

SOCIOLOGY OPTIONAL NOTES - PAPER 2

These are Notes I made for the Paper 2 of the Sociology Optional.

Please read the following post before reading these Notes -

<https://nehabhosleblog.wordpress.com/2020/09/07/my-booklist-and-approach-to-answer-writing-for-the-sociology-optional/>

This will provide you a complete picture of what all I read apart from these Notes.

You can download my other Notes, Class Notebooks and my checked Test Papers from:

My Telegram Channel - https://t.me/All_About_UPSC_CSE or

My Google Drive -

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1dNQwXCJWWMvOD9NmZ6fs_yn9LF4-33Hk?usp=sharing

All the Best !

Neha Bhosle

Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

My Blog - <https://nehabhosleblog.wordpress.com/>

My Telegram Channel - [https://t.me/All About UPSC CSE](https://t.me/All_About_UPSC_CSE)

INDEX

Chapter Number	Name of the Topic	Page Number
----------------	-------------------	-------------

INTRODUCING INDIAN SOCIETY

A1	PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIETY	
	Indology (G.S. Ghurye)	1
	Structural functionalism (M.N. Srinivas)	11
	Marxist sociology (A.R. Desai)	29

A2	IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON INDIAN SOCIETY	
	Social background of Indian nationalism	34
	Modernization of Indian Tradition	39
	Protests and movements during the colonial period	55
	Social reforms	58

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

B1	RURAL AND AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE	
	The idea of Indian village and village studies	59
	Agrarian social structure - evolution of land tenure system, land reforms	65

B2	CASTE SYSTEM	
	Perspectives on the study of caste systems: GS Ghurye, M N Srinivas, Louis Dumont, Andre Beteille	73
	Features of caste system	96
	Untouchability - forms and perspectives	101

B3	TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN INDIA	
	Definitional problems	107

	Geographical spread	111
	Colonial policies and tribes	117
	Issues of integration and autonomy	142

B4	SOCIAL CLASSES IN INDIA	
	Agrarian class structure	149
	Industrial class structure	152
	Middle classes in India	154

B5	SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP IN INDIA	
	Lineage and descent in India	158
	Types of kinship systems	161
	Family and marriage in India	163
	Household dimensions of the family	166
	Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour	168

B6	RELIGION AND SOCIETY	
	Religious communities in India	174
	Problems of religious minorities	176

SOCIAL CHANGES IN INDIA		
--------------------------------	--	--

C1	VISIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA	
	Idea of development planning and mixed economy	182
	Constitution, law and social change	185
	Education and social change	188

C2	RURAL AND AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN INDIA	
	Programmes of rural development, Community Development Programme, cooperatives, poverty alleviation schemes	190
	Green revolution and social change	196
	Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture	198
	Problems of rural labour, bondage, migration	200

C3	INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN INDIA	
	Evolution of modern industry in India	202
	Growth of urban settlements in India	204
	Working class: structure, growth, class mobilization	207

	Informal sector, child labour	210
	Slums and deprivation in urban areas	212
C4	POLITICS AND SOCIETY	
	Nation, democracy and citizenship	214
	Political parties, pressure groups, social and political elite	219
	Regionalism and decentralization of power	224
	Secularization	230
C5	SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN MODERN INDIA	
	Peasants and farmers movements	232
	Women's movement	236
	Backward classes and Dalit movement	239
	Environmental movements	242
	Ethnicity and identity movements	247
C6	POPULATION DYNAMICS	
	Population size, growth, composition and distribution	251
	Components of population growth: birth, death, migration	254
	Population policy and family planning	258
	Emerging issues: ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health	261
C7	CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION	
	Crisis of development: displacement, environmental problems and sustainability	269
	Poverty, deprivation and inequalities	272
	Violence against women	275
	Caste conflicts	278
	Ethnic conflicts, communalism, religious revivalism	282
	Illiteracy and disparities in education	287
	Miscellaneous	290

Note:

In my Blog Post, I have already mentioned the sources that I had used to make these notes.

For topics that were too huge to make notes, I just noted down the page numbers from the books. So, in these notes, you will find some page number references. They are from:

5th Edition of *Applied Sociology – Indian Society: Structure and Change* by Vikash Ranjan Sir

Mohapatra Sir's Class Notebooks which I had ordered from Pankaj Copiers. These were seven Notebooks from Sir's batch that had started in December 2016.

IGNOU BA or MA Modules

My own Class Notebook from the Sociology Optional Lectures by Praveen Kishore Sir, which I have already shared on my Telegram Channel and my Google Drive.

All the Best !

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

My Blog - <https://nehabhosleblog.wordpress.com/>

My Telegram Channel - https://t.me/All_About_UPSC_CSE

INTRODUCING INDIAN SOCIETY

(i) Perspectives on the Study of Indian Society

A. Indology (G.S. Ghurye)

Indology is a branch of social sciences dealing with interpretation of ancient texts and linguistic studies to understand ancient Indian culture.

Characteristics of Indological Approach:

- The Indological approach rests on the assumption that historically, Indian society and culture are unique. This uniqueness of Indian society could be grasped better through the texts.
- It is a historical and comparative method based on Indian texts in the study of Indian society.
- Indologists use ancient history, epics, religious manuscripts and texts etc. in the study of Indian social institutions.
- The texts which Indologists refer include the classical ancient literature of ancient Indian society such as Vedas, Puranas, Manu Smriti, Ramayana, Mahabharata and others. Indologists analyze social phenomena by interpreting the classical texts.
- Apart from Sanskrit scholars and Indologists, many sociologists have also extensively used traditional text to study Indian society. Therefore, it is called as "textual view" or "textual perspective" of social phenomena as it depends upon texts.

Thus, textual variety of sociology that emerged in the late 1970s marks a noticeable shift from the European to the American tradition of social anthropology. The studies conducted during this period cover a wide range of subjects, such as social structure and relationships, cultural values, kinship, ideology, cultural transactions and symbolism of life and the world. Most of these studies are based on textual materials either drawn from epics, legends, myths or from the folk traditions and other symbolic forms of culture. Most of them have been published in *Contribution to Indian Sociology* edited by **TN Madan**.

An Indological and culturological approach has also been the hallmark of several sociologists. They have hammered against the acceptance of theoretical and methodological orientations of the western countries. These scholars emphasized the role of traditions, groups rather than individual as the basis of social relations; and religion, ethics and philosophy as the basis of social organization.

Yogendra Singh has argued that when field studies in many areas of their interest in India became difficult, textual analysis, either of classics or ethics or field notes from an earlier data, represented a fruitful basis for continued analysis of Indian structure and tradition in the 1970s and 1980s.

RN Saxena agrees with this Indological or scriptural basis of studying Indian society. He stressed on the role of the concepts of *Dharma, Artha, Kama* and *Moksha*.

Dumont and Pocock emphasize the utility of Indological formulations. Indology is representative of people's behaviour or that guides people's behaviour in a significant way.

Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 and also introduced the study of Sanskrit and Indology.

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye (1893 - 1984)

He has often been acclaimed as the 'Father of Indian Sociology'. In Cambridge, he wrote his doctoral dissertation under W.H.R. Rivers (who had studied the Toda tribes) and later A.C. Haddon. He succeeded Sir Patric Geddes as Head of Department of Sociology in the University of Bombay in 1924. He founded the Indian Sociological Society and its journal *Sociological Bulletin*. According to D.P. Mukherjee, while others were "sociologists in India", Ghurye was the only Indian sociologist of his time.

Theoretical Approach of Ghurye:

- Ghurye was not dogmatic in the use of theory and methodology. He seems to have believed in practicing and encouraging disciplined eclecticism in theory and methodology. Despite his training at Cambridge under Rivers and his broad acceptance of the structural-functional approach, Ghurye did not strictly conform to the functionalist tradition when interpreting the complex facets of Indian society and culture, which he chose to, investigate.
- The pioneers of Indian sociology were 'armchair' or 'lecture-ism' sociologists. But Ghurye had conducted village, town and community studies.
- Srinivas and Panini are of the view that "Ghurye insisted on fieldwork, though he himself was an armchair scholar". It may be said that although trained in the craft of Indology, Ghurye was not averse to the fieldwork traditions of social and cultural anthropology. Also, his field survey of 'Sex Habits of Middle-Class People' in Bombay and the monograph on the Mahadev Kolis demonstrated Ghurye was far from promoting an armchair textual scholarship.
- Ghurye was a practitioner of 'theoretical pluralism'. He was interested in inductive empirical exercises and depicting Indian social reality using any source material - primarily Indological - his theoretical position bordered on laissez-faire.
- Similarly, when Ghurye conducted survey type research involving primary data collection, he did not conform to accepted methodological canons. He often ventured into generalization on the basis of scanty and unrepresentative evidence. Example: Social Tensions in India.
- Ghurye's flexible approach to theory and methodology in sociology and social anthropology was born of his faith in intellectual freedom, which is reflected in the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches that his research students pursued in their works.
- Ghurye also used historical and comparative methods in his studies.
- Ghurye was initially influenced by the reality of diffusionist approach of British social anthropology but subsequently he switched on to the studies of Indian society from Indological and

anthropological perspectives. Ghurye utilized his profound knowledge of Sanskrit literature, and extensively quoted from the Vedas, Shastras, epics, and poetry of Kalidas or Bhavabhuti to shed light on the social and cultural life in India. He made use of the literature in vernacular, Marathi, and cited from the literature of modern writers like Bankimchandra Chatterjee as well.

Assessment of Ghurye:

- Venugopal describes the underlying theme of Ghurye's work as 'normative Hinduism', defined as an "idealized version of Hinduism serving as a means to judge or analyze diverse social phenomena in Indian society".
- Ghurye stressed that Indian traditions are actually Hindu traditions. One must know the Hindu traditions to understand Indian society. In fact, Ghurye created a special kind of Hindu sociology. Also, he did not define traditions.
- He also did not discuss the impact of modernity. His main concern was the core of Hindu society. In this sense, the traditions of Indian society have its roots in scripture, which is a very narrow vision about Indian society.
- It has been argued that the most of Ghurye's works are based on textual and scriptural data. The choice of scripture and the way of writing may have bias towards one section of society to another.
- Ghurye fails to recognize that qualitative change has occurred in modern India. Past is important for present. The question is that how much of the past is useful. Some argue that Ghurye did not have this realization as his knowledge of the India's past, instead of helping him, stood in his way of analysis.

However, Ghurye was not only concerned with the past evolution of Indian society but also with its present tensions and problems. The task of sociologists, according to him, is to explore the social history of past. He says, one cannot understand the present without the reference of the past. Ghurye introduced a down-to-earth empiricism in Indian sociology and social anthropology.

P2 - A 1 a. Indology (G.S. Ghurye)

INTRODUCING INDIAN SOCIETY

PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIETY

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 287 to 290, 301 to 316

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 2. Education - Pages 102 to 107

1893 - 1983

Indology literally means a systematic study of Indian society and culture. Orientalism, Indology and Diffusionism are the three major intellectual influences which mark Ghurye's sociology.

For Ghurye, as in the Orientalist view, religion is the guiding principle of Indian society, and specifically Brahmanical religion, as given in the sacred texts, provides the moral principles and prescriptions for the organization of society - criticized separatists in NE, South, Partition.

Origin of Sociology in India and its development can be divided into three stages:

1. Initiation stage (1857-1960) - which is subdivided into two parts - colonial understanding of India and Indological. Some Indologists include Louis Dumont, Metcalfe, Baden Powell.
2. Crystallization (1960-1980) - Marxist, Structural-Functional approach developed.
3. Maturity (1980 onwards) - manifold issues studied, though approaches are few. Social Impact Assessment Survey made mandatory before any project now. (else history lost, cultural roots lost, forced transition from collectivity to individualism - Maoist movement).

Today sociology is concerned about welfare and happiness.

Initiation:

- Colonial necessity. Needed to understand culture and history of India so that they could rule effectively and for long - developed the oriental approach to study India. Example: Hindu marriage is sacred and not contractual - gives rise to slavery.
- Missionaries and social workers - lived and served the locals. Example: "Youth Dormitory" concept. Invisible people became visible to the world, like the Todas.
- District Gazetteer by the collectors of the provinces. From these, "places" came to be known to outsiders. Earlier to "people".
- Census from 1871 - details on caste, religion, culture, occupation, education, employment - social, economic and demographic data.

Marx - India's socio-economic structures and institutions were stagnant and hence society was not progressing. 2 contradictory classes needed for progress, British arrived and created Zamindars and so now conflict and revolution will happen.

Weber - Hindu ethics are other-worldly and no spirit of capitalism.

Sir Henry Maine - found the joint family system unique and compared with the ancient Greek and Roman society. Found similarity - example: Eldest son inherits more responsibilities. Similarity between Sanskrit and Greek, Roman language and script. So Westerners and Orientalists started from common source - long lost brothers, help Indians progress via education, technology, science. "White Man's Burden" get rid of ignorance and superstitions - COLONIAL VIEW OF INDIA / Orientalists - even RRMR was sympathetic to this view.

The term 'orientalism' implies the literary and cultural study of Middle Eastern and East Asian societies. Secondly, the term also refers to the 18th century administrative policy of the East India Company favouring the preservation of Indian languages, laws and customs.

In the history of the British Raj, there were two major schools of thought concerning the system of rule over India. One was the "Orientalist" camp and the other was the "Anglicist" camp. The Orientalists placed major importance on Indian culture and sought to rule India based on its own traditions. In the history of the British Raj, this Orientalist attitude was predominant toward the end of the 18th century, before it was replaced by the Anglicist attitude early in the 19th century.

The Anglicists, on the other hand, believed in the supremacy of the English language and English culture. Hence, they tried to establish a system of rule fashioned on that of Britain itself, particularly through the introduction of English-language education. These British writers influenced by Utilitarianism and Evangelism constructed a negative image of Indian civilization in order to provide a moral basis for empire. James Mill was the most prominent representative of this trend.

The early British Orientalists sought to reconstruct ancient Indian civilization through the study of Sanskrit texts, and with this knowledge to place India within various universal schemes of human history. Because Indian society was seen as static and monolithic, the ancient texts could be taken as authentic guides to the study of Indian civilization and even to the organization of contemporary society, for

example in the production of 'Hindu law'.

Nationalists - **Sir William Jones** - Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Culture not inferior - unique, humanist, limited needs, peace, *vasudaiva kutumbakam*, etc. So glorified it. **Max Mueller** also belongs to this school, he collected and published the full text of Vedas for the first time - this celebration of culture led to **cultural revivalism** - **Dayanand Saraswati**

1857 - Sociology department as an extension of Indology department developed in Poona.

1914 - **Sir Patrick Geddes** Bombay University. Started teaching "Urban Ecology" - but demographic disturbances happened with urban planning - in 1919 started "Indology and Urban Planning Department".

1914-20 - Sociology was part of Political Science Department in Calcutta University, in Lucknow University part of Economics Department.

1920 - separate Sociology department in Bombay University - **Ghurye**

Crystallization:

1960 - **Srinivas** started Department of Sociology in DU - he, **Andre**, **Veena Das**, **J. P. S. Uberoi** developed structural-functional approach.

1965 - JNU, under **Yogendra Singh** - influenced by **Parsonian** school - macro approach, while DU was micro.

Maturity:

Cross fertilization of ideas and reciprocal advancement of issues and knowledge.

GHURYE - liberal philosophy, rationality, spirit of nationalism and pride in Hinduism - inspired by Orientalists - Brahmanical Nationalism - elements of diffusionists.

Upadhyay said Ghurye's sociology can be characterized by cultural nationalism.

European societies have political states. India is a cultural society. All kingdoms had different culture but came together through common value consensus. Modernization not complete in India as culture defines the elements and intensity of modernity acceptable to India. There is Indianization of Modernization than Modernization of Tradition. Example: online matrimony on caste lines. Indian modernity respects culture, European modernity replaces culture.

Culture is evolving and diffusing - Aryan culture negotiated with local culture to form Hindu cultural tradition - trinity, village Goddess, local Gods as *avatar* of Vishnu - Shiva was tribal God, Vishnu Aryan - Daksha was Aryan, Shiva tribal so theirs was an inter-racial marriage.

On Caste: - '*Caste and Race in India*'

In his studies of kinship and caste, Ghurye emphasized two points: (a) the kin and caste networks of India had parallels in some other countries also; and (b) the kinship and caste in India served as integrative framework.

Aryan DOL was based on convenience and need to maintain self-sufficiency - institutionalized family - caste was allocated on basis of occupation. No occupation was high/low as it was choice based. Occupation not chosen for personal wealth but keeping reciprocation in mind. Thus there was stability and continuity in the society because of caste. It gave self-sufficiency.

Tribal MOP was such that everyone did same thing, so no self-sufficiency - they copied Aryan DOL - thus caste was a product of necessity and cultural diffusion and a product of values rather than coercion. No hierarchical inequality, but guided by reciprocity. Respected for work and not birth - Karna, Krishna, Valmiki.

Brahmins were ones with good memory as texts had to be memorized and taught to others. Common cultural consciousness and their carrier saints helped hold India together.

Ghurye talks of contemporary character of caste in India - criticizes **Periyar** movement as a divisive and false caste consciousness - says Brahmins went to south to combine the local culture with their culture and the synthesis brought forth Hindu culture and thus common cultural consciousness.

Traceable family tree = *Kul*, long family tree of lineage = *gotra* - *gotra* is origin, caste is occupation. *Gotra* = Totem in **Durkheim**'s language *Charan* = *guru shishya parampara* as in Gurukul all caste kids present - so everyone learnt same values - common value consciousness - classmates became Kings in different areas, so friendly and peace + they transmitted values to those who did not go to school too. *Charan* system prevented appearance of regular warfare, violence and destruction.

Segmental division, hierarchy among segments, purity and pollution, civil and religious disabilities and privileges, lack of choice of occupation, restriction on marriage - caste endogamy, clan exogamy.

His classic study of caste and race in India moved the focus of sociological study from a reconstruction of a social institution (caste) from

Sanskrit texts to a study of how it functioned in contemporary social reality.

The *gotra* and *charana* were kin-categories of Indo-European languages which systematized the rank and status of the people. These categories were derived from names of the sages of the past. These sages were the real or eponymous founders of the *gotra* and *charana*. In India descent has not always been traced to the blood tie; the lineages were often based on spiritual descent from sages of the past. Outside the kinship we might notice the *guru-shishya* relationship, which is also based on spiritual descent; the disciple is proud to trace his descent from a master. Likewise, caste and sub-caste integrated people into a ranked order based on norms of purity-pollution. The rules of endogamy and commensality which marked off castes from each other, were in fact integrative instruments to organize them into a totality or collectivity. The Hindu religion provided the conceptual and ritualistic guidelines for this integration. The Brahmins in India played a key role in legitimizing the caste ranks and orders through their interpretation of *Dharmashastras*, which were the compendia of sacred codes.

Still strong today due to caste associations which help in education and employment.

On Tribes:

Indigenous communities - inter marriages were common - caste and tribe were intermixed as Tribal Kings declared themselves Kshatriya - Gods were mixed - called them Backward Hindus - Their backwardness was due to their imperfect integration into Hindu society.

When tribes start practicing Hinduism and took up occupation - caste Hindus.

The voluntary relationship between tribes and castes stopped during the British rule. Areas were forbidden to non-Tribals, conversions started and they preached them that Hindus had oppressed them - hostile to Hindus.

Hence, cultural view of India = secession on basis on caste in South and Tribe in NE.

Helpful for tribes as their economy matures plus they give up practices like sexual openness, etc.

Verrier Elwin book '*Loss of Nerve*' - believed that contact with Hindu 'civilization' invariably led to the exploitation of tribals and loss of their culture, hence the need for protection.

Ghurye argued that tribals faced the same problems as caste Hindu cultivators: rapacious moneylenders, ignorance, short-sighted government policies and inefficient legal machinery together produced the typical pattern found in tribal areas of exploitation, land alienation, and bonded labour. The solution to this problem lay in "... strengthening the ties of the tribals with the other backward classes through their integration," not in separatism or isolation.

Ghurye suggests that the economic motivation behind the adoption of Hinduism was very strong among the tribes. They could come out of the narrow confines of their tribal crafts of a rudimentary nature and adopt specialized types of occupation, which were in demand in society. Ghurye also argued that the administrative separation of tribal areas was motivated by imperial economic interests rather than any concern for the welfare of the people. He refers here to the exploitation of forests, opening of coal fields in 'tribal' areas, and recruitment of tribal labour for tea plantations and mines.

Ghurye also argued against Elwin's proposal to codify tribal customs in civil matters on the ground that this would simply 'fossilize' them. Ghurye pointed out that "customs ... are plastic, and thus have an advantage over law which is rigid. Once we codify them we make them more rigid than law ... After the customs are codified, whatever little authority the tribal elders may have in their interpretation today will cease."

Ghurye also criticized Elwin's opposition to social reform movements among tribals. He believed that there were certain 'customs' such as drinking and sexual permissiveness that needed to be eradicated. Under Hindu influence, the tribes gave up liquor drinking, received education and improved their agriculture. In this context, Hindu voluntary organizations, such as Ramakrishna Mission and Arya Samaj, played a constructive role for the development of the tribes. He quotes extensively from various writings and reports to show that Kataris, Bhuiyas, Oraons, Khonds, Gonds, Korkus etc. have substantially adopted Hinduism as their religion. Ghurye considers the incorporation of Hindu values and norms into tribal life was a positive step in the process of development.

While Ghurye was in favour of a certain kind of 'uplift', mainly economic, he believed that the promotion of cultural pluralism by certain anthropologists and through official policies would lead to social disintegration. He cited as proof of this danger the emergence of cultural revival movements among some tribal groups, and he opposed tribal and regional autonomy movements as divisive.

Thus Ghurye in many ways had a more realistic and progressive understanding of the history and problems of 'tribals' than many of his contemporaries, and his critique of Elwin's paternalism is refreshing. It appears that his nationalism, despite its inherent conservatism, led him to be quite perceptive on some issues: he recognized the economic and political roots of the Adivasi situation and was quite prescient to recognize the colonial origin of the caste-tribe distinction. But in the end, Ghurye's own position was hardly more progressive than Elwin's, for his understanding of the tribal 'problem' was based on his view of Indian history as an ongoing process of "...assimilation of smaller groups of different cultures into larger ones." He regarded this as a natural process that was upset by colonialism: groups that had not been 'properly assimilated' appeared to the British to be different from the rest and were therefore designated as tribals. Here was the origin of the 'tribal problem', whose solution lay in assimilation rather than in the preservation of cultural diversity.

In his later works on north-eastern tribes, Ghurye documented secessionist trends. He felt that unless these were held in check, the political unity of the country would be damaged.

On Muslims:

Their rulers destroyed Hindu culture which was source of unity earlier. Stopped patronizing Brahmins so spread of common values stopped. Persian replaced Sanskrit, mosques came up. Masses started converting for benefits. Dialectic of values.

Ghurye's works often discussed Hindu-Muslim relationships. He regarded Hindus and Muslims as separate groups, with little possibility of mutual give and take.

The pro-Hindu stance of Ghurye was based on the conflicts engendered by nearly seven centuries of Islamic rule in India. The forced conversions, destruction of places of worship, etc. no doubt damaged the Hindu psyche. Looking critically at Ghurye's views, it is necessary to add here that the predatory acts of Muslim rulers find no sanction in Koran. Islam does not advocate violence. What happened was that political expediency rather than commitment to faith made the Muslim rulers use force against their subjects. Besides, Hindu-Muslim interactions have been culturally productive and socially beneficial. Sufism stimulated Bhakti movement in India; the growth of Urdu literature, Hindustani classical music and shared patterns of life style showed that Islamic rule had a positive side. Communal tensions were in fact mainly a product of colonial rule. It was a political strategy of the British to divide the Indian society, especially the Hindus and the Muslims, after the 1857 Mutiny so that they could not fight them as a united force. Communalism also received a fillip by the expansion of urbanism due to conflict of interest. Mostly, the communal riots have almost always taken place in India's urban centers due to political and economic reasons under the garb of religion. Ghurye's works have focused on the disturbances during his life-time. In reality, in pre-British times there was good cooperation between the two communities.

On Culture:

Gurukul system - common value education for life skills and ethics + performing arts and visual arts - source of unity, got transferred from macrostructure to microstructure giving rise to permanence and continuity in culture. Triad is foundation to Indian culture.

Thus, Ghurye's sociology has 3 elements - Nationalistic (Periyar, NE Tribes v/s culture), Diffusive (culture spread, synthesis) and Indological (old texts).

Ghurye's search for the roots of Indian culture in the Vedic age is reflected in several of his later books including *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture* (1955), *Two Brahmanical Institutions: Gotra and Charana* (1972), and *Vedic India* (1979).

In *Gotra and Charana* Ghurye investigates the origin, history and spread of these 'Brahmanical institutions' of exogamy through an exhaustive study of Sanskrit literature and inscriptions from different periods, ending with contemporary information on exogamous practices in several communities. By comparing similar cultural traits among ancient Greeks and Indo-Iranians, he develops the theory that *gotras* originated in the "cosmographical and astronomical view and knowledge gained by Aryans in their new home in India" Here we see the influence of the Aryan invasion thesis, in which cultural elements have their ultimate origin in the original Aryan race, combined with the diffusionist tracking of culture traits across time and space.

In *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture*, Ghurye tries to reconstruct ancient Vedic-Aryan family and kinship structures. He concludes that the family in ancient times was joint in form, with four generations living under one roof, sharing food and property. In other words, the ideal Hindu family, as constructed by British 'Hindu law' and reinforced by Indian sociology, has its origin in ancient India. In this book Ghurye also offers a rare general statement of his perspective, suggesting that Indo-Aryan culture is "... known for formulation of its ends and for prescription of means for the guidance of society and its components in a clear and definite manner. The Indian theory and practice of life, its social philosophy, its laws and its customs have centered on the four social categories of *varna*, caste, *ashrama*, stage of life, *purusartha*, purpose of life, and *Rina*, debt."

Ghurye outlines the history of particular kinship rites, such as different forms of ancestor worship, from the time of the Smritis to the present, arguing that the *shraddha* "has remained the standard type of Hindu (Indian) ancestor-worship throughout the ages till today."

Brahmin-centered Hinduism served as an 'acculturative model' for other groups because it provided an integrative value system. For Ghurye, 'acculturation' meant vertical integration into the "social structure dominated by Indo-Aryanism in general and Brahmanical Hinduism in particular", i.e., the caste system. The same vision of the absorptive power of Hinduism explains his argument that tribals are 'backward Hindus'. For Ghurye as for the early Orientalist writers, Indian social history is essentially the history of Hinduization or the assimilation of non-Hindu groups into Hindu society.

Anand Coomaraswamy - Indian art and Vedas, Sculptures - Indologist.

BK Sarkar, **RK Mukherji**, **DP Mukherji** - Indologists.

RK Mukherji - Lucknow University - environmental studies, civilization studies - inspired by **Robert Parks**, US for environment studies.

Diffusion refers to the spread of specific cultural traits or elements from one society or social group to another.

Acculturation, on the other hand, refers to the modification of the culture of a group or an individual through contact with one or more other cultures and the acquiring or exchanging of culture traits.

The exploration and analysis of the process of cultural unity in India through ages constitutes the major thrust of Ghurye's writing. Thus, in theoretical terms, his focus on the unity and integration aspect of Indian culture reflects his broad acceptance of the structural-functional approach.

On Sadhus:

In his work *Indian Sadhus*, Ghurye (1953) examined the paradoxical nature of renunciation in India. In Indian culture, the Sadhu or Sannyasin is supposed to be detached from all caste norms, social conventions, etc. In fact, he is outside "the pale of society". It is the usual practice among Shaivites to conduct a - 'mock funeral' of one who is entering the path of renunciation. It means that he is 'dead' to society but is - 'reborn' in spiritual terms. Yet, interestingly enough since the time of Shankara, the 8th century reformer, Hindu society has been more or less guided by the Sadhus. These Sadhus are not individual hermits. Most of them are organized into monastic orders which have distinctive traditions. The monastic organization in India was a product of Buddhism and Jainism. Shankara introduced it into Hinduism.

Indian renouncers have acted as the arbiters of religious disputes, patronized learning of scriptures and even defended religion against external attacks. So, renunciation has been a constructive force in Hindu society. Ghurye considered in detail the different groups of Sadhus. Important among them were the Dashnamis (literal meaning: ten orders) and Vaishnavite Bairagis. Both these groups had the Naga (militant naked ascetics) contingents which were ready to fight off those who threatened the Hindu religion. Incidentally, *Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's* Bengali novel, *Anand Math* recounts the story of a group of Shaivite monks who put up an armed struggle against the British forces in the nineteenth century. They were no doubt defeated by the British but they thereby revealed their staunch commitment to Hinduism. These Sadhus who assembled on a large scale at Kumbh Mela were the very microcosm of India; they came from diverse regions, spoke different languages but belonged to common religious orders. Asceticism, according to Ghurye, was not a relic of the past but a vital aspect of the current practices of Hinduism. The well-known ascetics of the recent times, Vivekanand, Dayanand Saraswati and Sri Aurobindo worked for the betterment of Hinduism.

Indian art and architecture:

Ghurye was also keenly interested in Indian art. According to him, the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist artistic monuments shared common elements. By contrast, Hindu and Muslim monuments were grounded in diverse value systems. The Indian temples were indigenous in inspiration. The Veda, epics and Purana provided them with popular themes. 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. The Hindu elements remained decorative in Muslim buildings. By contrast, the Rajput architecture retained its commitment to Hindu ideals, in spite of political control of Rajasthan by Muslim rulers. Ghurye traced the costumes in India from the ancient to the present time. He drew upon Hindu, Buddhist and Jain artistic works (architecture and sculpture) to illustrate the variations in costume over the ages.

Radhakamal Mukerjee wrote on Indian art. There was, however, a difference in his approach to art. Mukerjee viewed it as a vehicle of values, norms and ideals of a civilization which had thrived through centuries. Ghurye, by contrast, was looking at art as a specifically Hindu configuration. Ghurye wrote that Rajput architecture was the assertion of Hindu faith in its own destiny. Mukerjee looked at the same phenomenon of artistic activity somewhat differently. He held that the Rajputs were fervently engaged in building monuments which they believed would outlast them as their artistic heritage. Thus, in spite of their continuous battles with Muslim overlords, they used their resources to patronize art.

Rural urbanization:

Ghurye was interested in the process of rural-urbanization. He held the view that the urbanization in India was not a simple function of industrial growth. In India, the process of urbanization, at least till 1980s, started from within the rural area itself. Ghurye quoted Sanskrit texts and documents to illustrate the growth of urban centers from the need for markets felt in rural hinterland. In other words, owing to the expansion of agriculture, more and more markets were needed to exchange the surplus in food grains. 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. We may add here that urban centers were also based on feudal patronage. In the past, demand of royal courts for silk cloth, weapons, jewellery, metal artifacts led to the growth of urban centers such as Varanasi, Kanchipuram, Jaipur, Moradabad etc.

In sum, Ghurye's approach to "rural-urbanization" showed the indigenous source of urbanism. The growth of metropolitan centers during colonial times altered the Indian urban life. The towns and cities were no longer the outlets for agricultural produce and handicrafts; but they became the major manufacturing centers, which used rural hinterland for producing raw-materials and turned it into a market for selling industrial products. Thus, metropolis came to dominate the village economy. In contrast to previous pattern, now the urbanization has started making inroads into the rural hinterland.

Ghurye made the study of a village in Pune district of Maharashtra to highlight the continuity of the social structure. This village named Lonikand had been studied by a British officer in 1819. He described its general layout, economic infrastructure, caste composition, market transactions and political and religious dispositions. The re-survey of the village made by Ghurye in 1957 did not reveal any far-reaching differences in the demographic, economic and social dimensions of the village. Besides, he found that the layout of the village corresponded to the pattern laid down in a text of antiquity. He also noted that the village did not have a very well-knit social structure; there were loose strands in its social fabric. In spite of it the village had survived as a viable unit.

Critique:

Ignores Muslim contribution to unity and culture. Many had been converted due to force - not all are Turks or Iranians. Not all tribes have converted but are still hostile example: Jarawas. Conversion led to literacy example: Mizoram. Domination, exploitation, conflict ignored. Not really Hindu, more Brahmanical point of view, economic factors and explanations ignored.

Ghurye believed that the continuity of Hindu civilization was broken by the Islamic 'invasion', and he adopted uncritically the colonial construction of Indian history and society as a struggle between Hindus and Muslims. He also echoed the assumption that Muslims have a culture that is entirely separate from that of Hindus. Evidence of religious syncretism at the level of everyday practices was ignored by Ghurye, who argued against the secularist idea of Indian culture as a 'fusion' of Hindu, Muslim and other elements.

Instead he regarded Indian culture as the product of acculturation between Vedic-Aryan and pre-Aryan cultural elements and argued that Muslims in India had always practiced separatism, except for short periods of attempted integration.

In *Social Tensions in India*, Ghurye states that the "presence of Islamic cultural elements in the basic ancient Indian culture-fabric shows the process of syncretization, not fusion". Hindus and Muslims have remained distinct communities "... though there have been some meeting points across religious boundaries at certain stages of history".

In *Caste and Race in India* and *Social Tensions* (1968), Ghurye, like some of the British Orientalists, argued that Hinduism and Islam are fundamentally incompatible religious systems.

DP Mukherjee - there was not a common value, rather there was a hierarchy of values in superstructure which influenced base of Indian society.

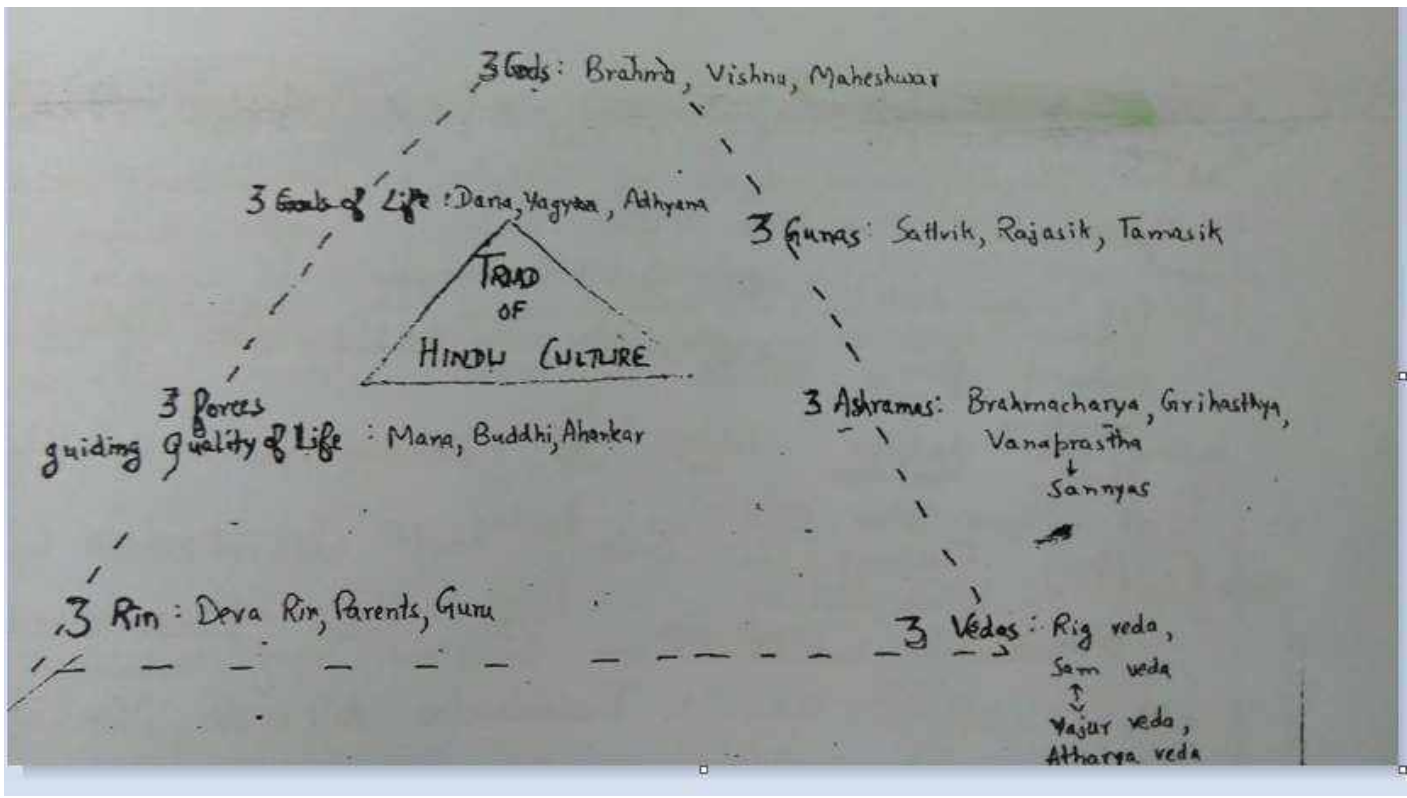
Dange - Brahmins were respected, not because of their knowledge, but from an economic perspective.

Kosambi rejects caste-tribe continuum and says that indigenous people were forced to surrender to Aryans.

TK Oommen - Hindu centric view.

Andre Beteille - Ghurye was a nationalist more than a sociologist.

Carol Upadhyay argues that a significant feature of Ghurye's cultural history is the almost complete neglect of economic/material content in his analysis.



B. Structural functionalism (M.N. Srinivas)

Structural Functional Perspective:

This perspective focuses on understanding the 'ordering' and 'patterning' of the social world. The focus of attention is mainly the 'problem of order' at a societal level. The 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.

AR Radcliffe Brown says that the total social structure of a society, together with the totality of social usages, constituted a functional unity, a condition in which all parts work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency.

Spencer goes further and points out that not only analogy exists between the body social and body human but the same definition of life is applied to both.

Durkheim insisted on the importance of structure over elements. He has pointed to the importance of social morphology or structure.

Evans-Pritchard describes social structure in terms of persistent social groups.

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".

- This perspective of society stresses the element of harmony and consistency not those of conflict and contradiction.
- The functional unity of a system is defined in terms of social order.
- In defining society in holistic terms, it implies that everything within the system is necessarily functional for the whole.
- They are the believers of the fact that society is a relatively persisting configuration of elements and consensus is a ubiquitous element of the social system.
- It treats changes as slow, cumulative process of adjustment to new situations.

The explanations consist essentially of pointing out how the different types of activities fit on top of one another, and are consistent with one another, and how conflicts are contained and prevented from changing the structure.

MN Srinivas started structural-functional analysis in sociological and social anthropological research in India. The structural-functional perspective relies more on the field work tradition for understanding the social reality so that it can also be understood as 'contextual' or 'field view' perspective of the social phenomena.

Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas (1916 - 1999)

Srinivas has initiated the tradition of macro-sociological generalizations on micro-anthropological insights, and of giving a sociological sweep and perspective to anthropological investigations of small-scale communities in India. Srinivas wanted to understand his countrymen not on the basis of western textbooks or from indigenous sacred texts but from direct observation, field study and field experience. He made intensive field study of Coorgs between 1940-42. In his study, he describes the concept of functional unity by Coorgs, mainly Brahmins (priests), Kaniyas (astrologers and magicians) and Bannas and Panikas (low castes). In the context of the study of Rampura also, he describes that the various castes in a village are interdependent.

Srinivas's studies of caste and religion highlighted not only their structural-functional aspects, but also the dynamics of the caste system in rural setting. He proposed conceptual tools like 'dominant caste', 'Sanskritization-westernization' and 'secularization' to understand the realities of inter-caste relations and also to explain their dynamics.

Srinivas explains two basic concepts to understand our society:

- 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.
- Field view (field work): Srinivas believes that the knowledge about the different regions of Indian society can be attained through field work. 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 also realized the need for a mathematical and statistical orientation in sociology.

P2 - A 1 b. Structural functionalism (M.N. Srinivas)

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Srinivas's Writings - Pages 12 to 18

Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 8. Difference between US and UK Structural Functionalism - Pages 155 to 157

Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 9. Structural Functionalism in Sociology - Pages 163 to 165

1916 - 1999

Sociological generalizations from anthropological insights.

Inspired by ARRB, Ghurye and also by Vivekanand.

Culturological / Indological idea was - India v/s West - caste, hierarchy, pervasive v/s class, stratification, dynamic.

MNS opposed this idea and said empirical data should be collected to understand change rather than such a subjective approach. He also opposed Marxist view that middle class became the new bourgeoisie. If that was true, Ambedkar, Shastri would not have reached high positions - high mobility post-independence.

Indology glorified cultural ideology, Marxists glorified political ideology.

Structural functionalism - collect data. Do not assume each part has some contribution and has a relationship with other parts. Functions, dysfunctions, non-functions all are possible - approach comes from UK - structural unit, structural form, structural morphology - unbiased, empirically established method - comparison possible and helps in reductional analysis, maintains objectivity.

- Empirical approach
- Comparative methodology
- Reductional analysis
- Objectivism

Departs from sociological romanticism to sociological realism.

On Caste:

Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952)

Rejects *guna* based determination of caste as per the texts (Brahman *satvik*, Kshatriya *rajasik*, others *tamsik*). They saw caste as ideological, unchangeable and pervasive.

Empirical view differs - CGM became Kshatriya, Lingayats became Brahmins, Nairs (palanquin bearers) became Kshatriyas - caste is dynamic, caste based on origin is not necessarily caste in the future.

"Each caste is demanding superiority to equals and equality to superiors" - MNS

Claims and counter claims present in caste, migration helps in changing caste, accidents, royal patronage changed caste - caste system is dynamic hierarchy.

Caste as ritual hierarchy - food, language, rituals, manner of speech.

Caste as secular hierarchy - wealth, land, education, employment.

As secular position changes or improves, the upwardly mobile classes change their behaviour - use secular mobility and its power to attain higher ritual status - Sanskritization.

Hierarchy, occupational difference, restriction, pollution, caste panchayats.

Dominant caste - sizeable arable land, numbers, high place in local hierarchy, western education, jobs in administration, urban sources of income.

Caste consciousness is increasing due to policy of reservation and politics of reservation has replaced the sociology of reservation.

On Village:

Villages not self-sufficient - marriage exogamy, service occupational people are not all available in one village, land is sometimes in

other village, weekly *Haats*.

Gupta empire had ministry of foreign trade - so surplus and export also.

Continuity and change in village life to be studied using empirical data.

He made intensive field study of Coorgs between 1940-42. In his study, he describes the concept of different castes of Coorgs, mainly Brahmins (priests), Kaniyas (astrologers and magicians) and Bannas and Panikas (low castes). In the context of the study of Rampura also, he describes that the various castes in a village are interdependent.

MRT from USA, field work from UK.

Social change:

Sanskritization, westernization, secularization, dominant class, vote bank concepts - lower level abstraction and middle range theories.

Primary westernization, secondary westernization, tertiary westernization.

Cultural historical - Muslim arrival, Marxist - change in MOP.

MNS - change is multidimensional - orthogenetic and heterogenetic.

Ortho - Buddhism, Jainism, Bhakti, Sanskritization, Tribal entry into caste system.

Hetero - colonialism, globalization, westernization.

Change does not have a linear impact on people and places - example: internal or external Sanskritization or westernization.

Rajbanshis in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal sought to elevate their position to that of the Kshatriya caste.

He called Dowry = modern Sati.

On Family:

Cultural historical - joint family driven by *dharma*, cooperation, moralism is its essence. When individualism takes over, it becomes a nuclear family.

Marxist - feudal society had joint family as land gave status and source of production, capitalism nuclear family.

MNS - joint family has not disintegrated into nuclear family. Only family system has changed. There has been a demographic, residential shift in joint family system. Joint family members living in nucleated households are still in regular touch, participate in ceremonies, hold land in village, etc. - family jointness still exists. Emotional connection still exists.

South - cross cousin marriage allowed, so in-law house is not a new place, so women have high status.

Family jointness depends on caste, class, region, religion, occupation, income, family size.

Sanskritization / Westernization - social transformation by adhering to culture and tradition of Brahmins as seen in Coorgs of Mysore - not necessarily Brahmins, local dominant groups are the points of reference. It not only explains caste mobility, but also socio-religious movements like Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduization of Tribal. Middle Range Theory. Westernization was change in technology, institutions and values brought by British. But this package of change did not displace India's cultural foundation.

We find a systematic formulation of these two concepts in Srinivas' [Social Change in Modern India](#).

Sanskritization brought within the framework of Indian tradition whereas westernization was a change resulting from the contacts of British socio-economic and cultural innovation.

Example:

- Railway to go to pilgrimage, TV to watch Satsang, microphone for Gandhi's mass mobilization and *azaan*, Printing Press also to print *Manusmriti* along with Science, Radio for *Bhakti Sangeet*.
- Schools taught modern subjects but teacher student relation remained traditional, businesses follow kinship model.
- Values were picked up selectively - secular outside home, religious at home.

Some went for internal and external Sanskritization and became sanyasis, some went for internal and external westernization and

became Brown British elite minority - majority are internally Sanskritized and externally westernized. People choose how much modernity and tradition they want. Modernity is a value laden concept and MNS prefers the term westernization. MNS rejects GT/LT, cognitive and modernization theories of social change. He says Sanskritization, westernization theory is relevant for explaining social change in India.

Sanskritization leads to only positional change and not structural change. It is an endogenous source of change. It was disadvantageous to women as upper caste restrictions on them were also copied by the lower caste.

De-Sanskritization or downward mobility also happens - Smiths of Mysore - even untouchables stopped accepting food from them.

Modernization is a utopian, deterministic and absolute theory which says no alternative to modernity and demands structural breakdown and absolute change. It is value loaded. Westernization is simply about change in technology, institutions and values. It talks of mutual coexistence of modernity and tradition and is a value neutral concept. India sees continuity of structure as well as change. Structural functionalist theory.

In defining westernization Srinivas emphasized on the ideas of humanitarianism and rationalism. Further, commenting on the broader dimensions of westernization, **Yogendra Singh** writes: Emphasis on humanitarianism and rationalism is a part of westernization which led to a series of institutional and social reforms in India. Establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in the country, are all by-products of westernization.

The Ilavans of Kerala, the Smiths of South India, the Ramgharias of Punjab, the Chamars of Uttar Pradesh and many other castes have all tried to Sanskritize their way of life.

Others who used structural functionalism:

- **Andre** - stratification.
- **MSA Rao** - urban society - Delhi not a metropolis as Punjabis live in PB, Bengalis in CRP.
- **Anita Minocha** - community medicine.
- **BS Baviskar** - development.
- **AM Saha** - family and kinship.

Critique:

- Unit of study - a village - is too small for being representative of the Indian society.
- Cannot explain revolutionary change as impact of revolution may be visible in one structure and not visible in other - need to study history - example: Maoist movement cannot be studied using this method.
- Speaks about change in structure rather than change of structure.
- Driven by objective idealism - continuum or conservative approach - example: caste class continuum.
- Exclusively studied Hindu society, ignore those not in *varna* and *jati* system.
- Teleological - understood caste only in the context of village and vice versa.
- Does not analyze colonialism as a destructive force.

- **Harold Gould** - Sanskritization is not an imitation of a higher caste culture but a form of rebellion. Caste mobility is unimportant, rather it is important for them to protest and pose a direct challenge to the upper caste.
- **Dirks** - criticized Sanskritization for using a single Brahmanical scale for upward mobility, calls it a new colonial sociology.
- Sanskritization is not an all India phenomenon. Punjab saw Islamization, Uttarakhand saw Tribalization.
- MNS ignored Periyar and Phule's movements against Brahmins - self emancipation by challenging upper class authority.
- **McKim Marriott** finds no clear process of Sanskritization at the expense of the non-Sanskritic traditions in his village studies. He sees Sanskritic rites being added on to non-Sanskritic rites without replacing them.
- **Anand Chakraborty** - MNS neglected gender and other contemporary issues like Dalit movements, peasant movements. He was too biased towards caste study and village study and his sociological discourse remained traditional.
- **Yogendra Singh** criticizes MNS for his traditional approach in advocating little change in Indian tradition, says MNS ignored the structural factors of social change - studied social reality only from caste and village standpoint, and hence myopic.
- **TK Oommen** criticizes MNS for objective idealism - his studies are purely fact based and connected with idealistic traditional view of India.

