 1978

- **Change in marriage rules and customs:** Ironically, with sc& tech, traditionalism and complex rituals becoming more pronounced. Very rarely simple marriages
- **Changes in goals:** Not mode of procreation. companionship emotional, etc bond
- In India, the relationship is defined and sanctioned by custom and law prevalent in a hetero-normative and patriarchal social milieu- **Rate of marital discord-** brought before court **vexing questions** like he **right to fatherhood versus a woman's right over her own body.**
- NRI's coming to India to marry

**Family:** Link with socio-1, Functional perspective etc

- The family is a unique institution in that it is both a private and a visibly public institution at same time
- The family, broadly refers to primary group comprising husband wife unit (parents) and children.
- Thus, the family is based on the principles of kinship whose members usually share a common residence.

**Household:**

They reside in a house/homestead. This residential unit is called the household.

- The household (ghar) is a residential and domestic unit composed of one or more persons living under the same roof and eating food cooked in the same kitchen (hearth/chulah)
- These members then reside in two or more households but they consider themselves as belonging to the same family. The household is a commensal and coresident group/ unit (with provision for the phenomenon of single person households). **Thus kin and residence rules distinguish between family and household**
- **Kolenda** is another sociologist who has consistently worked towards clarifying the conceptual issues about family and household. She has proposed the 12 type classificatory scheme in her comparative study of the Indian joint family
- A household in itself is neither joint nor nuclear, but becomes either of these by virtue of its being under progression and regression in a developmental process. For example, a married son's moving out of his father's house in patrilineal society makes the son's house a nuclear one, or rather a separate one. This act may or may not simultaneously make his father's household a nuclear one
- **Process View: Phases of Household Development:** it is clear that the family is not a static institution. A household may experience progression and/or regression or both on the basis of birth, adoption and in- and out-marriage, and death, divorce and separation of members over a period of time.
- **Acc to Shah:** The pattern of developmental process in each society is affected by **three major factors:**
  - The first is the demographic factor, which not only includes the phenomena of birth, adulthood and death but also the sex and number of members. **While these phenomena are demographic in origin, they are social in operation.**
  - **The second factor is the series of explicitly stated norms** regarding the residence of various relatives in a household.



- **The third is the pattern of interpersonal relations** in a household, largely dependent on the norms or codes of proper conduct attached to kinship relationships in the household'

### Household dimensions of the family

- **AM Shah**- bookhousehold dimension of indian family-fundamental question- joint household disintegrating or joint family- proportion of joint households more today as compare to past- reason- rising population- construction of houses costly- migration for employments etc- bigger households splitting into smaller households- but strong emotional ties though not staying together- joint household splitting not joint families.household study important.
- **Pauline Kolenda**- after modernity joint households and joint families still exist- no conclusion unlike Marxist scholars.
- **Feminist view**- whether joint family or nuclear family transformation is not affecting status of women- sexuality,DOL, reproduction based on patriarchy.
- **Classical sociologists**-modernity- Household residencial place- family social istitution.

Rise of socialism and modernity- family funtions are being taken by play schools, old age homes, marriage bureaus, child care centers- family importance down- household importance up-scandinavian countries- household study is important.

**From household study**- can find out changes in indian society.

**Global migration**-Phillipines and India- married women- job outside- living in households with friends or alone.

In household- more importance to friendship to kinship- immense individual liberty- sexual freedom-limited or no liability towards other members- suitable for fragile or mobile population- Scandinavian sensus more importance to households than families.

Household study is taking place of family study, so as friendship study taking place of kinship study.

### Types of families:

- **Nuclear Family:** The most basic among the families is called natal or nuclear or elementary, or simple family, which consists of a married man and woman and their offspring (rest of paulkolenda)

### **Nature of joint family:**

**What constitutes joint family?**- factors of commensality, common residence, joint ownership of property, cooperation and sentiment of jointness, ritual bonds like worship of common deity.

Scholars like **I.P. Desai** and **K. M. Kapadia** point out that jointness should be looked in functional terms.

Structural functionalist like **SC Dubey**-Jointness grounded in commensality. Territorial distance not the only parameter. Like brother coming to city to study with elder brother & sister-in law

### The Continuum of Nuclear and Joint Family Systems

This means that these two types of family systems have to be looked at as something interrelated in a developmental cycle. The structure of a family changes over a time period in terms of size, composition, role and status of persons, the family and societal norms and sanctions. There probably is rarely a family in India, which remains perpetually nuclear in composition. The nuclear family then, is a stage in a cycle with other structural types of families.

#### *Pauline Kolenda: Additions modification in nuclear family- types:*

- **Nuclear family** refers to a couple with or without children.
- **Supplemented nuclear family** - nuclear family + one or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents, other than their unmarried children
- **Subnuclear family** is identified as a fragment of a former nuclear family
- **Single person household**
- **Supplemented sub nuclear family**

#### *Pauline Kolenda: Additions modification in joint family- types*

- **Collateral joint family**: It comprises two or more married couples b/w whom there is a sibling bond
- **Supplemented collateral joint family**: collateral joint family along with unmarried/ divorced etc
- **Lineal joint family**: 2 couples, b/w whom - lineal link, like between a parent and his married son
- **Supplemented lineal joint family**
- **Lineal collateral joint family**: type three or more couples
- **Supplemented lineal - collateral joint family**

**M.S. Gore's view**, it would be inappropriate to look at the joint family system as a collection of nuclear families

#### Changes in family:

- **Clifford Geertz-Short Circuit Theory**: Tries to explain divorces→ Smaller family- greater expectations from individual members- thus volatile insti- short circuit-fuse
- **William Goode**: Book **World Revolution and family transformation**: Nucleated family not always an offshoot of industrial economy. Eg of Philippines- kids with grandparents in village and husband wife together in city.
- **Post Family worlds**- Household worlds→ High divorce rate→ Nordic countries incentives to give birth→ Africa – 40% kids born to unwed mothers→ High life expectancy- delayed decisions, if early death then second marriage→ issues of teen pregnancy (America) → Diff sexualities- LGBT→ rules of adoption→ Livin relationships
- **Factors of Change and Process of Disintegration** of the Joint Family:
  - **Economic Factors**: Monetisation (introduction of cash transactions), diversification of occupational opportunities for employment in varied spheres, technological advancements (in communication and transport) are some of the major economic factors.
  - **Industrialisation**

- **Educational factors:** Educated women (especially college educated) were expected to have a different kind of influence on family matters than uneducated or less educated women. Kannan says that the spread of higher education both among the males and females is one of the reasons for the increase in the incidence of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages amongst the younger generations in the cities.
- **Legal Factors:** Eg: Minimum Wages Act 1948, helped to reduce the economic reliance
- **Urbanisation:** Limited availability of living space, impersonality and anonymity
- **Land Refoms:** Earlier, the members of the joint family normally lived together due to common ancestral property. Land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on landholdings
- **Growing sense of individualism:** A high sense of individualism is also growing among section of the villagers. Penetration of the mass media (viz., the newspapers, the T.V., the radio), formal education, consumerist culture and market forces have helped individualism grow at a faster rate than ever.

#### *Factors of Change Leading to Reinforcement of the Joint Family*

- **K.M. Kapadia** - families, which have migrated to cities, still retain their bonds with their joint family in the village or town. The **joint family ethic** is very much evident in the performance of certain role obligations
- **Milton Singer:** In his study *The Indian Joint Family in Modern Industry*, points out that the joint family continues to be the norm among **industrial entrepreneurs**, despite changes in their material conditions of living. **Challenges dysfunctional aspect of industrialization.**
- **Paul Kolenda** in her study *Regional Differences in Family Structure in India* observes that industrialisation serves to strengthen the joint family because an economic base has been provided to support it or because more hands are needed in a renewed family enterprise

#### *Emerging patterns*

- Previously, The father-son relationship (filial relationship) & bw brothers (fraternal relationship) more crucial than the husband-wife or conjugal relationship. Now changes. It is also found that a 'new concept of wifhood' (i.e. emphasis on conjugal relationship) has emerged which is associated with urban living in contemporary society in India. **Raj Gandhi**
- **Aged parents**, who formerly used to look towards their eldest son or other sons for support in old age, are now adjusting themselves to the new demands of family life by making economic provisions for their old age. In a situation of generation gap, many of the aged feel frustrated, dejected and neglected in society
- Gandhi believes that what urbanism does is to **increase the 'price'** of the college educated urban youth of India in the **matrimonial market**
- **From forces of urbanisation, following trends, family wise:**
  - **Families of Proprietary Class.** Their basic resource is the family of capital. The elder males in the family have substantial authority, as they own and control property. These are mostly the joint-households.

- **Families of the Entrepreneurial-cum-Professional Category:** Though these families are joint in nature, there is a tendency of breaking up as adult sons marry
- **Families in service sector:** Hierarchy eroding and individualism stronger
- **TN madan- MONEY ORDER ECONOMY**

### *Continuity of family:*

- It was initially assumed that the process of urbanization leads to a decline in family size, weakening of family ties and break up of joint family system into nuclear families
- But as evidence gathered by sociologists studying family in urban India reveals, this hypothesis does not hold much credence
- In fact, sociologists like A.M, **Shah** ,**Kapadia** ,**Gore** and others observe a **cyclical change from nuclear to joint to nuclear family within a period of time.**
- I. P. Desia in his study of **Mahuva** considers '**jointness**' of Indian family when seen in the light of the actions of members guided by the traditional norms, and then examines the effects of urbanization on 'jointness'.
- **Mukherjee:** He discovered that the upper castes, who also generally belong to the upper economic classes gave more importance to the joint family organization than the lower castes and lower economic classes
- Physical separation does not speak for the departure from the spirit of jointness of the family structure. Sense of effective cooperation in need, and obligation to each other, have remained prevalent among family members in spite of being separated from erstwhile joint family.

### *Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour*

- Bio+physiological diff → manifested in inequalities
- High dropout rates
- Inheritance rules
- Trobriand societies- women make nets but not allowed in fishing ritual
- Todas- not allowed in buffalo pens
- Technology (tractor and trucks – men and cars- women allowed cuz former means of prod'n)
- Feminists → patriarchy more pronounced in modern societies → Pink occupations- teaching, nursing, hospitality sector, entertainment sector, no IPS etc
- **Uma Chakravarty**- Dalit patriarchy- violence, brahmanic patriarchy- rules & rituals

#### 1. Khaps and honour killings

- If a jatav boy to marry a thakur girl, the two face violence at the hands of respective caste panchayats
- documented cases of forced marriages, excommunication, unlawful locking, outright murders /suicides
- The Special Marriage Act of 1954 provides for secular and civil marriage before a registrar

#### 2. Alternative relationships: 377

- Bohanan , has distinguished the **rights of a woman as a wife** (rights in **uxorem**) from **rights over the children** she may bear (**rights in genetricem**)

- **Leach:** All universal definitions of marriage are in vain.
- **Gough-** marriage a polythetic- with open checklist
- One not sure if queer or marginalised sexualities can occupy - recognisable space in mainstream

Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour

Entitlement- form of individual right- culture- rules of law- by society

**Modernist theory-** various forms of entitlements- now extended to every section gender not a criteria. Feminists criticised this.

**Talcott parson-** Industrialisation, urbanisation, migration- occupational mobility- empowerment of women and gender gap reduced.

Modernist theory in case of India- relationship between husband and wife preceding parent child relationship- conjugal relationship more impo than obligation towards kinships- irrespective of gender every child inherits property from parents- selection of mates no longer families responsibility- child birth is linked to economics and mutual agreement between spouse- modernity has broken down traditional form of marriage, hierarchical form of relationship.

Hinduism emphasis- sexual purity so child marriage- sexual experimentation outside marriage and premarital sex is hell- male child makes a woman complete- divorce is evil- widowhood is disaster- culture defines sexuality- reproduction- DOL, sexuality- Modernist contradicted- nuclear family- child birth by choice- individual control over sexuality.

**Indira Jai Singh-** All laws of entitlements based on patriarchy than gender equality- Hindu marriage act- divorce can be based on adultery- but have to be proved in court- (New act update ??)

Victims of rape has to recast the same experience again and again in order to get justice- inheritance rights over parents property to women recently made law- Legal laws based on patriarchy.

**Tulsi Patel-** Women consider it as sin to prohibit their husbands from sexuality- unwanted pregnancy- lose life during child birth- in bad healths also they accept to patriarchal convention- forgetting their entitlements- Wage payment women less than half compared to men- despite doing twice work than men in factories.

Family is a paradise in a hopeless world- where marriage, child birth, motherhood makes womans life complete.

Feminist movements is not rebellion against patriarchy rather asking for equality

## Topic-08: Religion and Society

### Previous year questions

(a) *Religious communities in India.*

(b) *Problems of religious minorities.*

- Write short note: **Pattern of secularism in India.**
- Write short note: **Communal tensions** in India.
- constitutional safeguards for **religious minorities** & account for **increasing religious fundamentalism**
- Write short note on **Secularism.**
- Define religious minority. Discuss the **problems of religious minorities** in India.
- Write short note on **Religious fundamentalism.**
- Explain the **concept of secular state** and discuss the **problems of India as a secular state.**
- Write short note on **Inequality among Brahmins.**
- Write **short note on Problems of Hindu minority in Kashmir.**
- Is **Secularism a weak Ideology?** Critically analyze the **reasons for anti-secular trends** in India.
- **Socio-economic factors** responsible for **communal tensions** in India. What suggestions?
- Write short note on **Role of religion in civil society**
- Write short note on **Religious fundamentalism**
- **Indicators of secularism.** Is it being practiced in letter and spirit in present day Indian society?
- Write short note on **Problems of religious minorities**
- Major **problems of religious fundamentalism** in contemporary India. Give suggestions to tackle these
- Can religion form a **sufficient basis of forming cultural identity** in India?
- **Distinguish b/w secularism and secularization** Analyse nature and extent of secularization in India.

### Religious communities in India

- India birth place of **Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism-**
- Religious diversity and religious tolerance established by law.
- Diversity- religious assimilation- invaders- merchants- conquerors-traders and travellers.
- Less inter religious marriages- Communal clashes.

### Minorities:

- In the International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science, Arnold Rose has defined minority without any quantitative connotations. He defines it as 'a **group of people differentiated from others** in the same society by race, nationality, religion or language, who **think of themselves as differentiated group** and are **thought of by others as a differentiated group with negative connotations.**
- **Jagnath Pathy** has also listed out the defining properties of minority group.
  - **subordinate** in some way to the majority,
  - **distinguishable** from the majority on the basis of physical or cultural features,



- collectively being regarded **& treated as different** & inferior on the basis of these features,
- **excluded** from the full participation in the life of the society.
- The Constitution of India uses the term minority but does not define it anywhere. The Supreme Court and various High Courts have so far depended on the statistical criterion

### Problems of Religious minorities

- **Religious minorities- Linguistic minorities** and **ethnic minorities** (tribe)- fear of loss of identity hence blockade- e.g. Delhi Punjabi living in Punjabi Bagh.
- **Kerala 3 types of christians-** Syrian Christian- Latin Christians- New Christians (untouchables)- Christianity indianised.
- Northeast- missionary activity- christianity- modern education e.g Mizoram- ethnic identity- conflict among them.; Threat to christian minorities- right wing fundamentalism- organised terror.

### Approaches to minority problems

- **Assimilation:** bringing homogeneity. The assimilation of heterogeneous groups through coercion is not so bluntly adopted, states now prefer adopting indirect methods. Discrimination is one such method.
- **Discrimination and Annihilation:** While the minority groups are allowed to preserve their distinct characteristics they are also subjected to a great deal of discrimination. The discrimination may be in the form fewer government funds for minority educational institutions etc. Very often they are discriminated in their social life. They are subjected to ridicule and segregation which further compels them to stay away from the majority.
- **Tolerance and Equality:** The policy of tolerance and fair treatment is adopted by many states when dealing with minority community. A great deal of leeway is given for the preservation and persurance of the minority social and cultural life. Though the state may have in mind the assimilation of various minority groups as the final goal. It will nevertheless adopt a tolerant attitude towards minority groups as long as the minority communities do not cause any destabilizing effect on the nation state.

### Problems of Muslims in India

- Around **12% of population**- educated highly placed muslims very less- major educated migrate to western- middle class community is very less- poor section is large.
- **Communal disturbances-** inequality and poverty and exploitation by priestly community i.e. Mullas- foreign interference.
- **John Stuart Mill** the worst of the tyrannies is the tyranny of the majority- it doesn't mean majority deliberately tries to humiliate- i.e. **sensitive minority complex is a natural phenomena.**
- Role of politicians- Anti-social elements- bitter memories of past.
- Why north belt **hindu revivalist groups are active** there and bitter memories of partition- politics over communal clashes- parties tend to handle the situation a balanced manner- things go out of control.
- **South India** and MH- **Communal clashes are less.**
- Theoretically- Islam no caste system- since they are converts- hence caste system.

- **Sachar Committee Report** admin services less representation- 4% muslim students complete class x- 2% class XII- 1.2% graduation- on an **avg 249 communal clashed in each year-**
- **Deepak Mehta Minority psychosis- dharavi slum example**-easy trigger.
- **Educational problems**- school curriculum in hindi or english-less about islamic culture or society-less interesting for muslim students; islamic culture no encouragement for co-education; no special school for muslim girls in country as well; **Many state govts promoting Madrasa- no promotion of secular education-** religious education-little attention to rational knowledge for livelihood- huge gap between hindus and muslims-vote bank politics so major reforms for their education-policy of appeasement.
- **ZoyaHasan- backward ness of muslim women-** religious orthodox leaders and state- **uniform civil code which could have empowered muslim women was rejected-**
- **Randhirsinghislamophobia-** vertical division of society- religious fundamentalism- questioning the secular credentials of India.
- **Govts steps: PMs 15 point programme- Anti-communal violence bill- Commission for Minorities- National minorities development and finance corporation(NMDFC)-Sachar committee-wakf board property protection bill.**

#### Religion background- from socio-1

**Sharma** points out ethnicity has two dimensions, dormant and salient. In its **dormant form**, ethnicity represents an innocent mode of **identification based on certain relatively distinct cultural attributes**. In its **salient form**, ethnicity signifies an urge for **political power based on a sense of cultural distinction'**

The **majority group invariably controls** power in most of these societies while the **minorities tend be the victims** of prejudice and discrimination. This obviously leads to a **relation of inequality** and **social stratification** among the ethnic groups, a powerful and dominant majority and several subordinate ethnic minorities.

According to **Giddens** a **minority group has the following features**.

- Its **members are disadvantaged**. **Discrimination** exists when rights and opportunities open to one set or people are denied to another group. Eg an upper caste Hindu landlord may refuse to rent a room to someone because she or he is a Muslim or a tribal.
- Members of a minority have **some sense of group solidarity**. Experience of being the subject of **prejudice and discrimination usually heightens feeling of common loyalty and interest**. Members of a minority group often tend to see themselves as **'a people apart'** from the majority.
- Minority groups are usually **physically or socially isolated** from the larger community. They tend **to be concentrated in certain neighbourhoods**, cities or regions of a country. There is little intermarriage between those in the majority and members of the minority groups.
- Members- minority groups **attempt hard to maintain their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness**

An ethnic group can be described to be a minority only when it fulfils the above mentioned sociological criteria. Numerical criteria is not very important.

Over a period of time certain groups that were well integrated in the power structure could develop a distinct identity & begin to experience prejudice & discrimination. This **process is called minoritization**.

**Sikh Militancy:**

- Akalishad initially started mobilizing the Sikh peasants for Punjab in the early 1980s on the question of the distribution of irrigation water of the rivers that passed through the state.
- Even Communist Party of India (Marxist) was one of their allies in this struggle.
- Gradually the Akalis shifted the focus of their struggle towards the demand for greater autonomy the states within the framework of a resolution passed in 1974 at a meeting of some Sikh organizations in a town called Anandpur Sahib. "The Anandpur Sahib Resolution"
- It asked the Central Government to keep only the critical areas of governance.
- However. the central government saw suggestions of secessionism
- The rise of Bhindranwale could be traced to a religious struggle b/w the followers of the Bhindranwale and those of the Nirankari Panth, a reformist religious sect of the Hindus and Sikhs.
- Some Congress politicians also patronized him who. they thought, would emerge as an alternative to the Akalis in the Sikh religious politics
- Demand for Khalistan → indiscriminate killings → Indira Gandhi realized things out of hand → operation Blue Star. Acc to estimate 700 military men and 5000 civilians died in temple.
- Army actions angered many Sikhs and post Blue Star violence was even more gore.

**Conditions under which ethnicity becomes basis of stratification:**

- **Nature of political regime:** If democracy- unlikely that systematic discrimination will happen
- **Demographic structure:** Many religious communities Vs one huge majority
- **Relationship b/w religion and economy:** if members of particular community control means
- **Cultural and historical factors:** if society encourages tolerance & mutual respect or not.

**Religious pluralism in India- Facts only (don't memorize- quote as examples)**

- Religious pluralism is thus, keynote of Indian culture and religious tolerance is the very foundation of Indian secularism. Religious secularism is based on the belief that all religions are equally good and that they all lead to the same goal of realisation of God. According to S.R. Bhatt religious pluralism leading to secularism stands for a complex interpretative process in which there is transcendence of religion and yet there is a unification of multiple religions
- India comprises the world's most important religions comprising its people. Moreover, it has on its land a diversity of religious communities settled over very periods of time. For instance, Islam came to India as far back as 650 A.D. and spread to the Western parts of India. It began to take hold in India after 1000 A.D. and expanded considerably under the successive Muslim dynasties. Similarly, Christianity came to India many centuries prior to the coming of the British or the Portuguese. An off-shot of the ***Mesopotamian Christian church existed in India's South-Western part even as early as the 3rd century***, and was later on spread by the Portuguese during the 16th century. The Parsis or Zoroastrians migrated to India after Persia was conquered by the followers of Islam They settled down in Gujarat and came to be known in India as "Parsis". Jews are a very small group in India- About 25000 in population. "Judaism", the religion of the Jews has a long history. In India we find two kinds of Jews (i) the ***Cochin Jews***, and (ii) the ***Bene Israel Jews***. Both these kinds are further divided into ***'Black' Jews*** and the ***"White" Jews***. Legend, as believed by the Jews in India, has it that their earliest ancestors arrived in India after the destruction of the second Temple of Jerusalem during the time of King Solomon.
- Different sects → History of intermixing
- Caste within different religions etc

- Among the Indian religions Islam, Christianity, Sikhism have a strong communitarian emphasis.
- Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Sikhism share the values of non-violence and humanism in common. Islam places great emphasis on just and human values.
- Religions, therefore, share certain universal values in common irrespective of their internal differences. This enriches pluralism
- Thirdly, religion in its day-to-day expression maintains closer relationships with existential (life-related) problems of human beings. Like birth, death, diseases, survival and physical sustenance are existential issues which no religion can treat as marginal

### Fundamentalism:

- Fundamentalism is an organised all-encompassing movement which aims at promotion of societal goals specifically in the light of religious enshrinements
- TN Madan characteristics of Fundamentalism (from Paper-I)
- Fundamentalism thus separates a certain community from the mainstream
- Thus a fundamental movement is one which takes infallibility of a scripture as a basic issue and as a guide to life. This often amounts to intolerance of any form of disagreement or dissent. Thus there is an apprehension that fundamentalists are narrow minded, and bigoted.
- Thus Maududi characterised the present Muslim way of life as 'ignorant' and Bhindranwale talked of the 'fallen' Sikhs who shave off their beards, cut their hair and do not observe the traditional Sikh way of life. **Thus fundamental movements are not only about religious beliefs, but lifestyles generally**
- **However these movements also perform a role in modern society which cannot be ignored.**

### Communalism:

- It is a **sectarian exploitation of social traditions** as a **medium of political mobilization**
- The ideology of communalism in India was, and still is, that the **different communities in India cannot co-exist to their mutual benefit**, that the **minorities will become victims of Hindu subjugation** and that the **historically created situation nor culture will allow cooperation**.
- Clifford Geertz, an American anthropologist, wrote, "When we speak of communalism in India we refer to **religious contrasts**, when we speak of it in Malaya we are mainly concerned with racial ones, and in the Congo with tribal ones". Here the **significant link is between communal and political loyalties**
- Communalism arose in India during its colonial phase. The bogey of communalism is being kept alive not for checking national disintegration but with a view that minority vote bank does not dissipate itself into the larger Indian ethos.
- It arises out of a belief system & assumes great solidarity within a community which is not always true
- **T.K. Oommen** has suggested six dimensions of communalism: **assimilationist, welfarist, retreatist, retaliatory, separatist, and secessionist.**
- **Assimilationist communalism** is one in which small religious groups are assimilated/integrated into a big religious group. Such communalism claims that Scheduled Tribes are Hindus, or that Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists are Hindus and they should be covered by the Hindu Marriage Act.
- **Welfarist communalism** aims at the welfare of a particular community, say, improving living standard and providing for education and health of Christians by the Christian associations, or Parsi associations working for the uplift of the Parsis. Such communal mobilisation aims at working only for members of one's own community. Retreatist communalism is one in which

a small religious community keeps itself away from politics: for example, Bahai community, which forbids its members from participating in political activities.

- **Retaliatory communalism** attempts to harm, hurt, and injure the members of other religious communities. Separatist communalism is one in which one religious or a cultural group wants to maintain its cultural specificity and demands a separate territorial state within the country, for example, the demand of Mizos and Nagas in North-East India or Bodos in Assam, or of Jharkhand tribals in Bihar, or of Gorkhas for Gorakhaland in West Bengal, or of hill people for Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, or of Vidharbha in Maharashtra.
- Lastly, **secessionist communalism** is one in which a religious community wants a separate political identity and demands an independent state. A very small militant section of Sikh population demanding Khalistan or some Muslim militants demanding independent Kashmir were engaged in practising this type of communalism. Of these six types of communalism, the last three create problems engendering agitations, communal riots, terrorism and insurgency.

### Communal riots:

- Communalism arises when one or two characteristics of an ethnic identity e.g. religious beliefs are taken and emotionally surcharged. Communal movements are often brief and exist in a dyad, comprising an opposing force or ideology which has to be countered. Unlike fundamentalism, communalism can only exist dyadically (in presence of other, needs at least 1 more religion)
- **Ghosh: Hindu-Muslims riots reflected the religious fears and socio-economic aspirations** of the Hindus and Muslims. Sometimes these riots occur for very minor reasons such as quarrels between Muslim and Hindu shopkeepers
- A few Hindu and Muslim fanatics, to whom religion provides a smokescreen for their nefarious deeds, hold society to ransom.
- **The important point is that these are not isolated acts but often deliberate mechanizations of various socio-religious organisations**
- **Recurrent collisions were engineered on festivals by stopping them and various religious occasions by interfering in their process. - done to inflame communal passions and bitterness.**
- **Ghosh-** Thus Independence was erected on the corpses of many thousands of people.
- **Patel:** He feels that those resorting to it are neither true Hindus or true Muslims. Religion does not preach enmity. However the causes which are often given for communal violence are hurt religious sentiments. The causes are flimsy such as playing music before a mosque, insulting the Prophet or the Holy Quran. This is sufficient to provoke violence among some of the Muslims. So also disturbing by Muslims of a religious yam is enough to rouse Hindu ire.

### Reasons for communal riots:

- **Ghosh** points out that: riots are part of progress in an under developed country. The class struggle is converted into a communal struggle weakening the solidarity of the proletariat class. **Economic conflicts lead to riots as in Bihar Sharif and Bhiwandi.**
- Electoral politics determine the objectives and direction of communal violence. Eg Delhi, 1986
- A "cause" is often espoused: Eg in 1969 handbills have a call for **dharmayudha** by the Hindu militants
- Economic competitiveness: Earlier, There was an interdependence between Hindu employers and Muslim artisans. However, in recent time economic competitiveness come from Muslims and has turned into a religious threat to Hindus.



- Grassroot politics is another approach mooted for the eradication of communalism along with a democratic rights approach
- Gandhi's idea that religious cleavages which could be handled by using religious loyalties and thus lead to nationhood proved wrong. The idea of orthodox pluralism heightened rather than reduced the rift between different religious communities
- **Historical Causes**
- **Psychological Causes**
- **Negative Impact of Mass Media**
- It has been observed that the possibility of recurrence of communal riots in a town where communal riots have already taken place is stronger than in a town in which riots have never occurred.

### *Solutions to communal riots:*

- **Verma**-religion should be separated from politics and communal bodies should be banned.
- Communalism needs to be denounced by political leaders and all leading citizens.
- Thus communalism has an ugly aspect and goes against national integration. Religion should not become the whipping boy of political ambitions
- Abolition of Communal Parties:
- Public Opinion
- Transmission of the Past Heritage
- Inter-religious Marriage
- approach religion in a secular view. Firstly we should not dismiss any religions or pronounce them to be false. Second we should try to locate the democratic and the secular in the social basis of religion. Thirdly the irrationalities of religion should be exposed and a rational approach taken.

### **Secularism**

- 'Secularism' is the belief/ideology that religion and religious considerations should be deliberately kept out from temporal affairs. It speaks of neutrality.
- Luther contends that Indian State is not secular since it does not clearly demarcate between the State and the Church in the manner in which, for example, the United States of America does.
- Religious fundamentalism has been indicative of a 'breakdown' of secularisation process in India. It has brought escalation of ethno-religious conflicts and national disintegration.
- The conceptual construct of secularism is adopted in India by way of a solution to the problems, posed by fundamentalism and communalism.
- Ideally speaking, it denotes a situation where there is a clear distinction of religion from such spheres of life as political and economic systems. Each religion is to be respected and practiced in private.
- ***Process of secularization:*** This is the ***process*** by which ***various sectors of society*** are ***removed from the domination of religious symbols*** and also the domination of religious institutions. Finally the idea of secularism has been transferred from 'the dialectic of modern science and protestantism in the west to South Asian societies.
- Through the judicious use of philosophy of secularism fundamentalism & communalism can be curbed.
- Some of important factors which have impeded growth of normal secularism in India :
  - **Problem of Uniform Civil Code**
  - **Politics and Religion**
  - **Failure of the Government in Evolving a Just Economic Order**



- **Cultural Symbols and Secularism:** Of late an attempt has been made by a sizeable section of the Indian society to equate Hindu cultural symbols as national culture. This is possibly the expression of what has been called the "Hindu backlash". Such insensitivity to the feelings of the minorities destroys the credibility of the secular professions of the State. In societies where such distinctions are emphasized, groups and communities remain distanced from one another.
- **Minority Group Perceptions:** administrative machinery of the State does not operate impartially at the time of communal riots. loyalties- particularistic rather than universalistic.
- The **Defective Educational System** failed to inculcate secular ideas in the minds

### **Cult (add in socio-1)**

The social reality of the Cult is essentially rooted in the 'cultic act'. This act is a system of worship - a complex of feelings and attitudes, symbols (gestures, words, rites and rituals) and primarily a relationship with sacred object and the world beyond. It involves co-activity and a social boundary. In it the relationship between the laity and clergy is not negligible but secondary.

**New Religious movements in India:** In India, some of the new religious and spiritual movements in India include the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKON), Transcendental Meditation, The Art of Living Movement, the Osho Rajneesh Movement, and so on.

### **Kashmiri Pandits issue:**

J&K has 95% muslim population. Every Kashmiri Hindu, with the exception of Khatri shopkeepers of Srinagar, who are known as Bohras, is called a Pandit or learned Brahman. Though not all learned, they are all Brahmins, and chiefly the followers of Shiva, the Lord of the Mountain and the God of the hill people.

Given the large numbers involved and the relatively short time frame in which most of the departures of the Kashmiri Pandits happened, the more accurate term would have to be an "exodus".

In 2010, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir noted that 808 Pandit families, comprising 3,445 people, were still living in the Valley and that financial and other incentives put in place to encourage others to return there had been unsuccessful. 219 members of the community had been killed in the region between 1989 and 2004 but none thereafter. Controversy over numbers of exodus, whether state sponsored? If genocide etc

- uprooting from their homeland has been a traumatic experience for most Kashmiri Pandits.
- Accounts from Pandits living in miserable conditions of deprivation in camps suggest a variety of tolls taken on them as a community that range from the decline in their birth-rates, since the accommodation in these camps allow so little privacy, to large numbers suffering from mental illnesses, such as depression and paranoia.
- The mental toll has also taken the form of extreme insecurity. For many of them the experience of living in exile has been a humiliating one of being reduced to the status of refugees, a term that has connotations of mendicancy and social dishonour.
- Many Pandits have also expressed the very real fear of losing their specific cultural identity through assimilation in the wider Indian environment; the loss of their language, of their regionally specific religious traditions and indeed even of their numbers through their younger members marrying outside the community.

### **Secularism and Secularisation:**

- Social thinkers have used the word **secularisation** to indicate a process whereby the religious institutions and religious conceptions and understanding have lost control in worldly matters - economy, polity, justice, health, family, and so on. Instead, there emerged

empirical & rational procedures. Though India has long history of secular tradition, process of secularisation started during British rule. But the process of secularisation took its course unlike Western Europe renaissance and reformation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

- 'Secularisation', in the words of Peter Berger, refers to 'the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols.
- In India, the term **secularism** implies that the state will not identify with any one religion but is tolerant of all religious practices. As Nehru declared in 1950, "the Government of a country like India with many religions that have secured great and devoted following for generations, can never function satisfactorily in the modern age except on a secular basis". Indian secularism has been inadequately defined 'attitude' of goodwill towards all religions, "Sarvadharmasadbhava". In a narrower formulation it has been a negative or a defensive policy of religious neutrality on the part of the State.
  - The secular idea was adopted during the freedom struggle to unite the various communities against the colonial power. Although the Indian constitution speaks against any principle of religious discrimination, it cannot prevent the state to legislate in favour of any oppressed community which includes the minority community. This inbuilt contradiction in our polity makes it very difficult for the secular ideal to be practiced in reality

#### Indicators and causes of secularization:

- Decline in the Concept of Purity and Pollution
- Decline in the Rituals of Life Cycles
- Modern Education
- Development of the Means of Transport and Communication
- Social and Religious Reform Movements
- Urbanization
- Legislation
- The Indian Constitution

#### Functions of religion:

S.C. Dube has identified nine functions of religion:

- **Explanatory** function (explains why, what, etc., relating to the mysterious),
- **Integrative** function (provides support amid uncertainty and consolation amid failure and frustration),
- **Identity** function (provides a basis of maintenance of relationship for security and identity),
- **Validating** function (provides moral justification and powerful sanctions to all basic institutions),
- **Control** function (holds in check divergent forms of deviance),
- **Expressive** function (provides for satisfaction of painful drives),
- **Prophetic** function (expressed in protest against established conditions),
- **Maturation** function (providing recognition to critical turns in an individual's life history)
- **Wish-fulfillment** function (covering both latent and manifest wishes).

Many of traditional functions of religion are taken care of by secular institutions.

## TOPIC 9: Visions of social change:

### (i) Visions of Social Change in India:

- Idea of development planning and mixed economy. (From economics book- Ramesh Singh)
- Constitution, law and social change.
- Education and social change

### Idea of development planning and mixed economy

- Non capitalist-as no technology-no market-agri based economy.
- Non socialist-as state would control market, production,distribution-might lead to autocratic rule.
- Hence mixed economy- both state and private players- railways , shipping etc only govt-education,health,aviationetc both private and govt.

### Sociologists analysis:

- **MS Gore**- book developmental policies of India since independence-land reform system introduced in a haphazard manner-helped the landlords- dominant classes got the ownerships through benami transfer system in the name of cooperative farming.
- **Daniel Thorner**- Capitalist agriculture in socialist India.
- Cooperative movement- helped the dominant classes-was based on subsidy and tax rebate etc.
- **PC Joshi**- book developmental strategies of India- gandhian vision of planning- use of appropriate technology- trusteeship and balance between nature and culture emphasizing on human happiness-than just materialistic prosperity.
- 1990s-LPG-not sustainable development model-profit centric without social responsibility-despite growth rampant poverty
- **Economic liberalisation**- India became hunting ground for cheap labour- new capitalist agenda
- Anita Minocha- young software professionals-health hazards- consumerist behaviour
- **AmartyaSen**- Growth should be centred on health and education- mental and physical health-capacity to gather skill and fight discrimination- demand of justice when it is not extended to him

### Concept of Education

- The term 'education' is derived from the Latin word, educare which means,'to bring up', 'to lead out', and 'to develop'. Peters explains that the coming of , industrialism was accompanied with greater demand for knowledge, skill and training
- In its widest possible sense, education i s characterized by the moral, intellectual, and spiritual development of a person. It may be noted that the conception of education as the all-round development of an individual
- The invention of the printing press in the year 1423 was a milestone in the history of education
- Literacy: In common parlance, a term that is often used synonymously with education is literacy. Much in contrast to education, the scope of the concept of literacy is delimited to the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic - the so-called three R's.

- The term critical literacy was used to refer to the capacity of an individual to participate as an active citizen given to critiquing national and international practices, claiming rights, and challenging power structures.
- UNESCO recognized the clear-cut distinction between 'autonomous literacy' (referring to a skill acquired with no reference to values and context) and 'ideological literacy' (referring to mediation of literacy by social or political ideologies).
- Literacy is ambiguous, neither positive or negative in itself, its value depending on the way it is acquired or delivered and the manner in which it is used. It can be liberating, or to use **Freire's term, domesticating.**
- Technology is changing the way we look at Education

### **Education as Preparation for Social Role in Ideal State**

In his widely read, oft-quoted work, *Republic*, Plato divided people in society into different categories based on their intellectual development and acumen. The major classes were: the intellectual rulers or philosopher-kings; the auxiliaries and military defenders; and the workers who produced goods and services. Individuals received education appropriate to the category to they belonged which determined the tasks they were required to perform in the course of their lives.

### **Education as Cultivation of Reasoning Ability**

In contrast to Plato's belief that all knowledge lies innate within the individual, Aristotle upheld that knowledge was derived from sense perceptions. A child observes the objects and phenomena through the five senses, The process of arriving at general conclusions from specific, or particular observations is known as 'inductive reasoning

### **Education as Learning What Children Want to Know**

Education is commonly understood as confined to information essential for an individual to live intelligently as a useful member of society. This implies the perpetuation of basic information in schools that tends to get monolithic and uniformised.

Holt, Such an educational system that exercises complete control over a child prepares the groundwork for raising slaves (rather than vibrant, socially and mentally independent, intelligent adults) driven by greed, envy and fear.

What is important is the conviction that we should not put others in a situation in which they feel compelled to be influenced by us. In essence, we need to allow an individual to accept or reject our viewpoint and make sure that his/her freedom to choose is not curtailed.

### **Built-in Value in Education**

By implication, a person who has undergone the process of education has been essentially transformed for the better. Education, therefore, can be said to have 'built-in value. More importantly, education is a not a monolithic concept applicable to chalk-and-blackboard teaching within the four walls of a classroom. Getting children to make things, showing them how to do things, making them find out and explore are educative processes.

### **Education in India:**

In the traditional sense, education in India was based largely on respect, concern, and sharing.

**Naik:** Earlier, One teacher one school, Village contributed and was responsible. This may be contrasted with the governmental approach of appointing several teachers in one school and the rising concern about teacher absenteeism, particularly in rural and far-flung areas.

In the traditional sense, the essence of education lay in realizing one's potential and developing it as an integrated aspect of growing up. It is for this reason that socialization as education assumes greater relevance in the East.

The so well established educational system lays excessive emphasis on literacy, reason and rationality, success, achievement, material progress and competition and all that makes for prosperity, richness and affluence. The content of education is designed in a way that the child acquires the basic information and skill-set that would enable him/her to do well in the global market.

What happens in the process is that the child gets alienated from his/her own, local environment and concerns. Individual creativity, initiative and spontaneity get clipped to a large extent

Gandhi's idea of education: Much earlier, Gandhi had advocated a system of education better known as basic education or 'naitalim'. He advocated a kind of education that would develop among children self-reliance, commitment to non-violence, awareness about others' and their own rights, responsibilities, and obligations in society. **An important aspect of 'naitalim' was the inculcation of appreciation for manual labour.** Gandhi's ideas on education seem relevant as an alternative way of a total development of the body, mind, and soul through self-restraint, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, self-fulfillment, and community participation

Education in Sociology:

**Dewey** distinguished between Education as a means for growth of individual in accordance with goals of a specific society and natural growth of an individual. For eg: The education system in Greece and Rome was designed in a way that children learnt to subordinate themselves to the collectivity. In the Middle Ages, education was above all Christian; in the Renaissance, it assumes a more literary and lay character; today science tends to assume the place in education formerly occupied by the arts". The

### Education and social change

- Education is not only instrumental in bringing about social change, it is also quite interestingly instrumental in maintaining the status quo. In other words, education plays both a 'conservative' and 'radical' role, i.e., it helps both in 'maintaining' and 'changing' different aspects of the social system.
- There are some (Althusser) who treat education as the most important 'ideological state apparatus' appropriated by the ruling classes to pursue their own ideas and interests. Many social scientists, politicians, educationists and educational planners who consider education as an important instrument of social change, particularly in the context of third world countries. Schools and universities are themselves a part of society subject to pressures from other parts of the social system. In a highly stratified society, for example, it is unrealistic to expect schools to inculcate strongly egalitarian principles.
- Social change has been defined by sociologist **Wilbert Moore** as a significant alteration over time in behaviour patterns and culture, including norms and values.

- Although the process of education socializes individuals to conform to the norms and values of society, it also has the capacity to generate a spirit of enquiry and question the accepted norms.
  - Germany, Russia, India and Pakistan, and the evolving societies of the continent: of Africa and South America, to see that education has been, and is being, used as an agent of social change.
  - Durkheim argued that education exists in many forms. There is, and must be, an interaction between education and society. It is not just a one-way process in which education is wholly determined by the state or by the demands of society.
  - If social change refers to fundamental structural changes in society, it is clear that the socio-economic factor and the political factor rather than education have primary importance in the process of social change. Education can facilitate the process of social change as a necessary and a vital collateral factor.
  - The role of education as a factor of social development is defined by the twin facts that education is permeated by the social biases of society and that those who seek education are social actors who retain the orientations of their specific position in a society.
  - Where education is a condition of social and economic change, it is more likely to produce intended consequences. This happens because educational change follows other changes in society; the social context is thus favourable to social change.
- i) **Education and Economic Development:** social classes and their economic, social and political interests. To reiterate, it seems that however imperative it is for the educational process to keep pace with the demands made by economic and technical development on the labour force, there is a very real sense in which educational expansion is a consequence rather than a cause of economic development.
  - ii) **Education and Democracy** No necessary link. Most totalitarian regimes attempt to use their schools to inculcate conformity and submissiveness and uncritical loyalty to the state
  - iii) **Education and social change in India:** Even today children from slum homes are all too often educated in slum schools that are quite untypical of schools elsewhere. Yet increasingly, it is being believed that for these children, even equality is not enough. Therefore, the need for **positive discrimination** was emphasized in favour of slum schools. It is argued that schools in deprived areas should be given priority in many respects -raise the standard of schooling and infrastructural facilities. Some people argue that compensatory education cannot in itself solve problems of health, housing and discrimination and that these must be tackled by agencies outside school
    - a. **Kamat** conceptualized the relationship between education and social change in India in three stages. ...In the first stage, he talks about the early British period to the end of the 19th century. In this period, the colonial socioeconomic and political structure was established in India. However it also played a kind of liberating role in breaking down traditional norms and values.
    - b. In the period between the two world wars, education assumed a mass character. Occupational and social mobility occurred among segments of population that were hitherto unnoticed.



- c. In the third stage, i.e. from post-Independence period up to the mid-sixties, the process of social and political awakening has taken further strides. Its two aspects, conformity and liberation, are also operating. At the same time, the contradiction within the education system i.e., in relation to the development, socio-economic structure have also sharpened.

iv) **Education and Social Mobility**

- a. Social Mobility: movement of individuals or groups from one position of a society's stratification system to another.
- b. One way of examining vertical social mobility is to contrast inter-generational and intra-generational mobility
- c. The concept of equality of educational opportunity has undergone significant change over the decades. The core of the idea, however, remains that all the children should have an equal chance to succeed (or fail) in a common school system.
- d. Theoretically speaking, even though, private schools maybe open to children from various ethnic backgrounds, the very fact that they have a high fee structure restricts the entry of a large number of students to such schools.
- e. Dropping out of school before high school graduation is more characteristic of low-status families, measured in terms of income level and of the father's occupation

**Concept of Meritocracy: Critical assessment**

The concept of meritocracy is not without problems.

- It tends to assume that social inequality is inevitable.
- It focuses on placement in the occupational structure; it overlooks the significance of elites and the role of the propertied class.
- A meritocracy is a society with structured social inequality in which individuals have an equal opportunity to obtain unequal power and reward.
- M. S. A. Rao systematically charted out the course of the relationship between education and social mobility in India from pre-British days till the introduction of the modern system of education. According to him, in pre- British India and during the earlier phases of British rule, education was generally the monopoly of upper castes.
- Vedic learning was confined to savarnas, and even among Brahmins, only a section of the people had the right to study the Vedas and practice priesthood. The study of the Quran was open to all Muslims although Maulvis had the right to interpret and expound it in their own way. Similarly, among the Buddhists, education was open to all the followers of the religion. Certain literary professions such as medicine (Ayurveda) and astrology were also open to castes other than Brahmins. Further, literary education was more open to males than to females.
- The British adopted a policy of reservation of low paid administrative posts for members of low castes. The awareness of economic and other advantages of English education gradually spread to the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy, and there was a widespread effort on their part to seek new education.
- Today, On one hand, we have schools like G. D. Goenka in New Delhi with air conditioned classrooms and buses and skin sensor taps, with the best and state of the art infrastructure,

which caters to the rich sections of society. On the other hand, we have several local, municipal schools with not just poor infrastructure and basic aids like blackboard and chalk, but even insufficient teachers. There is a marked contrast in the quality of education imparted by these schools.

- Caste enterprise and preferential state policies affect the system of education in their own way.
- When students from lower strata get highly educated, they also contribute to the heightening of its prestige seeking alliance from castes. Education has become a source of prestige and a symbol of higher social status.

### *Role of Education in Social and Human Development*

- **Rampal** writes, "If Role of Education in education is really to be a means of reducing social inequities and redressing Social and Human the skewed course of development followed in the last few decades, it shall Emerging Perspectives have to be reckoned as a site of struggle for power
- Contrary to the understanding that children of marginalized families are deficient in basic capacities and capabilities of learning is the fact that they are more sensitive to, aware and conscious of the conflicts and complexities of life. It is unfair to judge them on the basis of their performance in standardized formats and centralized criteria of assessment of their capacities to learn and articulate information that is by no means close to their own lives. for example, tribal children who grew up learning indigenous ways of measuring rice. Now, when they are introduced to the modern counting system in elementary classes, there is a great likelihood that they would not be able to understand and perform well in examinations
- **Innovations in Education at the Grass-roots:** Barefoot College in Tilonia

### *Role of Education for Empowerment of the Marginalized*

- Women, for instance, form a universal category of the marginalized. Indian education system has been, by its very nature, elitist and exclusionary from traditional times.
- The first aspect of the process of marginalization is that of the inferior location of these groups. They are located on the margins or the periphery.
- The second aspect is the process of social exclusion. In an unequal and hierarchically organized society, not all groups enjoy equal amounts of power and prestige.
- Consequently they are not able to fully participate in economic, social and civic life, and their inadequate access to material and non-material resources, exclude them from enjoying a quality of life and standard of living that is regarded as acceptable in society they live in.
- The British devoted attention to education in India from 1813 to 1921. Unfortunately, interest in primary education was greatly diminished after 1835 when Macaulay's (in)famous "Minute" directed policy towards higher education premised on the "downward filtration theory.

- Article 46 of the Constitution reaffirms that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the scheduled castes."
- Another important aspect is that of accessibility of schools
- A second and equally important dimension is the social accessibility of the school.

**Women Education:** Boys are prioritized because they are the future providers of economic security for their parents, while girls' future role is to be married away. It is believed that this might interfere with their marriage prospects in a negative way. There is high opportunity cost of ducation for them.

**Factors:**

- Distance of school from homes
- Inflexible school schedules
- Absence of women teachers
- Absence of girls schools
- Insufficient infra
- Insufficient child care facilities

**Education and Scheduled Tribes:** majority of them live in scattered habitations located in the interior, remote and inaccessible hilly and forest areas of the country. SCs and STs are often ridiculed, avoided and discriminated against due to the traditional low socioeconomic status. overt act of discrimination such as segregation in seating arrangements, refusal to let them use the common pitcher for drinking water, or to touch them and their notebooks and so on are not unheard of. Furthermore, schools often fail to use their mother tongue as the medium of instruction. This accounts for Human Development the loss of interest and lack of effort to continue and gets reflected in the poor retention rates.

Education as means of empowerment: In the present day non-egalitarian and unequal society complex power relations and hierarchization exist. Not all social groups enjoy equal access to the educational resources and hence 'equality of condition' that functionalists assume does not exist in the first place. In the name of preserving order and social cohesiveness, what is done is the promotion of the interests of the dominant sections of society.

Schools promote the ***technocratic-meritocratic ideology, which uphold that economic success essentially depends on appropriate skills, knowledge, talents and abilities.***

Louis Althusser, a French philosopher, whose work forms the basis of the 'hegemonic-state reproductive model'.

**Functions of education:**

Education is understood to be a crucial factor in at least five distinct ways

- **Intrinsic importance:** education seen as an act of learning leads to personal growth and self-development, which has an intrinsic value of its own.
- **Instrumental personal roles:** education enables one to get an appropriate set of skills and knowledge that enables him to make use of economic opportunities and get into a profession of his own choice. It also enables one to participate in a number of other valuable activities like playing sports, reading, etc

- **Instrumental social roles:** education makes one more socially aware and politically assertive. An educated person is more aware of his/her social needs and political rights and asserts for them both on an individual level and at the collective level, which strengthens the democratic practice.
- **Instrumental social processes:** education makes a lasting impact on social processes and enables one to reject and fight against oppressive socio-cultural practices. It is a powerful means of getting rid of social evils like neglect of girl child, child labor and so on. This would reduce the number and extent of deprived and deprivation.
- **Empowerment and distributive roles:** greater literacy and educational empowerment enables emancipation of the marginalized sections of society by accommodating them in the mainstream.

### Constitutional provisions for promoting education: Year Book- chapter Education

#### Reforms required

- The **elimination** of excessive element of **chance** and **subjectivity**;
- The de-emphasis of **memorization**;
- **Continuous and comprehensive evaluation** that incorporates both scholastic and non-scholastic aspects of education, spread over the total span of instructional time;
- **Effective use of the evaluation process** by teachers, students and parents;
- **Improvement in the conduct of examination**;
- The **introduction of concomitant changes** in **instructional materials** and **methodology**;
- tradition of the **semester system** from the secondary stage in a phased manner;
- The use of **grades in place of marks**.

**National Policy on Education:** The following three are the main points of emphasis of these policy documents.

- Universal access
- Universal enrolment
- Universal retention
- **Operation Blackboard:** The scheme of Operation Blackboard was launched in 1987. The basic aim was to improve the school environment and enhance retention and learning achievement of children by providing minimum essential facilities in all primary schools. According to this scheme, the following are provided to each school.
  - i) At least two reasonably larger all-weather rooms, with a verandah and separate toilet facilities for boys and girls;
  - ii) At least two teachers - one of them a female - for each school; and
  - iii) Essential teaching-learning materials including blackboards, maps, charts, toys and equipment for work experience.
- **Non-Formal Education (NFE):** The scheme of Non-Formal Education was introduced by the Government of India in 1979-80 with the objective of supporting the formal system in providing education to all children upto the age of 14 years

- **Kasturba Gandhi BalikaVidyalaya (KGBV):** The scheme called Kasturba Gandhi BalikaVidyalaya (KGBV) has been approved by the Government of India to set up upto 750 residential schools with boarding facilities at elementary level for girls belonging to SC, ST, OBC and minorities in difficult areas

#### **Problems of higher education:**

- **Infrastructure**
- **Relevance and Quality**
- **Access and Equity**
- **Resources in higher education:** At present about 4% of GDP is devoted to education. Assurances of 6% of GDP allocation for education promised by various central governments in the past were never kept. Korea (21%), Thailand (1.7%), Malaysia (**23%**), Nepal (14%), and the US (8%) spend more on education than India in terms of GDP
- **Emerging challenges- Globalisation, Privatisation Open and Distance Education**

Education of SCs, STs, and OBCs in India: Measures for Development, Success and Failure!

For example, in Rajasthan Meena tribe has very high literacy in comparison to Bhils, Saharias, Rawats etc. So is

We point out the following shortcomings and deficiencies in education programmes for the SCs and STs:

- **High percentage of drop-outs:**
- **Ineffective reservations:** All reserved seats are not filled up – non availability of qualified candidates
- **Meagre scholarship:** Money spent on education is much more than the money received as scholarship.
- **Inadequate facilities:**
- **Frequent absence of teachers in remote areas:**
- **Medium of instruction:**
- **Cultural and social barriers:**

#### ***Relationship between Education and Social Change***

- **Ahmad** has said that although formal education can play a vital role in 'ideational' change through transformation of knowledge, attitudes and values of the people, its effectiveness in bringing about structural changes in society is extremely limited.
- **Gore**, has pointed out the necessity of change in the content and methods of education, in the environment and context in which it is conducted, and in the convictions and the commitment of teachers and administrators responsible for education for the effectiveness of education in achieving the required development.
- **YogendraSingh** conducted a study into the implications of attitudes and values of teachers in Rajasthan University, to modernisation. This study measured the levels of aspiration, commitment, morale and authoritarianism among university teachers with a view to understanding how the role structures and value systems of teachers affect their role as agents of modernisation. ***He found significant relationships between the two and thus held that teachers' values influence the modernisation of students.***

### *Interrelationship between Education & equality*

Gore avers that education plays a role in equalising opportunities in three ways:

- making it possible for all those who have the desire to be educated and ability to benefit by that facility;
- By developing a content of education to promote development of a scientific and objective outlook;
- By creating a social environment of mutual tolerance based on religion, language, caste, class, etc.

### **Speech on Education in India: Secondary and Higher Education**

RTE is The scheme has been guided by the following five principles:

- Universal access
- Universal enrolment
- Universal retention
- Universal achievement
- Equity

Features that Should Be Included In the Future Education Policy for India. These measures can be grouped into three heads, viz. (i) equality reforms, (ii) quality reforms, and (iii) reforms for administrative ease.

### **SOCIAL CHANGE:**

Some major concepts and approaches about social change in India can be grouped as:

- Sanskritization and Westernization;
- Little and Great traditions consisting of (a) processes of parochialization and universalization, and (b) cultural performances and organization of tradition;
- Multiple traditions;
- Structural approach, based on (a) functional model, and (b) dialectical model; and
- Cognitive historical or Indological approach.

### **Little and Great Traditions:**

The approach to analyze social change with the help of the concepts of little and Great traditions was used by **Robert Redfield in his studies of the Mexican communities.**

Influenced by this model, **Milton Singer and McKim Marriott** have conducted some studies on social changes in India utilizing this conceptual framework.

The **basic ideas in this approach are 'civilization' and 'social organization of tradition'**. It is based on the **evolutionary view that civilization or the structure of tradition** (which consists of both cultural and social structures) grows in **two stages**:

- first, through orthogenetic or indigenous evolution, and
- second, through heterogenetic encounters or contacts with other cultures or civilizations.

The social structure of these civilizations operates at two levels,

- first that of the folks or unlettered peasants, and



- second, that of the elite or the 'reflective few'.

**The cultural processes in the former comprise the little tradition and those in the latter constitute the Great tradition.** There is, however, a **constant interaction between the two levels of traditions.**

In this approach it is **assumed that all civilizations start from a primary or orthogenetic level** of cultural organization and, in course of time, are **diversified not only through internal growth, but more important, through contact with other civilizations—a heterogenetic process.**

The **direction of this change presumably is from folk or peasant to urban cultural structure** and social organization. In the **final stages, however, this results into a global, universalized pattern of culture**, especially through increased cross- contacts among civilizations.

With these assumptions, **Milton Singer formulates a series of statements about cultural changes in India:**

- That because India had a 'primary' or 'indigenous' civilization which had been fashioned out of pre-existing folk and regional cultures. Its **–'Great tradition' was continuous with the 'Little tradition' to be modernization of Indian tradition found in its diverse regions, villages, castes and tribes.**
- That this cultural continuity was a product and cause of a **common cultural consciousness** shared by most Indians and expressed in essential similarities of mental outlook and ethos.
- That this common cultural consciousness has been formed in India with the help of certain processes and factors.... i.e. sacred books and sacred objects..... a special class of (Brahmins) and other agents of cultural transmission.....
- That in a primary civilization like India's, **cultural continuity with the past is so great that even the acceptance of 'modernizing' and 'progress' ideologies does not result in linear form of social and cultural change but may result in the 'traditionalizing' of apparently 'modern' innovations.**
- Subsequent studies have revealed that little and Great traditions not only interact but are also interdependent in India, and **modernizing forces are not only accepted but also absorbed by the traditional way of life.**

**Milton Singer concludes:**

The weight of present evidence seems to me to show that, while modernizing influences are undoubtedly changing many aspects of Indian society and culture, **they have not destroyed its basic structure and pattern.** They have given Indians **new alternatives and some new choices of Use style but the structure is so flexible** and rich that many Indians have accepted many **modern innovations without loss of their Indianans.** They have, in other words, been **able to combine choices which affirm some aspects of their cultural tradition with innovative choices.**

Another noteworthy study based on this approach has been conducted by **McKim Marriott** in a village named **KishanGarhi in northern India.** Marriott believes that "concept of a primary civilization type of process is one of the most inviting of available models for conceptualizing KishanGarhi's relations with its universe."

He too finds that in the structure of the village culture and its social organization, which consist both of the little and Great traditional elements, there is a constant interaction of cultural forms. Elements of the little tradition, indigenous customs, deities and rites circulate upward to the level of the Great tradition and are 'identified' with its legitimate forms.

This **process Marriott calls 'universalization'.** Likewise, some elements of the Great tradition also circulate downward to become organic part of the little tradition, and lose much of their original

form in the process. He used the term 'parochialization' to denote this kind of transaction between the two traditions.

Sanskritization, Marriott finds, does not proceed in the village as an independent process; it is superposed on non-Sanskritic cultural form through accretion rather than simple replacement.

**Marriott writes:**

Cultural change implied by Sanskritization; especially universalization comes very close to this concept. Parochialization, however, refers to an inverted form of Sanskritization or de-Sanskritization, a connotation which escaped the formulation of Srinivas.

**Multiple Traditions:**

The dominant feeling of some social scientists is that Indian society or culture could not be described fully either through the dichotomy of the Sanskritic and Western traditions or that of the little and Great traditions. Indian tradition is far too complex, and consists of a hierarchy of traditions each of which needs to be analyzed in order to unravel all the ramifications of change.

**S.C. Dube advocates this view:**

In broad outlines the 'Sanskritic Model' appears to be attractive, but careful analysis shows that it is extremely deceptive. Sanskritic sources provide not one model but many models, some of them involving even fundamentally opposed ideals. *What we call Hindu philosophy is not just one school of thought, it is a compendium of many systems of thought, recognizing and advocating many divergent images of society and many different schemes of values.* . . . The Sanskritization hypothesis is unidirectional and has a single focus. It concentrates on the ritual theme.... The importance of the ritual theme in Hindu life is undeniable, but at the same time the impact of the secular trends is not too insignificant to be ignored. As far as Little and Great traditions are concerned, there is apparently no precise definition.... Where there are more than one Great or near-Great traditions, each with its canonical texts and ethical codes, the situation becomes all the more confusing. . . .

It may also be added that the Great tradition-Little tradition frame of reference does not allow proper scope for the consideration of the role and significance of regional, Western and emergent national traditions, each of which is powerful in its own way.

As an alternative, Dube offers a six-fold classification of traditions in India each of which is to be studied in rural as well as urban contexts to evaluate change. These are: the classical tradition, the emergent national tradition, the regional tradition, the local tradition, the Western tradition and the local subcultural traditions of social groups. These various levels of traditions no doubt offer a wide scope for the study of change but the principle on which they have been classified is again ad hoc and nominalistic.

In substantive realm the emphasis here too is more on culture than on social structure. Needless to point out that a few other attempts toward multiple classification of traditions or cultural patterns in India, which have been made recently, also suffer from similar limitations.

**Modernization and Social Change in India**

The five changes are as under:

- (1) Economic relations are determined by contract.
- (2) There has emerged complex division of labour. This has created functional interdependence.
- (3) Achieved status.
- (4) Vertical and horizontal mobility.
- (5) New aspirations for improvement.

## Constitution, law and social change.

A general answer but try and include the following points. Add a sociological dimension.

**New rulings from Supreme court on social issues will be helpful** (current based answer)

- **Preamble**- We the people of India solemnly resolve...-does it include interests of all the people- constitution was brainchild of few intellectuals
- In the west blacks and women got citizenship later-In India one day everyone got it-without knowing what is about-with FRs- so it is not being realised by the citizens
- **Equality,fraternity and liberty**- was different from west-in west collective action-India some section was comfortable with the British- We introduced EFL with thinking about ur capacity to implement it.
- **DPSP and FRS**-basic direction in which a state should go
- No improvements in education sector-basic emphasis is still on health and nutrition and health.
- **Karl Marx**- labour is the commodity sold in the capitalist market- children are not getting adequate attention- Kalahandi child selling case
- **Secularism**- Can a state go for strong secular credentials when people are driven by strong religious consciousness- contest between what state wants and what people actually are
- **Andre Beteille**- people are more driven by Manusmriti than constitution.
- Bonded labour and child labour- banned- in reality practiced.
- **Vijayalakshmi**- tells about how bonded labour is still prevalent even in Mteros like Delhi where housemaids coming Bihar-lack protection.
- Adult franchise and voting behaviour.
- **UpendraBakshi and RamachandraGuha**- Liberty and freedom-fairy tale for the tribals- displacements-forest laws-mining etc.
- **Ramachandra Guha**-On Narmada Bachaoandolan-how the poor tribal people were waiting for 4 weeks to meet the head of the govt.
- **Constitutional provisions** of freedom is based on class identity, ethnic identity and economic status.
- **AmartyaSen**- Poverty makes an individual speechless, marginalised and therefore freedom as a constitutional provision is not being really enjoyed or exercise by a large majority of indian people.

## TOPIC 10: RURAL and AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN INDIA

### Previous questions:

- (a) Programmes of **rural development, Community Development Programme, cooperatives, poverty alleviation schemes.**
- (b) **Green revolution and social change- upendra**
- (c) Changing **modes of production in Indian agriculture.**
- (d) Problems of **rural labour, bondage, migration.**

### Rural Development

Rural Dev signifies a complex and long term process involving fundamental transformation of rural society both at social & economic levels. represents planned programmes to improve quality of life-style of rural-ites.

#### Components of Rural Development:

1. **Transform all the sectors** of rural economy –primary sector, secondary sector and tertiary sector.
2. It is concerned with the **improvement of the standard of living** of the ruralites through the provision of health and medical facilities, employment opportunities including vocational training, educational facilities etc.
3. It brings about significant **improvement in the socio-economic** conditions of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, the landless agricultural labourers and the marginal and small farmers.

**V.K.R.V. Rao** defines integrated rural development as “the optimum utilization of the natural and human resources of a given rural area for the enrichment of the quality of life of the population.”

### Rural Development before Independence

1. **British Govt.-** Royal Comm’n on agri; irrigation etc
2. **By Voluntary organisations:**
  - a. **Seva Gram Ashram-** estb, 1935: It was based in Wardha, and imparted education to the weaker sections of villages surrounding Wardha. The development programmes for the villages at Wardha included sanitation, adult education, promotion of village industries (such as tel-ghani) and potable water.. Revolved around Self-sifficiency
  - b. **Shantiniketan:** by RN Tagore, on similar lines- The educational part of Shantiniketan was very closely linked with the village life its sani-tation, health, cottage industry and welfare
3. **Flood of Literary Works:** For instance, Hindi fiction writers such as Prem Chand, Jaya Shankar Prasad, created works which presented the abject poor condition of the village people

### Rural and urban poverty:

- **Ancient:** In the third book of the **Rigveda** a prayer is offered to God to drive away poverty and famine. But the *varna*-based inegalitarian society developed during the Later Vedic period.

- **Medieval:** Nikitin, a foreign traveller, who visited the Vijayanagar empire which was ruled by the Hindu **rulers**, observed that the land was overstocked with people; but those in the country were very miserable while the nobles were extremely opulent and lived in luxury
- **Colonial:** According to William Digby's estimate, over 28,825,000 people died during famines only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1943, nearly 3 Mn people died in the famine of Bengal.

#### *Poverty and social dynamics:*

In India however poverty is a major problem. Thus the concept of **poverty is relative**. It has **been so much** with us that **not much attention** has been paid to it. On the other hand there has been a rationalisation of poverty. The poor were believed to be responsible for their own plight. Unemployment was considered a sign of laziness. Mahatma Gandhi lived in 'voluntary poverty'. So did the Buddha. This is different from involuntary poverty where the necessities of life are in very short supply

Poverty is not only a condition of **economic insufficiency**; it is also **social and political exclusion**

#### *Rural Urban Linkages:*

It has been observed that the problem of poverty in India is mainly a problem of rural poverty. The rural poverty is carried over to the urban areas by the channel of rural urban migration. **The rural migrants depend upon kinship, caste and regional networks not only for decisions with regard to the choice of destination**

#### *Poverty and five year plans:*

The resonance of these Constitutional commitments implying removal of poverty has permeated into all the Five-Year Plans in a tacit or categorical terms. The focus of the Ninth five-year Plan was growth with social justice and equity. The 10th Plan - economic growth with a stronger thrust - employment generation and equity

- **Growth Oriented Approach**
  - In the beginning, India's Five-Year Plans laid emphasis on the growth of economy .It was postulated that the benefits of rapid economic growth - automatically trickle down to poor
  - The Government began with the Community Development Project (CDP) in 1952.
  - Green Revolution: production. The important programmes comprised the Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) and the Intensive Agricultural Area Programme (IAAP) launched in 1960 and 1964 respectively.
- In course of time - realised benefits - largely cornered by the privileged section of rural areas
- **Growth with Social Justice**
  - All the schemes that've been mentioned above starting 1975s.
  - However, it can be said that the impact of these programmes has been very marginal on the problem of poverty in the country. Corruption, leakages and incapacity to create permanent asset have made these programmes unsuccessful to a large extent
- **Persistence of poverty: In reality, poverty in India is a social product and not a natural phenomenon.** It has been socially generated and reinforced and perpetuated. It is a consequence of extreme socio-economic inequalities. It results from differential position of

different social classes, castes and groups in economic, political, social and religious domains of society. Roots of poverty lie in the economic, political and social set up of society.

**Factors:**

- **Economic and Political Factors:** highly unequal distribution of the economic resources of the country among various social classes and caste.
- **Socio-cultural Factors:** The caste system has been an important factor in perpetuating poverty of the masses. Moreover, the belief in 'karma' justified the inegalitarian and just social order. Now a days , Materialism has got an upperhand over humanitarian values. This emphasis on materialism and pursuit of self-interests has helped to widen the gap
- **Different approaches:**
  - **Inequality and Poverty:** Income distribution is very unequal. The share of the bottom 20% is 4% of total income in rural areas whereas the share of top 10% is 36%
  - **Vicious Circle Theory**
- The poor have **strong feelings of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence, of inferiority, sense of resignation, fatalism and low level of aspiration. These tendencies are transmitted from one generation to the next.** Therefore, the children of the poor are very often **not psychologically geared** to take full advantage of the changing conditions or increased opportunities that occur in their life.
  - **Functionality of poverty:**
    - Poverty ensures that 'dirty work will get done, there are many menial jobs
    - Poverty provides a market for inferior goods and services-second-hand clothes, etc
    - Poverty facilitates a life style of the affluent. The work done by the cooks, gardeners,
    - provides a group that can be made to absorb political and economic causes of change
- **Solutions:** this gigantic problem cannot be resolved without a fundamental transformation of society itself, which would involve redistribution of wealth and equitable sharing of the growing prosperity and changes in the power structure in favour of the poor.
  - Adoption of an essentially capitalist path of development has accentuated the problem of poverty and the chasm between the rich and the poor. Land should go to the tiller.
  - Labour intensive programmes of development such as housing, irrigation and communication should be given emphasis to remove the problem of unemployment and underemployment
- **Problems in tackling:**
  - Sustained efforts not there.; Unemployment needs to go; Plug leakages; Identification of poor

Important schemes:



S.No.	Rural Development Programme	Year	Objective/Description
1	Community Development Programme (CDP)	1952	Over-all development of rural areas with people's participation.
2	Rural Electrification Corporation	1969	Electrification in rural areas
3	Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP)	1972-73	For providing drinking water in villages
4	Crash Scheme for Rural Employment	1972-73	For rural employment
5	National Institution for Rural Development	1977	Training, investigation and advisory organization for rural development
6	National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)	1980	To provide profitable employment opportunities to the rural poor
7	Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)	1982	To provide suitable opportunities of self-employment to the women belonging to the rural families who are living below the poverty line.
8	Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)	1983	For providing employment to landless farmers and laborers
9	National Fund for Rural Development (NFRD)	1984	To grant 100% tax rebate to donors and also to provide financial assistance for rural development projects.
10	Council for Advancement of People's Actions and Rural Technology (CAPART)	1986	To provide assistance for rural prosperity.
11	Service Area Account (SAA)	1988	A new credit policy for rural areas
12	Jawahar Rozgar Yojana	1989	For providing employment to rural unemployed.
13	Agriculture and Rural Debt Relief Scheme (ARDRS)	1990	To exempt bank loans upto Rs. 10,000 of rural artisans and weavers.
14	Supply of Improved Toolkits to Rural Artisans	1992	To supply modern toolkits to the rural craftsmen except the weavers, tailors, embroiders and tobacco laborers who are living below the poverty line.
15	District Rural Development Agency (DRDA)	1993	To provide financial assistance for rural development.
16	Mahila Samridhi Yojana	1993	To encourage the rural women to deposit in Post Office Saving Account.
17	Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana	1999	For eliminating rural poverty and unemployment and promoting self-employment.
18	Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana	2000	To fulfil basic requirements in rural areas.
19	Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY)	2000	To line all villages with pakka road
20	Bharat Nirman Program	2005	Development of Rural Infrastructure including six components : irrigation, Water supply, Housing, Road, Telephone and Electricity.
21	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA)	2006	To provide atleast 100 days wage employment in rural areas.
22	Indira Awaas Yojana	1999	To help construction of new dwelling units as well as conversion of unserviceable kutcha houses into pucca/semi-pucca by members of SC/STs, freed bonded labourers and also non-SC/ST rural poor below the poverty line by extending them grant-in-aid.
23	National Livelihood Mission	2009-10	To reduce poverty among rural BPL by promoting diversified and gainful self-employment and wage employment opportunities which would lead to an appreciable increase in income on sustainable basis.
24	Pradhanmantri Adarsh Gram Yojana (PMAGY)	2010	Integrated development of scheduled castes dominated villages in the country.
25	Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana	2001	To provide additional wage employment in the rural areas as also food security, along with the creation of durable community, social and economic infrastructure in rural areas.
26	Twenty Point Program	1975	Poverty eradication and raising the standard of living.
27	Draught Prone Areas Programme (DPAP)	1973-74	To minimise the adverse effects of drought on production of crops and livestock and productivity of land, water and human resources ultimately leading to drought proofing of the affected areas.
28	Annapurna Scheme	2000	To ensure food security for all create a hunger free India in the next five years and to reform and improve the Public Distribution System so as to serve the poorest of the poor in rural and urban areas

Before discussing the performance of rural development programmes, it is appropriate to identify the major conceptual approaches that are behind them and categorized as follows:

1. Paternalistic
2. Technocratic
3. Welfarist

- The **paternalistic approach** characterized many rural development efforts in the pre-independence era. The approach represents an attitude, which is sometimes carried over even in the most advanced rural development programmes. It was inherent to a considerable extent in the **Community Development Programmes** that were introduced in India. Their main modus operandi was to induct a government functionary in the village, who would act as a 'guide, philosopher and friend' of the villagers and was expected to familiarize them with modern and scientific ideas about agricultural and rural development with the presumption that whatever, if anything, they knew about farming practices was outmoded and needed to be discarded.
- The **technocratic approach** is associated with such programmes that promoted the spread of the **green revolution in 1960s**, that are now seeking to introduce biotechnology and information technology in agriculture. The main aim of such programmes is to increase the output of agriculture, often without much concern for institutional, distributional or environmental side effects. However, in recent years, the latter set of concerns is becoming increasingly important and is beginning to receive greater attention thus engendering a more holistic approach.
- The **welfarist approach** has always been a significant influence in the architecture and implementation of rural development programmes but has become more prominent in recent times because of the emphasis of the **poverty alleviation objective**. Ever since the beginning, the trend is to give increasing attention to the equity aspects of public expenditure programmes, including those for rural development.

### Community Development Programmes:

Inaugurated 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1952- total 55 programmes → each project area 300 villages- 3 Blocks of 100 villages each- and into 20 groups containing 5 villages each. → expanded with subsequent FYPs

#### Three Phases:

- National Extension Phase: Areas selected → ordinary rural development pattern with less govt. exp.
- intensive Community Development Project Phase: more intensive with larger govt exp.
- Post intensive Development Phase: assumed- self-perpetuation phase. Exp reduced

Projects - way of classifying 1) Constructional programmes 2) Irrigational Programmes 3) Agricultural Programmes 4) Institutional Programmes

### The Community

"A community, while in it consisting of several parts, is also a part of a larger social system. It is a **dynamic social unit which is subject to change of internal or external origin**".

### Development

The development connotes growth or maturation. It implies gradual and sequential phases of change. According to Maclver "Development" to signify an upward course in a process "that is, of increasing differentiation.

#### Analysing the term- Community Development

Community development is a ***continuous process of social action by which the people of a community:***

- Define their common and group needs;
- Organize themselves formally and informally for democratic planning and action;
- Make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems;
- Execute their plans with maximum reliance upon their own resources; and
- Supplement their resources from outside the community, when necessary with services and material.

According to **Carl Tylor**, "community development is a method by which people in villages are involved in ***helping to improve their own economic and social conditions and thereby they became effective working groups in the programme of their national development***". This carries the assumption that people became dynamic if they are permitted to make their own decisions and are helped to carry on the programme.

#### Community Development Programme

The community development programme was started in India, just after independence (1952). **It was a multi project programme with the aim of an overall development of rural people.** This programme consisted of ***agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, cooperation, public wealth, education, social education, communication, village industries etc.*** There are officials for each activity at district level to plan execute and evaluate the programme up to the village level.

#### Essential Elements of CD

The Successful Community Development programme stresses the following basic elements:

1. Activities undertaken must correspond to the basic needs of the community. The first projects should be initiated in response to the expressed needs of people.
2. There should be concerted action and the establishment of multi-purpose programme.
3. Change in the attitudes of the people is as important as the material achievement through Community Development during the initial stages of development.
4. Community Development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs, revitalization of existing forms of local government and transition towards effective local administration where it is not yet functioning.
5. The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership should be a basic objective in any programme.
6. Greater reliance on the participation of women and youth in community projects invigorates development programmes, establishes them on a wide bases and success long-range expansion.

7. To be fully effective, community self help projects require both internal and external assistance from the government.
8. Implementation of a C.D.P. on a national scale require adoption of consistent policies, specific administrative arrangement, recruitment and training of personnel, mobilization of local and national resources and organization of research, experimentation and evaluation.
9. The resources of the voluntary non-governmental organization should be fully utilized in community development programmes at the local, national and international level.
10. Economic and social progress at the local level necessitates parallel development on a wider national level.

### Objectives of the community development programme

In India, the objective behind the community development programme is to develop the resources of the people numbering about 640 millions who form the rural population. The elements of development are:

1. **General:** Farm, home, public service and village community.
2. **Specific:** To bring improvement in the production of crops and animals, living conditions, health and education of the people.
3. **Elements which need change are:** People-men, women and youth.
4. **Change agents:** The change agents are:
  - a. Voluntary local leaders-members of Panchayats, village and Block Advisory Committees etc.
  - b. Professional community development workers- Village Level Workers, extension officers, block development officers etc.

### Philosophy behind Community Development Programme

The philosophies on which the Community Development Programme should be based are as follows:

1. **'Work based on felt needs':** The programme should help the community to solve some of the problems which it feels are existent.
2. **Work based on assumption that people want to be free from poverty and pain:** It is assumed that the members of the community want a standard of living that allows them to be free from pain caused due to lack of sufficient, food, lack of sanitary conditions, lack of clothing and shelter.
3. It is assumed that people wish to have freedom in controlling their own lines and deciding the forms of economic, religious, educational and political institutions, under which they will live.
4. **People's values given due consideration:** It is presumed that cooperation, group-decision, self-initiative, social responsibility, leadership, trust worthiness and ability to work are included in the programme.
5. **Self-Help:** The people actually plan and work on the solution of their problems themselves of the problems of the community are entirely ameliorated through the efforts of some outside agency, then the development of such things as group decision making, self-

initiative, self-reliance leadership etc. will not be forth coming and it cannot be said that the community is developing.

6. **People are the greatest resource:** It is by getting the participation of the people in improvement activities that they become developed.
7. The programme involves a change in attitudes, habits, ways of thinking, relationships among people in the level of knowledge and intellectual advancement of people, changes in their skill practices of agriculture, health etc.

### **Causes of failure**

The causes of the failure of the community development programme are as follows:

1. Uneven distribution of the benefits of the programme
2. Absence of clearly defined priorities in the programme.
3. Failure to evoke popular response.
4. Unqualified personnel
5. Lack of functional responsibility.
6. **Ritualism:** A spirit of ritualism permeated the block programmes and inauguration, opening or foundation stone laying became the be all and end all at all block activities. The project officers were purposely emphasizing the welfare aspect of the programmes so that they could show to the visiting dignitaries some tangible result of thus efforts. But the creation of these welfare activities only kindled the dissatisfaction with the economic condition of the people.

### **Weaknesses in the community development Programme:**

A Critical analysis of the Programme with regard to the objective shows that the programme has some weaknesses there are discussed as

1. The Programme has remained largely a government administered programme without people's participation and has not yet become a people's programme with assistance from government agencies no single agencies operating in the field is responsible for this weakness.
2. There has been too much emphasis on end result and less emphasis in following the correct methods and process to bring about change in the attitudes of the people.
3. Due to lack of understanding of the objectives of the CD programme there has often been lack of adherence to the real objectives of the C.D Programme there has not been much concentration on essential items.
4. Extension education methods which are so essential for a democratic approach remained mostly as a claim.
5. Lack of uniform understanding about the concept principles methods role function etc, at all levels from village to national level.
6. Lack of proper and adequate supervision and guidance both administrative and technical at various levels.
7. Establishment of superiority by providing democratic leadership is very much lacking to replace autocratic authority.

8. The C.D workers feel unhappy at all levels their moral is not very high unhappy workers or change agents can not a make a good organization.

**BKRV Rao**→ considered CDP wastage of public expenditure→ and lack of accountability

**David Mandelbaum**→ CDP - instrumental - caste inequalities, traditional domination-intensive and pervasive

**Carl Tylor**→ No doubt- a noble initiative but impact felt only in certain areas. No developmental programme is good or bad; the problem centres around eagerness, initiative and implantation of the project

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee→ proposed a three tier system which accorded better supervision of rural plans

### Green Revolution

Of all the developmental programmes introduced during the post-independence period the green revolution is considered to have been the most successful. The green revolution led to a substantial increase in agricultural output to the extent that it almost solved India's food problem. It also produced significant social and political changes in the Indian village and did bring about an agricultural revolution. In purely economic terms the **agricultural sector experienced growth at the rate of 3 to 5 % per annum which was many times more than what the rate of growth had been during the colonial period (less than 1%).**

The green revolution conceptualized agrarian change in **purely technological terms** and was **based on the trickle down theory of economic growth**. The expression green revolution carried the **conviction that agriculture** was being peacefully transformed through the quiet working of science and technology, **reaping the economic gains of modernization while avoiding the social costs of mass upheaval and disorder usually associated with rapid change**.

**The term green revolution had been first used during the late 1960s to refer to the effects of the introduction of higher yielding variety HYV seeds of wheat and rice in developing countries.** The new varieties of seeds required fertility enhancing inputs like **chemical fertilizers, controlled irrigation** conditions and **plant -protecting chemicals**. The other components were providing **cheap institutional credit, price incentives** and **marketing facilities**. In order to back up the application of new technology on local farms a **large number of agricultural universities** were also opened in the regions selected for the new programme. It was under the **direct supervision** of the Ford Foundation that the **Intensive Agricultural Development Programme was started in 1961**. Initially the IADP operated in 14 districts on an experimental basis it was later extended to 114 districts under the name of the Intensive Agriculture Areas Programme in 1965.

Its advocates **argued that the new technology was scale neutral and could be used with as much benefit by small as well as big landowners**. However in the **actual implementation small holdings were not found to be viable units for technological change**. Participating in the green revolution did not mean the same thing to smaller farmers as it did to bigger farmers. While bigger farmers had enough surplus of their own to invest in the new capital-intensive farming



- **for smaller landowners it meant addl dependence on borrowing generally from informal sources.**
- Although **theoretically the new technology was scale neutral it was certainly not resource neutral.**
- The new technology also compelled **widespread involvement with the market.** Cultivators in post-green revolution agriculture had to buy all farm inputs from the market for which they often had to take credit from traders or institutional sources. **In order to clear the debts they had no choice but to sell the farm yield in the market even when they needed to keep it for their own consumption.** They sold their farm yield immediately after harvesting when prices were relatively low and bought later in the year for consumption when prices were higher. Thus although the small farmers took to the new technologies the fact that their resources were limited meant that these technologies ushered in a new set of dependencies.
- On the other **hand it has strengthened the economic and political position of rich farmers.** One of the manifestations of the growing market orientation of agrarian production was the
- emergence of a totally **new kind of mobilization of surplus producing farmers who demanded a better deal for the agricultural sector.** These new farmers' movements emerged almost simultaneously in virtually all the green revolution regions. These movements gained momentum during the decade of the 1980s. **These movements were led by substantial landowners** who had **benefited most from the developmental programmes** and belonged to the numerically large middle -level caste groups whom **Srinivas had called the dominant castes.**
- The members of this new social class not only emerged as a dominant group at village level but they also came to **dominate regional /state-level politics in most parts of India.** They had an accumulated surplus that they sought to invest in ever more profitable enterprises. Some of them diversified into other economic activities or migrated to urban areas or entered agricultural trade. Culturally also this new class differed significantly from both the classical peasants and old landlords.

The changes produced by the green revolution also generated an interesting **debate** among Marxist scholars-**whether capitalism had become dominant in Indian agriculture or was still characterized by the semi-feudal mode of production.** Another set of scholars on the basis of their own empirical studies mostly from eastern India asserted that Indian agriculture was still dominated by a semi-feudal mode of production. According to this school **landlords cum moneylenders continued to dominate the process of agricultural production. Peasants and labourers were tied to them through the mechanism of debt** that led to forced commercialization of labour and agricultural yield. **This produced a self-perpetuating stagnant and exploitative agrarian structure that could be described as semi-feudal.** The internal logic of this system worked against any possibility of agricultural growth or the development of capitalism in Indian agriculture.

However towards the end of the debate there seems to have **emerged a consensus that though it may have its local specificities and considerable regional variations, the capitalist mode of production was on its way to dominating the agrarian economy of India** and that regions which had experienced the green revolution.

### Social consequences of Green Revolution

- The green revolution has been basically a **contribution of the middle class peasantry** who have had traditionally a strong attachment to land and agriculture as a mode of life and livelihood. Green revolution made a departure from the traditional pattern.
- **The family mode of production continued but authority passed from the older to the younger generation. The new agriculture required the skill in the peasant to negotiate with banks, revenue authorities, marketing bodies and block administration.** The new peasant was also required to consult the experts and technicians for irrigation, soil testing, the use of fertilizers and seeds. This role was performed by the younger **generation which was educated comparatively more than the older generation.**
- The Green revolution had led to the consolidation of the status of the middle peasantry as a dominant class. The **upper caste class groups which traditionally dominated was replaced by the middle peasantry or had to compete with them to maintain their traditional status and power.**
- They employed a variety of strategies of cooperation, compromises and confrontation .These set of social forces in rural society **led increasingly to social polarization, large scale migration to cities, social tensions.** The relationship between the middle class peasantry and the lower castes declined and led to exploitation and violence.
- Resumption of land by landlords for personal cultivation and eviction of tenants from their tenure have been the factors leading to this trend. The process was further accelerated by the Green Revolution
- After 1965-HYV-irrigation-fertilizers-self sufficient in food grain production- social ethnic and political effect.
- 2 stages-first stage Punjab Haryana western UP- 2nd stage South and western India
- Norman Borlaug- M S Swaminathan- wonder wheat Mexico-Punjab and Haryana 200 times production
- **Seed cooperatives-credit cooperatives-irrigation cooperatives-** fertiliser cooperatives-upper class rich got the benefit-poor farmers old seed
- **Scarlett Epistine:** In Karnataka- nexus between class caste power- **lift irrigation at the centre of the field of rich farmer-obstruction walls- lands at higher height-no water-less production-distress sale-dominant caste became dominant class.**
- Credit cooperatives- nexus between rich farmers-bribe-capitalist agriculture
- **P Vardhan-** Poverty study is always based on basic needs and its fulfillment- not on economic sustainability of family- surplus income to invest in education,healthetc- **is green revolution creating employment or disguised unemployment.**Effect of GR should studied in these lines.
- GR-productivity increased-but rich poor divide widened-not helpful in rural development .
- **Bhalla and Chadda-** In Punjab and Haryana- **200 villages- the per acre difference in productivity between rich and poor is 200 times and the income difference is 16 times.**
- GR-**distress migration from Bihar and** eastern UP to Punjab and Haryana-exploited.
- **Lakshmi Menon and Utsa Pattnaik-** gender impact on green revolution- family income goes beyond consumption needs- it becomes status symbol- people become status conscious- **women are withdrwan from labour-** economy dominated by men- glorification of gender

role of women- i.e men as producers and women should stay at home- **importance of male child increased-people have money to take technological aid for selective abortion of female foetus- GR is one of the adverse gender gap in case of Punjab and Haryana.**

- **GR and power and politics**- developed political aspiration-political parties-rich farmers enter into politics- served interests of rich farmers through cooperatives.
- **GR and ethnic distinction Punjabi farmers and non punjabi farmers**- poor farmers and rich farmers conflict.
- **Oomen- positive side of GR**- rural employment- addressed rural poverty- food deficit country to food surplus country.
- Changes taking place in one sector leads to change in other sectors also- GR has influenced local politics-stratification-gender status-ethnicity- inter caste relationship- regional identities- migration.
- **Law of diminshing returns**
- **Utsa Patnaik- Book- Republic of Hunger**- when family gets dividend out of agriculture – 1st thing – withdraw women. Patriarchy consolidated. Khap Panchayats strengthened hold etc.
- **Paul Brass**- realised – benefits will continue – if subsidies there. political mobilisation.

### Cooperatives In India

- The cooperative movement in India has its **origin in agriculture and allied sectors**. The **first Cooperative Credit Societies Act was enacted in 1904**. Subsequently a more comprehensive legislation called the Cooperative Societies Act was enacted. **This Act provided for the creation of the post of registrar of cooperative societies and registration of cooperative societies** for various purposes and audit. **Under the Montague- Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 cooperation became a provincial subject and provinces were authorized to make their own cooperative laws**. Under the Government of India Act 1935 cooperatives were treated as a provincial subject. **The 'Cooperative Societies' is a state subject under entry No 32 of the State List of the Constitution of India**.
- In order to cover cooperative societies with membership from more than one province, the Government of India enacted the Multi-Unit Cooperative Societies Act 1942. This Act dealt with incorporation and winding up of cooperative societies having jurisdiction in more than one province. **A need was felt for a comprehensive Central legislation to consolidate laws governing cooperative societies**. This led to the enactment of Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act 1984 by the Parliament under Entry No 44 of the Union List of the Constitution of India.
- After **Independence, cooperatives assumed a great significance** in poverty removal and faster socio-economic growth. They **became an integral part of the Five Year Plans**. As a result they emerged as a distinct segment in Indian economy. **In the First Year Plan it was specifically stated that the success of the Plan would be judged among other things, by the extent it was implemented through cooperative organizations**.
- In 1958 the National Development Council (NDC) had recommended a national policy on cooperatives. The cooperative sector has been playing a distinct and significant role in the country's process of socio-economic development. There has been a substantial growth of this sector in diverse areas of the economy during the past few decades. **The number of all types of cooperatives increased from 1.81 lakh in 1950-51 to 4.53 lakh in 1996-97. The total**

**membership of cooperative societies increased from 1.55 crore to 20.45 crore in the same period.** The cooperatives have been operating in various areas of the economy such as credit, production, processing, marketing, input distribution, housing, dairying and textiles.

**In some of the areas of their activities like dairying, urban banking and housing, sugar and handlooms, the cooperatives have achieved success to an extent** but there are larger areas where they have not been so successful.