- One, it has been criticized for exaggerating social mobility or the scope of 'lower castes' to move up the social ladder. For it leads to no structural change but only positional change of some individuals. In other words inequality continues to persist though some individuals may be able to improve their positions within the unequal structure.
- Two, it has been pointed out that the ideology of Sanskritization accepts the ways of the 'upper caste' as superior and that of the 'lower caste' as inferior. Therefore, the desire to imitate the 'upper caste' is seen as natural and desirable.
- Third, 'Sanskritization' seems to justify a model that rests on inequality and exclusion. It appears to suggest that to believe in pollution and purity of groups of people is justifiable or all right. Therefore, to be able to look down on some groups just as the

- 'upper castes' looked down on the 'lower castes', is a mark of privilege.
- Fourth, since Sanskritization results in the adoption of upper caste rites and rituals it leads to practices of secluding girls and women, adopting dowry practices instead of bride-price and practicing caste discrimination against other groups.
 - Fifth, the effect of such a trend is that the key characteristics of Dalit culture and society are eroded. For example the very worth of labour which 'lower castes' do is degraded and rendered 'shameful'. Identities based on the basis of work, crafts and artisanal abilities, knowledge forms of medicine, ecology, agriculture, animal husbandry, etc., are regarded useless in the industrial era.

Louis Dumont is perhaps the most vocal opponent of this approach. He says that the correct way to study Indian society is through ideational-cognitive approach which gauges the prevalence of certain unique ideas (like holism, hierarchy, purity and pollution) in the Indian society.

Such a concept is backed by Yogendra Singh who says: we should study the ideas which shape up social realities and not the social realities per se.



Impact of Westernisation on Indian Society

Article shared by : **Nitisha**

ADVERTISEMENTS:

M.N. Srinivas defined it:

“I have used the term “westernisation” to characterize the changes brought about in the Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule”. Westernisation occurs at different levels: in the levels of technology, institution, ideology and values. The term ‘westernisation’ is ethically neutral. So, it does not carry the value of good or bad.

Characteristics of Westernisation

1. It is inclusive as it can accommodate various outside elements.

ADVERTISEMENTS:

2. It is complex as it includes many aspects such as behaviours aspect, knowledge aspect etc.

3. It is many layered for it occurs in many levels.

4. Emphasis is given more on humanitarianism and rationalism.

5. Westernisation primarily focuses on cultural changes.

ADVERTISEMENTS:

6. Westernisation results in the introduction of new institutions and brings changes in the old institutions.

M.N. Srinivas found contradicting situations in relation to westernisation. For example, the manipulation of western technology does not mean that the manipulators have accepted a rationalistic and scientific attitude. That is why, he found, the bulldozer driver of Rampura village was a black magician. He thought that this situation represents a carryover of traditional magico-religious beliefs into the new world of modern technology.

There are also instances where westernisation has given birth to forces which are mutually at cross-purposes. For example, the introduction of printing machine. Printing machine helps in the transmission of modern knowledge as well as knowledge of the traditional epics, mythology, religious literature etc. Likewise, in the political and cultural field, westernisation has given birth to nationalism and also to revivalism, communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism.

Prof. Srinivas used concepts like primary westernisation, secondary westernisation and tertiary westernisation. In primary westernisation the linkage between western stimulus and Indian response is simple and direct. It is easy to identify the stimulus and responses. For example, increase in literacy due to printing machine.

In secondary westernisation the links are numerous and are not visible on the surface. For example, it is very difficult to find out the connection between westernisation and the student unrest. There are some areas where it is too difficult to find out the linkage between western stimulus and Indian response. It is known as tertiary westernisation.

Primary Westernisation and Changes in Little Tradition:

Primary westernisation indicates the changes induced by the western impact on the Indian little tradition.

Such changes are of two types:

- (a) Emergence of westernised sub-cultural patterns.
- (b) The process of general diffusion of western cultural traits.

ADVERTISEMENTS:

(a) Emergence of Westernised Sub-Culture:

The westernised sub-cultural pattern was first emerged through a minority section of Indians who first came into contact with western culture.

They had done three things:

Firstly, these people acted as the link between the Indians and the Britishers.

Secondly, they themselves adopted various western elements such as dress pattern, food habit, ideas, values etc. They adopted cognitive aspect of British culture as well as style of life.

Thirdly, they supported the rapid expansion of all these elements among the people.

This group can be broadly divided into two classes:

- (i) Commercial mediator class

(ii) English educated class

(i) Commercial Mediator Class:

Social composition of the commercial mediator class differs from one region to another. In Kolkata they were 'Baniyas' or 'Vaishyas' by caste. In Chennai they were 'Brahmins' and in Mumbai they were 'Parsis' so, it was localized. The most important thing in the growth of this class of quasi-westernised middle men and traders was that even if they were less in number, but the cultural breakthrough was initiated by them.

In the process of westernisation, this class contributed in diverse ways. Of course, their contribution was not always in an organised form but through them a sub-culture of westernisation was gradually established. It also continued to expand in India, throughout the eighteenth century.

The job of commercial mediator class required three things.

Firstly, specialized training to deal with the Britishers.

Secondly, English education to interact with the Britishers. Thirdly, ability of rational managerial administration far different from traditional mode of transaction in business. This group was utilizing western cultural elements mainly to gain economic benefit out of the business.

(ii) English Educated Class:

Growth of this class was possible because of western educational institutions.

The result of establishment of these educational institutions was twofold:

(a) The interjection of the western values and ideologies among the members of the new educated class.

(b) The rise of social and cultural reformation movements.

These changes combined with expansion of Christianity, gave a further push to the process of westernisation. The members of this English educated group were influenced by the value system of British culture. They were rational and they developed a scientific outlook. They were in favour of humanitarianism, equalitarianism and individualism. They wanted to bring reforms related to the social practices and traditions of the Hindu culture.

The second type of primary westernisation in the little tradition refers to the process of general diffusion of western cultural traits such as changes in dress pattern, food habit and style of life. It also includes use of new technology. These elements diffused among laymen and scholars, rural as well as urban people.

Secondary Westernisation in Great Tradition:

Secondary westernisation is deeply rooted in Indian social system.

Mainly there are three reasons:

(i) Impact of different reform movements.

(ii) Role of the reformers and the leaders of the national movement.

(iii) Cumulative effects of the changes in the little tradition.

In this process two important changes are found in structural pattern of Indian society such as, introduction of new institutions and replacement of old institutions. In this connection various examples are there like introduction of universalistic legal system, expansion of modern education, introduction of wider national network of transportation and communication.

Establishment of Universalistic Legal System:

In the traditional Indian society, (before the contact of the British) the legal system had three important characteristics:

1. It was hierarchical as punishment was given according to the position of the individual in the caste hierarchy.
2. It was particularistic for, the legal system and its practices were changing from one region to another.
3. It was also non-equalitarian as legal system was giving emphasis to the fulfillment of sub-cultural requirements.

The new legal system abolished hierarchy and established universal legal system v the norms of equality and equity in matters of its administration.

The new legal system had two results:

- (a) The establishment of the principles of equality.
- (b) The creation of consociation of positive rights.

The new legal system helped in bringing changes in the customs and structure of the Indian society. Personal laws have been made with new

interpretation which are related to family, divorce, adaptation, joint family guardianship, minority, inheritance, succession etc. It also helped in giving recognition to the individual as the unit in all matters of negotiation.

Expansion of modern education:

Traditional educational system was philosophical and metaphysical. Education was available for only higher caste groups. The teachers and the students were from higher castes. Westernisation introduced modern and universal educational system. It differs from traditional educational system in two aspects: Firstly, in its orientation and secondly, in its organisation.

Modern educational system contains liberty, equality, modern scientific world view etc. It has a professional structure which is not ascribed to any specific group or class but can be achieved by merit. Some branches of modern education such as science, engineering and modern medicine are introduced.

Introduction of modern scientific and technological education helped the process of growth of industrial centres. It leads to the expansion of urban centres. Wider national network of transportation and communication such as expansion of railways, roadways, post and telegraph etc. have broken the barrier of isolation among the regions. Growth of nationalism is also the impact of westernisation. Modern democracy is the outcome of western culture.

Changes due to westernization:

1. Introduction of industrialisation and urbanisation.

2. Introduction of new institutions like election system, christian missions, etc.
3. Modification in the old institutions through reform movements. For example, putting an end to some of the inequalities that were part of Hindus by introducing British Procedural law.
4. Introduction of new judicial system on the basis of principle of equality.
5. Importance was given to humanitarianism through the establishment of hospitals, orphanages.
6. Changes are found in behavioural level like taking food by sitting on the floor to dining table.
7. Weakening of customary diet, from vegetarian to non-vegetarian among the Brahmins.
8. Introduction of new educational system which contains modern scientific world view.
9. Change of giving importance to ascribed status to achieved status.
10. Introduction of wider national network of transportation and communication.
11. Growth of nationalism through establishment of national congress.
12. Introduction of new ideas such as 'welfare state', 'parliamentary democracy'.

During the British rule acceptance of western cultural element was not appreciated by Indians. But social reformers and activists introduced radical changes in Indian society by adopting western ideas and ideologies. Then, the building of railways, the growth of the press, and the spread of education were added to it. After independence western cultural elements have gained social sanction and western values are rapidly being absorbed into Indian culture and life style.



Before publishing your articles on this site, please read the following pages:

1. Content Guidelines 2. Prohibited Content 3. Plagiarism Prevention 4. Image Guidelines 5. Content Filtrations 6. TOS 7. Privacy Policy 8. Disclaimer 9. Copyright 10. Report a Violation

[PUBLISH ARTICLES](#)

ADVERTISEMENTS

2. (b) Critically analyze to what extent 'structural-functional perspective' is suitable for the study of Indian Society. 20

Structure functional perspective in the study of Indian society has been more influenced by British Anthropological tradition of AR Radcliffe Brown.

This approach views Indian society as a stable, cohesive, persistent whole that with its various parts inter-related and influencing each other. It studies both the essence of structures and their functions.

~~Eg -~~ ^{next} This approach has been successfully adopted by Indian sociologists in the study of Indian village, based on field study and empiricism.

Eg: M. N. Srinivas's study of caste
A. Chatterjee's study of PR
Uma Chatterjee's study of gender relations in village
& studies by F. J. Bailey, O. Lewis,

cc sube and others on caste class, land relations, etc.

These studies have played an instrumental role in understanding study of Indian society -

- D. Thorne in his study reveals the caste-class nexus as 'Malins', 'Mazdoori', 'Kisan' hail from upper, middle, lower castes respectively.
- K. Gough indicates how capitalism in agriculture has consolidated class divisions/relations
- V. Chahavarti indicates difference between Brahminic and Satit Patnāchya, the latter witnessing more violence despite ^{relative} economic independence of women
- H. Leivias explained mobility through Sanskritization, relation between caste & politics in study of 'dominant caste'

- A. Chakravarty indicates how politics esp. PRs are still driven by casteist identity
- P.C. Joshi indicates how failure of land reforms has led to persistence in caste hierarchy
- I. Epstein studied how cooperatives came to be dominated by upper castes/classes.

These studies reflect not only the essence of structures like caste, class, power, land-holding, etc. gender relations, etc., rather they explain the inter-relationship among the same that is manifested in every social reality witnessed in Indian village & Indian society. Thus structure functionalism has contributed immensely to Indian sociology by liberating it from Book view/Indology/Economic Determinism, etc. However, it has certain limitations like upper caste/class bias in studies, lack of empirical support, etc.

C. Marxist sociology (A.R. Desai)

Desai closely studied the works of **Marx and Engels** and the writings of **Leon Trotsky**.

He rejects any interpretations of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities. It is essentially a secular phenomenon. He finds it in family, village and other social institutions. He also does not find the origin of tradition in western culture.

He considers that the emerging contradictions in the Indian process of social transformation arise mainly from the growing nexus among the capitalist bourgeoisie, the rural petty-bourgeoisie and a state apparatus, all drawn from similar social roots. They thwart the aspirations of the rural and industrial working classes by the sheer power of its skillful stratagems.

The contradiction, however, is not resolved. It only takes new cumulative forms and re-emerges in the form of protests and social movements. The social unrest is rooted in the capitalist path of development followed by India, bequeathed to it as a legacy of the national movement.

His studies - mainly of nationalism and its social configuration, his examination of community development programmes for economic development in villages, his diagnosis of the interface between state and society in India or the 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.

P2 - A 1 c. Marxist sociology (A.R. Desai)

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Marxist approach and its relevance - Pages 19 to 24

Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 3. Marxist perspectives on modern institutions - Pages 117 to 121

Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 4. Why feudalism and not primitive communism? - Pages 132 to 135

1915 - 1994

Dange - Brahmins not respected because of knowledge or for being carriers of culture - respected for their economic contribution - blessed soil, blessed King so was assumed their blessings was magical - when their economic role becomes insignificant, respect for Brahmins will decline.

DD Kosambi - Brahmin Kshatriya had a reciprocal relationship - legitimize rule and give land grants - reduced everyone else to service class - caste in case of India is a form of class divide. Caste hierarchy was hiding class division and preventing revolution.

DP Mukherjee - '*Social Structure of Values*' - culture is a form of protest example: as history progresses, choice in music, literature changed - British carried their body of values like Individualism, Utilitarianism - developed a dialectical orientation with Indian values of hierarchy, *ashrama* system, etc. Middle class emerged out of this dialectics of values - Arya Samaj revivalism v/s British ideas - thus Indian middle class went in different directions by negotiating with these dialectics and social change emerged.

AR Desai - change in FOP --> change in production relations --> change in superstructure --> social change. So he divides Indian history into three distinct phases - says middle class, farmers, industrialists, traders, zamindars had different reasons for going against Brits and all wanted different things, hence nationalism was driven by economic survivalism - bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Historical materialism is both, a perspective as well as the methodology. As a perspective, it looks for the causes of development and change in human society in the material conditions or the economic structure of society. As a methodology, it seeks to examine the social structure and explain social change in terms of the dialectical movement of forces of production and relations of production in the mode of production of a given society.

Desai applied historical materialism approach to understand the emergence of nationalism in Indian society.

According to Desai, nationalism is a historical category. Its development has to be understood in the context of the social and cultural history of the respective country. Desai argues that nationalism emerged in the social world at a certain stage of evolution of the life of the community when certain socio-historical conditions, both objective and subjective, matured.

The central thesis of his book is that British rule destroyed the pre-capitalist forms of production relations and introduced modern capitalist property relationships, which paved the way for the rise of nationalism - *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*.

"Under conditions of political subjection of the Indian people by the British. The advanced British nation, for its own purpose, radically changed the economic structure of the Indian society, established a centralized state, and introduced modern education, modern means of communications, and other institutions. This resulted in the growth of new social classes and the unleashing of new social forces, unique in themselves. These social forces by their very nature came into conflict with British Imperialism and became the basis of and provided motive power for the rise and development of Indian nationalism."

Pre-colonial stage and MOP:

Indians lived in villages, collectively owned lands for agriculture. Village committee allotted land to different families. No surplus orientation. Self-sufficiency. They themselves decided what to grow based on needs. No transportation. Artisans, craftsmen, service classes paid in kind. Economic reciprocation. Common economic necessity and not common village identity was responsible for unity. Plus, the reciprocity was stabilized by caste system (hereditary profession). Caste was an economic necessity and village was an economic universe. ROP based on reciprocity so no conflict.

The social and legal processes of village life were governed by ancient caste and village (panchayat) committees and codes.

But Desai says this was feudalism not primitive communism. In India capitalism replaced feudalism, in West, capitalism rose out of ruins of feudalism.

Sir Charles Metcalfe said that Indian villages were little republics. Rulers may come and rulers may go, but village communities continue with their perpetual character forever.

Hindu rulers - collected tax from village in form of goods - provided irrigation, protected land and village from insiders and outsiders

both - Muslims continued too - so India had collective landlordism, state could not take land away.

Urban centers of 3 types - political importance, religious significance, commercial significance. Villages - no transport, no technology, no innovation or initiative - autarky - However, Desai argues that the most striking feature of the urban industries was the extremely limited character of their market. This was due to the fact that they did not produce articles of daily use for the common people but functioned to meet the specific needs of the social strata and institutions - produced luxury articles for the aristocratic and wealthy merchant strata of the society; equipment for the army, forged weapons of war and undertook the construction of military forts; erected magnificent palaces, imposing temples and even such monuments of rare art or engineering as the world-celebrated Taj Mahal and Qutub Minar.

The inter-relations of different families were governed by the village community and the caste. All three, the family, the caste, and the village community, maintained ideological control over the individual who was bound to conform to their standards. As a result it smothered the mental initiative, experimenting impulse, investigating urge of the villagers for ages.

Desai argues that such autonomous, self-sufficient and self-absorbed villages over a period of time became the citadels of economic stagnation, social reaction and cultural blindness.

Colonial stage and MOP:

Capitalism - wanted India as a market - demolished self-sufficiency - Muslims had changed only superstructure, British changed infrastructure - centralized administration, district collectors to collect tax, land under state control and could be auctioned off. Rich Indians brought land and became Zamindars - capitalism developed from land and agriculture in India - trading privileges from rulers, demanded hard currency and not barter system, inflow of goods, outflow of gold and silver - small Indian traders near ports to transport British goods into interiors too - earlier payments were waived off if drought, but British did not follow the same practice.

New classes in rural India: (1) zamindars created by the British government; (2) absentee landlords; (3) tenants under zamindars and absentee landlords; (4) the class of peasant proprietors divided into upper, middle and lower strata; (5) agricultural labourers; (6) the modern class of merchants and (7) the modern class of money-lenders.

New classes in urban India: (1) the modern class of capitalists, industrial, commercial and financial; (2) the modern working class engaged in industrial, transport, mining, and such other enterprises; (3) the class of the petty traders and shopkeepers bound up with modern capitalist economy; (4) the professional classes such as technicians, doctors, lawyers, professors, journalists, managers, clerks and others, comprising the intelligentsia and the educated middle class.

Land in England was private property so used same idea here, easier to collect from some large landowners rather than all peasants, and also a new class would be created which owed its existence to the British and hence supported them.

Commercialization of agriculture, breakdown of traditional village, land fragmentation, poverty, rural indebtedness, rise of agrarian proletariat and non-cultivating owners, decline of handicrafts, deindustrialization, railways, English education.

England --> colonial trader --> Indian city trader --> small town trader --> village shopkeeper.

Land revenue system, trade policy, forest policy, institutional policy - together changed superstructure and social change happened:

- Zamindari, Ryotwari, Mahalwari - small landlords, moneylenders as petty bourgeoisie.
- Reserve forest, protected forest, community forest (increasing level of use allowed to villagers) - 3/4th was reserve, mining.
- Trade monopoly and preferential trade policy.
- Police, judiciary, bureaucracy - with Indians too but at low level - Western education - more petty bourgeoisie.

One of the characteristics of a colonial economy which makes it subservient to the interests of imperialist economy is that it does not possess, to a large extent, heavy industries. These industries are a vital precondition for free, balanced, and rapid industrial development of a modern society. In the matter of financing the Indian-owned industries, both the British-controlled banks and the government pursued policies which were primarily determined from the standpoint of British economic interests and not those of Indian industrial expansion.

Modern education, rise of Indian industries, transport modernization, rise of new middle class, political and administrative unification, press, social and religious reforms, crusade against untouchability, emancipation of women, rise of political movements.

National movement and independence replaced external colonialism with internal colonialism of the middle class educated people. Democracy and socialism glorified, but only colonialism disappeared not capitalism v/s middle class gained power and initiated public welfare measures, old capitalism replaced by new capitalism which was inspired by socialism and created a welfare state.

However Desai argues that from the standpoint of the growth of a single national Indian or world economy, this was a step forward in spite of the annihilation of self-sufficient village communities and economic misery consequent on this destruction through the capitalist transformation of the Indian economy. It contributed towards building the material foundation, namely, the economic welding together of India and of India with the world, for the national consolidation of the Indian people and the international economic unification of the world.

Thus the capitalist unification of India based on the destruction of the village autarchy and co-operation on the narrow village scale paved the way for higher forms of economy and social collaboration. It paved the way for a national economy and nation-scale collaboration among the Indian people. It became the material premise for the emergence of the Indian nation out of the amorphous mass of the Indian people which, before this unification were scattered in numerous villages between which there was very little exchange, social or economic, and hence, which had hardly any positive common interests. However tragic, the destruction of the autarchic village and the collective life of the people living in it, it was historically necessary for the economic, social and political unification of the Indian people.

Desai argues that different classes had their specific grievances against Britain. The industrialists desired freedom for unobstructed industrialization of India and protection for the native industries. The educated classes demanded the Indianization of Services, since the higher posts were mainly the preserve of the British. The agriculturists demanded reduction of the land tax. The workers demanded better conditions of work and a living wage. The nation as a whole demanded the freedom of association and press, assembly, elected legislatures, representative institutions, dominion status, home rule and finally complete Independence. It was out of these contradictions of interests of Britain and India that Indian nationalism grew.

Post - Colonial stage and MOP:

1950 - 64 - decade of hope.

1968 - 78 - decade of despair.

1980 - 90 - decade of discontent.

Post Desai Marxists - Now globalization is a new form of trans-national capitalism enforced onto the Indian society - land alienation (SEZs), forced market opening (LPG), middle class and consumer class, advertising to aid consumerism culture.

Examples:

Kathleen Gough

Gail Omvedt

Rajendra Singh

Critique:

Ideological and political, lacks depth and too simplistic.

No theoretical perspective to study relationship of caste, class, gender.

Green revolution not all India, class division wrong.

Glorified class character.

Ignores impact of charismatic authority like Gandhi.

SC Dube - ARD forgets the proliferation of middle class in India during the course of history, which was a major group to influence class structure in India.

TN Madan - Forces of modernity and change cannot be neglected. Also, integration and solidarity of the *Jajmani* system is ignored.

Romila Thapar - India was never one nation, but multiple nations. They came together only for fighting against the colonial rule.

Dr. Ambedkar - real conflict lies between castes as class structure is still not well developed in India.

MNS - ARD was economically deterministic while Indologists were culturally deterministic.

→ SC Dube and A Dikelle assert that Indian sociology must be liberated from economic determinism.

→ Yogendra Singh claims that Marxist theory fails at the level of empirical support.

→ Harrington claims that ~~the~~ instead of the exploited peasantry, it was the middle class that initiated the freedom struggle which the lower classes later joined.

→ Marxist approach also ignores the impact of socio-religious reform movements and other 'allogenic' changes that strengthened national consciousness to fight against the British.

→ Desai also ignores how colonial policy of 'Divide & Rule' largely succeeded in preventing polarisation of masses.

(ii) Impact of Colonial Rule on Indian Society

A. Social background of Indian nationalism

Indian nationalism is a modern phenomenon and came into being during the British period. It came as a result of the action and interaction of numerous subjective and objective forces and factors which developed within the Indian society, under the conditions of the British rule and the impact of world forces.

The British government, Christian missionaries and English education were the three main sources of colonial impact on Indian society.

The emergence of a national consciousness, the realization of the value of organization and of the importance of agitation led to the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Formation of Congress was a strong foundation of Indian nationalism.

KM Pannikar notes that "the most notable achievement of British rule was the unification of India". This was done unconsciously by the British in the interest of the Indian people. They were interested in spreading and consolidating their rule throughout the country. The same argument can be made about the introduction of western education, means of transport, communication, technology and judiciary.

Yogendra Singh observes that "the contact of the Indian (Hindu) tradition with the West was of a different and radical sociological significance. Historically, it was a contact between a pre-modern and a modernizing cultural system". The western tradition had "the scientific and technological worldview based on rationalism, equality and freedom" and posed a serious challenge to the Indian tradition. Hierarchy, the principle of social ranking based on birth in a particular caste group, and holism, the 'organic' interdependence between different caste groups, based on norms relating to performances of the assigned functions and duties by various groups, were considerably affected by the western tradition.

MN Srinivas defines 'westernization' in terms of the change in Indian society due to the impact of British rule in India. The areas of change include technology, dress, food and changes in the habits and lifestyles of people. Westernization takes place at three levels: Primary, secondary and tertiary.

Yogendra Singh calls this the process of 'cultural modernization', The western impact has brought about "a new great tradition of modernization". The British rule created a new consciousness and structure of values. As observed by Singh, westernization has created the following: the growth of a universalistic legal superstructure, expansion of education, urbanization and industrialization, increased network of communication and growth of nationalism and politicization of the society. These elements contributed to modernization throughout the country. The judiciary, law courts, legislations for prohibiting child marriage, infanticide and sati. etc., law commissions, land rights, trade, commerce, industries, labour, etc., were enacted.

P2 - A 2 a. Social background of Indian nationalism

IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON INDIAN SOCIETY

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Indian Nationalism and its Chief Phases - Pages 28 to 32
Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 5. Post-Independence Nationalism - Pages 194 to 207

Education, urbanization and industrialization, development of transport and communication, national and social awakening by reformers - British rule.

Nationalism as a discourse is greatly designed and developed by prevalent social condition and people's pursuit of nationalism is driven by this.

With change in social context, major form of nationalism also amends itself.

Voluntaristic nationalism v/s state sponsored nationalism.

Weber - nation has to be converted into a state to protect its political sovereignty from external aggressors in war. A state needs to be converted into a nation to promote internal unity and harmony.

Nationalism talks of psychological unity among people as they share common language, history, territory, religion and identity.

Europe - voluntaristic nationalism - led to creation of nation states and helped their colonial expansion.

Romila Thapar, KM Paniker say India was a land of territorial communities. Each community had own language, rituals, culture, history, ruler. Limited connectivity - we were multiple nations. India was an intellectual identity rather than a nationalistic identity - British thought this was one nation.

A.R Desai considered these movements as an expression of national awakening due to contradictions between old value system and new socio-economic realities.

Indian identity is a colonial construct - railway, post, ICS, IPC, ICRC created to consolidate this identity.

We were born with differences and made into one identity for administrative convenience. Hence India is a product of dialectics.

3 colonial theories:

- Aryans came with a superior culture, taught the locals and everyone benefitted, Muslims came and ruined it - divide and rule.
- Aryans are insiders only who developed knowledge and culture and passed it on to others.
- Aryans attacked, forced locals to accept their culture - those who did not became untouchables.

Indian identity is a chosen identity and not based on prior residence. Almost everyone came from outside.

Malinowski - Myth is a charter of society - unrealistic but has capacity to bind people and many societies are held together by a collective myth - even India and the Bharat muni story is a myth.

Jyotiba Phule - original Aryans were west Indians and ruler was Mahabali.

Negritos in Andaman --> some of them became Yurula in Kerala, Todas in TN and Angmi Naga in NE --> **Western Braciphelus** - Paleo Braciphelus the original Aryans settled in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Odisha and WB --> **Mediterraneans** arrived next and founded IVC --> **Mongoloids** settled in Nagaland, UK, Ladakh and Darjeeling --> then came Aryans or Nordics and their culture dominated due to numbers.

Not a syncretic culture as **Ghurye** says, maximum Aryan, other cultures were subjugated.

Dayanand Saraswati - Shuddhi because he believed conversion had made Hinduism and India weak. Caste, idol worship also did same.

RRRM - nothing to be proud of in the culture, go for modernity, egalitarianism, humanism, scientific temperament.

INC --> Moderates --> Extremists.

Abanindranath Tagore - Bharatmata, **Tilak** - Ganesh festival.

BC Chattopadhyay - Nationalism is not a political programme, it is a form of religion.
Savarkar, Golwalkar - Hindu Rashtra.

But Indian nationalism was cultural nationalism not political nationalism for the extremists - Muslim League founded around same time.

Gandhi - political nationalism.

Bipan Chandra - Indian national struggle was a unique case of Gramscian change in hegemony from the British to the newly emerged middle class.

pressing their demands vigorously for the removal of the obstacles which thwarted their free and full development.

Perspective *sixth phase (1939 to 1950)*

The influx of new social forces with increasingly growing consciousness in the nationalist movement and their pressure on the leadership, however, did not weaken the movement. It brought more dynamic energy to the movement. Whether in the next stage, the Indian nationalist movement would be controlled by the capitalist class mainly rejecting its views and interests as it had hitherto happened or its leadership would pass to the new social classes making the movement express the interests of these classes as also the cultural and other aspirations of nationalities and minority groups, would be largely determined by the objective developments both in the Indian and international worlds and by the relation of forces of these classes and groups and the level of their consciousness and organizational strength.

In this context, we will finally reproduce the following prognosis which we made during the intra-war period in the First Edition of the book.

"However, considering that the Indian capitalist class appreciably added to its economic and social strength during the period of the Present World War II and is led by a group of politicians who possess great experience and consummate political and strategic talent, in contrast to the awakened lower layers of the Indian society who are culturally backward, organizationally weaker and politically less conscious than the bourgeoisie, and further, are led by groups of persons smaller in political stature and experience, it is very likely that, in its immediate next stage, the Indian nationalist movement will be dominated by and made to subserve the interests of the capitalist class.

"The direction of development of Indian history and the nationalist movement, in the next phase led by and subserving the interests of the capitalist class, can be broadly indicated.

"The first feature of this development will be the working out of the policy of 'Concessions and Counterpoise' by British Imperialism on a much grander scale in the changed historical situation, to win over increased sections of the vested interests for its support, and also to stimulate more bitter rivalries among them to its advantage. This will

result in a more intensified struggle among these sections and will accentuate communalism and interprovincial antagonisms.

"The second feature of the development will consist in that the leaders of the vested interests will oppose mass movements of the lower strata of the population or will distort and canalize these movements for gaining concessions from British Imperialism as well as from sectional rivals.

"Constitutionalism, sharpened communalism, accentuated interprovincial rivalries, and opposition to or increased distortion of growing mass struggles by the leaders of the vested interests are likely to be the principal characteristics of the ~~next~~ phase of Indian development."

last

B. Modernization of Indian Tradition

Modernization:

Modernization is a process associated with the sweeping changes that took place in the society, particularly social, economic, political and cultural changes. It represents substantial breaks with traditional society. Modernization is an idea before it is a process. As it is an idea, there is no agreement among social scientists on its meaning and interpretation. The concept of modernization, emerged as an explanation of how Western countries / societies developed through capitalism. By providing such an explanation, Western scholars desired to convince the underdeveloped countries like India that economic development was possible under capitalism.

According to this approach, modernization depends primarily on introduction of technology and the knowledge required making use of it. Besides, several social and political prerequisites have been identified to make modernization possible. Modernization is supposed to be the result of the presence of these prerequisites in the social system. Some of these prerequisites are:

- Increased levels of education
- Development of mass media
- Accessible transport and communication
- Democratic political institutions
- More urban and mobile population
- Nuclear family in place of extended family
- Complex division of labour
- Declining public influence of religion
- Developed markets for exchange of goods and services in place of traditional ways of meeting such needs

Daniel Thorner in his essay on Modernization explains "Modernization is the current term for an old process of social change whereby less developed societies acquired characteristics common to more developed societies. Modernization, therefore, is the process of social change in which development is the economic component".

However, while accepting the economic criteria of development, some sociologists have added non-economic criteria to judge development. They argue that rising output alone is not sufficient to assess the level of development. A society has to move from rising output to self-sustaining growth. Therefore, non-economic criteria such as the level of education, function of media, growth of communication and social norms conducive to change have to be taken into consideration. These are structural changes.

The concept of modernization has also been explained in cultural terms. In cultural term, modernization implies change in values and attitudes. Modernity involves values and norms that are universal in nature. Explaining this aspect of modernization, **Yogendra Singh** suggests that "modernization implies a rational attitude towards issues and their evaluation from a universal viewpoint".

It has also been argued that modernity stands as opposite to tradition. In this sense, all the underdeveloped societies are characterized as traditional and the developed societies as modern.

Modernization, thus, implies a change from tradition to modernity. Change occurs according to this view, in predictable direction. In order to modernize, every society has to follow the same direction and adopt a similar path. All the existing values and structures have to be replaced by the new values and structures.

Sociologists from the developing countries are critical of this understanding of modernization. They maintain that modernization does not stand as a polar opposite to tradition. Traditional values and institutions are not necessarily discarded while taking up new values in the process of change. Society adopts new values because they are considered more efficient and rewarding. Hence, modernization would develop different typical forms in different societies.

Patterns of modernization, thus, may vary from society to society and processes of modernization involve both structural and cultural dimensions.

Tradition:

According to **Yogendra Singh**, tradition refers to those 'value-themes' which encompass the entire social system of Indian society prior to the beginning of modernization. These value themes were organized on the principles of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence. These four value themes were deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure:

- Hierarchy was engrained in the system of caste and sub-caste stratification. It was also there in the Hindu concepts of nature, occupational lifecycles (*ashramas*), and moral duties (*dharma*).
- Holism implied a relationship between individual and group in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights. Here precedence was given to community or *sangha*, not the individual. This overshadowing of individual by collectivity persisted all along the line of traditional social structure, example: family, village community, caste and nation.
- Continuity in Hinduism was symbolized by principles of *karma*, transmigration of soul and a cyclical view of change. Communalism in traditional social system was reinforced through the value system of continuity.
- The principle of transcendence also posited that legitimating of traditional values could never be challenged on grounds of rationality derived from the non-sacred or profane scales of evaluation. It formed a super concept contributing to integration as well as rationalization of the other value themes of the tradition.

The 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 the traditional West. The divergence between the two traditions, however, arose from their unique social heritage, existential situation and historicity of circumstances.

P2 - A 2 b. Modernization of Indian Tradition

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 6. Little Tradition, Great Tradition - Pages 233 to 244

Mohapatra Notebook 4 - 7. Dialectical Theory, Modernization, Contemporary Modernization - Pages 257 to 281

Vikash Ranjan Book - Modernization of Indian Traditions - Pages 34 to 39

Modernization dichotomy:

Durkheim - mechanical v/s organic solidarity.

Weber - traditional v/s legal-rational.

Parsons - Pattern Variables A v/s B.

Ferdinand Tonnies - Gemeinschaft v/s Gesellschaft.

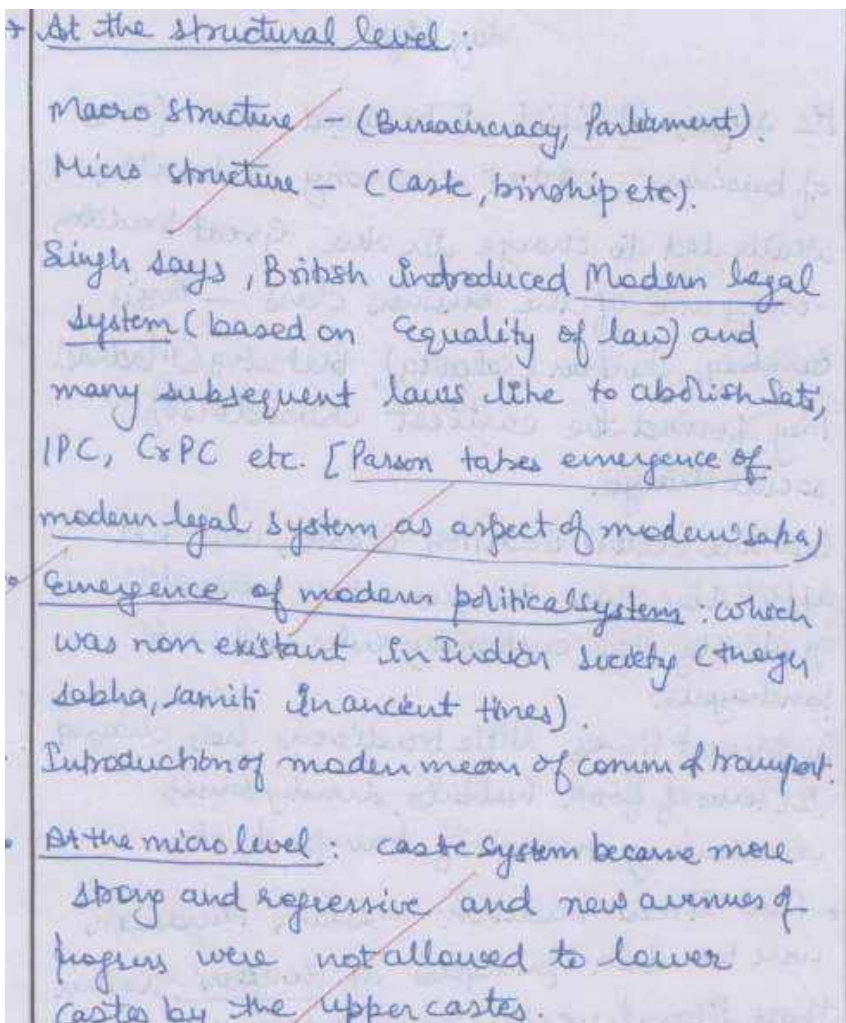
Ralph Linton - Ascription v/s achievement.

Rostow - modernity stages: primitive --> pre take off --> take off --> drive towards maturity --> modern.

Corresponds to - traditional society --> technology development --> strong political system, different institutions --> agriculture, formal / informal jobs --> mass consumption.

Modernization of Indian tradition:

- Cultural analysis - Sanskritization and Westernization of **MNS**, LT/GT of **Milton Singer** and **McKim Marriott**, Multiple traditions by **SC Dube** - little tradition has changed only superficially - food, dress, language.
- Structural analysis - dialectical approach (functional model and dialectical model), cognitive historical or Indological approach.
- **Yogendra Singh** - both cultural and structural, but advocated structural particularistic view as the linkages can be better explained through structure than culture. Singh says great tradition has undergone complete modernity, little tradition is slowly approaching towards modernity.



Singh says, modernisation was used by the elite to consolidate the micro structure.
 He says in India modernisation has met many contradictions:
 Right from British, Higher education is given preference over the primary level.
 Democratisation process is from elite to masses rather than adoption by masses themselves.
 Existence of contradiction between national elite and regional elite. He says regional elites are parochial and endanger national interests. Eg Regionalism.
 Industrialisation at the cost of development of agriculture. We adopted that industrialisation is more important and agriculture was given role of bargaining sector (to keep wages in industries low).

Modernity in Europe was value modernity as religious values were replaced by secular, humanistic, rational values. Value transformation was followed by institutional transformation - political, social, economic, educational institutions were changed. Then came technological modernity. Modernity in Europe came by replacing and destroying tradition - Renaissance and Enlightenment.

Modernity has been a cultural choice for India rather than coming at the cost of culture.

Modernity entails:

Modern values - individualism, rationality, secularism, scientific temper.

Modern institutions - universities, markets, bureaucracy, political parties. **Atul Kohli** - political modernity such as rule of law, democratic system, etc. were brought by the British rule in India.

Modern technology - PC, internet, industries.

KL Sharma - structural inconsistencies in India - bureaucracy without universalism, legislation without rule of law, democratization without rule of law.

Cultural Schizophrenia - **MN Srinivas** found a bulldozer driver (modern occupation) who also practiced magic and sorcery.

Modernity's impact on Indian society / interface between modernity and tradition in India / social change in India:

- **Modernists** - celebrate and glorify modernity and opine that it is a matter of time before tradition will be fully replaced by modernity. This was seen in Europe and they believe will happen in India too.
- **Continuity school** - Modernity arrived in phases in India and knocked at the doors of Indian tradition which is ancient, historic and deeply rooted, so refused to change significantly. But modernity being a necessity was given space in specific spheres of life. Family, religion still traditional.
- **Cognitive school** - India can never become modern. Superficial modernity yes, but internal modernity no. Cognition and values are still traditional so modernity only in the exterior. Reflected in the performance of various government schemes, especially gender related. Thought modernity entails breaking away from traditional thought processes, values and ideals. Will never happen in India. Hierarchy, collectivism, other worldly attitude - structure of India different from Europe, so no modernity says **Louis Dumont** as value systems are different. Holism, hierarchy, transcendence, other worldly values. All these values are in the mind, so

cognitive change needed which is very difficult. Cognitive theory is Eurocentric and contrasts between value fragile and value rigid societies of Europe and India respectively.

- **Dialectical** or Marxist approach to social change - Modernity only benefitting certain sections. Green Revolution only big farmers, mining tribal displacement, industrialization detribalization. Ethos of modernity is becoming source of dialectics between different classes. India is experiencing a paradoxical development. Upper class hegemonistic ideology is being spread and made into mass ideology for the benefit of the elite. Hegemonistic domination is the other name for modernity.
- Cultural approach to social change / **little tradition, great tradition** (Kishan Garhi study) theory - European society is a secondary civilization so the elites are open to ideas from all directions, and every society is ready to change. Little difference in values, institutions and technology in all western societies. In contrast, India is a primary civilization, elites come from grassroots and carry traditional values and formulate public policies using same values. Hence minimal change. Europe is full-fledged modernity, while India is Indianization of modernity - tradition has specific characteristics as opposed to modernity: holism, hierarchy, transcendence, otherworldly values - structural change (example: eradication of untouchability) moving fast, cultural change slow - structure is a product of culture and hence the tussle - change in structure possible, not change of structure. Change in structure = Harijans for untouchables, SNDP movement. Change of structure = class replaces caste, nuclear replaces joint family.
- **Sanskritization / Westernization** - by **MN Srinivas** - Sanskritization is like **Merton's** MRT.

Thus, India remains driven by norms and values and behaviour remains culture-bound and normative. Indians go for modernity as per their interests, needs and choices - their carrying capacity. Hence, modernity in India is different from modernity in the West.

Parsons - Social change in India is leading to tension between culture and social structure.

Even constitution is confused between holism v/s individualism - FR v/s DPSP.

Buddhism wanted super Brahmin status, Jainism wanted supra Brahmin status.

Bhakti movement took Sanskrit faith to shudras - got culture and religion - also incorporated some tribal, non-Hindu elements into Hinduism = little tradition, great tradition.

Sikhism has elements from both religions.

Syncretic Hindu culture with Aryan, non Aryan elements.

Dumont - India is not a multicultural tradition. Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism are only sects of Hinduism. Tribes have also got Hinduized. Indian society is Hindu society. Hinduism is not a religion but a system of values - H, H, T, OW.

The more Indian culture changes, the more it strengthens - Buddhism and Jainism saw Brahmanical religion change and become stronger - culture is becoming stronger, binding and pervasive as change is only at higher sphere of culture, values that percolate to the lower spheres remain same. This persistence of values contributes to the persistence of Indian culture, its continuity and pervasiveness.

Little tradition & Great tradition :-

- The concept of 'Little tradition' & 'Great tradition' was put forward by Milton Singer while advancing 'Folk-urban continuum' theory given by Redfield.
- Regarding to Kroeber's approach of culture & civilisation, Redfield advocates modernity does not fall from heaven, there is a continuity in rural & urban social tradition.
- Singer, disciple of Redfield argues in his favour divides civilisation into primary & secondary civilisation.
- Primary civilisation which is formed by indigenous population differs from secondary as borrowed from outside. Each civilisation has its own 'Little & Great tradition' which represents village & cities respectively.

- People present in Great ^{tradition} civilisation filters out modernity to feed those of Little ^{tradition} civilisation in primary civilisation. Hence, it will be improper to demarcate them by a thick line as traditional modern & putting a question mark on the survival of Little tradition in the growing culture of modernity as advocated by Roaheer.
- MN Sinhal argues modernisation or indianisation as

Value laden concept & argues for structure functional approach of field view to study primary civilisation in India.

• Little tradition which is traditional, yet holds primary position in studying Indian society, also contains modern world values.

• Modernist like Yogendra Singh advocates it's matter of time only when little tradition will imbibe culture of great tradition fully & India will be a modern nation - altogether which is contrasted by MN Sinivas who holds traditionalism & modernity closed to each other in Indian society.

Pointing out the limitations of the earlier approaches in the study of social change in India i) **Evolutionary approach** ii) **Cultural approach** iii) **Ideological approach** iv) **Structural approach**, he proposed a '**integrated approach**' to provide a comprehensive perspective on social change in India. The 'integrated approach' provides a new '**paradigm**' to observe and describe social change in India, by integrating the underlying similarities in the conceptual categories and theoretical formulations of the above four approaches, to studying social change. The paradigm has the following features.

a) Substantive domain: It refers to the 'domain of the phenomena' which is undergoing change, i.e. whether it is at the level of '**culture or social structure**'.

b) Context: It refers to where the change producing processes begin and materialize. It could begin at the '**micro**' or '**macro**' levels. Macro-structures consist of role relationships which have a pan-Indian extension of boundaries, e.g. bureaucracy, industry, market. Micro Structures have limited boundaries such as kinship, family, caste, and tribe.

c) Sources of change: The causal sources of change can be either '**endogenous**' (**Orthogenetic**) or '**exogenous**' (**Hetero genetic**). Endogenous refer to changes from within the social system and Exogenous refer to diffusion of culture from without the social system.

d) Direction of change: It is taken to be as '**evolutionary linear**', from traditionalization to modernization. Modernization represents the net balance of changes following from heterogenetic contact.

Applying this paradigm Yogendra Singh, analyzes social change in India. He makes a distinction between **social change** and **modernization**, arguing that social change need not always mean modernization. He views modernization in India primarily as an i) **evolutionary linear change** ii) **structural change**.

3b) Yogendra Singh describes modern social changes in terms of additive, synthetic, disruptive and disjunct changes.

While additive and synthetic have provided impetus to existing traditional practices, disjunct has had no impact and disruptive has changed the entire system.

Indian workforce today works on computers, this has been an additive change that has improved over traditional working while business process outsourcing (BPO) industry has been disruptive as it ushered IT revolution and brought jobs in service sector migrating from agriculture.

The Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation changes under New Economic Policy brought change. The rise of Indian middle class and increased consumerism were the changes.

But modernity in the form of Green Revolution continued our dependence on agriculture as we applied technology for better production.

Hence the process of modernisation in Indian context has suffered cultural lag. Ogburn and Nimkoff opine that material and non-material things change at different rate. While material changes like technology change rapidly, non-material things like culture

are unable to keep pace with the changes.

8
Durkheim calls it a state of anomie where our traditional values are not worthy of continuity.
Merton believes in modernity, continuity causes deviance resulting from Anomie.

The Lancet, a British medical journal, has termed India the most depressed nation.

Sociologists see this as a social change brought by modern values which has not percolated in our traditional set up.

Modernization that has proposed change has questioned established authority. Religious fundamentalism is a by-product of modern changes that challenge secular forces.

Democracy however has been a continuity in modern times. We ~~have~~ ^{are} moving from caste based to development based politics.

Modernization is an Indian mix of the incumbent and the emerging. It has led to conflicts but has also brought prosperity. It has fostered bonds, brought equity and reduced exploitation. We hope to overcome our baggage that hinders our progress through modernisation.

Q3)b) Modernisation in the Indian
context is a complex pheno-
menon involving both conti-
nuity and change. Comment.

Ans. Yogendra Singh and
CC Dube assert that
modernity and tradition
co exist in case of India.

Tonnies (in his
Gemeinschaft & Gesellshaft) and
Durkheim (in his mechanical
vs organic solidarity) both
assert low 'rationalisation'
is a key feature of modern-
isation. This was taken^{up} by
Parsons in his explanation
of pattern variables. to claim
how modern~~the~~ society is based
on universalism, achievement,
rationalisation, individualism, etc.

However, Surgin &
Mariotti advocate that
tradition is so greatly rooted
in Indian society that

Modernising ideologies have only led to ~~traditionalising~~ 'Indianisation of modernity' such that modern institutions have been traditionalised (eg: dominant caste politics).

AK Desai, however feels that that 'the heterogeneous changes brought ~~the~~ by colonial ~~to~~ rulers through modern education, unified legal system, railways, etc led to change in tradition and ~~not led to~~ ~~not~~ its modernising thus helping to reduce the 'cultural lag' ~~to~~ (Ogburn).

~~Deepan~~ It is however widely accepted that 'modernisation in India involves both continuity and change. H. Rudolph rightly says how Indians have adopted 'selective modernity'.

Moreover, modernity has not been able to influence the nice traditions of caste, family, etc. There are vast structural inequalities such as democracy without equality/freedom of speech (Censorship law), Bureaucracy without civil ethics (eg: corruption), secularism without religious tolerance (eg: communal riots), etc.

P.C. Joshi asserts that India's half hearted entry into modernity has led to uneven development such that the 'voiceless ~~and~~ underclass' (peasants, ~~tribes~~^{tribes}, women, etc) continue to remain marginalised.

Deepankar Gupta in his 'Mistaken Modernity' claims that technology and consumerism alone do not constitute modernity.

Modernity is an attitude which requires dignity of individual, universalistic norms, achievement orientation. However, modes of relations among people still remain traditional/feudal. Eg: political/industrial appointments based on caste, kinship criteria than merit.