- The **failure of cooperatives can be attributed to**
  - **dormant membership and lack of active participation** of members in the management of cooperatives.
  - **Mounting over dues** in cooperative credit institutions,
  - **lack of mobilization of internal resources** and
  - **over dependence on government assistance,**
  - **lack of professional management,**
  - **bureaucratic control and interference in the management,**
  - **political interference and over-politicization have proved harmful to their growth.**
- For the success of any developmental effort in the agricultural sector is to synergize with the efforts in the cooperative sector. Development of cooperative sector has many benefits. It will involve all sections of the society in development efforts. **Cooperative sector of Indian economy has a spiritual content too when it was led by Vinoba Bhave. Cooperative sector has inbuilt democracy and only those who can demonstrate their commitment and efficiency can survive in the cooperative elections.** Nowadays most of the financial institutions in the cooperative sector are also run on purely commercial basis. It is here that the State intervention can make the difference. The grant, subsidies and aid meant for the poor farmers must be channeled through the cooperative sector. Once there are enough resources in the sector in terms of money there will be increased participation by the people and will result in the all round development of the village.
- Panchayat Raj institutions and cooperative sector can bring about positive change in the rural areas. **Cooperatives have extended across the entire country and there are currently estimated 230 million members nationwide.** The cooperative credit system has the largest network in the world and cooperatives have advanced more credit in the Indian agricultural sector than commercial banks. **In fertilizer production and distribution the Indian Fertilizer Cooperative commands over 35% of the market.** In the production **of sugar the cooperative share of the market is over 58%** and **in cotton they have share of 60%.** The **cooperative sector accounts for 55% of the looms** in the hand-weaving sector.
- Insurance is a field where the immense potential of cooperatives still remains untapped.
- In the new economic environment cooperatives at all levels are making efforts to reorient their functions according to the market demands.
- Cooperatives are also considered to have immense potential to deliver goods and services in areas where both the state and the private sector have failed.
- Cooperative protecting farmers and peasants today from progression of globalisation
- **Daniel Thorner** looks into the total cooperatives operating in different parts of the country – he visited around 60 cooperatives in Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Karnataka and so on he found out that initial stage the local moneylenders of Andhra Pradesh projected the credit cooperative

schemes but subsequently they became the office bearers of cooperatives and use money for moneylending purpose to generate profit

- in Uttar Pradesh and method British cooperatives were controlled by dominant process. Leading to a situation where people fail to understand the distinction between **Sehkari and Sarkari.**
- **Faced study of cooperatives of Karnataka** he found that specific dominant families – administrative positions. Best cooperatives – by retired officers. Cooperatives working for private gain and for dominant families in caste.
- **Therefore cooperatives are not committed to economic inclusion impact capitalist development is taking place in socialist India.**
- 1904-cooperative societies act- started Now-all over the country
- Cooperative credit system-largest in the world-have given more credit than commercial banks
- Village cooperative societies- strategic input in agricultural sector- consumer society meets their consumption at concessional rates- cooperatives help in building store houses-godowns and cold storages,irrigation and rural roads etc
- Sugar cooperatives-fertiliser cooperatives-national diary development board- cooperative milk marketing board- early **1970s Operation flood-diary processing plants-collection stations-national milk transportation grid.**
- After the insurance act-cooperatives are in insurance sector as well.
- Indian farmers fertilizers cooperatives-teamed up with japons cooperatives-internal in nature. the central govt enacted the **Multi State Cooperative Societies Act, 2002** which **provided for democratic and autonomous working of the Cooperatives.**
- Why coopeartives important- for the poor-unskilled-illiterate-institution of mutual help and sharing- softens the social conflict and reduces the social divisions- reduces the bureaucatics evils-overcomes the huddles of agri development- craetesconducive environment for small scale industries.
- Why growth is slow:
  - Govts interference
  - Manipulations and mismanagement-in elections for the top posts
  - Lack of awareness
  - Restricted coverage
  - Functional weakness-lack of trained personnel-efficient people dont join them.
- **Baviskar -study of sugar cooperatives in Maharashtra**
  - concept of bonded labour present
  - most sugar cane fields controlled by rich
  - sugar processing industries new fields
  - developed political interest. Eg Sharad Pawar
  - capitalism came from grassroots
- **Satyadev: study of seed cooperatives- Haryana**
  - **HYV** seeds were limited in supply therefore each cooperative cot limited seeds
  - rich farmers – good seeds – small farmers – that the generated seats – cheaper rates
  - per capita productivity for land of which increased and poor decreased
  - income gap.



- **Jan Berman- Example of success- Fishermen Cooperatives- Kerala**
  - non-traditional fishermen in 197 for fishing – the mechanised trawlers – traditional fishermen suffered – Catholic churches mobilised – formed cooperatives – political mobilisation – pressure on state – government withdrew mechanised trawlers – cooperatives on skill and education of fishermen – participative cooperatives – profit.
- **Successful case- AMUL- Verghese Kurien**
  - earlier – milk supply to middlemen – who make profit. Huge potential
  - identify people from 5... – Awareness on cattle health – savings – increase production.
  - Regular investment and bank – credit – refrigeration – profit – diversification –
  - women empowerment
  - noted by a Shanthi Church – book – operation flood.
- SHGs problems: cultural constraints – young women not always part

### *Changing modes of production in Indian Agriculture*

- Western-shift from feudalism to capitalist agri-India- change is not uniform
- Agrarian transformation in India-depends on- geographical diversity-historical differences and contemporary variabilities.
- Marxist Sociologists- no peasant mobilisation like China or Russia-class difference is the obstruction.
- **Gail Omvedt**- strong nexus between caste and class- caste conflict is also class conflict.
- **Andre Beteilles book- Agrarian Social structure**- no vertical mobility of peasants.
- **AR Desai**- land reforms not successful- benami transfers in the name of cooperative farming- landlords holding tenants in unofficial contracts-so they cant take legal route- they dont enjoy their rights.
- Colonial time-purely feudalistic
- Orissa, Manipur, Assam-traditional technology-caste land holdings nexus is weak-**semi feudal in** nature.
- MP, Bihar, UP, Bengal- some land reserved for commercial agri- contractual labourers rather than hired labourers- old land lord peasant system is still there- land reforms has least impact-**semi capitalist mode of production.**
- Southern states- benefits of agriculture pocketed by rich farmers-low level technology use- lower caste people as agri labours-**low intensive capitalist region.**
- Punjab and Haryana-tenancy system absent- hired labour- production as per market demands- farmers are highly unionised-caste and landownership relationship is absent- class consolidation **high- intensive capitalist agriculture.**
- **Multiple modes of production-60% are still landless**- marginal farmers come from Dalit and Tribal origin- 16% agriculturists are from dominant castes- Jats, Yadavs, Bhomiards, Lingayats, Rajputs and Reddysetc. Rest from artisan caste-small holdings.
- Agrarian transformation in India **neither capitalist nor socialist-mixed of both**-complex phenomenon.



- **Daniel Thorner- study of 250 villages**-Earlier- land to tiller- but people controlled land- **largely capitalist**
- **Ashok Rudra**- No changes in crops. Same crops for centuries. And for self consumption too. – profit for conspicuous consumption-Part capitalist
- **Utsa Patnaik**- pre- capitalist- preparatory stage for capitalism getting created.
- **PC Joshi**- Disguised zamindari present- feudalistic
- **Amit Bhiduri**- Part feudal. Majority. Capitalist spirit- but lack means.
- **Gail Omvedt and Jan Berman**- Territorially into different parts- Semi feudal, Feudal, Semi-capitalism, Pure capitalism

**K.L. Sharma** elaborates the second position, “caste incorporates the element of class and class has a cultural (caste) style, hence the two systems cannot be easily separated even analytically”. They were the three classes of the landowners (zamindars), the tenants and the agricultural labourers. The landowners (zamindars) were tax gatherers and non-cultivating owners of land. They belonged to the upper caste groups. The agricultural labourers were placed in a position of bondsmen and hereditarily attached labourers. They belonged to the lower caste groups. Land reforms led to the eviction of smaller tenants on a large scale. But the intermediate castes of peasants, e.g., the Ahir, Kurmi etc. in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh benefited

**P.C. Joshi** has summarised in the following manner the trends in the agrarian class structure and relationships.

- It led to the decline of feudal and customary types of tenancies. It was replaced by a more exploitative and insecure lease arrangement.
- It gave rise to a new commercial based rich peasant class who were part owners and part tenants. They had resource and enterprise to carry out commercial agriculture.
- It led to the decline of feudal landlord class and another class of commercial farmers emerged for whom agriculture was a business.

**Kotovsky** has noted the process of increasing proletarianisation of the peasantry in villages. The process of social mobility and transformation in rural India has been explained by sociologists by the terms **embourgeoisement and proletarianisation**. Embourgeoisement refers to the phenomenon of upward mobility of the intermediate class peasantry i.e., their emergence as new landlords. Proletarianisation describes the process of downward mobility, i.e., **depeasantisation** of small and marginal peasants and a few landlords and their entry into the rank of the rural landless agricultural labourers.

### Problems of Rural labour

The main factors which make it difficult to organise the workers are:

- the large number of employers (land holders), dispersal of workers over a large geographical region,
- uncertainty of employment (seasonal in nature),
- rapid growth of rural population resulting in surplus man power,
- family labour substituting for the hired labour, and overall low productivity in agriculture.

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**Impact on female labour:** there are gender differential in earnings. The reported differences in daily earnings of male & female agricultural labourers are a clear indication of discrimination against latter

The discontents of the rural labour were also manifested in vehement out burst of the radical peasant movements viz., the Tebhaga Movement 1946-47, Telangana 1948-52 and in the Naxalite Movement 1967-1971.

## MIGRATION

Migration is usually defined as a geographical movement of people involving a change from their usual place of residence

- **Sociological Significance:** Migration is the third component of population change, the other two being mortality and fertility. But unlike first two, Migration is influenced by the wishes of persons involved.
- **Forms** → **Internal, External; internal and external:** immigration and outmigration; **Internal: Rural-Rural; Rural Urban; Urban Urban; Urban Rural**
- The female migration is largely sequential to marriage, because it is a Hindu custom to take brides from another village
- **Reasons for migration:**
  - **Economic Factors:** The most important economic factors that motivate migration may be termed as 'Push Factors' and 'Pull Factors', **Push Back factors:** In India, according to **Asish Bose**, the urban labour force is sizeable, and the urban unemployment rates are high, and there also exist pools of underemployed persons. All these factors acts in combination as deterrents to the fresh flow of migration from the rural to urban areas.
  - **Socio-Cultural and Political Factors:** Family conflicts etc; Improved communication facilities, such as, transportation, impact of the radio and the television, the cinema, the urban-oriented education and resultant change in attitudes and values also promote migration
- **Consequences:**
  - Economic
  - Demographic
  - Social and Psychological
  - Refugees problem etc

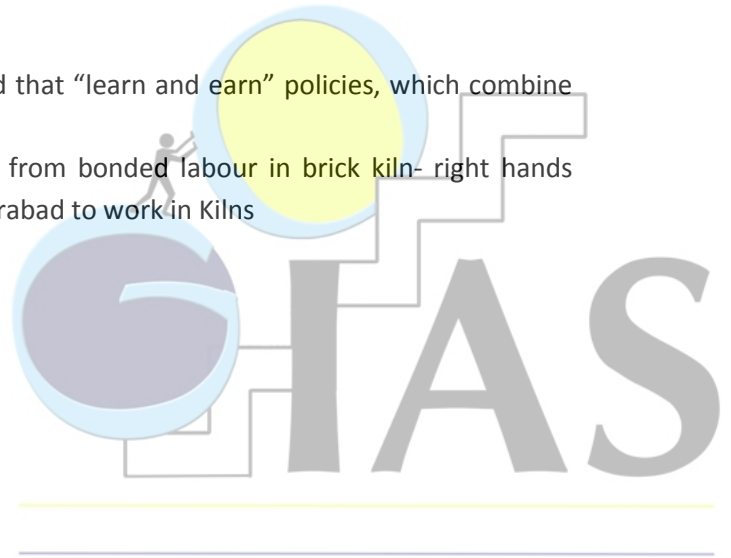
## BONDED LABOUR

- Bonded labor in India can be viewed as a product of social, historical, economic, and cultural factors.
- In fact, system of bonded labour, as prevalent in Indian society, is a relic of feudal hierarchical society.
- Bonded labor, which is characterized by **a long-term relationship between employer and employee**, is usually **solidified through a loan**, and is **embedded intricately in India's socio-economic culture**—a culture that is a product of **class relations, a colonial history, and persistent poverty** among many citizens
- Bonded labor is most **prevalent in rural areas** where the agricultural industry relies on contracted, often migrant laborers. However, **urban areas also provide fertile ground** for long-term bondage.

- Characterized by a **creditor-debtor relationship** that a laborer often passes on to his family members, bonded labor is typically of an indefinite duration and involves illegal contractual stipulations.
- Bonded labor contracts are not purely economic; in India, they are reinforced by custom or coercion in many sectors such as the agricultural, silk, mining, match production, brick kiln industries, etc.
- In states like Kerala, where land reforms have been implemented by statute, bonded labour virtually has been eliminated as opposed to States like Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tamilnadu and Karnataka where large portions of land are still held by families who practice feudal forms of land ownership and labour employment
- **Child Labour:** The largest single employer of children in India is the agricultural sector where an estimated twenty-five million children are employed; and the second largest employer of Indian children is the service sector where children work in hotels and as household maids. An additional five million Indian children are employed in other labor-intensive industries.
- **Origin and causes:** Bonded labor stems from a variety of causes, which are highly debated in the literature: an ingrained legacy of caste-based discrimination, vast poverty and inequality, an inadequate education system, unjust social relations, and government's unwillingness to alter the status quo all exemplify a few such causes
- Article 23 of the 1949 Constitution of India outlaws both the trafficking of human beings and forced labor, but the legislation defining and banning bonded labor was only approved by Parliament in 1976.
- **The Supreme Court of India** has interpreted bonded labor as the payment of wages that are below the prevailing market wage or the legal minimum wage.
- The main problem that is faced in the implementation of the 1976 Act is the identification of bonded labourers. Neither the administrators at the district and tehsil levels admit the existence of bonded labourers in their areas nor do the creditors accept that any bonded workers are serving them, nor are the workers themselves willing to give statements that they are being forced to work as bonded labourers since long.
- The other handicap which aggravates the problem is the economic rehabilitation of the re-released labourers. The economic rehabilitation includes: finding jobs for them, getting them minimum wages, giving them training in arts and crafts, allotment of agricultural land, helping them in developing the allotted land
- Chief Justice of the **Supreme Court (Justice P.N. Bhagwati)** described bonded labourers as '**non-beings, exiles of civilisation** living a life **worse than that of animals**', for the animals are at least free to roam about as they like and they can plunder or grab food whenever they are hungry, but these outcasts of society are held in bondage and robbed of their freedom even.
- It is estimated that there are about 32 lakh bonded labourers in India. Of these, 98 per cent are said to be bonded due to indebtedness and 2 per cent due to customary social obligations. The highest number is believed to exist in three states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, followed by Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.
- **Forced Labour and Policy options:** The Supreme Court of India has interpreted bonded labor as the payment of wages that are below the prevailing market wage or the legal minimum

wage. The suggestion has also been posited that “learn and earn” policies, which combine work and school

- **Recent Example, July 2014-** Two runaways from bonded labour in brick kiln- right hands were axed. From Chhatisgarh, taken to Hyderabad to work in Kilns



## TOPIC 11: INDUSTRIALIZATION and URBANIZATION in INDIA

- Evolution of **modern industry** in India.
- **Growth of urban settlements in India.**
- **Working class: structure, growth, class mobilization.**
- **Informal sector, child labour**
- **Slums and deprivation in urban areas.**



### Evolution of Modern Industry in India

#### Traditional Urban Economy

- **Ancient Period:**
  - **Trade and commerce:** Trade and commerce are important activities. Evidences of both external and internal trade in the ancient period are found in the contemporary literature and archaeological remains. The Roman writer Pliny was forced to lament that Rome was being drained of gold on account of her trade with India
  - **Arts and Crafts**
  - **Guild system**- sreni
  - **Social classes:** The king and nobles, priests, traders, administrators, military personnel and other functionaries lived on taxes, tithes & tributes collected from urban as well as rural areas
- **Medieval Period:**
  - **Growth of Towns, Cities and Industries:** A large number of administrative, military, manufacturing and trading centres flourished during this period. There were big cities and towns - Delhi, Daulatabad, Cambay, Broach, Lakhnauti, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, Dacca
  - **Ibn Batuta** says that Delhi was enormous in size, large in extent and great in population, the largest city not only in India but the entire Islamic East. In these towns and cities many industries were considerably developed during Urban Economy this period, e.g., textiles, metal-work, stone-work, leather-work, sugar, indigo, paper. Minor industries included ivory work, coral work, imitation jewellery etc. Textile manufacture was the biggest industry
  - **Trade and Commerce:** Indian goods also reached the East African coast, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia, Malay Islands and China. Marwari and Gujarati many of whom were Jain, were engaged in coastal trade and trade between the coastal parts and north India. The Muslim Bohra merchants, Multani and Khurasani participated in trading activities
  - **Organisation of Production:** The royal workshops known as Karkhana also employed large number of craftsmen to meet the needs of the royal establishment.
  - **Social Classes in Medieval India:** there was a glaring disparity between the privileged ruling classes Urban Economy who maintained a highly ostentatious life-

style and the poor people lived in misery and suffered from oppressions and exploitation.

### Colonial Urban Economy:

- **Destruction of Urban Handicrafts**
- **Growth of Modern Industries**
  - **Foreign Capital**
  - **Unintended Consequences of Modern Industrialisation:** There developed a unified national economy as a result of introduction of the modern factory system of production, commercialisation of the economy & spread of modern transport system
- **New Social Classes:**
  - **Capitalists:** There were however several business communities who were initially the collaborators and middlemen with the British, like the Parsis and Marwaris who ventured in to setting up industries. The Marwaris of Calcutta moved from being traders to industrialist in the jute business.
  - **Others:** class of petty traders & shopkeepers were bound up
- **Post independence:**GS-III- mixed economy, Govt. regulations, gradual decontrol,NEP

### Organized versus unorganized sector

- **Mode of production:** in Indian economy we find both the capitalist and the pre-capitalist form, we mean it only in terms of the mode of production. Indian economy still has some elements of asiatic and feudal modes of production. In this sense the Indian economy is multi-form or multi-structural in nature. There is a coexistence of several modes of production.
- **Small Scale Industries:** Small-scale industries are divided into three categories.
  - first - domestic & cottage industries - traditional goods & depending on family labour.
  - Second-industries-produce modern commodities by traditional methods, e.g., hand-weaving, soap-making and match manufacture.
  - third category includes modern small units and ancillaries. They use industrial sources of power, raw materials, wage labour & modern means of production -tools and machineries.

### Urban Social classes:

- **The Capitalist Class**
- **Urban Working class:** urban working class consisting of both the wage labourers and selfemployed workers is poor, powerless and largely unorganised on class lines. They constitute the exploited class. They are exploited more in the unorganised sector than in the organised sector.
- **Urban Middle Class:** The members of this class are engaged in a number of professions such as teaching, journalism, law and administration. They are also employed in managerial and supervisory positions in industry, trade and commerce.



### Changing occupational structure-

Since mid-1991, in India wide range of economic reforms were carried out with the aim to liberalize and globalize the economy. **Internal liberalization** included the dismantling of a complex industrial licensing system, opening up to private investors a number of sectors previously reserved for the state, some divestment of stock in the public sector, decontrol of administered prices, and financial liberalization. **External liberalization** measure included removal of non-tariff barriers to imports, reduction in import tariffs, incentive for foreign direct investment and technology inflows, allowing Indian firms to borrow from abroad, and the opening up of Indian stock markets to foreign investors.

Employment and wages are the major potential channels through which the social impact of increased openness and globalization are felt. The sectoral distribution of the workforce also reveals some surprises.

After economic liberalization the general economic trend is that while the corporate sector of industry is growing the public sector and small-scale industries are either facing stagnation or gradual decline. The fast growing high-tech corporate sector is capital intensive and therefore the employment generation capacity of this sector is limited. Since the large industries are now resorting to subcontracting there has been a steady growth of casual and self-employed workers and feminization of workforce.

Another recent trend is that the large-scale industries in the private sector (national as well as multinational) are coming up mostly outside the geographical limits of the large cities because it is very difficult to find the required land within the cities

Entrepreneurs from the national and global market invest in industries, most of these coming up in and around large cities. Globalisation, unfortunately, brings little relief to agrarian economy, as the latter has no capacity to provide incentive to attract the global players. Instead, the import of agriculture and related products from international market impacts negatively the rural economy by lowering down the prices of the products. Sluggish growth in production, near stagnation in productivity often results in rise in rural unemployment. Thus, the negative impact of liberalisation becomes much more significant and visible in the rural than in urban economy. Unfortunately, structural constraints and imperfections of labour market have inhibited or slowed down the process of this shift. Often, collapse of certain industries activities due to slump in global market has pushed the migrants back to their rural occupations.

The growth in employment in the organised manufacturing sector in India during the post-liberalisation period was distinctively higher, 4.15 percent per annum as against 0.6 percent in the preceding decade

After liberalization, new industries have often been located in the villages and small towns around the big cities, due to easy availability of land, access to unorganized labour market and less stringent implementation of environmental regulation. This has resulted in what may be described as "**degenerated peripheralisation**" where the pollutant industries and poor migrants are obliged to locate in the hinterland that have very poor quality of living.

### Urban Scenario:

- **The Work Participation Ratio (WPR) is defined as the percentage of male and female workers to the corresponding population.** Seen a decline over the years
- female work participation rate had increased in prime working age group in urban India.
- However, the occupational differential by sex, caste and religion is quite distinct. In large cities of India the widely practiced employment among females is domestic workers followed by clerical and related workers

### Rural scenario

- An analysis of data from National Sample Survey's 55th round for 1999-2000 reveals that there is marked shift in the structure of employment in India. The shift away from agriculture is fairly dramatic. Broadly these shifts can be divided in three categories
  - decline in the workforce engaged in crop production is higher than in the agriculture as a whole
  - increase in employment based on livestock is high and
  - forestry is not absorbing a large share of workforce
  - **NDE- Non Farm Employment is on a rise**
- **Harold Gould's study** of fifty rickshawalas of Lucknow revealed that this occupational category comprised twenty-seven Hindus ranging from the highest and purest Brahmin caste to the lowest and most defiled Chamar caste, four Nepali Hindu and nineteen Muslim. This gives an example of a complete disintegration of the occupational feature of the caste system
- Matrimonial columns are not only useful in finding suitable match for the prospective bride or groom, but also a significant indicator of changing perception of people vis-à-vis changing nature of occupation at least for urban areas. But now professionals of so-called 'knowledge economy' are preferred over the traditional ones.
- Traditionally in this sector was included hotel industry, travel and tourism and catering. At present this sector includes all the Knowledge Process Outsourcing (KPOs), BPOs, telemarketing, medical tourism, adventure tourism, social auditing and event management.

### Growth of urban settlements in India

- Sociologists define urbanisation as the movement of people from villages to town/city where economic activities are centred around non-agricultural occupations such as trade, manufacturing industry and management- 3 aspects- (1) demographic/spatial (2) Economic- from agricultural to non-agricultural (3) Socio-cultural- Emerging heterogeneity in urban areas
- here are 2 dimensional store urbanisation – demographic, economic social
- demographic – in simple words – growth of cities and towns
- Sociologically=it means **spreading urban way of life** to the country side.
- Social dimension –
- 1st, **urbanism as a way of life** – Louis Wirth's formulation of 'urbanism as a way of life' explains that the city, characterised by a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, gives rise to various kinds of social relationships. city draws the surrounding villages and even remote communities into its orbit. In other words, urbanism as a way of life is not peculiar to city-dwellers alone as the influences of the city

(i.e., impact of urbanisation) stretch far behind its administrative boundaries. and patterns of behaviour among the city-dwellers.

- **2<sup>nd</sup>- Primary and Secondary Urbanisation:** Robert Redfield and Milton Singer elaborate the role of cities in the light of the impact of urban growth and urbanisation on a culture. They describe the city as a centre of cultural innovation, diffusion and progress. the trend of primary urbanisation is to coordinate political, economic, educational, intellectual and aesthetic activities to the norms provided by Great Tradition. The process of secondary urbanisation works in the industrial phase of the city, and is characterised by heterogenetic development. Thus, the effects of secondary urbanisation are those of disintegration. They opine that: "the general consequence of secondary urbanisation is the weakening of suppression of the local and traditional cultures by states of mind that are incongruent with those local cultures." The first type carries forward the regional tradition, and the city becomes its epi-centre, the second type bring external elements to the city.
- **3<sup>rd</sup>-Changing Social and Economic Institutions** The relationships of community-living tend to become impersonal, formal, goaloriented, contractual and transitory. Process of urbanisation = **breakdown in the functioning of traditional institutions** and **patterns of behaviour** and of **social control**. Transformation of economic activities from **agricultural to non agricultural**= more employment in **secondary and tertiary sector**=**division of labour** and **specialisation** of work.
- Though India known for villages but it has got 2nd highest urban population with 38 crores
- In the present times spread of industrialisation has gave momentum to the urbanisation process,especially in the third world countries.
- Rapid growth of urban population= in social science a **controversial term called over urbanisation**.
- Sometimes the **traditional forms continue to exist but change** and evolve at the face of urbanisation.
- **Yogendra Singh**- many **new roles**, often **rational and modern in orientation**, are added on to the **traditional institutional forms**. In India, the traditional institutions like caste, joint family and neighbourhood, etc., offer ample evidence of such continuity and change in cities.
- **Urban growth** coupled with **industrialisation** = rural **urban migration**= tend to **overflow with rural migrants** = such migrations **accelerate the pace of urbanisation**.**Excessive population pressure** on the public utilities, cities suffer **problems of crime, slums, unemployment, urban poverty, pollution, congestion, ill health** and other **deviant social activities**. Environmental Decay
- Urbanisation has been viewed as an important force of social change. In India, this process has, on the one hand, meant economic growth, political change, new values and new attitudes. It reflects also the elements of continuity between rural and urban social structures.
- **City- sociological definition:** Some scholars have defined a city as a place which has become so large that people no longer know each other. **Sombart** calls this a "sociological" definition. For very small cities the statement is patently incorrect. In big cities face-to-face contacts are more numerous than anywhere else in the country; for this reason **Sorokin and**

Zimmerman correctly consider greater number of contacts as an urban, not as a rural characteristic

### Social Cultural Character of Urbanisation

- Cities of India have achieved **heterogeneous character** in terms of **ethnicity, caste, race, class** and **culture**. Coexistence of different cultures. **Cultural pluralism**.
- Studies show that though various ethnic and/or **caste groups** have **adjusted themselves** with each other in the city, they have also **tried to maintain their traditional identity**.
- **N.K. Bose** points out that the **migrants tend to cluster around people with whom they have linguistic, local, regional, caste and ethnic ties**.
- A study by **Jagannathan and Haldar** on the **pavement-dwellers in Calcutta** shows that - retain close ties with kinship & caste groups for socializing & transmitting/receiving information from village.
- **Social stratification** has taken a new form in the urban society. It is assumed that with urbanisation **caste transforms itself into class in the urban areas**. But **caste systems do exist in the cities** though with significant organizational differences.
- **Marriage and family**- In the urban areas **caste norms have been flexible** with regard to the selection of mates. There have been increasing opportunities for the free mixing of young men and women. Again the **voluntary associations have encouraged inter-caste marriages**- more than b4
- Though it has been pointed out that **joint families are breaking down** in the urban areas- from family
- **Social Classes in Urban India**
  - Commercial and Industrial Classes
  - Corporate Sector
  - Professional Classes
  - Petty Traders, Shopkeepers, and Unorganised Workers
  - Working Classes

### Consequences of urbanisation

- **unplanned urbanisation-slums-hygiene-tansport-health-pollution-environmental degradation-antisocial elements**-migration- insufficient **water supply**- inadequate **housing**. (Special mention may be made here of the old houses, which are deteriorating in the sense that they are unserved, overcrowded and dilapidated) In Greater Bombay, as many as 77 per cent of the households with an average of 5.3 persons live in one room, and many others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night.
- Urbanisation with **westernisation** & **modernisation=rapid social change** both in rural & urban areas.
- **MN Srinivas** -urbanisation in southern India has a **caste component** and that, it was the Brahmin who first left the village for the towns and took advantage of western education and modern professions. At the same time as they **retained their ancestral lands they continued to be at the top of the rural socio-economic hierarchy**. In **urban areas they had a near monopoly** of all non-manual posts.

- As a result of migration there has been a flow of urban money into the rural areas. Emigrants regularly send money to their native villages. - to clear off loans, build houses and educate children.
- Many cultural traits have - in rural areas from urban areas dress, food, ideas, values, thoughts, ideologies etc-due to increase in communication, radio, television, newspaper, computer etc.
- The differing viewpoints held by various sociologists wherein one expects urbanisation as a leading force pushing Indian society towards modernisation thereby transforming caste into class, while on the other hand sociologists like MN Srinivas points out that it is transforming caste old into caste new rather than changing caste into class, - better to be called westernisation than modernisation.

### Rapid urbanisation:

#### *Social consequences – crime, isolation and maladjustment*

- **Crime:** urban anonymity in a way encourages resorting to unlawful activities, as the traditional agencies of social control and law and order become noticeably weak. Under these conditions of urban living, crimes such as theft, burglary, kidnapping and abduction, murder, rape, cheating, criminal breach of trust, gambling, prostitution, alcoholism and counterfeiting, etc., have become almost routine affairs in most cities, especially the “million” cities.
- **Isolation:** The rapid growth of urban population leads to greater divisions of labour and specialisation of work which, in turn, creates interdependence among individuals participating in a given economic activity. The heterogeneity of population, especially in matters of social status, caste, class, religion, income, occupation, etc., creates partial isolation under which, as K. Davis says, integrity of particular groups is reinforced by maintaining social distance (avoidance) toward other groups.
- **Maladjustment:** It generates and strengthens the forces of social change, leading to new social reality and inevitable pressures of conformity. They, in fact, present cases of “Marginal Man Marginal Man”—a concept developed by Robert E.Park. The marginal-man, in simple words, is said to be one who is in the process of changing from one culture to another. Some scholars have also used the term “transitional man” in the sense that the individual in question is in the process of assimilation with the culture of the place of his destination.

#### *Impact of urbanisation in rural areas:*

- Population growth leads to a higher ratio of people to land, called ‘material density’ by Emile Durkheim. He differentiated two types of density, namely (i) material density, that is, simple ratio of people to land and (ii) dynamic or moral density, that is, the rate of interaction, or communication within a population.
- Rao distinguishes three different situations of urban impact in the rural areas. In the villages from where large numbers of people migrate to the far off cities, urban employment becomes a symbol of higher social prestige. Villages, which are located near the towns, receive influx of immigrant workers and face the problems of housing, marketing and social ordering. Lastly, in the process of the growth of metropolitan cities some villages become the rural-pockets in the city areas.
- At present, many cultural traits are diffused from cities to the rural areas. For example, dress patterns like pants, shirts, ties, skirts, jeans etc. diffuse from cities to the rural areas
- increase in communication via radio, television, newspaper, computer, the Internet and telephone.



### Urban Impact through Migration

Rural economy often plays an important role in ensuring balance between demand and supply of labour through circulation of population in different seasons of the year. Three different kinds of rural urban migration could be identified:

- First, there are villages in which a significant proportion of populations have sought employment in far off urban areas. In this situation they leave their families in villages of their birth. Such emigrants visit their village either during festivals or on family occasions. Most significantly majority of them send money regularly
- Second kind of impact is felt by villages which are situated near an industrial town. These villages are exposed to several kinds of influences. The reasons for this could be a) with the coming up of an industrial town some villages might be totally up-rooted, b) lands are partially acquired, c) influx of immigrant workers, d) demand of all kinds of amenities for new residents and e) finally ordering of relationship between immigrants and native residents
- Finally, the third type of urban impact is felt by phenomenon of ever increasing size of metropolitan cities which many times convert into megalopolis. In the above situations, normally either village is sucked in to the city as it expands or land excluding the inhabited area is used for urban development. Such situations give rise to 'rural pockets' in the city area.

### Working Class, Structure, Growth Class mobilisation

- The question **who and what is working class** is **not an easy one to answer**. There is a problem of where to **draw the line**. The difference further extends in **terms of skill, sex, age, income and caste**.
- In the **Marxian scheme, the capitalist society -2 principal classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat**.
- India has a multi-structural economy where a number of pre-capitalist relations of production co-exist with capitalist relations of production.

### Growth of working class in India

- The **modern working class** came into being with the **rise of capitalist mode of production**. This mode of **production brought with it the factory type of industry**. Conversely, **without a factory industry** there can be **no working class** but **only working people**.
- Holmstorm puts it 'people commonly refer to industrial workers, and sometimes other kind of wage-earners and self-employed workers, as the 'working class'. Usually this means a group who share similar economic situation, which distinguishes them from others, like property owners, employers and managers. It suggests a common interest and shared consciousness of these interests'. This implies that like other classes the defining feature of working class is their understanding of 'a common interest' and 'shared consciousness'. However, in recent times these two concepts have become difficult to actualise for the working class due to their own internal divisions and diverse socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds
- **Formative period**= British **destroyed the artisan and handloom industry** without replacing them with **modern factory system**. After the **introduction of Railways** and **sporadic growth**



of some industries, the workers who had lost their livelihoods, joined as distressed labourers.

- **Emergence of working class**=With the **growth of modern industries**= similar experience and shared interests = formation of working class in the later half of the 19th century.
- Hence, the **consciousness of being exploited by the capitalists/ owners of factories** was evident as early as **1888**, when **workers of Shyamnagar Jute Mill assaulted the manager**.That is, the reactions **against the exploitation in early phases** were marked by riots, affrays, assaults and physical violence.
- However, the process of class formation among workers in India was marked by fundamental differences as opposed to their European counterparts:
  - The gap between destruction of traditional cottage industry and its partial replacement by modern industries was about two to three generations. The dispossessed artisans and craftsmen lost their age-old technical skill and when they entered the modern industries, they did so without any initial skills.
  - In India, after the destruction of traditional handicraft and cottage industry, modern industry did not grow up in its place. The dispossessed artisans and craftsmen were compelled to depend on village economy & earn livelihood as landless peasants and agricultural labourers.
  - When the workers, after long and close association with agricultural life, entered the modern industries and got transformed into modern workers, they did it in with the full inheritance of the legacy and various superstitions, habits and customs of agricultural life. There was no opportunity for these men to get out of casteism, racialism and religious superstition of Indian social life and harmful influence of medieval ideas.
- **Consolidation of working class**= **end of 19th century** and **beginning of 20th century**= organised **national movements** and **consolidation of the working class**.
- This **political development worked as a favorable condition for the Indian working class** too for moving ahead with its **economic struggles** and raising them to a higher pitch. These struggles led to the laying of the **foundation of the first trade unions** of the country.

#### **Nature and structure of working class today:**

- India has a multi-structural economy where a number of pre-capitalist relations of production co-exist with capitalist relations of production
- So the composition of the working class is affected by the caste, tribe, ethnic origin and the gender based division of labour between male and female and associated patriarchy.
- **multi-structural economy & effects of primordial affiliations**, a **variety of forms** of WC exists
  - 1., those workers who are permanent employees of the large factory sector and **get family wage** . (sufficient to maintain not only the individual but also the workers family).
  - 2., there is a **large and preponderant section** of WC - does not get a **family wage**.This includes workers in the **older industries like cotton and jute textiles**, sugar and paper.

- 3. section of WC at the bottom of wage scale the mass of contract and sometimes casual labourers in industry, including construction, brick making and other casual workers.
- 4., below all these lie a reserve army of labour, who work in petty commodities production in petty trading, ranging from hawking to rag-picking. They are generally engaged in the informal sector and carry on for the want of sufficient survival wage.
- Better paid labour has also much greater job security. However the workers on the lower end of the wage scale have not only job security but also considerable extra-economic coercion and personal bondage which leads to lack of civil rights. Similarly, working conditions for the low paid workers are uniformly worse than for high paid workers.
- So, in the same plant or site there is a clear difference in the safety measures for the two groups of workers.
- The situation worsens further with regard to women workers.

#### Social back ground of Indian working class:

- This study points out that in higher income jobs upper castes dominate whereas Dalits/advasis have preponderance in low wage jobs.
- The middle castes are concentrated in middle to bottom ranges. Even in public sector, representation of backward castes, schedule castes and tribes is not up to their proportion in the population.
- Moreover, it seems that caste based division of labour is followed in the class III and IV jobs in government and public sector enterprises. So the jobs of sweepers -for dalits and advasis.
- In coal mines, hard physical labour of loading and pushing the coal tubs is done by dalits and advasis. In steel plants the production work in the intense heat of coke oven and blast furnace is mainly done by advasis and dalits.
- The depressed conditions of advasis and dalits helps in ensuring a supply of labour, who can be made to work at the mere subsistence level. Hence, caste on one hand plays a role in keeping the lower sections of the society in the lower strata of the working class, on the other hand, the upper caste get a privilege in the labour market. Further, caste is not only a matter of marriage and to an extent residence, but more so a continuing pool of social relation for the supply of various kinds of labour for the capitalist mode of production.
- Working class is a complex, contradictory and constantly changing entity. The concept of class consciousness, is very slippery with regard to the working class.

#### Informal Sector

- Informal sector=informal economy= that part of an economy that is not taxed, monitored by any form of government, or included in any gross national product (GNP). In India around 70% of the potential working population earn their living in the informal sector. Agricultural workers constitute by far the largest segment of workers in the unorganized sector.

- The informal sector **continues to remain bigger** than **organised sector** in many key respects in spite of the **large control over resources** and **social economic power** enjoy it by the **organised sector**.
- Despite its large, substantial place in economy, the unorganised sector is a relatively neglected sector

**Features of Informal sector:-**

- **Low level of organisation**, less than 10 employees, **sometimes immediate family members**
- **Heterogeneity** in activities
- **Easy entry and exit than the formal sector**
- Usually **low capital investment**, no difference between capital and labour
- **Labour intensive job, low level skills**, workers **learn on the job**
- **Employee and employer relationship is informal** and **unwritten** with **little and no rights**
- **Isolation & invisibility**, - **unaware of their rights**, **cant organise** them - little **negotiating power**

**Categories of informal sector:-**

- **Based on occupation**- Small and marginal farmers, landless agricultural labourers, share croppers, fishermen, those engaged in animal husbandry, in beedi rolling, labelling and packing, building and construction, collection of raw hides and skins, handlooms weaving in rural areas, brick kilns and stone quarries, saw mills, oil mills, et cetera.
- **Based upon nature of employment**: attached agricultural labourers, bonded labourers, migrant workers, contract and casual labourers et cetera.
- **Specifically distressed categories**: scavengers, carriers of head loads, drivers of animal driven vehicles, loaders, unloaders et cetera.
- **Service categories**: midwives, domestic workers, barbers, vegetable/fruit vendor, newspaper vendor etc

**Problems of informal sector:-**

- **Rural agricultural labour poor security of tenure- low income-inadequate diversification** of economic activities in rural areas- they are **dispersed,unorganised** and generally have **poor bargaining power- seasonal work**,so migrate to urban centres for construction works in off seasons.
- Circumstances force them to **borrow** either for **consumption purposes** or to meet **social obligations like marriage et cetera**, from private sources, endup in bonded labour in many cases.
- The **issues and problems** of **home based workers** are very **complex** because of the **absence of any direct master-servant or employer-employee relationship** .The relationship being **ambiguous** and **indefinite**, the home worker is **subjected to exploitation** in various forms.
- In India, there is **no authentic data on home based workers**. Official data sources such as Census of India, **do not recognize these workers as an independent category** but have included them in the broad category of those working in house-hold Industries. Home based workers are not visible in national statistics. However, it has been estimated **that over 3 crore workers in the country are home based workers**. E.g **beedi rolling, handloom**

weaving, rural artisans and craft persons, agarbatti makers, zari workers, papad makers, cobblers, lady tailors, carpenters, etc.

- Major features of construction industry - that it is prone to risks of accidents. Majority unreported.
- sexual exploitation of women migrant workers;
- very less amount of money paid in the form of wage;
- most of the migrant workers in the informal sector live in slums with poor sanitation - health hazard.

### Social security measures taken by government for workers in unorganised sector

- 'Swavalamban scheme- National pension scheme for unorganised scheme
- 1.centally funded social assistance programs-SGSY, National social assistance scheme, employment assurance scheme, family benefits and maternity benefits,
- 2.social insurance scheme-Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana
- 3.social assistance through welfare funds of Central and State governments public initiatives
- Several public institutions and agencies are also imparting various kinds of social security benefits to the selected group of workers, Among these Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has made significant achievement in promoting social security through the formation of cooperatives.

### Comparison between Formal/Organised and Unorganised Sectors

The labour force in all developing economies consists of two broad sectors, the organised and unorganised sectors. In the organised sector, the labour productivity is likely to be high, incomes even in unskilled category are relatively high and conditions of work and services are protected by labour legislations and trade unions

The major comparisons between these two sectors can be summed up as follows –

1. The Market Structure: The large manufacturing firms in the formal, organised sector operate in markets where prices are controlled by few sellers, which are protected from foreign competition by high tariffs. They sell products mainly to middle and upper income groups. On the other hand the unorganised sectors consist of a large number of small producers operating on narrow margins in highly competitive markets. The products are sold to low-income groups.
2. Credit Facilities: The organised sector has greater access to cheap credit provided by various financial institutions while the unorganised sector often depends on the money-lenders who charge a high rate of interest.
3. Technology: The formal organised sector uses capital-intensive technologies and imported technology while the unorganised sector uses mainly labour intensive and indigenous technology.
4. Role of Government: The organised sector has a privileged position as far as the Government is concerned because it has an easy access to and influence over Government machinery; it can build lobbies and pressurize the Government on an issue, while the unorganised has no political pull.
5. Protection: Lastly, the organised sector is protected by various types of labour legislations and backed by strong unions. The unorganised sector is either not covered by labour legislation at all or is so scattered that the implementation of legislation is very inadequate or ineffective. There are hardly any unions in this sector to act as watch dogs.

Street vendors form a very large section of the urban informal sector in developing countries. In India one estimate notes that around 2% of the total urban population is engaged in street vending (GOI 2004). A lot of the goods sold by street vendors, such as clothes and hosiery, leather and moulded plastic goods, household goods and some items of food, are manufactured in small scale or home-based industries. While the formal sector shows a negative growth in employment, the small-scale manufacturing sector shows a lot of buoyancy.

A study on street vendors, conducted in these cities, show that around 30% of the street vendors in Ahmedabad and Mumbai and 50% in Kolkata were once engaged in the formal sector (Bhowmik 2000). A study conducted by SEWA in Ahmedabad shows that around half the retrenched textile workers are now street vendors.

### Child Labour in India

- Child labour, a **manifestation of poverty** in the country has become a social problem in India.
- worst forms of child labor which includes **Child Slavery, Child prostitution, Child Trafficking, Child Soldiers**. Official figure of **child laborers world wide is 13 million**. But the actual number is much higher. Kenya, Somalia, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India.
- India has dubious distinction of being the nation with **largest number of child laborers in the world**.
- They **do not go to school**; more than half of them are **unable to learn the barest skills of literacy**. **Poverty is one of the main reasons** behind this phenomenon.
- The unrelenting poverty forces the parents to **push their young children in all forms of hazardous occupations**. In India the emergence of child labor is also because of unsustainable systems of landholding in agricultural areas and caste system in the rural areas.
- the owners of some of the small-scale enterprises also prefer to employ child labour. For them, child labour is cheap. It reduces the cost of production and maximise their profit.
- **Debt that binds them to their employer** is incurred not by children themselves but by their parent.
- The arrangements between the parents and contracting agents are **usually informal and unwritten**. The **number of years required to pay off such a loan is indeterminate**. The lower castes such as Dalits and **tribal** make them **vulnerable groups for exploitation**.
- **Migration to cities**- On arrival in overcrowded cities the **disintegration of family units** takes place through **alcoholism, unemployment** or **disillusionment of better life** etc. The girls are forced to work as **sex -workers or beggars**. number of girls end up working as **domestic workers** on low wages .
- Sometimes children are **abandoned by their parents** or **sold to factory owners**. Low wages and low **bargaining power**.
- **Unorganized sector child labor** is paid by **piece-by-piece rates** - even longer hours for very low pay.
- After **RTE-2009**, **no child can work in wage based employment below the age of 14**.
- The **Bonded Labour System Act of 1976** -Indian Constitution's directive of ending forced labour.
- There are **laws governing the use of migrant labour** and contract labour.
- The **Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation law) of 1986 designates a child as** a person who has



- **completed their 14th year of** age. In light of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, the Bill seeks to **prohibit employment of children below 14 years in all occupations** except where the child helps his family after school hours.  
**Child labour (prohibition and regulation amendment Bill ) 2012**-new term adolescent-14 to 18- no **hazardous industry work**.The **Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012**

### Juvenile Delinquency:

Juvenile Delinquency has been defined as “some form of antisocial behaviour involving personal and social disorganisation”. It is a form of conduct that goes against the norms and laws of society and that tends to affect people adversely. Some think that delinquency is any act, course of conduct or situation which might be brought before a court and adjudicated”. Therefore, delinquency involves a pattern of behaviour which deviates from the normal and is forbidden. Factors:

- Broken home, where children do not get love, warmth, affection and security,
- Bad housing and lack of space for recreation in homes and in neighbourhood,
- Poverty and neglect by parents,
- Child working in vocations and places which are congenial to delinquency,
- Undesirable companionship in school, work place and neighbourhood, and
- Undesirable influence of cinema and literature and other mass media.

**Corrective Measures:** In the discussion of juvenile delinquency, age is an important factor. according to the Juvenile Justice Act 1986, a boy who has not attained the age of 16 or a girl who has not attained the age of 18 years is considered a juvenile in India. Juvenile courts have been formed to treat juvenile cases in very informal and simple atmosphere. These courts are headed by full time special magistrates, preferably women. There are Remand Homes where juvenile delinquents are kept till the cases are decided, by the court.

### Slums and deprivations in urban areas

- **The census defines a slum as “residential areas where dwellings are unfit for human habitation” because they are dilapidated, cramped, poorly ventilated, unclean, or “any combination of these factors which are detrimental to the safety and health” and covers all 4,041 statutory towns.**
- Slum population accounts for a **substantial share of urban population** in all types of cities in India.
- An estimated 160 million people have moved to the cities in the last two decades, and another 230 million are projected to move there within the next 20 years
- 17% of Urban india lives in slums
- Slums-**substandard housing-over crowding-lack of electrification-ventilation-sanitaion-roads-drinking water facilities- breeding ground for diseases-anti social elements-poverty-juvenile delinquency-gambling.**
- The **National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi**, has recorded that the emergence of slums is essentially the product of **three forces**:
  - a. Greater **potential for employment**, which attracts rural people;
  - b. **incapacity to meet the rising demand** for housing



c. The urban policy **doesn't allow the poor to buy land.**

**In India's financial capital Mumbai, which boasts some of the country's most expensive real estate, approximately eight to nine million people (or over 40% of its households) currently live in slums**

Over 65 million people live in slums, up from 52 million in 2001, but **slum populations have grown slower than the average urban population over the last decade.** The average household living in a slum is no larger than an average urban Indian household, with **4.7 family members.** The child sex **ratio (0-6 years) of an average slum household is 922 girls for every 1,000 boys,** compared to 905 for urban India

**The literacy rate in slums is now up to 77.7% but still lags behind the urban average. Both men and women living in slums participate at a higher rate in the workforce than the urban average, even though fewer have employment through the year.**

For example, **Dharavi**, a large Mumbai slum with a population of over one million people living on 1.7 square kilometres, has **5,000 businesses and 15,000 single room factories** which produce pottery and leather and also recycle a large portion of the waste generated in the city. The total output of the Dharavi, most of it part of the informal cash economy, was estimated at US\$500-650 million in 2010

1. **Unprecedented Scale.** No country has or is facing the issue on the scale at which India is. By 2017, India is expected to have over 100 million people living in slums[10] and another 10 million migrants moving to the cities each year. India cannot afford to pause or be complacent on urban development given the scale of this migration - in fact needs to play some 'catch-up' in scaling infrastructure of its cities to match their populations.
2. **Political Clout Cuts Both Ways.** India's slum-dwellers are fully enfranchised and actively vote for national and local leaders who they feel will protect their interests. Slum-dwellers' today know they represent a strong and highly influential vote and politicians know that delivering things of value to this constituency plays an important part in their ability to win their vote.
3. **No Control.** Some other developing countries have more effective political tools to control urban migration. However, India's democracy which assures the free movement of people throughout the country prevents any such controls from being even remotely feasible.

#### Characteristics of Slums:

- **-Poorly designed housing** on unauthorised land.
- **-Over-crowding** and **congestion.**
- -Lack of **public utilities** and facilities, such as, **drainage, sanitation, water taps, electric** light,
- **health centres, common latrines** and **public parks,** etc
- high incidence of **deviant behaviour** such as **crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug use,** beggary, illegitimacy, illicit distilling of liquor, gambling and other social evils
- It **does not mean** that **all** those residing in slums are necessarily associated with such deviant behaviour. -slums- **socially and physically provide greater opportunity** for such deviant behaviour.
- Though the slum-dwellers are **functionally integrated to the city life.** These areas are **looked down upon** and considered inferior. Such a reaction from - **slums into social isolation,** detached
- People living in slums are **not always poor and marginalised.** Looking at the **growing cost of urban land, some of the traders and land mafias encroach over the land in slums and rent**

**it out.** They wait till the land gets authorised, which usually happens just before the election. Therefore slum operates as a big source of profit for them.

- People living in particular slum largely come from one area - they address each other in primary kinship terms and follow traditional form of rituals. Thus slums - evolving - mini cultural Centre.
- Slums have a culture of their own, which Marshall Clinard has termed as 'a way of life'.
- **MSA Rao** advocate that slums are not the centres of cultural poverty rather they are centres of cultural prosperity. People living in slums glorify, practice and promote their culture.
- **MS Gore** conceded that slums and urban growth are complementary to each other because for the construction of roads, buildings migrant workers come from different pockets of the country. They offer their service at a cheaper rate to the mainstream occupation. He further said that slum provides emotional comfort to people and therefore slum is the lifeline of urbanity, it's the sweet spot on the beautiful face of urban India.
- **Marxist sociologists** point out that urban centres develop out of the sweat and blood of poor people for which they do not get any benefit. They further consider that most of the people living in slums are accused of crime, drug paddling and other kinds of criminal activities. Slums are used as a source of cheap labour by the urban upper and middle class and therefore growth of slum is talking about exploitation between haves and have-nots in modern society.
- **GS Ghurye**- in his book Sociology of slums slums are the other cultures that doesnt carry commonalities with Sanskritik Hindu culture. Therefore protest movements coming out from the slum is questioning to the unity and integrity of the Indian society.
- In conclusion it can be said that slums is not a challenge to urban planners, rather it is an area of sociological research that takes into consideration the factors like-1. Slums and social change 2. functions and dysfunctions of slums 3. slums and deviance

**Delhi Slums Record show:** Delhi - a swelling of its population from 2 Mn in 1947 to over 13 Mn today

- 1500 shanty colonies in Delhi over 3 million people.
- The average population density in a shanty town is 300,000 people per square kilometer.
- An average dwelling houses 6-8 people, yet measures 6ft (2mt) 8ft (2.5mt).
- The under-five mortality rate is 149 per 1000 live births.
- 1 water pump on average serves 1000 people.
- Many slums have no facilities. Where latrines are provided, the average is 1 latrine per 27 households.

#### **Strategies for transforming India's slums:**

#### **Observations for experiences of other countries:**

- Firstly, slums are a logical response to urbanisation and the relative lack of opportunity outside of major urban centres in predominantly poor countries. They are facilitated by the right to migrate. So, they are a structural phenomenon.
- Secondly, slums become a system of living perpetuated by economics, politics and societal factors. Therefore, it makes sense to see them as a part of the system of a country and also the global system of trade and distribution of wealth.

- Thirdly, people accept and adapt to their circumstances without (external) triggers to encourage them to do otherwise. In this sense, slums are adaptive organisms.
- Fourthly, slum dwellers can improve slum to a large extent if mobilised to do so. Therefore, they can also be developed - any organisational entity through application of techniques of change management.
- Finally, slum dwellers cannot transform their slum without the support of the environment around them. They lack critical human - financial resources to make a clean break from situation.

#### Strategies:

- **Industrial Revolution and Continued Development.**
- **Knowledge and Freedom Advantage**
- **Slum Architecture**
- **Sustainable Continuous Dynamic Infrastructure Provisioning**
- **Rural Re-Visioning and Investment**

Steps: Rent Control Act, 1948; Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, 1976; Rajiv Awas Yojana- Get money to build houses or flats getting built and allocated at cheaper rates.

#### Previous questions

1. Write short note on Industrialisation and occupational diversification(95/20)
- 2. Write short note on Social basis of trade unions (95/20)
- 3. Discuss the salient features of urbanisation in India. What steps would you suggest to tackle? The negative aspects of urbanisation? (95/60)
- 4. Write short note on Social consequences of market economy(96/20)
- 5. Write short note: Urban neighborhoods. (96/20)
- 6. Write short note: Social profile of slums. (97/20)
- 7. impact of market economy on the traditional rural economic structure (98/60)
- 8. Write short note: Social consequences of unplanned urban growth. (98/20)
- 9. privatization and how could it affect economic reforms in India? (99/60)
- 10. Slums are scars on the social fabric. How can these scars be removed? (99/60)
- 11. Write short note on Consequences of globalisation for India. (00/20)
- 13. Write short note on Privatization and globalization. (01/20)
- 14. how occupational diversification has affected the pattern of social stratification
- 16. Describe various aspects of urban environment in India and assess the impact of urban development programmes on it. (05/60)
- 18. Write short note on Programmes for urban development (07/20)
- 20. Social consequences of reforms like liberalization, privatization & globalization. (07/60)
- 21. Write short note on Informal sector in the urban economy in India (08/20)
- 22. impact of Globalization on structure and mobilization of the working class (08/60)
- 23. Write short note on Possibilities of slum reform. (09/20)
- 24. sociological impact of globalization on people working in the Informal sector(09/30)
- 25. Women in the I.T. sector. (10/20)
- 26. Evaluate the policy of SEZ and the nature of social response to it(10/30)
- 27. From a sociological perspective, -effects of the BPO industry on the youth. (10/30)

- 28. What are the linkage points between globalization and the growth of the informal sector? How have these affected the nature and functioning of the working class?

#### Women in IT sector:

- The onset of Liberalisation and Globalisation in 1990s paved the way for growth of IT industry in India. IT industry enjoys natural comparative advantage of 12 hour time-gap with most of the overseas countries, exposure to a large cross-section of educated English-speaking but cheap labour force and, above all, Indian Government's policy incentives
- Employment opportunities in IT Sector: The Indian IT-BPO industry has emerged as the largest private sector employer in the country with direct employment of about 2.23 million professionals. The percentage of female employees, over the years, has steadily increased from 35% in 2006 to 36% in 2008 at the junior level
- Employment opportunities in IT Sector: The Indian IT-BPO industry has emerged as the largest private sector employer in the country with direct employment of about 2.23 million professionals. The percentage of female employees, over the years, has steadily increased from 35% in 2006 to 36% in 2008 at the junior level
- IT industry is the destination of the „privileged“- young, educated, urban and upper caste with middle class family background- constitute the majority of the workforce. She further observes that women professionals have enhanced their social status in terms of having economic capital (high income, foreign travels), social capital (role model and greater prospects of marriage) and symbolic capital (prestige attached to profession).
- Glass ceiling, Feminization and associated constraints make IT a gendered workplace:
- Women workforce generally gets concentrated at the bottom, where senior level representation of women is only 5%. Reasons attributed to this are : (i) stereotyped female professional (2) personal sense of mid career guilt (3) proverbial glass ceiling.
- Hochschild and Machung observed that in the earlier economy, female labour force has two shifts viz. the 1st shift in office and the 2nd shift at home. But, actually, women more often juggle between three shifts i.e. Job, Childcare and Housework whereas the men juggle between jobs and childcare. Hochschild later propounded the idea of a „third shift“ in conformity with the call for the New Economy. Longer working hours at the office in the first shift (at workplace) often encroach on the family time i.e. the second shift (at home) i.e. needs to be hurried and rationalised. The situation forces the parents to engage themselves in a „third shift“ i.e. noticing, understanding and coping with the emotional consequences of the compressed second shift. Parents do make real effort to eliminate the wasted time“.

#### The Impact of Globalisation on Employment in India & Responses from Formal & Informal Sectors

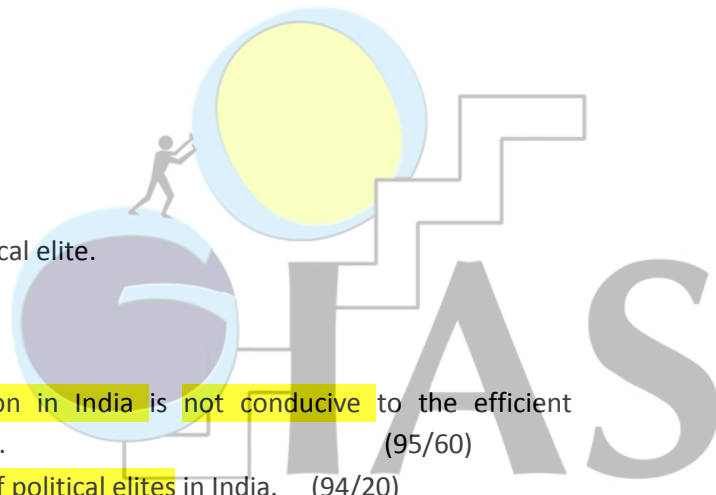
- Two claims about the impact of globalisation have been made in India. One, made by the corporate lobby, is that globalisation requires the dilution of existing labour standards and, a fortiori, strong resistance to any strengthening of workers' rights, since these are an obstacle to competitiveness in the global economy as well as to attracting foreign investment. The other, made by mainstream Left parties and their trade unions, is that globalisation, through the agency of transnational corporations, the World Bank, IMF and WTO, is driving the dilution of labour standards and assault on workers' rights.

- Within industry, the distinction between formal and informal does not correspond completely to that between the organised and unorganised sectors. The organised sector is usually characterised as enterprises covered by the Factories Act, which applies to units with electrical power employing ten workers or more, or units without electrical power employing twenty workers or more. Although unorganised sector workers would tend to be informal, it does not follow that all workers in the organised sector are formal.
- The chronic insecurity of informal workers allows employers to impose extremely hazardous working conditions on them. The construction industry is the second largest employer in the country, employing about thirty-two million mainly informal workers. The working conditions are deplorable. Whether it is a government or private undertaking, the employers are oblivious to the hazards involved.
- A majority of agricultural labourers in India are from the 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes', that is, communities socially oppressed under the caste system and among the worst exploited economically. Sugar cane is grown in western India by large farmers from the dominant agricultural castes, who also own the sugar cooperatives. The cane is harvested over some eight months of the year by migrant workers who cannot find sufficient work in their home regions to sustain them throughout the year
- The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 represents a half-hearted attempt by the government to deal with this massive problem - its aim is not to abolish child labour but only to prohibit its use in hazardous industries. Numerous investigations make it clear, however, that all employment is hazardous for children, and that they are regularly maimed, tortured or killed, by accident or ill-treatment, in supposedly non-hazardous occupations such as garment manufacturing, food production and domestic labour.
- In other industries like pharmaceuticals and personal care products, although there was rapid automation, downsizing and an increasing sense of insecurity amongst workers throughout the 1980s (created, for example, by events like the Hindustan Lever Sewri factory lockout of 1988-89, which resulted in the loss of several hundreds of jobs.
- The liberalisation of 1991 was accompanied by a vigorous employer campaign for an 'Exit Policy', i.e. the right to hire and fire workers freely. This was resisted just as fiercely by trade unions, and temporarily withdrawn. However, dismissals and closures continued unabated throughout the decade. The liberalisation of 1991 was accompanied by a vigorous employer campaign for an 'Exit Policy', i.e. the right to hire and fire workers freely. This was resisted just as fiercely by trade unions, and temporarily withdrawn. However, dismissals and closures continued unabated throughout the decade.
- Most responses to globalisation by employers in the formal and informal sectors have ranged from outright rejection to qualified acceptance, with only a small number of the best managed and most competitive companies showing a readiness to confront its challenges.
- If the current phase of capitalist integration is characterised as 'globalisation', then opposition to it from the standpoint of retaining a more national character to capitalism can only act against the interests of workers. Firstly, it fosters the illusion that capitalism can solve problems of poverty and unemployment so long as it remains national, whereas these problems are endemic to capitalism in any form; and secondly, it prevents workers from working out international strategies premised on the reality of capitalism as a global system, and thereby deprives them of their most potent weapon.



## TOPIC 12: POLITICS and SOCIETY

### Previous years' questions

- 
- (a) Nation, democracy and citizenship.
- (b) Political parties, pressure groups, social and political elite.
- (c) Regionalism and decentralization of power.
- (d) Secularization
- It is often alleged that the social situation in India is not conducive to the efficient functioning of a democratic polity. Comment. (95/60)
  - Write short note on changing social origins of political elites in India. (94/20)
  - Write short note on Role of pressure groups in Indian politics. (96/20)
  - Describe the traditional power structure in rural India. Discuss the factors that have contributed to its changing pattern in recent years. (96/60)
  - Write short note on Pluralism and national unity. (97/20)
  - Describe the socio-cultural background of the political elites of contemporary India. What has been the influence of the background on their political orientations? (97/60)
  - Write short note on Implications of emergence of regional political parties. (98//20)
  - Write short note on National Unity. (99/20)
  - 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments with reference to decentralization power. (99/60)
  - What have been the functions of democracy in India? Has democracy been successful in eliminating some of the traditional social inequalities? (00/60)
  - What is democratic decentralization? Assess the working of Panchayati Raj in India. (01/60)
  - Elaborate the concept of political elite. Explain how social structural origins of political elites influence their political orientations. (01/60)
  - Write short note on Reservation and Panchayat Raj institutions. (02/20)
  - Write short note on Regionalism. (03/20)
  - Differentiate between pressure groups and interest groups. Describe the role of some prominent pressure groups in contemporary Indian politics. (03/60)
  - Discuss the social base of political parties in India. What has been its impact on Indian democracy? (05/60)
  - Write short note on Regionalism. (07/20)
  - Write short note on New rural elite and leadership (09/20)
  - Factors responsible for increasing demands for the formation of separate states.
  - Ethnic movements. (10/20)
  - Identify the reasons for the resilience of democratic system in India. (10/30)
  - How are the issues of ethnicity and nationalism related? Discuss in the context of the emergence of ethno-nationalism in India.



## Summary of points:

### Nation

- A nation a group of people who share-common-language-culture-ethnicity-history etc. But in this definition a nations physical borders is not considered.
- It can also be seen as people of common territory and government irrespective of their ethnicity. In case of international relation any sovereign nation is considered as a nation.
- Nationalism-a political ideology-Modernist view, it is the nationalist who creates national identity.
- Nationalism-Sometimes reactionary- calling for a return to the national past-sometimes for the expulsion of foreigners.
- Nationalism-sometimes revolutionary- calling for an establishment of an independent state as a homeland for an ethnic underclass.
- The concept of nation developed in the West.Nationalism got momentum as an ideology during the freedom struggle.
- Nationalism is needed for political discourse-secular credentials.
- Rise of cultural consciousness is contesting with secular ideology. Why religion and culture is used in the name of nationalism.Freedom struggle-nationalism out of religion and culture. Bankim Chandra said that nationalism is not a political agenda but the moral duty of the people born in this particular territory to protect their motherland.
- After freedom struggle we changed attention from nationalist state to inclusive, democratic, socialist and pluralistic nation.
- **Ambedkar** was critical of Gandhis philosophy of cultural nationalism. During 1930s secessionist movement was started in South India as a fear that after Independence Aryan culture will be imposed on them thereby questioning their identity. They considered Hinduism as an aggressive ideology.
- **Amartya Sen** tells that nationalism is a form of religious revivalism that is attacking to individual freedom, secular character of the country, accelerating communal tension and putting the development programmes and welfare measures at the backseat.
- **TN Madan** considered at cultural revivalism and glorification of communal politics is a natural phenomenon in a society like India. In India people are so committed to culture in terms of language, speech, food, marriage and rituals that bringing religion back to public sphere is never difficult.
- **Andre Beteille** considered that search for nationalism is not relevant to contemporary times when illiteracy, deprivation, poverty, gender issue are so greatly affecting to the rise of India as a pluralistic secular state.
- **DL Joshi** consider that nationalism, its evolution, growth and decline must be studied in the context of time. He indicates that glorification of nationalism in contemporary times can be attributed to the following factors: cultural nationalism perceived as a mechanism to unify people in past-political parties are trying to evoke cultural consciousness to get maximum political support.
- Problems like cross-border terrorism manifest hostility between India and Pakistan is being used as a pretext for the glorification of Hindu revivalism that emphasises on the rise of strong state that can put a stop on the nuisance of hostile neighbours.

- India was never a unified nation because different communities and culture located at different regions were speaking different languages, practising different culture, exhibiting the character of diversity.
- Therefore nationalism was construed agenda during freedom struggle in India. Bringing back the spirit of nationalism today can only develop suspicion, hatred and conflict among various sections of society to split Indian to different pieces.
- Ramchandra Guha indicates that people of India go for differential nationalism rejecting outrightly cultural nationalism and few of these differential nationalism are cricket nationalism, Kargil nationalism, Nationalism to sympathise with tsunami victims etc which needs to be appreciated.

## Democracy

- Democracy is a form of government in which all people have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. It can also encompass social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination.
- Democracy is not only a political system but an ideal, an aspiration to lead a dignified life.
- Equality and freedom have both been identified as important characteristics of democracy since ancient times. All citizens being equal before the law and having equal access to legislative processes.e.g in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight.
- Fair competitive elections- freedom of expression and press- capacity of individuals to participate freely and fully in the life of their society.
- India-largest democracy-equality-liberty-fraternity-justice-Preamble-fundamental right and DPSPs-spirit of democracy.
- Democracy in theory not in practice- There is inequality in every sphere- social, economic and political. Illiteracy is the main cause of inequality-vote bank politics-power abuse-nepotism-corruption-poor gets poorer-criminal politicians etc
- Progressed in many aspects- Green revolution-food grains sufficient-food security bill-polio eradication etc-Nota-evm-vibrant press-pressure groups-civil soicity activism-judiciary activism.

Democracy demands from the common man- rational conduct- intelligent understanding of public affair- unselfish devotion to public interest and political awareness.

- In a democracy where civil society is stronger, people are enjoying their citizenship right to the fullest. When we talk about state and citizenship we cannot ignore the role of civil society.
- The whole concept of civil society evolved from Western specifically coffee-house in Britain, Salons in France and Table Groups in Germany which are considered as the roots of civil society. At these places different issues were discussed leading to a particular public opinion which was then published in newspapers, magazines etc. After 1990s civil society has become very strong in India and have taken upon itself various issues concerning people like corruption, environment, women issues, education, child labour etc.

## Citizenship

- A citizen is one who participates in the process of government. In a democratic society, there must be a two-way traffic between the citizens and the government.
- Person who is ruled by laws but who has no political rights is not a citizen.
- A citizen must have economic rights, political rights and social rights.
- Social citizenship: it gives an individual right to equality on the basis of gender, caste, religion, language.
- Political citizenship : it is right to people to register protest, freedom of speech and expression, right to vote.
- India is a democratic country but people are not enjoying democratic rights because of inequalities e.g. rural population.

## Political Parties

- A political organisation which influences policy making, people of a political party share same ideas, as to how the country will be governed. They hold political office to enact new laws and to alter old laws. In case of India even if political parties are going for coalition they are not sharing common ideology and so they remain divided and hence lack stability.
- First political party which evolved out of mass movement i.e. Indian freedom struggle was Congress. People from every walk of life were party to freedom struggle and therefore Congress had the advantage of incorporating them all within its ambit and enjoy absolute power for almost 3 decades.
- During 1970s green revolution resulted into success and prosperity which led to increasing political aspiration among people thereby we could see the emergence of new political parties.
- 1985 onwards we see a seachange in party system in India. For the first time Congress took support from regional parties to constitute government under PV Narasimha Rao. Hence regional party got momentum. This led to the emergence of politics of coalition.
- Coalition politics has resulted into horse trading and affecting political ideology reducing Indian politics into skeletal democracy
- Rajni Kothari contradicting to the above statement indicates that with centralised party system, regional interest and local interests were not glorified. As a result political aspiration of many were getting sidelined.
- The growth of small political parties and their growing significance in contemporary politics in India is making Indian politics Federal in character leading to inclusive governance.
- Multi-party system has made Indian politics inclusive and people centric. It is evident from the fact that forgetting their ideology, coalition partners are introducing policies like National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, housing schemes, roadways programme to prove that government is not only servicing but working as functional government to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the people.
- Therefore neither regional party nor coalition government can be considered as failure of democracy because they are making Indian society a pluralistic democracy.

## Pressure groups

- Pressure group=interest group=lobby group=protest group=does not put up candidates for election= but seeks to influence government policy or legislation.
  - if necessary, in their interest, they may support one political party or the other, and try to influence legislation and executive decisions by using various methods of exercising pressure on the government of the day.
  - When a group carries on its function of pressurising members of the legislature by contacting them in the parliamentary galleries, the practice is known as lobbying.
  - West lobbying vs indian lobbying.
  - Without seeking government jobs or entering the legislatures, the interest and pressure groups do play a vital role in contemporary democracies in the decision-making process.
- Types of pressure groups-
- Institutional Interest Groups- formally organised which consist of professional employed persons bureaucrats-army personnel etc.
  - Associational Interest Groups-organised, specialist groups-trade unions-business groups-FICCI-CII-Indian chambers of commerce.
  - Anomic interest group-groups have individual self-representation- These groups are formed in the shape of movement, demonstrations ,proceedings, signature campaigns, street corner meetings etc.
  - Non-Associational Interest Groups: These are the kinship and lineage groups having ethnic, regional, status and caste groups.
  - Nature of pressure groups in India-
  - Business groups- FICCI, CII-from the time before independence-during pre budget period- govt takes inputs from theses groups
  - Trade unions- from pre independence time- work through weapons of strike etc.
  - Peasant organisations- abolition of zamindari system- implemenation of panchayati raj system- land reform s measures-green revolution. All india kisan sabha 1936. All india kisan congress. Akhila bhartiya kisan sangh. Bharatiya kisan party etc.
  - Student organisations- all bengal student associaltion 1928- all india student federation 1936- national students union of India NSUI Student federation of India SFI- Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthhy Parishsd ABVP-sudent groups associated with political parties.
  - Community associations- based on religion, class and region etc. Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Northern and Southern India christian conference.
  - Caste pressure groups- caste panchayats-caste based politics-SC federation,backward caste federation etc.
  - Mass Media- print media, electronic media and social media exerting pressure on government.

## Social and Political elites

- An elite is a group of relatively small size, that is dominant within a large society, having a privileged status. Political elite concept developed in the United States, after the Second World War. Pareto and Mosca are the chief exponents of this concepts.

- **Political elites in India-**

Political elites in India before independence came from upper-middle class. These leaders were usually foreign educated and at high and good contacts. They were intellectuals but did not like to mix with the common man whom they considered as low person with no power of understanding-urban base- no mass contact.

- **After constitution- equality and equal access for all for political power-** Some of the elites now have begun to emerge from the rural areas and even from middle and lower middle classes- mass appeal among their caste and region people. By and large Indian political elite still comes from upper-middle class.

- **Green revolution has produced new elite group.**

In India now the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes and other backward classes who could never think of becoming political elite, have joined the high rank of political elite. Some of them hold great power and position and also high prestige, therefore now in India political power belong to all sections of society which has diluted the role and number of political elites giving Indian democracy wide coverage.

## Regionalism

- Region refers to a geographic territory where one lives. It is not just the love for region but the sentiments attached with the territory, love for cultural aspects of that particular region, love for custom and values of that region.
- **Classical theory-** regionalism and nationalism are engaged in dialectics with each other- Regional consciousness is fast entering into subnational consciousness which is leading to separatist tendencies paving the way for the division of India.
- The issues like poverty, unemployment etc have taken a back seat and regionalism is glorified which further encourages inequality. In order to understand regionalism today we have to understand its roots. In India we have 6000 dialects, 500 different languages out of which only few languages are recognised i.e. enjoy official status.
- During 1950s reconstruction of Indian State on the basis of language sowed the seeds for regional aspirations which is prevalent even today. In a region we find people speaking different dialects and when people find out that language is the main criteria for recognition of state (organisation of state on linguistic basis) people transform their dialects into language. people having regional consciousness find no problem for demanding state. The contemporary regional movement is the result of two reasons i.e. overdevelopment in some areas and underdevelopment in other areas.
- In North East India there is no single criteria on the basis of which one can create a state because every tribe is different from the other which creates big problem for government and so the concept of union territories come into play.
- But there is a contrasting viewpoint which has been put forward by various sociologist who do not consider regionalism as divisive force. **Rajni Kothari** believes that regional movement is a search for political aspirations that is making Indian democracy competent and strong.
- **Partho Chatterjee** indicates that regionalism is a challenge to nationalism. During the early phase of Indian nationalism regionalism became an important instrument for national aspirations but in contemporary context , questions like development, underdevelopment,

empowerment and powerlessness, relative deprivation are the guiding force behind regionalism.

- Small is not always beautiful is evident from growing poverty in case of Chhattisgarh as compared to minimum poverty in Punjab. A small state cannot guarantee happiness. It is evident from our current position where failure of the state to address the deprivation of the people has given way to acceleration of naxalite movement.
- In the whole of North East India people are fighting on the basis of ethnic identity, sub ethnic identity and sub sub ethnic identity which brings forward the conclusion that small states are not always better governed and there is no end to peoples aspirations for power.

### Decentralisation of Power

- It is not just an institution borrowed from West but an experience which every section of society in their everyday life goes through. Gandhiji focused upon governance from below i.e setting up of institution of Panchayati Raj to address effectively the problems of the people at the grassroot level.
- When British came to India- introduce Zamindari system -autocratic and coercive power resulting into the collapse of traditional structure.
- Balwant Rai Mehta committee- constituted in 1952- gave its report in 1959- first Panchayati Raj institutions in Rajasthan- three tier system i.e. village level, block level, district level. Its objective was to go for self-governance wherein member of village panchayat sitting together would take up issues related to everyday life like health, rural development, sanitation etc
- India is known in the world for political decentralisation. But there is a point to it India has political decentralisation but not administrative decentralisation.
- All official proceedings of the PRI's can be altered/reviewed by the state to its convenience. State behaves like a big brother, their policies and finances and other processes are continuously scrutinise the state. State is also empowered to suspend any PRI institution, officer any time on the basis of inefficiency and so the members of Panchayati Raj don't have any functional autonomy.
- Sarpanchati-rural lower caste women-illusion of women empowerment.
- Introduction of new PRI has led to contest between old traditional powerholders and new aspirants of power. There have been instances in South India when Dalit were not permitted to cast vote in PRI election. Their votes were cast by other people. Booth capturing and muscle power is prominent and hence traditional hierarchy still persist therefore new PRI is like old wine in a new bottle.
- Vellupuram village incident- The PRI election was won by a Dalit woman. She promised her electorates that once she came to power she will ensure drinking water for the masses. As per her promise she took all necessary steps to ensure water supply but dominant caste in order to pursue their dominance raped and murdered her in broad daylight. This incident left a question mark on the functioning of this modern institution in traditional society.
- Rampura village incident -In this village in Rajasthan when a Dalit women came to hoist the national flag during 15 August she was beaten brutally as to how can she play the role meant for dominant caste.



- Walter Fernandes indicates that PRIs are facing serious problem as it is trying to bring in the question of civil rights, democratic rights into society which is driven by culture of caste, patriarchy since ancient times. In case of Rajasthan there are instances when Dalit Sarpanch is made to sit on the floor while other members of the Panchayati Raj sit on the chair. PRI's meetings are initiated by members belonging to higher class/caste than by Sarpanch belonging to lower caste. This dichotomy indicates how PRI's have not really empowered the subaltern groups like Dalits, tribes and women.
- Gail Omvedt considers this kind of conflict as a failure of Panchayati Raj institutions which has not broken any ground to bring change in the power structure in village India. Rejecting to the concept of Sarpanchpati Kalpana Shah indicate that empowerment of women in a hierarchical society can only come in a phased manner. The women Sarpanch who are not proxy leaders are going through a period of probation. She points out that power is inbuilt in women and that they will be exercising it in the most appropriate time. She considers that PRI's have really empowered women or at least it has given a boost for their self-assertion.
- PRI's have worked well in states like Kerala, Karnataka and West Bengal. In case of Karnataka it has given momentum to women empowerment. Mutual self-help groups have evolved under the patronage of PRI's in Karnataka. In case of West Bengal it has made people political sensitive who are no more willing to accept any nuisance from different political leaders any longer. PRI's have introduced a political revolution in the microscopic structure of Indian society.
- However a major threat to PRI's is coming from non-government organisation (NGO). The issues taken up by NGOs are delivering immediate results therefore people are backing the intervention of NGOs in rural development programme than simply wanting PRI's.
- PRI's though bringing revolution in micro-politics of India, its support base is quite fragile. when social transformation takes place in traditional society driven by hierarchical principles there is absence of structural conduciveness for change and so conflicts become inevitable. Sociologically speaking these contradictions are manifestations of structural adjustment for which one cannot outrightly conceptualised that the experience of PRI's is an absolute failure. Thus India's experience with PRI is not a story of complete structural breakdown but the story of continuity and change.

## Secularization

- Secularism is a western ideology initiated during the Renaissance when people started questioning the Orthodox Church. When the influence of the Church dominated the decision-making of the state, only spiritual needs of individuals were fulfilled and other needs like gender equality, poverty, unemployment were not addressed. In US religion keeps away from public but on the contrary in India people mix-up their public position with secular position.
- It was realised that man and religion in India are so greatly embedded that India cannot go for nonreligious society like Communist countries therefore it has been specifically mentioned in the Constitution that every religion has freedom to preach, practice and propagate its own religious values and no citizen of the country will be discriminated on the grounds of religion. Indian secularism stands on the premise of pluralism.

- TN Madan and Ashish Nandy consider that secularism will be a unique experience in Indian context because love for religion is so intensive and regular in case of India that we have never seen a single sphere without communal conflict since India's independence. They believe that religion is in the blood of people of India that strongly influenced to their choice of marriage, food behaviour, pattern of thinking, interpersonal relations and therefore to separate man in India from religion is absolutely impossible. Thus when constitution tries to separate religion from public sphere, it slowly enters into public domain in one form or the other.
- Ashish Nandy indicates that more India moves in the direction of modernity, higher is the acceleration of communal conflict. Information technology, television and telecommunications acts as an accelerating medium to spread communally charged messages in a big way in contemporary India. Therefore secular education, secular employment in no way has suppressed the communal passion and communalism in India is a way of life and thinking of secularism is a difficult proposition. These arguments of anti-secularist nature is rejected by various sociologists who makes use of certain specific scales to study the degree of secularism possible in any given society- \*to what extent the religion is prepared to go for internal reforms- to what extent one religion is prepared to coexist with other religion-to what extent one religion is prepared to borrow attributes from other religion and pass it on-and finally to what extent a state can offer equalitarian space to every religion maintaining a safe distance from every religion while discharging secular responsibilities. Keeping in view the above scale to measure any society it can be advocated that no society is purely secular and no society is purely anti-secular or sacred.
- Amartya Sen considers himself as non-reformist sociologist along with Andre Beteille and Upendra Bakshi and indicate that Indian state is duty bound to protect its secular credentials by paying equal respect to all religions. If any religious community by virtue of its size tries to seize the government through popular mandate, Constitutional provisions should be deterring them to cherish their distinctive religious goals. Therefore Indian secularism is not positioned at a weak space because the court of law, the Constitution of India stand as an obstacle to challenges coming to it.
- The secularism in India is a unique experience. It has been challenged by different forces at different points of time but has never crumbled down compromising with the principles of pluralism and equality for which one can conclude that Indian secularism is Indian secularism; it's neither weak nor strong and not a replica of secularism in the West.

### Elite formation in India

- when society changes elites change
- when colonial rulers came traditional elites lost importance
- 3 kinds of elites, cultural elites (Brahmins), political elites (kshatriyas), economic elites
- changed with coming of Islam
- during British –**Harnil Joshi**
  - traditional elites followed British – indigenous elites
  - British elites became point of reference for traditional elites
- after independence – from different sections

- DL SETH- democracy in India changing form from old orientation to new orientation without changing its old characteristics.

## Nationalism

- national struggle – that different nationalism— Hindu nationalists, subaltern nationalists, Gandhi nationalism, bourgeois nationalists.
- Gabriel Smith – different ways of nationalism
  - poly ethnic nationalism – that different groups engaged in conflict
  - uni ethnic nationalism example Pakistan
  - coercive nationalism – North Korea, China, Russia
  - multi ethnic nationalism – India.

## Civil society in India

- in different phases – colonial, postcolonial, contemporary
- **colonial** – national movement as a form of civil society
- postcolonial – Amos Alam and Partho Chaterjee says that Nehru wanted to develop a body of the politicised citizenry, so there is no strong civil society in India-1967 to 77-Indira Gandhi – voice of dissent gagged. Campaign by JP narayan- Sampurna Kranti Movement.
- After 1990 – coalitions – **command politics over them and politics says Rajni Kothari**
- **N,Jairam**- contemporary societies no longer depoliticised

## Ideology

- literally science of ideas
- Marx – true class consciousness
- Karl Manneheim- book ideology and utopia. Always huge distance between ideology and utopia.
- Karl Popper – book – open society & closed ideology – theory of falsification

## Sociological theory to power –

- classical – Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, John Stuart Mills, Bentham, hegel
- Marxian – Karl Marx, Ralf Dahrendorf, Althuser, Gramsci, Miliband, Poluantza, Anna Ardent
- liberal - Weber, Marshall, Westergaard
- post-modern – Herbert Marcuse, Michael Foucault
- feminist – Kate Millett

## classical approach

- plato – democracy – mobocracy, importance to totality over individuality, state supreme. Ideal state – Monarch he died philosopher king.
- Aristotle – lawless supreme, when one person ruling according to law – Monarchy, and when flouting laws- tyrant; crises of democracy is democracy itself –
- Machiavelli – Prince – strategist – powerful
- Hobbes & Locke-from status nature to civilised and to civil society to state
- Rousseau – real actual and general will
- Hegel-state is March off God on Earth

*Political system:*

Thus, political systems develop whenever the relationships among individual and groups are organised according to the exercise of power and its various manifestations.

Politics is delimited to designate the domain where social power is used in public sphere rather than in private sphere. Within social system there are various subsystems like political system, economic system, religious system, educational system etc. **David Easton and Gabriel Almond** played a leading role in developing the system theory in the field of political science. According to Easton a political system is that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented. Thus it is making of binding or authoritative an allocation that distinguishes the political system from other systems both within and outside the overall society.

*Absence of the Idea of a Nation before 1858*

Before the advent of the British rule in India and establishment of sovereign rule of the British crown in 1858, India was characterised by a large number of small and large political units. This does not, however, mean that we had no Indian national identity. One example of the unity can be seen in the setting of four seats of religious authority in four corners of India by Adi Sankaracharya

*Growth of Nationalism in India*

- i) One was the presence of a common enemy, i.e., the British rule, and
- ii) the other was the existence of a common cultural identity that preceded the unification of India as one state.

**Nature of politics in independent India**

- The political organisation, which was carrying out the activity of nation-building in India, was mainly the Indian National Congress Party
- This political party consisted of diverse sections of population and activists, in some cases, with diametrically opposite political ideology. The members of the Congress Party belonged to different strata of society from the so-called untouchables on the one hand and to the Brahmin and Thakur on the other. There were those who swore by Marxism and some others who wanted 'Hindu Rashtra' and yet others who wanted to promote Islamic nationalism. The leaders of the party were drawn from the urban professional classes. They were convinced that nation-building was as important as political independence.

*Forces which Challenge Nation-building Efforts*

- i) The diversity of groups which constitute Indian society
- ii) Regional and cultural identities
- iii) Casteism.

**Political Parties:**

According to Gabriel Almond, it is the 'particular pattern of orientations' to political objects in which a political system is embedded. Orientations are predisposition to political action and are determined by such factors as tradition, historical memories, motives, norms, emotions and symbols; the culture, therefore, represents a set of propensities. These orientations may be broken down into cognitive orientations (knowledge and awareness of the political effects), affective orientations (emotions and feelings about the objects) and evaluative orientations (judgment about them).

**Backgrounds:**

- For instance, the emergence of such parties as Jan Sangh or Muslim League in modern India could easily be linked with the concretisation of fuzzy communal consciousness during the British colonial rule
- influence of relational structures on political parties one may refer to the caste conflict in Indian society or agrarian relations, the former explaining rise of caste based parties like Justice party or B.S.P. and the latter, party like the Lok Dal
- **Paul Brass writes:**  
'Party politics in India display numerous paradoxical features, which reveal the blending of Western and modern forms of bureaucratic organisation and participatory politics with indigenous practices and institutions. The social heterogeneity of India has added to the complexity of the Indian party system.
- The most influential account of congress organisation after independence was given by **Rajni Kothari in his *Politics in India (1970)*.**
- He presented it as a differentiated system in which the different levels of party organisation were linked with the parallel structure of government, allowing for the dominance of a political centre as well as dissent from the peripheries, with opposition functioning as dissident congress groups. Kothari gave it the simple name 'Congress system'. This ensured political participations mainly through factional conflicts
- It would certainly be wrong to completely detach such institutions as trade unions, peasant associations and the universities from the political parties
- *One consequence of the Green revolution was to localise and dispartate existing peasant movements. The globalising forces on the other hand have made the trade unions weak and this in turn reduced their influences on the party organisations, a fact reflected in the lack of importance attached by the parties, even left parties, in naming the trade union leaders among their sponsored candidates for election*
- *There has indeed been an upsurge in political participation in India with increasing competitiveness of the political parties, increased voter turnout, emergence of new forms of participation such as new social movements, institutions of grassroots politics, local level democracy and political assertions of the historically disadvantaged castes and ethno-regional groups*

### Regional Politics in Contemporary India

The politics of regionalism in India has both positive and negative aspects. Speaking in positive terms, it implies an intense desire for concretising an identity based on such interest as ethnic, language, religion, etc. For example, the erstwhile Jharkhand movement which covered wide regions of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, had come together as a unified group to protect and promote their socio-economic and political interests. The negative aspects of regionalism is that it can threaten nation-building efforts such as, the demand for Khalistan in Punjab which is giving rise to terrorism and violence within and outside Punjab.

Regionalism is a pre-independence phenomenon. It became predominant in post-independence period. The establishment and role of Justice Party in Chennai, and to a lesser extent, of Akali Dal in Punjab in pre-independence period are examples of emerging regionalism in India.

After independence there are four major landmarks in the development of regional politics:

- i) After independence, democratic form of government was established. Its main aim was nation-building on the principles of democracy, **secularism** national unity and social justice
- ii) There was integration of the Princely States. Small states were integrated with the big states. People continued to nurse loyalties to old territorial units. This was the most important factor for the success of Princes in elections.
- iii) Reorganisation of states on linguistic basis also played a very vital role in the development of regional politics. Twenty eight states were reshaped and reduced to 14 states along with centrally administered territories
- iv) Another factor which gave rise to regional and parochial tendencies in the country was the personal and selfish ends of politicians. Immediately, after Independence the struggle for power started among some parties

### Bases of regional and state politics

- **Geographical Basis:** After independence integration of Princely States resulted in the merger of small states into new big states. The loyalties of citizens were torn between old territorial boundaries and new territorial structures
- **Historical and Social Bases:** Several components in this category are not only important individually but also in conjunction with each other.
  - **History:** *It supported regionalism with cultural heritage, folklore, myths and symbolism. The most striking example is that of Dravida Kazhagam (DK) and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu and Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and Telugu Desham (TDP) in Andhra Pradesh. But history cannot be considered as the most important basis of regionalism*
  - **Language:** *Language is perhaps the most important mark of group identification. Language expresses the shared life, thought structure and value patterns of people.*
  - **Caste:** *Tamil regionalism gained ground as a result of non-Brahmin movement. Non-Brahmin castes of Tamil speaking region had been able to provide a powerful united thrust against Brahmins who had earlier enjoyed unquestioned dominance in economy, society and polity.*
  - **Religion:** *Religion like caste does not play a significant role except when it is combined with dominance and linguistic homogeneity as in Punjab or fed on a sense of religious orthodoxy and economic deprivation as in Jammu and Kashmir.*
- **Economic Basis:** *The erstwhile movements for a separate Uttarkhand state in the hill districts of U.P., a Jharkhand state carved out of parts of Bihar and the demand for a state of Bodoland comprising a part of Assam may be counted as examples of this type.*
- **Politico-administrative Basis:** *The politico-administrative basis of regionalism is also important but politics as such does not create regionalism. It only accentuates regionalism. Politicians take advantage of the situation of regional discontentment and unrest. It is a known fact that fighting within Congress gave rise to Telangana agitation. Regional political parties like TDP (Andhra Pradesh), DMK (Tamil Nadu), Akali Dal (Punjab) have been surviving because of regional sentiments.*

Regional Politics has taken mainly four forms.