Thus, it can be sufficiently concluded that modernisation ~~is~~ undergoes both continuity and change in Indian context.

2. (a) "Traditions and modernity are misplaced polarities in the study of social change in India." Elucidate

20

Traditions and modernity are seen as ideological extremes in Indian society, despite the fact that tradition & modernity have always co-existed in Indian society.

AR Desai had indicated how traditions are rooted in economic relations and change in the latter leads to change in tradition and onset of modernity. He indicated how Indian society changed from feudalism to capitalism in British rule and this was accompanied by change in social relations leading to unification among the masses to initiate revolt against the Britishers.

Milton & Lingit also advocate that tradition being strongly entrenched in Indian society, the forces an encounter with modernity only leads to

Indianization of modern institutions! ~~eg~~ eg: industrial appointments based on caste / kinship, etc., thus, tradition & modernity co-exist in India.

Scholars have argued how forces of modernization have altered the macro-structure (with modern institutions like industry, education, PRIs, etc) without affecting the micro-structure of caste, kinship and other primordial affiliations in a way reflecting the 'cultural lag' (Ogburn) seen in Indian society.

Deepankar Gupta in his 'Mistaken Modernity' too argues how individualism / consumerism / exhibitionism doesn't constitute modernity. Modernity is an attitude which includes universalistic world view, dignity of labour, etc.

However, Indian brand of modernity has prevented Indian society from ~~the~~ mindless imitation of Westernization.

This has meant that our society has been saved from perils of post modern society by retaining family, kinship ties, ~~to~~ more respect for elderly, ~~to~~ sustainable development, respect for diversity, etc.

While the West is reeling under rampant consumerism, commodification/objectification of women/personalities/religion/culture, etc., India's cautious adoption of modernisation has enabled it to view social change from a holistic perspective.

V. Singh rightly advocates how responses to modernity differ from society to society. In case of India, our ^{strong} traditional heritage has both functions & dysfunctions when it comes to modernity & social change.

C. Protests and movements during the colonial period

D. Social reforms

MSA Rao says that a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization and is generally oriented towards bringing about change in the existing system of relationships. Rao considers ideology as an important component of a social movement.

According to **KL Sharma**, socio-religious reforms in British India were felt necessary due to three reasons:

- the selection of texts from various commentaries on the code of Manu had not always been enlightened;
- the reliance on law courts for interpretation had resulted in greater conservatism;
- the law, as applied by the law courts and British judges, was a combination of ancient Hindu and Victorian English conservatism, particularly in regard to women, inheritance, marriage and the rights of married women.

According to **AR Desai**, reform movements during British period were an expression of national awakening due to contradictions between the old value system and the new socio-economic realities.

Examples of reform movements:

- Brahma Samaj
- Prarthana Samaj
- Arya Samaj
- Ramakrishna Mission
- Servants of India Society
- The Theosophical Society
- Ahmadiya and Aligarh Movements
- Singh Sabha
- Rehnumai Mazdesyan Sabha
- Swadeshi Movement
- Satyashodhak Samaj
- SNDP Movement
- Tribal Movements

P2 - A 2 c. Protests and movements during the colonial period

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - All Movements - Pages 39 to 48

Kathleen Gough classified these movements as:

1. reactionary - 1857 revolt against the cartridges.
2. political - Khilafat, NCM.
3. conservative - Deoband.
4. secessionist - Ahoms.
5. separatist - Pakistan.

Winston Churchill - Indians retaliated not for their purse, but for the preservation of their culture.

Indians were economically exploited, politically bonded, socially humiliated, culturally bereft. At the same time, the Indian middleclass emerged as a product of the economic policies of colonialism. They had also been exposed to the liberal and radical European social thought. They were therefore disturbed by the exploitation of colonialism and started writing, campaigning and building up a movement to free India. Culture, theatre, songs, literature were pervaded by the spirit of freedom. Thus ideas are normally rooted in their social context.

Religious reforms:

- Attack on idolatry.
- Attack on superstitions.
- Unitarianism - One God.

Protest against the Britishers by Indian Classes and Communities:

- Peasants Movement
- Tribal Movement
- Industrial unrest
- Student Movement

Protest and movement by Indians against Indians or tradition under the influence of modernity:

- Socio-religious reform movement.
- Low caste Movement i.e. challenging the supremacy of Brahmins.
- Women movement in 1920.

- 19th Century Reform movements against Sati, Brahminic dominance, ritualism, enlightenment/westernism.
- Early 20th Century Nationalist Movement, Khilafat, Muslim League, Dalit Movement, Linguistic Minorities, Regional Nationalities, Ethnic Minorities.
- Late 20th century Movements by/for various Castes, Cultural identities, Regional and Religious groups, nationalities, women etc. for social justice, equity and political rights.
- 21st Century movements contention for direct political power in Bourgeois politics, resistance to neo-liberal dispossession, environmentalism, as well as movements from classes losing privileges.

Movements like J. Phule's Latya Eho Dhak Samaj, § Narayan Guru's SNDP Movement, Periyar's Self Respect Movement campaigned for social rights and abolition of Brahminic supremacy.

While Gail Omvedt calls these class movements and equates them to civil rights movement in US, § Gopal Guru calls them cultural movements for social reform, and Fernandes calls them secular political movements. As many of these like the Self Respect Movement became political with formation of political parties like Dravida Kazhagam, etc.

However, scholars like Hardiman assert how these movements are inter linked with for eg: Naval rebellion. Kisan Sabha movement was linked to both peasant and national causes; Naval rebellion to peasant, tribes and environment issues.

Aparna Basu says that women were accepted in India's freedom struggle as political comrades and given equal opportunities for participation. This paved the way for involvement of women in the wider sphere of social, political and economic life in future.

Rajani Alexander on the other hand says that women's participation in the independence movement took diverse forms and was not always in the form of organized and orchestrated political protests. Most of women's involvement in the independence movement was based on community and home based participation. Nevertheless, the recognition of women as equal participants in the freedom movement gave a boost both to the status of women and women's movement.

P2 - A 2 d. Social reforms

Social reforms in 19th century: reform v/s revivalism

- Attack on caste system.
- Education and upliftment of women.

Sati in Bengal - Dayabhag law existed which gave women share in the property of the deceased husband. So relatives pressurized her for Sati.

Political liberalism:

- Individual freedom
- Constitutionalism
- Representative government

Social reforms in 20th century:

- Arya Samaj
- Satya Shodhak Samaj
- SNDP
- Periyar

Arya Samaj:

- formally established in Bombay in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883).
- two basic tenets of reform - Infallible authority Of the Vedas and Monotheism.
- The Vedas are the scriptures of all true knowledge. It is the duty of all Aryas to read them, hear them being read and teach them to others.

Satyashodhak Samaj:

- Started in 1873 by Jyotirao Phule for asserting the worth of man irrespective of caste.
- The main goal was to demand 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.
- attacked the Brahmin priests who insisted on acting as intermediaries between God and devotees.

The Theosophical Society was founded in 1886 by Madam H.P. Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott. Later on, Mrs. Annie Besant took up the leadership of this organization to revive and strengthen Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism.

Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi also made use of the Upanishads and the epics for making India a secular state, and for effecting social reforms. Gandhi did tremendous work for the removal of untouchability.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

(i) Rural and Agrarian Social Structure

A. The idea of Indian village and village studies

Social structure is conceived as the pattern of inter-related statuses and roles found in a society, constituting a relatively stable set of social relations. It is the organized pattern of the inter-related rights and obligations of persons and groups in a system of interaction.

According to the 2011 census, there are 649,481 villages in India and 68.84% of Indians live in villages.

Some features of rural society can be summed up as:

- Village is a community and there is a sense of unity and amiability towards each other
- Village is an institution
- Religiosity
- Agrarian
- Joint family system
- Society, caste and panchayat have control over the individual

P2 - B 1 a. The idea of Indian village and village studies

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

RURAL AND AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 1. Village Studies - Pages 4 to 19

Vikash Ranjan Book - Importance of Village Studies and Defining Features of Indian Village - Pages 52 to 58

IGNOU Handout - ESO 12 Unit 3 - Village and Outside World - Wider Religious System - Pages 7 to 9

Village studies focused on the structures of social relationships, institutional patterns, beliefs and value systems of the rural people.

Andre - village was not merely a place where people lived. It had a design which reflected the basic values of Indian civilization.

Small, less diversity as compared to urban, mostly share common values, everyone knows everyone, more patriarchal, agrarian or other primary sources of occupation - but rural is not sui generis, it is part of society and is changing too - rural and urban are not binaries - changes percolate to rural too, like mobile, TV, internet - circular migration, rural to rural migration too, mixed as well where some family some stay in rural, some in urban or even foreign - rural society has to be studied as an integrated part of whole society - community development programme failed because it was top down and assumed whole India needed same model of development - contextual analysis of rural areas, for diversity of policies - agriculture contributes to barely 50% income of even the rural population, mining, labourers, MGNREGA, shop keepers, animal husbandry, etc. - do not build dam, etc. without taking their opinion into account - social impact assessment - rural urban continuum, what is rural is slowly becoming urban.

Important dimensions of 'jointness' of family are co-residentiality, commensality, coparcenary, generation depth (three), and fulfillment of obligation towards kin and sentimental aspect. Rural family works as the unit of economic, cultural, religious, and political activities.

The idea of Indian village:

- **Backwardness view** - illiterate, agrarian, culturally bound, no aspirations for development.
- **Colonial view** - colonial imagination justifying our backwardness and their superiority. Look through western lens.
 - a. **Sir Henry Maine**, **Thomas Munro**, **Charles Metcalfe** consider village communities as self-sufficient little republics. Son is a replica of father. Job, occupation, lifestyle do not change over generations. Village society is self-perpetuating and pervasive in character. Non-innovative, tradition-bound, economic, social and political perpetuation. Hence India is white man's burden.
 - b. **Baden Powell**, **LSS O'Malley** consider village not as a political or economic unit. Rather study them as a cultural unit. Villages have a unique culture which should be studied - example: every village has a deity.
- **Historical view** - civilizationally rich. Rig Veda refers to village as a place where people belonging to different culture and practicing different occupations mutually coexist - reciprocation of jobs. While culture divides people (Aryan, Tribal), village unites them. Multi-culturalism, pluralism and mutual coexistence. Village provides foundation to cultural pluralism. Also mentioned in Ramayana and Mahabharata, Jataka Tales. *Arthashastra* describes relationship between villages and ruler - king can create new village, merge 2 villages, convert multiple villages into one revenue unit and collect tax, can grant revenue free land rights to special people, but state cannot evict people from villages. *Babarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* talk about specialized villages of artisans. Villages organized themselves to defend against foreign invaders. Hence, village is not a dichotomy between elites and masses but talks about reciprocation, interconnectivity, promotion of a sense of unity, a source of emotional support, identity and harmony and interdependence.
- **Nationalist view** - Gandhi, Ambedkar, Nehru.
 - a. **Gandhi** - self-sufficiency, self-governing, limited needs, unity. Peaceful life based on mutual cooperation and harmony. A life of sharing. Participatory development, cooperative farming, village panchayat, grassroot development were ideas he proposed. Village is not a geographic space, it represents the culture of India.
 - b. **Ambedkar** - village not a place of cooperation but Dalit discrimination. Promotes feudalism, casteism and Brahmanical domination. No humanism or spirit of justice. Caste ideology perpetuated by village panchayats. Village republic stands in the path of equality, superstition prevails, dogmatism rules and traditions perpetuate. Indian will develop only with modern ideas of law, justice, humanism and equality.
 - c. **Nehru** - *Discovery of India* - every village is a storehouse of dance, drama, music, culture and folk traditions. Every village unique. Still all villages take pride in a common unified India. Unity in diversity. All should come together for national

development. Pilgrimage, religion are source of unity. Retain culture but also modernize, so middle path between Gandhi and Ambedkar.

- **Geographical view** - in terms of settlements. **Durkheim** said sociology starts where demography ends. Geographers talk of Indian villages with respect to settlement patterns.
 - Linear village - houses arranged in 2 lines separated by road. One lane, one caste.
 - Clustered village - maximum Indian villages are of this type. Caste or occupational clusters and go to each other's place to provide reciprocal service only. Every group lives according to own customs and rules.
 - Scattered / dispersed village - found in hilly areas. Revenue village and cultural village might be different. Also gives rise to hill-plain conflicts.Interpersonal relationships, social organizations, lifestyles, etc. are studied by sociologists based on this pattern.
- **State vision** - schemes, administration.
- **Contemporary political view** - locus / basic unit of development. State develops policies accordingly. PRI, community development programmes, cooperatives for seeds, finance, agriculture. **Kothari commission** highlighted village role in primary education. Rural poverty, *Bharat Nirmaan*, stop distress migration.

Field study talks of participant observation. Village study is part of field study. This method liberates Indian sociology from bondage of cultural deterministic and Marxist deterministic approach. Hence, the distinction between the idea of an Indian village and village study method.

Sociological view of Indian village:

Came as a response to colonial view. **MN Srinivas** and **AM Saha** wrote '*The Myth of self-sufficiency of Indian Villages*' in 1956.

- People in a particular village used to travel some distance to cultivate their land present in the territorial jurisdiction of other village.
- Few numbers of service provider caste in every village and had to rely on those from other villages. Same was the case with products. Hence, village not truly economically self-sufficient.
- Politically speaking, disputes were resolved by *Jati Sabha* (same caste, different villages), *Gram Sabha* (same village, different castes) and local councils (different villages and different castes). Hence, village not truly self-governed.
- *Haats* or *Bazaars* saw people from neighbouring villages as well as buyers and sellers come.
- Village exogamy in North India.
- Festival of village deity saw other village visitors.

Hence, Indian villages were never isolated, self-governed or self-dependent units.

British only assumed this due to absence of roads.

McKim Marriott - gave the universalization and parochialization concept. Had villages been isolated, this spread of cultures and traditions from village to city or reverse would not have occurred. Hence, villages were connected to a larger social world.

Morris Opler - pointed out that British goods from coastal areas reached the interiors and goods from the interior had been traded since long. Also *Jajmani* relationship is highlighted in the economic linkage and social interlinkage is highlighted in marriage and rituals like pilgrimage.

Village case studies:

SEWA, Sugar coops, Seed coops, Operation Flood, education, women status.

During the post-independence phase, a number of village studies were undertaken. Several village monographs resulted from them, some of which are still of tremendous value, such as **McKim Marriott**'s volume titled *Village India* (1955), **S.C. Dube**'s study of a village in Hyderabad, called *Indian Village* (1956), and **M.N. Srinivas**'s edited volume, *India's Villages* (1956). Some other important works were accomplished after India's independence. **Kathleen Gough** studied a Tanjore village and described the changes that had come in it because of British rule. **Berreman** explained the exploitative nature of the *Jajmani* system.

F.G. Bailey wrote on a village in Orissa, documenting the changes surfacing in it once its land came to the market. **Srinivas**, from the study of a village in Karnataka, gave the concept of 'dominant caste', the caste that controls economic resources as well exercises decisive political dominance. **S.C Dube** studied the inter-relationship between planned development programmes and social and cultural factors in some villages in western Uttar Pradesh. From the study of a village in Tamil Nadu, **Andre Beteille** showed the changes that had come in ranking system.

In addition, several Indian communities, both tribes and castes, were also intensively studied. **Srinivas** re-worked the data he had collected on the Coorgs in the 1940s for his later book published in 1952 that proposed the concept of upward mobility in caste system (i.e. Sanskritization). **Louis Dumont**, a French sociologist, studied the Piramalai Kallar of TN and discussed their social organization,

especially their marriage system. **T.N. Madan** studied the nature of kinship and family of Kashmiri Pundits. **Sachchidananda** carried out intensive studies among certain tribal groups of Bihar and Jharkhand. The impact of industrialization on the Santhals was focus of **Martin Oran**'s work. **A.M. Shah** studied the dynamics of family and household in a village in Gujarat.

- The first full length study of an Indian Village by **S.C. Dube** (1955) devotes one full chapter to the nature of changes coming in rural life which include increasing economic ties of Shamirpet village with the city of Hyderabad, even for groups like the washermen.
- **Mckim Marriot** (1955) gives a graphic description of interaction between the people of different villages around Kishan Garhi in Aligarh district of Uttar Pradesh. He writes "Brahman priests, Barbers, Potters, Carpenters, Washermen and Sweepers who live in Kishan Garhi go out to serve hereditary patrons in some fifteen other villages and derive about one half of their income from these outside patrons. Traders who live in Kishan Garhi regularly cover many miles of the county side on their trading tips. Wage workers who maintain homes in Kishan Garhi during the present generation have gone out to work in at least twenty five other places including ten cities. During one period of three months I counted forty four different specialists coming into Kishan Garhi".
- In the case of Rampura in Karnataka, studied by **MNS** (1955), World War-II brought increased cash for the dominant landowning Okkaliga caste with wartime rationing and shortages, which encouraged black marketeering. The wartime profits were used in different ways. When the village was electrified two rice mills were set up. Bus lines were also started which made contact with Mysore City much easier. They had "one foot in village and another in the city". He also saw vertical (within a village) and horizontal (caste groups across villages) solidarity in villages.
- In Kumbapettai village, which situated in the Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu and was studied by **K. Gough** (1955), the migration of members of the dominant Brahmin group to towns for education and employment and the immigration in Kumbapettai of lower castes from the neighbouring and less fertile areas has been responsible for Kumbapettai coming into more interaction with the wider economic system.
- In the case of Yadavpur, a village situated on the fringe of Delhi, studied by **M.S.A. Rao** (1974), the growth of the metropolitan city of Delhi created diversified opportunities of market gardening, dairy and poultry farming, trader and transport and urban employment.
- **Oscar Lewis**, in comparison of Indian village of Ranikhera with the Tepostalan village in Mexico, said that India has rural cosmopolitanism as a single village has ties across 400 villages for kinship and economic relations.
- Latest - **Manish Thakur** concept of 'Rurality', **Dipankar Gupta** 'Rurbanness', **Jonathan Perry** - villagers hate village.

(iii) village studies were popularized by Malinowski in Anthropology

Indian village studies studied caste system through a field view. F.O. Bailey in his study of Bisipara village of Odisha concluded initially high rank demanded his status irrespective of their eating habits.

Macneil in his study of Kichongpasha noted disparity between ranking of caste mentioned in ancient texts and the one actually practiced

Mayer studied Kankheri village and concluded 'commensality' - dining practice formed basis of caste system

Andre Beteille concluded through his study in Tanjaver district that caste system is not a closed one as claimed by Chhanya.

MN Srinivas studied Kompura village and denied concept of dominant class.

- MSA Rao (Yadavpur Village), F.O. Bailey (Bishipara village) & others studied caste relationships and social mobility
- K. Gough, S. Epstein studied land holding patterns
- A. Chakravarty (Benisa village), A. Rudra, studied power dynamics in the villages.
- U. Pattnaik, Leela Datta studied gender relations

Village under Duress:

Not every thinker, sociologist or anthropologist agrees with the general opinion of village India as an idyllic social reality. In fact, sociologist like Dipankar Gupta begs to differ. He 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 romanticized harmony of village life is now exposed for the sham it perhaps always was.

If anything, it is perhaps Dr. 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. That village India was able to carry on in spite of all this in the past was

because there was little option for most people, rich or poor outside the confines of the rural space.

Different styles of doing village studies:

Different Styles of Doing Village Studies

Village studies became the main preoccupation of Indian sociology during the 1950s and 1960s. But long before this time, a very well known village study, *Behind Mud Walls*, was written by William and Charlotte Wiser, a missionary couple who lived for five years in a village in Uttar Pradesh. The Wisers' book emerged as a by-product of their missionary work, although William Wiser was trained as a sociologist and had earlier written an academic book on the *jajmani* system.

The village studies of the 1950s grew out of a very different context and were done in many different ways. The classical social anthropological style was prominent, with the village substituting for the 'tribe' or 'bounded community'. Perhaps the best known example of this kind of field work is reported in M.N. Srinivas's famous book, *The Remembered Village*. Srinivas spent a year in a village near Mysore that he named Rampura. The title of his book refers to the fact that Srinivas's field notes were destroyed in a fire, and he had to write about the village from memory.

Another famous village study of the 1950s was S.C. Dube's *Indian Village*. As a social anthropologist at Osmania University, Dube was part of a multi-disciplinary team — including the departments of agricultural sciences, economics, veterinary sciences and medicine — that studied a village called Shamirpet near Secunderabad. This large collective project was meant not only to study the village but also to develop it. In fact, Shamirpet was meant to be a sort of laboratory where experiments in designing rural development programmes could be carried out.

Yet another style of doing village studies is seen in the *Cornell Village Study Project* of the 1950s. Initiated by Cornell University, the project brought together a group of American social anthropologists, psychologists and linguists to study several villages in the same region of India, namely eastern Uttar Pradesh. This was an ambitious academic project to do multi-disciplinary studies of village society and culture. Some Indian scholars were also involved with this project, which helped train many Americans who later became well known scholars of Indian society.

B. Agrarian social structure - evolution of land tenure system, land reforms

Agrarian social structure refers to all those settlements and groupings of people who earn their livelihood primarily by cultivating land and by carrying out related activities like animal husbandry. 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.

Some may self-cultivate the lands they own while others may employ wage labourers or give their land to tenants and sharecroppers. Not only do they interact with each other but they also have to regularly interact with various other categories of people who provide them different types of services required for cultivation of land.

All these interactions are carried out in an institutional set-up. The most important aspects of this social or institutional framework of agriculture are the patterns of land ownership and the nature of relationships among those who own or possess land and those who cultivate the lands.

Agrarian social structure in a given society evolves over a long period of time. It is shaped historically by different socio-economic and political factors. These historical factors vary from region to region, and hence empirical reality also varies from region to region.

P2 - B 1 b. Agrarian social structure - evolution of land tenure system, land reforms

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 2. Land Reforms - Pages 30 to 39

Vikash Ranjan Book - Land Reforms, Critique and Jajmani System - Pages 64 to 70

Evolution of land tenure system mirrors evolution of Indian society. Economists see land as source of livelihood or profit. Historians see change in the land tenure system with the change in regimes.

Sociologists, for any given type of land tenure system see:

- Interpersonal relationship between state and citizens.
- Role of intermediaries between state and citizens.
- Social structure / organizational character.
- Political structure among people.

Land reform has two main dimensions:

- Re-distributional land reform aiming to minimize accumulation of land holding with a particular group or social institution, takes the shape of transfer of land assets from one group, either the state or more often large private landowners, to either landless or small producers.
- Institutional land reform is the second dimension, which focuses on the various areas of institutional support to land reform. The need for land reform is felt because of being an instrument of both direct and indirect poverty reduction, resulting in improved income for small farmers, increasing employment opportunities in the agricultural sector and making available of farm credit for small rural producers.

Indian history is divided into 5 phases to reflect the evolution of the land tenure system:

- **Ancient period** - writings on copper plates, inscriptions, classic texts like *Arthashastra* provide some information. But historians have a conflicting view - some say villagers were actual owners of the land and gave only gifts and tributes to the ruler, and not tax. Others say the land belonged to the state, which gave permission to people to use it and they had to pay tax on it. Third view talks about 'dual ownership of land'. State has to ensure that external aggressors or internal mischief mongers do not capture the land. It also has to provide irrigation and infrastructure facilities. Hence, cultivators had a legal obligation to pay tax. Also, peasants could not be evicted as long as they pay tax. Peasants do not have the right to sell or mortgage the land - it gets passed on to next generations. Both were bound by customary norms and rules and hence both had limited ownership.
 - Land grant to temples - revenue free land - *Nividham*.
 - Land grant to scholars and men of excellence - not hereditary - *Chandrayan*.
 - Commoners - hereditary - *Sanad* written on copper plates.

Tax was not paid in cash. Land was not a mercantile commodity but a source of identity and excellence. Had social functions and not just economic functions. Strengthened relationship between state and citizens.

- **Sultani rulers** - only interested in generating revenue. Outsiders so could not alter the traditional land tenure system. Appointed intermediaries to collect land revenue for them. *Mazumdars* were the first group of revenue collectors to arise. Simple tax collection and fixed land revenue rate.
- **Mughal rulers** - added *Talukdars* and *Zamindars*. Revenue farmers came into prominence, and they shared a part of commercial revenue with the state. Plantation crops as well as cash crops. This made the state a virtual owner of the land. Duration of land renting was also fixed. Land grant also for Mosques and Islamic men of excellence. *Jagirdari* and *Mansabdari* systems introduced - gave land to officials, army officers who then sub allocated it to small farmers and collected revenue. *Raiyats* (tillers) came into prominence. They were of two types: fixed farmers who tilled their own land and lived in hereditary villages, and mobile farmers who got land by reclaiming forest land and paid tax only after they got a good harvest. Country was divided into *parganas* (districts) and *Paragananirikh* was responsible for revenue collection from a district. *Zamindar*, *Talukdar*, *Mazumdar* and *Raiyats* all paid directly to him and he paid to state. Hence, social structure changed.
- **Colonial** - Pure economic interest in land. Corruption, exploitation and oppression. No technology infrastructure, no motivation for cultivators. Absentee landlords. Pressure on land as artisans also took to farming.
 - **Permanent Settlement** 1793 Bengal, Bihar, Odisha - successful bidder could pass on land to next generation, give away land as gift, could sell it, and could also sublet it. Absentee landlords, tenants could be evicted, sublandlords started extracting more money. Deposed *nawabs*, defeated kings became landlords. Had to pay fixed amount to British so every level extracted more to keep profits. An Indian leisure class developed between British and farmers/peasants. No attention

to infrastructure. Land productivity fell. Tenants-at-will came into existence with no regular source of livelihood. Distress migration to plantations, mining, etc. Big *zamindars* developed. **John Shore** said out of Rs. 100, 45 to government, 15 to zamindar and remaining to cultivator. Waste and jungle land also brought under cultivation.

- **Ryotwari** Madras, Bombay - peasant was considered proprietor of the land and directly paid British. But no irrigation and no concessions in case of crop failure. Borrowed from money lenders and local traders to pay taxes. Debt trap, had to sell land. Many became bonded labourers. Moneylenders became the new *ryots* and only cared about money so forced the deposed *ryot* to cultivate and pay money. No avenue to invest surplus money as all industries British, so more and more started investing in land. Subsistence agriculture replaced by cash crops. Hunger and famine. Capitalism developed in Indian agriculture and farmers and peasants exploited, dispossessed, distressed migrants. Comparatively less exploitation of moneylender and more equality in general as not much difference in wealth and status among the *ryots*.
- **Mahalwari** Punjab, Haryana, NWFP, UP - it started in Agra. Family - actual user of land, Mahal - actual controller of land, State - actual owner of land. Families could be evicted. Rich landlords emerged but due to 'Mahal' system, nobody could become a big landlord. Others became agricultural labourers. *Pradhan* or *muqaddam* was the person who collected the tax.

Daniel Thorner - as a consequence of British policy towards agriculture, the agrarian structure had been a 'built in depressor' which was a cause of the state of stagnation and backwardness of the agricultural economy.

Ruddar Datt and **K. P. M. Sundharam** observe, "Historically, the landlords as a class are known for their extravagance on women, wine and vices. The landlords of India were no exception. Thus the money extracted from the cultivators by these parasites did not result in capital formation but increased conspicuous consumption."

- **Post-colonial** - INC leaders had promised land reforms. Land reforms but land a state subject.

Even before India achieved independence, a strong public opinion had been formed against the role of feudal landlords. It was felt that a class of big land-owning Intermediaries was wasting away the country's agrarian wealth by directing it into unproductive channels. A National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress with Jawaharlal Nehru as its president was formed in 1936. It had a sub-committee on Land Policy. On the basis of its interim report, presented in 1940 by the National Planning Committee, the latter decided to derecognize intermediaries between the State and the cultivators.

The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, with J C. Kumarappa as its chairperson submitted its report in 1949. The Report made a number of recommendations, including those on the size of the holdings. The report introduced the concept on an economic holding which refers to a holding 'which affords a reasonable standard on living to the cultivator and provides full employment to a family of normal size and at least a pair of bullocks'.

Land reforms - 3 stages:

- From above - state formulated policies and grassroots followed.
- From below - people voluntarily came together as Gram Sabhas and forcibly occupied absentee landlords' land and distributed it among commoners and landless villagers. Also resisted police efforts to evict them.
- Bhoodan movement - consensus between landlords and farmers and land was distributed.

However, political and social composition of state ultimately determined the fate of land reforms.

Satish Deshpande - land reforms had no significant effect on the landless position of the lower castes, and their marginalization remains.

The need for land reform was felt due to the following reasons:

- It is an instrument of both direct and indirect poverty reduction.
- It results in greater agricultural asset ownership and improved income for small farmers.
- It increases employment opportunities in the agricultural sector.
- It enhances agricultural incomes leading to increased demand for tradable commodities and manufactured goods, stemming from both expanded agricultural potential and a general increase in consumer demand.
- It sponsors greater household and national food security.
- It protects and strengthens the rights of indigenous small farmer groups.
- It strengthens the rights and well-being of women agricultural labour, leading to greater gender equity.
- It provides direct support to vulnerable groups, including the old, the youth and those affected by physical and mental disabilities.
- It encourages the conservation and management of ecological balance thus preventing encroachment on common property resources such as forests and pastures.

- It reduces migration of rural unemployed segment of the population to urban areas.

Land fragmentation produces the following disadvantages:

- small size of holdings is uneconomical to cultivate.
- wastage of resources of money, time and labour in carrying out different operations from one plot to another.
- supervision of farm operations is not easy.
- expenditure on irrigation, drainage, farming increases.
- during crop season, access to different plots is difficult and a source of quarrel and tension over trespass.
- division of holding causes loss of land on demarcation of boundaries.

Benefits of land reform:

- Enhanced Agricultural Production and Food Security
- Optimal Utilization of Rural Workforce
- Socio-economic Equality amongst Rural Population
- Genuine Political Commitment and the Administrative Foresight
- Inadequate Administrative Capacity for Land Reform
- Access to Land, Water, and Other Resources
- Regulation of Control and Management of Forest Land, Waste Land and Water
- Adequate Utilization of Barren Land
- Participation of the Population
- Decentralization of Decision Making Process
- Women Empowerment in Rural Development
- Making the Essential Inputs, Markets, and Services Accessible
- Technological and Economic Research
- Development of Auxiliary Agricultural Activities
- Education, Training, and Extension
- Demand for In-service Training of Rural Development Professionals
- Regional Cooperation amongst Developing Countries
- Land reforms influence the basis of economic and political power in rural areas
- Increasing Income and Improving the Quality of Life of Rural Population
- Employment Generation
- Positive Consequences for Agriculture Production
- Changes in Rural Investment

The following have been identified as the main cause of ineffective legislation:

- exclusive dependence on legislation as an instrument of agrarian reforms
- the lack of political will
- sole responsibility for land reforms put on certain administrative agencies
- low degree of consciousness and organization of the potential beneficiaries
- use of laws and implementation procedures in their own advantage by powerful landowners

Case Studies:

According to the Report of the National Sample Survey in 1954, in India households owning land up to 5 acres or 2.02 hectares constituted 74.21% of the total households and they held only 16.77% of the total land. On the other hand, households with 25 acres (10.12 hectares) or more constituted 3.71% of the total households but owned as much as 34.27% of the total land.

Categories	% of Household			% of area owned		
	1971-72	1982	1992	1971-72	1982	1992
Marginal	62.62	66.64	71.88	9.76	12.22	16.93
Small	15.49	14.70	13.42	14.68	16.49	18.59
Semi Medium	11.94	10.78	9.28	21.92	23.38	24.58
Medium	7.83	6.45	4.54	30.73	29.83	26.07
Large	2.12	1.42	0.88	22.91	18.07	13.83
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

KL Sharma - studying six villages in Rajasthan - neo rich peasantry has replaced the old land lords and are emerging as the new rural bourgeoisie. The rise of the middle class peasantry into new landlords can be described as embourgeoisement. Some ex-landlords have slide down in status almost to the extent of proletarianization.

Sunil Sen - regional imbalance in implementation of land reforms. More successful in Kerala, West Bengal.

Lakshmi Narayana - theoretical partition to evade land ceiling paved the way for actual partition and nuclearization as well.

The tenancy reforms failed to yield much positive impact, as a large number of tenants-at-will evicted from the land. Also the benefits of consolidation of holdings remained confined to Punjab, Haryana, and western Uttar Pradesh. The first phase of post-independence land reforms in the 1950s and 1960s yielded mixed results. It could be termed successful in the sense that the intermediaries were abolished, which provided the basis for improvement in agricultural productivity. Nevertheless, the unequal agrarian structure remained in place. In 1953-54 nearly 8 percent of ownership holding accounted for 54 percent of the total land. However, at the all India level, there was a tendency towards unequal power structure regarding land ownership. Although the average size of holding declined from 2.39 hectares in 1953-54 to 2.21 hectares in 1971 in several states, the average size of large farms increased.

A Study by **Jodhka** (1990) defines the CPRs to include "community forest, pasture/wasteland, pond/tank, river/rivulet, watershed, drainage/river banks and river/tank beds". This shows that common lands are of vital importance for income-generation by the rural poor. In other studies (**Rao**, 1992), it has been found that the rich have better access to CPRs and only in backward villages (where there are no rich farmers) the poor are able to make use of CPRs. Driven out of their landholdings by the rich, now the poor have to face competition even in the use of CPRs.

Land Reforms Timeline:

Two Broad Phases - **Bipan Chandra**

- 1st phase soon after independence; phase of Institutional reforms; Continued till 1960s

It had following Features:

- Abolition of Intermediaries - *zamindars*
 - Tenancy Reforms: involving
 - providing security of tenure to peasants
 - decrease in rents and
 - conferment of ownership right to tenants
 - Ceiling on size of landholdings
 - Cooperativization and Community Development Programmes
- 2nd Phase: mid or late 1960s
 - Gradual ushering in of so-called Green Revolution
 - Phase of technological reforms

Two phases not rigid watertight compartments - complementary to each other - fair degree of overlap in programmes during these phases.

Zamindari Abolition:

- By 1949 - *Zamindari* Abolition Bills or Land Tenure Legislations were introduced in a no. of provinces - U.P., M.P., Bihar, Madras.
- Report of U.P. *zamindari* Abolition committee (chaired by **G.B. Pant**) acting as the initial model for many others.

Issues in *Zamindari* Abolition:

- In U.P. *zamindars* were permitted to retain lands that were declared to be under their 'personal cultivation' - 'personal cultivation' loosely defined as tillers, supervisors, provided capital & credit.
- Till Land Ceiling Laws were introduced there was no limit on size of land that could be declared under personal cultivation of *zamindar*.
- Actual Practice: (i) Absentee *zamindars* retained large tract of land, (ii) *Zamindars* resorted to large scale evictions of tenants to show under personal cultivation.
- Draft Bill subjected to prolonged Debates, referred to Select Committees and repeated amendments.
- In Bihar, tried to block legislation despite losing their case in Supreme Court.
- Refused to hand over land records in their possession - forcing govt. to go through lengthy procedures of reconstructing Records.
- Collusion b/w landlords and lower level revenue officials in many areas - many revenue officials were former rent collecting agents of *zamindars*.

Beneficiaries:

- Occupancy Tenants or Upper Tenants who had direct leases from *zamindar* and who now became landowners.
- Such tenants were middle or rich peasants who sometimes had sub-leases given out to lower tenants with little rights often called 'tenant at will'.
- Abolition meant about 20 million erstwhile tenants now became landowners.
- Figures for area and no. of households under tenancy are highly unreliable partly because in many areas a large proportion of tenancy was 'oral' and therefore unrecorded.

Constitution of India:

Relevant provisions of the Constitution of India were framed in such a way that:

- leaders felt assured that *Zamindari* abolition bills in state assemblies would go through on the basis of compensation recommended by the state legislatures.
- as these recommendations were made non-justiciable requiring only Presidential assent which meant ultimately support of the Union Cabinet.
- Acquisition of Commercial or industrial property continued to require an entirely different set of principles.

Challenge of Zamindars:

Challenged constitutionality of law permitting *Zamindari* abolition

- Patna High Court upheld the landlord's suit
- Congress: got Amendments passed in Constitution
- 1st Amendment (1951) and 4th Amendment (1955) aimed at:
 - Strengthening hands of State Legislatures for implementing *Zamindari* abolition.
 - Making question of violation of any Fundamental Right or insufficiency of compensation not permissible in courts.

Difficulties:

- Absence of adequate Land Records.
- By 1950s process of land reforms involving abolition of *Zamindari* (British India) and *Jagirdari* (Princely States) can be said to have been completed.
- *Zamindari* abolition completed in shorter period because *Zamindars* as a class had been isolated socially during national movement itself as they were seen as part of the imperialist camp.

Compensation:

Compensation small and varied from state to state depending up on:

- strength of the peasant movement.
- consequent class balance b/w landlords and tenants.
- ideological composition of Congress leadership and of Legislature as a whole.
- Kashmir: no compensation paid.
- Most states: variation of model of U.P. where compensation paid was inversely related to the size of land which came under a *zamindar*.
- Small *zamindars*: who paid land revenue of up to Rs. 25/- were to receive 20 times their net annual income as compensation.
- Big *zamindars*: who paid land revenue ranging b/w Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 10,000 were to receive 2-4 times their net annual income as compensation.
- Compensation Payment stretched in some cases.

Tenancy Reforms:

Issue of continuing tenancy in *Zamindari* areas — oral and unrecorded therefore remained even after abolition of *zamindari*

- Issue: Half of land was under *Ryotwari* - where problems of Landlordism and an insecure rack rented tenantry too were rampant.
- Tenancy Legislation: Nature of tenancy legislation passed by different states and manner of their implementation varied.

3 Basic objectives:

- Guarantee security of tenure to tenants who had cultivated a piece of land continuously for a fixed no. of years (years varied from region to region).
- To seek reduction of rents paid by tenants to a 'fair level' which was generally considered to range between 1/4th to 1/6th of the value of gross produce of the leased land.
- Tenant gain right to acquire ownership of lands he cultivated, subject to certain restrictions. Tenant expected to pay a price much below the market price.

'floors' and 'ceilings':

- Absentee Landlords right of resumption of land for 'personal cultivation' and tenants right to acquire the lands they cultivated was operated through a complex and variable system of 'floors' and 'ceilings'
- Landowners right of resumption was limited — a ceiling prescribed by each state
- 1st Plan: a limit of 3 times the 'family holding'
 - Family holding defined as a single plough unit
 - While resuming land, landowner could not deprive tenant of his entire lands
 - In Bihar, the 'floor' was half the holding of the tenant or minimum of 5 acres (in W. Bengal 2.5 acres)

Eviction of Tenants:

Planning Commission's Panel on Land Reforms noted in 1956:

- Between 1948 and 1951, no. of protected tenants in state of Bombay declined from 1.7 million to 1.3 million i.e. by more than 23%.
- Many were legally, illegally and voluntarily evicted.
- In many cases, tenancy legislation led to tenancy being pushed underground i.e. it continued in a concealed form — tenants called farm servants though they continued in same status.
- Tenants converted to Sharecroppers: were not tenants so not protected under existing tenancy legislation.
- In W. Bengal, sharecroppers known as *Bargadars* received no protection till as late as 1970 when W. Bengal Land Reforms Act was amended to accord limited protection to them.

Insecurity of Tenants:

Most tenancies oral and informal i.e. not recorded.

1961 Census: 82% of tenancies in country were insecure.

Some Programmes:

- In late 1960s, a programme of conferment of titles of lands to hutment dwellers and tenants was undertaken in Kerala.
- Operation *Barga* in 1978 in W. Bengal- achieving registration of sharecroppers so that they can proceed to secure for them their legal rights — permanent occupancy and heritable rights - Crop division of between landowner and sharecropper.
- Operation *Barga* couldn't be completed because:
 - Politically unviable and ethically indefensible: when faced with landlords who themselves were cultivators with only holding only marginally larger lands.
 - Majority Of cultivators: small cultivators controlling less than 5 acres — further redistribution difficult.
 - Landlord often able to rotate a piece of leased land among two or more sharecroppers or *bargadars*. Registering any one would oust the other and both would reduce optimum size of holding.

Limitations of Tenancy Reforms:

- security of tenure to all tenants was a limited success.
- Reduction of rents to 'fair' level almost impossible to achieve — adverse land-man ratio led to high rents — rents ranged from 20-25% of gross produce to 70%.
- Acquisition of ownership rights by tenants achieved only partially - In 1975, in Gujarat, out of 1.3 million tenants ownership rights had been purchased by 0.77 million.

Why tenants didn't acquire ownership rights:

- Because there was hardly any motivation to try and acquire full ownership which would involve not only raising capital but legal and other complications.
- These superior tenants were practically virtual owners.
- **Daniel Thorner**: despite all evasions, leakages, loopholes and so on many millions of cultivators who had previously been weak tenants or tenants-at-will were enabled to become superior tenants or virtual owners.

Land Ceiling:

- Ceiling on the size of landholdings.
- Objective: making land distribution more equitable.
- Limit of ceiling: All India Kisan Sabha (in 1946) supported 25 acres per landholder.
- AICC appointed committee headed by Nehru in Nov. 1947 recommended maximum size of holdings should be fixed — surplus land should be placed at disposal of village cooperatives.

Congress Agrarian Reform Committee - chaired by **J.C. Kumarappa**

- In 1949— Recommended ceiling on landholding which was to be 3 times the size of an economic holding.
- Economic holding defined as that which would give a reasonable standard of living to the cultivator and provide full employment to a family of normal size and at least to a pair of bullocks.

Weaknesses in Land Ceiling Legislation:

- Ceiling fixed on existing holdings by states was very high.
- Initially ceiling imposed on individuals and not family holdings— enabling land to be divide 'notionally' in name of relatives.
- In many states, ceilings could be raised if size of the family of landholder exceeded five.
- A large no. of exemptions to the ceiling limits on certain categories of lands — tea, coffee, etc.
- Criteria such as 'efficiently managed farm' were sufficiently vague to evade ceilings by simply getting themselves 'efficient'.
- Exemption to land held by cooperatives— landlords transferred lands to Bogus cooperatives.
- Long delay in ceiling legislation defeated its purpose.
- Large landowners had enough time to sell excess lands, mala fide transfers in name of relatives and even benami transfers.
- Mass eviction of tenants.
- Resumption of lands up to ceiling limit.
- Falsely claiming to have shifted to progressive farming.

Results of Land Ceiling Legislations:

- Till end of 1970: not a single acre was declared surplus in large states.
- In Andhra Pradesh, 1400 acres declared surplus but no land was distributed.
- In J. & K. ceiling law fully implemented — 2 lac 30 thousand acres of land redistributed.
- Indian countryside saw consolidation of owner cultivator / rich peasant interests.
- Agrarian Radicalism
 - Naxalite Movement.: W. Bengal , Andhra, Bihar
 - 'Land Grab' movement: by landless in W. Bengal

Recommendations of Central Land Reform Committee:

- Substantial reduction in ceiling limits.
- Withdrawal of exemptions such as those in favour of 'efficient' or mechanized farms.
- Making ceiling applicable to family as a unit and not to individuals.

Result of Ceiling Laws of 1970s:

- An additional area of 2.27 million acres distributed by early 1980s.
- Wide regional variation in implementation: much higher level of success.
- It killed land market and prevented an increasing concentration in landholdings through de-peasantization.

(ii) Caste System

A. Perspectives on the study of caste systems: GS Ghurye, M N Srinivas, Louis Dumont, Andre Beteille

B. Features of caste system

GS Ghurye:

He identified six outstanding features of the Indian caste system in '*Caste and Race in India*'. These features are:

1. Segmental division of society:

The segmental division of society refers to its division or compartmentalization into a number of segments or castes, each of which has a life of its own. Ghurye sees castes as social groupings or segments the membership of which is acquired and fixed by birth. Each caste provides a center of its own regarding rules, regulations, standards of morality and justice.

Caste reproduces caste in India, castes are subdivided on the basis of necessity. Castes (except Brahmins) are region specific. Activities, customs, behaviour are organized and determined by their caste councils. These councils have legislative, executive as well as judicial powers. Caste develops **Durkheim's** mechanical solidarity. Caste councils ensured "unity within group" and "distinction between groups".

2. Hierarchy:

The castes or segments are arranged in terms of a hierarchy. Hierarchy is a scheme, which arranges castes in terms of higher or superior and lower or inferior positions in relation to each other. The relative ranking of particular caste groups differed from one place to another. Hence it is a hierarchical system, and not a pure hierarchy. But, everywhere, the Brahmins were placed at the top and the untouchables were kept at the bottom of the hierarchy.

3. Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse:

The above two attributes reflect the separation or distance between castes. This fact of separation is reinforced by the principles of purity and pollution. The principles of purity and pollution find their expression in the codes regulating the acceptance of food or drink from other castes. For example: In North India, Brahmin would accept *pakka* food (cooked in ghee) only from some castes lower than his own. However, no individual would accept *kachcha* (cooked in water) food prepared by an inferior caste. Food prepared by Brahmin is acceptable to all, the reason for which domination of Brahmins in hotel industry was seen for a long time.

4. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections:

A result of the hierarchical division of society is that rights and obligation are unequally shared by different sections of the society. The ritual status of a caste vis-à-vis the Brahmins and the nature of

occupation are the crucial determinants of the nature of these disabilities. The speech, dress and custom of the high castes could not be copied by the lower castes as by doing so they would go against the governing rule of the society.

It is recorded that under the rule of the Marathas and the Peshwas, the Mahars and Mangs were not allowed within the gates of Poona after 3 PM and before 9 AM because before nine and after three their bodies cast too long a shadow, which falling on a member of the higher castes – especially Brahmin – defiles them. In the Maratha country, a Mahar – one of the untouchables – might not spit on the road lest a pure-caste Hindu should be polluted by touching it with his foot, but had to carry an earthen pot, hung from his neck, in which to spit. Further, he had to drag a thorny branch with him to wipe put his footprints and to lie at a distance prostrate on the ground if a Brahmin passed by, so that his foul shadow might not defile the holy Brahmin. This is civil disability.

In the Punjab, where restrictions regarding pollution by proximity have been far less stringent than in other parts of India, a sweeper, while walking through the streets of the larger town, was supposed to carry a broom in his hand or under his armpit as a mark of his being a scavenger and had to shout out to the people warning them of his polluting presence. The schools, maintained at public cost, were practically closed to such impure caste as the Chamars and Mahars. Further, the impure castes were segregated and made to live on the outskirts of villages.

5. Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation:

Every caste or a group of allied castes was associated with a hereditary occupation. Since distinction was made between clean and unclean and therefore, between pure and impure occupations, the hereditary occupation of a caste reflected its status in society. For example, the Brahmins were engaged in priesthood, while the lower castes took up occupations such as those of barber, washerman and cobbler. The untouchable castes would be doing the most unclean jobs. Occupational differentiation has led to the birth of many sub castes. But the profession of priesthood and literary activities had remained the sole preserve of the Brahmins.

6. Restrictions on marriage:

Inter-marriage between castes was prohibited. Hence individuals married within their own caste grouping - they practiced endogamy. Every caste was segmented into smaller subdivisions or sub-castes and these were the units of endogamy. According to Ghurye, endogamy is the key factor behind the caste system. Hypergamy was prescriptive.

MN Srinivas:

He had written '*An Obituary to Caste*' on the 21st century and caste, with the advent of globalization. However, in reality we see a rebirth of the caste system. His major ideas are:

1. Distinction between caste and varna system

Most scholars have not defined what caste actually is. It comes from the Portuguese word '*Casta*' which means division. *Jati* is the Hindi word for caste, and they are localized groups. Caste being a territorial group, initially migrated to other parts. Consequently, caste attitude, behavior, rituals change depending on location even though caste does not change. Certain castes like Brahmins are present all over India.

Now-a-days sub-caste is defined as a *Jati*. Hence, *Jati* may be a caste or a sub-caste depending on association with a particular group.

Many European scholars failed to distinguish between varna and caste. They believed Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra to be four caste groups and being further divided into sub-castes. Srinivas states that there are four varnas and thousands of caste groups in India. Varna is always textual, caste is contextual. Varna is ideal, book view and tells what India was. Caste is real, field view and tells what India is. Hence, Srinivas draws a boundary between the two and states that to study real India, study caste.