- **Demand for state autonomy:** The important examples in this context are that of the Plebiscite Front (Kashmir), Mizo National Front (Lushei Hills of Assam), Nagaland Socialist Conference (Naga Hills District of Assam)
- **Supra-state regionalism:** This implies that more than one state is involved in the issue of regionalism. It is an expression of group identity of some states. For example, the rivalry existing between south and north India on such issues as language or location of steel plants illustrates the point. The grouping of the North Eastern States for greater access to economic development is another instance. After independence a major rift was caused over the issue of the official language for India
- **Inter-state regionalism** : River water disputes, in general, and other issues like the Maharashtra-Karnataka border dispute in particular can be cited as examples.
- **Intra-state regionalism:** The important examples of this kind of sub-regionalism are a Vidharbha in Maharashtra, a Saurashtra in Gujarat, a Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, an East U.P. in Uttar Pradesh and Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh.

### Significance of regionalism for national politics

Regionalism is not significant merely as a disintegrating force. Regionalism is not opposed to national integration. Both can exist together in a creative partnership. Regionalism stresses the development of a region and national integration for the development of the nation as a whole. The important condition Regional and State Politics for national solidarity is that nationalism should be able to hold the different types of regional sub-nationalities together.

*Elite Dynamics in a Democratizing State: India, 1947-1984*

- *The period from 1947 to 1967 in the Indian history is referred to as the Nehruvian era in politics*
- *The next seventeen years of Indian history, from 1967 to 1984, are recognized as the Indira Gandhi's era in politics.*
- *After the 1971-77 session parliamentarians of all parties exhibited sharp changes in their network structures and cultural experiences*

### Civil Society and Political Society – A Contested Relationship?

- **Ellora Puri**

This debate touches on a question that is a topic of much discussion in both democratic theory and contemporary politics – **the relationship between the civil society and what Partha Chatterjee terms as the political society.** The **former usually implies a space defined by associational and voluntaristic institutions, and is often seen in opposition to the state.** The latter, on the other hand, includes **political parties, interest groups, and political movements** – basically those institutions that provide, or at least profess to provide, the medium to channelize political demands to the state. Predominance of political society is challenged by the advocates of civil society argument on account of the perceived lack of accountability of these parties and their un-representativeness, especially when people who

are rejected by the electorate are accommodated in the state structures which are supposed to be representative.

- This article broadly agrees with the critics of parliamentary democracy about the need to question the glaring defects in the present functioning of the party system, legitimacy of practices like providing ministerial berths and/or **backdoor Rajya Sabha seats to the defeated candidates in the parliamentary elections, and the questions, routinization of such practices pose for issues of representation in Indian democracy.** But it argues for conclusions different from the ones that these scholars draw. I posit that in spite of its messy, cluttered and disorganized working, representative democracy with its concomitant political parties is the most viable available alternative, and these examples are illustrative of faulty functioning (instead of symptoms) of this type of democracy and its institutions. Also, **I argue, that to draw the conclusion that the civil society should be privileged over the political society because of these deviations, in reality, might subvert those very goals of the democratic polity that these scholars rightly thinks are desirable, viz., the will of the people, accountability and representativeness.**
- At the **heart of argument for a crisis in representative democracy thesis is the Rousseauian ideal of an active engaged citizenry in a democracy without politics. In the Indian context this ideal has been articulated by influential figures like Gandhi (his concept of gram swaraj), M.N. Roy (his idea of people committees) and Jayaprakash Narayan (his propagation of peoples' democracy as an alternative to parliamentary democracy). This ideal comes along with a baggage – it conceives of a polity without conflict, factions and parties.** It argues for the sovereignty of the people by virtue of which the people become a collective force and express their general will without the mediating instrument of a representative democracy. **As profoundly democratic this ideal sounds, in practice it is deeply undemocratic.**
- **The minimum conditions for the success of a polity that the Rousseauian ideal of democracy envisages would be: one, a small sized political community and two, a community which is homogenous in the way it articulates its interests and needs.** These conditions, to say the least, are impossible in the present world, given the increasingly complex nature of modern societies and, to say the most, are dangerous for democracy if they are taken as goals to be aspired for. What they do not recognize is that communities, especially small in size, are characterized by face-to-face interactions, which are imbued with all kinds of meanings – meanings that get articulated differently by individuals who constitute these communities by virtue of how they are placed in the community. After all, like any other human collective a political community is a space of internal variation, contestation and power differentials. **And this means that a collective general will is unattainable unless conformity is achieved by regimentation and oppressive measures, either by the majority mores or by the state; majoritarianism or totalitarianism.**
- In this context, **critics of Indian representative democracy** rightly points out that the way political parties function in India – **hierarchically and bureaucratically** – reflects a **deeper malaise** in the **democratic set-up in the country.** However, what this calls for is a reform in the system so that these anomalies are dealt with and tempered. **What it does not call for is an overall change in the relationship between the civil society and political society. The party system needs to be made more transparent, less hierarchical and therefore, more**

**accountable. Knee-jerk reactions to criticisms that are directed towards parties** (like **anti-defection laws, which give sweeping powers to the party whip on every issue in the legislature**) need to be **substituted by well thought out provisions** that provide corrective measures by not undermining democratic ethos of the system (in this example, **the right of dissent**). The **balance to be struck is between party legislators' duty to their electorate, party ideology** as well as their own **conscience**. And in the end, it is important to reiterate that the presence of a **healthy, open, and effective civil society** is premised on the existence of effective democratic political institutions, of which political parties are one of the main components.

### Interest Pressure Groups: History and Types of Interest Pressure Groups

- Broadly speaking, an interest group is an association of people having mutual concern about a wide array of **economic, social, cultural, political, religious or any other issues**. Such associations may have specific and **narrowly defined goals which may be moderate or local or national and international in scope**. These groups are **vital part of the political process**. The political process is seen to result from a large number of competing interest groups.
- Interest groups are occasionally **referred to as pressure groups (often known as lobbies)**, implying that they attempt to force their will on a resistant public. **When an interest group seeks governmental aid in achieving its own ends and succeeds in influencing governmental policy to its advantage, then it becomes a pressure group.**
- Pressure groups are **formally constituted organizations** which are **designed at least partly to bring pressure to bear on government, civil service and other political institutions** to achieve **ends that they favour**. According to **Harry Eckstein (1960), 'By pressure group, we mean any organized group which attempts to influence government decisions without seeking to exercise the formal powers of government.'**
- These are the groups of persons, employers, or other organizations joining together to represent the interests of a particular sectional group vis-a-vis governments, the public at large or other interest groups (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, 1994).
- Broadly speaking, pressure groups may be any group attempting to bring about any change in the working of any formal organization—state, government or any other social or economic organization. They are private association to influence mass public policy. When it makes through or upon any institutions of government, it becomes a political interest group.
- Pressure groups are notorious for being anxious to strike but afraid to wound.
- **There is a marked difference between the political parties and interest/pressure groups so far their objectives and nature of functioning are concerned.** They may co-exist with political parties or may develop into political parties by adopting a more open, less restricted platform.

### Panchayati Raj Institutions (important article)

- *The Panchayati Raj system was initially set up by three states in 1959. After 1959, a network of PRIs went on being built up by most of the state governments. By 1964-65, the PRIs began to function in 12 out of the then 15 states in India. Among the six union territories, only one set up Panchayati Raj.*

- *The failure of the community development programmes in involving people with the development of the rural communities led to the establishment of Panchayati Raj on the recommendations of Balwantrai Mehta Committee. The objects of the Panchayat Raj were democratisation, decentralisation and modernisation.*
- *The panchayats were expected to tackle village problems at the grassroots level and mobilise local manpower re-sources for purposes of economic and social progress. In fact, Panchayati Raj in India has come into existence through a long process of evolution. Its expansion may be analysed in five phases: from 1950 to 1960, from 1961 to 1964, from 1965 to 1985, from 1986 to 1992 and from 1993 to 1999.*
- *A provision was made in the Constitution of India promulgated in January 1950 about organising village panchayats as local self-governing units. The First Five Year Plan also emphasised in 1951-52 promoting people's participation in the management of rural development through local representative institutions. Balwantrai Mehta Committee reviewing the CDPs also recommended in 1956 the establishment of PRIs to ensure continuity in the process of improving economic and social conditions in rural areas.*
- *The Planning Commission had already forcefully opined that village panchayats should be strengthened and this new democratic set-up should gradually be given the responsibility for taking over development administration. The B.R. Mehta Committee had this plea in view while recommending organisation of three-tiered Panchayati Raj system.*
- *The Panchayati Raj system was initially set up by three states in 1959. After 1959, a network of PRIs went on being built up by most of the state governments. By 1964-65, the PRIs began to function in 12 out of the then 15 states in India. Among the six union territories, only one set up Panchayati Raj. The structure, however, differed in these states. During 1965-85, the Panchayati Raj began to stagnate and even declined in efficiency of its role in the management of development processes.*
- *Its credibility began to suffer a setback. Its powers and functions were reduced by the executive orders of the government on grounds of inefficiency, corruption and factionalism in many states. The Janata Party government in 1977 appointed Ashok Mehta Committee to inquire into the causes of decline in the working of Panchayati Raj and suggest measures to strengthen the PRIs. In 1978, this Committee made a number of recommendations for revitalisation of PRIs. These included: assigning more powers to PRIs, making Zilla Parishad primary unit in PR system, political parties taking part in Zila PR elections, and imparting training to panchayat members. The Santhanam Committee was appointed to study the problems of resources and finances of PRIs.*

*It recommended measures like:*

- *Giving powers to panchayats to levy special taxes based on land revenue, house-tax, etc.,*
- *Sanctioning of grants to panchayats by state governments.*
- *Handing over sources of revenue to PRIs,*
- *Evolving mutual financial relations between different levels of PRIs,*
- *Augmenting financial resources through gifts and donations, and*

- *Setting up Panchayati Raj Financial Corporation to provide loans and financial assistance to panchayats and help them in providing basic amenities in villages.*

However, revival and renovation of panchayats came in 1985, when earlier in 1984, the then Prime Minister wrote to Chief Ministers to hold overdue elections to PRIs as well as to revitalise their functioning. Two Committees were also appointed in 1985 (G.V. K. Rao Committee) and in 1986 (L.M. Singhvi Committee).

The G.V.K. Rao Committee recom-mended that:

- *PRIs have to be activated and provided with all the required support to become effective organisations,*
- *PRIs at district and block levels should be assigned the work of planning, implementation, and monitoring of rural development programmes, and*
- *Block Development office should be the spinal cord of the rural development process.*

The L.M. Singhvi Committee found that PRIs were not functioning properly owing to lack of political will, lack of evaluation and feedback, and indifference to corrective measures. The Committee suggested locating means to ensure availability of adequate financial resources for PRIs. The Committee found that PRIs were often reluctant to raise revenue resources through exercising their taxing powers. It, therefore, suggested some compulsory and optional levies.

Taking the views of these committees, the government decided to amend the Constitution. This amendment was made by the Lok Sabha in December 1992, by the Rajya Sabha in December 1993, and after being ratified by 17 State Assemblies, it came to be known as Constitution Amendment Act, 1993. It came into force from 1994. Today, PRIs are functioning in 22 out of 25 states and in six out of seven union territories. In 15 states, it is a three-tiered system, in four it is 2-tiered and in three, it is one tier system.

The functions assigned to panchayats may be classified as obligatory, discretionary and transferred functions. These functions include: providing civic amenities, infrastructural facilities and developmental activities.

Broadly, the functions may be described as: health and sanitation (control of epidemic, construction and maintenance of lavatories, maintenance of burial grounds, cleaning of roads, tanks, ponds and drains), public works (construction and maintenance of roads, drinking water pumps, wells, street lights), agriculture and animal husbandry (distribution of improved seeds and pesticides, planning for increasing agricultural production, arranging cattle fairs, improving cattle breeding, development of poultry and fishing), uplifting the weaker sections (arranging for their education cultural activities and residential houses), and some miscellaneous works' (meeting calamities, encouraging and strengthening cottage industries, strengthening cooperative societies, development of forests, welfare of women and children, adult education programmes).

Since their inception, roles of panchayats have been gradually- changed and the scope of their functioning has been enlarged. Even the assumptions have undergone a change. Not only have the representatives of the people (i.e., panchayats) been assigned the responsibility of administering local public affairs but also of raising the required finances and locating man-power resources.



The main problems faced by the panchayats before the 1993 Constitutional Amendment were:

1. Functions and powers given to panchayats were limited.
2. Panchayats were ill-equipped in terms of manpower to undertake planning.
3. Panchayats had no power to generate their own resources through taxation, etc.
4. Elections were not held on regular basis.
5. Women and weaker sections had no representation. Thus, the high hopes with regard to the panchayats were not fulfilled.

The main obstacles in the successful functioning of PRIs were described as: non-legalistic status of PRIs, irregular elections, frequent suppressions and suspensions, inadequate representation of weaker sections, insufficient powers given to panchayats, lack of financial resources, non-cooperation on the part of bureaucracy, lack of people's participation and lack of political will. Barnabas (1998:450) has identified five causes of failure of the Panchayati Raj confusion about functions, absence of autonomy, confusion in administrative arrangement, absence of coordination and fragmented and overlapping structure.

Confusion about functions refers to non-delineation of functions between the three tiers. What functions are to be performed at each level is not clear. There is also variation of functions in different states. The role of planning assigned to Gram Sabhas does not exist in reality because they do not have the required capacity of formulating objectives, identifying priorities, and formulating strategies. Ashok Mehta Working Group and Rao Committee had suggested Zila Parishads as appropriate forum for the planning function.

The Gram Panchayats and the Panchayat Samitis can indicate their needs to the Zila Parishads. The 74th amendment has provided for the constitution of District Planning Committee for planning but the composition of this committee has been criticised.

Absence of autonomy refers to lack of autonomy at district level as state and national plans have to be accommodated. Many schemes (like IRDP, ICDS, drinking water supply, etc.) are centrally funded and their targets and norms are more or less defined. How can district plan, therefore, be meaningful? In the hierarchical administrative system in our country, there is little scope for culture of decentralisation. More than 95 per cent of panchayat budgets are committed. In the absence of functional and financial autonomy, how can panchayats be expected to be free in working?

Confusion in administrative arrangement refers to loyalty of the extension officers to their departments (agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperatives, etc.) and independent functioning as opposed to integration. Even the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) which shared a major share of rural development budget was not within the panchayat set-up; though now it has been brought under the purview of the Zila Parishad.

Absence of coordination refers to fragmentation of the administrative structure at the district and the block levels. There is no coordination between various units. The VLW (now designated as Village Development Officer-VDO) is assigned varied functions. He has to cover a number of villages and a number of schemes. He has to collect taxes levied by the village panchayats, mobilise people's participation in development programmes and undertake several activities for helping the poor.



*Fragmented and overlapping structure means that all development programmes have not been assigned to panchayats. Varied programmes, therefore, create confusion in the absence of clearly defined responsibilities. Analysing the performance of the PRI in the early 1990s, it was decided by the central government to amend the Constitution and make panchayats more powerful and effective.*

*As already mentioned, the 73rd Constitutional amendment made in 1993 came into being in April 1994.*

*After this amendment, the main changes introduced in Panchayati Raj were:*

*(1) Establishment of panchayats at three or two levels and a gram sabha in each village was made mandatory.*

*(2) Tenure of PRIs was fixed as five years, i.e., every five years, direct election of all members at three panchayat levels was made mandatory.*

*(3) While election of chairman at the intermediate and district levels was to be indirect, election of the chairman at the village level was left to the state governments to decide.*

*(4) A list of 29 functions was provided to panchayats. These relate to rural development, infrastructure, social welfare, public distribution system, maintenance of community assets, etc.*

*(5) Seats were reserved for SCs, STs, and women at all three levels of panchayats.*

*(6) Finance Commission was set up to devolve funds and suggest ways of financing panchayats.*

*(7) PRIs were given power to impose taxes, duties and fees and were assigned their share in taxes collected by the state government. The grants-in-aid were also released to them.*

*(8) Election Commission was empowered to conduct panchayat elections.*

*(9) State legislatures have been given discretion to provide for the reservation of OBCs and association of MPs/MLAs in panchayats.*

*(10) While before the amendment, the Sarpanchs of gram panchayats were made members of the Panchayat Samitis and Pradhans of Panchayat Samitis were made members of Zila Parishads, after the amendment, this provision of becoming ex-officio members of panchayats at higher level was withdrawn. However, the state governments were given the discretion of associating Sarpanchs with Panchayat Samitis and Pradhans with Zila Parishads.*

*The positive consequences of these changes after making the Amendment (in 1993) are supposed to be:*

*(1) Structural change regarding direct elections at all three levels will improve the working of the panchayats. Earlier, there were no direct elections to Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads. All Sarpanchas constituted members of the Panchayat Samiti and all Pradhans of the Panchayat Samitis became members of the Zila Parishads. The role and the responsibilities of the directly elected members will now widen.*

(2) Increasing powers of panchayats and financial re-sources will improve the position of panchayats.

(3) Reservation for SCs, STs and women will enable weaker sections to participate more actively in the panchayat system.

(4) The new structure will enable panchayats to contribute to planning from below, mobilise local resources, evoke large scale community participation, reduce corruption, and improve the quality of development effort.

The negative effect could be:

(i) Direct elections may check vertical interaction among panchayats at three levels; and (ii) rotation of reserved seats might reduce the commitment of the representatives to carry on long-term development work.

Hooja and Hooja (1998:474-75) have pointed out several issues which need to be studied for successful functioning of the panchayats.

These are:

(1) What should be the level of decentralised planning?

(2) Since District Planning Committee would now become very large, what should be the organisational set-up to operationalise decentralised planning and implementation?

(3) What functions would be most appropriate at which level in the multi-level framework?

(4) What changes would be required at the state government level?

(5) What safeguards are necessary and feasible to keep local elite or vested interests from capturing panchayats or from distorting the decentralised planning process?

(6) When planning and implementing bodies are the same (i.e., village panchayats and panchayat samitis), how can it be ensured that the planner would not fix targets for himself which are easy to achieve rather than more ambitious ones?

(7) How can possible conflicts between different panchayat levels and the state level be avoided?

The Progress after the Constitutional Amendment:

How serious are the state government officials in making Panchayati Raj functional?

Their non-seriousness is indicated in the following manner:

(1) Bureaucrats are unwilling to transfer power to panchayats.

(2) They are always reluctant to release funds.

(3) Officers do not show any faith in elected representatives.

(4) Some states have not yet even conducted elections, though panchayats were supposed to have come into existence within one year after the enforcement of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment in 1993. Though Zila Pramukhs are to be Chairmen of the District Rural Development Agencies, (DRDAs) which run all poverty alleviation programmes, yet in practice they will only preside over the meetings of the Governing Councils of the DRDAs; the financial powers would rest with the Collector who would continue to be the chairman of the Executive Committee of the DRDA.

Thus, relationship between panchayats and DRDAs needs to be clearly specified. One fails to understand why the elected bodies should not have fully independent charge of development plans and allowed to take initiative so that people at large participate fully in the development process.

It may be concluded that the pragmatic philosophy of miniaturised participative democracy, where every man matters, is the cornerstone of developmental dynamics. The growing consensus is that rural development can be accelerated if people's resources are mobilised and they are prompted to take part in making the decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods the (Third World: Tomorrow, 36).

At present, there is deep factionalism in our villages. Misuse of funds, oppression of the powerful, denying opportunities to women, terror against dalits, and subversion of elections are pathologically pervasive in the countryside. To overcome these problems is a tough proposition. No valid reason exists to reject grassroots self-government.

Justice Krishna Iyer assuming that there will be favouritism, casteism, ill-will, bu-reaucrats' apathy and non-cooperation, even so Panchayati Raj experiments will eventually open the political eyes of the populace. It is fashionable to exaggerate villagers' weaknesses and urbanites' abilities, but our rural geniuses are sure to measure up to the challenge of participative roles

### **DEFECTS**

#### **1. Unscientific distribution of functions:**

The Panchayati Raj scheme is defective in so far as the distribution of functions between the structures at different levels has not been made along scientific lines. The blending of development and local self- government functions has significantly curtailed the autonomy of the local self government institutions.

Again it has virtually converted them into governmental agencies. Even the functions assigned to the Panchayat and the Panchayat Samiti overlap, leading to confusion, duplication of efforts and shifting of responsibility.

#### **2. Incompatible relation between the three-tiers:**

The three-tiers do not operate as functional authorities. The tendency on the part of the higher structure to treat the lower structure as its subordinate is markedly visible. M. P. Sharma rightly observes the hierarchical domination and predominance, "fitters down step by step from Zilla Parishad to Panchayat Samiti and from them to the Village Panchayats" Needless to state that this kind of mutual relationship is not in comensurate with the genuine spirit of democratic decentralisation.

3. *Inadequate finance:*

*The inadequacy of funds has also stood in the way of successful working of the Panchayati Raj. The Panchayati Raj bodies have limited powers in respect of imposing cesses and taxes. They have very little funds doled out to them by the State Government. Further, they are generally reluctant to raise necessary funds due to the fear of losing popularity with the masses.*

4. *Lack of cordial relation between officials and people:*

*Introduction of the Panchayati Raj aimed at securing effective participation of the people. But in reality this hardly happens since the key administrative and technical positions are manned by the government officials.*

*Generally there is lack of proper cooperation and coordination between the people and the officials like Block Development Officers, the District Officers etc. Again the officers fail to discharge the development duties more efficiently and sincerely.*

5. *Lack of conceptual clarity:*

*There is lack of clarity in regard to the concept of Panchayati Raj itself and the objectives for which it stands. Some would treat it just as an administrative agency while some others look upon it as an extension of democracy at the grass roots level, and a few others consider it a charter of rural local government. What is all the more intriguing is the fact that all these conceptual images could co-exist simultaneously tending to militate against each other every now and then.*

6. *Undemocratic composition of various Panchayati Raj institutions:*

*Various Panchayati Raj Institutions are constituted setting aside democratic norms and principles. The indirect election of most of the members to Panchayat Samiti only increases the possibility of corruption and bribery. Even the Zilla Parishad consists of mainly ex-officio members. They are, for the most part, government officials. This negates sound democratic principles.*

7. *Disillusionment on structural-functional front:*

*The performance of Panchayati Raj Institutions has been vitiated by political cum caste factionalism, rendering developmental projects into chimeras. Corruption, inefficiency, scant regard for procedures, political interference in day to day administration, parochial loyalties, motivated actions, power concentration instead of true service mentality- all these have stood in the way of the success of Panchayati Raj. Furthermore, the power to supercede the local bodies on the part of the State Government clearly violates the spirit of democratic decentralisation.*

8. *Administrative Problem:*

*The Panchayati Raj bodies experience several administrative problems. They are the tendency towards politicization of the local administration, lack of co-ordination between the popular and bureaucratic elements, lack of proper incentives and promotion opportunities for administrative personnel and apathetic attitude of the government servants towards development programmes etc.*

9. *Politics is an inevitable part of a democratic frame -work:*

The manipulative nature of rural politics is manifest in the techniques used at the time of elections. The fact-finding research teams observe that the caste system in rural India has made a mockery of the concept of rural development. Even the Panchayat elections are fought on caste grounds and the traditional dominant castes have manoeuvred in such a way that they still occupy the positions of power in the changed set-up.

Once the dominant castes have managed to occupy important positions where the decisions are made, they find it easy to manipulate the plans to serve their best interests. Consequently, the schism of caste grows wider day by day, alienating the low castes farther and farther from participating in rural development programmes.

## TOPIC 13: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

### Previous years' questions

- Describe the **factors related to social movements**. In the light of these factors explain the emergence of peasant movements in India. (97/60)
- Write short note on **Revivalist social movements** in India. (98/20)
- Write short note on **Naxalbari Movement**. (99/20)
- Write short note on **Self-respect movement**. (00/20)
- Write short note on **Satya Sodhak Samaj**. (01/20)
- Examine the role of **Arya Samaj** and **Ramakrishna Mission** as reform movements in India.
- Analyses the ideological and strategically features of **Naxalbari movement**. (02/60)
- Write short note on **Caste mobilisation in North** India. (04/20)
- Write short note on **Self-respect movement**. (05/20)
- Describe the process of **social mobility among lower castes** and discuss the role of the **Backward Classes Movement** in strengthening this process. (05/60)
- Write short note on **Backward Classes Movement**. (06/20)
- Write short note on **Self Respect Movement**. (06/20)
- Discuss the role of **various reform movements** in India. (07/60)
- What factors account for the **resurgence** of **ethnic identity movements** in India? What, according to you, is the proper strategy of integration of ethnic groups in the mainstream?
- Dynamics of **Dalit movement** (09/20)
- Evaluate the success of **Indian peasant movements** in achieving their goals. (09/30)
- Assess the **contribution of contemporary women's movements** in women's empowerment.
- **Stages** of the **Women's movement in** India (11/15)
- Critically examine **D.N Dhanagare's on agrarian movement** in India (11/20)



## Social movements in modern India

- With the **growing consciousness**, people are coming forward in large numbers and it has become **difficult for the state to ignore the demand** of the people and introduce its own wishes. There is a **dialectical relationship** between state and people.
- During different points of time in Indian history **identity movement** have also taken place so that everyone has a space in society, every individual is free and that they do not to hide their actual identity in front of others e.g. **homosexuals, transgenders**.
- Wherever marginalization, exploitation is caused in extreme form it leads to protest which subsequently transforms itself into a movement through ideological injection e.g. civil rights movement in America under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln where **blacks were united to fight** against hunger and discrimination by state and people alike.
- During the colonial rule, the **tribal areas** were least interfered with as it was thought that it is difficult, costly and cumbersome to administer these areas. Hence it was **missionaries** who landed in those places to work. But some **tribal areas were highly resourceful** and so they were highly exploited.
- **Protestant movements** in case of India can be divided into three distinctive stages i.e.:
  - **Social religious movement** which got momentum **before freedom struggle**.
  - **Economic and political movement** during the freedom struggle.
  - **Identity and issue-based movement** in contemporary India.
- Protest is not overreaction of a group of people to the action of others. One goes for protest because the action of others are not acceptable by them. **Protest is always a registration against the voice of dominance**. Protest is reminder to the state that it has limited power. Protest movement will be maximum in a democratic setup.
- **Collective action can be the foundation to social movement** but it is not necessary that always collective action will be leading to social movement. For instance new social movements are mostly issue-based like **environmental movements, anti-war movements, civil rights movement** etc that involve people from different sections of society asking them to form different kinds of mobilisation.
- Collective action is not just foundation to social movement, it may be having a larger appeal as well.
- **Amartya Sen: Collective action should be engineered for collective well-being**. Participation in many educational programs, awareness campaigns, electoral policies are examples of collective action for collective well-being which is instrumental for the rise of an inclusive society.
- **Sustainable development approach** forwarded by **Vandana Shiva** indicate that joint forest management scheme, wasteland management, watershed management involve the contesting communities accelerating collective action for common well-being. **In macroscopic plane one finds out collective action is initiated by all countries of the world in areas of environmental protection**, abuse of nuclear **power, humanitarian aids, and political peace**. Thus collective action should not be studied from a single standpoint which consider it as a tool for class conflict, revolution, social change.
- Previously social movements were highly organised, **ideologically charged**. But social movements today are **more reflexive, reactionary, issue-based and temporal**. Social movements can be distinguished from **protest and collective action** on the ground that



social movement is programmed but Protest and collective action are not necessarily programmed.

- The social movement for its success has to fulfil a number of preconditions like:
  - Issues Identification.
  - Identification and expansion of support base.
  - Creation of structural conduciveness.
  - Crystallisation of ideology.
  - Evolution of leadership.
  - Growth of organisational characteristics.
  - Allocation of responsibility.
- Social movement passes through different stages which includes excitement stage (identification of issues), consolidation stage (propaganda and search for mass support), crystallisation stage (rise of leadership, publication of literature), maturity stage (injection of ideology and allocation of responsibility), resolution stage (accomplishment of goals and decline of social movement).
- When a social movement dies out, it may give rise to a political party or the residues of social movement will operate as a reminder of past. Social movements can be classified into different types on the basis of their appeal and capabilities to introduce change like:
  - Transformative Movement that makes some attempt to produce absolute change.
  - Radical movement that makes some attempt to use violent measures to make some changes.
  - Restorative movement which gives importance to the restoration of some values and ideals for the common well-being of people.
  - Reformative movement which makes an attempt to eliminate non-progressive stereotype ideas and values from the life of people and searches for progress and happiness.
  - Redemptive movement which makes people to *change their opinion about the existential* condition instead of changing the condition.

### Peasants and farmers movement

- Peasant refers to small producers who are controlling a small piece of family land, using simple technologies, family labour to gratify their consumption needs. Between man and land there is emotional relationship in peasants society. To its contrast farmers produce for market and so they view their land also from economic perspective and so land is a source of profit for them. If land fails to make profit farmers go for other forms of occupation abandoning agriculture which is not so in case of peasant. Therefore conceptualising agrarian movement as peasant movements or farmers movement is a great sociological challenge.(farmer vs peasant)
- In India there is present multiple modes of production.
- In some pockets of the country there are peasants, medium farmers, small and marginalised farmers who do not make a huge margin of profit from land and landless peasants.
- In some areas of the country capitalist agriculture has developed which has led to migration of agricultural workers from the poor regions to these flourishing regions in search of

employment, therefore the conflict between land and agriculture class and landless labourers is potentially absent in green revolution belt.

- In some other areas **middle farmers** have been organised, they have received support from state and **organised cooperatives** to improve their economic conditions and so in this case also the conflict between them and agricultural labourers is mostly unfound.
- In certain pockets of the country **traditional form of landlordism** is present. Conflict is found here. Armed rebellion.
- **Gail Omvedt** writes that in case of India the **participants of agrarian movement are tribes, lower caste, ethnic minority who is more or less were landless since historic times** therefore peasant farmer movement cannot be disassociated from Dalit movement and tribal movements.
- **Feudal mode of agriculture** is still in practice in case of Bihar, MP, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and certain pockets of Orissa. There is also **semifeudal mode** of agriculture practised in Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh. **Semi-capitalist** mode of agriculture production can be found in Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and pockets of Andhra Pradesh. And lastly **capitalist agriculture mode of production** can be found in Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.
- Some sociologists consider that movements initiated during India's freedom struggle should be considered as **peasant movement** whereas **after India's independence** the agrarian movement should be considered as **farmers movement**.
- Even **A R Desai** makes a distinction between **two timeframes** i.e. protest during colonial period and protest during postcolonial period.
- some sociologist believe that it is conceptually difficult to distinguish not only peasant movements from farmers but also **agrarian movement** form social and religious movements.
- In India peasants and farmers movements were initiated as economic organisation highlighting the questions like landlessness, indebtedness, tenancy rights but subsequently people got unionised forging their class identity on the basis of culture and religion.
- **Moplah movement, Eka movement** and **Peasant Rebellion** in case of Bengal vertically divided the people on the basis of culture and religion.
- This is contradictory to Marx's understanding of class-action when he says that classes is a source peoples unification because in case of India peasants belonging to Hindu community supported Hindu landlords in Bengal rather than joining hands with Muslim peasants.

### Peasant movement during British Period

- British introduced the exploitative Land Tenure System with Ryotwari system in western and southern India and Zamindari system in eastern and northern India. These two distinctive Systems of Land Tenure System gave way to the rise of feudal Lords, sub feudal Lords, sub sub feudal Lords there by giving rise to the evolution of large body of leisure class living on the exploitation of peasants in India.
- Exploitative taxation and introduction of cash crops completely paralysed subsistence production. Peasants were exploited by both Landlords and exploitative market of British. Hence movement in diff parts of country Sanyasi Vidroh, Indigo Movement, Champaran Movement, Bardoli Movement, Eka Movement, Moplah Rebellion, Birsa Munda Movement.

- The above-mentioned movements had two major consequences:-
- -forgetting the linguistic and regional differences ,driven by common interest the entire country got unified together and started protesting against the British.
- -peasant movement **offered platform for the rise of localised leadership in various parts** of the country which became the precursor to the national movement in India.
- **AR Desai considers that peasant movement** in India is the **mother of India's nationalist movement**.

### Kisan Sabha Movement

- 1927-Kisan sabha was formed to safe guard peasants interests and to protect them exportation of landlords, money lenders and exploitative colonial regime. All the leaders of early peasant movement got associated with Kisan Sabha movement. This movement introduced Kisan Sabha in every village, stimulating the peasant to control village land and go for cooperative farming, **evict absentee landlord** from the land and on many occasions also **promoted militaristic method** to eliminate the intermediaries control over the land.
- Many landlords, sub landlords and sub sub landlords took up leadership of Kisan Sabha movement exhibiting consensual attitude towards peasants and agriculture farmers. It was spelt out all over the country that the real exploiters of Indian peasantry are not local zamindars rather it is exploitative British land tenure system.
- **AR Desai** considers that this **movement is originally initiated by middle peasants** and **subsequently received ideological support from middle-class youth** and finally when this movement acquired a **nationalistic appeal several peasants** joined the movement as a result of which class movement got converted into mass movement.
- The **leaders of Kisan Sabha subsequently became leaders of Congress** and promised indigenous farmers/peasants Heaven on Earth after India's independence.

### Naxalite movement

- This movement was started from Siliguri district of West Bengal by **Charu Mazumdar** who belonged to **upper class affluent family**. During that period the state was ruled by **Communist Party** and its associate, however the government had **not taken serious steps to implement land reform systems** in true spirit.
- **Charu Mazumdar alleged that land distribution amongst landless peasants are unfavourable** and non-productive therefore state as a matter of formality is engaged in land distribution. State is **limiting farmers from encroaching the fertile land owned by the absentee landlord** deploying police and using legal court.
- He **mobilised 20,000 peasants**, gave them training in **modern techniques of warfare** and asked them to **loot police stations** to **procure weapons and to attack zamindars**, forcibly occupying the land. In every village **gorilla warfare techniques** were taught to the youth and village army was trained to fight against police and private army of the landlords. This forced the state government to expedite land reform in several state.
- Various sociologists consider that **naxalite movement should be studied from people's perspective rather than from State perspective**. Masses have appreciated naxalite movement because they have introduced welfare schemes, educational campaign, cooperative farming. To make naxalites unpopular state police have demolished many

schools, bridges constructed by naxalites therefore naxalite movement today is a struggle between peoples power state power.

### Contemporary Agrarian movement

- After India's independence **peasant movement has gone to the state of oblivion**. The factors responsible for that can be attributed to rural development programme introduced by the state. More significantly **cooperative movement, green revolution** in North, Western and South India have weakened peasant movement. Regular employment-access to market-dependency among them increases-compatible working relationship.
- **Dipankar Gupta** indicates that land tenure system has gone through a series of transformation since India's independence. Division of land as contributed for segmentation of agricultural land, as a result if the father is big farmer of the and his children are reduced into middle farmers. Relationship between agriculture workers and the middle and small peasants has become an inclusive relationship driven by dependency. Agricultural labourers today are supported by the public policy of the State hence they are mute and accepting exploitation. Thus the intervention and developmental policies have sufficiently contributed for decline of unrest in India.
- By **cooperative movements** small and marginal farmers in India liberated themselves from historical exploitation, gather self confidence and improved their quality of life. This view was contradicted by marxist scholar **Utsa Pattnaik**. She said all the **big farmers are hijacking all the institutionalised benefits in their own favour**. There is consolidation of capitalism in Punjab and Haryana.
- Studies have found out the paradox in development in the green revolution belt of the country where poor farmers are committing suicide and rich farmers are consolidating their economic base.
- **Bharatiya Kisan Union** operating in North India is **consolidating its base, mobilising all the cash crop** produces and bargaining with the government to benefit the capitalist agriculturalists.
- **Peasant Movement** in India is **fractured and articulates** different **concerns in time and space**.

### Backward Classes and Dalit movement

- Dalit movement is a **contemporary phenomena** started during freedom struggle has become forceful today. It got its ideological **support from backward class movement**- Satya Sodhak Samaj movement and Self Respect movement etc.
- Backward classes is a very loose concept. Sociologically these classes consist of a large number of backward castes which remain above schedule caste and below the upper caste. These casts consist of intermediate caste the cultivating caste, artisans and service castes.
- Satyashodak Samaj which consolidated the masses along the castelines. E.V Ramaswamy started Self-Respect movement against the Brahmins in South India. The SNDP movement in Kerala was more of a reformist movement.
- In 1950s there was a widespread desire among the non-Brahmin castes to be categorized as Backward .Subsequently Backward Class commission was set up to look into the conditions and requirements of these classes. Mandal Commission submitted its report in 1980

recommending reservations for backward castes in educational institutions and government offices.

## Dalit Movements

- Dalit, also called Outcaste. Dalits are a mixed population of numerous caste groups all over India. Dalits work as manual labourers cleaning streets, latrines, and sewers. Engaging in these activities was considered to be polluting to the individual, and this pollution was considered contagious. As a result, Dalits were commonly segregated, and banned from full participation in Hindu social life.
- Dalit movement receives momentum and confidence from Gandhi. He was recognised as mass leader and when he dined with Dalits it gave a mass message to eradicate this discrimination. He gave the concept of Harijan.
- Most of the people who could not go for Sanskritisation went for conversion as a protest against Brahminic domination. Gandhiji said that "one is high or low on the basis of deeds and not on the basis of birth".
- **Gail omvedt** considers that **Dalit movement is not an ideological movement** but rather it is a **class movement**. Dalit identity and poverty as an experience are interconnected to each other. Since the beginning of Indian civilisation till contemporary times Dalits are oppressed class. Thus their condition is no different from blacks in case of West.
- **Dalit panthers Party->Republican Party of India->Bahujan Samaj Party**=indication of politicisation of Dalit cause rather than focusing upon ameliorating the conditions of Dalits.
- Some sociologists are also concerned about the rise of Dalits within Dalit. Their concern is that Dalit movement in India has given way to the growth of elitism and that different Dalit leaders does not only engage in contesting different ideologies but they also keep changing their ideology according to their own convenience. Therefore Dalit party today is not a product of Dalit movement rather it is a politics of opportunism and politics of convenience similar to other political parties.
- The time will come, they would take pride and conviction in glorifying the idea of yes we are dalits.
- Dalit movement is a movement of protest, a protest against Brahmanism, inequality, cultural subordination. It wants to demolish the distinction between man and man. It was to create a society driven by self-respect, inclusiveness and equity. Thus Dalit movement is an ideologically charged ,homogenised class movement intended to bring change of structure rather than change in structure.

## Feminist Movement

- Issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, women's suffrage, sexual harassment and sexual violence.
- **A Lingam** advocates the feminist movement in India is **slowly leading towards NGOisation**. She finds out that **thousands of NGOs working around the country are taking up women issues** differently in different space. She believes that women movement in India should be integrated in order to become more focused in approach and appeal.
- **Veena Mazumdar**-urban and rural india women movement-In urban mostly accused to being **middleclass**, educated women's movement who are questioning to women's rights



both in **public and private sphere**. In rural areas problems are related to women's livelihood, their protection and their rights.

- **Gail Omvedt** divided India's feminist movement into **two types** such as **women equality movement** and **women liberation movement**.

### First Phase 1850-1915

- **social reform movements related to caste and gender relations**. **uproot the social evils of sati** (widow immolation), to **allow widow remarriage**, to forbid child marriage, and to reduce illiteracy, as well as to regulate the age of consent and to ensure property rights through legal intervention. The women **involved were those related to male activists**, elite, western educated, upper caste Hindus.

### Second Phase 1915-1947

- **Gandhiji-CDM womens participation**-role of women went beyond caring, sacrifice and tolerance- Women-only organizations like All India **Women's Conference (AIWC)** and the **National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW)** emerged.
- Women were grappling with the issues relating to the scope of womens political participation, womens franchise, **communal awards, and leadership roles in political parties**.
- There was provision for womens upliftment through affirmative action, **maternal health and child care** provision (crches), equal pay for equal work etc. The state adopted a patronizing role towards women. Women in India did not have to struggle for basic rights as did women in the West.
- **Kalpna Shah**- divides **Indian feminist movement into three types**:
  - **Moderate** it talks of **gender equality, sensitisation** of state towards the needs of women.
  - Socialist it is largely **influenced by Marxist ideology** and speaks about **class mobilisation** and class action.
  - Liberal it is concerned about **integrative approach to women issues** involving state, women organisation, women research centres and feminist groups.
- Women movement in India is more Indian addressing to issues associated with everyday life of women coming from different strata of social life.

### Environment Movement

- Nature nurtures individual and is the foundation to our religion. Love for nature is not contemporary phenomena. Since **historic times they are never considered as lifeless**. **Atharva Veda gives** description about different kinds of plants which have medicinal value hence nature is the source of man's life.
- During British are **colonial rulers found huge deposits of minerals present** in the forest. They tried to persuade the tribal people and trap mineral wealth. Forest became the land of the state and the forest produce became first right of the state. The use of land for commercial purposes displaced the tribals leading to distressful relationships.

### Chipko Movement

- In the early 1970s in the Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand-The landmark event in this struggle took place in 1974, when a group of peasant women acted to prevent the cutting of



trees and reclaim their traditional forest rights that were threatened by the contractor system of the state Forest Department.

- Village communities took responsibility to protect forest from police and commercial forest users. They initiated 24-hour surveillance which persisted for 7 to 8 years. Spread across India. World immediately took notice of this non-violent Tree hugging movement .
- Above all, it stirred up the existing civil society in India, which began to address the issues of tribal and marginalized people.
- **Ramachandra Guha** writes that **dams are symbols of civilisation**, development, economy, modernity. It talks about **sociology of dams and raise many questions "Dams For Whom"?** He writes that due to dams, from 1950 to 2000 around 15 million people are being displaced. Peasants, tribal communities, illiterate people have no exposure to modern education, they don't have the skills and hence they are directly dependent on natural resources. The state has not provided adequate rehabilitation to the affected people.
- Jawahar Lal Nehru said that for the larger cause of development of nation people should make some sacrifice. He considered industries as temples of modernity and to Achieve economic development they need to be set up. But in reality the actual cost of development is paid by the indigenous people who in the name of development lost everything.
- Nehru considered the industrial development as builder of modern India but it has created more disparity leading to poverty and inequality wherein there is growth but no development.
- **Sardar sarovar Project-Narmada Bachao Andolan**-Medha Patker-PIL.
- **Chilka Bachao Andolan**- Commercial fishing- livelihood of local fishermen affected . People went for both violent and nonviolent methods followed by massive protest resulting into a ban on trawlers. This also resulted the return of migratory birds and preserved the beauty of nature and also its ecology.
- **Bhopal gas tragedy**-Open cast mining in Jharkhand-affecting health and livelihood of millions.
- The **Bhagidari movement** of Delhi is a good example of this kind of environmental movement.
- A balance must be established between economic growth and environmental protection. We need to go for systematic planning and scientific application through the use of modern technology to minimise environmental impact as much as possible and make it a development led growth rather than growth without development.

### Ethnicity and Identity movement

- Struggle between tribes and non-tribes are historic but more specific during colonial times. Tribal protest was not anti-imperialism as they were unaware of this term. They just meant to control their own land. The tribal movements in central India was against exploitation. Tribal never makes a difference between indigenous exploitation and colonial exploitation.
- Every community while searching for identity went for territorial demarcation. Language cannot bring unity among people because different tribes speak different languages therefore what brings unity is the territory. If **Asamese for Ahom, Maharashtra for Marathis** then what is for tribal people.

- Territory is essential for political assertion and this movement became intensified when the tribals were dislocated and wanted their land back. Fragmented tribal movements went for unification, proclaiming their identity, territory, state etc to revive their past culture e.g. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh identity are examples of such movement.
- **Jharkhand movement** revolves around factors like culture, economic and socio - polity. It is an anti-colonial and anti-imperial movement; anti-government movement which is reacting to development displacement and finally anti-exploitation movement united against traders and moneylenders. Identity is the foundation to tribal movement in general and Jharkhand movement in particular. Identity is foundation to social movement has been an essence of ethno-politics in India.
- In case of tribal society geographical isolation, land alienation, industrialisation, inflow of nontribal population into tribal areas put the tribal population into a disadvantaged position which led to glorification of tribal identity which further resulted into a movement in search of separate state. Identity focused movement has gone through stages of revolution starting from the colonial period.
- Birsa Munda movement, Gond rebellion, Santhal rebellion are often considered as peasant movement by sociologists but **Dr.V.Xaxa** considers these movements as identity focused movements. He says that when **Hindu peasants simply rebelled against exploitative land tenure system**, the tribal people rebelled against the loss of identity than just loss of livelihood. He criticised the nationalist sociologists like Ghurye, MN Srinivas, NK Bose who believed that tribes voluntarily accepted Hindu culture and that they are backward Hindus. Tribals went for non-tribal identity for social recognition, for survival because non-tribals were predominant in every area. Therefore it is a form of enforced identity.
- **Adivasi Mahasabha** was constituted and attempts were made to unify all dispersed tribes located in central Indian state to stand together and go for homeland for tribesmen, known as greater Jharkhand as sovereign state.
- The nationalist aspiration of tribes of central India is considered as an attempt for tribal demand to control the benefits of progress and modernity. Srinivas considers it as an obstacle in the process of nation-building and Ghurye tells this as secessionist and antinational movement.
- Even in tribal states non-tribals have a significant economic and numerical presence as a result the tribal states evolved public policies that do not fulfil the aspiration of tribal community. Therefore the tribes are not divided on class lines which is glorifying naxalite movement and Maoist insurgency in tribal states. The marginalisation, displacement and alienation of tribals in their own soil is providing foundation to common ideology and common class identity accelerating class conflicts in tribal India. Therefore central Indian tribes are shifting from identity-based movement to issue-based movement.
- In case of North East India, the states of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura are experiencing identity movements. In Manipur two groups exist i.e. Nagas and Kukis. Tripura is full with non-tribal population which is the result of escalation of conflicts among the people.
- The **Bodo** people in Assam who consider themselves to be the original inhabitants are outnumbered slowly by the Bengali population who have control over industries which leads

to regular conflict between them. Tribal identity is glorified due to this infiltration of non tribal people into tribal areas.

- In 1970 separate State of Nagaland came into existence thus giving right to the people to have their own government which further glorified political aspirations by various tribes of other states. The same thing happened in case of Mizoram wherein the Mizos who considered themselves as Highlanders and indigenous people/original inhabitant protested for a separate State status which was granted to them.
- Other movements can die out but identity movement will survive in one way or the other e.g. in contemporary times-**Maharashtra Navnirman Sena**.
- Thus it can be concluded that identity and tribal conflicts in India is a conflict between:
  - state versus people;
  - within a state insider versus outsider;
  - within tribe one faction versus other faction.

### Identity movements:

The Kamtapur movement for regional, cultural, ethnic autonomy of the Rajbanshi (a Scheduled caste) has started gaining ground in north Bengal with the demand of a separate state comprising the six districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, North Dinajpur, South Dinajpur and Malda. To initiate this movement, a regional party by the name of Uttarakhand Dal was formed in 1980. Now this movement has got momentum under the leadership of the Kamtapur People's Party (KPP). Through this movement the Rajbanshis are putting up resistance against the gradual erosion of their cultural and linguistic identity, and their economic marginalization in society.

### Social movement explained:

Conventionally ideology, collective mobilisation, organisation and leadership are identified to the vital elements of social movements. Ideology provides a broad frame of action and collective mobilisation in the social movement. It also provides legitimacy to the process of interest articulation organized collective action. There are different ways of formulating ideology in a social movement.

For the functionalists social movements were sources of potential disruption to an entity. Here only by assigning a marginal position to social movements was 'integrity of the functional theoretical system ensured. On the other hand, though the Marxist analysis is concerned with social transformation, this has identified the "classes" as the sole agents of social transformation.

T.K. Oommen (1994) points out that the processes of mobilization and institutionalization do co-exist, and that 'institutionalization provides new possibilities of mobilization'.

Gramsci saw India's political struggle against English as containing three forms of war: war of movement, war of position and underground warfare. Gandhi's passive resistance was a war of position, which in certain movements becomes war of movement and in others, underground warfare. Boycotts are a form of war of position, strikes are war of movement, the secret preparation of weapons and combat troops belong to underground warfare

**1. Peasant movements:**

- In sociological and anthropological literature peasants - been described as culturally 'unsystematic, concrete tradition of many, unreflective, unsophisticated and the non-literati constituting the mosaic of "little tradition" (Redfield), 'incomplete' & a 'part society with part cultures' **Kroeber**.
- **Politically** -found to occupy an 'underdog position and are subjected to the domination by outsiders (**Shanin**), unorganized and deprived of knowledge required for organised collective action (**Wolf**).
- In the **economic term**, they are identified to be the small producers for their own consumption (**Redfield**), subsistence cultivators (**Firth**) who produce predominantly for the need of family rather than to make a profit (**Chayanov**).
- Colonial economic policies, the new land revenue system, the colonial administrative and judicial system and the ruin of handicrafts leading to the overcrowding of land ,transformed the agrarian structure and impoverished the peasantry
- In 1930s nation wide awakening of peasants was largely the result of the combination of particular economic and political developments.
  - The great depression that began to hit India from 1920-30 and
  - The new phase of mass struggle launched by the Indian National Congress in 1930.

**Peasant caste interface:**

Peasants in India represent a vast mass landless agricultural labourer, sharecroppers, tenants, poor artisans and small and marginal cultivators having a close social interface with the socially deprived, like the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, other backward classes and women.

Dhanagare: Peasant movements are important variants of social movements

Social isolation, cultural segregation and economic exploitation have accentuated the historical processes of marginalisation and political subordination of the peasants.

The first category of movements dated back to the colonial period. Kathleen Gough in 1974 found that in India 77 peasant uprisings took place since the British period (Gough 1974). In the initial years the sporadic movements were directed against the extraction of the Zamindars and other forms of intermediaries

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Though the **Tebhaga, Telangana and the Naxalite movements** took place in different geographical places and in different period of time, there are some **striking similarities among these movements**:

- Increasing **landlessness, poverty**, under employment and various types of social and economic deprivation of the backward **classes Scheduled Castes**,
- **Scheduled Tribes & their exploitation** by upper caste landowners & money lenders were major issues

- All these movements were **organised under the auspice of the organisation** and **leadership** of the **Communists**(of different political establishments)
- All these movements were **ideologically radical** in nature. These movements challenged the normative and the pre-existing institutional arrangements of the society.
- These movements were immediately **directed against the traditional landlords, police administration** and other **apparatus of the state**
- These movements **looked for a radical change** in **pre-existing agrarian arrangements** of the society
- Though the **leadership** of these movements came mostly **from the urban intellectuals** and the **higher caste groups**, the poor peasantry especially from the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, were the main driving forces in these collective mobilizations
- All these movements **experienced the phenomenal participation of women** in all phases of progression of the collective mobilization; and **exploitation of women by the upper caste landowners** had become a prominent issue in these movements.

### The Tebhaga Movement- 1946-47

- manifested in the undivided Bengal
- demand for tebhaga (two-third shares) by sharecroppers for themselves
- instead of ½ by jotedars- intermediary landowners- earlier
- cause:
  - The traders, moneylenders and intermediary landowners exploited to the hilt the poverty of the poor peasant and lent him money at usurious rates of interest.
  - The emerging patterns of exploitation and social oppression, impoverishment and pauperization of the peasantry got institutionalized during the British rule
  - peasantry received organised focus since early 1920s with the formation of the Communist Party of India (CPI) 1921, the Workers and Peasants Party (WPP) 1922 and the Krishak Praja Party (KPP) in 1929.
- Progress & Result: Land Revenue Commission in 1938 → recommended in 1940 that “All bargadars should be treated as tenants, that the share of the crops legally recoverable from them should be one-third → no action → Nov '46 BKS (Bengal Kisan Sabha) passed a resolution in Calcutta for ‘Tebhaga’
- Huge upsurge → poor peasantry responded simultaneously in Khanpur village → few arrested → storm of people armed with bows and arrows, lathis and axes, surged on the police → firing 22 dead → Khanpur fire spread elsewhere → reign of terror.

### The Telangana Movement (1946-52)

- fought against the feudal oppression of the rulers and local landowners in AP
- **Cause:** process of the sub-infeudation in the landholding accentuated the insecurity of the tenants and the poor peasants- jagirdars and deshmukhs, played a dominant role- They were the intermediary landowners with higher titles cum moneylenders cum- village officials and were mostly from the upper caste or influential Muslim community background- easily subject the poor peasantry to extra-economic coercion through the vetti (force labour) system- The lower strata of

the agrarian hierarchy had a sub-human level of existence. The Harijans and the tribals were the worst sufferers under this system (**Dhanagare**)

- The Indian National Congress, Andhra Jana Sangam and Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) raised the issue of poor condition → struggle → jotedars goondas killed AMS workers → fuelled.
- The movement took a new turn with India attaining independence in 1947, and the subsequent refusal of the Nizam to join the Indian Union → CPI – called for- guerrilla struggle against the razakars (state paramilitary wing) → police action → nizam's admin freezed- vetti abolished- tenancy rights given- but CPI continued struggle- Indian police harsh- couldn't stand- CPI called off struggle in 1951- many arrested, faced violence, and indignities.

### Separate statehood Telangana Movement:

- It was alleged- Telangana systematically neglected → water disputes (AP took more Krishna water), Revenues issues, Even ministers and Govt officials less rep'n from T
- Many instances since 60's but always pacified by few dole outs. During this time there were violent agitations by some Telanganites to send back bureaucrats from Madras state, and to strictly implement 'Mulki-rules'(Local jobs for locals only). Under the Mulki rules in force at the time, anyone who had lived in Hyderabad for 15 years was considered a local, and was thus eligible for certain government posts.
- The Srikrishna Committee headed by former Chief Justice B. N. Srikrishna toured all the regions of state extensively and invited people from all sections of the society to give their opinion on the statehood. It received over one lakh petitions and representations from political parties, organisations, NGOs and individuals, 2010
- Report released 2011- Telangana (excluding Hyderabad) were either "on par or a shade lower" than Coastal Andhra. When Hyderabad is included, Telangana fared better. The most backward of all regions was in fact Rayalaseema. Report concluded- Separation is recommended only in case it is unavoidable and if this decision can be reached amicably amongst all the three regions- finally divided 2013. - Telangana will have 10 districts(including Hyderabad) and the rest of Andhra Pradesh will have 13 districts. Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation area will remain the common capital for both states for a period not exceeding 10 years.

### Naxalite Movement (1967-71)

- peasant uprising of May 1967 under the Naxalbari thana of Darjeeling district of West Bengal
- Immediately after independence, Govt. of West Bengal enacted- Zamindari abolition, land ceiling etc.
- due to lack of the political will progressive provisions of these acts remained in the statute book only



- efficient of tenants and sharecroppers- economic insecurity – unemployment- small cultivators increased among the rural population, in real term poor peasantry was under going a desperate situation caused by their livelihood insecurity
- political happenings in West Bengal took a new turn- February 1967 the United Front (dominated by the communal parties viz. CPI, CPI (M) RSP etc.) came to with the promise like 'land to the tiller', 'proletarian rule'- The CPI-M Darjeeling district committee started to organize the peasants on a militant footing after the United Front Government was formed
- The Naxalite movement spread rapidly in many parts of the country, protracted arm resistance, declaration of liberated area, killing and arrest became a regular phenomena in the agrarian society of West Bengal.

### Emerging Agrarian Social Structure and Peasants Movements

In recent years peasant movements have emerged to be reformative and institutionalized both in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. – Now mobilisation for diversified interests and not class interests. Aggressiveness and hostilities is limited –rural population mobilised to be beneficiaries and not change agents.-Planned by political parties themselves.

### Kisan Sabha Movement

- The Kisan Sabha movement started in Bihar under the leadership of **Swami Sahajanand Saraswati** who had **formed in 1929** the **Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS)** in order to mobilise peasant grievances against the zamindari attacks on their occupancy rights, and thus sparking the Farmers' movement in India
- Gradually the peasant movement intensified and spread across the rest of India.
- all these radical developments culminated in formation of All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) at the Lucknow session of INC with Swami Sahajanand Saraswati elected as first President
- The Kisan Manifesto demanded abolition of zamindari system and cancellation of rural debts
- In the subsequent years, the movement was increasingly dominated by Socialists and Communists as it moved away from the Congress
- It took on the Communist party's line of People's War, and stayed away from the Quit India Movement which started in August 1942, though this also meant it losing its popular base and many of its members defied party orders and joined the movement, and prominent members like N.G. Ranga, Indulal Yagnik and Swami Sahajananda soon left the organization,
- Currently two organizations work under the name of AIKS:
  - All India Kisan Sabha (Ashoka Road), attached to Communist Party of India (Marxist)
  - All India Kisan Sabha (Ajoy Bhawan), attached to Communist Party of India

### Sanyasi Revolt, 1772

- British government restricted people from visiting holy places. Sanyasi got angry
- Joined by farmers, evicted landlords, disbanded soldiers
- One refers to a large body of Hindu sanyasis who travelled from North India to different parts of Bengal to visit shrines. En route to the shrines, it was customary for many of these holy men to exact a religious tax from the headmen and zamindars or regional landlords. The other two movements involved a sect of Hindu ascetics, the Dasnami naga sanyasis who likewise visited

Bengal on pilgrimage mixed with moneylending opportunities. Sanyasis defeated a company of sepoys and killed the commander. They overran some districts, virtually running a parallel government.

- This rebellion continued till the end of the 18th century.
- Governor General Warren Hastings launched a military campaign against Sanyasis.
- From 1800, sanyasis probably joined the Marathas to fight British.

### Pagal Panthi, 1830s-40s

- Reason: Zamindari Oppression
- Area: North Bengal, Hajong and Garo tribes.
- Leader: Karam Shah and his son Tipu
- Result: Initially British agreed to Pagal Panthi demand, made arrangement to protect the cultivators from Zamindar
- But later, launched massive military operation to suppress Pagal Panthis

### Santhal, 1855

- Reason: oppression of police, atrocities of landlords and moneylenders, ill-treatment of small farmers by land revenue officials. Government banned shifting cultivation in forest areas.
- Area: Raj Mahal hills
- Leaders: Sindhu + Kanhu
- Result: The government could pacified these Santhals by creating a separate district of Santhal Parganas.

### Indigo Movement (1859-60)

- European planters forced desi farmers to grow the indigo in Eastern India, without paying right price.
- If any farmer refused- and started growing rice, he was kidnapped, women and children were attacked, and crop was looted, burnt and destroyed.
- If farmer approached court, the European judge would rule in favour of the European planter.
- The privileges and immunities enjoyed by the British planters placed them above the law and beyond all judicial control.
- Finally Indigo peasants launched revolt in Nadia district of Bengal presidency. Refused to grow Indigo. If police tried to intervene, they were attacked.
- European Planters responded by increasing the rent and evicting farmers. Led to more agitations and confrontations.
- Later got support from the intelligentsia, press, missionaries and Muslims.
- Result: Government issued a notification that the Indian farmers cannot be compelled to grow indigo and that it would ensure that all disputes were settled by legal means. By the end of 1860, Indigo planters should down their factories and cultivation of indigo was virtually wiped out from Bengal

### Pabna Agrarian Unrest (1873-76)

- Area: East Bengal. Pabna=a jute growing district
- Reason: Zamindars enhanced rents beyond legal limits through a variety of cesses (Abwab), Farmers had to face costly legal affairs and forced eviction. Nuisance of moneylenders.
- Leaders: Ishwar Chandra Roy, Shambhu Pal, Khoodi Mollah.
- Agrarian league formed to fight legal battle against the zamindars and organized nonpayment of rent campaign.
- This league provided a sound platform to the peasants at a time when there was no kisan sabha or any political party to organize the peasants.
- by and large non-violent. No zamindar or agent was killed / seriously injured. Very few houses looted, very few police stations attacked.
- Hindu Muslim unity, despite the fact that most Zamindars were Hindu and farmers were muslims.
- farmers demanded to become ryots of British queen and not of Zamindars.
- Got support from Intellectuals: Bankim Chandra Chettarji, RC Dutt, Surendranath Benerjee etc.
- Result:
- This unrest resulted into Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885.
- But this act did not fully protect farmers from the zamindari oppression
- Even non-cultivators were given occupancy right. It gave rise to a powerful jotedar groups.
- Later some of the Jotedars became as exploitative as the zamindars.

### Deccan Riots (1874-75)

Area: In the ryotwari areas of Pune and Ahmadnagar of Maharashtra

#### Reasons

- the land revenue was very high
- had to pay land Revenue even during bad seasons
- 1860: American civil war=boom in demand of cotton export.
- But In 1864, war ends=>cotton export declines, yet government raised land revenue.
- Farmers had taken loans from moneylenders, but now they cannot repay=>Moneylenders took away their land, cattle, jewelry and property.

#### Notable features:

1. The object of this riot was to destroy the dead bonds, decrees, etc. in possession of their creditors.
2. Violence was used only when the moneylenders refused to hand over the documents.
3. villagers led by traditional headmen (Patels)
4. Involved social boycott of moneylender. and social boycott of any villager who didn't socially boycott the moneylender.
5. Later got support from Poona Sarvajanik Sabha led by Justice Ranade.

#### Result:

1. Initially government resorted to use of police force and arrest. but later appointed a commission, passed Agriculturists Relief Act in 1879 and on the operation of Civil Procedure Code.
2. Now the peasants could not be arrested and sent to jail if they failed to pay their debts

### Ramosi, 1877-87

- Reason: Ramosis of Maharashtra were the inferior ranks of police in Maratha administration.
- After the fall of the Maratha kingdom, they became farmers => heavy land Revenue demands by British.
- Area: Satara, Maharashtra, Deccan
- Leader: Chittur Singh (1822), Vasudev Balwant Phadke (1877-87)
- Result: Government gave them land grants and recruited them as hill police

### Birsa Munda's Ulgulan (1899)

South of Ranchi

Reasons

- Tribals practiced Khuntkatti system (joint holding by tribal lineages)
- But rich farmers, merchants, moneylenders, dikus, thekedars from Northern India came and tried to replace it with typical Zamindari-tenancy system.
- These new landlords caused indebtedness and beth-begari (forced labour) among the tribal.
- Birsa Munda organized the Munda tribals, attacked churches and police stations.

Result:

- Birsa died in jail, while others shot dead, hanged or deported.
- Government enacted Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908.
- recognized Khuntkatti rights
- banned eth Begari (forced labour)

### Champanan Indigo Satyagraha (1917)

Area: Champanan district of Bihar. Ramnagar, Bettiah, Madhuban.

- European planters forced Indian farmers to cultivate indigo on 3/20th of their land holding. Popularly known as tinkathia system.
- Under this system, European planters holding thikadari leases from the big local zamindars forced the peasants to cultivate indigo on part of their land at un-remunerative prices and by charging sharahbeshi (rent enhancement) or tawan (lump sum compensation)
- if the farmer did not want to grow indigo, he had to pay heavy fines

1916	A farmer Raj Kumar Shukla contacted Gandhi during Congress Session @Lucknow.
1917	Mahatma Gandhi launched an agitation. Demanded a detailed enquiry and redressal of farmers' grievances.

Result:

1. Government appoints a committee, even included Gandhi as one of the member.
2. Government abolishes tinkhatia system and pays compensation to the farmers.
3. Gandhi gets new allies: Rajendra Prasad, JB Kriplani, Mahadev Desai and Braj Kishore Prasad

### Kheda Satyagraha (1918)

- Severe drought in Khera District, Gujarat
- Kanbi-Patidar farmers. Making decent living through cotton, tobacco and dairy. But Plague and famine during 1898-1906 reduced their income. Yet government increased Revenue demand.
- Prices of essential commodities: kerosene, salt etc increased because of WW1.
- Farmers requested government to waive the land Revenue. Government ignored.
- Gandhi + Sardar Patel launched "no-revenue" campaign

Result:

1. Government reduced revenue to 6.03%
2. Government ordered officials to recover Revenue only from those farmers who were willing to pay.
3. Gandhi gets new ally: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

### Kisan Movement, UP (1920s)

Awadh farmers were suffering because:

1. Lack of occupancy rights on land in many regions.
2. Exaction by landlords of tributes, cesses, gifts, forced labour and excessive rent.
3. Periodic revision of land revenue in ryotwari areas.
4. Heavy indebtedness to the village land lords or money lenders.
5. World war I = steep rise in the price of food grains benefiting middlemen and merchants at the cost of the poor.
6. Farmers had to pay Larai Chanda (War contribution) during WW1.
7. To counter Gandhi/Congress's influence, the Government wanted to win over Talukdars in Avadh. Hence, they gave free hand to Taulkdars regarding rent collection, eviction etc.
8. As a result, Begari (forced labour) and Bedakhli (evicting tenant for land) became a common sight.

9. +caste domination: "Jajmani system" under which, lower caste were obligated to supply ghee, cloths etc free/@discounted prices to upper caste.

### Methods of Awadh Kisan Sabha

1. asked farmers to stop working on bedakhli land (i.e. from where earlier farmer was evicted)
2. asked farmers to stop giving Begari and Jajmani.
3. Social boycott of farmers who did not obey 1+2.
4. By 1921, this movement turned militant and spread to districts of Eastern UP. involved looting, ransacking, attacking zamindar properties.
5. agitators raided the houses of landlords and moneylenders, looted bazaars and granaries

Result: Government amended Awadh Rent Act in 1921 and AKS ceased violence.

Later All India Kisan Sabha emerged. Discussed separately in third article along with Congress Provincial government

### Eka Movement (1920s)

10. Eka=unity movement
11. Initially by Congress+Khilafat Leaders. Later Madari Pasi and other low caste leaders.
12. Reason: oppression by Thekedar. High rents
13. Involved religious ritual, in which farmer would take a dip in Ganges and vow not to do begari, resist eviction etc.
14. Even included some small zamindars who were unhappened with British demands for high revenue.
15. By 1922 severe repression by government=Eka Movement vanished.

### Second Moplah Uprising (1921)

Reasons:

1. Hindu Zamindars (Jemnis) exploiting Muslim Moplah/Mappila farmers in Malabar (Kerala)
  2. rumors that British military strength had declined post WW1.
  3. Khilafat movement and general hatred towards British.
- Tipping point: Police raided a mosque to arrest a Khilafat leader Ali Musaliar.
  - Farmers attacked police stations, public offices and houses, land records of zamindars and moneylenders under the leadership of Kunhammed Haji.
  - For months, British government lost control over Ernad and Walluvanad taluks for several months.
  - This movement was termed as Anti-British, Anti-Zamindars and, to some extent, as anti-Hindu.
  - Podanur Blackhole: British put 66 Moplah prisoners into a railway wagon and completely shut it down. They all died of asphyxiation.
  - Result: Hundreds of Moplah lost lives- as a result they were completely demoralized and didn't join in any future freedom struggles or even communist movements post independence.



### Bardoli Satyagraha (1928)

- Area: Bardoli, Gujarat
- Reason: land Revenue increased by 22%.
- Sardar Patel persuaded the farmers:
  - not to pay Revenue, required them to take oath in the name of their respective Hindu/Muslim gods.
  - social boycott of anyone who paid revenue.
  - Resist eviction and Jabti (Confiscation). Lock houses and migrate to Baroda State
  - social upliftment of Kaliparaj caste- who worked as landless laborers.
- KM Munshi resigned from Bombay Legislative council.
- Bombay communists and railway workers also threatened strikes and boycotts.

Result:

- Government setup Maxwell-Broomfield commission.
- Reduced land Revenue to 6.03%
- Returned confiscated land back to farmers.
- Vallabhbhai got the title of "Sardar".

### Moplah Rebellion

The Malabar Rebellion (also known as the "Moplah Rebellion", was an armed uprising in 1921 against British authority and Hindus in the Malabar region, Kerala by Mappila Muslims and the culmination of a series of Mappila revolts that recurred throughout the 19th century and early 20th century

### Backward class and Dalit movements:

Essay on the Backward Classes – The term 'backward classes' has not been defined properly either by the sociologists or by the constitution-makers. The backward classes are a large mixed category of persons with boundaries that are both unclear and elastic. They seem to comprise roughly one-third of the total population of the country. They consist of three main categories — the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and the 'other backward classes'.

The Backward Classes Movement started in India in the early part of 20th century. When the British introduced here English medium schools and colleges and the Western education, the upper castes like the Brahmins made use of them. As a result, they could easily get the jobs in the government services and increase their prestige.

This further increased the cultural, social, and economic distance between them and the lower castes. Now the lower castes became more conscious of this situation. As **M.N. Srinivas has said the lower castes realised that mere Sanskritisation was not enough**. It did not provide them much scope for social mobility.

They became more determined to obtain Western education in order to qualify themselves for the new jobs in administration and the new professions like law, medicine, engineering, etc. **Higher**

**caste dominance in education and in the new occupations thus provided the conditions for the Backward Classes Movement.**

As M.N. Srinivas has pointed out that such movement was inevitable in India where only one caste, the Brahmins, enjoyed preponderance in higher education, in professions, and government employment. The cultural gulf between the Brahmins and others became very much pronounced now.

The characteristic feature of this movement is that it is caste based. In the Indian context, **“backward classes” form an aggregate of ‘closed’ status groups or castes.** Caste associations came into existence in different parts of the country to press their claims for new designations and occupations.

Many published journals devoted to caste welfare, collected funds for giving scholarships and building hostels for students from respective castes, and undertook reform of caste customs.

The qualified youths of the lower castes soon realised that it was difficult to get admission in the professional courses and in the post-graduate courses. They could not compete with the upper caste youths such as Brahmins. They also failed to get jobs in the government services. They felt that they were discriminated against on the basis of caste. This led to anti-Brahmin feelings.

**Increase in Horizontal Solidarity:**

In the process of participating in the modern political, educational, economic and other processes, the caste system has undergone a significant change. The caste has been made free from its traditional local and vertical matrix. Within the local area, the stress is laid on the interdependence of castes or local sections of castes.

The desire for mobility among the **backward caste came from census operations** also. The caste ‘sabhas’ represented to census authorities demand of individual castes to belong to a particular ‘varna’ and not to a lower one. For example, the two peasant castes of Tamil Nadu, the **Vellalas** and **Padaiyachis** wanted to be recorded as ‘**Vaishyas**’ and ‘**Vaniya Kula Kshatriyas**’ respectively, and not as ‘**Shudras**’.

Many such claims were made in 1931 census. The ‘Sabhas’ also altered the styles of life of their castes in the direction of Sanskritisation. This included the giving up of forbidden meat (pork and carrion beef) and liquor, and the donning of the sacred thread, the shortening of the mourning period like that of the Brahmins.

In the case of very ‘low-castes’ it included non-performance of a traditional degrading duty such as ‘Carvee’ or other free labour or carrying palanquins, or beating the ‘tom-tom’ on ceremonial occasions.

The upper caste people were mainly indifferent towards these trends. On some occasions, they used force to make the lower caste people to perform their traditional duties.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 led to the intensification of nationalism, and also to the rise of communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism. The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 conceded

separate electorates to Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. **Now, the lower castes also demanded separate electorate. Dr. Ambedkar fought for it.**

This made the **back-ward class movement to become political.** In South India, in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was formed to protect the interests of the **Non-Brahmins 'dominant castes'.**

It started newspapers in English and other languages to educate and to represent the case of the Non-Brahmins. Similarly, many periodicals were started by caste organisations in different parts of India.

At the **earlier stage 'Backward Classes Movement' meant 'the non-Brahmin Movement'.** The non-Brahmin Movement had two aims:

(i) **demanding the sanction of more concessions and privi-leges** (which would cause discrimination against the Brahmins) to surpass Brahmins in education and social status

(ii) **achieving "Swayam Maryada' ox self respect. E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker** started the Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu. This movement **was anti-Brahmin, anti-North, anti-Hindi, anti-Sanskrit and finally anti-God. Ramaswamy Naicker founded Dravida Kazhagam—DK.** (Dravidian Federation) in 1945.

In 1949, **his disciple C. Annadurai founded Dravida Munnetra** Kazhagam-D.M.K (Dravidian Progressive Federation) which **completely wiped out the domination of the Brahmins** in politics of Tamil Nadu.

The D.K. under the leadership of Naicker continued to pursue anti-Brahminism in social and cultural fields. The D.M.K. and the Anna D.M.K. (ADMK) continue their **anti-Hindi and anti-Sanskrit attitude.** But they are not very much anti-Brahmin now. The DMK penetrated the Tamil film industry also.

“Thus, the aim of the Backward Class Movement at this stage was to limit the Brahmin mo-nopoly in two fields of education and appointment to government posts.” **This movement was by no means a mass movement.**

The opposition to Brahmin dominance did not come from the low and the oppressed castes **but from the leaders of the powerful, rural dominant castes such as Reddis and Kammas in Andhra, Vokkaligas and Lingayats** in Karnataka, etc. These were high caste groups with a social position next to the Brahmins.

They **included not only the Hindus but also the Muslims, Christians and other communities** who also suffered from the same social disabilities. Hence it is relevant to use the term **"Backward Classes"**, and not **'Backward Castes'**

**Mahar Movement:** The Mahar movement under the leadership of Ambedkar abandons Hinduism altogether and embraced Buddhism. The Mahars formed an important section of the scheduled castes of Maharashtra (10%) of the population. They served as village watchmen, messengers and removers of cattle carcasses. These services were hereditary and were paid for in kind. They occupied a low position in the caste and occupational hierarchy and as such suffered from many religious, economic, educational and political disabilities. Thus the ideology of the Mahar movement

reflects a total rejection of the religion of the caste Hindus, which was identified with hierarchy and inequality. The Dalit Panther movement emerged among the Mahars of Bombay and Pune in 1972. Its spokesmen were Namdeo Dhasal, Raja Dhale and J.V Pawar all eminent literary men. It cashed in on the frustration that the urban youth were experiencing when faced with diverse forms of discrimination against the untouchables and the oppressed. In its ideology class struggle cannot be separated from an anticaste Hindu attitude. Thus the protest ideologies of the Backward Classes movements reveal four organizing principals:

- Reinterpretation of myths of origin or of one's own religion.
- Rejection of Hinduism and Aryan religion and culture
- Civil rights
- Class conflict

The SNDP movement exemplifies the principle of reinterpretation as a theme of the protest ideology. Sri Narayana Guru Swamy established a set of beliefs, rituals, temples and priests that was parallel to that of the upper castes. The world-view of his reinterpreted Hinduism was both enlightened and simple on the basis of which Izhavas were able to claim a new identity with honour, esteem and self-respect.

Similarly the Ahirs systematically reinterpreted the Yadava myth of origin of their castes in legitimizing their superior status. This was backed by protest against the status that was accorded to them by the dominant groups backed by religion. They not only achieved self-respect and honor but also gained access to the religious goods and services of the twice-born castes that they had long been denied. The new ideology provided the language of protest and aggression against the opposition groups.

New identities are established not only on the basis of a religious-cultural ideology but also on the basis of a secular one with civil rights and class conflict themes. The former when viewed as an attempt to claim equality of status through democratic means is exemplified by many backward classes movements fighting for basic secular rights such as right of admission to schools, right of recruitment to government jobs and right of adult suffrage. These programmes were part of the SNDP and Mahar movements. The leaders of these movements adopted both religious-cultural and civil rights ideology simultaneously in their efforts to attain equality of status with the dominant groups on the ritual and the secular planes.

Among the Backward classes the Dalit panthers adopted the ideology of class conflict and anti caste Hindu feeling. The new identity that emerged based on these two principles enabled the young urban Mahars to attack the upper caste Hindu capitalists. Thus both secular class conflict and religious-cultural principles can be seen as transformations. All these movements arose due to the extreme exploitation of the lower castes by the upper castes and the lower castes were subjected to frequent oppression and exploitation over a period of time.

### **1. Dravidian Movement:**

With the spread of Christianity and the western education, the non Brahmin in the Madras presidency region developed a new awareness as a result of which resentment started growing among them against the domination by Brahmin and other higher castes in profession as well as in

politics, especially the Congress Party. They believed that, if they had to make successful careers, the domination of Brahmins in professional and political life had to be first overthrown.

By 1914 this conflict between the emerging non-Brahmin urban middle class and the establishment of mostly Brahmin middle class and upper class took a sharp turn. The non-Brahmin caste uniting themselves and the Non-Brahmin Manifesto published in 1916 was followed by the formation of South Indian Association in 1917. After the Montague Chelmsford Reforms 'South-Indian Association' was converted into Justice Party to counter the political influence of the Congress.

However the Justice Party was a party of urban educated professional middle class elite in nature and therefore failed to build a mass base. Soon after, the self-respect movement was founded in 1925 by E.V. Ramaswami Naicker.

The self-respect movement was based on the Dravidian ideology to save the non-Brahmin from the tyranny of Brahmin who were considered Aryans. The self-respect movement aimed at removing the control of Brahmin from the social and political level and sought to wean the people away from the puranic ritualistic Hinduism necessitating the presence of Brahmin priest.

It considered the Brahmin as the symbol of all exploitation. This movement was successful in appealing to the masses and acquired a mass following finally; the self-respect movement and Justice Party were merged in 1944 to form Dravida Kazhagam headed by Naicker. It adopted a militant mass agitational strategy and advocated an egalitarian ideology condemning the caste system.

Later on in 1949, due to difference between the Naicker and C. N. Annadurai who led the younger section in the Dravida Kazhagam, there was a split leading to the formation of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The majority of the rank and file of D.K. joined the DMK. Initially the support base of DMK consisted of the lower middle class, students, lower castes like Nadars Marwars and Adi. Dravidians and unemployed youth, etc. Cinema was one of the effective media which was used by DMK to propagate its ideology and win a mass base.

A consequence of the DMK was the decline in the domination of Brahmins in Tamil Nadu, a new sense of release and freedom among the lower castes. However, later on as DMK tried to capture power, it gradually abandoned its reformist zeal and even the demand for creation of a separate Dravidian Nadu and acquired a character of one of the mainstream political parties with a rational support base.

## 2. SNDP Movement:

Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement

This movement was based on the approach of reinterpreting Hindu religion in search of self-determination. The Sri Narayana Dharam Paripalana Movement was the movement for the propagation of Sri Narayana Guru Swamy's philosophy among the Izhavas (toddy tappers) of Kerala. Until 1935 the Izhavas belonged to the SC category. They were considered to be unapproachable by the clean castes. Izhavas that formed about 26% of the Kerala's total population suffered from many religious, political and economic disabilities. Around the turn of the century a charismatic leader Sri

Narayan Guru Swamy gave them a new religion of one God and one caste which transformed their life styles and outlook. He established a set of religious institutions parallel to that of the variety of Brahmanical Hinduism. This helped Izhavas both to gain self-respect and to adopt a protest ideology to challenge the religious, economic, educational and political supremacy the upper castes.

### 3. Self-respect Movement

The self-respect movement sowed its seed during the Indian freedom struggle. At the earlier stage Backward Class movement meant the non-Brahmin movement. The non -Brahmin movement had two aims

- Demanding the sanction of more concessions and privileges (which would cause discrimination against the Brahmins) to surpass Brahmins in education and social status.
- Achieving "Swayam Maryada or self-respect."

This movement formed a part of the many social reforms occurred during that period. Periyar E.V Ramaswami was the leader of this movement. It was a popular movement, which occurred in Tamil Nadu in 1925. Its main aim was to improve upon the socio-economic conditions of the low castes Tamils. Later it had profound implications. The main objectives of this movement were inculcation and dissemination of knowledge of political education. Right to lead life with dignity and self-respect and do away with the exploitative system based on superstitions and beliefs. Abolition of the evil social practices and protection of women rights. Establishment and maintenance of homes for orphans and widow and opening of educational institutions for them. This movement gained popularity in no time and became a political platform.

Ramaswami Naicker founded the Dravida Kazhagam in 1945. In 1949 C. Annadurai founded the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam-DMK which completely wiped out the domination of the Brahmins in Tamil Nadu. The D.K under the leadership of Naicker continue to pursue anti-Brahmanism in social and cultural fields. Thus the aim of the Backward Class Movement at this stage was to limit the Brahmin monopoly in the two fields of education and appointment to government posts. This movement was by no means a mass movement. The opposition to Brahmin dominance did not come from the low and the oppressed castes but from the leaders of the powerful rural dominant castes such as Reddy and Kammas in Andhra, Vokkaligas and Lingayats in Karnataka etc. These were high caste groups with a social position next to the Brahmins. They included not only the Hindus but also the Muslims, Christians and other communities who also suffered from the same social disabilities.

### Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj is a reform movement and religious/social organization which was formally established in Bombay in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswathi (1824-1883). He was an adamant follower, exponent, and practitioner of the Vedas--the unadulterated Truth as handed down from Guru to disciple since the beginning of time. Swami Dayananda had absolutely no craving for worldly applause and was completely unconcerned and unperturbed by the censure of the superstitious, the ignorant, and the selfish. Swami Dayanada spoke the Truth and practiced it too. In 1863 he emerged preaching against idolatry and started Sanskrit classes.



In 1872 he came into contact with Keshub Chandra Sen, a Brahmo reformer and other Brahmo leaders. It exerted a radical change in him which led him to turn from Sanskrit to the popular language Hindi for spreading his ideals. In 1875 he went to Bombay for preaching his ideals and there he enjoyed a warm support at the hands of great social reformer Mahadev Govind Ranah in the campaign against idolatry and other evil practices. In the same year he founded Arya Samaj in Bombay.

Two years later in 1877 he shifted the head quarters of the samaj to Lahore and carried on his activities. The word Arya means a noble human being--one who is thoughtful and charitable, who thinks good thoughts and does good actions--he or she is an Arya. The universal Arya Samaj (Vishwa Arya Samaj) is a gathering of such people.

Swami Dayanada founded Arya Samaj on two basic tenets. They were

- Infallible authority of the Vedas
- Monotheism.

The Arya Samaj declared that no Hindu should take lying down the insults hurled against his religion by the preachers of other religion. The Hindu should cultivate a militant spirit and should take up the challenge. The Arya samaj embarked upon the programme of national education for the Hindus. Swami Dayananda emphasized the need for a national education throughout his career. In every place he visited he pleaded for the establishment of Sanskrit schools and the teaching of Vedas.

### Satya Sodhak Samaj

In Poona, Jyotirao Phooley, though a Mali by caste and of comparatively little education started the association called the Satyashodhak Samaj in 1873 for asserting the worth of man irrespective of caste. He demanded representation of all classes of the Hindus in all the local bodies, in services and institutions and also established a primary school for the so-called untouchables in Poona.

Tracing the evolution of the NonBrahmin movement in Western India from 1873 to 1930 the Satya Sodhak Samaj has been described by Gail Omvedt as a cultural revolt in a colonial society. But there is a clear distinction between Satyasodhak movement, which was essentially a socio-religious movement, and the non-Brahmin movement, which was predominantly a political movement.

They also opposed the stranglehold of the bureaucracy dominated by the Brahmins in their times. Phule often complained that the Brahmin bureaucrats were responsible for misleading the white rulers and hence they should be replaced by non-Brahmins who would be better informed about and more sympathetic to the peasants in rural areas.

They totally rejected the Vedic tradition and the Aryan heritage. He regarded the Aryans as conquerors and destroyers of the indigenous non-Aryan culture. He launched a vigorous attack on the Vedas. He made fun of the puranas and ridiculed those who believed in the absurd stories narrated by their Brahmin authors.

The Satya Sodhak movement continued to emphasize the role of education in facilitating social change. Phule campaigned against the increasing habit of drinking liquor and urged the Poona Municipal Council not to permit the opening of liquor shops. He tried to persuade people to give up

drinking and spend their money on buying books. The Satya Shodhak movement in 19th century was essentially a socio-religious reform movement that was transformed by Shahu Chhatrapati into a powerful Non-Brahmin movement, which sought to bring a change into a power structure.

### **Ram Krishna Mission**

Shri Rama Krishna Paramahansa is a unique figure in the history of Hinduism. He advocated the entire orbit of Hinduism and not simply by a segment of it such as Theism or Vedism. He viewed God to be both personal and impersonal. He laid equal emphasis on both the householder's life of good works and the sanyasi's life of renunciation and yoga like a true Hindu, he gave free scope to the individual variations in the kingdom of spirit.

And again like a true Hindu he held that all religions were branches of the same tree. He demonstrated this truth in his own life by going through the sadhanas of Islam and Christianity as well as Hinduism. Without much education and scholarship, he understood and exposed the truths of Hindu scriptures. He traveled the entire region experience by his own tapas and confirmed by his own personal testimony the truths of Hindu scriptures. His practice of spiritual realizations of different creeds led him to discover certain basic truths.

### **Nativist Movement**

According to Katzenstein nativism is distinct from movements of ethnic, linguistic or regional sub nationalism and is specifically anti-migrant. Sub-national movements such as in India the Akali Dal or DMK may contain nativist elements similarly the mobilization of anti-migrant sentiment may rely on ethnic, linguistic or regional loyalties.

According to Myron Weiner nativism is one form of ethnic politics. Nativism is that form of ethnic identity that seeks to exclude those who are not members of the local or indigenous ethnic groups from residing and or working in a territory because they are not native to the country or region, nativism is anti migrant.

Nativist movements are not of recent origin, there were a few such movements before independence. For instance the movement against the non mulki developed in Hyderabad soon after World War I when the local educated population expressed its opposition to the government policy of recruiting Muslims from northern India into the state administrative services. Similarly the anti-Bengali movement in Assam protested against the domination of their educational and administrative services by Bengali Hindus.

In post independence India the widely known movements are the Telengana Nativist movement and the Assam movement. The Telengana movement started in 1969. Initially the agitation was aimed at the continuance of Telengana safeguards and mulki rules formulated at the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. At a later stage, it demanded separation of the region from the rest of Andhra Pradesh which is still continuing to this day.

The Assam movement began in 1978. Its main demands included the detection, deportation and deletion of foreigner's names from electoral rolls. The movement aimed at the ouster of the Bengali middle class which enjoyed a major share in government jobs. Similarly during the late 1960s the Kannada Chaluvalligar demanded restrictions against Tamil, Malayali and Telugu migrants to Bangalore and preference for the local Kannada speaking population.

The underlying reason for the issue of nativism is competition for government jobs between natives and migrants. The cities and regions where nativist movements took place have the following characteristics. The locale contains a substantial number of middle class migrants belonging to culturally distinguishable ethnic groups originating from another section of the country.

There is a native middle class expanding under the impetus of a growth in secondary and higher education. There is highly competitive labour market in which the native middle class seeks employment in private and public sector firms and in government, where middle class positions are already held by migrants or their descendents.

### **Indian environmental movement**

In analyzing the Indian environmental movement there is material, political and ideological expressions which are different from each other. The material context is provided by the wide-ranging struggles over natural resources. These conflicts have set in opposition on the one side, social groups who have gained from economic development while being insulated from ecological degradation and on the other poorer and relatively powerless groups such as small peasants, pastoral nomads, tribal and fishing communities whose livelihood have been seriously undermined through a combination of resource flows biased against them and a growing deterioration of the environment. According to Guha and Gadgil, the origins of these conflicts lie in the process of development itself. While forests, water and other natural resources are diverted to produce energy and commodities for the rich, the poor are made to bear the social and environmental costs of economic development whether in form of declining availability of natural resources a more polluted environment or increasingly physical displacement.

With these struggles as its backdrop the political expression of Indian environmentalism has been the organization by social action groups of the victims of environmental degradation. Action groups have embarked upon three distinct set of initiatives .First through a process of organization and struggle they have tried with varying degrees of success to prevent ecologically destructive economic practices. Second they have promoted the environmental message through the skillful use of the media and finally these groups have also taken up programmes of environmental rehabilitation like afforestation,soil conservation and so on, restoring degraded village ecosystems and thereby enhancing the quality of life of the inhabitants.

The party system in India have turned a blind eye to the continuing impoverishment of India's natural resource base and the threat this poses to the lives and livelihoods of vulnerable population. At the same time they have supported resource wasteful, ecologically destructive and centralizing technologies such as nuclear power plants and large dams .It has been left to the social groups called non party political formations by Political scientist Rajni Kothari to focus public attention on the linkages between ecological degradation and rural poverty.

Through the process of struggle, the spreading of consciousness and constructive work action groups has developed an incisive critique of the development process. Environmental activists have raised major questions about the orientation of economic planning in India, its in-built biases in favour of the commercial-industrial sector and its neglect of ecological considerations. Among the variety of protest forms used by groups resisting environmental degradation ,first comes the pradarshan a collective show of strength by communities at the receiving end of environmental degradation be

the peasants opposing commercial forestry or forcible acquisition of land or fisher folk protesting illegal trawling. This take the form of a procession culminating in a meeting near the locus of official power- a dam project site or office of DM in which a petition may be presented to the authorities. The pradarshan is intended to demonstrate popular disaffection and the strength of numbers. It moves to the more militant form of protest the dharna or sit down strike. The dharna aims specifically at stopping economic activities that threaten the survival options of resource dependent communities.