2. Caste as a system of stratification

Srinivas compiled various village studies conducted by European and Indian scholars in the 1970s to reflect on the data on caste system and mobility. He also referred to historical sources. Using both, he showed that caste system is not fixed, and caste positions and caste relations are dynamic, just like the class system in the West, though the degree of mobility may be different. Examples:

- Political patronage - Kayasthas became bookkeepers for Muslims because Brahmins had rejected the job. They became wealthy and claimed higher status than the Kshatriyas.
- Accident - Woodcutters entered the Tirumala Hills and discovered the deities Padmavati and Sri Venkateswar. They constructed the temples and started worshipping them as priests.
- King's Grace - Koli Patels were Shudras but King was happy with their services and made them Patels. Nairs were palanquin bearers who became Kshatriyas.
- Socio-religious movements - Yadavs and Jats benefitted from the Arya Samaj movement.
- Money - Noniyas were salt makers who became wealthy when demand rose during wars, and became Kshatriya from Vaishya.

Thus, caste is a dynamic system.

3. Dominant caste - book of the same name.

Looked at the changing nature of caste in the 1970s due to two factors: Land Reforms and PRIs. Example: Yadavs and Bhumihars. Some of the castes also benefitted from the Green Revolution, use of technology in agriculture, horticulture (coastal Andhra), commercial agriculture (sugarcane in Maharashtra).

These castes developed political aspirations. Cooperatives were formed. Consolidated the caste members and captured power in the PRIs. Invested in children's education, western lifestyle trends and urban areas. Thus, every state has a caste which has economic and political power.

Reddy, Kamma, Lingayat, Vokkaliga, Patidar, Rajput, Maratha, Yadav, Jat, Gujjar.

Srinivas coined the acronym AJGR (Ahir, Jat, Gujjar, Rajput) for the dominant castes and stated that they would eat up democracy in India by appropriating all political power.

Dominant castes talk of caste mobility and they are becoming powerful by emphasizing on their secular power and are going for consolidation of castes. Caste is becoming stronger because of growing secular significance of caste.

Louis Dumont: Culturo-Structural Approach

His understanding of India is mostly based on people's behavior. Culture is not abstract but is a guide to human life. He studied "Role of culture in people's lives" and how culture as a body of ideas was stored in mind and manifested in daily activities in all social life's facets.

He also read Sanskrit texts and realized that despite social change in India being glorified by democracy, urbanization, industrialization and modern education, everyday life of people is largely guided by textual prescription. Hence, text influences contextual behavior and so both text and context are important. Thus, his approach is a part of culturological approach by studying cultural texts and interpreting context accordingly.

He borrows **Hegel's** idealism, **Levi Strauss's** structural analysis and **Bougle's** view of caste being a hierarchical system with Brahmins at the apex as determined by the ideology of pure and impure which comes out of Hindu culture, to understand caste in India.

Andre Beteille:

1. Understanding of caste in '**Caste, Class and Power**' and '**Caste: Old and New**'
2. Reservation policy and his reference on poverty and pollution
3. A critic to **Dumont**
4. On social and cultural reproduction and how India needs to be studied beyond caste - '**Caste does not exist on its own**'

His sociology is not caste-centric. He looks at India from a stratificational standpoint and studies all forms of inequality - landholding, gender, income, occupation.

P2 - B 2 a. Perspectives on the study of caste systems: GS Ghurye, M N Srinivas, Louis Dumont, Andre Beteille

CASTE SYSTEM

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 290 to 300, 329 to 334

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 4. New Avatar of Caste - Pages 78 to 82, 5. Louis Dumont - Pages 92 to 104, 6. Beteille - Pages 107 to 124

Vikash Ranjan Book - Srinivas, Dumont and Beteille + Hindu Article by Beteille - Pages 72 to 83
IGNOU Handout - ESO 14 Unit 17 - Criticism of Dumont - Pages 6 to 8

The basic characteristics of caste are:

1. The membership is hereditary and fixed for life.
2. Exclusion or separation i.e. rules governing marriage, contact, commensality, which maintains distinctions of caste.
3. Hierarchy i.e. the principle of order and rank according to status.
4. Interdependence i.e. the occupational division of labour which is closely tied to hierarchy and separation.
5. Caste consciousness is stressed by caste names as well as by conformity to the particular customs of the particular caste.

Politics of reservation is dominating over sociology of reservation in India. There is a competitive quest for reservation and that is bringing caste to the center stage in public life. Caste is catering to contemporary needs.

Race theory - caste status is higher based on skin colour.

Occupation theory - caste name comes from occupation.

Where Ghurye gives a cultural-historical explanation to caste, Srinivas gives an empirical view of caste, Dumont offers a Brahminic view of caste and Marxists offer a materialistic view of caste.

Ghurye: Historical and Indological sources - Attributional Approach which discusses the significant features of the caste system and what distinguishes it from other forms of social stratification.

Before Ghurye, colonial scholars had guessed origin of caste, no evidence. Established India as a hierarchical, pervasive, closed holism due to caste system, which is inferior to the European class system - Ghurye rejected this colonial theory of caste.

Aryans (race) introduced caste and occupation gave it stability. Caste brought by Aryans is mentioned in texts - division of work and identity based on occupation.

Instead of origins, fundamental functions of caste should be studied - also used Census data.

Ghurye's approach: Historical and Indological --> Comparison --> Generalization

Caste councils ensured "unity within group" and "distinction between groups".

Hierarchy: if positions are fixed, it is a hierarchical system as found in traditional society, if positions are changeable, it is a hierarchical position as found in modern society, like Bureaucracy.

Within modern institutions, class matters, while in wider society, caste matters, and so arrival of class does not lead to disappearance of caste.

Today caste consolidation is happening to gratify contemporary necessities and needs rather than for cultural pride - example: Jats, Patels, Marathas for reservations.

Commensality:

Sat Shudras in West Bengal followed pure lifestyle influenced by Chaitanya's teachings. Brahmins used to accept water from them (Jalavyavaharya Shudras).

Maharashtra - Basor consider themselves ritually purer with respect to other untouchables. Officiated as priests for them. 'Brahmins of Untouchables' - did not accept food from Mahars, Bhangis, Senars and Chamars.

South India - only 3 caste groups Brahmins, Non Brahmins and Adi Dravidas - Brahmins did not accept even raw food from Non-Brahmins. Also, Iyers and Iyengars different dining rows - food restrictions stricter in South, hence caste stronger there.

One occupation, multiple caste - 1901 census by **Hutton** - 17 castes called themselves agriculturists, 8 weavers, 6 potters. In Rajasthan, Brahmins were bookkeepers to Rajputs - secular hierarchy dominated over caste hierarchy - Brahmins in WB agriculture, in MP traders too.

Each sub-caste practiced endogamy and gotra exogamy - 2 type of exogamy: sapinda = close relative, sept = gotra.

In each linguistic region, 200 caste groups, which are further sub-divided into about 3000 smaller units, each of which is endogamous and constitutes the area of effective social life for the individual.

The relationship between caste and kinship is very close because:

- Exogamy in our society is largely based on kinship, either real or imaginary.
- The effective unit of caste, sub-caste is largely constituted of kinsmen.

New Roles of Caste in India:

Ghurye's work on caste contained some interesting speculations, which have been proved to be correct. Firstly, he noted that the Indian castes have fostered voluntary association for furtherance of education and reformist aims. The Nadars, Reddys and Kammas of South India, Saraswat Brahmins of Maharashtra and Vaisyas, and Kayasthas of North India, to mention only a few, founded caste associations. Ghurye presumed that in the future they would give rise to a political consciousness based on caste ties. In the post Independent India, the caste associations have been quite vocal about getting political concessions to their members. In the later decades of twentieth century **Rajni Kothari**, a political analyst, extensively analyzed the caste associations. Unlike Ghurye, Kothari recognized the positive roles of these caste associations such as taking up welfare activities, etc. According to Ghurye, they have served to mainly articulate the people's political aspirations in a democratic framework. Secondly, Ghurye referred to the various agitations of the backward classes for better privileges. These struggles seemed to be undermining the integrity of the Indian society. Thus, the caste system was becoming "pluralist" in the sense that each caste was in competition or conflict with the other for bigger share of the nation's wealth. Hence, according to Ghurye this scramble for privileges was damaging the unity of society.

MNS: Empirical studies - Who are they? Where located? Where they became of that caste? How did they become? - Attributional Approach which stresses the attributes of caste and how they affect the interactions.

9 features of caste system - hierarchy; restriction on food, drink and smoking; distinction in custom, dress and speech; pollution; ritual and other privileges and disabilities; caste organization and caste mobility.

For Srinivas following characteristic castes have in its social stratification dynamics:

1. Hierarchy
2. Occupational differentiation
3. Restrictions on commensality
4. Pollution
5. Caste panchayats and assemblies

Dimension of Functions of Dominant Caste:

1. The dominant caste often acts as a reference model to the lower caste group.
2. They set norms and regulations for social life.
3. Dominant castes are the main power holders.
4. Dominant castes because of their dominant position exploit all the developmental sources in their favour.
5. The Dominant castes set values and norms for the community. Traditionally, its primary functions were Judicial, executive and legitimacy.
6. Due to dominant position in rural society, they control the rural economy in various ways and means.
7. Dominant castes play a greater role in the process of modernization.

Caste is placed within the varna frame of reference to facilitate inter-caste relationship. Example: No Jat in Odisha, so Jat will call himself Kshatriya for the Odia to understand.

Varna frame of reference facilitates mobility within caste system and prevents inter-caste conflicts. In Sanskritization you can claim the reference group's varna but of a lower rank / status so that that caste's sensitivities do not get hurt.

Varna gives a readymade understanding of India, as understanding caste is difficult. "Telescopic View" - a Weberian understanding based on this Varna standpoint.

3 parts of Rig Veda:

First part - 2 Varnas - Aryan and Dasyus, white and black - hence Varna means colour and is same as race.

Second part - 3 Varnas - occupational and colour differences - Brahma, Kshytri and Vis of white, red and mixed colour.

Satpath Brahmana - 10th Mandala - 4 Varnas - white, red, yellow and black - again colour and occupation both (also Mahabharata).

In order to maintain social stability, divine justification was given to social inequality - body parts theory came (mouth, arm, thigh, feet) - and became famous in 600 BC due to the Brahmin written Taitreya Samhita (face, vigour = strength, stomach = greedy, feet).

Hence, Varna which started as a race system got converted into a four-fold system justifying social inequality via religious divinity.

Rig Veda also mentions Chandala, Nishada, Ayogava, Paulkasa, Kirat, etc. who have no Varna - Varna gives selective explanation of India. Varna is partial, caste is total.

Also, all Shudras not same - Yadavs privileges - Varna will not tell this, caste will.

KM Panicker - No true Kshatriyas after 500 BC as all had converted to Buddhism. Victors in subsequent wars started calling themselves Kshatriyas.

Varna | Caste
Ideal | Real
Book | Contextual
4 | Numerous
Selective explanation | Totalistic
Homogenizes groups | Respects heterogeneity
Static view of Indian society | Dynamic view
What India was | What India is

Village studies: **MNS** found in Rampura village that Lingayats employed Brahmins as priests. **FG Bailey**'s study of Bisipada village showed how distillers had slowly established superiority over warriors - once the Kshatriyas lost their land due to reforms. **MSA Rao** - Yadavs of Yadavpuram hired Brahmins and became Yaduvanshi - secular mobility and then ritual amendment to demand a higher status.

A caste is considered to be high if its characteristic way of life is high and pure and it is considered to be low if its way of life is low and polluting. By the term 'way of life' we mean whether its traditional occupation is ritually pure or polluting. For example, the occupation of the Brahmin Priest is ritually pure while the traditional occupation of a leather working caste like the Chamar of U.P. is considered to be ritually polluting. But the remarkable aspect of caste system is that the presumed hierarchy of 'way of life', which includes diet, occupation, etc. does not often correlate with the observed order of caste ranking found in several regions of India. For example, in spite of the trader castes being vegetarian (which is considered to be ritually higher) in Rampura, a village of Mysore, they are ranked ritually lower than the non-vegetarian peasant castes of the same village (Srinivas: 1955).

Possible consequences of caste mobility:

- inter-caste conflict - Vedas and Smiths v/s Lingayats due to which the former suffered downward mobility (those communities had tried to call themselves Valmiki Brahmins and Vishwakarma Brahmins).
- intra-caste conflict - Chukliars and Periyars both are untouchables, but when former tried to show their superiority, conflict.
- class within caste - rich v/s poor in Rajputs, Bhumiars - rich do not associate with the poor.
- Traditional form of domination exists and mobility has no effect - **William Wiser** in Karimpur village in UP - Brahmins are still economically, politically and culturally dominant, over the Muslim population and other Hindus.
- Multiple forms of domination develop - **Oscar Lewis** in Rampur village saw Jats are economically dominant, Rajputs are politically dominant and Brahmins are ritually dominant - caste which was a system of organic solidarity had become a system of competitive solidarity.

Thus, caste mobility does not have a uniform impact on caste system and social structure in India. Mobility can be functional, dysfunctional, non-functional, latent or manifest and varies from region to region. This needs to be studied from a comparative perspective in time and space - Structural Functional Approach.

1920 - TN - first time all non-Brahmins united to ensure Brahmins lost power in the provincial assembly elections.

On Srinivas's dominant caste:

Rajni Kothari said caste needs politics as much as politics needs caste. Caste needs politics to strengthen its base. Politics needs caste as a vote bank. More caste is becoming weaker, more caste is becoming stronger in India.

TK Oommen - caste is power reservoir and caste leaders are power exercisers. Example: MSY, LPY, Mayawati. Thus, in name of caste, caste leaders hijack power and constitute power elite, and are the ones enjoying power.

Ghanshyam Shah - rise of dominant caste in India is giving rise to classization of caste. Caste is a product of culture while class is a product of interest. Hence, backward castes are coming together as a single class - dominant caste - for gratification of their common interest.

Louis Dumont - the rise of dominant caste in India is making hierarchy stronger, pervasive and deeper.

Karve (1953), in her study of the Malabar Coast has pointed out certain distinct features present in a region. The order of dominance among castes parallels the order of caste rank. The exclusive nature of high-ranking castes is further reinforced by ritual notions of purity and pollution. High ranking Brahman castes of this region possess landed wealth, power and control, besides the traditional right to perform rituals; they also have right to religious learning and worship at temples. Subordinate castes are obliged to worship according to their ritual prescriptions and they do not have the right to religious texts like, the Veda, Upanishad, etc. Their economic and political subordination further enhances the dominant position of high-ranking castes. Organization of ritual and temple services, concentration of land holdings correlates caste rank with secular power and promotes consistency in the total hierarchy of inter-caste relations. In regions where caste and power hierarchy overlap there is a definite concentration of power, wealth and land invested with high ranking caste groups. Correspondingly ritual sanctions reinforced the superordinate status of upper caste groups and subordinate status of the lower caste groups. Thus, this correlation leads to the minimizing of disputes.

Contemporary caste structure of Indian society:

- Forward castes
- Backward castes = dominant castes
- Most backward castes = Dalits

Louis Dumont:

Levi Strauss - binary opposites, **Bougle** - Brahmins as a reference group.

He studied Indian society from the perspective of ideas and culture. He argued that culture leads to binary cognitive structures in the consciousness of people - hierarchy, holism and continuity are the values which lead to purity and pollution - caste consciousness exists because it is a product of culture of hierarchy and it leads to the cognitive structure of purity and pollution.

Borrowed from **Hegel** - What is ideal, that is real. So everything seen is a product of human consciousness and social behaviour is driven by our ideas. Thus, culture provides ideas which are stored in our mind and which provide a guide to our action in everyday life. Inter-caste relationships are prescribed by culture and so, caste is a product of cultural ideology present in the mind. It is a prescription rather than an individual choice. Hence, culture is an ideological system and not an empirical system which can be changed. Changing caste needs killing culture, which is impossible, hence caste will persist.

The chief elements of his methodology are:

1. Ideology and structure
2. Dialectic transformational relationship and comparison
3. Indological and structuralist approach
4. Cognitive historical approach

Also inspired by **Levi Strauss** - structure is a product of roles, continuous in character as per Structural Functionalists like **ARRB**. This structure is unique and timebound. Structure can be transformed by changing roles. Levi Strauss talks of study of structure without study of individual roles - this is feasible by classification into binary opposites. Example: Men-Women, North India-SI - by division into such categories, sociological study of structure is possible without studying independent role. **Durkheim** was the first to develop binary opposites to study reality in his concept of sacred and profane.

Caste structure is a product of caste roles - Brahmins pure role, Untouchables impure role - opposite roles driven by cultural prescriptions. These roles are played due to belief in culture, which has placed a body of ideas in the mind and people conform to them regardless of their liking or disliking. Thus, culture helps society's individuals to be held in asymmetrical positions. Thus, caste structure is hierarchical and this hierarchy is a product of culture, driven by ideology of pure and impure - thus Dumont shows that culture explains structure of caste.

Dumont starts with **Celestin Bougle**'s definition of caste and says that it divides the whole Indian society into a larger number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and connected together by three characteristics:

1. Separation on the basis of rules of the caste in matters of marriage and contact, whether direct or indirect (food);
2. Interdependent of work or division of labour, each group having, in theory or by tradition, a profession from which their member can depart only within certain limits; and
3. Finally, gradation of status or hierarchy, which ranks the groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another.

Dumont views that this definition indicates the main apparent characteristics of the caste system. He describes mainly three things:

1. India is composed of many small territories and castes;
2. Every caste is limited to particular and definite geographic area; and
3. Marrying outside one's own caste is not possible in the caste system.

Dumont main argument about caste in his work '**Homo Hierarchicus**' are following:

1. India is one;
2. This unity is found above all in ideas and values;
3. Caste is the fundamental institution of Hinduism;
4. The opposition of the pure and impure is central to the caste system;
5. Hierarchy and separation are two basic aspects of opposition between purity and impurity, and hence of the caste system;
6. The caste ideology is an all-embracing ideology and power is subordinate to status;
7. Hierarchy distinguishes Indian society from 'modern' societies whose fundamental social principle is equality;
8. There cannot be any revolutionary sociology; and
9. The change in contemporary India is 'organization', rather than 'structural'.

Structure of caste:

- Caste structure is a product of caste roles, driven by cultural prescriptions. This way, culture helps society's individuals to be held in asymmetrical positions. Thus, caste structure is hierarchical and this hierarchy is a product of culture. Caste is an ideological phenomenon and not an empirical phenomenon.

Dumont says that in Hindu Indian society, ideology of purity and pollution defines and explains everything and forms the centrality to the Hindu ideological system.

Caste is a hierarchical system driven by the ideology of pure and impure and this dichotomy is universal.

E. Bougle - caste is a system of DOL which is a product of Hindu culture. DOL is driven by cultural logic rather than economic needs. Class is also a form of DOL but it is driven by rational choice.

- Dumont says every caste determines its position in the caste hierarchy depending on its proximity or distance from the position of the Brahmins. Caste system is a Brahmin-centric system. This is the reason for Sanskritization - not for mobility but to get closer to Brahminical exclusivity.
- Every caste maintains its own boundary thereby promoting unity within and distinction between. (**Ghurye's** caste councils)

Thus, caste is a hierarchical system keeping Brahmins at top position and this is determined by ideology of pure and impure which comes out of Hindu culture.

Dumont added a new dimension to the studies of caste in an interactional perspective. His study of caste emphasizes relations between castes rather than attributes. Attributes can be only be explained with reference to the relationship castes. According to Dumont the local context has a role in caste ranking and identity, but this is a response to the ideology of hierarchy which extends over the entire caste system. Thus for Dumont caste is a set of relationship of economic, and kinship systems, sustained by mainly religious values. For Dumont caste is a special type of inequality and hierarchy is the essential value underlying the caste system, and it is this value that integrates Hindu society.

The various aspects of the caste, says Dumont are based on the principle of opposition between the pure and impure underlying them. 'Pure' is superior to the 'impure' and has to be kept separate. Thus the caste system appears to be rational to those because of the opposition between the pure and the impure.

Dumont also feels that hierarchy in the caste system indicates ritual status without accepting the influences of wealth or power authority. Thus hierarchy is the principle through which the elements are ranked in relation to the whole. Ranking is basically religious in nature. In Indian society Status (Brahmins) has always been separated from power (King). To go further, power has been subordinated to 'status'. King is subordinate to the priest, but both are dependent on each other. Thus hierarchy is something ritualistic in nature and supported by religion. Only when power is subordinated to status, can this type of pure hierarchy develop. The Brahmins who represents purity is superior and at the top of the whole system. But the Brahmin along with the king opposes all the other categories of the Varna system.

For Dumont the *Jajmani* system of economic interaction is a ritual expression rather than an economic arrangement. *Jaimani* system is the religious expression of inter dependence where interdependence itself is derived from religion. Similarly, commensal regulations emphasize hierarchy rather than separation. However, the question of purity does not arise on all such occasions of commensality. Thus the washer-man is a 'purifier' and can enter the house freely. But he cannot attend a marriage party with similar caste.

According to **Harika**, there are three kinds of purity:

- bearing of the family (Kula)
- objects of everyday use (Artha)
- the body

Madan presumed that Dumont's analysis is an exercise in deductive logic.

Dumont is criticized for being culturological and ignoring the material and structural factors - **Beteille** and **Yogendra Singh** - also, he

does not acknowledge change, especially when it comes from outside the culture.

Yogendra Singh - caste must be understood as a structural reality rather than a cultural fact unique to Hindus.

Harold Gould argues that Dumont assumes that Brahminic values are internalized by all, which is not true in case of Dalits.

MSA Rao - Brahmins are despised in Haryana and Punjab.

Veena Das - King is as powerful as Priest.

Purity and pollution in modern context - AIDS, Leprosy, Transgender, Widows, Menstruation

Andre Beteille:

Followed Weberian approach in Indian sociological discourse. Reality is vast, unorganized, dichotomous and chaotic.

French father, Bengali mother.

Sripuram village, Tanjore - 1964 - village study - people assumed he was North Indian Brahmin.

Introduced interdisciplinarity in Indian sociology. His first PhD. student was Ramchandra Guha.

Caste is stratified rather than hierarchical system and within them divisions and subdivisions exist - poor Brahmin, rich Brahmin will not make a match.

'India's destiny not caste in stone' - electoral politics and media is keeping caste alive - caste based voting pattern is increasing caste consciousness.

Beteille has outlined the basic features of the "caste" model of Indian society while examining its usefulness as a scheme of analysis. These features are:

1. it is based on ideas and not on the actual behavior of the people;
2. these ideas are found in the classical texts;
3. the system is based on "rules of the game"; and
4. different castes fulfill complementary functions, and their mutual relations are "non-antagonistic"

In his study of **"Caste, Class and Power - Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village"**, Andre Beteille (1966) wrote that earlier (i.e. 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 more equally with the Brahmans. Similarly, many Brahmans sold their land once land came into the market - traditional elites of Sripuram, comprising the Brahman landowners, had lost its grip over the village and the new leaders of the village depend for power on many factors in addition to caste.

Caste and Class:

Traditionally, it has been observed that caste reflected a feature described as 'summation of status' principle. If the status of a caste was low in ritual (pollution-purity) hierarchy, it was also lower in its access to economic, political and social statuses. In such a situation, caste also encompassed the feature of class in a manner of speaking, but not all of its features. By definition, caste is a closed group, its membership is by birth, thus caste status is ascribed, it cannot be achieved by economic or social mobility. On the other hand, class is an open group its membership is based on achievement criteria, which could be economic, political or social in character. Caste also constitutes a community, its mobility is group based and to this extent efforts to arise status by Sanskritization in the past involved an entire caste group. Class, unlike caste does not have a communitarian attribute, although it may evolve group cohesiveness based on common interest. Class in this sense is an interest group whereas caste constitutes a community. With new social and economic developments and activating of the caste based social and political movements (including the reservation policy) caste groups do have evolved as interest groups, and to that extent some features of class have also been incorporated in the caste organizations. This is particularly true for a large number of caste associations which have been in existence in India since the time of the British rule and which have only proliferated following Independence.

Q3)

a)

"Homo Hierarchicus" of Louis Dumont

3(a)

laid down his vision and explanation of caste system in Indian society. Hierarchy ^{the ideology} formed the central concept around which his theory was based. The concept of purity-pollution also is derived from this concept of hierarchy.

Dumont has overemphasized on the concept of hierarchy and has said that caste system is an organic system and mobility is nearly impossible in this system. He did not equate hierarchy with inequality and considered them to be analytically distinct ^{essentially} ^{and}

Sociologists have argued that, no doubt hierarchy is important in study of caste system. But, it is not the only factor determining the nature and structure of the caste system. Other factors are also of equal and vital importance.

Do not write anything in this margin

reference to
Hindu
and Indian
study.

M.N. Srinivas, in his structural functionalist approach, argues that with modernization, democratization and secularization, mobility has become an accepted feature of caste system. This Dumont had denied.

G.S. Ghurye has argued that Dumont overemphasizes organic nature of caste due to ideological ^{reasons}. Practically, caste is % segmentary or class system ^{which is an economic function of diff. groups.} Further, Dumont's theory has been

criticised by Andre Beletis on the ground that he advocated principle of status summation. ^{because} However, this principle ^{norm of unity and cohesion} is no longer of any ^{social value} empirical value owing to modernization, ^{caste system} political and ^{education} socio-economic changes. ^{a rigid system}

Carl Oshedt and other ^{social} sociologists who advocate subaltern perspective have ^{that} severely criticised Dumont's theory. They argue

Do not write anything in this margin

↑↑

that Dumont has wrongly justified. The inequality exploitation and injustice suffered by the so called untouchables. This theory is therefore inadequate.

Senart has criticised this theory of having ignored racial basis of caste system. Nesfield criticises it of ignoring the division of labour aspect of caste system.

The theory emphasizes hierarchy to an undue extent. Law, social reforms,

social movements have continuously challenged hierarchy and ideological dominance and have demanded equality in different spheres.

Constitution has ushered in vital social

changes in Indian society and so have various

laws like Abolition of untouchability act, etc.

All these combined, Dumont's theory seems short of reflecting contemporary reality.

Do not write anything in this margin

↓
Hierarchy based on merits / unity and pollution used to justify inequality in all spheres / so interaction

→ as pointed by Yogendra Singh.

However, the theory plays an important role in highlighting sociological dimensions of hierarchy in Indian caste system. Hence, lies its worth. The value lies in the fact that Dumont highlighted the fact that Indian society was opposed to equality and this was not in form of inequality, but hierarchy ^{name of the ideology}.

Do not write anything in this margin

(b)

There has been analysed to be a certain fit between industrialisation and nuclear ~~and~~ family structure (T. Parsons).

Today, nuclear family structure is the dominant form of family structure in India. However, it is neither the only form, nor numerically predominant. Other patterns include (B. Kertland).

900

Q. (b)

Andre Beteille, has used the Weberian model to understand the Indian social system. He says, the society gives rewards to individuals based on wealth, power, prestige. He equates: wealth with economic power, prestige with social power and power with political (i.e. organising capabilities of any social groups).

He says, Indian caste system is based on the principle of value system legitimisation.

He means, in ancient & medieval times Indian caste system was a harmonic

system: all castes were engaged in exchange of services and goods for maintaining the harmony at the societal level according to geographical location.

In modern times, however the unleashing of democratic policies in politics, industrialisation & education has led to disturbance

In this balance. It has disturbed the harmonic system.

- Constitution says equality but the reality is dominant social groups are not ready to lose their group and thus there arises conflicts. This, is he called as disharmonic system. He cites examples, the lower castes are not allowed to enter the upper class homes and streets in villages. (South India),
→ In North, only the upper caste are allowed to perform Ghurchari (marriage noun among Hindus).
- Beteille, says the Politics and Media are responsible for emergence of caste consciousness, as they leads to use of caste in Identity politics. He, sees the Indian social structure will face the conflict in the coming times.

Gale Omvedt: says the concept and the structural framework (to study dynamic and contemporary aspects of ^{caste} caste-system is changing) provided by Beteille holds immense importance.

- To account for the caste-conflict and emergence of caste-consciousness his concepts are very helpful.

However, his frame of knowledge does not sufficiently account for the cultural aspect of understanding the Indian social system. In his urge, to account for structural changes he has missed the functions acquired by new caste consciousness. The new consciousness has led to mobilisation of castes for demand of right to development.

E.g. Meenabhai Jain: mobilisation of Yadavs and Kurmis in Bihar and U.P contributing to their social upliftment and getting political power

Similarly, emergence of Bahujan Samaj party (BSP) and subsequent horizontal mobilisation of Dalits.

- Beville fails to acknowledge the importance of coalition-politics and emergence of concept of social engineering to add to harmony and positive competition among social groups.

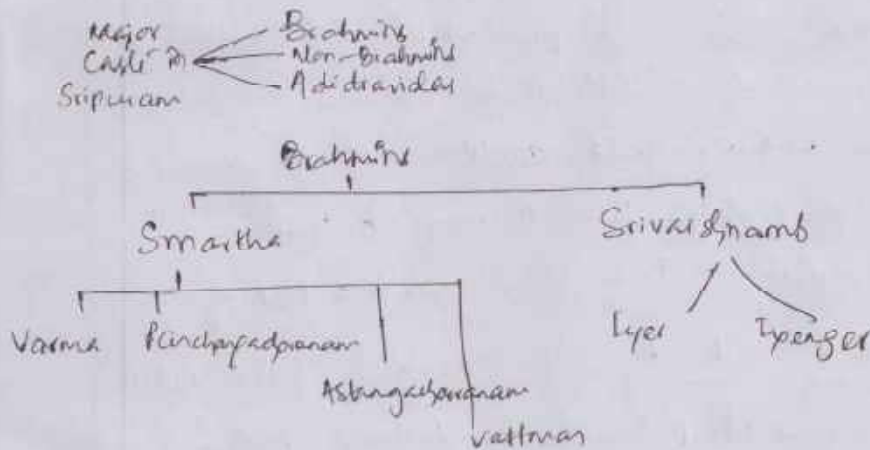
Good

just donot make
so many spelling
mistakes

15

6

- Andre Beteille following Weberian approach in Indian Sociological discourse advocates reality to be vast, unorganised, dichotomous & chaotic. His understanding of caste system is primarily grounded on his microscopic study of Sripuram village in Tanjore.
- In 'caste, Power & Politics', Beteille discusses the true nature of caste in India.



- Andre Beteille advocates intercaste & intracaste conflict is prevalent in India which can be reflected through boundary maintenance bet Brahmins & Adidraavidas is understandable in Sripuram village.
- In between Brahmins, Iyers & Iyengars don't see eye to eye & differ in ritual practice which can be observed through the participation of Shakti,

tilak mark etc.

- The advent of Tamil language has reduced the dominance of Sanskrit where those from Brahminic background hardly interested in Sanskrit rituals.
- In 'Caste: old & new', he advocates caste is not replaced by class, rather old ~~caste~~ give rise to new caste in India. In 'Harmonic & disharmonic system', he rejects Dumont's Brahminic position with respect to caste in India. He suggests caste to be product of Hindu culture & ideology which is different to French.
- Beletie rather argues caste is not as disharmonic as suggested by Louis Dumont & caste is a complex system in India to be understood properly.
- In 'Pollution & Poverty', he advocates there is not only means of pollution through caste, rather poverty is the major cause of pollution of Indian society. In 'Social & cultural reproduction of caste', he advocates same tradition is reflected in India generation after generation.
- Andre Beletie's understanding of caste is both microscopic & macroscopic study reflects the

True understanding of Indian society's reality.

- In a series of arguments & counter arguments with Deenot, he rejects the myopic view projected by Deenot as caste to be disharmonic & dysfunctional in India, whereas he projects the true nature of caste & ordinariness in Indian society through caste study.

2. (c) Andre Beteille's view on Indian caste system is regarded as approximating social reality. Critically examine 15

A. Beteille in his study of Indian caste system emerges as a true realist.

He adopts a 'liberal' approach in the study of caste system. He challenges Dumont's assertion that Indian society is closed/static, arguing that no society is absolutely closed or open, by explaining mobility in Indian caste system.

Beteille indicates how modernity has led to flexibility in caste system with avenues of mobility in the form of education, economic opportunities, change in landholding pattern, etc. ~~this is because~~ Moreover, Dalit movements/consciousness has always challenged Brahminic domination over economy, polity, etc. thereby advocating for a change in social hierarchy.

He thus asserts how Indian caste based society too has witnessed mobility. However, and is dynamic.

However, he also asserts that in modern times, secularization is an incomplete agenda as old caste is being replaced by new caste instead of being disintegrated. Caste based hegemony, exploitation, antagonism has weakened but has not been eliminated.

He also speaks in favour of reservation policy for SCs/STs but is critical of reservations for OBCs. According to him, Anti Mandal agitation has been the biggest cause of caste polarisation since independence.

Bikillie thus presents a realistic position on the caste system and how it undergoes change over a period of time.

P2 - B 2 b. Features of caste system

In SECC 2011, 4 lakh castes and sub-castes have been found.

- Hierarchical division of society - purity and pollution
- Hereditary
- Endogamy
- Unique culture
- Closed group
- Organization
- Occupational association
- Rights and privileges - restriction on food, drink, smoking
- Caste and migration

During pre-modern period or before the British rule there were two important forces of change in the caste system:

- fluidity of the political system, and
- the availability of marginal land

Change in caste system in modern times due to:

- Dissociation between caste and occupation
- Disintegration of *jajmani* system
- Weakening of rules of purity and pollution
- Breakdown in the Traditional Inter-caste Power Relationship - example: Bisipara, Kishan Garhi, **William L. Rowe**, in his study of Senapur of Noniya caste
- Emergence of caste association
- Process of democratization

Census started recording caste from 1871 - from 1901 social ordering started and then many castes started claiming high status - 1931 and 1941, Hindu Maha Sabha and even Muslims did not want caste to be recorded as they wanted to show the religion as united also Jat Pat Torak Mandal under Arya Samaji influence in Punjab - petitions to count tribals as Hindus - caste consciousness remained strong - SECC 2011 report yet to be released.

Hierarchy came from - race, occupation.

Attributional approach to caste - **Ghurye, Hutton, MNS**

Interactional approach to caste - **FG Bailey, A Mayer, M Marriott**

The interactionists focus on the power equation in the political economy and their rationalization in terms of the imperatives of a democratic polity and a planned or market economy. At the cultural level this implies an individuation of a democratic egalitarian ideology. The attributional approach, on the other hand, especially as developed by **Dumont**, sees in this democratic challenge to caste hierarchy its re-emergence as communalism, where the cultural identities of groups are not hierarchically harmonized, but stand in opposition to each other. At the structural level this is the 'substantialization' of caste. The first is epitomized by 'caste as ritual hierarchy', the second by 'caste as power structure'. There is then a certain divergence in these two approaches that derives from their original points of departure. But this insight can be used to bring the contributions of each into relief.

Among those who nearly rejected the idea of the communitarian unity were **Lewis and Bailey**; F.G. Bailey, for example provided a radical critique of the 'unity-reciprocity' thesis and offered an alternative perspective, stressing on the coercive aspects of caste relations, he writes:

F.G. Bailey feels that dynamics and identity are united by the two principles of segregation and hierarchy. He feels that "Castes Stand in ritual and secular hierarchy expressed in the rules of interaction". The ritual system overlaps the political and economic system.

The relationship between castes does not comprise rituals alone - there is a power dimension because there exists a dominant caste to which other castes are subordinate. Rank and caste identity are expressed by a lower caste attempting to emulate a caste which is higher in rank. Thus the interaction pattern becomes indicative of ritual status the rank order hierarchy. Interactional pattern itself involves attitudes and practices towards the question of acceptance and non-acceptance of food, services, water, smoking together, seating arrangements at feasts and the exchange of gifts.

Bailey explained his viewpoint with reference to village Bisipara in Orissa; and showed how the caste situation in Bisipara become changed and more fluid after Independence when the Kshatriyas lost much of their land. This caused a downslide in their ritual ranking as well. There was a clearly discernable change in the interaction patterns which we have delineated above e.g. acceptance and non-acceptance of food from other castes.

Since ritual rank is always consistent with political and economic status, once a caste becomes wealthy it changes its pattern of interaction with other castes so that it may claim a higher rank in hierarchy. In other words, a caste's rank in the hierarchy is expressed through its pattern of interaction with the other castes. According to Bailey, generally speaking, in the upper and lower extremes of the hierarchy, one can find perfect correspondence between ritual, political and economic status.

A. Mayer studied Ramkheri village in Madhya Pradesh. To understand the effect on caste hierarchy interactive between castes in term of:

- Commensality of eating drinking water and smoking
- Food type whether is '*kaccha*' or '*pakka*'
- Context of eating, ritual or otherwise
- Seating arrangements at eating
- Who provides food and who cooked it
- The vessel in which water is given - metal or earthen

Thus, the commensal hierarchy is based on the belief that any or all of the above factors can lead to greater or lesser pollution for a caste thus affecting identity and ranking in the hierarchy order. Those at the top of the hierarchical order will ensure that only a caste or type of food and water vessel which will no pollute them is accepted or used by them. For example *pakka* food may be accepted from a lower caste but *kaccha* food will accepted only from within the same caste or sub-caste.

M. Marriott analyses caste hierarchy with reference to the local context. Marriott studied the arrangement of caste ranking in ritual interaction. Marriott confirmed that ritual hierarchy is itself linked to economic and political hierarchies. Usually economic and political ranks tend to coincide. That is to say both ritual and non-ritual hierarchies affect the ranking in the caste order though ritual hierarchies tend to play a greater role. In this way a consensus emerges regarding caste ranking and this is collectively upheld. It must be make clear that this process is not as clear cut as it first seems. This is because the sociologist enters the field when this process of caste ranking is in its full blown form and he or she does not observe the historical and took place by deduces or infers about the same, from, from the data that is available on hand.

Marriot studied Kishan Garhi and Ram Nagla two villages in the Aligarh District Of UP in 1952. Marriott's study showed that there is consensus about caste ranking in these villages. The basis on which this is done is on the observation of ritual of ritual interaction, in the village itself.

In the villages Marriot studied we find that the important indicators or rank are:

- Giving and receiving of food
- Giving and receiving of honorific gestures and practices

Harold Gould in his study of the rickshawallahs of Lucknow (1974) observed that the rickshaw pullers whom he studied belonged to different castes. While working they interacted with each other without observing any caste restrictions. However, when these rickshaw pullers went back to their homes in the evening they observed all the ritual practices of their caste. In this sense, out of the two main features of caste system identified by **Max Weber** (1948), namely, commensality and connubium, the commensality aspect has disappeared but the connubium, i.e. caste and kinship and marriage link, yet survives in spite of all other changes. The ritual aspect of caste is confined to the personal sphere.

Social Mobility through Westernization - The upwardly mobile untouchable castes adopted the life-style implied in Westernization. This was facilitated by the prevalence of various non-Sanskritic traditions among them—such as, eating meat and drinking alcohol. **Sunanda Patwardhan** (1973) observes: "The Mahar were the first people to serve the British officers and their wives as butlers, butchers and *ayah*. Being beef-eating themselves, the Mahar did not mind working for the foreign, beef-eating master".

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. These two classes are in antagonistic relationship with each other, and this constitutes the principal contradiction in Indian rural society.

Saraswati (1977) states, 'The following law operates consistently in the case of *jatis* : the children begotten from wedded wives equal in *jati* belong to the *jati* of their fathers, but if the mothers are *bijati* (not of the same *jati*) then children born of such union are called *apasad* (base born) and placed under a *jati* which is neither of their fathers nor of their mothers. This is how the various *jatis* have

sprung up.'

The caste system has also been considered to be a system of economic relations. **Joan Mencher** writes that for those at the bottom, the caste system has worked as a very systematic tool of exploitation and oppression. One of the functions of the system has been to prevent the formation of classes with any commonality of interest or unity of purpose. Mencher has used "class" in the Marxian sense and adopted the Marxian model to analyze caste relations. As such, caste is a system of exploitation rather than a system of interdependence and reciprocity. Caste stratification has been a deterrent to the development of "class conflict" or "proletarian consciousness". This is because "caste derives its validity from its partial masking of extreme socio-economic differences".

The concept of difference has been developed by **Dipankar Gupta** to present a picture of the caste system which is totally different from the one that we find in many books including **Dumont's** *Homo Hierarchicus*. Gupta claims that empirically as well as logically it is wrong to say that a single all-inclusive hierarchy on the principle of the opposition of purity and pollution can be a defining feature of the caste system.

Gupta argues that different origin tales or *Jati* puranas of different castes justify different hierarchies and the Brahmin is not always at the top. The existence of various models of Sanskritization for upward mobility also indicates strongly the presence of multiple caste hierarchies. Each of these origin tales or caste legends "captures independently the essence of 'difference' and are therefore logically of equal status". Each caste maintains its own traditions, customs and ideologies, and, therefore, differentiates from others.

Therefore, Gupta opines that 'difference' and 'ritualization of multiple social practices' constitute the essence of the caste system.

The relationship that caste bears to politics can be best understood in terms of three types of political mobilization discussed by **Rudolph and Rudolph** (1967) which exemplify different phases of political development in India. These three types of political mobilization are:

i) vertical (loyalty of older kamins, praja)

ii) horizontal and

iii) differential (example: if rich Rajputs do not help the poor Rajputs, they will team with other poor and form new party)

MNS rejects classification of caste by Marxist scholars like **AR Desai** and instead shows:

- Varnization of caste = multiple castes come together under banner of varna to fight Brahmins example: Karana and Khandayat in Odisha, Lingayats and Vokkaligas in Karnataka
- Castization of caste = but also fight among themselves

Krishna Raj's study of Lijjat Papad, **Baviskar's** cooperative society study, **Satya Dev's** study on seed cooperatives in Haryana - showed caste still very relevant.

Victor Dsouza in his study of SCs in Punjab, found reservation as an effective policy for educational equity.

Pauline Kolenda - organic solidarity of caste has given way to competitive solidarity.

DD Koshambi - same caste enjoys different ritual status in different regions if it has different economic status. This shows lack of structural change in caste across regions.

SC Dube - despite good intentions of Bhakti movement, the hold of caste has been so strong that several Bhakti cults were eventually codified and got transformed into sub-castes.

Sanskritization and Westernization:

The idea of hierarchy is central to caste. The customs, rites and way of life were different among the higher and lower castes. The dominant caste punished those who encroached on forbidden ground, but the process could not be stopped. This adoption of the symbols of higher status has been called Sanskritization. The Lingayats of Mysore Sanskritized their way of life over eight centuries ago. In recent times, Sanskritization has been widespread spatially as well as structurally. The Ilavans of Kerala, the Smiths of South India, the Ramgharias of Punjab, the Chamars of Uttar Pradesh and many other castes have all tried to Sanskritize their way of life. Liquor and forbidden meals are given up. Sanskrit ritual is increasingly adopted and there is an increasing demand for the services of a Brahmin priest at wedding, birth, funeral rites and sraddha.

On the other hand, the higher castes, especially those living in the bigger cities, are undergoing a process of Westernization. Westernization, like Sanskritization, is a blanket term: it includes Western education as well as the adoption of Western ways of life and outlook. It also implies a degree of secularization and rationalism, and in these two respects it stands opposed to Sanskritization. In certain other respects, Westernization helps to spread Sanskritization through the products of its technology — newspapers, radios

and films.

In some exceptional cases, the lower castes and tribes are being Westernized without undergoing a prior process of Sanskritization. Again, Sanskritization occurs generally as part of the process of the upward movement of castes while Westernization has no such association. In fact, unlike Sanskritization, Westernization is more commonly an individual or family phenomenon and not a caste phenomenon, though some groups (Kodagus) and some areas (Punjab) may be said to be more Westernized than the other. Again, some groups may be more Westernized in the sense that they are highly educated, whereas some others may be Westernized in their dress, food habits and recreation.

In a study of Jatavs of Agra, Lynch (1974) has highlighted the fact that the Jatavs who once wanted to Sanskritize, rejected the complete process of Sanskritization when they got other avenues of mobility. These avenues, he argues, have been thrown open by the process of parliamentary democracy, and possibilities of political participation of the Jatavs. In this context the Jatavs, hitherto untouchables, with stigmatized identity have taken refuge in the democratic constitution of the social fabric in independent India. They assert their right on the basis of equality and argue for provision of equality of opportunity. The Jatavs formed secular association instead of traditional panchayats. They also contested elections by forming political parties and thereby tried to enhance their social status. They also attained political and economic powers that were denied to them in the traditional caste system.

Ravi Das birthday celebration - Dalit assertion.

Dr. Ambedkar:

14 April 1891 - 6 December 1956

- Socio religious reform movement
- Political movement
- Constitutional measures
- Religious renounce movement

Influenced by Buddha - against rigidity, Indian social order.

Kabir and Phule also influenced him.

Democracy of USA also - Seligman and John Dewey.

He was also an economist, just like Weber and Marx.

Other thinkers have taken caste ideas from book view - Rig Veda.

Ambedkar thoughts:

Individual is not free in a human social order - part of larger whole - part of varna.

Caste system is nothing but imposition of endogamy over exogamy - refutes Risley's racial theory as Punjabi Dalits are also like Aryans in looks - occupation not basis of caste as occupations are same all over the world, so why not caste system in other parts of the world?

Endogamy is the real element of caste in India - hence sati, child marriage, widowhood - patriarchy imposition.

Principle of imitation - so endogamy was copied by everyone from Brahmins.

Annihilation of Caste:

- divinity of caste has to be deconstructed and dismantled - to be done from books
- Go for inter-caste marriages - with intermixing of blood, caste will disappear
- Priesthood to be questioned, to be thrown open to all - today Kerala has Dalit priests selected through entrance exams

India is not a nation, but a nation in the making - how people divided into 1000 castes become a nation? Castes are anti-national.

Nation is a living soul, an idea - share a cultural heritage - but Hindus and Muslims share nothing, Brahmins and Dalits share nothing, women are excluded from everything.

Nation can be made only by inclusion of people in the institution of governance.

Religion universalizes values and an agency of social control - only constitution cannot help build nation - religion can too.

Forgetfulness is important to become a nation - 2 Germanies living together now as one, same with older France.

Democratic means to be used.

Political equality he could guarantee - social and economic needs more work - monopoly over governance and power to be destroyed to ensure egalitarianism.

3 years - 7500 amendments - Constitution making.

According to Ambedkar, "The doctrine that the different classes were created from different parts of the divine body has generated the belief that it must be divine will that they should remain separate and distinct. It is this belief which has created in the Hindu an instinct to be different, to be separate and to be distinct from the rest of his fellow Hindus".

Ambedkar and Socio-religious Reform Movements:

- Beginning of social movements by giving a Memorandum to Southborough Committee (1919)
- Mahad Satyagrah (1927)
- Statement before Simon Commission (1928)
- Founding Depressed Classes Education Society (1928)
- Foundation of People's Education Society 1945
- Establishment of Siddharth College of Arts and Science 1946

Southborough committee - he asked for Dalit representatives - self representation to Dalits - replied to Gokhale when he had demanded Indian representation in British bureaucracy.

1930 - round table conference

1956 - converted

- Starts fortnightly *Mooknayak* in Marathi 1920
- Starts Fortnightly, *Bahiskrit Bharat* 1927
- Starts Marathi Fortnightly *Janata* 1930
- Starts *Prabudd Bharat* 1956
- Independent Labour Party (1937)
- All India Scheduled Castes Federation (1942)
- Laid the foundation of Republican Party of India, which was established posthumous in 1957

Rationality of Weber and social solidarity of Durkheim also inspired him.

Hierarchy, holism, other worldly - need to replace with equality and rationality.

Educate, agitate, organize - 3 suggestions to all Dalits.

Says Dalits should stop behaving in a casteist fashion - yourself reject the social casteist norms.

Graded inequality did not let Dalits get mobilized - shudras were divided into multiple sub caste hence the issue.

C. Untouchability - forms and perspectives

Sachchidananda 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.

1935 - Schedules listing the castes and tribes who suffered discrimination drawn up by the Government of India.

Caste Disabilities Removal Act 1850.

SC and ST Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989.

P2 - B 2 c. Untouchability - forms and perspectives

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 7. Untouchability - Gandhi, Ambedkar and Others - Pages 128 to 140
Vikash Ranjan Book - Gandhi and Ambedkar Perspectives - Pages 86 to 88
IGNOU Handout - ESO 16 Unit 21 - Anti Untouchability Movements - Pages 13 to 16

Almost half of the total number of Scheduled Caste people live in the five states of Hindi belt in U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana.

Before being scheduled and embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 and later in the constitution of free India in 1950, these castes were classified as "exterior" or "depressed" castes or classes. A caste was classified exterior or depressed if it was found subjected to a set of social disabilities or restrictions. According to the 1931 census, these disabilities or restrictions were:

- inability to be served by clean-Brahmins
- inability to be served by the barbers, water carriers, tailors, etc. who served the caste Hindus
- inability to serve water to caste Hindus
- inability to enter Hindu temples
- inability to use public convenience such as roads, fountains, wells or schools
- inability to dissociate oneself from despised occupation

According to Prof. Satyavrata, "Untouchability is that system of society on account of which one individual cannot touch another individual and one society cannot touch another society on the basis of convention and if so touches, becomes profane and in order to remove that profanity has to perform penance."

D. N. Majumdar states that "The untouchable castes are those who suffer from various social and political disabilities many of which are traditionally prescribed and socially enforced by higher castes." It is clear from the above definitions that untouchability implies those disabilities imposed upon the scheduled castes by 'Savarna' Hindus.

Untouchability may be understood from two angles:

- the stigma attached to certain people because of ceremonial pollution they allegedly convey
- the set-practice engaged in the rest of the society to protect itself from the pollution conveyed by the untouchables

The rest of the society is so much concerned about purity that they permanently keep untouchables in a state of economic, social and political subordination. Defined in relation to behaviour, untouchability refers to the set of practices followed by the rest of society to protect itself from the pollution conveyed by the untouchables. It also served to keep the untouchables in an inferior economic and political position through physical separation.

Untouchability was not present in Vedas. They only mention Varnas - Savarna and Avarna and 2 types of Savarna - Dwija and Adwija.

Groups like Chandals mentioned in Vedas but stigma of pollution is not spelt out.

Manusmriti, Bhrigu Samhita mention untouchables - written by Brahmins who wanted to glorify themselves.

Impure as untouchables is thus Brahmins' making to show themselves as pure and others as impure.

Purity and pollution is Brahmins' making to institutionalize their superiority and thus a group of people were identified as untouchables.

History has many instances when untouchables reacted against this discrimination:

1. Shamanism - practice of specific skills like cure for snake bites, which meant others had to come to them for their services
2. Migration
3. Bhakti movement
4. Converted to Islam and Christianity
5. Sanskritization
6. Organized movements - Satnami in Punjab, Jatav in Agra, SNDP in Kerala

SNDP - no one will do occupations earmarked for untouchables like scavenging, skinning, send children to school, eat pure food, started a temple for untouchables.

Caste was never consensual and dialectics were always present between Brahminic understanding of untouchability and untouchables understanding of themselves.

Birth is accidental, deeds should be explaining what a man is.

A large number of Harijans suffer from an inbred inferiority complex which makes them sensitive to any treatment which they think smacks of discrimination. This does not mean that such alleged discrimination is always made and accusation is true. The immobility of the Harijans has also given place to mobility. This has been made possible by migration from rural to urban areas, education and entry in public services and in politics. All this points out how the structural distance between the Dalits and others has considerably narrowed.

Dalits are a marginal group in rural India, both in economic sense and in view of low-status members of Hindu society. The two features observed about Dalits in rural society are:

- most Dalits do not own land nor are they tenants, and
- most Dalits earn an important part of their income by working on the land of others and / or by attaching themselves to landholding cultivators.

The employment of the Dalit labour is determined by agricultural product and wages paid. The higher demand is at the time of harvest. The demand for the labour increase when there is more cultivable land, more irrigation, more fertilizers and more capital. Modern agricultural implements like tractors, etc., increase the demand for skilled labourers but decrease the number of persons needed. The employer (landlord) gets labour from Dalits as well as non-Dalits. The labour, thus, is not homogeneous. Preference is always given to non-Dalits as they are considered more hardworking. It is for this reason that the Dalit in rural areas is referred to as 'marginal'.

There now exists a direct correlation between the politico-economic status of an individual and his social status. The Dalit elite have moved from the politics of compliance and affirmation to the politics of pressure and protest but they are still not able to present a common front and adopt radical posture.

Case studies:

L P Vidyarthi, Sachchidananda, etc. have attempted to study social transformation of Dalits with reference to the caste disabilities, their educational efforts, acceptance of innovations, political consciousness, integration with the larger society, level or aspiration, internalization of modern values, position of women, their leadership, Dalit movements and so on.

Dalit violence / discrimination today - This is partly because of the stereotyped hatred and partly because competition and jealousy on account of protective discrimination in their favour. Even the Harijan elite (created due to benefit of affirmative action) studied by Sachidanand in Bihar in 1976 pointed out such jealousy.

Dalit sociologists like Alyosis, David Hardimann argue that it is Brahminic consciousness which is responsible for perpetuation of Dalit atrocities in India.

Manual scavengers in India - Anand Chakraborty calls them the underclass.

Karen Kapadia - both upper caste and lower caste women have been historically deprived of their rights and privileges and subjected to marginalization.

Christopher Jefferlot - Yadav - Silent Revolution - showed how they consolidated their control over land resources and became a dominant class in the social structure.

Anil Bhatt - 4 states study - Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal - political reservation has made the deprived sections more aware of their rights.

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 and the other is with the alienating orientation. The efforts made by the lower castes to Sanskritize themselves may be called a movement with an integrative orientation because it does not renounce caste as a system of social stratification. The motive force for the backward and the Scheduled Castes to Sanskritize was just to ventilate their deprived feelings of status and position which were denied to them for centuries. By imitating the higher castes they tried to find a position as that of the upper castes. But they have not always succeeded in their efforts, as there is no legitimate acceptance by the upper castes.

The movements of the Scheduled Castes with integrative orientation have changed the emphasis in the present time. From imitating the upper castes, the Scheduled Castes have started looking at them (upper castes) with disdain. This has led to a horizontal level caste consolidation. The evidence is provided by many sociological studies. The sub-castes within the scheduled castes have started coming together to form a 'homogeneous' caste group and exploring a new identity. There is change from Sanskritization to consolidation of power and to acquire a positive identity. The consolidation of power is also seen in the increasing presence of Dalit based parties, especially BSP in the Indian political arena. In turn, this has contributed to independent identity for Scheduled Castes and has made them less dependent on the upper castes.

Dr. Ambedkar has led another movement which was a move from the caste affiliations to embracing Buddhism. In 1956, he launched the

drive for mass conversion of the Scheduled Castes to Buddhism, within a few months after his death, his followers organized the political wing of the Scheduled Castes in the name of the Republican Party of India. Both these reflected the alternate religio-political orientation of the scheduled caste movement with respect to caste based social stratification and political mobilization. In this regard, Yogendra Singh concludes that Scheduled Caste movements for social mobility has oscillated, on a tendency of integration to Sanskritization and of alienation, conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism or Christianity to Islam.

Kancha Illaiah - "Why I am not a Hindu" - because I am a Dalit and Dalit identity is stronger than any religious identity.

India is seeing both decline in caste system as well as strengthening of caste identities - multiple modernities by **SN Eisenstadt**

The three main perspectives offered on the subject are the unity model [Louis Dumont, Michael Moffet]; the Outcaste Model - [Brennerman, Joan Macher, Cathleen Gough] and the Diversity perspective [Paulus Kaland, Bernard Kohn]. Other than this Indian leaders Gandhi, Ambedkar and Nehru have also offered differing perspectives. The unity model based on the idea of universalism suggests that

hierarchy is an integral part of the caste system, and disability is imposed on all, only with differing degree. It argues that the underlying principle is the binary opposition of ~~the~~ purity and pollution, and in order to understand this, a uniquely Indian perspective devoid of western notions of inequality, and injustice must be discarded.

Criticising this idea by suggesting that Vedic model justifies hierarchy "as if it exists by the consent of all" and of being Brahminised, the Outcaste model theorists suggest that caste was a system of rigid institutional inequality, and untouchability was its worst manifestation.

Citing the need to tread the middle path, the diversity

theorists suggested that although this was an exploitative system, the "lower castes" had made attempts to incorporate, adapt and modify the ritual prescriptions and found ways to overcome the stigmatisation through diverse means.

Constitution:

With the coming into force of the Constitution of India the Scheduled Castes were guaranteed certain essential rights and benefits.

Under Article 341(1), the Constitution after consultation with the governor of a State may specify, "The castes, races, tribes or, parts of groups within castes or races, tribes which shall be deemed to be scheduled castes for the purpose of the constitution."

However, according to the Article 341 (2) the Parliament of India, can include or exclude any group from the list of Scheduled Castes through an enactment of law.

Article 14, 15, 16 and 17 provide rights to equality.

Article 46 mentions specifically that the State must endeavour to promote the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes among the weaker sections of the society.

More precisely, the State shall reserve the public jobs for the members of the Scheduled Caste and Tribes. Two Articles, 330 and 332, lay down that there shall be reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha (Article 330) and State Legislative Assembly (Article 332) in proportion to the number of the Scheduled Castes in various states. And finally, according to Article 340, the President can appoint a commission to investigate the difficulties of the socially and educationally backward classes of the citizens and to make recommendations to remove such difficulties. The commission is also empowered to take stock of the progress made by these classes of citizens due to provisions made under various articles for their welfare, protection and development.

Article 15(3) - State can make special provision for women and children.

Article 15(4) - State can make special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 16(4) - State can make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens.

Article 46 - To promote the educational and economic interests of SCs, STs, and other weaker sections of society.

(iii) Tribal Communities in India

A. Definitional problems

Tribal community, village community and urban community are three main components of India's social formation. The tribes are backward, particularly in regard to education and economic condition. They were exploited by the dominant sections of Indian society, namely, landlords, moneylenders and industrialists who purchased their lands to establish industries in tribal areas.

A number of tribes have been "Hinduized" or converted to Christianity or Islam to break away from their tribal identity, to get redemption from exploitation and to elevate their status and honour. Sometimes it becomes difficult to draw a clear line between a tribal and a caste group. There are hunters and food-gatherers among the tribal on the one end, and there are tribal settled in villages. Practically functioning as "caste groups" on the other.

Tribals have a strong sense of their distinctiveness and separate themselves from non-tribal Hindus, Christians and Muslims. Language is one of the strong traits by which they identify themselves. The Mundas, Santhals and Hos are identified as distinct tribes on the basis of their spoken languages (besides other attributes). A large number of tribals in India live in hilly and forested areas where population is sparse and communication difficult. They are spread over the entire subcontinent, but are found mainly in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Imperial Gazeteer of India - A tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so.

- Definite contiguous territorial area
- Common dialect
- Economically backward
- Political identity and customary laws
- Maintain social distance with other tribes
- Endogamous
- Culturally homogenous group

P2 - B 3 a. Definitional problems

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

Praveen Kishore notebook - Pages 166 to 173

Vikash Ranjan Book - Full Chapter

Also to read in brief - IGNOU Handout - ESO 12 Unit 25 - Economic Pursuits - Pages 11 to 14

IGNOU Handout - ESO 12 Unit 26 - Case Studies - Full

IGNOU Handout - ESO 12 Unit 27 - Tana Bhagat, Birsa Munda Movements - Pages 16 to 18

Roughly 8% population.

Peoples of India Report by Anthropological Survey of India - 636 tribal groups.

Following Independence, the policy of protection and development for the population identified as tribe has been made into a constitutional obligation. A list of tribes was adopted for this purpose. In 1950, this list contained 212 names, which was modified by successive presidential orders. Today, the number of ethnic groups notified as ST is 705.

2011 census report - 486 STs - all tribes are not incorporated in the 6th schedule. The missing tribes have assimilated into the caste structure over generations.

In India, tribe simply refers to those included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. While this juridical terminology and categorization has been uncritically accepted in Indian social research, the term is nowhere defined in the Indian Constitution. Only Article 342 (1) provides that the President, after consulting the governor of state, may designate the "Tribes and Tribal communities or part of groups within tribes or tribal communities" to be the Scheduled Tribes for each state.

Accordingly in 1950, the President promulgated a list of the Scheduled Tribes apparently by making some additions to the 1935 list of Backward Tribes. No uniform test for distinguishing the Scheduled Tribes had ever been formulated. The amendments of 1956 and 1976 too left out some tribes despite their meeting the assumed tribal characteristics. In fact, the **Dhebar Commission** (1961) felt no need to devote any attention to the problem of identifying the tribes. And this seems to have remained unchanged at both legal and academic levels.

Forest Tribe Act was drafted by **Virginus Xaxa** - he wrote '*Tribe, State and Society*'.

In Indian context, most of the bigger tribal communities had a tribal aristocracy and warrior nobility. There were landlords and serfs / tenants among the Munda, Shedukpen, Korku, Bhilala, Gond, etc. Often, the smaller tribes served the dominant classes of the powerful tribes. Small wonder that the Hindu Kings and Mughal rulers recognized several tribes like Bhil, Gond, Koli, Meena, etc. as the dominant communities of the respective regions. The Gond, Chero, Tripuri, Bhuyan, Kaehari, Khasi, Binihal, Koli and others had developed independent kingdoms out of the tribal matrix.

British social anthropologists like **Radcliffe-Brown**, **Evans-Pritchard**, **Fortes** and **Nadel** have used the word tribe to refer to autonomous political unit which lives in its own territory and possesses its own distinctive way of life.

Colonial view - called them barbaric, primitive and backward. Euro-centric view. Ahirs, Jats, Rajputs, Reddys all were tribes only. Asiatic society of Bengal was developed. Census commissioner **Risley** studied Santhals, Mundas, Bihars of central India. He found certain common characteristics present:

- Tribes lived in a state of isolation
- Practiced own culture and refused to adopt modern culture
- Related to each other on basis of kinship
- Speak in a unique language
- Mostly animistic
- Live in mutual peace

Marriage, kinship, mode of production, social organization of tribes were also studied by colonial scholars.

Anthropological and sociological view - 2 theories and aimed to show India as a land of tribes and castes both

- **Hinduization theory**:
 - **SC Roy** says *Janas* and *Jatis* are mutually coexistent in India since beginning of human civilization. Both contributed to each other and Indian civilization developed on the basis of this interlinkage.
 - **Ghurye** spoke of royal marriages between castes and tribes. These led to growth of syncretic Hindu Indian culture which held

- India together despite absence of a centralized rule. Tribes are simply backward Hindus.
- **LP Vidyarthi** agrees with Ghurye and observes that this interlinkage is mentioned in ancient Sanskrit texts - Vedas mention Nishads who went for caste status, Ramayana has Shabri, Mahabharata has Ghatotkacha, Eklavya. Hence tribe caste connectivity is historical and not recent. He divides tribes into 4 categories:
 - Tribes living in forest
 - Tribes fully assimilated in caste system
 - Partially acculturated
 - Minimally acculturated
 - **NK Bose** introduced "Hindu Method of Acculturation" concept. Said land owners preferred Tribal labourers over untouchables due to purity-pollution concept. Hence tribes were already a part of caste society. Hindu method of acculturation is spontaneous and continuous as both have symmetric cultural elements. Hinduism is not a complete religion, it is dynamic and ever evolving and tribalism always makes contribution to it. Tribals had kingdoms like Gondwana, Santhal Paragana and their kings were identified as Kshatriyas and bride exchanges happened with caste Hindus too.
 - **Patnaik** in Odisha saw certain Hinduized tribes having sub-castes like priests, warriors, agriculturists. However no untouchability. In Jharkhand many tribes serve Munda tribe who is landlord due to British grant.
 - **Sanskritization:**
 - **MNS** - can use the concept to show how tribes and castes are not mutually incompatible. Hira potters of Assam, Gaddi Lohars of Gujarat, Penta Bhoi of Odisha, Dhokra Kamar of Rajasthan were tribes who entered the caste society by taking up caste name and occupation - "Different tribes are Sanskritized in different degrees, and different sections of the same tribe may not be uniformly Sanskritized."
 - **Jay Edward** explains how Bihar's Bhumijias became Kshatriya.
 - **LRN Srivastava** talks of Chiro and Khasa tribes of UK who consider themselves Kshatriya.
 - **SC Dube** - Raj Gonds became Kshatriya.

However, NE and Andamanese cannot be studied using both these theories. Both theories are together called Tribe Caste Continuum. Keeping this Hindu model in mind, **BK Roy Barman** classified tribes as:

- Tribes fully absorbed into Hindu society - Raj Gonds, Khasas, Chero, Santhal, Bhil.
 - Positively oriented towards Hindu society - Penta Bhoi, Gaddi Lohar, Dhokra Kamar.
 - Negatively oriented - Nagas.
 - Indifferent towards Hindu society - Jarawas, Andamanese.
- ◆ Monapas and Bhots - Arunachali tribes who have gone for Buddhist acculturation.
 - ◆ Leh and Spiti in HP - Buddhist tribes.
 - ◆ Lakshadweep - Muslim tribes.

Mode of production view - **Surjit Sinha** rejects Tribe-Caste Continuum and introduces Tribe-Peasant Continuum Approach. Economic transformation is more important than socio-cultural transformation of tribes to understand them. They were hunter gatherers, Fishing, Pastoralists, Shifting Farming - all primitive mode of production. When British started mining and exploiting forests, tribes had to come to plains in search of livelihood. As peasants they now followed caste peasant technologies, behaviour and mode of production. Thus, peasant society is a class and not a caste.

This view is contradicted by **Frank Fernandes** who said tribal economy is technological, but caste economy is institutional. They are becoming technologically similar to peasants rather than becoming part of peasant social institution and caste social institution. *Jajmani* relationship was never established with tribal peasants. Example: pots made by Hira potters of Assam used for domestic purpose, but pots made by caste potters are used for rituals.

FG Bailey - Tribes go for mechanical solidarity, caste for organic solidarity.

Ideal Types - **Andre Beteille** - compared tribes of India with those in Australia and USA. He said Indian tribes engaged in number of occupations both primitive and modern, belong to different religions, different racial groups, have different cultures and different ways of life. Hence extremely difficult to distinguish and categorize tribes and identify them with their appearance, religion, food, dress, rituals, occupation, etc. Hence tribe is one who is connected emotionally to his tribal identity, tribal origin and tribal affiliation. Thus, tribes were an Ideal Type in context of India. In US and Australia, they were clearly separate from modernization and mainstream activities and so were easy to identify.

1990 was declared as "International Year for Indigenous Population". It was observed that civilization was developing at the cost of marginalization of the indigenous people. 165 countries were signatories to the proposal to aid development of these people. Gave rise to an **indigenous debate** in India about whether all tribes were indeed original settlers. Rajasthan, Gujarat tribals weren't the original settlers, western Brachipalus were the original settlers. Indigenous people are only territorially specific in case of India. Not all are equally indigenous in all parts of the country.

Constitution - 5th and 6th schedules. Regional councils, Tribal autonomous councils, Tribal advisory councils to facilitate autonomous self-governance.

Manipur, Tripura - tribals marginalized due to outside migrants.

Seeing the Hinduization of central Indian tribes, NE tribes are worried about their culture, independence and originality.

But now some awareness of rights - Kalinganagar, Niyamgiri movements - they all are now forgetting their inter-differences and together developing an **Adivasi Consciousness** and questioning state aggression and development activities - AFSPA - they realize that state's contribution and outreach to their development has been minimal all these decades.

Integration will not be possible unless there is a reciprocation. To make India India, we have to first make India non-India, characterized by mutual coexistence and respect.

Racial Affinities:

On the basis of racial affinities the Indian people are classified into various groups. The ancestry of the present tribal population is traced chiefly to the following three races:

- The Negrito : This shorter version of the Negro is found in the Andaman islands. There are four Scheduled Tribes in this area, viz., the Andamanese (now settled in Strait Island), the Onge in Little Andaman Island, the Jarawa on the western coast of Middle and South Andaman Islands and the Sentinelese in the two Sentinel Islands.
- The Proto-Australoid : The tribes of the Middle and the Southern zones are generally assigned to this race and they form the bulk of the tribal population in India.
- The Mongoloid : The tribes of the North and North-Eastern zones generally belong to this race which is divided into two sub-types, viz., Palaeo-Mongoloids (long-headed and broad-headed) and Tibeto-Mongoloids.

Besides these three main racial groups, some tribal communities trace their ancestry to the Palaeo-Mediterranean stock also.

Linguistic Affinities:

On the basis of linguistic affinities, the Indian people are classified into four speech families, viz., the Indo-European (Aryan), the Dravidian, The Austric (Kol or Munda) and Tibeto-Chinese. The Scheduled Tribes speak about 105 languages and 225 subsidiary languages, or dialects. The linguistic classification of the Indian tribal population is as follows:

- Sino-Tibetan : In the North and North-Eastern zones most of the tribal speak some form or the other of Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman. In certain north eastern areas there is an admixture of the Mon-Khmer (Austric) speech, e.g., among the Khasi. In Nagaland, sixteen languages apart from numerous dialects are spoken.
- Kol or Munda : In the Central zone the Austric family of languages is dominant. The Munda languages lack the verb and gender differentiation. The only classificatory device is the differentiation between animate and inanimate. Some of the important Munda languages are Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Konva, Korku and Gadaba.
- Dravidian : The tribal people of the Southern zone speak some form or the other of the Dravidian languages, viz., Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu. The Kedar, one of the oldest inhabitants of India, speak a Malayalam dialect. There has been Dravidianization of significant South Indian tribes like the Chenchu and the Yenadi. Some of the important Dravidian tribes are Gond, Oraon, Maler, Kandh, Saora, Parja, Koya, Kolam, Paniyan, Irula, Malsar and Malaryan.
- Indo-European family: Tribal languages such as Hajong and Bhili are included in this group.

B. Geographical spread

84.2 million or 8.2% of the population as per 2001 census.

12.23 million in MP - maximum number and, 94.5% in Mizoram - maximum percentage

Highest population are of - Gonds (MP, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh), Bhils (Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and MP) and Santhals (Bihar, Odisha and West Bengal)

Mazumdar and Madan classify four zones:

1. The North and North Eastern Zone - Aka, Dafla, Miri, Gung, Mishmi, Nagas, Kukis, Lushais, Khasis, Garos, Lepchas, Bhoksa, Kshasa, Bhunia, Majhi, etc.
2. The Central or Middle Zone - Savara, Jadaba and Bondo of the Ganjam district; Juang, Kharia, Khond, Bhumij and Bhuiya of the Odisha Hills; Mundas, Santhals, Oraons, Hos and Birhors of Chhotanagpur plateau; Kattaris, Kols, Bhils along the Vindhya and Gonds in MP and Andhra.
3. Southern Zone - Chenchus of Andhra, Todas of the Coorg Hills, Irulas, Paniyans and Kurumas of Wynaad, etc.
4. Andaman and Nicobar Islands - Jarawas, Onge, Shompen, Sentelese

P2 - B 3 b. Geographical spread

With minor exceptions, there is a continuous belt of tribal habitat from Thane district of Maharashtra to Tengenoupal district of Manipur.

Arunachal - Abors, Aptanis, Kuki, Kachari, Mikir, Garo

Assam - Mikirs

Tripura - Chakma

Meghalaya - Garo

Manipur - Kuki

Sikkim - Lepcha, Tibetan, Bhutia, Sherpa

Mizoram - Lushai, Chakma, Dimasa, Garo

HP - Bhot, Gaddis, Gujjar, Kanaura, Lamba, Lahula

UK - Bhotias in Garhwal and Kumaon

J&K - Sippi, Beda, Balti, Bot, Changa

UP - Bhotia, Bhuska, Jaunsari, Raji, Tharu

Rajasthan - Bhil, Mina, Koli, Damor, Dhanka

MH - Waralis

MP - Baiga, Kol, Gond, Oraon, Kamaras

CG - Murias of Bastar, Gond, Abhuj Maria, Bison Horn Maria, Halba

Jharkhand - Baiga, Asur, Birhor, Gond, Bhumij, Parharia, Santhal

Kerala - Uralis

TN - Badagas, Todas and Kotas of Nilgiri, Eravallan, Irular, Kadar, Konda, Kapu

Karnataka - Adiyani, Kudiya, Koya, Malaikuda, Koraga

Andhra - Gadabas, Chenchus, Gond

Andaman - Jarawa, Onga, Sentinelese, Shompen, Andamanese, Nicobarese

Gonds - Bihar, Odisha, Andhra, MP

Bhils - MP, Rajasthan, GJ and MH

Munda - Bihar, Odisha, WB, Jharkhand

Oraons (also called Kurukh) - Bihar, Odisha, WB

Santhals - Birbhum of WB, Hazaribagh of Jharkhand, Purnea in Bihar, Odisha

Chenchus - Andhra, Odisha

Nagas - Nagaland, Assam, NEFA

Khasi - Assam, Meghalaya

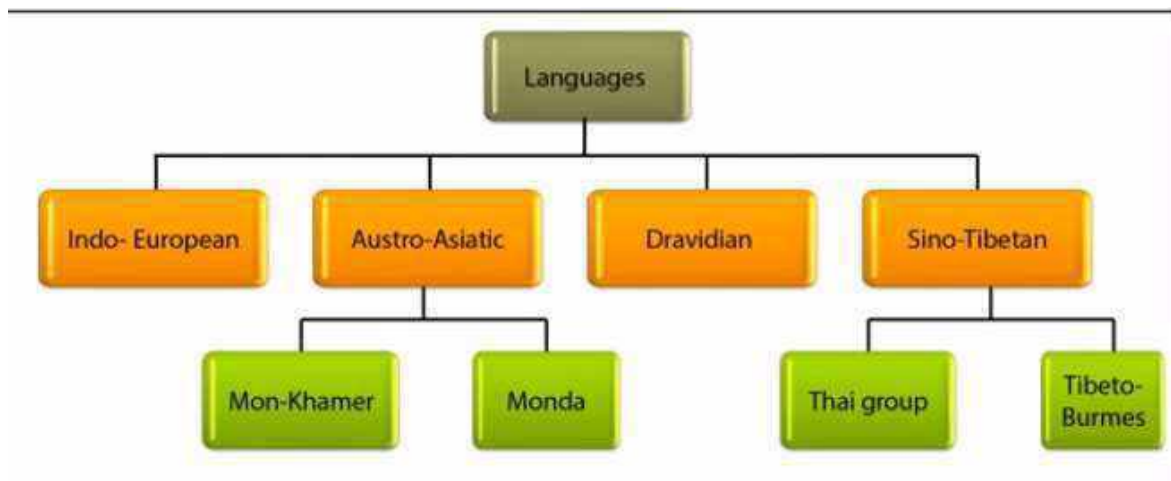


Case Studies:

- **Madhu Sarin** pointed out that “The impoverishment and alienation of forest dependent villagers resulted in widespread forest destruction and state forest departments being in perpetual conflict with forest communities. In fact, it was the acceptance of the states’ inability to control access by impoverished and alienated forest dwellers to state-owned forests that culminated in the birth of Joint Forest Management. State forests account for 23% of India’s land area and represent the country’s largest land-based common property resource. Joint Forest Management has a particular significance for the majority of the country’s 54 million tribal people and other disadvantaged forest communities, particularly women, as they continue to depend primarily on forests for their livelihood and subsistence needs.”
- Tribes are also known for practicing ‘common property resources’, which among others, provides livelihood and binds them socially and emotionally. Thus, we see the notions of ‘commons’ (also known as ‘common property resources’) and tribes as inextricably linked with each other. The accepted understanding is that the ‘commons’ is natural resource shared by the local community that decides who uses it and how. **Garrett Hardin** in his ‘*The Tragedy of the Commons*’ discusses the impossibility of sustaining commons under conditions of rapid population growth.
- The worldview underlying the shifting cultivation system amongst the Koirtors of Abujmarh in Bastar, Chattisgarh, is that the forest belongs to *Talurmuttee* (mother earth). The territorial boundary of a settlement is in fact the same as the area over which a particular *Talurmuttee* has jurisdiction. That is to say, without *Talurmuttee*’s consent it is not possible to make a clearing for settlement. The Koirtors observe that whenever this is not done there is no peace in the settlement-people fall ill, there is crop failure and animals from the forest such as the tiger and the cobra enter the settlement and disturb everyday life. Furthermore, a settled social life can be sustained by continuously fulfilling one’s obligation to *Talurmuttee*. This entails making offerings before beginning a new cultivation cycle and before eating the new harvest of crops and fruits like mango, tamarind. Any disturbance in the relation with *Talurmuttee* results in disturbance in social life. The institution of the *kaser gayata* maintains this relation. There is person from a particular clan who is known as the *kaser gayata*. He is a caretaker on behalf of the settlement and *Talurmuttee*. He knows the sacred geography of the settlement - this is constituted of the sacred places within the boundaries of the settlement. These places circumscribe the place for work. Of these sacred places the most important is the sacred grove where the shrine of *Talurmuttee* is located. Here no activity can be undertaken.
- Among the Warlis, “the farmer refuses to put poison bait for the rats which are devouring the crop. ‘But the rat has the first right to share of the crop’ the Warli farmer would tell ...” When a tiger or a leopard takes away a goat or a calf from the herd the elders would say: “whatever is edible will be eaten, the animals also go hungry.”
- The Apa Tani of Arunachal Pradesh practiced highly specialized terraced cultivation. They were also good in making swords, knives and in weaving. The Dafla, a neighbouring tribe, took rice, swords, knives and textile from them and in return gave them pigs, dogs, fowls, tobacco, cotton, etc. Often they fought because of uneven exchange for the goods they transacted.
- There are only a few places where tribal people dwell in deep-forest, and continue to practice shifting cultivation for instance, in Abujmarh in Bastar (CG) and in Koraput and Phulbani (in Odisha).
- The Jenu-Kumba, a food gathering tribe of Karnataka, were adept in catching and training elephants and perhaps were the main suppliers of elephants to the temples as well as to the armies of different states. Many of them supplied various kinds of forest goods within their region and in return took the goods of their necessity. Many of them paid taxes, rents or whatever was levied on them. Some also participated in the regional religious practices.
- The Toda of the Nilgiri in Tamil Nadu worshipped the deity at Nanjangud Karnataka, some 140 km away across dense forest. Those who practiced settled cultivation had varying degrees of contact with neighbouring peasants and castes.
- The Munda in the nineteenth century were socially and economically integrated with the neighbouring populations.

Linguistic Classification:

Linguistic Family	Major Tribal Languages
Austro-Asiatic	Khasi, Nicobari, Santhali, Ho, Mundari
Tibeto-Chinese	Bhotia, Lepcha, Abor, Miri, Dafla, Garo, Naga, Lushai
Dravidian	Korwa, Badaga, Toda, Kota, Kui (by Kondh), Gondi, Maler, Oraon
Indo-European	Hajong, Bhili



- Austric- Asiatic family is divided into two sub group they are:
- **Mon-Khmer branch** : It includes tribes like Nicobari and khasi tribe.
- **Munda branch**: It includes tribes like Santhal, Munda, Kharia, and asavar etc.
- Santhali language speaker are alone the largest speaker of the Austro-Asiatic family.
- Mundari Speakers are confine to the tribal area such as Mayurbhunj, ranchi, Betul, Santhal Parganas, Baudh Khondmals.
- **North Dravidian Group**: It includes the language are Malto, Kurukho/ Oraon.
- **South Dravidian Group**: It includes the language are Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, corgi, Toda, Tulu, Telugu.
- **Central Dravidian Group**: It includes the language are Gondi, Koya, Parji, Kolami, Kui.

Tibeto – Chinese: is divide into two sub group i.e. i) Siamese- Chinese group sub family.

- Thai linguistic family includes such as Phakial Khamti and ahoms.
- Tibeto- Burmese linguistic family. Tibeto- Burman are usually mongoloids.
- **Tibeto-Himalayan Family.**
- **Himalayan group**: Dhimal, Sunwara, Lahauli of Chamba, rai, Tamang, Gurung.
- **Bhotia group**: The ladakhi, balti, Bhotia, Lahuli, Sikkim. These groups include the following languages. Sikkim bhotia, Lahuli, Sherpa, Spiti, Ladakhi.
- **North-Assam Group**: Mishmi, Miri, dalfa, Hrusso.
- **Assam- Burmese branch.**

Assamese Burmese group include group:

- **Bodo group:** Dimasa, Garo, Deori, Mikir, Bodo, Koch.
- **Naga group:** Chang-Naga, Konyak, Kacha Naga, Sema, Nagami, Lotha, rengma.
- **Kanchin group:** kawri and Singpo.
- **Kuki-chin group:** Chiru, Aimol, Thodo, Meithi/ Manipur, rangkhol, halom.
- **Burma group:** Mru and Arkanese.

C. Colonial policies and tribes

Colonial idea of tribes:

- Tribes were the original and isolated inhabitants of the forests
- Animist people who hated intrusion of outsiders into their life
- Measured their social customs and conventions on a 'scale of civilization'
- Assumed that tribes always lived in a hostile society that had exploited them, so the tribals were not able to look after their own interests

Demarcation of tribal areas into protected zones under the GOI Act 1935 showed that the tribals had become completely dependent on the welfare measures of the state to meet their basic needs.

1870 - Government of India Act which specified a few tracts as "scheduled tracts".

1874 - Scheduled District Act to give effect to the Government of India Act 1870.

1919 - Certain territories were declared "backward tracts".

1936 - "Excluded Areas" and "Partially Excluded Areas" created.

1939 - Elwin advocated for the "establishment of a sort of National Park" of the tribals and advised that their contact with the outside world should be reduced to the minimum.

P2 - B 3 c. Colonial policies and tribes

Forest Policy changed the nature of habitation and mode of livelihood of the tribes. British also permitted Missionaries to work in the tribal areas.

Reserve Forest - commercially valuable plants and resources. No access to tribals allowed here.

Protected Forest - could enter after prior permission and get minor forest produce. But rules were very strict and violation could lead to life imprisonment said **Verrier Elwin**.

Chetan Singh and **Sumit Guha**'s works - Tribes like Jats, Kakkhars, Gonds participated in Mughal or Maratha armies - mercenaries - Balochis and Afghans are also tribals - but even at that time tribals were viewed as lawless and prone to anarchic behaviour and habitual depredations.

Janardan Rao - colonial period for tribes was a period of "invasion and appropriation" leading to exploitation and misery.

Tribes have a constructive dependency on forest, while colonial state had destructive dependency on forest.

LP Vidyarthi - forest is not only a place of habitation for the tribe, rather in forest, one gets livelihood, construction material, Gods and Spirits, medicinal plants. As long as a tribe lives in forest, gender equality will be present as a woman is not dependent on a man for her survival. Deforestation implies deculturation and detrribalization.

Railways and roadways broke their historic and voluntary isolation - they became victims of forced cultural aggression .

MSA Rao - unprepared exposure to other culture rendered tribal men into destitute and women into prostitutes. So the development was for whom and at what cost?

De-notified tribes / criminal tribes - those who tried to retaliate or refuse entry to outsiders were listed as such.

SC Dube remarks that in name of development and welfare, attempt was made to develop an organized body of militant tribal group who disconnect their tribal little tradition from Hindu great tradition and subsequently, this group went for secessionist movement. When Simon Commission came, Nagas demanded a separate country.

Thus, colonial tribal policy was isolationist which drove a wedge between the tribe and caste and thus tribal militancy has roots in colonial policy.

Though missionaries did help in education and development, prevented inter-tribe antagonism and gave them a modern outlook.

Aney and Joshi - anthropologists desired to keep all the primitive races of India uncivilized and in a state of barbarism as raw material for their science.

Tribal Uprisings:

After the formulation of the cultural policy by **Warren Hasting**, the **Pahariyas** revolted in 1778 against the "company's attempt at charting postal route, which was viewed by them as act of encroachment." This was followed by the Koli disturbance (1784-1785), the revolt in Tamar of Chotanagpur (1789-; 1794-1795). To earn revenue the British undertook land and revenue settlements in the form of Permanent Settlement (1793). There after there were at least forty recorded events of confrontation-acts of minor protest and major revolts - by tribal people in different parts of India until 1857, which was the year of the Great Santhal rebellion in 1857 and the Indian Mutiny.

All uprisings were the last resort of tribesmen driven to despair by the encroachment of outsiders on their lands and economic resources. In the mode of colonial governance illegal extortions and the oppressiveness of corrupt police were the immediate cause of Rampa Rebellion, which started in March 1873 in the East Godavari district.

The most significant ones were the Birsa Munda (1895-1900) and the Tana Bhagat Movement (1913-21). "The amendments made by the government consequent upon the Santhal Rebellion in 1856-57 were not extended to the Mundas, although they were facing similar problems.... The consequent alienation of land dealt a cruel blow to all that the tribals cherished in their life. The Birsa movement aimed at complete independence. The Tana Bhagat movement was anti missionary and anti-British.... They sought to rid the tribal people of vices and weaknesses, and they refused to pay rent on the ground that they had cleared the forest and as such were the masters of the land. They demanded self-government, abolition of kingship, no rent payment, perfect equality between man and man."

As a consequence of these movements came into being tribal improvement societies, institutions designed to introduce reform and

stimulate development. These movements have been characterized as revivalist - backward looking as it were. "The Simon commission and the government sought solution to the tribal problem within the existing political structure. The policies framed were unrealistic...Most funds meant for tribals were cornered by the non-tribals. Thus the government failed to assuage the feelings of the tribals. "

The government responded with the Government of India Act of 1935, which prepared the legal foundation of the coming to being of the modern State in India and its structure of Governance. It constituted the excluded and partially excluded areas for forest dwellers and tribals setting them apart from the mainstream.

The character of the tribal movement changed under the Government of India Act of 1935 and the first ever elections held in 1936. Pan-tribal organizations emerged to make their voice heard. For instance, the Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha, Chotanagpur Adivasi Mahasabha. In 1949 this Mahasabha was wound up and the (Jharkhand Party) new regional party created.

Colonial Policies:

The state responded to the Santhal rebellion of 1857, on the one hand with a separate Santhal district, prohibition of intermediaries between the Santhals and the Government, abolition of the *Kamitoi* bonded labour system, and on the other by formulating the Queens Proclamation of 1858, which granted each community a right to its own culture oblivious of bilingual attributes that is the history of interaction between communities. It defined non-interference, with regard to cultural differences, as the principle of governance.

Between 1858 and 1935 there were twenty-eight recorded events of confrontation. During this period the Forest Act 1858 created reserved forest and forest villages were allowed within the reserved areas. By 1895 several forest villages were established. The Acquisition Act 1894 prepared ground for the next stage. The stopping of shifting cultivation began in 1890 when "the forest village regulations were issued". There was compensation for the land taken over by the state - by 1895 the permanence of these villages was sufficiently established to settle them as ryotwari tracts.

Various orders were passed for ameliorating the conditions of tribals of the East Godavari. Agency population were ultimately consolidated in law known as the Agency Tract's Interest and Land Transfer Act 1917. It formed a model for similar legislation in other tribal areas. The most important feature of this Act was that it restricted transfer of land from tribals to outsiders.

The need for special protection of aboriginal tribes was not confined to the areas notified by the agencies, and in 1919 an act known as the Government of India Act 1919, provided "that the Governor General in Council may declare any territory in British India to be a 'Backward Tract' and that any act of the Indian Legislature should apply to such Backward Tracts only if the Governor-General so directed". This legislation of 1919 was a forerunner to the Government of India Act, 1935, and the government of India (excluded and partially excluded areas) order, 1936. "Excluded Areas" were backward regions inhabited by tribal population to which acts of the Dominion legislature or the provincial legislature were to apply only with the governor of the province. The intention of this provision was to prevent the extension of legislation designed for advanced areas to backward areas where primitive tribes may be adversely affected by laws unsuitable to their special condition.

Summary of Colonial Policies:

1833 - Certain parts of Chotanagpur were declared as non-regulated areas, which meant that normal rules were not applicable on such areas for example, outsiders were not allowed to acquire land in these areas. The administrators of such areas acquired vast discretionary powers. Later on this policy was extended to other areas too.

GOI Act 1864 - created totally excluded areas - all areas with more than 70% tribal population - no outsider could enter without government permission. Governor general got direct funds for the development activities. This facilitated entry of Missionaries - development and conversion in NE and hill pockets - historical connectivity between tribes and caste stopped and now they thought of non-tribes as potential exploiters.

GOI Act 1867 - partially secluded areas - all areas with substantive tribal population (~60%) - outsiders could enter only for specific purposes such as development activities, trade, collection of wood, etc. but could not buy land, live there or establish permanent relationships with tribals.

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.

These policies slowly led to dislocation of tribes from the rest of India.

GOI Act 1901 - to develop a sense of solidarity and self-governance, autonomous councils developed in tribal areas. The objective was to understand tribal needs and accordingly create blueprint for development.

Consequently, tribals thought it was missionaries and not the state which was responsible for their development and so massive conversions. The Hindu acculturation method received a setback as these tribes were hostile after seeing the Hinduization of central Indian tribes.

By the **Act of 1919**, the idea of wholly excluded area and partially excluded area emerged for some of the areas where tribal populations were concentrated. These areas were excluded from the application of normal rules.

The **1935 Act** incorporated these provisions and a policy of reservation emerged for the people so notified for it.

Congress:

The Congress clarified its position on the exclusion of forest communities in its **1936 Faizpur Resolution**:

"This Congress is of the opinion that the separation of excluded and partially excluded areas is intended to leave out of the larger control, disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas and keep their inhabitants apart from India for their career exploitation and suppression."

In accordance with the spirit of this exclusion policy it was further stated that, "The adivasis' interest would be best served through their exposure to modern influences (like education) and the implementation of conservation laws. The industrialization of forest produce may be considered essential for the progress of adivasi society."

Tribal protest was considered an indication of their inability to adjust, adapt and change. Those who argued for their assimilation subscribed to the norms of mainstream development under the British regime. They were unaware of the contribution the tribal forest dwellers could make to the struggle for freedom and independence. Questions concerning their knowledge and its relation to their way of life were ignored even though they were highlighted by tribal protests.

This was in agreement with what **Jawaharlal Nehru** thought on the tribal position. He said at the opening of the first session of the 'Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas' Conference in 1952 - "For half a century or more we have struggled for freedom and achieved it. That struggle, apart from anything else, was a great liberating force. It raised us above ourselves. We must remember that this experience of hundreds of millions of Indians was not shared by the tribal folk".

In 1950 after debate in constituent assembly the partially excluded and excluded areas became the fifth and the sixth scheduled areas.

The legal regime laid out in the 5th and 6th schedules has its origins in the **Act of 1935**, which created, excluded and partially excluded areas where a different set of laws will govern the life of tribal people. **Elwin** pointed out - "Section 52 and 92 of the Act provided for the reservation of certain predominantly aboriginal areas (to be known as Excluded or Partially excluded areas) from operation of Provincial legislature. The executive of authority of provinces extends to 'excluded' and partially excluded areas therein', but the administration of excluded areas is under the governor at his discretion and partially excluded areas are administered by the ministers subject to the special responsibility for their peace and good government imposed on the governor by the section 52(e) of the Art. Thus the governor is given the power to control the application of legislation whether of the Federal or Provincial Legislature, and make regulations in both these areas. "

Today for NGOs and political activists primarily in the fifth schedule areas the **Bhuria Committee Report** and the subsequent Act of 1996 is an important step towards the realization of self-rule for tribal people in India. These concerns resonate the demand for Tribal autonomy in the sixth schedule areas in the Northeastern frontier regions of India. The Act of 1996 emphasized that "Traditional tribal conventions and laws should continue to hold validity. Harmonization with modern systems should be consistent herewith. The committee felt that while shaping the new Panchayati Raj structure in tribal areas it is desirable to blend the traditional with the modern by treating the traditional institutions as the foundation on which the modern supra-structure should be built. "

TRIBE AND CASTE

There are no specific criteria by which we may distinguish a tribe from a caste. In broad terms, a tribe is defined as "a community occupying a common geographic area and having a similar language and culture or beliefs and practices" (Theodorson, 1969:443). Nadel has described tribe as "a society with a linguistic, cultural and political boundary". But there are many tribal societies which lack government and the centralised authority in the ordinary sense of the term. Likewise, cultural homogeneity in a tribe is also elusive in this age.

Scholars like G.S. Ghurye, T.B. Naik, F.G. Bailey and Verrier Elwin have used different criteria like religion, geographical isolation, language, economic backwardness, and political organisation for distinguishing caste from tribe.

On the basis of *religion*, it is said that the religion of tribals is Animism and that of the people with caste system is Hinduism. Hutton (1963) and Bailey (1960:263) believe that tribals are not Hindus but are animists. The basic characteristics of animism are: the beliefs that all animate and inanimate objects are permanently or temporarily inhabited by spirits; all activities are caused by these spirits; spirits have power over the lives of men; men can be possessed by spirits; and they can be influenced by magic. On the other hand, the chief characteristics of Hinduism are: *dharma*, *bhakti*, *karma* and rebirth. It will be wrong to say that the Hindus, particularly the lower caste Hindus, do not believe in spirits and ghosts or in magic and possession. Similarly, there are many tribals who worship Hindu gods and goddesses, celebrate Hindu festivals and fairs and observe Hindu customs, traditions and rituals. It is, therefore, not easy to distinguish between Animism and Hinduism. Elwin (1943), Risley (1908) and Abuja (1965) have also maintained that the distinction between Hinduism and Animism is artificial and meaningless. Religion as a single criterion, thus, cannot be used to distinguish between a tribe and a caste. Ghurye, Naik and Bailey have also rejected this criterion.

On *geographical isolation* basis, it is said that tribals live in geographically isolated regions like hills, mountains and jungles but caste Hindus live in the plains. Due to isolation and negligible contacts with their (civilised) neighbours, tribals are comparatively less civilised than the Hindus. Though it is true that at one time some tribals lived away from means of

communication yet many caste Hindus also lived in isolated regions while many tribals lived in plains. In this age, no groups live in isolation. Geographical isolation too, thus, cannot be accepted as a criterion for differentiating tribe from caste.

Using *language* as a criterion for difference between a tribe and a caste, it is said that each tribe has its own language but not a caste. But then there are tribes which do not have their own languages but speak the dialect of one of the main Indian languages, as in South India. Therefore, language also cannot be accepted as a criterion for distinction.

Economic backwardness too is not a correct criterion for distinction. If tribals are backward and primitive, caste Hindus are also almost equally poor. On the other hand, we have economically advanced tribes too. Bailey (1960:9) also rejects this criterion by holding that it is wrong to hold sociologically that 'economic backwardness' refers to a 'standard of living' rather than to 'a type of economic relationship'. He himself used 'economic structure' and 'politico-economic organisation' for differentiating the Konds (tribe) from Oriyas (caste) in Orissa. Bailey (1960) presented a systematic interactional model for considering the position of the tribe vis-a-vis caste as two ideal poles in a linear continuum. He concentrated on two factors: control over land and right to resources of land. He maintained that in both the tribal and caste societies, we find landowners and landless people who are dependants on landowners for their share of land resources. But analysing the economic organisation of a 'village territory' (inhabited by castes) and a 'clan territory' (inhabited by tribes), he found that a village is divided into economically specialised interdependent castes arranged hierarchically whereas though a clan territory is also composed of economically specialised groups, yet these are not hierarchically arranged; nor are they economically interdependent on each other. In other words, in a tribal society, a larger proportion of people has a direct access to land while in the case of caste-based society, a very few people are land-owners and a large number achieve the right to land through a dependent relationship. Thus, according to Bailey, a tribe is organised on a 'segmentary solidarity' while a caste is organised on an 'organic solidarity'. But Bailey avers that at what point of continuum a tribe ceases and a caste begins is difficult to say. In India, the situation is such that there is hardly any tribe which exists as a separate society, having a completely separate political boundary. Economically too, the tribal economy is not different from the regional or national economy. But we do regard some communities as tribal and include them in the recognised list of scheduled tribes.

H.N. Banerjee worked in 1969 on the detailed pattern of tribe

CONTINUUM AMONG THE AGES OF BARBARIAN. N.E. ROSE (1912) has held that the tribes are being pulled towards the caste system mainly through the agriculture and craft-based economy of the caste society. M. Orans (1965) has said that while the higher economy of the Hindus pulled the tribes towards emulating the caste pattern, the forces of political solidarity pushed the tribes away from the Hindu caste system. L.P. Vidyarthi (*ICSSR Report*, 1972:33) has maintained that tribal group works as an affix to the caste system and in a few cases as suffix too. From an anthropological point of view, tribes in India appear to be gradually merging with the caste system. Ghurye has opined that some tribes are not isolated from the Hindu castes of the plains in language, economy or religion. He regards them as backward Hindus. Thus, it may be said that tribes and castes are two ends of the same scale.