Examples include attempts to stop the work at a dam site or success in Chipko movement. A more sharply focused variant of the dharna is the gherao where the official or politician is surrounded by protestors and heckled till he accedes to their demands. More militant is rasta or rail roko which blocks the channels of communication that may not even be directly linked to the object of disaffection. For example the supporters of the Narmada Bachao Andolan sat for days on the National Highway between Delhi and Mumbai blocking passenger and commodity traffic. The Gandhian Nationalism or jail bhara andolan lets the protestors deliberately court arrest by violating a law used to prohibit large gatherings. The final technique is bhook hartal or hunger strike to compel the state to yield in fear.

Environmental action groups in India have thus resorted to these techniques of protest. They are overlapping and complementary. These have helped to focus public attention on specific natural resource conflicts. Leading environmental activists Sunderlal Bahuguna and Baba Amte wrote signed articles in newspapers, drawing attention to the struggle they were engaged in. There has been extensive coverage by print media in reporting, interpreting and publicizing nature-based conflicts in modern India. Less visible but equally significant are the programmes of ecological restoration that various social action groups have undertaken. Many voluntary organizations have taken it upon themselves to organize villagers in programmes of afforestation, soil and water conservation and adoption of environmentally sound technologies. Some groups have been influenced by the Gandhian tradition of constructive work others by religious reform movements and yet others by the example of international relief organizations.

The group that pioneered the Chipko Movement was Dashauli Gram Swarajya Mandal. The one wing of Chipko movement identified with Sunderlal Bahuguna preferred to connect Himalayan deforestation with national and global environmental concerns the DGSM under leadership of Chandi Prasad Bhatt has turned from struggle to reconstruction work at the grassroots, They have concentrated chiefly on afforestation work in the villages of the upper Alakananda valley. They have promoted energy saving devices such as fuel efficient cooking stoves and biogas plants. This example show that reconstruction work can proceed hand in hand with struggle. Reconstruction work constitutes a valuable front for the environmental movement complementing the activities of consciousness building and popular resistance to the state politics. Various attempts are also made to develop macro-level organization to coordinate different groups working at different levels and zones.

An influential line of thinking within the state and state agencies is scientific conservation. We can see the work done by B.B Vohra a senior bureaucrat who was the first to draw public attention to land and water degradation. He noted in his paper ( 1973) that no countrywide organization or policy to deal with these problems ,nor was there coordination between concerned government

departments. For him the solution lies in the creation of new ministries and departments to deal with problems of environmental degradation.

State is seen as the ultimate guarantor of environmental protection by many and the formation of Wildlife Protection Act of 1972, Forest Conservation Act of 1980 and Environment Protection Act of 1986 were seen in that direction.

## Tribal movements

Surajit Sinha has referred to five types of tribal movements:

- (1) **Ethnic rebellious movements** during the British rule in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, like Birsa movement among the Mundas, Kol rebellion in 1832, Santhal rebellion in 1857-58 and Naga rebellion in the 1880s.
- (2) **Reform movements**, emulating the pattern of the higher Hindu castes like the Bhagat movement among the Oraon, Vaishnavite movement among the Bhumi and Kehr movement among the Santhals.
- (3) **Political movements** for tribal states within the Indian Union in the post-Independence period like Jharkhand movement in Chotanagpur and Orissa, Hill states movement in Assam and Madhya Pradesh, etc.
- (4) **Secessionist movements** like the Naga and Mizo movements.
- (5) Movement relating to **agrarian unrest** like Naxalbari movement (1967) and Birsadal movement (1968-69)

Some of the most important tribal movements in India are as follows: 1. The Santhal Insurrection 2. The Munda Rebellion 3. The Bodo Movement 4. Jharkhand Movement.

### 1. The Santhal Insurrection:

- The Santhals are an agricultural tribal group who are mainly concentrated in Bihar. The first peasant insurrection took place in 1855-1856, which arose due to the establishment of the Permanent Land Settlement of 1793. Following this settlement the Britishers took away all the lands from the Santhals. The zamindars took these lands on auction from the Britishers and gave them to the peasants for cultivation.
- The zamindars, the moneylenders, and the government officers hiked the land tax and also oppressed and exploited the common peasants. Though the Santhals tolerated the injustices to some extent, later on they decided to raise in revolt against the zamindars, moneylenders, and traders.
- **The following were some of the main causes of the revolt:**
  - There was a combined action of extortions by the zamindars, the police, the revenue, and the court. The Santhals had no option but to pay all the taxes and levies. They were abused and dispossessed of their own property.
  - The Karendias who were the representatives of the Zamindars made several violent attacks on the Santhals.
  - The rich peasants confiscated all the property, lands, and cattle of the Santhals.



- The moneylenders charged exorbitant rates of interest. The Santhals called the moneylenders exploiters and were known as “dikus”.
- For the railroad construction, the Europeans employed the Santhals for which they paid nothing to them. The Europeans often abducted the Santhal women and even murdered them. There were also certain other unjust acts of oppression.
- The oppression by the moneylender, zamindars, and Europeans became unbearable by the Santhals. In such a situation, they did not have any other alternative indeed and they rose in rebellion. The leading Santhals began to rob the wealth of the moneylenders and the zamindars, which was ill-earned by exploiting the Santhals. Initially, the officials ignored the rebellion. Later on in early 1855, the Santhals started to build their own armies who were trained in guerilla fighting. This was totally a novel experience to the people of Bihar.
- The Santhals can be praised with great honor for building such an organized and disciplined army without any previous military training. The large army, which exceeded about 10,000 assembled and disassembled at a short notice. The postal and railway communications were completely broken down by the Santhal army.
- The government then realized that the activities of the Santhal army are defying the government. Though the Santhal insurrection was quite strong it couldn't succeed against the power of the government. Thus, the revolt was suppressed. Despite the suppression, the rebellion was a great success.
- This was because the Santhals gave a message to the whole country to resist the oppressive activities of the moneylenders and zamindars. Not only the Santhals but the other agricultural tribal groups also got united. It brought a realization among the diku population that the Santhals were an organized group of people and possessed much enthusiasm.
- The Britishers took appropriate measures after the Santhal insurrection. Earlier to the insurrection, the settlement areas of the Santhals were divided into several parts for administrative convenience. Due to the Santhal rebellion, the Santhal areas are considered as Santhal Paragana. Due to the insurrection, the Britishers recognized the tribal status of the Santhals and now they came under the uniform administration.

## 2. The Munda Rebellion:

- One of the prominent revolts of nineteenth century tribal rebellions in the Indian subcontinent was the Munda Rebellion. This rebellion was led by Birsa Munda in the south of Ranchi in the year 1899. The “Great Tumult” aimed to establish Munda raj and independence.
- Traditionally, the Mundas enjoyed a preferential rent rate known as the khuntkattidar, which meant the original clearer of the forest. However, in course of time, the Mundas realized that this system of khuntkattidar is being corroded by the jagirdars and thikadars who came as moneylenders and as traders.
- This kind of land alienation started before the advent of the Britishers. However, after the establishment of the British rule, the movement into the tribal regions by the non-tribals increased. This, in turn, led to increase in the practice of forced labor or beth began.
- The corrupt contractors have indeed turned the region into a recruiting ground for bonded labor. Another major change was that a number of Anglican, Lutheran and Catholic missions



established their stand during the British rule. The tribal people became more aware of their rights due to the spread of education, which was provided by the missionaries.

- The social cleavage between the Christian and non-Christian Mundas deepened due to which the solidarity of the tribals got diluted. Therefore, there were two reasons for the revitalization of the movement, one was agrarian discontent and the other was the advent of Christianity. The movement aimed to reconstruct the tribal society from disintegration, which was staring in its face due to the stress and strains of the colonial rule.
- Birsa Munda was born in 1874. He was the son of a sharecropper. He received some education from the missionaries. In the year 1893-1894, Birsa under the Vaishnava influence involved himself in a movement, which aimed to prevent the government from taking over the village wastelands.
- In the year 1895, Birsa claimed to possess miraculous healing powers and declared himself as the prophet. Many people came to hear the new words from Birsa. Birsa criticized the traditional tribal customs, beliefs, and practices.
- He encouraged the Mundas to fight against the superstitions, renounce animal sacrifices, stop taking the intoxicants, wear the sacred thread, and to continue the traditional tribal worship in the sacred grove. The Munda rebellion was essentially a revivalist movement that aimed to eliminate all the foreign elements from the Munda society in order to make it retain its original pure character.
- The political and agrarian elements were then induced into the religious movement. Since 1858, Christian tribal peasants began to lead an offensive against the alien landlords and the beth begari system through lawsuits. This movement was popularly known as Mulakai ladai or Sardari ladai.
- The total picture of the Birsa Munda's religious movement changed with the Sardari movement. Though, initially the Sardars were not interested in Birsa, they came to seek his help due to his popularity and for providing a stable base for their movement. Though, Birsa was influenced by the Sardars, he was not a puppet of the Sardars and despite a common background of the two movements, they differed in their nature.
- The Sardars wanted only the elimination of the intermediary interests whereas Birsa was aiming at attaining complete independence, both religious and political. The main objective of the movement was to claim the rights of the Mundas and make them the real proprietors of the land. According to Birsa, such an ideal agrarian system would be possible only if they are free from the European officials and missionaries, which later on can contribute to the establishment of the Munda Raj.
- Fearing a conspiracy, the Britishers arrested Birsa in 1895 and jailed him for two years. After returning from jail, Birsa became a more furious agitator. There were a series of night-time meetings, which were held in forest during 1898-1899 in which Birsa allegedly advocated the killing of thikadars, jagirdars, rajas, hakims, and Christians.
- The activists attacked the police stations, officials, churches, and missionaries. Though there was a sign of antagonistic attitude against the dikus, there were very few cases of attacks on them. In 1899, on Christmas eve, the Mundas attacked the churches, which covered an area of six police stations in the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi.
- In January 1900, rumors were spread that Birsa's followers were attacking Ranchi. However, on January 9th, the rebels were defeated. Around 350 Mundas were arrested and among

them three were hanged to death and 44 were transported for life. Birsa was also captured and he died in jail in 1900.

- Through the survey and settlement operations of 1902-1910, the government attempted to redress the grievances of the Mundas. With the passing of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, the Mundas were able to get rid of the beth begari system and attained some recognition to their khuntkatti rights. The tribals of Chotanagpur also got legal protection for their land rights.

### 3. The Bodo Movement:

- Bodoland is the name given by the Bodo nationalists in Assam, India, to represent their homeland. The Bodos exercise a complete control over the Bodoland. The major objective of the All Bodo Students Union and Bodo Liberation Tigers Force is to have a separate state of their own. The present demarcation of the Bodoland is the Bodoland Territorial Areas District (BTAD) which is administered by an autonomous body known as Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC).
- The official movement of the Bodos for an independent state of Bodoland started under the leadership of Upendranath Brahma of All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) on 2 March 1987. In fact, the call for the separate tribal homeland is not new in Assam. The Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) had raised their voice to have a separate homeland called "Udayachal".
- However, the movement was suppressed by the then government. In order to spearhead the movement, the ABSU created a political organization called the Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC). The movement of ABSU began with the slogan "Divide Assam Fifty-Fifty". This movement ended up with the creation of Bodo Accord in 1993. The accord soon collapsed and there was a split in ABSU and other political parties. This split caused violence in various Bodo areas and led to the displacement of about 70,000 people.
- After the Bodo Accord, the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) was constituted. Later on, the BAC was replaced by the BTQ which was established in accordance with the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) on 10 February 2003. It consisted of around 46 members of whom 40 were elected and the rest were nominated.
- The BTC consists of 12 executive members who are responsible for the administration of a specific area of control called somisthi. The areas which come under the jurisdiction of Bodo Territorial Council is known as Bodo Territorial Autonomous District (BTAD). The council has autonomy and control over the departments which are specified in the Memorandum of Understanding, however, it does not control the whole of district administration.
- Till now, the BTC seems to have mostly addressed the issues pertaining to Bodo self-determination. This was indeed the first time when guarantees to all the hill tribes under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India have been extended to the tribes of the plains. This, in fact, also has led to some fears that non-tribals in the Bodo Territorial Autonomous District area might create problems.

### 4. Jharkhand Movement:

- The term "Jharkhand" refers to a "forest region" and the term dates back to the sixteenth century. The forest region applies to the forested mountainous plateau region in eastern India, west of Ganges delta in Bangladesh, and south of Indo-Gangetic plain.

- The area of Jharkhand consists of seven districts in Bihar, three in West Bengal, four in Orissa, and two in Madhya Pradesh. Around 90 per cent of the tribals in Jharkhand region live in Bihar districts. The two groups of tribals who were the main agitators of the movement were the Chotanagpurs and the Santhals.
- The Jharkhand region is easy to defend, as it is a dense forest area. It was traditionally autonomous from the central government until the seventeenth century. The reason why the region became popular was due to its riches that attracted the Mughal rulers. Eventually, beginning with the Mughal administration there began more interference of outsiders and there was also a shift from traditional collective system of land ownership to one of private landholders.
- Such trends continued and were intensified under the British rule and later on resulted in the development of the system of “bonded labor”, which meant permanent and often hereditary debt slavery to the employer. In the late eighteenth century, the tribals resorted to rebellions. This made the government pass a number of laws in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to restrict alienation of the lands of the tribals and to safeguard the interests of the tribal peasants.
- There were major cultural changes in the year 1845 due to the advent of Christian missions, which had a major role to play in the Jharkhand movement. Many tribes were converted into Christianity, and many schools for both the sexes have been started and higher institutions were established which aimed to train the tribals as teachers.
- The tribals also had to face many problems due to the mineral wealth of Jharkhand. The region is a rich source of coal and iron. Apart from these, even bauxite, copper, asbestos, limestone, and graphite are also found. Coal mining in this region had started in the year 1856 itself. In the year 1907, the Tata Iron and Steel Factory was established in Jamshedpur.
- In the early part of the twentieth century, the modern Jharkhand movement was initiated by the Christian tribal students and later continued by the non-tribals and the non-Christians. Differences developed among the Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church.
- However, these were resolved with the uniting of the various groups in the electoral arena and to an extent achieved some success at the local level in the 1930s. During this period the movement concentrated more on the Indian dikus than on the Britishers. The Jharkhand spokesmen made many representations to the British commissions to grant a separate statehood and for the redressal of their grievances. However, all these were not much successful.
- In 1947, due to independence much emphasis was laid on planned industrialization concentrating on heavy industries especially on the expansion of mining. The Jharkhand region has much economic importance as it contributes to 75 per cent of the revenue of Bihar. The government began acquiring the lands of the tribals, which left the tribals with very less compensation.
- The government also felt that as the soils of the regions are poor, industrialization of such area would also help in providing employment for the local people. However, there was large influx of outsiders due to the industrial development and the local people began to feel inferior that they were not being employed in sufficient numbers. In 1971, the nationalization of mines resulted in violence, 50,000 miners of Jharkhand were fired and replaced by outsiders.

- The government acquired lands for building dams and reservoirs. According to some observers, very little of the water and electricity produced were supplied to the region. The forest department encouraged is replacing the species of trees, which had multiple uses with others that had only commercial uses.
- Shifting cultivation and forest grazing were not allowed. The local people of the region felt that the price, which the government paid for their forest products, was less. In course of time, these problems continued and were intensified.
- In 1949, in the first general elections, the Jharkhand party under the leadership of Jaipal Singh secured majority of votes from the tribal districts. A memorandum was submitted to the Spates Reorganization Commission asking for the establishment of Jharkhand. However, the commission rejected this proposal of Jharkhand suite saying that it lacked a common language.
- The Jharkhand Party continued as the largest opposition party in the Bihar legislative assembly. However, later it declined gradually. The biggest blow to the Jharkhand Party was in 1963, when the party was merged into Congress by Jaipal Singh without even consulting the members of the party. As a result, the Jharkhand party got fragmented into several small parties mostly based on the tribal lines which, has not been seen earlier.
- Due to the differences in the level of education and economic development, there have been many disputes between the Christian tribals and non-Christian tribals. Separate organizations of the non-Christian tribals were formed in order to promote their interests. In 1968, a study team of the parliament visited Ranchi and investigated the removal of certain groups from the official list of scheduled tribes.
- Many petitions were submitted to the study team saying that the tribals who were converted into Christianity were no longer tribals, and that they were benefited by both missionary schooling and were also enjoying the government protection as scheduled tribes which is very unfair. There were also many allegations in the following years that the missionaries were foreign agitators.
- The Provisional Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council consisting of 180 members was established in August 1995. The council has around 162 elected members and 18 appointed members.
- Thus, these were some of the major tribal movements. We observe most of the tribal movements had agrarian, religious, political, and economic causes for their emergence. Finally, if tribal aspirations are continuously ignored, their movements are likely to reach enormous proportions, which later become difficult to manage.
- Most of the time these movements are banned by the government as they have the tendency to create law and order crisis rather than understanding the genuine political and democratic aspirations of the people. The solution is not suppression but to develop a holistic perspective of the real trouble and make efforts to integrate the tribes into the mainstream, assuring their identity

## 5. Chipko movement

- The **Chipko movement or Chipko Andolan** is a movement that practiced the Gandhian methods of satyagraha and non-violent resistance, through the act of hugging trees to protect them from being felled. This was first initiated by Amrita Devi while protesting against a King's men to cut the tree. The modern Chipko movement started in the

early 1970s in the Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand, then in Uttar Pradesh with growing awareness of rapid deforestation. The landmark event in this struggle took place on March 26, 1974, when a group of peasant women in Reni village, Hemwalghati, in Chamoli district, Uttarakhand, India, acted to prevent the cutting of trees and reclaim their traditional forest rights, which were threatened by the contractors assigned by the state Forest Department. Their actions inspired hundreds of such actions at the grassroots level throughout the region. By the 1980s the movement had spread throughout India and led to the formulation of people-sensitive forest policies, which put a stop to the open felling of trees in regions as far as the Vindhyas and the Western Ghats. Today, it is seen as an inspiration and a precursor for Chipko movement of Garhwal. Its leader was Sunderlal Bahuguna. In recent years, the movement not only inspired numerous people to work on practical programmes of water management, energy conservation, afforestation, and recycling, but also encouraged scholars to start studying issues of environmental degradation and methods of conservation in the Himalayas and throughout India.

#### 6. The Appiko Movement:

- The Chipko movement flew from Garhwal to various parts of the country in the hilly districts of Kumaon. In Karnataka, the Chipko movement is known as Appiko movement. It has three objectives: popularly known as ulisu (to conserve), belesu (to grow) and balasu (rational use).
- Historically, Appiko movement was not new to Karnataka, where local farmers even forced the British to allocate reserve forests for them in 1924. These were the areas where large scale forest-based industries came up after 1947, slowly replacing the forest by monoculture plantations of eucalyptus and teak.
- In northern Karnataka, the forest cover declined from 81 percent in 1952 to 20 per cent in 1992. The consequences have been erratic precipitation, drying up of water resources and major crop failures. The Appiko movement was thus ushered in, demanding a stop to commercial felling of trees. Though the demand has been conceded officially, the Central Government is yet to declare catchment areas as protected forests.

#### 7. Bhakti movement

- Hindu society was suffering from the burden of certain social and religious practices, which were incompatible with the doctrine of brotherhood of man. It was a caste-ridden society which encouraged segregation and untouchability and where idolatry or image worship and polytheism or worship of many gods were common practices.
- Because of this, Islam was able to win over thousands of followers from among the Hindus, especially those belonging to the lower castes. Thus, Hinduism was in a difficult situation, since, for the first time it faced a new challenge in the form of the rising wave of Islam.
- The Hindu reformers who preached the idea of Bhakti saved the situation by preaching a doctrine that aimed at removing most of the ills prevailing in Hindu society. At the same time they advised their followers to respect other religions and live in peace and harmony with the Muslims. Thus, the Bhakti movement served the Indian society in two ways—firstly,



it tried to bridge the gulf between Hinduism and Islam, and secondly, it also saved Hinduism from a real challenge.

### **Philosophy:**

- Right from the advent of Islam in India, Hinduism suffered from an inferiority complex. Islam looked superior as it emphasized one God, simplicity of worship, and universal brotherhood. Islam stands for transcendence wherein Allah is everything; whereas Hinduism stressed on formalities and thereby made itself inferior.
- Hence, Bhakti Movement was an attempt on the part of Hinduism to win the political and social battle that was lost in the tenth century. The Bhakti exponents realized the unity of God although different religions used different names such as Rama, Krishna, and Allah.
- Their view was that Bhakti or devotion to God was the only means of salvation. Bhakti implied single-minded, uninterrupted devotion to God without any ulterior motive. God was the source of all joys or eternal bliss.
- Approach to God through personal love and devotion was the foundation of religious life. This required the purification of body and mind from all sins, which could not be done without the help of a Guru or a religious preceptor. It was necessary that the devotee must completely surrender before God.

### **Bhakti Cult:**

- All the schools of thought of the Bhakti cult believed in the existence of a God supernaturally revealed to man. Bhakti cult did not deny the existence of competing deities but explained or accepted the competitors as mere manifestations of its own omnipotent deity. The principal Bhakti cults are those of Shiva, Vishnu, and Shakti.
- The chief mark of this movement is the attitude of the soul with regard to the Supreme Being. The Bhakti cult cut across distinctions of high and low birth, the learned and the unlettered, and opened the gateway of spiritual realization to one and all. The mystics and saints of the age, both in the North and the South, were unconventional and anti-ritualistic and either ignored the age-old restrictions of caste and creed, or attached little importance to them.

### **Saguna and Nirguna Schools:**

- A large number of mystics belonged to the traditional Saguna school which believed that God has many forms and attributes and that he manifests himself in incarnations such as Rama and Krishna, and that his spirit is to be found in the idols and images worshipped at home and in temples. But the others followed a new path and formed the Nirguna school, which believed in a God without forms or attributes, but nevertheless merciful and responsive to human prayers.
- The movement of Bhakti may be divided into two distinct periods. The first was from the time of the Bhagvad Gita to the thirteenth century. The second period extends from the thirteenth to sixteenth century, an epoch of profound intellectual fermentation, the natural result of the contact between Islam and Hinduism.



- In its first phase of development, Bhakti was only an individual sentiment. The religion of Vasudeva was the natural expression of those who did not find spiritual and moral satisfaction in the intellectual and speculative system of Upanishads and whose souls were yearning for a personal God.

### Impact of Reform:

- The missionary activities of the saints introduced important changes in social and religious outlook of people. Their undivided and all absorbing devotion to a personal. God whether worshipped as Rama or Krishna or Shiva emphasized the fact that all these representations of gods were only symbols of the one eternal Supreme Being and thus helped the revival of monotheistic ideas. They purified and ennobled religion by purging it of formal rituals and ceremonies and emphasizing sanity of thought, purity of life, selfless sacrifice, and single-minded devotion.
- Thus the missionary activities of this brilliant succession of saints tempered the rigidity in caste system, freed the masses from the tyranny of priests, checked the excesses of polytheism, encouraged the spirit of tolerance, emphasized the value of pure life of charity and devotion and improved, in general, the moral and spiritual tone of society.
- The various kinds of Bhakti cults developed by eminent thinkers and spiritual personalities produced far-reaching results as these brought about reforms in Hindu religion. Besides, the reformers preached in their vernaculars. Ramananda and Kabir preached in Hindi. Their verses are brilliant specimens of Hindi literature.
- Namdeo gave an impetus to the development of Marathi literature. Mira Bai spoke in the people's language. Nanak and his followers encouraged Punjabi. In Bengali, the famous poet was Chandi Das. In addition to the development of vernaculars great encouragement was given to translations.
- Muslim rulers of Bengal encouraged scholars to translate the Ramayana and the Mahabharata into Bengali. The entire movement influenced the mindset of Akbar and Shivaji. It promoted some understanding between Hindus and Muslims, stimulated Hinduism into a kind of introspective examination by preparing the ground for cultural synthesis in the Mughal period. By and large, it influenced the social thought of Hindus and Muslims.

### Bhakti Saints

#### Kabir (1425-1518 AD):

- Kabir made the most earnest efforts to create a spirit of harmony between Hindus and Muslims. Unfortunately, nothing definite is known about his early life. He lived either towards the close of the fourteenth century or at the beginning of the fifteenth century.
- It is said that he was born of a Hindu widow who left him on the side of a tank in Banaras and was then found and brought up by Niru, a Muslim weaver. When he grew up, he became a disciple of Ramananda, the famous saint of Banaras. Kabir's teachings are contained in his Dohas or couplets which are sung with devotion throughout India up to this day. He did not believe in caste distinctions, supremacy of the Brahmans, and idol worship.
- He did not attach any importance to the performance of rituals and ceremonies or to pilgrimages to holy places. Temples and other places of worship were not considered important. Above all, he denounced insincerity and hypocrisy.

- To him, Hindus and Muslims were pots of the same clay. Allah and Rama were different names of the same Supreme Being. According to Kabir, salvation could be attained by doing good deeds and by means of Bhakti or sincere devotion to God.

#### **Sant Namdeo:**

- Sant Namdeo was a follower of Sant Dnyaneshwar. He was a tailor by caste and was five years older than his guru. He travelled all over Maharashtra with Sant Dnyaneshwar. Following the teachings of his celebrated master, he believed in the equality of all men. He advised people to follow the Bhakti Marga or the path of deep devotion to God.
- He created in them a strong desire to protect their religion and have a deep love for their motherland! Like Kabir, he condemned idol worship. He carried on the work of Sant Dnyaneshwar after the latter's death in 1296 AD.
- He composed songs not only in Marathi but also in Hindi and spread the message of equality within and outside Maharashtra. He travelled all over India and also went to Punjab. Some of his devotional songs are found in the Granth Sahib and other religious books of the Sikhs. His songs are sung with great love and devotion not only in Maharashtra but also in other parts of the world.

#### **Sant Eknath:**

- He lived in the sixteenth century. Sant Eknath's beliefs and teachings were similar to those of the great Maratha saints, Sant Dnyaneshwar and Namdeo. He advocated social equality and preached the abolition of distinctions based on class, caste, and creed. Thus, he carried on the work started by Dnyaneshwar and Namdeo. He preached that one could devote oneself to God by leading a normal family life and discharging all functions of a householder.
- He did not believe in rituals, ceremonies, and other orthodox ways of worship. He preferred to use Marathi in his religious discourses and composed songs in the language of the common people. He wrote numerous religious songs called Abhangas, Owees, and Bharuds. These songs are still very popular in Maharashtra.

#### **Sant Tukaram (1608-1651 AD):**

- Sant Tukaram was a contemporary of Chatrapati Shivaji, and though he never met the Maratha ruler, Shivaji was greatly influenced by his ideas. Sant Tukaram was born in a Vaishya family in 1608 AD in a village near Poona.
- He was deeply religious even in his childhood and spent his time singing devotional songs in praise of his favorite deity, Lord Vithoba of Pandharpur. Like Dnyaneshwar, Namdeo, Eknath, and other Maratha saints, he believed in the Bhakti Marga or path of devotion to God. He often sang songs in praise of Lord Vithoba.
- He visited the temple of Lord Vithoba at Pandharpur twice a year in the months of Ashad (June-July) and Kartik (October-November). Sant Tukaram sang devotional songs which he himself composed.
- He performed keertans at devotional gatherings and sang his own devotional songs called Abhangas. Thousands of people flocked to listen to him. He preached them the virtues of piety, forgiveness and peace of mind. He also gave them the message of equality and brotherhood.

### Mira Bai (1500-1550 AD):

- Mira Bai was a queen in Rajasthan who is known more for her devotion than her political position. There are many stories about her life that make it difficult to separate facts of her life from legend. She was born about 1500 AD and was married at the age of 13.
- From an early age she showed more interest in religious devotions than towards her worldly responsibilities. It is said that she neglected her marital responsibilities. When queried about it, she said that it was impossible for her to be married to a king when she was already married to Lord Krishna.
- A major change in her life occurred at the time of the death of her husband. It was customary in those days for a wife to commit sati (burning oneself on the funeral pyre of her husband). She refused to comply, whereupon her in-laws began harassing her. She then left the palace and began wandering throughout Rajasthan, preaching and gaining followers.

### FEMINISM IN INDIA

Write exact keywords in wiki- entire thing is more than enough to answer

- **Feminism in India** is a set of movements aimed at defining, establishing, and defending equal political, economic, and social rights and equal opportunities for Indian women. It is the pursuit of women's rights within the society of India. Like their feminist counterparts all over the world, feminists in India seek gender equality: the right to work for equal wages, the right to equal access to health and education, and equal political rights. Indian feminists also have fought against culture-specific issues within India's patriarchal society, such as inheritance laws and the practice of widow immolation known as Sati.
- The history of feminism in India can be divided into three phases: the first phase, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, initiated when male European colonists began to speak out against the social evils of Sati; the second phase, from 1915 to Indian independence, when Gandhi incorporated women's movements into the Quit India movement and independent women's organisations began to emerge;<sup>1</sup> and finally, the third phase, post-independence, which has focused on fair treatment of women at home after marriage, in the work force and right to political parity.
- Despite the progress made by Indian feminist movements, women living in modern India still face many issues of discrimination. India's patriarchal culture has made the process of gaining land-ownership rights and access to education challenging. In the past two decades, there has also emerged a disturbing trend of sex-selective abortion. To Indian feminists, these are seen as injustices worth struggling against.
- As in the West, there has been some criticism of feminist movements in India. They have especially been criticised for focusing too much on women already privileged, and neglecting the needs and representation of poorer or lower caste women. This has led to the creation of caste-specific feminist organisations and movements.

### Anti corruption movement:

Asked previously. Wiki exact words- contemporize

## TOPIC-14: Population Dynamics:

- Population size, growth, composition and distribution.
- Components of population growth: birth, death, migration.
- Population policy and family planning.
- Emerging issues: ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health

### Previous years' questions

- Write short note on increasing economic disparities b/w rural and urban populations.
- socio-economic consequences of the changing age-structure of India's population
- short note on Socio-cultural factors related to declining proportion of females in sex ratio.
- Write short note on Socio-cultural factors influencing infant mortality rates.
- Discuss the salient features of the population policy of Government of India. What modifications would you suggest to make it more effective
- Write short note on Social factors related to declining sex-ratio.
- Write short note on Reproductive Health.
- Write short note on Fertility and population growth
- Comment on the influence of social and cultural factors on family planning in India.
- Discuss the socio-cultural factors for the declining sex-ratio in some states of India.
- Social security measures for the elderly. (10/20)
- Bring out relationship b/w fertility and social structure as viewed by Davis and Blake.
- Infant Mortality Rate is the most sensitive index for measuring development. Comment
- Explain interface between population, ecology and environment in the context of India.

### Summary

#### Population Dynamics

- Population explosion= rapid population growth. Not always bad. When economy is not capable of maintaining the population, then its a problem. For India and China it might be problem, where as for Israel, Russia and Japan, their governments promote population growth.
- Pre-industrial phase=high BR and and DR=agararian economy=low technology=infant mortality rate high=so insecurity regarding survival of new borns=motivation for frequent child births=high fertility.
- Early industrialisation phase= knowledge about hygiene=sanitation=health=development of science and technology= vaccinations for epidemics and endemic diseases=low infant mortality rate=low mortality rate. High BR due to low status of women=religion glorifying child birth= demand unskilled large manpower= traditional outlook, not open to adopt family planning techniques etc= high BR=population explosion.
- Advanced industrial society= low BR and low DR= improved medicines and other social and natural environments=participation in the economy requires highly specialised skills=so prolonged training and education is needed=so proper upbringing of children become important with in limited resources=child birth controlled= people became rational and not so much religion and myth driven.Improved status of women=working women=concerned

about health of mothers=easy availability of birth control measures due to innovation in the birth control technology=child birth stabilised=stable population size.

- India is in pre-industrial phase=as in last 30 years population has doubled=as per 2011 census provisional data=1.21 billion= a matter of concern for all of us.

### Death and Mortality

- Women died in the time child birth, no proper diagnosis of diseases. Other factors- western medicines were inadequate for urban areas,not reaching rural areas-poverty no adequate food-prone for diseases-not health conscious-were not informed about healthy practices-married couple were not aware that health deteriorates after each child birth-child and infant death were high- medical facility was costly not affordable by all.

### Size and Growth of population of India

- 2011=2.1 billion, 18 crore added after 2001. 1951 census 360 million. Change in size of population means= added by birth, subtracted by death, net number by immigration or emigration. Per capita production of food grain has increased but only marginally, because of high population growth. Housing shortage. Health and Medical services have not been met yet. The situation related to unemployment and underemployment reflects the inability of the employment market to absorb the pressure of increasingly large labour force.

### Fertility

- Reproductive performance of individual or group= in the crude birth rate considering the children born alive is an important measurement of fertility.
- Religion and Social institutions supporting high fertility.
- Marriage is sacrament in Hindu religion.
- Custom in India, girl child to be married before she attains puberty. Even today despite legislation of age bar at 18. Traditionally, they start childbearing at an early age, continue to do so till she reaches the age at which they are no longer biologically capable of bearing children.
- Women who do not bear child looked down upon by society. The new daughter-in-law attains a rightful status in the family only after she produces a child,preferably a son.
- Why son is important historically-lighting the funeral pyre of father effecting the salvation of his fathers soul- extending family line-taking care of parents at their old age-it is so important that child bearing goes on in the hope of having atleast one son.
- Children are considered to be gifts of god. No control of child bearing.
- High IMR and child mortality rate- in the hope of some children will reach their childhood- they may have more children .
- Low status of women-unquestionably accept excessive child bearing-without any alternative avenues of child bearing.
- Poor families consider them as source of income.

### Implications of high fertility rate-

1. Women are tied down to childbearing and childrearing for the best years of their productive lives- denied the opportunity to explore other avenues for self-expression and self-development.
2. Excessive childbearing affects their own health and that of their children. Looking after a large number of children puts further strain on the physical and emotional resources of such women.
3. Burden on the bread winner of the family. To escape from the problems of everyday life. He takes up to drinking- further deterioration of the economic and emotional well being of the family.
4. The children are sometimes unwanted, unloved and neglected. Childlabour at an early age. No education, whole life spoiled. Girls case more worse. Help her mother at an early age. Domestic chores. And looking after siblings, when mother is at work.

### Mortality

- In IMR, girls mortality is more than boys. Biologically the chances survival of the girl child is more than the boy , in reality the opposite happens. mortality rate among Girl children is more compared to Boys.
- **Crude Death Rate** : It is the ratio of total registered deaths occurring in a specified calendar year to the total midyear population multiplied by 1000.
- **Expectation of life at birth**: The average expectation of life at birth.
- **Infant mortality** rate : Infants are defined as those children who are in the first year of their life. As an indicator for determining the social economic status of the country and the quality of life in it.
- Decline in mortality rate in India due to public health and disease control measures. These include vaccines against many communicable diseases, eradication of killer diseases like plague and smallpox and extension of health and medical services. The effect of severe famines have also been considerably reduced by preventive and relief measures.
- When strong supports are not provided by the joint family, the burden falls on society. Old-age homes or foster care homes for the aged have to be provided from the state funds. Various schemes to provide pension to old.
- The high levels of infant and child mortality, a couple may go in for a large number of children in the hope that at least a few would survive to reach adulthood. Thus, apart from emotional trauma caused to parents, high infant and child mortality rates result in high fertility rates leading to inflation and population.
- While in traditional societies, age demands respect, modern societies may be more youth oriented.

### Age structure of India

- More infants and children survive leading to an increase in the proportion of the young persons in the population as in the case of India. Ageing of the population. Such a situation prevails in developed countries like Sweden, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, France and Australia.



- The data shows that India's working age population (15-64 years) is now 63.4% of the total, as against just short of 60% in 2001. The numbers also show that the dependency ratio the ratio of children (0-14) and the elderly (65-100) to those in the working age has shrunk further to 0.55. Even as the western world is ageing, these new numbers show that India's population is still very young,
- As fertility falls faster in urban areas, rural India is younger than urban India.
- India, as expected, is not getting any younger. India's median age has risen from around 22 years in 2001 to over 24 years in 2011.
- The proportion of the population under the age of 24 has dropped by four percentage points, but demographers caution that this should not be interpreted as a sign that the youth bulge is shrinking. With falling fertility, the number of infants and children is what reduces first and this is what we are seeing with the number of under-25s falling, Faujdar Ram, director of the Mumbai-based International Institute for Population Sciences said.
- The key issue in terms of a demographic dividend is whether this growing youth bulge has the right skills for the workforce.

### Sex Ratio

- Number of females per 1000 males. 2011 census=940 Though biologically stronger than male, the female in India is in a socially and culturally disadvantaged position and has been accorded an inferior status since centuries. The death rates for the females in most age groups are higher than those for the males. A sex ratio that is adverse to the females is a peculiarity of the Indian demographic picture not seen anywhere else.

### Family Planning and Welfare

- The limited success in adoption of family planning in India can be explained in terms of various socio-cultural and economic factors. Urban population is more responsive to family planning measures than rural population. Further, educated groups accept birth control practices much more easily.
- **Age of marriage**- The traditional practices of early marriage in rural India and among the poorer sections of urban population contributes to high fertility.

### Low status of women:

The low status of women, lack of awareness regarding the consequences of mother's health due to frequent pregnancy and the value system in India according to which respect is accorded to women on the basis of number of children, especially sons they have given birth to, are responsible for high birth rate. Even the joint family system in which women as wife is accorded a low status is responsible for high birth rate. Women themselves decide to give birth to a number of sons and seek emotional security in their relationship with the sons. This is mainly due to the fact that in a patrilineal joint family husband-wife relations are not characterised by high emotional intimacy.

### Religious Beliefs:

Indian society continues to be predominantly rural and even in urban areas diffusion of secular scientific education is confined only to the upper and middle classes. All religions extol childbirth and are against any intervention in the process of reproduction.

- The preoccupation with the birth of a son is to be found even among educated people in the urban areas and thus the religious belief discourages them to adopt family planning programmes. Even a Islam discourages its believers from adopting birth control measures. The minority consciousness among the Muslims is another factor which motivates them in giving birth to many children.
- High infant mortality and lack of provisions for old age Security: High infant mortality and the inability of the state to provide any provision for the old-age creates a sense of insecurity and makes the rural people rely on their male children, to provide support in the old age And hence birth of many children is considered desirable.
- **Economic reasons:** Another most important factor which creates a preference for a larger family is the high incidence of poverty in both rural and urban areas. Among the poor sections of the population , children are viewed as an asset. The upbringing of the children does not require any extra effort, neither do they provide for the education of the children. At a very early age both boys and girls in the poorer families start working and begin contributing to the family income. Similarly, in the farming sector among the middle and small farmers, the agricultural practices are based on labour-intensive technology. Thus large sized families are considered desirable because they supply the manpower needed for agricultural activities. Thus poverty and backwardness and lack of modern scientific education are also responsible to a great extent in discouraging people from the adoption of family planning measures.
- Another factor which has contributed to the poor performance of family planning programs is that- the focus has been primarily on birth control , rather than making a multipronged attack on various aspects which are responsible for high birth rate. Only in the sixth and seventh five year plans, a broader perspective was adopted in the form of family welfare programme.

### Population Dynamics in India and Implications for Economic Growth

Demographic change in India is opening up new economic opportunities. As in many countries, declining infant and child mortality helped to spark lower fertility, effectively resulting in a temporary baby boom. As this cohort moves into working ages, India finds itself with a potentially higher share of workers as compared with dependents. If working-age people can be productively employed, India's economic growth stands to accelerate. Theoretical and empirical literature on the effect of demographics on labor supply, savings, and economic growth underpins this effort to understand and forecast economic growth in India. Policy choices can potentiate India's realization of economic benefits stemming from demographic change. Failure to take advantage of the opportunities inherent in demographic change can lead to economic stagnation.

Global population grew at roughly 2% per annum from 1960-2000, a level that is unsustainable in the long term, as it translates into population doubling every 35 years. India's population is currently growing at a rate of 1.4% per year, far surpassing China's rate of 0.7%. The differential between India and China will result in India surpassing China with respect to population size in less than 20 years.

While a cause for concern, global population growth has not met Malthus' pessimistic predictions of human misery and mass mortality. During the past few decades, rapid population growth has been accompanied by an unparalleled decline in mortality rates and by an increase in income per capita, both globally and in India

### Key facts about India's population

- In the past, India's population has grown very rapidly and has imposed a substantial burden of youth dependency on the Indian economy. But in recent years, India's demographic profile has begun to evolve in a way that is potentially more favorable to economic growth.
- The interplay of these mortality and fertility changes implies sizable changes in the age structure of India's population. Since 1950, India has experienced a 70% decline in the infant mortality rate, from over 165 deaths per thousand live births in the 1950s to around 50 today. India's child (i.e., under age 5) mortality rate has fallen from 138 deaths per thousand in the early 1980s to 75 today. Life expectancy has increased at an average pace of 4.5 years per decade since 1950. The fertility rate has declined sharply from approximately 6 children per woman in the 1950s to 2.7 children per woman today.
- The population growth rate, after peaking in the late 1970s at about 2.3% per year, has fallen to 1.4% in 2010. In spite of the decline in fertility and the population growth rate, India's population is still projected to increase (based on the UN's medium-fertility scenario) from about 1.2 billion today to an estimated 1.6 billion by 2050 due to population momentum (i.e., the large cohort of women of reproductive age will fuel population growth over the next generation, even if each woman has fewer children than previous generations did). Finally, the decline of crude birth and death rates shows that India is well along in its demographic transition.
- The sex ratio at birth in India is 1.12 males for each female – one of the highest ratios in the world. The corresponding figure for 2003 was 1.05 (United States Central Intelligence Agency, 2010). Sex-selective abortions, although illegal, are thought to be a prime reason for this high ratio. Indian families have long shown favoritism toward boys, and new technologies are allowing that preference to be expressed in differential birth rates.
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- India had 66% higher income per capita than China in 1980, but by the early 1990s China overtook India. In 2008, the situation was decisively reversed, with income per capita in China double that of India.

Policymakers may also consider three demographic- and health-related potential threats to India's future prosperity: population aging, population heterogeneity, and the effects of urbanization on health.

**1. Population aging**

By 2050, over 33%, or roughly 536 million people, will be aged 50 or over; the share of those aged 65 and over will increase from 5% to 14%; and the share of those aged 80 and over will rise from 1% to 3%. The main force driving India's changing age structure are the maturing of past birth cohorts, upward trends in life expectancy due to increasing survival rates at older ages, and falling fertility

**2. Population heterogeneity**

For example, the total fertility rate (TFR) varied across the states of India by a factor of more than 3 in 2001. Fertility in Kerala was well below the long-run replacement level of 2.1 children per woman, whereas it was more than twice the replacement level in Uttar Pradesh; this disparity corresponds roughly to the current difference in fertility between Japan and Kenya. India's states also exhibit a large variation in life expectancy, with a range from 73 years in Kerala to 59 years in Madhya Pradesh. While heterogeneity can be a source of constructive synergy, it can also cause or contribute to social and political unrest and instability, particularly when it is accompanied by economic inequality.

**3. Urbanization and health**

During this period, it has been confronting a surge in chronic diseases – accounting for 53% of all deaths in India in 2005 (Reddy et al 2005) – that are related to a decline of infectious disease mortality, tobacco consumption, patterns of nutrition, and urban living and a more sedentary lifestyle.

India is poised to reap economic benefits from the favorable demographics discussed earlier, but this windfall is not guaranteed. India has several opportunities to increase its chances of success, the first being to make wider and deeper investments in health.

## Theoretical Formulations about Population

Population problems have been an eternal concern of man. A modern theory of population was proposed by Malthus in the late eighteenth century. His writings generated interests in population and related economic and social issues for the first time.

Earlier to the Malthusian view, views about population were more in the nature of conjectures. In the Roman Empire, population was considered a source of power. The economic and political advantages of a large population were emphasised in the context of nation-states and mercantile interests. Malthus' theory had its roots in political, economic and social issues which existed during his time.

The same can be said of Marxist views on population. The other approaches to population, namely, mathematical, biological, and sociological were formulated in terms of some contemporary interests. The interest in population theories has aroused due to (1) the upsurge of population growth, particularly in the developing countries, and (2) the preoccupation with the problems of development.

### 1. Ancient Writings:

The ancient Chinese writers observed that mortality increases when food supply is insufficient, that premature marriage makes for high infant mortality rates, that war checks population growth and that costly marriage ceremonies reduce the marriage rate. In China, the doctrines of Confucius regarding family, marriage and procreation were favourable for population increase.