TRIBAL STUDIES

The analytical tribal studies and monographs on important tribes in India were published after 1950 by scholars like S.C. Roy (Munda, Oraon, Birhor, Kharia), D.N. Majumdar (Khasa), Surjit Sinha (Bhumij), S.C. Dube (Kamars), L.P. Vidyarthi (Manjhi), G.S. Ghurye (Kolis), the Anthropological Survey of India (Gaddis), B.K. Roy Burman (Bhots), B.S. Guha (Abor), Verrier Elwin (Baiga, Maria), T.B. Naik (Maria) and Thurston (tribes in South India), etc. These studies have examined five aspects of tribal society: (1) *social structure*, with particular reference to division of tribe in clans, sub-clans and lineages, family, kinship, marriage, status of women, and the panchayat system; (2) *tribal economy* with emphasis on occupational structure and change in livelihood means from hunting to food-gathering, from forests to agriculture, ownership of land, economic relationship between tribal and non-tribal communities, different patterns of industrialisation in the tribal areas, role of market, social cost of industrialisation, economic role of women, role of moneylenders in tribal life, and economic transformations (3) *religious beliefs* and rituals, magic, witchcraft, religious movements (like Bhagat, etc.), and impact of Christian missionaries; (4) *political organisation* with focus on the concept of law and justice, panchayat leadership, impact of political parties, voting behaviour and political participation; and (5) *cultural life*, which describes folk music, dances, fairs and festivals, etc.

TRIBAL EXPLOITATION AND UNREST

For ages, tribals were considered a primitive segment of Indian society. They lived in forests and hills without having more than a casual contact with the so-called civilised and advanced neighbours. There being no

population pressures, there was no attempt to penetrate their areas and impose alien values and beliefs on the tribals. But when the British consolidated their position in the country, their colonial aspirations and administrative needs necessitated 'opening up' the entire country through an effective communication system. The British introduced the system of landownership and revenue. Annual tax was trebled which was beyond the paying capacity of tribal cultivators. Under the increasing pressure of population, many outsiders also started settling in tribal regions. With their money power, they offered credit facilities at the doorstep. Initially, it provided relief to tribals but gradually the system became exploitative. Newly established courts of law helped the exploiters. This economic, and later social and cultural exploitation, aroused the tribal leaders to mobilise fellow tribals and start agitations. With the increasing feelings of deprivation, mass agitations, struggles and movements also increased. Initially, they were against blood suckers and usurpers of their rights but ultimately they turned against the government or the rulers.

Tribal unrest and discontent, thus, may be described as the cumulative of a number of contributory factors. The main factors were:

- Lethargy, indifference, and lack of sympathy from administrators and bureaucrats in dealing with tribal grievances.
- Harshness of forest laws and regulations.
- Lack of legislation to prevent the passing of tribal land into the hands of non-tribals.
- Ineffective government measures to rehabilitate tribal population.
- Lack of interest and dynamism among the political elite to solve tribal problems.
- Delay in implementation of recommendations made by high level bodies.
- Discrimination in implementation of reformatory measures.

In short, the causes of tribal unrest may be described as economic, social and political.

TRIBAL PROBLEMS

The main problems the tribals face are:

- They possess small and uneconomical landholdings because of which their crop yield is less and hence they remain chronically indebted.
- Only a small percentage of the population participates in occupational activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors.
- Literacy rate among tribals is very low. While in 1961, it was 18.53 per cent, in 1991 it increased to 29.60 per cent which compared to general literacy rate of 52.21 per cent in the country is very low, be

cause while the growth of literacy rate in the past three decades in the country was 28.21 per cent. among the STs it was only 11.7 per cent (*The Hindustan Times*, July 11, 1995). Though tribal literacy rate in Mizoram is 82.71 per cent and in Nagaland, Sikkim and Kerala it is between 57 per cent and 61 per cent, lack of literacy among tribal people has been identified as a major development problem.

- A good portion of the land in tribal areas has been legally transferred to non-tribals. Tribals demand that this land should be returned to them. In fact, tribals had earlier enjoyed considerable freedom to use forests and hunt animals. Forests not only provide them materials to build their homes but also give them fuel, herbal medicines for curing diseases, fruits, wild game, etc. Their religion makes them believe that many of their spirits live in trees and forests. Their folk-tales often speak of the relations of human beings and the spirits. Because of such physical and emotional attachment to forests, tribals have reacted sharply to restrictions imposed by the government on their traditional rights.
- Tribal government programmes have not significantly helped the tribals in raising their economic status. The British policy had led to ruthless exploitation of the tribals in various ways as it favoured the zamindars, landlords, moneylenders, forest contractors, and excise, revenue and police officials.
- Banking facilities in the tribal areas are so inadequate that the tribals have to depend mainly on moneylenders. Being miserably bogged down in indebtedness, tribals demand that Agricultural Indebtedness Relief Acts should be enacted so that they may get back their mortgaged land.
- About 90 per cent of the tribals are engaged in cultivation and most of them are landless and practise shifting cultivation. They need to be helped in adopting new methods of cultivation.
- The unemployed and the underemployed want help in finding secondary sources of earning by developing animal husbandry, poultry farming, handloom weaving, and the handicrafts sector. Most of the tribals live in sparsely populated hills. Conditions in the tribal areas remain tough. The tribals, therefore, need to be protected against leading isolated life, away from towns and cities, through a network of new roads.
- The tribals are exploited by Christian missionaries. In several tribal areas, mass conversion to Christianity had taken place during the British period. While the missionaries have been pioneers in education and opened hospitals in tribal areas, they have also been

responsible for alienating the tribals from their culture. Christian missionaries are said to have many a time instigated the tribals to revolt against the Indian government.

Relations between the tribals and non-tribals thus started worsening and non-tribal residents were increasingly depending for protection on the para-military forces. The demand for separate states for tribals took the shape of insurgency in Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Bihar, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, and Tripura. Neighbouring countries, unfriendly to India, were active in exploiting these anti-Indian sentiments. Infiltration of foreign nationals, gun-running, trafficking in narcotics and smuggling even today are very serious problems in these states surrounded by tribal belts.

In short, the main problems of the tribals are poverty, indebtedness, illiteracy, bondage, exploitation, disease and unemployment.

After independence, tribal problems and tribal unrest have become politicised. An articulate and effective political elite have emerged in several tribal areas. These elite are conscious of tribal rights and are capable of making calculated moves to gain their acceptance. The tribals of Jharkhand region in Bihar and of Bastar region in Madhya Pradesh are recent examples where tribal political leaders have succeeded in compelling the central government to agree to form separate states. A separate tribal state in Bihar (Vananchal) would comprise 18 districts of South Bihar, with tribal population of 26 per cent. The demand for greater Jharkhand state consists of 26 predominantly tribal districts of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. In areas where tribal leadership does not exist, political parties—national, regional or local—are moving in to fill the vacuum. S.C. Dube (1972:30) has also said that today we find a shift in the political attitudes and strategies of the tribals—from politics of compliance and affirmation to politics of pressure and protest. It may be said that the political culture of the tribes is undergoing a radical transformation. This parochial political culture and 'participant' political culture is oriented more to sub-national tribal identities than to a broader national identity. When interests of the smaller unit (tribe) and the larger unit (nation) clash, the tendency is to ignore or sacrifice the latter. This perspective resulting in exclusive focus on purely tribal interests and on their solution unlinked with broader national interests imparts parochial overtones to the emerging political culture. On the other hand, in participative political culture, the tribals take an active interest in formulating policies, questioning the usefulness of political decisions of the government and suggesting correctives (*Ibid*:31). The key issue, thus, is of harmonising the national and tribal interests. In other words, the tribal

problems have to be viewed not in isolation but in the context of various forces operating in national life.

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Numerous uprisings of the tribals have taken place beginning with the one in Bihar in 1772, followed by many revolts in Andhra Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram and Nagaland. The important tribes involved in revolt in the nineteenth century were Mizos (1810), Kols (1795 and 1831), Mundas (1889), Daflas (1875), Khasi and Garo (1829), Kacharis (1839), Santhals (1853), Muria Gonds (1886), Nagas (1844 and 1879), Bhuiyas (1868) and Kondhs (1817).

Before describing tribal movements, the typology of movements needs to be specified. Cameron has classified them in four groups: (1) *Reactionary*, which seek to bring back the good old days. Linton calls them '*revivalistic*' movements. (2) *Conservative*, which are organised to obstruct the current changes and seek to maintain status quo. Linton calls them 'perpetuative' movements. (3) *Revisionary*, which desire specific changes by modifying the existing customs, improving or purifying the culture or social order and eliminating some institutions. However, these movements do not attempt to replace the existing structure as a whole. These movements have also been termed as 'social mobility' movements. These movements are found mostly among low castes but not amongst the tribals. (4) *Revolutionary*, which aim at replacing the whole of the culture or social order with another more progressive. This does not mean that everything is to be replaced. This movement is also termed as 'revivalistic' movement.

Most of the social movements among tribals in early India had their origins in religious upheavals like Buddhism and Vaishnavism. Some Vaishnavist movements were found among Meithei tribe in Manipur, Bhumij in West Bengal, Nokte Naga in Assam, Bathudi in Orissa, and tribals in Jharkhand (Bihar), Orissa and south India (Mahapatra 1972: 402). These movements have also been called religious movements. These were also found among Gonds in central India, Kond in Orissa and Bhils in Rajasthan. The Britishers had to face some tribal movements in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries when they sought to stop head-hunting, human sacrifice, or slavery in north-eastern India. There were also movements against oppressing landlords, moneylenders and harassment by police and forest officials in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and central Indian states. Bhagat movements were found among Oraon of Chotanagpur, Bhils of Rajasthan, etc. These were revivalist movements for avoiding animal food, liquor and blood sacrifices.

After independence, tribal movements may be classified into three groups: (1) movements due to exploitation of outsiders (like those of the Santhals and the Mundas), (2) movements due to economic deprivation (like those of the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and the Mahars in Andhra Pradesh), and (3) movements due to separatist tendencies (like those of the Nagas and Mizos).

The tribal movements may also be classified on the basis of their orientation into four types: (1) movements seeking political autonomy and formation of a state (Nagas, Mizos, Jharkhand), (2) agrarian movements, (3) forest-based movements, and (4) socio-religious or socio-cultural movements (the Bhagat movement among Bhils of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, movement among tribals of south Gujarat or Raghunath Murmu's movement among the Santhals).

Such reformative movement was reported among the Mundas too under a powerful charismatic leader Dharti Aba who preached Hindu ideals of ritual purity, morality, and asceticism, and criticised the worship of priests. Among the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh, there were religious and social mobility movements in the 1930s by charismatic leaders, claiming Kshatriya status and seeking to purify religion and social institutions.

Surajit Sinha (1972:410) 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).

If we take into consideration all the tribal movements, including the Naga revolution (which began in 1948 and continued up to 1972 when the new elected government came to power and the Naga insurgency was controlled), the Mizo movement (guerrilla warfare which ended with the formation of Meghalaya state in April 1970, created out of Assam and Mi-

zoram in 1972), the Gond Raj movement (of Gonds of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, started in 1941 for a separate state, reaching its peak in

1962-63), the Naxalite movements (of the tribals in Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Assam), the Agrarian movements (of the Gonds and the Bhils in Madhya Pradesh), and the forest-based movements (of the Gonds for getting customary rights in the forests), it could be said that the tribal unrest and the resultant movements were mainly movements launched for liberation from (i) oppression and discrimination, (ii) neglect and backwardness, and (iii) a government which was callous to the tribals' plight marked by poverty, hunger, unemployment and exploitation. Recently, a growing interest has been shown by scholars and politicians in the tribal movement in Chotanagpur in Bihar. This movement is popularly called the Jharkhand movement. The Oraon, the Munda and the Hos are the major tribal communities in Chotanagpur. Their total population is about 50 lakhs comprising 10 per cent of the total population of the state. This movement was started in 1928 by Chotanagar Unnati Samaj under the leadership of a few educated tribal Christians. Later on, the Samaj was renamed Adibasi Sabha. In 1938, it declared itself a political party fighting for tribal interests, when it took the name of Jharkhand Party. The BJP-led government proposed in late 1998 and early 1999 to create a separate Jharkhand state (called Vananchal state comprising six districts and two divisions, Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas of Bihar).

Two instances of tribal exploitation are highlighted here to explain the cause of their movements. At the time of independence, there existed a government order in Andhra Pradesh according to which all land transactions had to be in favour of the tribals. In 1974, the then Congress government passed an order which a permission-tribals to own 15 acres (5 wet and 10 dry) of land in the area. After this order, non-tribals took away a sizeable part of tribal land. Tribals claimed that about 30,000 acres of land had passed into the hands of non-tribals between 1974 and 1984. During this period, about 2,000 cases of land disputes were lodged in courts and about 400 tribals convicted. The Telugu Desam government quashed the Congress government order in 1984 because of which non-tribals took a defensive position. Tribals were organised by extremists against the non-tribal feudal classes. There were series of incidents of violence between Gonds (tribals) and non-tribals. The non-tribals put up a fight. They burned tribal huntments, criminally assaulted women, wounded and killed the tribals and forced them to do bonded labour for them. In another incident, 21 non-tribals who were allegedly stealing firewood from a forest were caught by the tribals and taken to their village and kept imprisoned till the police rescued them.

The second case refers to a tribal convention organised in February,

1984 in Vidarbha region near Nagpur in Maharashtra. The convention was

small village called Kamalpur, with a population of 1,000 persons. The convention was expected to be attended by 20,000 persons. It was to be inaugurated by the President of Nagpur High Court Bar Association and presided over by eminent persons like a playwright, a film director and a cine artist. Two days before the conference, all routes leading to the venue were sealed, about 1,000 persons were arrested, and prohibitory orders banning the assembly of five or more persons were issued. Interestingly, the persons arrested were charged for carrying objectionable literature, felling trees in forests, and theft of forest wealth (*Onlooker*, 7 April, 1984:29). The chairman of the Reception Committee was arrested on the charge of theft of forest wealth. He was released by a magistrate but promptly rearrested on a different charge. Among others arrested included musicians who were to perform at the convention, and representatives of student organisations from Bombay, Hyderabad, and Madras. Thus, what could have passed off as innocuous conference with a few fiery speeches was transformed into a major episode giving the venue a hardfield look.

All this shows that when the law does not help tribals, and the government remains callous, and the police fail to protect them, even harasses them, they take up arms against their exploiters. The above-mentioned movements indicate that the tribals adopted two paths of achieving goals: (a) non-violent path of bargaining and negotiating with the government and using a variety of pressure tactics without resorting to violence/revolts, and (b) militant path of revolts or mass struggles based on developing the fighting power of the exploited/oppressed tribal strata. The consequences of both these paths are different. One indicates struggle oriented to reforms, while the other indicates structural transformation of the community. To conclude, since tribals continue to face problems and also continue to feel discontented and deprived, this fact shows that both the above paths have not helped them to achieve their goals.

TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Following L.P. Vidyarthi's appraisal of tribal leadership in initiating and promoting movements, we may point out several characteristics of tribal leadership:

- (1) The tribal leaders are characterised with the concept of sub-nationalism.
- (2) The leaders are generally those who are exposed to modern forces.
- (3) The Christian-oriented and western-educated model which was the exclusive model of leadership for several decades in several tribal areas is now breaking its exclusiveness. For example, the Jharkhand

party which had the dominance of Christian converts and which was essentially started for the consolidation of Christian converts fast expanded its scope, and the Hindu tribals as well as non-tribal elements got associated with it and it started emphasising the needs and problems of the region. With secularised objectives, political pressures and persuasion, and political convenience, there is a marked turning point in the functioning of the leaders.

- (4) While the tribal leadership at the regional and state-level seems to be keeping pace with the modern democratic interests, the village leadership in the interior tribal areas continues to be mostly institutional (say *Mukhiya*), formal (say *Sarpanch*), and hereditary.
- (5) Tribal leaders sometimes join hands with political leaders of other political parties in achieving their political goals.*
- (6) The issues taken up by the leaders are generally those which find expression in tribalism, regionalism, localism and sometimes in religious extremism.
- (7) The leaders are rural-based as well as urbanised, tradition-oriented as well as modern in outlook, and are Hindus as well as Christians.
- (8) The leaders are not much educated but are those who believe in certain broad ideologies-religious, political, economic and social.

TRIBAL WOMEN

The term 'status' of women refers to (i) the position women occupy as householders, workers, and citizens; (ii) power and prestige attached to these positions; and (iii) rights and duties they are expected to exercise. Mason (1984) points out that the status of women has three dimensions: prestige, power and autonomy (freedom to take decision about education, marriage, employment, health care, etc.).

The status of women is not the same in all tribes; it differs from tribe to tribe. However, by and large, the status of tribal women is very low in the sense that they have no access to knowledge, to economic resources, and to power, and they have the lowest degree of personal autonomy. Though the extent of tribal female labour-force participation is very low, yet most of the tribal women work irrespective of their economic position. They share more or less equal responsibility with men in the economic activities. When men work in other towns and cities, women carry out agricultural work. If we take education as a socio-economic indicator of status, the literacy rate of ST women is low. While the literacy rate among women in general in our country in 1991 was 39.3 per cent among tribal women it was only 18.19 per cent. The highest percentage of ST women are educated up to primary school. The large gender gap may

be attributed to non-availability of schools in villages, non-availability of female teachers, feeling shy of sending girls to schools due to prevalent traditional values, using grown-up girls for looking after infants when their mothers go to work, and requiring girls' help in household chores. Tribal women are not allowed to own land. Women are totally unaware of their rights regarding property. Their political awareness is also very low, as they neither read newspapers nor do they listen to the news on the radio and TV. They have also no place in the micro-level village power structure. They are woefully unrepresented in the political structures like tribal councils and village panchayats. However, there are some tribal communities (like Meena, Sema Naga, and Tharus, etc.) in which the status of women cannot be said to be low on every count.

There is no serious widow problem in tribal societies. A widow is free to remarry. There are some tribes where a widow marries her deceased husband's younger brother (levirate marriage). The bride-price custom has not elevated the status of women. It rather degrades them to be treated in the manner of articles of property and a commodity to be bought and sold. Divorce is permitted in many tribal societies. The procedure of divorce is also simple as it consists of mutual consent, a formal ceremony, and paying back of the bride-price.

PROTECTIVE DISCRIMINATION AND TRIBAL WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT (OR TRIBAL TRANSITION)

'Tribal transition' is tribal welfare and tribal development. The governmental programmes implemented in India for the uplift and rehabilitation of tribals have not been able to achieve their goals and tribal proletarianisation has persisted since independence. No wonder, the problem of tribal welfare engaged the attention of a number of scholars in different parts of the country not only in the 1970s and the 1980s (like L.P. Vidyarthi in Bihar in 1971, A.K. Danda and M.G. Kulkarni in Maharashtra in 1974, and Ranjit Gupta, and M.V.T. Raju in Andhra Pradesh in 1971) but also in the 1990s.

Tribal Welfare

The strategies adopted by the British administrators for solving the problems of the tribals included acquiring tribal land and forests and declaring certain tribal areas as excluded or partially excluded. But, the British government had also established a number of schools and hospitals in the tribal areas with the help of Christian missionaries who converted many tribals to Christianity. Thus, by and large, during the British period, the tribals remained victims of colonial-feudal domination, ethnic prejudices,

illiteracy, poverty, and isolation.

After Independence, provisions were made in the Constitution to safeguard tribal interests and promote their developmental and welfare activities. Gandhiji and Thakkar Bapa also did some pioneering work among the tribals. Nehru enunciated the policy of *Panchseel* for tribal transformation, which rested on following five principles:

- (1) Avoiding imposing the culture of the majority people on them and encouraging in every way their (tribal) own traditional arts and culture.
- (2) Respecting tribal rights on land and forest.
- (3) Training tribal leaders for administrative and developmental activities with the help of some technical personnel from outside.
- (4) Avoiding over-administering of the tribal areas.
- (5) Judging results not on the basis of money spent but the quality of human character evolved.

In 1960, the Scheduled Tribe Commission was set up under the chairmanship of U.N. Dhebar to work for the advancement of the tribals. After the Fifth Five Year Plan, the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy was designed in 1980 which consisted of two things (i) socio-economic development of the STs, and (ii) protection of tribals against exploitation. The funds for TSPs are provided by state governments and the central ministries.

However, TSP results have not been commensurate with the expectations and the investments made so far as heavy emphasis is laid in several states on infrastructural development without corresponding emphasis on the development of the STs. The TSP schemes are supposed to lay emphasis on family-oriented income-generating schemes in sectors like agriculture, animal husbandary, cooperatives, tribal crafts and skills, etc., besides laying emphasis on education, health, and housing.

In the Five Year Plans, the programmes for the welfare of the STs aim at: (1) Raising the productivity levels in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, cottage and small-scale industries, etc., to improve the economic conditions, (2) rehabilitation of the bonded labour (3) education and training programmes, and (4) special development programmes for women and children. But various evaluation studies on all these programmes for the integrated development of the tribals have brought out the inadequacies of these programmes.

ACCULTURATION AND CHANGES IN TRIBAL CULTURE

Cultural change is 'change in knowledge, attitudes, ideas, behaviour, religious beliefs, and moral doctrines of individuals who compose the

community or the society'. Thus, cultural change is a multifactorial process. Several factors as identified by Raha and Dubash Roy (1997: 149-159) which have brought about changes in the tribal culture are: measures undertaken by the government, communication facilities, spread of education, process of urbanisation, occupational mobility, community development projects, frequent contacts with the neighbouring Hindus in the urban areas, construction of dams in the tribal areas, impact of Christianity, facilities of bank credit, modern medicare, cooperative societies, modern legislation, cash and market economy, and reformist movements.

The tribe-caste interaction and the process of acculturation is found among many tribes in different states. Its best example has been pointed out by Binay Kumar Patnaik's study of Sabaras (tribe) in Ghorabar village in Orissa, who comprise 5 per cent of the total 235 households with 280 people (see Pfeffer, 1997:317-329). The process of undergoing acculturation by this tribe is found in the following changes:

- (1) The structural change in the tribe is found in discarding egalitarianism (with least of functional dependency) and accepting caste system and thereby introducing the system of stratification in the community.
- (2) The community is hierarchically divided in four segments on the basis of ritual superiority which resembles Hindu *varna* framework. There is functional distribution of occupations among the four divisions like the four *varnas*—hunting and fighting, worshipping, cultivation, and dancing and singing respectively. The difference is that while in the *varna* system, worshipping occupies the highest ritual status, in this tribe it occupies second place in the hierarchy. Secondly, purity and pollution is absent in the Sabaras tribe as it is found in the caste system. Thus, Sabaras are accepted as a separate 'caste' and not as a tribe in the village.
- (3) Like the caste system among the Sabaras too, each sub-caste has its own panchayat which acts as a watch-dog of the community customs and taboos.
- (4) Each sub-division of the Sabaras claims descent from three Sabaras who figure in Hindu mythologies—Mahabharat and Ramayana.
- (5) The imprint of Hindu culture is prominent on the marriage customs of Sabaras, though inter-caste (inter-segment) marriage is absent. Polygamy is a taboo. Bride-price has been replaced by dowry.

Why the adopting of Hindu traits by the Sabaras is termed as a process of 'acculturation' and not 'sanskritisation' is because (a) the benefit of acculturation is 'economic gain' and not achieving higher ritual status. By

...viewing the Hindu-fold as a caste group, they have been assigned the occupation of wood-cutting and basket making permanently. After deforestation, they have become agricultural labourers; and (b) the model adopted for mobility is not Brahmanic but Vaishya, which assures economic superiority to ritual superiority. Since the Sabaras are dependent on Telis for their occupations, they accepted them (Telis) as their reference group.

If we examine change in the culture of tribes in India, we find six main changes. These are as follows:

- (1) The lifestyle of tribals, particularly those who live in or near the urban areas or in the midst of the numerically dominant non-tribal population, has changed due to imbibing of a large number of cultural traits of advanced Hindus. Many of their traditional traits have been replaced by alien traits.
- (2) The nature of change is such that the tribes are not losing their identity and also their traditional cultural heritage. They are not being 'Hinduised'. However, tribals undergoing the process of Hinduisation have been pointed out by Bose (1953), Dutta Majumdar (1937), Deogaonkar (1990), Raha and Debash Roy (1997:153), referring to the examples of tribes like Pati Rabhas (in Assam), Hos and Juangs (in Orissa), Santhals (in Bihar), Bhumij, Oraon, Munda, and Korkus (in Maharashtra), etc. Our contention is that adopting few cultural traits of Hindus is not undergoing the process of Hinduisation. The fact that these tribes still describe themselves as 'tribes' and not Hindus is important in our argument and contention of rejecting the process of Hinduisation.
- (3) In some parts of India, the tribals have adopted some traits of Christianity also. Nagas, Mizo, Santhals, Oraon, Munda; Kharia, etc., are some tribes in North East and North West India on which we find marked imprint of Christianity. The evidence is provided by micro-level studies of tribals made by Dutta Majumdar (1956), Sahay (1976), Sachchidananda (1964) and Bose (1967).
- (4) The changes among tribal people from Chotanagpur working as labourers in tea gardens of Assam and North Bengal are more visible in their material life than in their religious beliefs and practices. Those who work in industries have developed individualistic outlook due to the economic security provided to them which in turn has made them indifferent towards their traditional life.
- (5) Agro-industrialisation in the tribal areas has affected the socio-cultural life of the tribals to the extent that changes in the family structure, marriage institution, authority structure, interpersonal re-

relationships and weakening of clan panchayat's authority have come to be observed (Kar, 1981). Trade unions also have much impact on the *adibasi* (tribal) labourers. Tribal labourers have organised themselves as a 'class' which has ultimately opened up a wider opportunity for taking part in active politics. The tribals who work in mines and collieries since long fail to retain link with their community because of which they are so compelled to adjust themselves with the rhythm of mining work, that they relinquish many traditional beliefs and social practices and adopt new attitudes and behaviour patterns. Sachchidananda (1964) has referred to such changes among Munda and Oraon tribes of Bihar. R. Chandra (1989) has also referred to similar change in the socio-cultural life of Juangs and Irula tribes in Orissa who traditionally were accustomed to hunting, food-gathering and shifting cultivation but have now become settled cultivators and labourers on plantations. They have attained progressive outlook and have started using modern facilities of schools, banks, cooperative societies, medicare, etc.

- (6) Discarding traditional practices and adopting modern beliefs and values due to the impact of modern forces has not always proved functional for the tribals. Many tribes face the problem of maladjustment. Baiga tribe according to R. Joshi (1984) is one such tribe whose members earlier were fun-loving and contented, who spent evenings in dancing and drinking mahua, who owned land but had no demarcated 'pattas', whose women wore gold and silver ornaments without worry and fear but have now become very fearful and have come to be cheated by people with vested interests. Happiness has given place to suffering.

Thus, it is evident that tribals have changed a lot culturally, socially as well as economically due to exposure to various forces which having benefited them in many ways have also brought a number of evils in their communities. Many tribals have come to be deprived of their rights over land and forests and in many cases they are being fleeced by money lenders, big landowners, traders, businessmen and others. In spite of this, we cannot support ideas of scholars like Verrier Elwin who advocated keeping tribals in partial or full isolation and strongly advised that these people should be allowed to maintain their traditional and original tribal life as far as possible. While we do not want tribal culture to be destroyed, *at the same time, we do not want that tribes should remain 'backward'* and not be benefited by industrial development, occupational mobility,

education and benefits of welfare schemes. The isolated and segregated condition of the tribal world which results in their poverty, illiteracy, ex-

ploitation, etc., cannot be tolerated in this age. Their exposure to justice, enlightenment, help and cooperation is essential.

DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT OF TRIBALS

During recent years, displacement of tribals has drawn the attention of several scholars. It is estimated that development schemes like dams, mines, industries and various projects have resulted in the displacement of about 40 per cent tribals between 1951 and 1991 (Fernandes, 1994:24). The illiterate and powerless tribals have been compelled to leave their resource-rich regions and migrate to other places. This has resulted in the problem of their resettlement. One estimate is that about 20 per cent of the STs have been rehabilitated. In Maharashtra and Gujarat under the 'land for land' scheme, only 15 per cent of about 10,000 eligible tribal families were granted land (*Ibid*:36). This has resulted in impoverishment and marginalisation of tribals. In many areas, tribals have resisted the take-over of their support system and started agitations. Such tribal agitations have been reported from Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Arunachal Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and so on. Surprisingly, tribals agitate more than the high caste non-tribal farmers, even though they are illiterate and less organised. This can be explained in terms of difference in the extent of dependence on natural resources, exposure to external society, nature of leadership among them and the benefits they expect from the project (Fernandes in George Pfeffer, 1997:82). Tribals resist these projects because much of their food and other daily needs are met by the forests and the shifting cultivation in forests. This dependence on forests develops a symbolic relationship of the tribals with the source of their livelihood. The second reason is inadequacy of benefits. No compensation is paid for the forests because what the tribals consider common property land is in fact government land. Even the compensation for the little individual land they own is very low (say, about Rs. 3,000 per acre). What little amount they get is appropriated by money-lenders and middlemen. They are thus left impoverished. The third reason is that their literacy is so low that they cannot hope to get jobs in the new project. At most they get temporary jobs of unskilled labourers. All these reasons compel them to agitate against new projects and being displaced from their native lands.

Bal Govind Baboo (1997:92-94) avers that the four sections involved with the construction of dams are: (a) government and bureaucrats (b) scientists and environmentalists, (c) people in the catchment area, and (d) people in the command area. Government supports construction of dams for achieving political and economic ends. Bureaucrats support them to

cause they are the mouthpieces of the government and have to enhance the chances of their promotion. Scientists, technocrats and environmentalists are more objective. But their perspective is technical and limited. While technocrats are concerned with the feasibility of the project, environmentalists are concerned with the ecological dimensions. People in the catchment area do not want to be displaced even if they are poor because they are afraid of starting life afresh amid uncertainties. They also do not want to be cut off from their kin and village network. The people in the would-be command area like the idea because of the anticipated agricultural prosperity and year-round employment.

The utility of dams cannot be denied. The question is only of taking up the issue of the rehabilitation of the affected poor, particularly the poor tribals in the tribal areas. The social and cultural upheaval of the oustees is crucial. The questions which need attention are: (1) Do the displaced tribals like to stay in the resettlement colonies (RCs)? (2) Does the government follow any method to choose displaced people to rehabilitate them in the RCs? (3) Is the compensation scheme foolproof and is the compensation money properly utilised? (4) How do the displaced people who do not settle in the RCs get along with regard to their livelihood? (5) Do the displaced people rehabilitated in the RCs maintain their traditional occupations or do they adjust themselves with new occupations? (6) Do the displaced people undergo any traumatic experience during and after shifting?

The success and the utility of the dams in the tribal areas would depend upon taking into consideration the above-mentioned questions seriously and finding logical solutions to them because tribals have distinct cultural and structural traits as compared with caste groups. They are rigid in their cultural practices and less exposed to external factors of change.

INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

The British administrators like Dalton, Risley and others talked of 'Hinduised tribes' and 'Hinduised section of the tribe'. They referred to a number of cultural traits which tribal people have adopted from the neighbouring Hindus. Have the welfare and the development programmes drawn the Adivasis to the fore of the national front? Have they been able to elevate their social position? It has been accepted by many scholars that the gap between tribals and non-tribals is partly the result of political policy of the imperial colonial power and partly because the non-tribals considered the tribals ethically and culturally distinct from the rest

of the population. As such, the demands of the tribals for independence for distinctive treatment and even autonomy were valid. Anthropologists sympathetically endorsed this demand. The census officers were emphatic about their religious distinction. They designated them as animists. Ethnologists pointed out their racial background and ethnic traits. But according to Ghurye, on the cultural and linguistic plane, the tribals are not markedly different from the neighbouring non-tribal or Hindu rural communities. This viewpoint has been supported by Majumdar and Aiyappan. Many tribal groups moved out of their semi-isolated habitats and entering plains accepted many norms of the Hindu caste system. The large number of social reform and religious movements among the tribals are evidence of their desire to get absorbed in the Hindu caste system. Some tribes like Mizos, Khasis, Nagas, Mundas, Meenas, Bhils, etc., have become somewhat modernised but some have still remained 'backward'. Their techno-economic backwardness and their sticking to traditional cultural values have remained a barrier to their integration in Hindu society.

The question is: do measures taken by the government aim at total assimilation of the tribals in the main stream of the national life or at social integration by conveying the concern for protecting their interests, customs and institutions, safeguarding their ways of life, and ensuring their development? It appears that various plans and programmes aim at protecting them against social injustice and exploitation and the raising of their general way of life. The creation of tribal areas, reservation of seats in educational institutions and public services, introduction of TMS scheme—all aim at uplift of the tribals and their social and cultural integration in Hindu society. But 'integration' should not be confused with 'homogeneity' through the process of assimilation. We should be clear about three processes of change, viz., acculturation, integration (social and cultural) and assimilation.

Acculturation is acquiring and modifying the culture of a group through contact with one or more other cultures. In the case of tribes, it means that the tribes take over such cultural traits of Hindu society which they find functional for their uplift and progress. *Social integration* is uniting of separate groups (i.e., tribes) into one group (i.e., Hindu society) by removing the previous social and cultural group (tribal) differences. *Cultural integration* is the adjustment of traditional cultural traits by absorbing new cultural traits. Integration of tribes in Hindu society does not involve totally discarding old tribal traits; it implies unity within a system resulting from taking over new traits from the Hindus. *Assimilation* is a (one-way) process in which one group (say a tribe) takes

over the culture and identity of another (larger) group (say, Hindu society), and becomes a part of that group. The merging of the group (say, a tribe) thus involves complete elimination of cultural differences of tribals and non-tribals.

Tribes are faced with the problem of preserving their cultural identity and their social existence. Each tribe has three alternatives: (i) to exist side by side with the majority, (ii) to absorb itself in the dominant group, and (iii) to secede and seek political independence on the basis of equality. Different tribes have adopted different processes from amongst the above-mentioned three processes. For example, the Bhils and the Meenas have adopted the first process of co-existence, the Oraon and the Rhond tribes have adopted the second process of absorbing themselves in the Hindu society, while the Nagas and the Mizos have adopted the third process of secession. Our government has not adopted a uniform policy of cultural integration of all tribes because different tribes are at different stages of development and have different goals and aspirations. Naturally we find different levels of integration of different tribes. We can only hold that tribes are gradually being drawn into the wider economic framework of the country and they are getting themselves involved in the market economy. Agriculture has come to occupy a central place in the economic activity of many tribes. According to the 1991 census figures, about three-fourth of the tribals in the country work as cultivators and about one-fifth as agricultural labourers and the rest as labourers in mines, forests or are engaged in other services. The fact that the tribal cultivators are responding positively to modern methods of cultivation points out a positive change in tribals' economic system. The economic integration of the tribes, however, does not necessarily mean that all tribes have achieved a high level of income. Many are still living below the poverty line.

Tribals are also being integrated in the political system of the country. The introduction of the Panchayati Raj has offered them opportunity for an increased involvement in the political activities. By contesting elections, they have started acquiring power at Panchayat Samiti and state levels. This has also resulted in educational and social development of tribals. In social life too, because of the reservation policy, they now occupy important social positions. Though clan panchayats have not become altogether irrelevant for them, yet their role is confined more to marital and land conflicts. The tribal councils have thus weakened now. It may be averred that on the one hand, the tribals have maintained their cultural identity and on the other hand, they have integrated themselves in the broader economic, social, political, and religious systems of the

country. This integration has enabled the tribals to bridge the social distance that existed between tribals and non-tribals, though they have not succeeded in achieving social equality.

While analysing the tribal integration in larger society, would it be relevant to adopt Ghurye's (1943) model of labelling tribals as 'backward Hindus', or Majumdar's (1944) model of adopting Hindu ideas by tribals through contacts with caste Hindus, or Srinivas' (1952) model of sanskritisation, i.e., tribes emulating high caste practices, or Bailey's (1960) model of postulating a continuum at the two ends of which stand a tribe and a caste? Lutz and Munda (1980) criticising Ghurye and Srinivas's models have suggested 'modernisation model' for understanding tribal change. Seeking to answer the question "how are tribal societies becoming like caste Hindus or Christian society", Lutz and Munda have referred to working together of anthropologists and government to induce change in tribes. Anthropologists have been evaluating the effectiveness of government programmes and pointing out the causes of their failure. In 1966, Roy Burman had observed the strong ethnocentric bias of Indian society, the Indian government, and the social scientists vis-a-vis the tribes. He maintained that these groups were designated as 'tribes' because the mainstream caste Hindu society perceives these tribes as being radically different from itself—in the past as well as in the present. Vidyarthi (1968) asserted to incorporate the tribal viewpoint which is considered significant for the tribal change. Our contention is that tribals themselves must discard their feeling of 'being tribals and thus having limitations'. They must develop self-pride and self-confidence, and must stop thriving on borrowed concessions and government's reservation policy. It is this attitude which will help them achieve social elevation and equality. Government policies alone cannot contribute to their development through 'appeasement' approach. It is not by being rooted in the traditional culture but by seeking opportunities to assert themselves that they can elevate themselves in Indian society.

Further Readings

Bose, N.K., *Cultural Anthropology and Other Essays*, Asia Publishing House, Calcutta, 1953.

Dube, S.C., *Tribal Situation in India*, 1972

ICSSR, *Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology (1969-1979)*, Sarva-

D. Issues of integration and autonomy

As British had followed an isolationist policy, road connectivity, communication and infrastructure development in tribal areas were poor in 1947

P2 - B 3 d. Issues of integration and autonomy

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 3. Nagas, Central Tribes, Bodos - Pages 201 to 209
IGNOU Handout - ESO 12 Unit 28 - Case Studies - Pages 6 to 14

Noam Chomsky - the world sustains because tribals have maintained their environment friendly customs.

Tribes' respect for the forests and the mutually respectful relationship with nature reveal a cognitive sophistication as against the instrumental logic of growth.

Identities are inherited, carried, questioned and reconstructed depending on changing needs of time. Identity is so greatly transformed that unless understanding of identity change is developed, tribal integration cannot be understood.

Though traumatized by deculturation, acculturation, co-optation and negative identity, the tribals have largely managed to preserve their self-identity, values of kinship, institutional reciprocity, knowledge of shared history and territorial occupancy. They are discovering their philosophical and cultural uniqueness and potentialities. There is also an increasing trend of inter-tribal unity and consciousness undermining the internal structuration and ethnic co-optation. Their communal control of customary resources and revival of traditional institutions and values of egalitarianism may act as a defensive mechanism' against the gamut of imposed ills.

Colonial tribal policy developed suspicion between caste and tribe, while post-colonial tribal policy is developing suspicion between tribes and state (AFSPA, dams).

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 a dynamic strategy for sustainable development. Unfortunately, however, the militant nationalist struggles of the tribals for political autonomy in the North-East and the radical agrarian struggles against the obnoxious methods of surplus appropriation in parts of central India tribal belt are simply treated as a law and order issue and dealt in military terms. The demands for political autonomy and extension of the 6th Schedule to tribal areas are perfectly legitimate and constitutional deserving appropriate democratic handling of the issues.

Tiplut Nongbri remarks that tribal institutions in themselves need not necessarily be democratic in its structure and functioning. Commenting on the Bhuria Committee Report that went into this issue Nongbri remarks that while the Committee's concern for the traditional tribal institutions is appreciable, it fails to take stock of the complexity of the situation. For notwithstanding the strong egalitarian ethos that characterized tribal societies the element of stratification is not altogether absent. Tribal political institutions are not only marked by open intolerance to women but the process of social change has also introduced sharp distortions in the system, making it difficult to identify which is traditional and which is not.

D.N. Majumdar opines that the best policy for tribes would be for their controlled (planned) and limited assimilation. By limited assimilation he implied; the need and desirability of preserving their useful institutions, customs, practices etc. though these are to be tribal in origin and character. The transcultural borrowing should be encouraged. For example, instead of forcing child marriage upon the tribal folk, Hindus should adopt the tribal practice of marrying late. It would not only improve average health but also put a check on the alarming rise in India's population.

LP Vidyarthi gave a three pronged approach - Integration, Rehabilitation (of those displaced due to development projects) and Preservation (of cultural identity and prevent it from extinction).

Xaxa - rights based approach.

Nehru added that these avenues of development should be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

- 1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and cultures.
- 2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.
- 3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- 4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions.
- 5) We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These five principles have since come to be known as Tribal Panchsheel.

Some Issues:

During the Fifth Five-Year Plan, it was felt that the benefits of state-sponsored modernization and development activities were being chiefly monopolized by the big tribes, thus the gulf between them and the other smaller tribes was widening. The need was to have special schemes for them. From the list of Scheduled Tribes, the communities which were educationally and socially backward and nearly isolated, surviving at a pre-agricultural level, and had a declining or near-constant population, were separately placed in a list of Primitive Tribes. There were 72 such communities in India in 1981. In the year 2003, 75 communities were termed as primitive. The degree of modernization amongst them is low. And their number has been less.

Attempts were made to bring the shifting cultivators or *Jhumias* down to the flat regions in Tripura. They were provided with, subsidies to arrange the basic requirements for a settled agriculture. This arrangement had proved to be a failure. However, the people who practiced subsistence economy were placed in direct competition with largely monetized economy. Thus, the Renuka Ray Committee has been very critical of this. The Dhebar Commission visited some such areas and remarked some of these attempts as 'absurd'. Thus, weaning people away from it does appear to be not the only solution. The problem in case is to be understood in the backdrop of the peoples' sociocultural and economic relations.

Apart from the cost of displacement and relocation, there is also the problem of deforestation, loss of agricultural land, environmental degradation, and marginalization of the weaker sections. These adverse effects are called the 'backwash effects.' The benefits of 'spread effects' are enjoyed by the nation at large, while it is the local population that bear the brunt of the backwash effects. In 2011, the Twelfth Five-Year Plan blandly noted that of the estimated 60 million people displaced in development projects since independence, as many as 40% were *adivasis* - not a surprise given that 90% of our coal and more than 50% of most minerals and dam sites are mainly in tribal regions.

Another problem which accentuates the situation of land scarcity and land alienation among the tribals is their growing population.

50-70% of the *adivasi* population lives in areas that are still not covered by the Fifth Schedule.

Levels of illiteracy are high, with 47% in rural areas and 21.8% in urban areas being unable to read and write. According to census 2011 literacy rate for STs is 59% compared to national average of 73%. Literacy level among ST men is at 68.5% but for women it is still below 50%.

As in other matters of agriculture the tribals also suffer from terrible inadequacies. They do not have access to credit facilities, irrigation works, etc. On the whole, in matter of planned development the tribals have been neglected.

Benami property in Tribal land - studied by Parmeshwar in West Godavari district - also work done on similar issue by NS Reddy.

The situation of tribals is also worsened by the fact that their fields have low productivity. Talking about the poor yield of land, especially in central India, Stephan Fuchs (1972) has pointed out various reasons. 'Poor stony soil, paucity of irrigation facilities and employment of

very crude techniques and implements of cultivation are some of the main reasons for the poor quality of productivity.'

Anil Aggrawal - bamboo pricing policy is against the interest of tribals.

Sengupta and **Chattopadhyay** - technology-led development has resulted in joblessness among tribals - NALCO, after automation, tribals lost their jobs.

RM Mathur - dam construction 50% tribals - women forced into prostitution, children into child labour.

BS Guha notes maladjustment in tribes as they become materialistic.

Fernandes, Xaxa - poverty, absence of schools prevents tribals from rising in the society.

Shilu Aao Committee - corruption in tribal development programmes.

Arundhati Roy - in the name of Greater Common Good, tribals had to leave their homes and were reduced to marginal and pauperized living in absence of skills to live in the 'modern world'.

Martin Oraon - study of Jamshedpur - tribals remained as manual workers.

The Forest Conservation Act, 1980 brought a basic change in the management of forest. Earlier, after clearing natural forests, the plantation of single species like teak, for meeting the needs of outside economy for timber, was accepted as scientific management of forests. But now forest is taken to mean natural forests comprising all sorts of trees, plants, creepers, etc. This new perception serves the interests of tribals. In a bid to convert ordinary forests into full-bloom natural forests and protect environment, the entry of the people has still been banned and they are being denied even their ordinary requirements from the forest. The Government gives contract to others of minor forest produces like bamboo, *tendu* leaves, *mahua*, *kusum*, *karamy* and *sal* seeds etc. This contributes to the state revenues. This is meant in a way to eliminate the middle-men who exploit the tribals. But the takeover has adversely affected the customary practices of Tribals like their weekly market. Earlier, this weekly market was a place of tribal collective activity which has been disrupted.

In times of famine, scarcity and lack of returns from agriculture the tribals used to arrange items for their basic survival from the forest. They killed small game, gathered tubers, leaves berries, etc. which helped them tide over the period of stress. The ecological link between tribal, and nature has suffered a great deal with rapid destruction of forest and by Government controls.

In many cases due processes of law have not been followed for notifying reserved forests. This has led to serious problems in Sonbhadra (U.P.), Garhchiroli (Maharashtra) and Singhbhum (Bihar). There are also disputes regarding demarcation not only between the people and the Forest Department but also between the Forest Department and the Revenue Department. In some states the problem of Forest Villages has still not been solved. At present, there is direct confrontation between the Government and the tribal people in some areas like Adilabad, Khammam and Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, South Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, Garhchiroli, Chandrapur and Nasik in Maharashtra and Singhbhum in Bihar. In many areas the forests are not out of effective control of the Forest Department. In the light of these it seems necessary to consider justifiable demands of the people and avoid superimposition of laws unilaterally as well as to check authoritarian and oppressive behaviour of the departmental officials.

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. Santal, Gond, Bhil and Munda are plough-cultivators; Rabari (Gujarat) are pastoralists; Chenchu are hunters and food-gatherers; Maler (Rajmahal Hills) are shifting cultivators like some of the tribes of the North-East.

Xaxa, Pathy, Fernandes
 rightly state how tribal
 revolts are indicative of a
 conflict ~~for~~ between the Indian
 state and its sub citizens.

It may thus be time
 to revert to policy of tribal
 isolation as Dr Vidyarthi
 rightly states that forests
 are not just an ~~ideal~~ habitat
 but a source of culture
 and identity for tribes and
 destroying them in name of
 integration will lead to emotive,
 cultural isolation of tribes!

Constitutional Safeguards:

- Under Article 15(4) special provisions are made for educational advancement of the Scheduled Tribes. These provisions are like reservation of seats and relaxation in marks in admission to educational institutions, scholarships, etc.
- Under Article 46 the State is enjoined upon to promote with special care to education and economic interests of SC and ST and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
- Articles 330 and 332 seats are reserved for SC and ST in Lok Sabha, State Vidhan Sabhas.
- Under Article 339(1) the President may at anytime appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Area and the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the State.
- Articles Of the Fundamental Rights to Equality (14, 15, 16, 17), rights against exploitation (23, 24), special rights of the tribals (15, 16, 19).
- Directive Principles of the State Policy related to the Scheduled Tribes (38, 39, 41, 43, 46, 47, 48). Article 46 which commits 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 and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."
- A provision for a minister of tribal welfare in some states (164).
- administration of the Scheduled and Tribal Areas specially with respect to land alienation and money lending (244).
- development grants to states (275).
- identification of the Scheduled Tribes (366) and reservation for tribals in legislatures, education and employment (330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339).
- Article 371 upholds customary laws, justice and socio-religious practices of tribals in some states.
- The Vth Schedule (244) tends to be protective and paternalistic. It does not recognize group rights in land and land based resources, and the customary institutions. Anyway, most of the protective provisions have remained ineffective inoperative in practice.
- The VIth Schedule veers towards self-management, ethno development, and internal self-determination through the autonomous district / regional councils with executive, legislative and judicial powers. But the scope has been severely diluted through several easy amendments. Nonetheless, the Vth Schedule alone honours the customary corporate rights over resources, cultural diversity, sustainable self-development, self-management and self-reliance of tribal people in certain regions.
- Tribal sub plan started 4th FYP onwards.

Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006:

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 was enacted to correct the "historical injustices" done to forest dwellers under the Indian Forest Act, 1927, which gave the government arbitrary power to take over forest land without proper rehabilitation and resettlement of the traditional inhabitants.

Forest Rights Act protected possession and conferred heritability of land to over 23 lakh out of 44 lakh claimants who are either specified Scheduled Tribes, or people who have lived in forests traditionally, relying on forest produce for at least 75 years prior to the cut-off year of 2005.

The rights granted under the act are:

- Title rights i.e. ownership to land that is being farmed by tribals or forest dwellers as on 13 December 2005, subject to a maximum of 4 hectares; ownership is only for land that is actually being cultivated by the concerned family as on that date, meaning that no new lands are granted.
- Use rights to minor forest produce (also including ownership), to grazing areas, to pastoralist routes, etc.
- Relief and development rights to rehabilitation in case of illegal eviction or forced displacement; and to basic amenities, subject to restrictions for forest protection.
- Forest management rights to protect forests and wildlife.
- Eligibility to get rights under the Act is confined to those who "primarily reside in forests" and who depend on forests and forest land for a livelihood. Further, either the claimant must be a member of the Scheduled Tribes scheduled in that area or must have been residing in the forest for 75 years.
- The Act provides that the gram sabha, or village assembly, will initially pass a resolution recommending whose rights to which resources should be recognized. This resolution is then screened and approved at the level of the subdivision and subsequently at the district level. The screening committees consist of three government officials and three elected members of the local body at that level.

Challenges in Implementation of FRA:

- To date, the total amount of land where rights have been recognized under the FRA is just 3.13 million hectares, mostly under claims for individual occupancy rights.
- Consent Resolutions passed by Gram Sabhas is getting forged by interested parties for land diversion.
- In certain areas Forest Right Act is not being recognized - example: Tiger Reserves.
- The concerned ministries look at the FRA as a hurdle to development, which needs to be circumvented rather than ensure its effective implementation.
- The knowledge base of tribal and forest dwelling communities is not being valued in decision-making.
- Lack of awareness and education among the tribals and forest dwellers.
- FRA is often in conflict with other laws e.g. Rights in protected areas like wildlife sanctuaries, national parks etc.
- **Saxena Committee** pointed out several problems in the implementation of FRA. Wrongful rejections of claims happen due to lack of proper enquiries made by the officials. There are allegations that 60% of the claims of tribals under the Forest Rights Act (FRA) have been rejected by the government.

PVTG:

In 1973, the **Dhebar Commission** created Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) as a separate category, who are less developed among the tribal groups. Some basic characteristics of PVTGs are:

- Mostly homogenous
- A small population
- Relatively physically isolated
- Primitive Social institutions
- Absence of written language
- Relatively simple technology and a slower rate of change

Their livelihood depends on food gathering, Non Timber Forest Produce, hunting, livestock rearing, shifting cultivation and artisan works.

Scheme for Development of Primitive Vulnerable Tribal Groups (2008):

- It identifies 75 PVTGs as the most vulnerable among the Scheduled Tribes across 17 states.
- It gives state governments flexibility in planning initiatives.
- Activities covered include housing, land distribution and development, agriculture, roads, energy, etc.
- Additional Funds are available for activities not already funded by any other Scheme of the center/state.
- A long term Conservation-cum-Development plan for five years for each PVTG to be established by States. The Scheme is funded entirely by the Central government.

Examples: Birhor (Bihar, Jharkhand, WB, Odisha), Sahariya (Rajasthan), Baigas (MP, CG), Cholanaikayan (Kerala), Koraga (Karnataka, Kerala), Irula (TN), Katkari (MH, Gujarat), Lodha (WB, Odisha), Reang (Tripura), Great Andamanese, Jarawas, Onges, Sentinelese, Shorn Pens.

De-notified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Tribes:

- During the British colonial rule, if the local government had reason to believe that a gang or a tribe had "addicted to systematic commission of non-bailable offences" then it was registered as criminal tribe under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871.
- Restrictions were imposed on their movement and adult male members of the community had to report to the police on regular intervals.
- Next came the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924. Under this act, the local government may establish reformatory schools and separate criminal tribe children from their parents and guardians and place them in such schools.
- The **Ananthsayanam Ayyangar Committee** (1949-50) gave a comprehensive report on how CTA worked throughout India.
 - It listed 116 tribes in British territories and 200 in Princely States.
 - It also recommended that the CTA be repealed and a central legislation be established that was applicable to habitual

offenders without distinction based on caste, creed and race.

- The CTA was repealed in 1949 and was replaced by the Habitual Offenders Act, 1952.
- In 2002, **Justice Venkatchaliah Commission** recommended for strengthening the programmes for economic and educational development of DNTs. It also recommended constituting a special commission to look into the needs and grievances of the DNTs.
- Consequently, a National Commission for De-notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes was constituted in 2003. It was reconstituted two years later under the chairpersonship of **Balkrishna Renke**, which submitted its report in 2008. The NCDNT report clearly recommends repealing the various HOAs.
- In March 2007, the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination said: "The so-called de-notified and nomadic people which are listed for their alleged 'criminal tendencies' under the former Criminal Tribes Act (1871), continue to be stigmatized under the Habitual Offenders...", and asked India to repeal the Habitual Offenders Act and rehabilitate the de-notified and nomadic tribes.
- The recommendation found an echo in the **Idate Commission**, constituted with the similar mandate in 2015.
- Recently Union Government has decided to form Welfare Development Board for De-notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (DNT/ NT/ SNT) communities and committee under NITI Aayog to identify them.
- Fifteen crore individuals, better known as the De-notified Tribes (DNT) of India, continue to be considered 'criminal by birth' - The repeal of the Habitual offenders Act has to be accompanied by a slew of legal reforms to address the multitude of issues De-notified Tribes communities face.
- The National Human Rights Commission has also recommended the repeal of the Habitual Offenders Act, 1952.

(iv) Social Classes in India

India goes for multiple modes of production - agrarian and tribal coexist with industrial mode of production. Thus, a study of both is needed. Middle class comes from both these structures and when they combine, it results in the structure of middle class as witnessed today.

A. Agrarian class structure

In agrarian societies, **Daniel Thorner** has identified three classes in the rural countryside in India. These he called the class of '*malik*', '*kisan*' and '*mazdur*' i.e., the proprietors who owned land, the working peasants who owned small amount of land and the labour class or *mazdurs* who did not own any land but worked on other peoples' land, without rights.

Anand Chakravarti's study of village Devisar in Rajasthan, shows how changes in the wider political system were used for social mobility.

Kathleen Gough in her article, "*Indian Peasant Uprisings*" has defined Peasants as "People who engage in agriculture or related production with primitive means and who surrender part of their produce to landlords or to agents of the State".

P2 - B 4 a. Agrarian class structure

SOCIAL CLASSES IN INDIA

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 316 to 326

Vikash Ranjan Book - Full Chapter

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 8. Andre - Pages 142 to 144, 9. Kathleen, Utsha, Neo-Marxists - Pages 146 to 153

India does not have only one sort of agricultural pursuit, hence agrarian structure varies and no uniformity exists. Homogenous agrarian class structure is difficult to find.

1. Liberal view on agrarian class structure: they emphasize on:

a. nature and form of landholding, b. right over the produce and c. kind of association with agricultural land.

Kishan Lal Sharma:

- Owner
 - Big
 - Medium
 - Small
 - Minor
 - Marginal
- Non owner
 - Tenants
 - Crop sharers
 - Labourers
 - Bonded
 - Contractual
 - Free

GD Berreman uses dryland to classify:

- Upper - 50 acres or more
- Middle - 15 to 49 acres
- Lower - less than 15 acres

Andre Beteille wrote "*Agrarian Social Structure*" - 3 classes - Owners, Controllers, Users.

2. Marxist view on agrarian class structure:

Daniel Thorner wrote "*Agrarian Prospects in India*" - visited 250 villages between 1972 to 1976 - agrarian class structure should be studied in relation to Land, Labour, Production, Returns (profit and user profit) - 4 economic factors.

	Maalik	Kisaan	Mazdoor
Land	Owner	Controller	Don't have ownership rights
Labour	Don't put labour in the process of production	Occasionally put labour in the process of production	Put labour in the process of production
Production	Production gives profit	Production gives income	Production gives livelihood
Profit	Profit is used in reinvestment	No profit	No profit
	Mostly upper caste	Mostly middle caste	Lower caste, tribes and Muslims

Hence, caste in class in India. This manifestation is seen in respective houses, clothes, lifestyles.

Kathleen Gough, Utsha Patnaik also of this school.

PC Joshi - land no longer remains just a means of production but is also a status symbol.

3. Neo - Marxist view on agrarian class structure

The Jajmani System:

The term 'Jajman' refers to the patron or recipient of specialized services and the term 'jajmani' refers to the whole relationship. In fact, the jajmani system is a system of economic, social and ritual ties among different caste groups in a village. Under this system some castes are patrons and others are serving castes. The serving castes offer their services to the landowning upper and intermediate caste and in turn are paid both in cash and kind.

The jajmani relations essentially operate at family level (Mandelbaum 1972). Jajmani rules are enforced by caste panchayats. The jajmani relationship is supposed to be and often is durable, exclusive and multiple. Jajmani tie is inherited on both sides - patron and client. Moreover, it is more than exchange of grain and money in lieu of service. On various ritual occasions, such as marriage, birth and death, the service-castes render their services to their Jajman and get gifts in addition to customary payments. In factional contests each side tries to muster the support of its Jajmani associates. Hence the jajmani system involves interdependence, reciprocity and cooperation between jati and families in villages.

But the jajmani system also possesses the elements of dominance, exploitation and conflict (Beidelman 1959 and Lewis and Bamouw 1956). There is a vast difference in exercise of power between landowning dominant patrons and poor artisans and landless labourers who serve them. The rich and powerful jajmans exploit and coerce the poor 'kamins' (client) to maintain their dominance. In fact, there is reciprocity as well as dominance in the jajmani system.

Further, it has been observed that the jajmani system has weakened over the years due to market forces, increased urban contact, migration, education and social and political awareness on the part of the service castes.

Bailey and Hardimann - Jajmani system was exploitative and used caste hierarchies to legitimize control over modes of production.

Changes in Village Power Structure and Leadership:

Marginal changes of adaptive nature have occurred in power structure and leadership in villages after gaining independence due to various factors e.g. land reforms, Panchayati Raj, parliamentary politics, development programmes and agrarian movements. According to Singh (1986), upper castes now exercise power not by traditional legitimization of their authority but through manipulation and cooption of lower caste people. The traditional power structure itself has not changed. New opportunities motivate the less powerful class to aspire for power. But their economic backwardness thwarts their desires. B.S. Cohn (1962), in his comparative study of twelve villages of India, found a close fit between land-ownership and degree of domination of groups. Now younger and literate people are found increasingly acquiring leadership role. Moreover, some regional variations also have been observed in the pattern of change in power structure in rural areas.

M.S.A. Rao (1974) identified three types of urban impact on the villages in India:

- Firstly, there are villages in which a sizable number of people have taken employment in Indian cities and even overseas towns. They send money regularly to their families, which are left behind in the villages. The money earned from the urban employment is used to build fashionable houses in their villages and invested in land and industry. Donations are also made to the establishment of educational institutions etc. All this increases the social prestige of their families. Thus the urban impact is felt by such villages even though they may not be physically situated near a city or town.
- The second kind of urban impact is seen in villages, which are situated near an industrial town. Their lands are totally or partially acquired. They receive an influx of immigrant workers, which stimulates a demand for houses and a market inside the village.
- The third type of 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, which is used for urban development. The villagers in these landless villages who get cash compensation may invest in land in far off places or in commerce or squander the money. The villagers generally seek urban employment. Those villages on the fringe of a city whose land has not yet been acquired or particularly acquired may engage in market gardening, daily farming and poultry keeping. Some may seek employment in the city and start commuting.

B. Industrial class structure

Change in Industry --> Change in Industrial Class Structure --> Change in Industrial Class Relationship --> Social Transformation

"Made in India" to "Make in India" and "Start Up India" is talking about changing industrial structure and transforming Indian culture. State has become a facilitator for enterprise. Earlier, state was super-capitalist. This transformation talks of a New India which is moving away from Old India.

P2 - B 4 b. Industrial class structure

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 10. Phases of Industrial Evolution in India - Pages 154 to 163

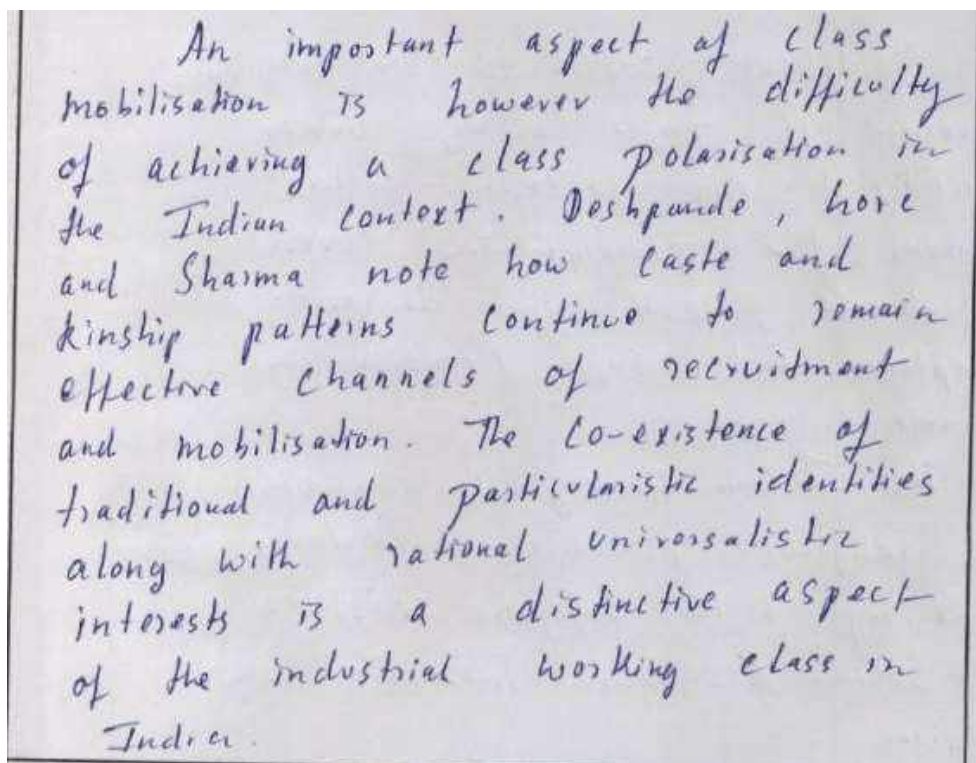
During the pre-liberalization period, organized manufacturing in the urban formal sector of India experienced "jobless growth". However, the Northern and Southern regions recorded relatively high growth of employment even during pre-liberalization. The Eastern and the Western regions experienced a fall in employment during this period in the organized manufacturing sector

Nagaraj (1994) and **Bhalotra** (1998) have laid considerable stress on the increase in man days per employee as a cause of sluggish employment growth in 1980s.

DP Mukherjee sees rise of the industrial working class as a product of 'modernization' while **AR Desai** sees it as a result of 'capitalism'.

Mary Chatterjee sees migration of workers as depending on both pull and push factors.

Shome and Mukhopadhyay note that despite a successful Green Revolution, Indian agriculture has not bloomed, leading to rise of industrial workers.



An important aspect of class mobilisation is however the difficulty of achieving a class polarisation in the Indian context. Deshpande, Gore and Sharma note how caste and kinship patterns continue to remain effective channels of recruitment and mobilisation. The co-existence of traditional and particularistic identities along with rational universalistic interests is a distinctive aspect of the industrial working class in India.

C. Middle classes in India

Frank Parkin talks of "Klass Matters" and "Dual Closure" of middle class which is self - perpetuating in character and reproduces itself and seeks nothing from upper or lower class.

P2 - B 4 c. Middle classes in India

Today around 250 million and will touch 400 million by 2030.

GH Cole noted that public school education and joint stock companies led to the rise of middle class. This is particularly true in the Indian context where the New Economic Policy of 1991 led to the surge of working class.

Ajith Sen and DL Seth state the efficacy of the Indian middle class but also warn of 'synthetic ideals' of aping the West.

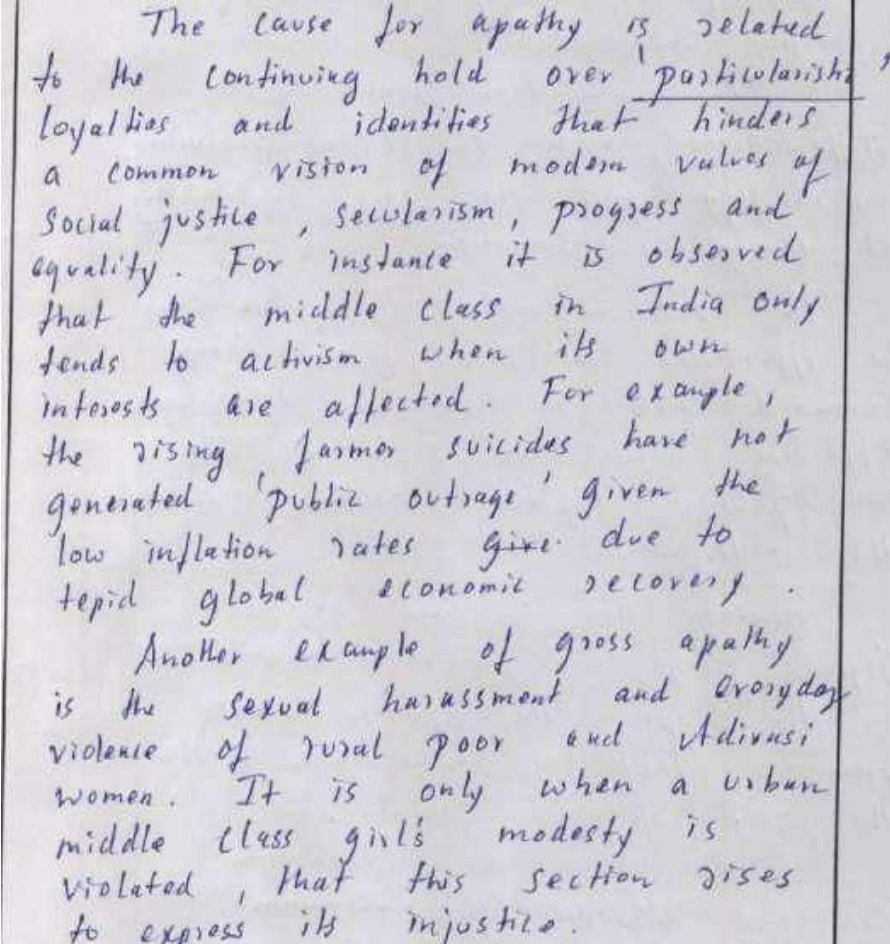
Andre Beteille - there is no one middle class in India, there are many middle classes due to India being an informal economy. Also, these middle classes are characterized by internal tensions and fissures.

TK Oommen calls them harbinger of social change through NGOs, PILS, civil society. They also act as watchdog of democracy.

The middle class occupies a structurally ambivalent position notes **Lockwood**. Yet as **Satish Deshpande** notes, the middle class exercises a disproportionate influence on ideology.

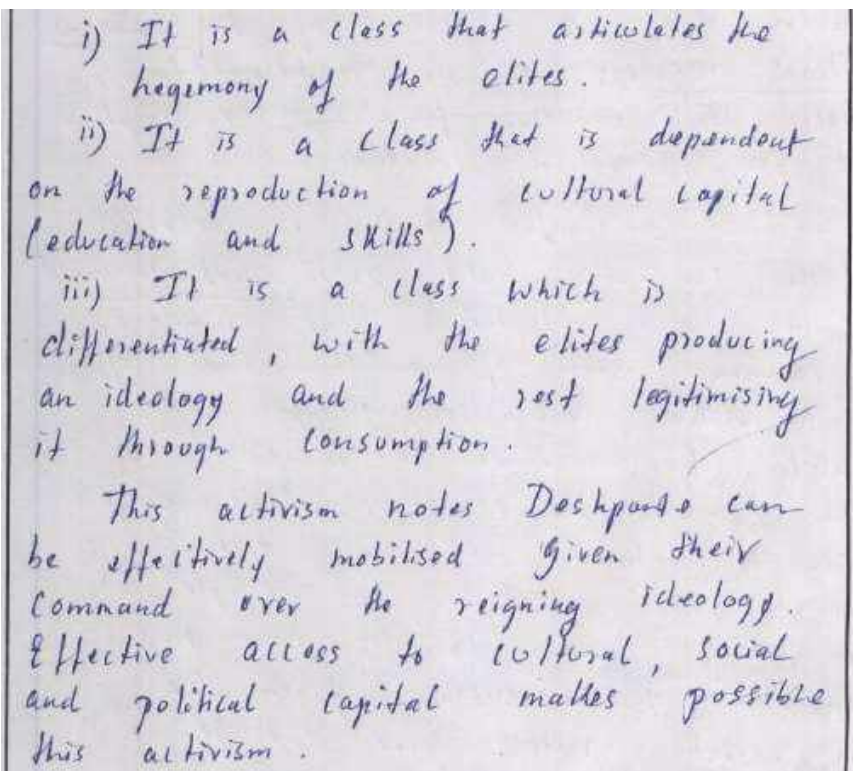
Yogendra Singh - the apathy of the middle class is a result of the narrow cultural ideology of this class, despite its modern forms of consumption and socio-structural locations.

Yuppies are no more concerned about the developmental issues of the country.



The cause for apathy is related to the continuing hold over 'particularistic' loyalties and identities that hinders a common vision of modern values of social justice, secularism, progress and equality. For instance it is observed that the middle class in India only tends to activism when its own interests are affected. For example, the rising farmer suicides have not generated 'public outrage' given the low inflation rates given due to tepid global economic recovery.

Another example of gross apathy is the sexual harassment and everyday violence of rural poor and Adivasi women. It is only when a urban middle class girl's modesty is violated, that this section rises to express its injustice.



In India, middle class was a product of colonialism:

Stage 1 - Britain educated Indians compared Indian and Western values, and initiated reforms to place India on the path to progress. Socio-religious movements - KC Sen, RRMR, IC Vidyasagar, Dayanand

Stage 2 - employment under British created modern institutions, exposure to ideas of justice and equality

Stage 3 - collective mobilization and INC

19th century middle class -> reform

20th century middle class -> independence

21st century middle class -> making of new India

If middle class is constantly expanding, probability of polarized classes rising decreases, and competitive inequality reigns in the social structure. Thus, inequality is competitive and not hierarchical. Nowhere in the world can social transformation occur without initiatives of the middle class.

Characteristics of Indian middle class:

- High priority on education
- Upholder of social values
- Concerned about other's opinions about them, self-respect, appearance
- Inculcate right values in kids
- Hospitality towards guests
- World conscious
- It attempts to impart an image of its self - informed image and is assertive of its identity
- Highly exhibitionist
- Argumentative, forward looking

Source of recruitment of Indian middle class:

- Educational revolution - in Nehru era - private schools, which after some years of successful operation became government + higher education was anyways government
- Agriculture - Green Revolution, cooperatives, enterprising farmers - educated their kids - intergenerational mobility
- Industrialization - supervisors, technicians, labour union leaders
- Dalit middle class - education, reservation - challenge social discrimination
- Tribal middle class - missionary efforts - awareness of deculturation due to government policies hence anti-POSCO, Niyamgiri
- Muslim middle class - education, no orthodoxy

Middle class as a catalyst for social change:

- Globalization led to rise of unlimited opportunities for the middle class - showcase talent, creativity
- Mobilization based on issues that affect their interests, disappear once the issue is resolved

- New Indian middle class has arose post Globalization - the Indian youth
 - Go getters
 - Risk taking
 - See any job as a stepping stone to reach final destination
 - Restless, creative, dynamic
 - Not territorially bounded, trans-national citizens
 - De-ritualized

(v) Systems of Kinship in India

A. Lineage and descent in India

D. Household dimensions of the family

Patrilineal descent system:

North:

- A boy at birth becomes a member of his descent group, and a coparcener (partner) in a joint estate. A girl, by contrast, is only a residual member of her natal group.
- Number of social practices testify to fact that a woman's only legitimate roles are of wife and mother.
- Spinsterhood and widowhood are inauspicious and unenviable conditions.
- Fairly substantial property that devolves on daughter at her marriage. However, insist that this property cannot be considered as daughter's 'inheritance', comparable to that of son, since greater portion of it is neither owned nor controlled by girl in her own right. It is really form of 'bridegroom price' - contract.

South:

- Not so markedly patriarchal as those of the north. Woman after marriage continues to have materially and psychologically important relations with members of her natal group.

Matrilineal descent system:

Empirically, you never find matrilineal systems that are an exact inverse of the patrilineal-patriarchal model. The reason - whatever the descent system, authority is usually exercised by males.

Nayars of Kerala: An Illustration

- Men resided in large and matrilineally recruited joint families, called *taravad*, along with their sisters, sister's children and sister's daughter's children.
- They visited their wives in other *taravads* at night (called 'visiting husband' system).
- Their own children resided with their mother in their mother's *taravad*.
- Bond between brother and sister was strongly emphasized, and that between husband and wife de-emphasized. Nayar women could legitimately have a number of visiting husbands (polyandry), provided they were of correct status (i.e. higher status - Namboodiri Brahmins).
- Also, Nayar men could have a number of wives (polygyny). In fact, the marital bond was so minimized among the Nayars that anthropologists have debated if Nayar society had the institution of marriage at all! Anthropologists have also cited that the Nayar system disproves the proposition that the elementary or nuclear family is a "universal" human institution.
- Nayar case is a useful one for illustrating the types of tensions that seem to be coming into matrilineal systems. They had rather unique way of coping with what anthropologists have

called 'the matrilineal puzzle'. Effectively they ensured the unity of the matrilineal at the expense of the solidarity of the marital bond between husband and wife.

Other Matrilineal Communities:

- Khasis of Assam: matrilineal in descent, inheritance, succession, practice matrilineal residence. Youngest daughter is heiress (ultimogeniture), lives in mother's house alone with husband and children. Older daughters move out of matrilineal household and make new nuclear families.
- Garos of Assam - Marriage is matrilineal for the husband of the daughter who becomes the head of the household and its manager.
- Tiyam tribe of south India is matrilineal.
- Garasia tribe of Gujarat, Toda tribe of Western Ghats are polyandrous.

P2 - B 5 a. Lineage and descent in India

SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP IN INDIA

Vikash Ranjan Book - Full Chapter

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 12. Tribal Kinship + UCC - Pages 224 to 228

Gotra = source of origin that is assumed / believed

- Brahmins from 8 rishis says Ghurye
- Kshatriya's from elements like Surya, Agni
- Non-Brahmins of South from plants, animals - Durkheim's totem

Pravar- from 'Parvarish' - descent maybe from 1 rishi, but upbringing done by many rishis.

Vansh / Kula - refer to lineage - actual connectivity can be established.

Andre Beteille - Social, occupational and kinship reproduction has happened in all sections of the Indian society.

Within the village, a group of families tracing descent from a common ancestor with knowledge of all the links constitute a lineage; and the children of the same generation behave as brothers and sisters. They form a unit for celebrating major ritual events. Sometimes the word Kul is used to describe these units. Usually these families live in closeness and a guest of one (e.g. a son-in-law) could be treated as such in all these families. These bonds of families may go back to 3 to 7 generations. People do not marry within this group. Beyond the known links, there are further connections - people know the common ancestor but are unable to trace every link. Such families use a more generic term like being "bhai-bandh" of one another. They are also exogamous. The word Gotra or clan may be used for them.

B. Types of kinship systems

C. Family and marriage in India

Adrian Mayer (1960) studied a village in Malwa and distinguished between the kindred of cooperation and kindred of recognition. The first of these is the smaller unit, where cooperation is offered and taken without formalities. The second one is a larger unit that comes together on specific occasions through information and invitation. These relations can be spread over several villages for each caste. This is why Mayer studied them within a caste and its region, a point that we need to remember in order to understand the spread of a caste/sub caste across villages and towns. This is also known as horizontal spread of the caste.

David Mandelbaum - "broadly put, in the South a family tries to strengthen existing kin ties through marriage, while in the North a family tends to affiliate with a separate set of people to whom it is not already linked".

This is witnessed in the prevalence of the rules of village exogamy and 'gotra' exogamy in the North but not in the South. In the North, nobody is permitted to marry in his/her own village. Marriage alliances are concluded with the people from other villages belonging to similar caste. But no such proscriptions exist in the South. Further, in the North one cannot marry within his/her own gotra. On the contrary, cross cousin marriage i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, is preferred in the South. Thus, there is a centrifugal tendency in North India, i.e., the direction of marriage is outward or away from the group. In contrast in South India we find a centripetal tendency in making marriage alliances and building kinship ties. In other words, marriages take place inwardly or within the group.

P2 - B 5 b. Types of kinship systems

Kinship refers to the social recognition of relations based on consanguinity and affinity.

Rajni Paliwal - Kinship is getting replaced by friendship.

Pauline Kolenda - kin based in urban areas often act as 'launch pads' for their rural kin into the urban way of life such as in education and jobs.

Ram Ahuja - gradual shift taking place from affinal and fraternal obligations to marital obligations.

Spatial Expansion of Intra-Caste Relations

Since caste endogamy is the rule, one's kin normally belong to one's caste. Intra-caste relations and other caste matters are regulated by a caste panchayat whose members belong to different villages. In pre-British India, the horizontal expansion of caste ties was limited by the political boundaries of a number of small kingdoms as well as poor roads and communication. With the unification of the country brought about by the British and the introduction of better roads and railways, cheap postage and printing, there was a rapid spread in intra-caste relations because it was easier to keep in regular touch with each other.

Caste associations were formed which worked for the welfare of caste members. Educational institutions and hostels were set up and scholarships were provided to the needy members of the caste. Each caste also worked at regulating the lifestyle of its members so that the attempt at mobility of the caste, through Sanskritization could be successful.

In the last sixty years or more, horizontal unity of the caste has increased and the strong walls erected between sub-castes have begun to crumble. This is primarily due to two factors. (i) Since numbers are important in a parliamentary democracy, horizontal unity of caste over a wide area provides a 'vote bank' that can ensure the election of a candidate from one's caste. (ii) The need to find educated life partners for one's children and the demand for dowry particularly among the higher castes has widened the endogamous circle and increased the horizontal spread of caste ties.

Thus, the village has always had ties with other villages and towns for kinship and caste purposes. This was limited in pre-British India when communication was poor and small kingdoms existed whose boundaries acted as effective barriers. The horizontal spread of caste ties greatly increased during British rule and since Independence it linked the village to a much wider area.

P2 - B 5 c. Family and marriage in India

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 15. Thinkers on Family - Pages 247 to 256

I.P.Desai (1964), S.C. Dube (1955), T.N.Madan (1965), and others argue that it is necessary to observe family as a process. They adopt developmental cycle approach to understand changes in the family structure in India. They advocate that the presence of nuclear family households should be viewed as units, which will be growing into joint families when the sons grow up and marry. The 'developmental cycle' approach implies that a family structure keeps expanding, with birth and marriage, and depleting with death and partition in a cyclical order during a period of time.

While describing the Indian joint family, S.C. Dube says that, for any married woman her parents' house use to be a sojourn place for her after marriage.

Sub-nuclear family = children in hostel for education, so only parents at home.

NSSO Data - 14% live-in relationships in India.

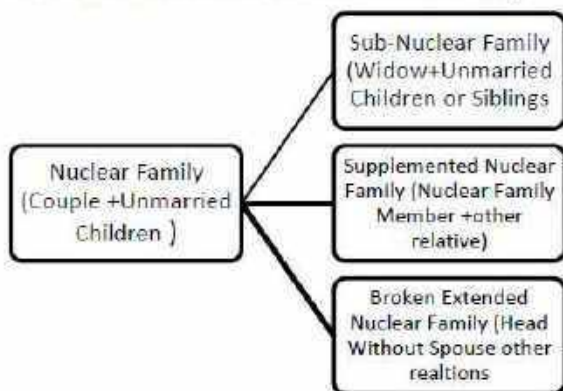
According to the 2001 census, out of 19.31 crore households, 9.98 crore or 51.7% were nuclear households. In the 2011 census, the share grew to 52.1% i.e. 12.97 crore nuclear out of 24.88 crore households.

National Family Survey - rate of separation in India is thrice that of divorce.

Sharmila Rege - child marriage is used to regulate mobility and sexuality of women.

Prem Chowdhry - extra judicial bodies like village councils and Khap panchayats have strengthened as a response to decreasing influence of caste endogamy due to modernity.

Government Classification of Nuclear Family



Prabhu - living members are trustees of ancestral property. From *pitris* to *putras*.

MS Gore - A joint family is more than a collection of nuclear families. Filial relationship is more important than conjugal relationship. Also, industrial society has mandated compact family not nuclear family. With both parents working, grandparents look after kids.

MN Srinivas study of joint family in Coorg:

- Okka - patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs.
- People who don't belong to Okka have no social existence at all.
- Membership of Okka is acquired by birth. His association with Okka does not end with death as then he becomes part of apotheosized ancestors who are believed to look after Okka. Okka has longer life than its members.
- Marital relations are forbidden between members of Okka. Leviratic unions add to strength of Okka. Leviratic + traditional + cross cousin allowed = impregnable.

Kapadia - showed in his study that majority prefer joint families. 3 grounds on which members believe joint family is desirable:

- Sharing of economic burden
- Social security
- Fosters certain desirable qualities in individuals

He also showed that migrant families retained bonds with the joint family in the village.

While Hindu marriages sacralize the contractual nature of marriages, Muslim marriages secularize the sacredness of marriage.

F Abraham - introduces the concept of family neighbours - nuclear in structure, but families stay in the same locality - jointness is retained, functionally joint.

Empirical studies show inter-regional and intra-regional variations in the distribution of family types. This is evident from the study by **Pauline Kolenda** (1967) who has made a comparative study of family structures in thirteen regions of India on the basis of 32 publications. In Uttar Pradesh, among the Thakurs of Senapur, joint families constitute 74.4 percent and nuclear families only 25.5 percent; but untouchables have 34 percent joint families and 66 percent nuclear families. In the hilly region of the state of Uttar Pradesh in Sirkanda village, where most of the population is that of Rajputs, the joint families comprise only 39 percent and there are 61 percent nuclear families. In Maharashtra, Badlapur village has 14 percent joint and 86 percent nuclear families. In Andhra Pradesh, in Shamirpet village the proportion of joint families is 18.5 percent and that of nuclear is 81.5 percent. Thus, the rural areas of the Gangetic plains have higher proportion of joint families than those in the Central India, Maharashtra, Andhra and Tamil Nadu, and joint families are more common among the upper castes and nuclear families predominate among the lower castes. Also, joint family is being strengthened by industrialization because kin can help each other in striving for upward mobility.

Villages form an integral part of the wider caste and kinship system. **Oscar Lewis** (1955), who made a study of a north Indian village, points out that Rani Khera, like other villages in north India, is basically a part of a larger inter-village network based upon kinship ties. "Other villagers are very often relatives, and entire villages are classified by the kinship terminology as mother's brother's village, grandfather's village, grandmother's village, etc."

In the case of a U.P. village Kishan Garhi, **Mckim Marriott** (1955) 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. Daughters of the village moved out and wives of the village moved in at marriage, moving to and from more than three hundred other villages. At the time, he made the study, he found that fifty seven marriages connected Kishan Garhi with sixteen towns and cities. Half of the marriage ties of groups in Kishan Garhi connected them with places more than fourteen miles away, while 5 percent connected them with places more than forty miles distant.

✓ Milton Singer in his study 'The Indian Joint family in Modern Industry'. He points out that joint family remains the norm for many entrepreneurs with even people from villages moving in to join the family business.

- decline in perception of marriage as a necessary milestone in life as indicated by R. Palihwala.
- Increasing trend of inter-caste, inter-religious & love marriages out of love & mutual consent.
- Increased exhibitionism in Indian marriages as indicated by Deepankar Gupta.
- ^{in marriage} Modern increased magnitude of dowry as indicated by Srinivas Patnank due to greater commodification of women caused by modernisation/globalisation.

Paradoxically, joint family is both too broad and too narrow. Too broad as it restrains and restricts the individual, especially women. Too narrow as it limits the range of individual's social relations and loyalties and obstructs national unity and effort. Also, appear to encourage high birth rate - additional members, preserve traditions, to perform religious rites.

Endogamy: A social institution that defines the boundary of a social or kin group within which marriage relations are permissible; marriage outside this defined groups are prohibited. The most common example is caste endogamy, where marriage may only take place with a member of the same caste.

Exogamy: A social institution that defines the boundary of a social or kin group with which or within which marriage relations are prohibited; marriages must be contracted outside these prohibited groups. Common examples include prohibition of marriage with blood relatives (sapind exogamy), members of the same lineage (sagotra exogamy), or residents of the same village or region (village / region exogamy).

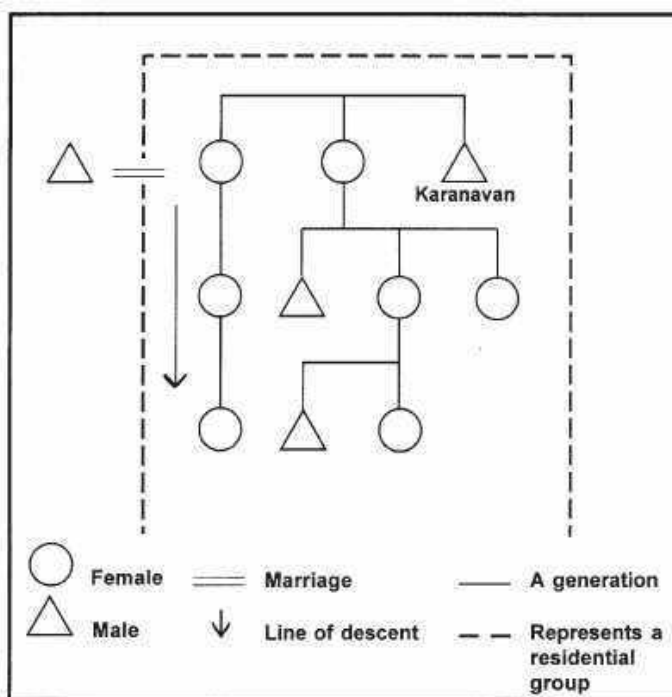


Fig. 20.2: A Tharavad

P2 - B 5 d. Household dimensions of the family

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 16. Household dimensions of the family - Pages 257 to 260

Feminists have criticized household studies for not taking into account the unequal power relationships within the family and only focussing on the empirical perspective. Women have better position in a live-in-relationship vis-a-vis marriage based family says Patricia Uberoi.

Pauline Kolenda finds 12 types of households in India.

Census 2011 report says that 'household' should replace 'family' as a unit of enumeration.

The concept of household has been analysed in detail owing to its increasing importance due to industrialisation and urbanisation. Current conclusions drawn from a study by L. Vitoria are as follows.

- ① size of households is declining due to space constraints and high cost of living
- ② nuclear households are predominant variety however functional jointness is retained
- ③ institutional households are on the rise especially old age homes and hostels.

④ households and not family has become the basic classificatory unit (at least in urban areas) for research purposes.

⑤ single family (even nuclear) might have two households - eg. of commuter or living-apart-together families, where both husband and wife live in different cities due to job factors.

⑥ while nuclear households predominate numerically in urban areas, joint household still predominate in rural areas.

Households perform many, though not all, functions of a family. Family and household might overlap, but not necessarily so. These two concept are analytically distinct. Family is closely linked with marriage, household per se, is not. It is a mere residential unit.

E. Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour

Rising female education levels, yet decline in female labour force participation is being seen in India.

P2 - B 5 e. Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 18. Patriarchy - Pages 271 to 273

Tim Besley argued that men participation in workforce less from middle class than that from upper class lower class in India.

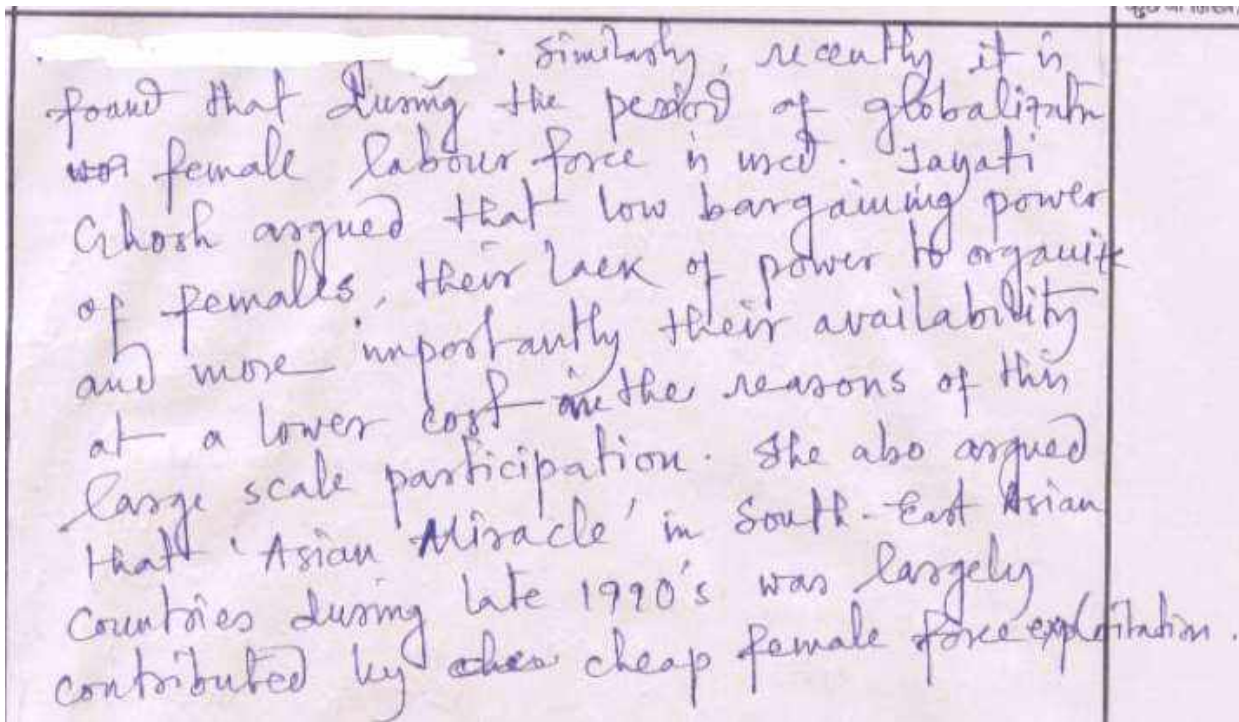
Sharmila Rege - upper caste women are denied mobility and lower caste women are exposed to public forms of violence in agricultural fields and beyond.

Urvashi Butalia - women are socialized in such a way that it becomes the biggest impediment in their empowerment.

Jennifer Sommerville - rising level of economic independence among women has reduced their need for a husband.

Leela Visaria talks of "internalization of patriarchal ideology."

Anvita Gupta states that the women workers do not have a choice to work, or not to work, due to desire need of income. The limited opportunities available to women are mostly low paid, low-status jobs in the informal sector; jobs which do not have any possibilities of betterment, advancement of efficiency or training, to enable them to enter better jobs at a later stage.



Similarly, recently it is found that during the period of globalization ~~was~~ female labour force is used. Jayati Ghosh argued that low bargaining power of females, their lack of power to organize and more importantly their availability at a lower cost are the reasons of this large scale participation. She also argued that 'Asian Miracle' in South-East Asian countries during late 1990's was largely contributed by ~~also~~ cheap female force exploitation.

Another key socio-cultural determinant are traditional notions of property rights and access to land, based on gendered notions. Bina Agrawal and Ursula Sharma observe such socio-cultural notions to feed into deciding distribution of resources, and property relations. The political economy of village exogamy and patriliny is noted to deny women their rightful stake. This economic dependence on men sanctions and maintains a gender division of labour.

The genesis of such attitudes are families, where expressive and nurturing functions are assigned to women regarded as natural and normal. Leonard and Delphy note, the unpaid and underpaid labour performed by women within social contexts of kinship networks to place them at a structural disadvantage.

The limited access to resources such as land and property, notes Bina Agrawal creates economic dependence, robbing women of their agency.

LUKMAAN IAS

...Lead with Edge...

उम्मीदवारों को इस
कॉपी में नहीं
लिखना चाहिए।
Candidates
must not
write on
this margin.

- Q3. (b) क्या आपको लगता है कि 21 वीं सदी में भी पितृसत्ता एक सार्वभौमिक घटना है? भारत में इसके कारणों और अधिक प्रबलता की चर्चा करें।

Do you think patriarchy is a universal phenomena even in the 21st century. Discuss the causes and its more intensity in India. 20

According to Sylvia Walby, patriarchy is that system of insubordination of women that involves —

- (i) male privilege.
- (ii) male authority.

To elaborate —

① Robin & Fox found patriarchy to be universal in the society due to historical reasons and social convenience.

② RIP Murdoch in his study of 150 family-systems worldwide also found patriarchy to be universal.

③ Robin & Fox argue it is partly due to human bio-grammar as females are naturally meant for bearing children.

④ Ann Oakley criticises this by saying the ideas of bio-grammar are socially-constructed.

Thus, patriarchy is universal in the 21st century although it is being criticised by modern feminists.

• Nancy Warstock recommends Feminist-Standpoint Theory to identify patriarchal manifestations in modern society.

In India, its causes and sources of intensity are-

① Uma Chakaravarti blames patriarchal Brahmanism allows religious/cultural oppression of women.

② Kamala Bhosla says western

LUKMAAN IAS

...Lead with Edge...

capitalism has intensified patriarchy in India;

③ the Bhaskar also says it has led to increased commodification of women.

④ Hirshree Pattnaik sees feminisation of poverty as reinforcing patriarchy as women are rendered penniless and hence powerless.

⑤ Patricia Uberoi blames traditional family structure as the perpetrator of patriarchy in India.

Aravindi Karve suggests women need more power and not equal power to combat the yoke of patriarchy in India and liberate themselves.

12 ✓
A) you have to write in vertical ✓
B) you have to write in vertical ✓

उम्मीदवारों को इस कक्ष में नहीं लिखना चाहिए।
Candidates must not write on this margin.

(vi) Religion and Society

A. Religious communities in India

The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines minority as a group of people differentiated from others in the same society of race, nationality, religion or language, who think of themselves as differentiated group with negative connotation. The Supreme Court and various High Courts have depended on the statistical criterion. Any community that does not constitute 50% in a state is called a minority.

Minority group refers to any recognizable racial, religious, or ethnic group in a community that suffers from some disadvantage due to prejudice or discrimination. They think of themselves, and are thought of by others, as being separate and distinct. It is a concept that goes well beyond numbers. It encompasses issues of power, access to resources and has social and cultural dimensions. The Constitution recognized that the culture of majority influences the way in which society and government might express themselves. In such cases, size can be a disadvantage and lead to marginalization. Thus, safeguards are needed to protect minorities against the possibility of being culturally dominated by the majority, and against any discrimination or disadvantage they may face.

P2 - B 6 a. Religious communities in India

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

G.S.Ghurye (1967) thought that the Mahabharata contained the essence of the Indian Society, that Sanskrit language was its clearest medium, and the brahmins the carriers of such a tradition. In *Caste, Class and Occupation* he has traced the nature of the caste as it emerged through the Ages.

Irawati Karve carried forward the analysis of Kinship Organization in India from the Mahabharata days till the middle of the 20th century to trace continuities and modifications in the kinship organization linking them to their regional spread. Folk tales and dramatic presentations and to the Sanskrit sources where they made sense.

The Census Commissioner of India 1931, **J.H.Hutton** in his work *Caste in India* examined the pre-Aryan influences on the Hindu Social order and opined that the incorporation of tribal deities within the Hindu fold was best exemplified in Shiva being made of a part of the trinity, Later scholars have indicated how the Buddha was given the status of an Avtar within the Hindu cosmology.

Milton Singer examined Krishna Leela observations in the city of Madras to see how the place and time of performance have become open or secular with theatre as a place, and any time of the year as a recreation programme.

M.N. Srinivas in his study of a Coorg village observes that the festivals of village deities include a village-dance, collective hunt and a dinner for the entire village. The collective dinner, in which the entire village participates, is called 'urome' (village-harmony).

Animism - amongst the Hos of Singhbhum, Bihar, there exists a similar kind of religious belief which **Majumdar** has called 'Bongaism'. These people believe in the concept of 'bonga' which resides in trees, natural objects and sometimes in manmade articles like bicycles, etc. It is the manifestation of a vague supernatural power which is, according to believers, the cause of all energy.