The writers of early Greece, especially Plato and Aristotle, referred to the 'optimum' population for city-states. They looked at population mainly in terms of defence, security and government. Plato suggested a population of 5,000 citizens for a city-state as the ideal number. He suggested remedial measures for both under-population and overpopulation. The Romans thought of population in terms of the expansion of their empire. They thought of several devices to promote increase in population.

Kautilya, the author of Arthashastra, a classic of economics, thought of a large population as a source of political, economic and military power. He thought of a population of 100 to 500 for a village. Traditional Hindu philosophy considered marriage a sacrament.

A girl was given in marriage in the form of kanyadan. Procreation was considered a duty, and the birth of a son was considered a necessity for giving pitradan to the dead souls. A girl was denied the right of giving pitradan, hence, a male child was considered a necessity. Large families were considered an asset for economic pursuits. Later on, joint families were immensely valued in Hindu society.

### 2. The Pre-Malthusian Views:

Islam inadvertently encouraged population increase by allowing four wives. Child marriage became a part of the Islamic ethos. Even today, Islam does not openly promote measures to check population increase. Only Christianity emphasised celibacy and thought of marriage and reproduction as evils. However, later on, Christianity considered marriage necessary for procreation. Thus, these views were more philosophical, moral and religious rather than the theories of population.

The period of the Renaissance witnessed the emergence of the nation-state, new scientific discoveries, exploration of new territories, rapid growth of trade, dissolution of medieval feudalism, a development of early capitalism, which later on paved a way for Industrial Revolution. The Renaissance contributed to the evolution of economic ideas and thinking on population. These developments took place between the late fifteenth and the late eighteenth centuries.

Mercantilism was the dominant school of this period. Population increase was encouraged through large families, early marriage and immigration. It was not a scientific theory of population. This school had two tenets: (1) increase in national wealth by production and export of goods, and (2) rivalry among nations. A sizeable population was required for warfare. Inflation and human exploitation were its two natural consequences. Thus, mercantilism was a policy for obtaining economic and political gains. Because of the overemphasis on population increase, some people foresaw a scarcity of the means of subsistence, and therefore, suggested some checks on population growth.

### 3. The Malthusian Theory:

Thomas Robert Malthus was first to develop a consistent and comprehensive theory of population in relation to economic conditions. His first essay on population: "An Essay on the Principle of Population", 1799



Malthus regarded the social institutions of his times as natural and inevitable. He asserted that the pressure of want, the cause of poverty, and the unequal distribution of property were not related to forms of government.

He formulated the principle that man could increase his subsistence only in arithmetical progression whereas his numbers tended to increase in geometrical progression. "Population always tended towards the limits set by subsistence, and was contained within those limits by the operation of positive and preventive checks." In the revised version of this essay,

**Malthus made the following propositions:**

1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.
2. Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.
3. These and other checks are all resolvable into moral restraint 'vice', and 'misery'.

**Malthus drew two conclusions:**

- (1) With natural increase, population tends to double itself every 25 years, thus increasing in a geometrical progression; and
- (2) Under the most favourable conditions, agricultural production increases each 25 years by an equal quantity, in an arithmetical progression.

In general, Malthus assumes **diminishing returns from land**. There are other checks, which keep population down to the level of subsistence. These checks are the preventive and the positive checks. The preventive checks are voluntary in nature, and include moral restraint, implying deferring of marriage, and 'vice'. The positive checks include epidemics, wars, plague and famine, all manifestations of 'misery'. These checks have operated in all countries with some variations. Only in a few cases population has increased beyond the means of subsistence.

#### 4. Neo-classical Theories:

**In the neo-classical period two schools of thought dominated:**

- (1) The classical school of political economy, and
- (2) The socialists and the Marxists.

Both the schools were concerned with the causes and consequences of population changes, particularly with a view to discover the laws related to production, wages, interest, rents and profits. The scholars of this period argued that population growth tended to depress wages and create poverty. J.S. Mill (1830) thought that population control, through flow of goods and services in a given country, would bring down the population pressure. Circumstances checked the growth of population. Technological progress also brought down the population pressure.

The natural or biological theory is that fertility decreases with the increase in density of population. This is known as the theory of optimum population. M.T. Sadler (1830) argued: "The fecundity of human beings under similar circumstances varied inversely as their numbers increase on a given space." By fecundity he meant the physiological capacity to conceive and bear living children "A population cannot have high fertility without being highly fecund, but it can be highly fecund without having either a high fertility or a high rate of increase.

Thomas Doubleday (1830) observed that "man's increase in numbers was inversely related to his food supply. The better the food supply, the slower the increase in his numbers". Herbert Spencer (1961) thought that with increase in scientific and economic development interest in reproduction tended to decrease.



Karl Marx (1973) observed that when the capitalistic mode of production was replaced by a socialistic mode of production, the population pressure would decrease. The rise in the standard of living would bring down inequalities and result in a decline in both birth and death rates. Moral restraint would also be strong under the new conditions. Marx's view is just opposite to that of Malthus. Marx traces the genesis of the problem of overpopulation to that of the capitalist society. Alexander Morris Carr-Saunders (1922) felt that man always strived to arrive at an optimum population. He took all the factors including environment, skill and customs into account to attain this number. The optimum number is not fixed for all times. It depends upon the changes that occur in a given country or context. All the methods of putting a check on overpopulation strive at an optimum number that a country can afford.

### 5. Theory of Demographic Transition:

The theory of demographic transition is based on the historical experience of different societies such as the primitive, the intermediate and the modern. Similar to historical evolution, stages of demographic evolution have also been found. These stages have been ascertained on the basis of different permutations and combinations of birth and death rates.

**There are, for example:**

- (1) The high stationary stage;
- (2) The early expanding stage;
- (3) The late expanding stage;
- (4) The low stationary stage; and
- (5) The declining stage.

Certain modern forces of development and change are taken into account in understanding of these stages in different countries.

### Measures Adopted for Reducing Population in India

- India was the first country to evolve a government-backed family planning programme in the 1950s when the rest of the world was not aware of the problem. Today, after 49 years, India is trailing behind in population control. During the notorious Emergency regime between 1975 and 1977, the political leaders, the government officials and policemen shouted themselves hoarse advocating sterilizations.
- They devised ambitious programmes and carried them out against popular wishes, and even used such harsh and coercive methods for sterilization that today one is reluctant to talk of family planning to the populace. The concerned officials in family welfare/planning departments have been scared away from it.
- The experts have jettisoned hopes of reaching targets. In fact, for all practical purposes, the country is without an effective programme or an effective target. Political parties studiously skirt the subject, and election campaigns are conducted without a word about it. What was once a highly dramatic political issue has suddenly become taboo?
- In 1977, 'family planning' was rechristened 'family welfare', and tasks beyond its competence embracing all aspects of family welfare, including improvement of women's educational level, were included in it. In its family planning awareness drive, the Government of India adopted the UNEP guideline of delaying the first child and spacing the subsequent birth(s).

**The methods in family planning are:**

- sterilization, loop, pill, withdrawal, rhythm, sheath, and diaphragm.
- The rubber and the pill seems most popular among the high socio-economic groups; so are the withdrawal method among the middle socio-economic groups and sterilization are preferred by people belonging to the low social strata.
- Operations for family planning are not very popular among the socially well-placed, as this group is exposed to other methods of birth control. A good number of women use more than one method, depending on circumstances, availability and mood of the moment.

**Measures Adopted:**

- Officially mobilised in 1951, about 150 family planning clinics were established during the First Five Year Plan period (1951-56). Since then, a network of Community Health Centres (CHCs), Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and Sub-Centres (SCs) have been created for implementing family planning programme through state governments with a hundred per cent assistance. A large number of centres and sub-centres are created in rural areas in each Five Year Plan. In 1998 there were about 1.5 lakh SCs, 25,000 PHCs and 2500 CHCs in the country.
- Of the various methods of family planning, the government till recently depended more on the 'camp approach' which relied implicitly on the district authorities applying pressure on their officials to intensify the sterilization campaign (mostly male sterilization).
- The government set targets for different states and districts and adopted persuasive, monetary, as well as coercive measures to achieve targets. The highest rate of target achievement (200%) was in 1976-77, while the achievement rate of sterilization targets in different years has normally varied between 40 per cent and 65 per cent.
- The highest rate of achievement in 1976-77 has been described as 'Sanjay effect' which was the result of coercion, cruelty, corruption, and inflated achievement figures. The worst victims of cruelty and brutality were the Harijans, peons, clerical staff, school teachers, innocent rural people, hospital patients, jail inmates and pavement-dwellers. This brutality through family planning (sterilization) method ultimately led to the fall of the government in 1977.
- The Primary Health Centres in villages, engaged in family planning programmes, perform two specific functions: providing services to people and disseminating information about these services in an effective manner in order to motivate people to accept family planning. Nearly half a million medical and paramedical persons are engaged in the programme, besides half a million part-time village health guides.

**The available facts pertaining to reproductive health in India point out that:**

- Of the total conceptions that take place annually, about 78 per cent are unplanned and about 25 per cent are definitely unwanted. About 30 million women-in India desire better family planning services since they are not satisfied with the available facilities/programmes.
- Out of about 11 million abortions every year, 69 per cent are induced and 31 per cent are spontaneous.
- Over one lakh women die every year during pregnancy and childbirth.

- About three-fourth babies are delivered at home and only one-third deliveries are assisted by a doctor, a nurse or a midwife.
- One in every 13 children dies within the first year of life and one in every nine dies before reaching the age of five. Infant mortality is as high as 52 per cent in rural areas.

**Attitudes towards Family Planning:**

- The idea of family planning has been successfully brought to the notice of an average Indian woman. The attitude of a woman towards family planning is influenced by her education, age, income background, husband's occupation, and her (working) status among other factors.
- In terms of age, it has been found that the percentage of women approving family planning decreases as the age group increases. But the acceptance is about two-third even among the older age groups. This clearly shows that the great majority of Indian women approve of family planning, irrespective of age.
- In a survey conducted in Rajasthan in 1988 by Kothari and Gulati, it was found that out of total persons studied, 88.1 per cent were in favour of family planning and 11.9 per cent were against it. Kothari (1994) also noted that according to the findings of the National Family Welfare Survey, conducted in Rajasthan in 1993, of the women married in the 13-49 years age group, 90 per cent knew some method of family planning, and 76.2 per cent were aware of some sources of getting the required contraceptives, though only 31.8 per cent were actually using the contraceptives.
- A survey was conducted on attitude towards family planning in Vellore city of Tamil Nadu and its surrounding villages by Rao and in- baraj. In all, 2,426 persons were interviewed with the intention of finding out whether they considered it within the power of the couple to control the number of children.
- Around 37 per cent replied in the affirmative and 41 per cent replied in the negative. Of those 899 persons who considered it possible, 46.6 per cent considered it possible through family planning measures, 37.5 per cent through control on self, while 15.9 per cent did not point to any specific method.
- When they were asked whether they themselves were in favour of family planning, 64.6 per cent said 'Yes' and 25.4 per cent said 'No'. The reasons given for hostility to family planning measures were: it was harmful to women, it went against family economy, it was against God's will, and it constituted unnatural behaviour. However, since seven out of every ten persons were in favour of family planning, it points to the fact that people today have ceased to be very traditional in their beliefs and values.
- A study made by the National Institute of Community Development covering 365 villages in 16 states and 43 districts and 7,224 respondents also revealed that 51.6 per cent were in favour of family planning and 23.7 per cent were against it.
- Since illiteracy is found more among the poorer section of our society, it is seen that women with low education in the lower strata are more reluctant to accept family planning methods. Their contention is that since they have no money to fall back upon, their only hope of survival is their children's income. An average poor Indian couple is not satisfied with fewer than two or three children. Time and again, studies in various parts of the country have revealed this fact.

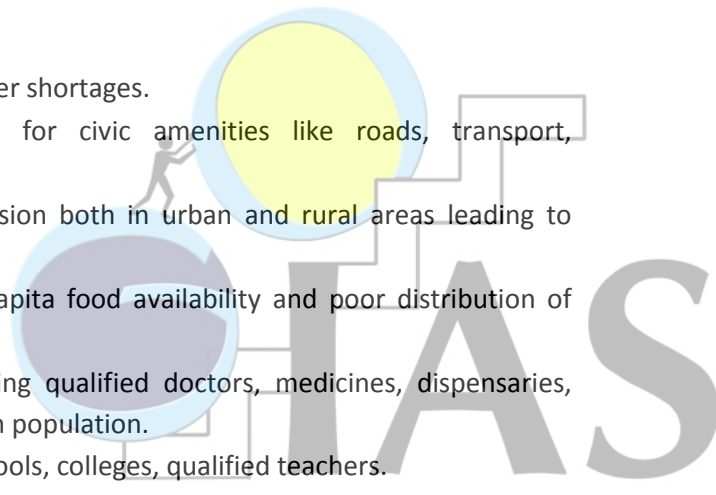
- About a decade ago, a large- scale survey covering some 32,000 respondents sponsored by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare came to the conclusion that most couples wanted not only three or more children but they also wanted that two of them should be sons.
- A survey was conducted in 1991 on 'Socialisation of Indian Youth about Population' by the Family Planning Foundation, Delhi in collaboration with Operation Research Group, Delhi. This survey studied the attitudes of 17,185 male and female children selected from 251 schools from urban and rural areas of 22 districts of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Delhi. A large number of the respondents were in favour of two-children family.
- While about 90 per cent subjects preferred one son and one daughter, 73 per cent were not very keen about giving undue importance to the sex of the children. A majority of the respondents did not consider the age of marriage of both boys and girls below 22 years as the correct marriage age. A good number of them had slight knowledge of contraceptives but they were not very well informed about the subject. A large number had acquired this knowledge from watching the TV.
- A survey was conducted by Population Research Centre of Udaipur University in Rajasthan in 1992 in which 5,211 women (1,019 from urban areas and 4,192 from rural areas) from 27 districts in 13-49 years age group were interviewed.
- The survey revealed that among the currently married women (i.e., 5058), 99 per cent in urban areas and 84 per cent in rural areas had knowledge of at least one modern method of family planning (i.e., sterilization, pill, IUD and injection) as different from the traditional method of periodic abstinence, withdrawal, etc.).
- As regards their husbands, amongst 2,433 rural husbands, 57.1 per cent approved family planning, 16.8 per cent disapproved it, and 26.1 per cent were unsure. Amongst urban husbands, 74.9 per cent approved it, 9.4 per cent disapproved it, and 15.7 per cent were unsure.
- Of the women studied, 27.7 per cent (women or wives of sterilized men) had undergone sterilization. The reasons given by 2035 (39%) women for not using any method of family planning were: wanted children (39.7%), wanted son or daughter (22.9%), worry about the side-effects (1.3%), lack of knowledge (3.7%), fear of sterilization (4.3%), against religion (1.4%), opposed to family planning (0.8%), opposition by husband (3.7%) or in-laws (0.7%), health did not permit (2%), inconvenient (0.4%) and menopausal (10.7%).
- Out of 3,027 women (2,433 rural and 594 urban) interviewed (i.e., excluding those who either themselves or their husbands were sterilized), 75.5 per cent were in favour of family planning, while 23.4 per cent did not express specific attitude. Of these, 50.5 per cent currently married women were actually using some contraceptive method.

### Impact of Population Growth

- India's population growth rate has been declining over the years but the overall population will continue to grow as 51% of the population is in the reproductive age group (15-49). Millions more will join this cohort each year. Every year, 26 million babies are born. Only 53% of the eligible couples are using contraceptives. At current levels, it may take several decades more to stabilise the population.

- In India the levels of maternal and infant mortality are very high. Repeated childbirths are seen as an insurance against multiple infant and child deaths. Vast numbers of people cannot avail of services even when they are available, due to problems of knowledge and access.
- India accounts for 2.4% of the world's surface area yet it supports 16.7% of the world's population. As the population grows, the pressure on natural resources will intensify. Population pressure will reduce the per capita availability of land for farming, which will affect availability of food grain, drinking water, besides excluding millions of people from the benefits of health and education and the opportunity to become productive members of society. More than half a billion Indians are less than 25 years of age.
- In the states where the growth rates are high, maternal mortality and infant mortality is also very high. Repeated child births aggravate the health and survival risks to both mother and child. According to the International Institute for Population Sciences, 2006 in a study prepared for the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and National Commission on Population, early pregnancies before the age of 20 increase maternal and child birth risks. The societal pressure for early child bearing and lack of spacing thereafter affects the mother's health and can lead to death of the infant or the birth of an underweight child. This sets in motion a vicious cycle of births, deaths and ill-health. It affects overall development. It is vitally necessary to make family planning services available where men and women can access them freely. IIPS's study indicates that in many states like Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and some North Eastern States several districts have a low couple protection rate of 40%. This is in contrast to the rest of the country where the couple protection rates are 52 to 62%. Unless young people adopt family planning methods and space families, population growth will pull back the development of the country.
- India is the best country to study the consequences of over population. Geometric growth in population has pushed our country into population explosion leading to number of serious consequences. Some of them are:
  - Decreased availability of food and clothing.
  - Decreased per capita food availability despite phenomenal increase in their production.
  - Decreased per capita GMP and reduced standard of living due to ever increasing population.
  - Increased pressure on resources like land, water, natural forests, animals etc. leading to many far reaching effects like:
    - Fragmentation of land below the economic level.
    - Acute shortage of drinking and irrigation water.
    - Denudation of forest (Deforestation) to increase the area under agriculture.
    - Pollution of water, land, food materials etc.
- Urbanisation beyond a healthy developmental limit as more rural people shift to towns / cities in search of better work / earning. Urbanization has led to many problems such as
  - Increased housing problems in cities / towns.
  - Very high vehicular movement in cities / towns leading to accidents, pollution, etc.
  - Serious problem connected to vast urban waste generation and its disposal.



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- Serious drinking water shortages.
  - Unending demands for civic amenities like roads, transport, markets, etc.
  - Unemployment problems of serious dimension both in urban and rural areas leading to reduced per capita earning, poverty, etc.
  - Hunger deaths - because of reduced per capita food availability and poor distribution of food.
  - Acute shortage of medical facilities including qualified doctors, medicines, dispensaries, modern health care facilities etc - due to high population.
  - Shortage of education facilities including schools, colleges, qualified teachers.
  - Serious shortage of power and problems connected with its distribution.
  - Increased inflation.
  - Increased borrowings from international organisations.
  - Reduced care of young ones leading to increased child health problems as well as vulnerability of children to many diseases.
  - Reduced health care to mothers.
  - Difficulties encountered in implementation of all national and state developmental programmes.
  - Increased government expenditure.
  - Increased density of population.
  - In India, the over population has engulfed almost all our achievements in industrial growth, agricultural production, supporting services like medical care, housing, transport, education, banking etc. It has put serious pressures on every sector of our economy and every section of society. Almost all our national problems can be traced back to have their roots in overgrowing population.

## David and Blake study

### SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND FERTILITY: AN ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

- David and Blake's (1956) introduction of "intermediate fertility variables" to describe the biological and behavioral mechanisms through which social, economic and cultural conditions can affect fertility
- A striking feature of underdeveloped areas is that virtually all of them exhibit a much higher fertility than do urban-industrial societies. This well-documented but insufficiently analyzed fact is known to be connected with profound differences in social organization as between the two types of society, and is therefore significant for the comparative sociology of reproduction. The clarity and importance of the contrast, however, should not be allowed to obscure the equally important fact that underdeveloped areas themselves differ markedly in social organization, and that these differences appear to bring about variations in fertility. Though the demographic statistics of backward regions have generally been so poor as to place in doubt the validity of reported differences, there are cases in which the evidence is reliable (e. g., as between Puerto Rico and Jamaica, or Arab Palestine and Ceylon). Of equal interest are the cases in which societies with differing social organization have the same level of fertility, for they may reach this common result by quite different institutional



mechanisms. All told, ample opportunity exists for the comparative analysis of social structure as it affects fertility. In view of the bearing of future population trends on economic development, the pursuit of such analysis has a practical as well as a theoretical significance.

- The present paper represents an attempt to set forth and utilize an analytical framework for the comparative sociology of fertility. It first presents a classification of the intermediate variables through which any social factors influencing the level of fertility must operate. It next tries to show, in broad outline, how some types and elements of social organization, acting through these variables, appear to enhance or depress societal fertility. Our hope is that as more sociological and demographic information becomes available, the theories advanced can be refined further and tested empirically.
- The Intermediate Variables
- The process of reproduction involves three necessary steps sufficiently obvious to be generally recognized in human culture: (1) intercourse, (2) conception, and (3) gestation and parturition.<sup>1</sup> In analyzing cultural influences on fertility, one may well start with the factors directly connected with these three steps. Such factors would be those through which, and only through which, cultural conditions affect fertility. For this reason, by way of convenience, they can be called the "intermediate variables" and can be presented schematically as follows:
  - Although the physiologist sees more steps in the process, these can all be subsumed under the three headings given here. We are concerned only with the steps in reproduction as they may be socially recognized and utilized.

### **Different parameters**

#### **Intercourse Variables**

A. Those governing the formation and dissolution of unions in the reproductive period.

1. Age of entry into sexual unions.
2. Permanent celibacy: proportion of women never entering sexual unions.
3. Amount of reproductive period spent after or between unions.
  - a. When unions are broken by divorce, separation, or desertion.
  - b. When unions are broken by death of husband.

B. Those governing the exposure to intercourse within unions.

4. Voluntary abstinence.
5. Involuntary abstinence (from impotence, illness, unavoidable but temporary separations).
6. Coital frequency (excluding periods of abstinence).

#### **Conception Variables**

7. Fecundity or infecundity, as affected by involuntary causes.
8. Use or non-use of contraception.
  - a. By mechanical and chemical means.
  - b. By other means.
9. Fecundity or infecundity, as affected by voluntary causes (sterilization, subincision, medical treatment, etc.).

#### **Gestation Variables**

10. Foetal mortality from involuntary causes.

Conclusion: The General Pattern

Any analysis of institutional factors in fertility must first explain the well known fact that underdeveloped societies in general have a higher rate of reproduction than industrial societies. The explanation, in brief, is that the pre-industrial peoples, in the face of high mortality, have had to develop an institutional organization which would give them sufficient reproduction to survive. However, analysis at this level does not carry us very far. In order to study the effects of institutional factors, one needs to break down the reproductive process itself so as to distinguish clearly the various mechanisms through which, and only through which, any social factor can influence fertility. In trying to do this, we have found eleven "intermediate variables". When analysis is made along those lines, it can be seen that the generally high fertility of underdeveloped areas does not mean that these areas encourage high fertility in every respect. As we have seen, they do not have high plus values on all the intermediate variables. Why, then, do they have low values in some respects and not in others?

It is possible to discern a systematic difference between underdeveloped and developed societies with reference to the eleven variables. In general, the pre-industrial societies have high fertility-values for those variables farthest removed from the actual moment of parturition and which, therefore, imply an overall outlook favorable to fertility. To a much greater degree than industrial societies, they tend to encourage early exposure to intercourse --exhibiting a far younger age at marriage and a higher proportion married.

They thus lose little potential fertility by delaying or avoiding the formation of unions. After unions have been formed, these societies tend to enjoin more abstinence than industrial societies do (and therefore have lower values on variable number 4), but such "sexual fasting" arises from religious and magical motives rather than as a deliberate fertility control measure, and it does not appear to be great enough to have a substantial negative effect on fertility.

Underdeveloped societies also have high fertility-values for the conception variables. They practice little contraception and virtually no sterilization. Consequently, the tendency is to postpone the issue of controlling pregnancy until a later point in the reproductive process, which means that when a couple wishes to avoid children, those methods nearest the point of parturition--abortion and infanticide--are employed. These have the advantage, in societies living close to privation, of being nearer to the actual moment when the child must be supported.

Industrial societies, on the other hand, exhibit low fertility-values for those variables involving the early stages of the reproductive process, especially age at marriage, proportion married, and contraception; and they manifest high fertility-values for the variables in the later stages, especially infanticide. It follows that for many of the variables the two types of society exhibit opposite values. This is true for age of entry into unions, permanent celibacy, voluntary abstinence, contraception, and (if included as a variable) infanticide. It is not necessarily true of the time spent between or after unions, of sterilization, or of abortion; and it, of course, is not true of those variables characterized as "indeterminate"--involuntary abstinence, frequency of coitus, or involuntary infecundity. But the general contrast is sufficiently clear to require explanation.

A key to the position of the industrial societies lies in the fact that, as compared to pre-industrial cultures, they have achieved their lower reproduction, not by acquiring low fertility-values for all the intermediate variables, but by singling out particular ones as the means to that result. They took those means of reducing fertility which involved the least institutional organization and re-organization and which involved the least human cost. In the secular decline of the birth rate they relied more heavily on the mere postponement of marriage than on non-marriage. They relied less on abstinence, which makes heavy demands on the individual, and more on contraception and abortion, which do not. They dropped infanticide altogether and, in the later stages, tended to reduce abortion. In other words, they have undertaken to lower fertility, not primarily by extending further the negative effect of the variables by which fertility was lowered in the pre-industrial stage, but by using readily available institutional mechanisms with respect to marriage and by employing the possibilities of their advanced technology for conception control. Marital postponement was easily extended in the early and middle stages of industrialization because the basis for it already existed in Western society and because contraception and relatively safe abortion freed those who married late from the necessity of premarital celibacy. Gradually, in the late stages of industrial development, contraception has gained such predominance that it has made low fertility-values on the other variables (including abortion and late marriage) unnecessary.

## Population facts

- India adds more people to its population every year than any other country. Between the 2001 and 2011 censuses India grew by 181 million people, nearly the entire population of Pakistan. India will have overtaken China as the world's largest country by 2025, when it is projected to have a population of 1.44 billion. By 2050, the population will have swelled to 1.65 billion.
- India is multilingual. A total of 122 languages are each spoken by more than 10,000 people and six languages – Hindi, Bengali, Telegu, Tamil, Marathi, Urdu – are spoken by 50 million people or more. Hindi is the mother tongue of 41% of the population. English is a subsidiary official language.
- Thanks to average GDP growth of 5% every year since 1990 India has overtaken Japan to become the world's third largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity (i.e. adjusting for differences in prices in different countries).
- According to the World Bank, more than 400 million Indians – one third of the population – live in poverty (earning less than \$1.25 a day). That is a substantial improvement since 1990 when the poverty rate was 53%. If measured by the Indian national poverty line (\$0.45 a day in rural areas) the rate reduces to 22% in 2012, compared to 45% in 1994.
- Nearly half (48%) of Indian children under 5 years old are stunted due to chronic undernutrition. India accounts for more than 3 out of every 10 stunted children in the world. Undernutrition is significantly higher in rural than in urban areas.
- About 70% of Indians live in rural areas although some 10 million Indians move from rural areas to towns and cities each year. There are now over 50 Indian cities home to at least one million people and the urban population is growing by 2.5% a year, nearly double the overall growth rate.
- India will soon have the largest, youngest workforce ever. Nearly half the population is under 24 years of age while about 64% of Indians are of working age. Around 12 million young Indians will enter the job market each month for the next 20 years. About half of Indian workers are employed in agriculture.
- Less than 10 percent of the working-age population has completed secondary school. By 2022, India is projected to be missing 103 million skilled workers in the infrastructure sector, about 35 million in the automobile industry and 33 million in construction.
- In the 2014 Indian elections, 150 million 18- to 23-year-olds qualified to vote for the first time, swelling the electorate to over half a billion. In the largest democratic exercise ever, 550 million people voted – a turnout of 66%.
- Indians working abroad sent \$70 billion home in 2013 making India the world's largest recipient of remittances ahead of China, the Philippines and Mexico.
- Nearly half (47%) of Indian girls are married before the legal age for marriage of 18. About 18% are married before reaching 15 years of age.
- India is the largest user of groundwater in the world, using over a quarter of the global total. More than 60% of irrigated agriculture and 85% of drinking water supplies in the country are dependent on groundwater.

## Topic-15: Challenges of Social Transformation:

- Crisis of development: displacement, environmental problems and sustainability.
- Poverty, deprivation and inequalities.
- Violence against women
- Caste conflicts.
- Ethnic conflicts, communalism, religious revivalism.
- Illiteracy and disparities in education.



### Previous years' questions

- Describe the factors responsible for **increasing economic inequalities** in India and discuss their social consequences.
- How far has **education of women led to an improvement** in their **social status** in the modern Indian society? Which other factors are related to the status of women in India?
- **“Political and economic empowerment of women is necessary but not a sufficient condition for improving social of women in India.”**
- Critically evaluate the **existing welfare programmes for women** in India. **Have they benefited all sections of women** in India?
- Write short note on **Nature of atrocities on married**
- Discuss in detail **atrocities women and suggest annihilative measures** for them.
- Write short note on **Discrimination against women.**
- Write short note on **Problem of dowry.**
- Write short note on **Religious revivalism.**
- How do you define development? What are your suggestions to resolve the issues of displacement and environment related to development?
- Do you think that poverty, deprivation and inequalities are the major challenges in the process of social transformation? What are your suggestions to address and resolve these problems?
- Highlight the **important dimensions of inter-caste conflict** in India.
- **Structural factors** behind violence against women
- **Casteism is the modern edition** of the caste system.’ Do you agree with this statement? Discuss with arguments (11/20)
- **“Tradition and modernity are misplaced polarities** in the study of social change in India” Elucidate

### Crisis of development :Displacement

- Development induced displacement- equal to forced migration- violation of human rights- effects spill over generations- loss of traditional means of employment- change of environment- disrupted community life and relationships- marginalisation- psychological trauma.
- Singur WB Tata Nano Shifted to Guju- Posco Odisha- developing SEZs- Sardar Sarovar Dam Narmada and cancellation of the dam by world bank due to protests- Tehri dam outer himalays etc.
- Development induced displacement- ecological- social-emotive- cultural connotations.
- Land given for compensation- infertile- non productive. No compensation for common property resources like forest land, pasture land, river bed which are not compensated-



Traditional skill lose its significance, no income, poverty- sometimes they are asked to pay differential price, difficult for them to arrange- distress migration-women and children are most affected- sociological cost-human cost-ecological cost-cultural cost which is more than the economic cost.

- Steps to be taken- before introduction of any project, alternate site for rehabilitation, should not be far away from the original place-common property resources re-enacted- education and training so that they can be employed- sanitation, education, health care, community infrastructure support- minimum ecological damage- consent based approach not consultation.
- Ramachandra Guha- Environmental movements are not grounded on skepticism-it is addressing to the fundamental questions like civil rights, political rights, economic rights, which is taken away from them by the protector of these rights.
- Environmental movement- peoples perception of state stands dialectical to the strategy for development adopted by state government.
- Land acquisition resettlement and rehabilitation bill

### Environmental problems

- Economic development- population growth 300 million in 1947 to 1.2 billion now- strain on countrys natural resources.
- Industrial pollution- soil erosion- water bodies pollution- land degradation- deforestation- unplanned urbanisation- rapid industrialisation- heavy reliance on coal for power generation- more than 80% of energy from coal.
- Land degradation- wind erosion-water logging- bad land use practices.
- Loss of biodiversity- Air pollution- Contamination of water bodies along with ground water aquifers- Fly ash from coal plants, which have traces of alumina and traces of carcinogenic material- Dams and large area submerged in water- Open cast mining, ground water and surface water contamination, eye sight issue and lungs issue,when abandoned, no re-growth of ecology,permanent damage to environment.

### Addressing Sustainability

- Meeting present needs keeping an eye on future generations- Removal of poverty- Technology and infrastructure decisions should be taken on the basis of sustainability- evaluation of projects in ecological perspective- including local people to know their stakes- Biomass is the fuel for rural poor, strategy to help them for sustainable usage-Sacred groves and ponds by community participation-Women empowerment- PRIs- Effect of Globalisation-SHG.

### Violence against Women

- Marriage Occupations- norms of every day behaviour- there is a cultural lag- even a backlash when women demand their newly available rights.
- Criminal violence- Rape, Murder, Abduction, Molestation,prostitution, trafficking, Acid attack.
- Domestic violence- Dowry death,wife battering, sexual abuse by kins, maltreatment of widows and elderly women,torture of daughter-in-laws.
- Social and cultural violence- Female foeticide,infanticide,eve-teasing,widow immolation(sati), refusing to give share to women in property.

- Domestic violence-young married women- in their affinal homes- beating, torturing, verbal abuse, starving, locking up, imposing excess work burden, sexual abuse, marital rape, even murder or woman commits suicide- murder camouflaged as suicide- Reasons- suspicion about wifes fidelity, her childlessness- not bearing a son- disputes about household matter- wifes protests about husbands alcoholism- husbands infatuation with another woman etc- complaints in these areas are rarely registered- if registered rarely apprehended- if apprehended rarely brought court- if brought to court rarely convicted. Sometimes Media and womens group put pressure.
- **Tulsi Patel** age of marriage, frequency of pregnancy, womens health, their rights over food are decided by traditional customs and conventions not by her choice. Women are assumed to take the role of preparing food and produce children.
- **Nivedita Menon**- The gender gap in education is related to the problem of dowry-birth of child is considered as a future liability- In GR belts they dont see the light of the day- female foeticide.
- **MN Srinivas**- Dowry as modern day Sati.
- **Malavika Karlekar**- Domestic violence- more in urban upper middle class families- Women are subjected to Devi-Dasi dichotomy more sacrifice will considered Devi- asking for her rights Dasi and subjected to physical and mental agony.
- **Rape**-grossly unreported due to the stigma attached to the victim- young girls in squatter settlements- low caste and tribal women- women during communal riots- AFSPA army and paramilitary in sensitive areas- disaster hit regions.
- **Child marriage**- physical injury to girl due to early consummation of marriage- early pregnancies can be fatal- emotional strain of domestic responsibilities-Child Marriage Restraint Act
- **Prostitution**- Prevention of Immoral Traffic in Women Act- poverty, sexual abuse and rape in childhood makes them easy victims of the prostitution racket- women rescued from brothels face rejection from their families- fate in rescue home is also bad.
- **Eve-teasing**- harassment of women in public places-both rural and urban-Verma committee report included eve-teasing-SCs order to govt to treat the eve-teaser with an iron fist.
- **Acid attack**- SCs order, regulation on sale of acid etc.

#### How to adress-

- Creating awareness among women about their rights- strict laws- morally sensitive officers- strong support system for women in distress- moral support-legal aid- giving them job-running training programmes- legal literacy- school curriculum should promote equality among genders and respect for women- Sensitization of the police- government official-judiciary etc.
- Ujjawala- Swadhar- STEP-One stop crisis centre= govt pgms

#### Ethnic Conflicts

- **Ethnic group**- common language- common culture- sometimes shared religion- common ancestry-endogamy-common religious faith.
- **Ghanashyam Saha**- During Indias freedom struggle, there was glorification of north south divide- apprehension north indias brahminic sanskritic culture will be imposed on indigenous non-sanskritic dravidian peasant culture. So Tamil Brahmins first went for modern



education, trade and commerce without rejecting sanskritik values- non brahmins went for modernisation and secularisation rejecting sanskritic values-hence caste was weak in south india, communal disparity was minimum and political awareness was more.

- **Assam**-due to influx of Bengalis
- **Meghalaya**- between Garo and Khasi tribes- not for culture rather access for power, education etc.
- **Manipur**- Conflict between Naga and Kuki-On control over public institutions-Tribal advisory council-District autonomous council-looks for land , forest and other resources-son of the soils is getting glorified.
- **Maharashtra**- Mumbaikars-non marathis- access to education and employment- 1960s it was between South indians vs marathis- now it is north indians vs marathis.
- **Hindi as national language issue**- to promote unity in diversity- riot in Tamil Nadu.
- **Ethnic conflicts**- manifest cause-language, region, religion. Latent cause-conflicting economic and political interests.

### Communalism

- Indian context- conflict between religious communities
- Bipin Chandra- marxist historian- anti human mobilisation- lose lose situation- minority communalism and majority communalism- with modernity and literacy communalism wouldnt disappear- historically glorification of communalism- Mao in china uneducated- Hitler in Germany highly educated masses
- Khuswant singh Communalism has nothing to do with ideology- first phase politics then economcs and then differential psychosis- in all cases th religious minorities suffer a lot.
- Amartya Sen, Upendra Bakshi, Andre Beteille, Rajeev Bhargav historic roots of comunal tensions- india pak division bad memories- Britishs divide and rule policy.
- Repeated communal tension- concentration of minorities in specific localities.
- State support to communal tension- Vote bank politics behind communal tensions.
- T N Madan- think communi- eat communal- eat communal- marry communal-speak communal- glorification of communal identities- Secularism is impossible- communalism is bound to appear in one form or the other.
- Sudhir Kakkar- Communalism a state of mind- modernity brings uniformity and people love diversity- most of the communal tensions in modern India- more modernity more communal tensions.
- Sociologists- Kerala model vs Dharavi slum or Aligarh communalism
- It should not be studied only from political and economic stand point but also from development disparity.

### Illiteracy and disparities in education

- Traditional- Sanskritic education and Madrasa education
- British- non vocational and christian missionaries
- British education system- new middle class- glorification of class education
- Kothari commission(1968)- To accelerate mass education- community made mud school building- 5 years, pukka house, grants in aid- 9 years full grant- many schools came up, but without adequate teachers.

- 1990s- universalisation of education- vocationalisation of secondary education- delinking of jobs from certificate.
- Veena Mazumdar- entry of a girl to the world of work at a tender age- the compulsion of dowry- patriarchal character of society which emphasizes on sexual purity- lack of schools for girls- lack of women teachers- responsible for gender gap in education.
- Recent Supreme courts order to construct sanitation facilities in schools, because of lack of sanitation facilities, girls are the majority among dropouts.
- Among STs- curriculum is not revised- texts not available in their tribal language- huge gap between tribal thinking and courses in schools- large scale dropouts.
- Sachar Committee report on muslim education- 4% 10th- 2% 12th- 1.2% graduation- 1% graduation among women- state sponsored madrasa education- importance to religious education, producing youths unfit for modern employment- orthodox islamic world view prohibited co-education- so less literacy among muslim women.
- Modernity- Rich people pvt schools-poor students govt schools- RTE is a myth- SCs order 25% reservation in private schools-influence of social background on education- Cycles by state govts to girl students and SC ST students- Laptops to meritorious students by state govts.
- Andre Beteille- In the sphere of education there is present social and cultural reproduction rather than education promoting equality in Indian society.

### Poverty, Deprivation and Inequalities

- Economist- Calorie and Income
- Sociologist- Access to education, Health care facilities, source of entertainment, quality of life, political participation.
- Amartya Sen- Poverty is a life experience, cant be explained in mechanical economics terms.
- Andre Beteille- Poverty is more contagious than pollution. Poverty breeds poverty. If the father is poor, he cant buy nutritious food, good education for his children, children will end up in low paying jobs, hence poverty continues.
- SC Dubey- Poverty and prosperity are self perpetuating in character. In case of India, most of the poor are born as poor, few of the poor stay as non-poor and none of the rich ever become poor.
- Dada Bhai Naroji- first nationalist who relate poverty to colonial rule- drain of wealth theory.
- AR Desai- None of the poverty alleviation programmes of state is successful in eradicating poverty. Poverty linked to ecology. Rural poor coming to urban environment and after a long period of time spoiling their health and going back to rural environment. Hence poverty is transferred and transmitted rather getting cured.
- Planning commissions recent poverty line figures-based on Tendulkar committee report- 2400 calories in rural areas and 2100 calories in urban areas- accordingly money to purchase these items. International poverty line 1 dollar in PPP terms. 32Rs in urban and 27 Rs in rural areas.
- Recent reports on poverty figures have to be included- Civil society criticised the poverty line figures.
- Poverty is not just an economic handicap- Policy makers not took humanistic figures like happiness, quality of life, freedom, gender equality into consideration- so holistic approach

is needed to solve the problem of inequality, health, education, land allocation, employment opportunities etc- mechanistic approach to poverty is responsible for its perpetuation.

- Yogendra Singh- poverty perpetuates because of lack of activities by civil society organisations- Rampant among SCs, STs, elderly persons, physically handicapped, victims of distress migration and single parent family.
- Anand Kumar Book Politics of poverty Most of the poverty eradication programmes are not to eliminate poverty but to manifest the visibility of government to people. Anti poverty programmes are becoming hotbeds of politics in rural India, dividing people on the basis of caste, creed, religion, political affiliation; therefore politics of poverty ensures poverty stays in India to make India a democracy.

### Developmental Displacement:

- Arundhati Roy in book 'Greater common good'- The millions of displaced people in India are nothing but refugees of an unacknowledged war.
- A review by the World Bank notes that an average of 13000 people are displaced by each new large dam constructed currently. By this estimate, the number of people displaced by 3000 + large dams would be over 39 million. That's three times the people displaced during partition of India. The tribals who comprise 8.08% of India's population are estimated to be more than 40% of the displaced population. Dalits constitute 20% of displaced persons (DPs). Most of the remaining are other rural poor.
- Many DPs are subjected to multiple displacement. A chilling case of this trauma is that of the displaced of Singrauli who are part of the over 2 lakh people first displaced by the Rihand dam in 1964. "Tens of thousands" says Smitu Kothari, "who in the absence of any resettlement programs, settled on the banks of reservoir, cultivating the land which is exposed when the reservoir recedes in the summer season. They were subsequently displaced by Thermal Power plants, Coal mines, Railways, Industries and urbanisation and now face displacement for an incomprehensible fifth time in a single generation as their temporary settlements are to be evicted to make way for urban, road and rail transport and afforestation projects. The entire process of displacement is disempowering because it breaks up socio-political organisations opposing the project or the development process itself. In the case of tribals, the experience of displacement becomes much more monstrous.
- Arundhati Roy says, "many of those who have been resettled are people who have lived all their lives deep in the forest. Instead of a forest from which they gathered everything they needed - food, fuel, fodder, rope, gum, tobacco, tooth powder, medicinal herbs, housing material - they earn between ten and twenty rupees a day with which to feed and keep their families. Instead of a river, they have a hand pump. In their old village, they had no money, but they were insured. If the rains failed, they had the forests to turn to. The river to fish in. Their livestock was their fixed deposit. Without all this, they are a heart beat away from destitution."

### Violence against women:

- **Rape- Marital rape, Gang rape; Female infanticide- Female foeticide; Domestic violence; Acid throwing; Dowry deaths; Honour killings; Abduction; Insult to modesty; Human trafficking and forced prostitution**

- **Rape:** In India, a woman is raped every 29 minutes. In India, marital rape is not a criminal offense. As per: International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) Survey, 20% of Indian men admit to forcing their wives or partners to have sex.
- **Domestic Violence:** Domestic violence is also known as domestic abuse, spousal abuse, battering, family violence, dating abuse and intimate partner violence. Domestic violence can be physical, emotional, verbal, economic and sexual abuse.
- **Acid Attacks:** At least 72% of reported acid attacks in India have involved women. 34% of acid attacks in India have been determined to be related to rejection of marriage or refusal by a women of sexual advances. 20% of acid attacks have been determined to be related to land, property, and/or business disputes. Acid attacks related to marriage are often spurred by dowry disagreements (Avon Foundation for women)
- **Dowry deaths:** In Uttar Pradesh, 2,244 cases were reported, accounting for 27.3% of the dowry deaths nationwide (Total 8233 in India in 2012)
- **Honour Killings:** Honour killings can be very violent. For example, in June 2012, a father chopped off his 20 year old daughter's head with a sword in pure rage upon hearing that she was dating a man who he did not approve of
- **Human trafficking and forced prostitution:** From 2011 to 2012, there was a 26.3% decrease in girls imported to India from another country. Karnataka had 32 cases, and West Bengal had 12 cases, together accounting for 93.2% of the total cases nationwide
- **Female Infanticide and Foetal Killing** This refers to killing the infant soon after its birth or at the foetus stage. The former is common amongst certain tribes and caste groups such as the Kallars of Tamil Nadu. The Kallars live in abject poverty. For livelihood they work in illicit liquor distilleries and coconut groves. Which require more male hands. The birth of a daughter is burden for them for not only there's insufficient occupation for her, but dowry has to be given for her wedding and other gifts to be given to her husbands family on various occasions after the solemnisation of the marriage.
- **Foetal killing** has been a crucial problem in some urban areas. A medical diagnostic process called, amniocentesis, is used in the U.S.A. to check possible deformities of the unborn child. However, this is fast being used by parents to select the sex of their child. Misuse of the sex determination test has been a crucial issue in some urban places in India. This has resulted in a new type femicide i.e., abortion of female foetuses. A survey carried out in Bombay during 1984 revealed that out of 8,000 abortions 7,999 were female foetuses (Government of India 1988: 98). It is reported that in Dharampuri district of Tamil Nadu, the place where female infant mortality rate as per 1991 census was 100.1, 105 female infants were killed every month in 1997. Testing for sex determination of the unborn child has been now banned in India.