Ranji Ram observes that 'Ravidass Sects' in several Dalit villages of Punjab are being used to assert a separate religious identity and mobilize Dalits for political assertions. In this we are a witness to 'sects' being emancipators of the marginalized communities.

B. Problems of religious minorities

Prejudice refers to a 'prejudged' attitude towards members of another group. Discrimination, on the other hand, refers to an action against other people on the grounds of their group membership. It involves the refusal to grant members of another group the opportunities that would be granted to similarly qualified members of one's group.

In general, lack of distributive justice, differential accessibility to resources and cultural differences have been considered the main causes of minority problems.

- Problem of Preserving distinct Social and Cultural Life
- Problem of Providing Protection
- Problem of Communal Tensions and Riots
- Problem of Lack of Representation in Civil Service and Politics
- Problem of Separatism
- Failure to Stick on Strictly to Secularism
- Problems related to Language
- Problems related to Religion
- Problems related to Family and Marriage
- Problems related to General Life
- Problems of Anomie

On the practical level the government has not been able to keep aloof from various religious matters and conflicts. Some leaders of religious communities have openly declared that their religion is comprehensive and includes the social, religious and political aspects in its fold. Thus, they cannot keep politics out of it.

P2 - B 6 b. Problems of religious minorities

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - 15 Point Programme, All Articles - Pages 125 to 128, Cases - Pages 130, 131

Arnold Rose, defines minority 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. Further, they are relatively lacking in power and hence are subjected to certain exclusions, discrimination and other differential treatments'.

Jagnath Pathy, has also listed out the defining properties of minority group, they being; a) subordinate in some way to the majority b) distinguishable from the majority on the basis of cultural or physical features c) collectively being regarded and treated as different and inferior on the basis of these features d) excluded from the full participation in the life of society.

RELIGION	MUSLIM	SIKH	CHRISTIAN	BUDDHIST	JAIN	PARSI
Population	13.4%	1.9%	2.3%	0.8%	0.4%	0.6
literacy	59.1%	69.4%	80.3%	72.7%	94.1	97.9%
Literacy Gap	17.5	12.8		21.4	6.8	
Sex Ratio	936	893	1009	953	950	1050
Child sex ex-Ratio	925	786	964	942	870	976

T.N. Madan, 'Secularism in its Place' says that secularism and Indian culture are mismatched due to two reasons.

- He said the mainstream Enlightenment view was that religion is irrational. If secularism wants to remove religion from Indian public life and culture, this will not happen.
- Secondly, Madan says that no religion would go away on eviction. In fact there will be a strong cultural resistance if religion is forcibly evicted.

He also says that religious pluralism is a living reality for the folk tradition since time immemorial. Also, while Constitution promises secularism, there remains difference between ideology and practice.

He calls religious fundamentalism as a contra-aculturative response to modernization, in which the cognitive component is rejected, but the non-cognitive component is accepted. Example: ISIS uses modern weapons.

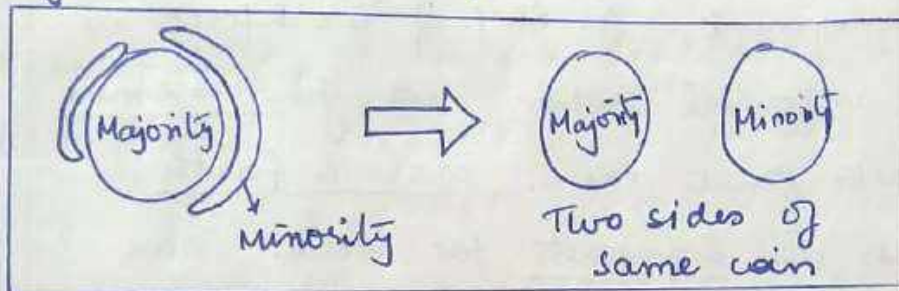
Nehru did not adopt the forcible eviction model of Turkey but Nehruvian ideologues tried to use state institutions for attaining secular objectives. They failed and some of the responsibility for the eruption of religious bigotry and communal violence must be laid at their door. He also said that the strength of a country lies in not what the majority thinks, but in how the minority feels.

India Ramchandra Guba says that 'religion along with ~~the~~ caste and language is one of the disparities in India'. However, India is one of those unique nations which harbours tremendous diversities and still believes in peaceful co-existence. (Religious Pluralism is well manifested in India).

Paul Brass believes that communal riots are now orchestrated events and these are vested interests actively supporting and instigating cultural and religious differences among people. He opines that there are vested political interests in polarizing the society on religious grounds. Polarized voters tend to form 'assured vote-banks' for political parties. This polarization is driven by their insecurity.

One of the characteristics, which according to T.N. Madan differentiates Religious Fundamentalism from religious revivalism is that fundamentalists are interested in accessing political-power for reconstruction of society, while political power is not sought after by religious revivalists.

(-) Rajiv Bhargava argues that Majority sees its own cultural values at the core and relegates the minority values to periphery, ^{but} rather they are two sides of same coin



(-) This causes suppression of values and cultural traditions.

Secularism:

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. In ideological terms it is not a system of beliefs and practices that is to be mixed with political ideology, with a view to wooing any particular community into the voting booth. By and large, secularism separates religion and polity. It endorses the view that there should be provided equal opportunities by the state to all the communities. Further, for secularists all religious beliefs are to be approached rationally and finally social life is to be approached in an equalitarian manner.

Further the term secularism refers to the ideas opposed to religious education. It has been linked to the 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. This transference is full of problems and cannot be conceived in terms of a smooth process.

Rajeev Bhargava - in India, constitutional secularism has been replaced by party-politics secularism. Also, Indian secularism is not based on separation from religion, but principled distance between religion and politics.

Gunnar Myrdal - Indian 'soft state' has failed to promote value modernity. Also failed to promote rule of law, secularism.

While Ashis Nandy calls secularism a modernising project of state and is pessimistic, Rajiv Bhargava posits that without imposing it as an ideology, secularism must come from within in form of "Inclusive Nationalism".

Dipankar Gupta asserts the difference between hierarchy and differences. Differences notes Gupta are not value-laden in the sense that they are non-competitive and can coexist in a state of harmony. On the other hand hierarchisation creates social tension

and competition, given the relations of superordination and subordination.

Pluralism like differences makes national unity an achievable goal. However problems arise when differences are politically usurped, with artificial meanings imposed on them.

Muslims: Both in UP and AP, where the Muslim feudal class was strong, they faced economic ruination with abolition of Nizam's estate on the one hand, and on the other, change in mode of production.

2005 - Sachar committee - examined the social, economic and educational status of the Muslims in India - three problems are identity, security and equity.

Ghaus Ansari in his pioneering study on caste and social stratification among the north Indian Muslims places Muslim castes into 3 categories: Ashraf, Ajlaf and Arzal. Ashraf includes the Muslim nobility that claims to be the descendants of early Muslim immigrants, either Saiyyad, Shaikh, Mughal or Pathan and may also include descendants of higher Hindu castes such as Muslim Rajputs. Even in this category, Saiyyad occupies the highest rung in the status hierarchy. In the category of Ajlaf (mean or commoner) clean occupational castes are included such as weaver, tailor, meat seller, barber, vegetable vendor, singers, bangle makers etc. while in the third category of Arzal (literally the meanest) the unclean or ritually polluting castes such as Bhangi or Mehter (sweepers and scavengers) are included.

Pasmanda Muslim Mahaz - 'Pasmanda', a Persian term meaning "those who have fallen behind," refers to Muslims belonging to the *shudra* (backward) and *ati-shudra* (Dalit) castes - minority politics has singularly failed to address the bread-and-butter concerns of the pasmanda Muslims, who constitute about 85 per cent of the Indian Muslim population and come primarily from occupational and service biradaris - pasmanda slogan '*Dalit-Pichda ek saman, Hindu ho ya Musalman*'

Muslims are the most uneducated community with a literacy rate of only 49%. However their sex ratio of ~~89~~ 951 is higher than national value of 940. V.V. Singh in his book Communalism in India, says Muslims live in ghettos for the fear of persecution and a sense of security. The minority consciousness in Muslims is largely due to economic deprivation. Bipin Chandra in his book 'Communalism in Modern India' notes that partition aggravated situation of poor Muslims. The trust deficit prevents them from joining mainstream projects resulting in economic backwardness. The theological ulemas preach tradition over technology leading to lack of employable skills among Muslim youths. Among Muslims, Ashrafs are the well-to-do with land and resources while Azab are working class and Arsal are considered Dalit connects and most vulnerable to radicalism.

Sikhs:

- Service formula - established numerical proportions of Hindus and Sikhs in the bureaucracy of the Punjab government
- Parity formula - number of Sikhs and Hindus in the ministry would be equal
- Sachar formula - provides details for the teaching of Punjabi and Hindi in different areas of Punjab

Christians: A Lucknow study showed, after independence, Christians of that city had the lowest per capita income of the ten communities.

Gail Omvedt - Dalit Christians face double discrimination.

According to **K.L. Sharma** the literacy rate among the Parsis, Jains, Jews and Christians is higher than others. With the exception of the Christians all of them are involved in trade and business.

SOCIAL CHANGES IN INDIA

(i) Visions of Social Change in India

A. Idea of development planning and mixed economy

Planning is commitment to concentrated actions. It is adjustment of social institutions to new social, economic and political conditions. It is not necessarily rational because it is not always guided by reliable scientific information.

A planned economy is an economic system in which decisions about production, allocation and consumption of goods and services is planned ahead of time, in either centralized or decentralized fashion. Planned economies are also known as command economies.

Planning aims at:

- Change in social organization
- Community welfare like improving educational facilities, increasing employment opportunities, doing away with evil social practices
- Prior determination of objectives and proclamation of values
- Concreteness, that is, laying down concrete details of its subject-matter
- Co-ordination of diversified skills and diversified professional training

For the success of a plan, it is necessary that:

- plan must stem from the people themselves
- people's participation is extremely necessary
- initiative for implementing the plan is to be taken not by the planners but by the activists in different walks of life
- priorities have to be decided in advance
- Arbitration in decision-making must be by a person who has technical knowledge and is a trained professional because he has the capability of visualizing alternative solutions

Economic planning was advocated by M. Visveswaraya in the 1940s in India. The Indian National Congress appointed a National Planning Committee on the eve of the Second World War (1938-39) to frame an all India plan. But it was the Bombay Plan (known as Tata Birla Plan) which made people planning conscious in India. In 1944, the Department of Planning and Development was also created. Planning sought to convert political democracy into socio-economic democracy and resolve the contradictions of an unequal society.

The Planning Commission was set up to:

- Make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country
- Plan balanced and effective utilization of the country's resources
- Determine priorities of development and define stages of growth, suggest resource allocation
- Identify factors which retard economic development

- Determine conditions necessary for the successful execution of the plan
- To determine the nature of machinery required for implementation of each stage of the plan
- To appraise periodically the progress
- Assess the progress achieved from time to time and recommend readjustment
- To make recommendations for its own effective working and necessary changes, if any

P2 - C 1 a. Idea of development planning and mixed economy

SOCIAL CHANGES IN INDIA

VISIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 155 to 158 - Planning Stages, Implications
Mohapatra Notebook 6 - Pages 1 to 15 - 19. Planning Models, Stages

Planning -----> Developmental Growth -----> Social Change

Economics of planning = resource allocation, GDP, GVA, etc.

Sociology of planning = ideology of State, which defines the direction of planning policies - example: USSR government focussed on equal distribution of benefits, USA government on creation of opportunities.

Planning establishes coordination among different sectors of the society. It facilitates optimum utilization of resources. Reduces social tension by equitable distribution of resources.

In India, we now need a long term vision for higher capital utilization to ensure competitive inequality over absolute inequality. - NITI

B. Constitution, law and social change

A distinction is made between direct and indirect aspects of law in social change. In many cases law interacts directly with social institutions and brings about obvious changes. For instance, a law prohibiting polygamy has a direct influence on society. It alters the behaviour of individuals.

On the other hand, laws play an indirect role also by shaping various social institutions which in turn have a direct impact of society. The most appropriate example is the system of compulsory education which enables the functioning of educational institutions, which in turn leads of social change.

However, such a distinction is not absolute but a relative one. Sometime, emphasis is on the direct aspect and less on the indirect impact of social change, while in other cases the opposite may be true.

There is another way of examining the role of law in social change:

Law redefines the normative order and creates the possibility of new forms of social institutions. It provides formal facilities and extends rights to Individuals. In India, for example, law against untouchability has not only prohibited the inhuman practice but has also given formal rights to those who suffered from such disabilities to protest against it. In this sense, law not only codifies certain customs and morals, but also modifies the behaviour and values existing in a particular society.

Thus, law entails two interrelated processes: the institutionalization and the internalization of patterns of behaviour. Institutionalization of a pattern of behaviour means the creation of norms with provisions for its enforcement. Internalization of patterns of behaviour, on the other hand, means the incorporation and acceptance of values implicit in a law. When the institutionalization process is successful, it in turn facilitates the internalization of attitudes and beliefs.

P2 - C 1 b. Constitution, law and social change

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 159 to 161 - All Laws

Mohapatra Notebook 5 - 11. Sociology of Law - Pages 210 to 212, 12. Secularism - Pages 218 to 227, 13. Justice - Pages 231 to 234

Income redistribution, nationalization of industries, land reforms and provision of free education are examples of the effectiveness of law to initiate change.

During the British rule, a continuous rationalization of law was introduced by codification of customary law. It increased the separation of law from religion.

When law fails to reform itself corresponding to changing needs of people, then dynamic society changes itself, making law irrelevant. The relationship between law and society is not always symmetrical and integrative, it can also be dialectic and dynamic.

Example: Anna movement, LGBT movement

Andre Beteille - Law may define in which direction society ought to move, but ultimately it is people who will decide in which direction society will actually move.

Hence, laws should be developed on the basis of society's adaptability to it, rather than borrowing from outside.

SN Eisenstadt - multiple modernities.

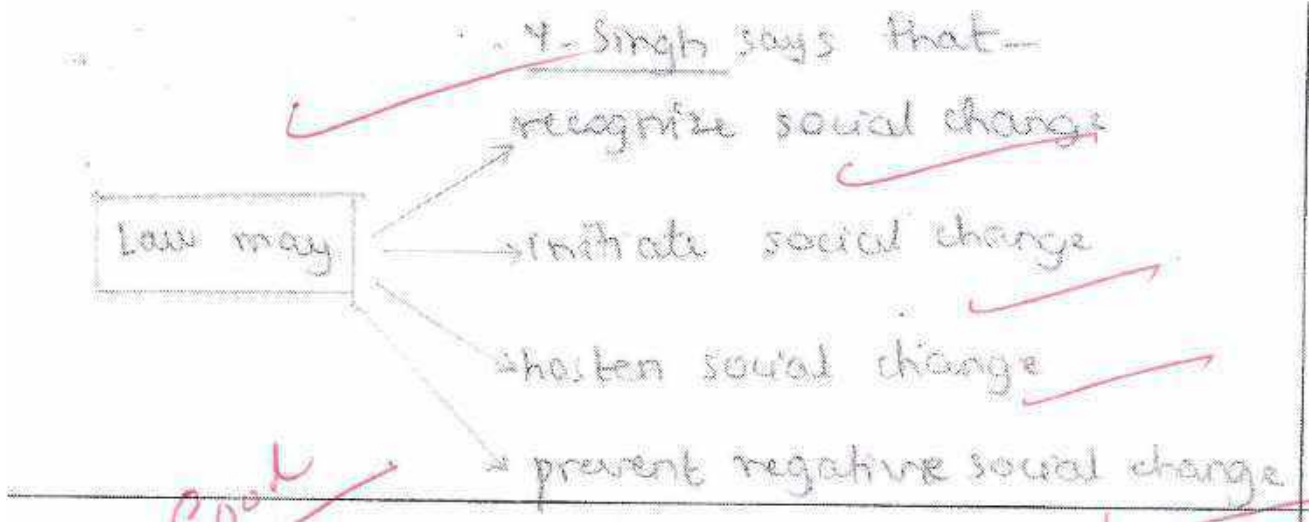
KL Sharma - Structural inconsistencies in India as there is bureaucracy without universalism, legislation without rule of law and democratization without education.

State gives liberty in society and so, individuals enjoy their freedom. State puts boundation on citizens' choice and then gives liberty so that the citizen can enjoy limited freedom.

India got political democracy, but no social democracy yet. Democracy is becoming stronger without democratic participation.

As Yogendra Singh so succinctly put it, law has three functions; as an

- as an indicator of social change ✓
- as an initiator of social change ✓
- as an integrator of social change ✓



Andre Beteille and Deshpande believe that the Indian Constitution talks about the 'ideal reality' (as it should be) and not the 'lived reality' (as it is). That's why, Deshpande says, despite Scheduled Caste Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, Dalits are ~~are~~ being humiliated and their dignity violated even in present India (Una incident in Gujarat).

Yogendra Singh observes the Constitution to be the mother of all laws in it espousing a pattern of social change. This is referred to as a 'civil revolution' as against a 'social revolution'.

C. Education and social change

Education is an important instrument of modernization. Modern values in social, economic and political spheres have to be instilled in the minds of people to achieve the goal of modernization. Values such as equality, liberty, scientific temper, humanism and ideas against blind faith pave the way for modernization. This task can be effectively performed by education.

Universal access, universal retention and universal achievement - universalization of education.

P2 - C 1 c. Education and social change

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 164, 165 - Critique

Initially, the British rulers supported traditional schools and encouraged their expansion and growth. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonial policy changed and a decision was taken to introduce European literature and science in India.

According to one estimate in 1881-82, 1 in 10 boys and 1 in 250 girls between the ages of 5 and 12 years attended schools. About 90 per cent of the populations were illiterate even in the early part of the twentieth century. At independence only about 14 percent of the country's population were literate.

In 1951, we had a literacy rate of 18.3 per cent which went up to 52.2 per cent in the 1991 census. The rate of literacy, according to the 2001 census, was 65.38 per cent. 2011 - 74%

Jean Dreze notes how caste disabilities, gendered parenting, poverty can be impediments to education. By impeding equitable access, education may thus exacerbate inequality and strengthen the position of the elites.

Coomaraswamy says education is required to bring religious tolerance.

(ii) Rural and Agrarian Transformation in India

A. Programmes of rural development, Community Development Programme, cooperatives, poverty alleviation schemes

20 Point Programme: Launched for reducing poverty and economic exploitation and for the uplift of the weaker sections of society. The important goals were: controlling inflation, giving impetus to production, welfare of the rural population, lending help to the urban middle classes and controlling social crimes.

The programmes included in the 20-point programme were: increase in irrigational facilities, increase in programmes for rural employment, distribution of surplus land, minimum wages to landless labourers, rehabilitation of bonded labour, uplift of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, growth of housing facilities, increasing power production, formulating new programmes of family planning, tree plantation, extension of primary health facilities, programmes for the welfare of the women and children, making primary education measures more effective, strengthening of public distribution system, simplification of industrial policies, control of black money, betterment of drinking water facilities and developing internal resources.

The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was launched in 1982. This programme considers a household as the basic unit of development. The aim of the IRDP is to see that a minimum stipulated number of families are enabled to cross the poverty line within the limits of a given investment and in a given time-frame. It sought to enable selected families to cross the poverty line by taking up self-employment ventures in a variety of activities like agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry in the primary sector, weaving and handicrafts in the secondary sector and service and business activities in the tertiary sector.

The scheme called Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment was started in 1979 to provide technical skills to the rural youth to enable them to seek employment in the fields of agriculture, industry, services and business activities. On completion of training, TRYSEM beneficiaries are assisted under the IRDP.

The National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) was planned for creating additional employment opportunities in the rural areas with the help of surplus food grains. Initially, this programme was called Food for Work Programme (FWP). Under this scheme, millions of man days of employment were created every year by utilizing lakhs of tons of food grains. The works undertaken were flood protection, maintenance of existing roads, construction of new link roads, improvement of irrigation facilities, construction of panchayat *ghats*, school buildings, medical and health centers and improvement of sanitation conditions in the rural areas. This programme was then merged with Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, which later became MGNREGA.

Critique:

- Policies are guided by ideologies of politicians and bureaucrats' whims rather than by compulsions of the ground realities and requirements of the rural people, with the result that the dimensions of rural economy are ignored.
- Since every programme is launched often with an eye to the next election, the programme is carried out in a piecemeal fashion and many programmes thus wither away after some time.

- Programmes are designed in such a way that they are in fact imposed on the rural economy without taking into accounting their unique vocational patterns and local requirements. Consequently, the assets created are not durable.
- Programmes focus more on the agricultural sector. Rural industrialization seems to be getting nowhere near the attention that it deserves.
- The fruits of these schemes, have not reached the poorest in all parts of the country. Water resources, credit, subsidy and other facilities have been usurped by a handful of big farmers and the medium and poor farmers have to buy these things at a much higher price.
- There is no coordination among various programmes.
- Planning by itself is not enough. What really matters is sincere and honest efforts on the part of the implementing agencies to make anti-poverty drive a big success.

P2 - C 2 a. Programmes of rural development, Community Development Programme, cooperatives, poverty alleviation schemes

RURAL AND AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN INDIA

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Phases of Rural Development + CDP - Pages 166 to 172, Cooperatives - Pages 183 to 190
Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 24. Thinkers on CDP - Pages 26 to 28, 25. Thinkers on Cooperatives - Pages 33 to 37, 29. Thinkers on Poverty - Pages 75, 76

Sharad Joshi - new rural middle class emerged which aspired for better deals for rural India and complained about the divide between India and Bharat.

Community Development Programme:

CDP implies development for all, through collective participation. Initiated by people for their own interest gratification and overall welfare. **Gandhi**'s *sevagrams* and *sevashrams* had this concept. People produced own food, house, clothes. Symbiotic relationship with nature and lived a life of self-reliance. **Tagore**'s Shantiniketan also based on similar model. Dignity of labour.

MGNREGA:

- Adult members of a rural household who are willing to do unskilled manual work may apply for registration to the local Gram Panchayat, in writing, or orally.
- The Gram Panchayat after the verification will issue a Job Card.
- The Gram Panchayat will issue a dated receipt of the written application for employment, against which are guarantee of providing employment within 15 days. If employment is not provided within 15 days, daily unemployment allowance, in cash has to be paid. Liability of payment of unemployment allowance is of the States.
- Work should ordinarily be provided within 5 km radius of the village or else extra wages of 10% are payable.
- Wages are to be paid according to minimum wages. Disbursement of wages has to be done on weekly basis and not beyond a fortnight.
- At least one-third of persons to whom work is allotted, work have to be women.
- At least 50% of works have to be allotted to Gram Panchayats, for execution.
- A 60-40 wage and material ratio has to be contained. Contractors and use of labour, displacing machinery is prohibited.
- Social Adult has to be done by the Gram Sabha.

Jean Dreze - poverty reduced by 30% due to MGNREGA.

Central funds in schemes are many times diverted for other purposes. For example, one study has revealed that money sanctioned by the central government for new irrigation wells in Nalgonda district in Andhra Pradesh were swindled and not a single well was sunk (as shown in the Shyam Benegal's Film *Well Done Abba*).

(d) The CDP was started in 1950s with the objective of rural development through experience sharing and expertise building in agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation and the like. 300 cluster villages were divided in 3 clusters with 5 groups in each cluster having 20 villages.

However Balwant Rai Mehta noted that the scheme failed due to lukewarm public participation. sc Dube says it made caste system more pervasive. Coal Taylor called it an ill-organised scheme due to top to bottom approach.

Cooperatives:

There are at present 5.04 lakh cooperative societies of different type with a membership of 22 Crores, covering 100 percent villages and 67 percent rural households.

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. Cooperative process, market and distribute 50% of the edible oil. Dairy cooperative operating under the leadership of the National Dairy Development Board and through 15 state cooperative milk marketing federations as now become the largest producer of milk.

- Consumer cooperatives - example: Kendriya Bhandar
- Credit cooperatives
- Agriculture cooperatives - spice, cotton, rubber, seeds, fertilizer, dairy, poultry, sugar, food processing
- Industrial cooperatives - textile, pharma, hospitals, educational institutions
- Housing cooperatives
- Sand mining and marble cooperatives

AMUL - Shanti George's "Operation Flood" - led to women empowerment, domestic violence reduced, education of children encouraged, household assets were built, families experienced upward mobility.

SEWA - membership of 25 lakhs.

IFFCO - Indian Farmers' Fertilizer Cooperative - membership of 45 lakhs.

Kerala Fishermen Cooperative - movement against mechanical trawlers, over-fishing.

Q17) 510) It was during the British that coop credit societies were first established in India. The Royal Flood commission proved the efficiency of cooperatives as well.

Today cooperatives - as collaboration of raw material producers - has been marred with societal inequality.

Satyajit Das studied seed cooperatives in Bombay and reported big landlords getting the best seeds.

David Thomson noted dominance of retired government employees in Karnataka cooperatives.

Scarlett Epstein noted unequal treatment to small farmers in Karnataka's Irrigation Coops.

Jan Burman studied fish cooperatives of Kerala and noted market improvement due to government help.

Poverty Alleviation Schemes:

Self-employment, wage employment, area development programmes, social security programmes

85% poor live in rural and tribal areas.

- CDP.
- Hill area development programme - horticulture, water storage.
- Command area development programme - irrigation facilities built.
- Drought prone area development programme - watershed management.
- Desert area development programme - reforestation.
- Tribal area development programme.
- HYV programme + diversification into horticulture, dairy, sericulture.

All these programmes have been driven by the principle of capitalism and the spirit of socialism and established a kind of a balance between the both.

From 4th FYP, shift from agri-focussed programmes to employment-focussed programmes as land redistribution could not happen.

- Skill training
- Minimum Wage Act
- Food for Work Programme
- IRDP
- Swarnajayanti Swarozgar Yojana
- Sampoorna Swarozgar Yojana
- MGNREGA

Russian economist Chynov - when basic needs of farmers are satisfied, they will prefer leisure over capital accumulation. Peasants don't have the spirit of capitalism.

- PM Gram Sadak Yojana
- Rural Electrification Scheme
- Drinking Water
- Low Cost Housing
- Old Age Pension
- Janani Suraksha Yojana
- Maternity Benefit Act

- Mahila Kosh
- Balika Samridhhi Yojana
- NRHM
- Education for All
- Bharat Nirmaan

- PMKVY
- Stand Up India
- Start Up India
- Kisaan Vikas Patra
- Crop Insurance
- Agri subsidies
- Financial inclusion

Centre for Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) - founded by **Rajni Kothari** - report in 2013 - rural development programmes still have not succeeded completely:

- Landlessness and near-landlessness still exists.
- People are dependent on the State and this dependency has been consolidated.
- Skill development is lacking.
- Knowledge of DBT, KVP, MSP was lacking.
- 47% beneficiaries of MGNREGA received only 75% of their real earned wages.

Old forms of vulnerability are now being converted into new kind of dependency.

B. Green revolution and social change

The fundamental change and phenomenal increase in food grains production in late sixties in India has earned the name of 'Green Revolution'.

The Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) popularly known as the Package Programme was started in 1961. It aimed at combining improved technology, credit, high yielding seeds, inputs like fertilizers, pesticides and assured irrigation for stepping up agricultural production.

Other programmes introduced in the sixties to complement this include High-Yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP), Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Scheme (MFALDS).

Andre Beteille has remarked "The Green Revolution has indeed created a new faith in the dynamism of the Indian farmer who has shown himself to be capable not only of quickly absorbing technological innovations but also of handling social arrangements with considerable dexterity."

P.C. Joshi has argued that conflict and discontent are inherent in the 'outmoded agrarian structure'. While such an agrarian structure provides the basic cause of tension, the 'proximate causes' which have led to the eruption of 'latent' discontent into 'manifest' tension are located in the new agricultural strategy and the Green Revolution.

T.K. Oommen shows that "the green revolution as such does not lead to the welfare of the agrarian poor unless substantial alterations in the prevalent socio-economic and political structure are effected at the grass roots."

P2 - C 2 b. Green revolution and social change

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 27. Thinkers - Pages 60 to 64

- Widened the gap between the small and the rich farmers.
 - The affluent farmers are enjoying the fruit of increased profits from land but the real wage rate for agricultural labourers has been declining in most places.
 - Most of the sharecroppers are now joining the rank of landless labourers because small holdings are not available for leasing out to these sharecroppers.
 - A new class of capitalist farmers has emerged in the green revolution belts.
 - Agricultural production has increased but the social index has not changed in the same proportion. For example, the gender ratio in those areas where agricultural prosperity has been achieved is still unfavourable.
-
- Labour - migration from less developed areas to GR areas.
 - Class structure - village society, once driven by mechanical solidarity transformed into one driven by hierarchy and inequality and this got perpetuated.
 - Bagchi and Athreya - GR gave rise to regional disparity in development - especially dry and non-irrigated areas.
 - Law of diminishing returns applies to the GR areas - also land division, monocropping - so now rural distress.

Bhalla - regional disparities due to Green Revolution.

Johar and Khanna - exploitation of migrant agriculture labourers in GR areas, further compounded by the fact that the payment made in cash did not keep up with the rising living costs, hence eroding real wages.

Jan Bremen - class differentiation in GR areas further accentuated by change in relationship between landowners and cultivators from patronage to exploitation.

Amit Bhaduri - Green revolution led to distress migration of agricultural labourers to Punjab and Haryana, and this led to emergence of new forms of bondage.

KS Gill - mechanization led to de-peasantization and proletarianization of peasants.

C. Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture

Land can now be purchased. A new class of farmers is emerging consisting of persons with different skills and experiences. They no longer belong to the traditional landowning upper castes. They are the people who have retired from the civil and military services and have invested their savings in agricultural farms. This is the story behind the emergence of Gentleman Farmer.

A capitalist form of wage labour agrarian system has replaced the traditional customary land relation. There is a transformation from the peasant family farms to the commercial capitalist farms with marketable surplus. The emergence of this class has not only increased the efficiency and productivity of agriculture, but also has helped industrial growth and development.

P2 - C 2 c. Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 26. Thinkers - Pages 46 to 54

Capitalism exploits labour + invests in technology to reduce dependence on labour and increase volume of production.

D. Problems of rural labour, bondage, migration

45.36 crore Indians (37 per cent) in India are migrants - now settled in a place different from their previous residence, Census 2011 data reveals. In 2001, the figure stood at 31.45 crore. Most of the migrants, around 70 per cent, are females. Most people, 49 per cent, migrate for marriage. Lesser Indians are now relocating for work and employment - 10.2 per cent in 2011, down from 14.4 per cent in 2001.

Around 21.7 crore of the 31.2 crore female migrants - 69.7 per cent - cited marriage as the reason. For men, 'work and employment' was the top reason, mentioned by three crore of the 14 crore male migrants.

In certain occupations, family migration is cheaper for the employer. Sugarcane is a case in point. Brick kiln and construction are other examples which attract family labour.

Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act (ISMW) framed by the Centre in 1979 to regulate the employment of inter-State migrant workers.

P2 - C 2 d. Problems of rural labour, bondage, migration

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Bondage - Pages 178 to 180

Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 28. Contemporary Bondage - Pages 71 to 73

Bondage:

- Permanent Settlement Act - small farmers became bonded to zamindars.
- Caste system as a source of bondage - *jajmani* relation - dialectics present between the polemics of law and the demands of the social structure.
- Kinship as a source of bondage - cross cousin marriages, poor relatives send their kids to work for rich relatives.
- Marriage as a source of bondage :P :D
- Bondage to state - Ideological State Apparatus and Repressive State Apparatus.
- Bondage to technology - post modernist view - phone, tablet.

Even in capitalism, labour is not technically free according to Marxists.

- Debt bondage
- Intergenerational bondage
- Distressed bondage
- Disaster bondage
- Widowhood and bondage

Migration:

Mary Chatterjee - people migrating to longer distance tend to come back. Also, if nature of job has less prestige, people migrate back.

Ghanshyam Shah - irrational development is the cause of distress migration and inequality.

Manish Thakur - decreasing 'we feeling' in villages is leading to migration from villages.

(iii) Industrialization and Urbanization in India

A. Evolution of modern industry in India

- *Karkhanas* under Mughals
- Artisan based industries, guilds
- Plantation industry - tea and coffee from 1857
- After WW1 - paper, sugar, matchmaking, coal, iron, metallurgy
- Before independence - cotton, jute, coal mines, railway
- Post-independence - defence, transport, communication, power, mining under public sector; paper and wood products, stationery, glass and ceramic were reserved for small-scale sector
- LPG, disinvestment, outsourcing

Now we see - specialization in work, occupational mobility, monetization of economy, breakdown of link between kinship and occupational structures, migration of people from rural to urban areas, spread of education, a strong centralized political structure, secularization of beliefs, family as a unit of consumption.

M.S.A Rao, **M.S. Gore** and **Milton Singer** have shown that jointness is more preferred and prevalent in business communities, and many nuclear families maintain widespread kin ties.

Dube - The youngsters in nuclear family still willingly follow the normal responsibility towards the primary kin (such as parents and siblings), solidarity of the close kin, and some sense of unity of the family, even though living in separate households.

However, industrialization has contributed markedly to the creation of a new social and psychological setting in which the survival of the early joint family with its authoritarian organization has become very difficult.

P2 - C 3 a. Evolution of modern industry in India

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN INDIA

Industrialization leads to greater equality, at least in some spheres. On the other hand, older forms of discrimination may persist even in new factory or workplace settings. And even as social inequalities are reducing, economic or income inequality is growing in the world. Often social inequality and income inequality overlap, for example, lower castes, women are at a disadvantage.

4 stages:

- Pre-colonial
- Colonial
- Post-independence
- Post-LPG

Milton Singer has presented a functional equivalent of the PC in India in his study of the leading industrialists in the city of Madras. To him the caste background and tradition may equally be fitted for the industrial dev in India. Caste based DoL has been used successfully in the specialisation of industrial workers. Singer observed that thro the process of 'compartmentalisation', many industries kept their business obligations and ritual obligations separate or in distinct compartments. There is no role conflict b/w businessman & rit. person. According to Singer, if cap. is to be developed in India, then it must not be an offspring of the west that destroys the traditional way of life. Cap. in India can rather develop within the cultural mores and institutions of our soc. ...

Satish Deshpande - In India, capitalism came before Protestant Ethics. PE is not a religious phenomenon. Example: Commitment to work, strive for betterment.

Rudolph and Rudolph - call Indian farming sector as bullock cart capitalists as they lack capital.

B. Growth of urban settlements in India

Sabarwal - The early processes of urbanization had their close relationship with the rise and fall of sponsoring political regimes and cultural history of India. Indeed, cities emerged in those periods mainly based on political considerations. "The composition of these towns was built around the ruler and his kinsmen and followers, whose principal interests were centered on agricultural activities in their vicinity and the surplus they could extract from these".

In spite of the rise and fall of the political powers and shifting religious biases, the social and economic institution of the traditional cities has shown certain stability. Guild formation was an important feature of traditional towns. Merchants and craftsmen were organized into guilds called *shreni*. In those towns there were the guilds based on the occupation of one caste *shreni* and also the guilds based on different castes and different occupations called *puga*. **Rao** points out that the guilds performed important function in the traditional towns in terms of banking, trading, manufacturing and to a limited extent judicial.

Authorities of the traditional urban centers patronized particular religion or sects. Pataliputra reflected the Brahminical Hindu civilization under the rule of Chandra Gupta Maurya, while under Ashokan rule Buddhism flourished. Similarly, the Islamic civilization was concertized by the Muslim rule in the imperial capitals of Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad. **Ray** says - each ethnic or religious group was governed by its own customary laws. The caste and the occupational guilds also had their own laws sanctioned by the political authority.

Over-urbanization - cities which have urban population growth beyond their capacities to manage.

Sub-urbanization - urbanization of rural areas around the towns characterized by the following features: Increase in the 'urban (non-agricultural) uses' of land, Inclusion of surrounding areas of town within its municipal limits, Intensive communication of all types between town and its surrounding areas.

According to **Mill and Becker**, urbanization is a natural and inevitable consequence of economic development. Urbanization accompanies economic development because economic development entails a massive shift of labour and other inputs from predominantly rural sectors to those predominantly urban. The National Commission on Urbanization of India recognizes the economic importance of the Indian cities and towns. It considers "urbanization as a catalyst for economic development and that the towns and cities despite their problems are for the millions and millions of our people the road to a better future".

Emergence of steel factories in cities like Bhilai, Rourkela, Durgapur, Jamshedpur has brought about not only prosperity but has led to the modification of the whole social scenario of this area. According to **Srinivas**, areas which were socio-economically backward have now become prosperous and cosmopolitan.

The degree of urban-industrialization and planned development through the Five-Year Plans could not bring about a significant shift in occupational structure in Indian. Though the percentage of urban population has increased substantially, there has not been corresponding rapid increase in the percentage of the labour force in the urban manufacturing, construction and service sector.

It is estimated that 46% of the total educated unemployed are reported to be concentrated in the four major metropolitan cities in India (Sabarwal).

Mehta - for the landless labourers, *harijans* and *adivasis* these cities provide the opportunities which are enshrined in our Constitution. For these millions, our urban centers will continue to be havens of hope, where they can forge a new future.

An important feature of the immigrant stream in urban areas is its predominantly male character (Sabarwal).

Industrialization should not be taken as prerequisite for urbanization, as the process of migration from village starts when a relative saturation point is reached in the field of agriculture. This is a result of an imbalanced land/man ratio in the countryside.

P2 - C 3 b. Growth of urban settlements in India

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Socio Cultural Aspects of Growth of Urban Settlements - Pages 199 to 203

Urbanization is the movement of people from rural to urban areas, thereby increasing the concentration of population in urban areas. In economic terms, it refers to movement of people from agriculture based community to other communities which are generally larger and whose primary economic activities are centered in government, trade, manufacturing and allied activities. Urbanization is multi-dimensional process which not only involves changes in place of residence and economic activities but also results in changes in the migrant's belief, attitudes and behavior patterns.

As per 1901 census only 10.8% population lived in cities, according to 1951, 17.3%, 2001 it was 27.81% and 2011 census report it is 31.16% population residing in cities.

Social and cultural factors also play an important role in facilitating the migration of the rural poor to the urban centers. The rural migrants depend upon kinship, caste and regional networks not only for decisions with regard to the choice of destination but also for their early and easy adjustment to the difficult conditions of urban living. They get automatically pushed into the slums or squatter settlements where their kin-members, caste-men, acquaintances or friends live. These people help them in getting employment or give financial assistance in the beginning. It has been pointed out that the spontaneous settlements of the urban poor are not merely collections of sacks and huts but communities of fellow migrants. Each is based on a network of primary ties based on language, region, village, caste or kin.

Indian cities are cities of possibilities as well as of problems.

Even in cosmopolitan cities, the flavour of ruralism is present. Hence, in India, it is not rural v/s. urban, rather it is rural and urban. So, tradition and modernity are creating space for each other in India, and this is the beauty of Indian cities.

Ancient India - *Mahajanapadas, Janapadas*, Religious Centers.

Medieval India - Administrative Centers, Religious Centers.

British - Commercial City, Capital / Administrative Centers - rural urban dichotomy developed as commoners lived only in villages.

Narayani Gupta talks of evolution of cities - village and city were never opposite to each other in India.

MSA Rao - cities in India are developing into islands of prosperity in the ocean of poverty.

Milton Singer - in case of modern cities of India, elements of tradition are strongly present. This is because migrant population concentrates in given particular areas where they celebrate ethnic festivals, lead ethnic lifestyles, develop 'we feeling' and hence occurs the 'ethnicization of cities'.

Western cities = melting pot of culture.

Indian cities = coexistence of multiple ethnic groups.

Smart Cities - concept is Western - What about informal sector, unskilled and semi-skilled people? Where will you accommodate them?

Globalization- the process in which social life within societies is increasingly affected by international influences. We are witnessing increasing interconnections, integration and interdependence across all arenas of social life.

C. Working class: structure, growth, class mobilization

In recent years, Marxist view on working class has been countered essentially from two views giving contradiction of analysis. The first view is that working class is literally disappearing. With the automation of industry and apparent displacement of blue-collar jobs, the working class is fast shrinking in size. However, the fact is that it is not the disappearance of working class as a whole, but blue-collar workers are disappearing. Second view states the opposite. In this view all society is becoming working class. That is, students, teachers, blue-collar workers, white-collar workers and salaried employees of various kinds are all workers. The working class is not disappearing by elimination, but is in fact expanding with everybody joining it except a few capitalists at the top. This view emphasizes the so-called blurring of class boundaries but overlooks the important social distinctions between classes. Moreover, those distinctions are still very much prevalent in the society.

M. Holmstorm calls people commonly referred to as industrial workers, and sometimes other kind of wage-earners and self-employed workers, as the 'working class'.

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 actualize for the working class due to their own internal divisions and diverse socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds.

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 Mr. Kiddie. As early as 1879-80 there was a threat of a strike in Champdany Jute Mill against an attempt by the authorities to introduce a new system of single shift which was unpopular with workers.

- Partition of Bengal in the year 1905 - This political development worked as a favourable condition for the Indian working class for moving ahead with its economic struggles and raising them to higher pitch.
- On the eve of First World War, the capitalist development in India got accelerated. The government widely used the country's industrial potential for the needs of war. But the living standards of the working class reduced due to the soaring up of prices. While rural areas were affected by the rise of prices of manufactured goods, the towns faced higher food prices.
- AITUC formed in 1920.
- Recession in Indian industry and economy began in the year 1922 and continued intensifying. In 1929 the world economic recession affected the Indian economy too. The mill owners attempted to reduce wages.
- 1939 - WW2 broke out - The colonial government reoriented the economy, where by the industrial units introduced double to triple shift of work and leave facilities were curtailed. Steady fall in the wage rates across the industry. The working class embarked on a series of strikes in Bombay, Kanpur, Calcutta, Bangalore, Jamshedpur, Dhanbad, Jharia, Nagpur, Madras, and Digboi of Assam.
- End of WW2 saw the emergence of the Indian working class as a highly organized, class-conscious and uncompromising force against the colonialist. AITUC raised the demand of stopping retrenchment, minimum wage, eight hours work, health insurance scheme, old age pension, unemployment allowance and several other social security measures.

- With independence began a new political dynamic, where power was in the hands of capitalist and landlords. Their economic interests were directly counter to those of the working class.
- Independence was accompanied with huge rise in prices and continuous fall in the real wages of the workers.

One would expect mobility among the workers. That a worker would start as casual or contract labour in a firm and then would move to permanent employment either in the same or other firm. However, a study by **Deshpande** of Bombay labour found the reverse to be true. That is, around 87 per cent of the regular employees, who had changed their job, had started as regular employee and only 13 per cent had started as casual labour.

In this regard, **Harris**, who conducted study in Coimbatore, reported that 'Individuals do not move easily between sectors of the labour market. Among the 826 households surveyed there were only less than 20 cases of movement from unorganized into organized sector. Many in the unorganized sector had the requisite skills, experience and education for factory job. But they lack the right connections or to put it in another way, they do not belong to the right social network'.

A study of Ahmadabad by **Subramanian and Papola** found that 91 per cent of the jobs were secured through introduction by other workers. It was a blood relation in 35 per cent of the cases, belonged to the same caste in another 44 per cent and belonged to the same native place in another 12 per cent. Friends helped in 7 per cent of the cases.

K. L. Sharma in his five studies of Pune, Kota, Bombay, Ahmadabad and Bangalore covering large number of industries found that 61 per cent of workers were upper caste Hindus.

Deshpande points out to the 'pre labour market characteristic' such as education and land holding. Those who possessed more land and education ended up in higher wage sector. But then if upper and lower caste people own comparable levels of landholding and education, the upper caste worker will get into higher segment of the wage than lower caste worker. This is because of the continuing importance of caste ties in recruitment.

According to **Nathan**, caste also serves the function in ensuring the labour supply for different jobs with the fact of not paying more than what is necessary.

P2 - C 3 c. Working class: structure, growth, class mobilization

The working class is defined as that class which must sell its labor-power in order to survive.

Working Class Movements:

- The modern Indian working class arose in consequence to the development and growth of factory industries in India from the second half of the nineteenth century.
- Colonial period - The actions were sporadic and unorganized in nature and hence were mostly ineffective.
- In the later part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, working class in India started organizing itself into trade unions.
- The first organization to be formed on the lines of a modern trade union was the Madras Labour Union, founded in 1918.
- Trade unions in the country, as a whole, have not been responsive to the problems of the working class in the country.
- The introduction of the New Economic Policy since 1991 had severely affected the working class in the country.

But today workforce is getting fragmented, so unionization difficult.

Sharad Bhowmick - difference between government sector employees and industrial employees.

Arjun Sengupta says that post-LPG, due to loosening state control, labour fears job security and is unable to consolidate.

Studies by **Richard Lambert**, **Milton Singer**, **N. R. Seth** have shown that caste, joint family and other traditional values have not obstructed a healthy pattern of social relations in factories and industrial organizations.

Burdhan and Rudra said that globalization and urbanization has led to an increase in the assets of the capitalist class at the expense of the working class.

Prof. Krishna Kumar pointed to the failure of Industrial development due to politicization of work culture in PSUs as job security gave no incentive to innovation and trade union activities.

D. Informal sector, child labour

A large section of street vendors in urban areas are those with low skills and who have migrated to the larger cities from rural areas or small towns in search of employment. Other employment opportunities for the illiterate or semi-literate migrants are working in small factories or workshops having low level of technology, and hence having a greater reliance on physical labour, and casual day labourers in construction sites or other places.

There is another section of the urban population that has joined the informal sector; namely, those once engaged in the formal sector. These people or their spouses were once engaged in better paid jobs in the textile mills in Mumbai and Ahmadabad and engineering firms in the formal sector (Bhowmik). A study conducted by SEWA in Ahmadabad shows that around half the retrenched textile worker are now street vendors.

The third category of workers in the informal sector is those who are employed in the formal sector. These people are engaged as temporary or casual labour in industries or establishments in the formal sector. In 1993, case studies in eight industries by Davala, shows that in some industries casual and contract labour form more than half the total number of workers employed in that industry.

In India, over 50% of the population is self-employed, only about 14% are in regular salaried employment, while approximately 30% are in casual labour.

P2 - C 3 d. Informal sector, child labour

Informal Sector:

- Factories Act
 - Employee State Insurance Act
 - Workmen's Compensation Act
 - Provident and Pension Act
-
- Low levels of skill
 - Easy entry
 - Minimum investment
 - Low paid employment
 - Largely composed of immigrant

Social implications of small size of the organized sector:

- Very few people have the experience of employment in large firms where they get to meet people from other regions and backgrounds.
- Very few Indians have access to secure jobs with benefits. Of those who do, two-thirds work for the government.
- Since very few people are members of unions, a feature of the organized sector, they do not have the experience of collectively fighting for proper wages and safe working conditions.

One sociologist has argued that the reason why there have never been communal riots in a place like Bhilai is because the public sector Bhilai Steel Plant employs people from all over India who work together. Others may question this.

Informal sector is also called shadow economy - 72% workforce.

Jan Breman gives 3 classes of the informal sector:

- Petty bourgeoisie - taxi operators, food joint owners, real estate dealers.
- Semi proletariat - domestic help, courier boy, cobbler.
- Pauper - drug addicts, homeless, alcoholics, petty criminals.

He notes the strong linkages of informal sector with the formal sector, which has led to its perpetuation.

Desai - absence of trade union leads to lack of bargaining power and promotes culture of dependency on the employer for job and the state for welfare services.

Dipankar Gupta says informalization is not a negative development as this sector contributes to more than 36% of the GDP.

Child Labour:

Jean Dreze - there is a strong connection between poverty and child labour.

2011 census - 9 million child labourers, **Kailash Satyarthi** says 32 million because he also counts those who work at home - 69% child labourers are girls - 80% child labourers are Dalit, Tribal, Backward Caste and Muslim.

Malvika Karlekar - full time work and full time education stand opposite to each other. Cost-time benefit analysis is done between the two.

Neeti Mohanty - girls are socialized from beginning to work. They are told to serve others. Gender socialization.

1987 - Child Labour Abolition Act, National Commission for Abolition of Child Labour.

E. Slums and deprivation in urban areas

Slums have been defined as those areas where buildings are unfit for human habitation, or are by dilapidation, overcrowding, design of buildings, narrowness of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitary facilities or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or moral (Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act 1956).

No amount of legal and regulatory mechanism could stop this process because of the economic reality of bargaining for the cheapest labour, goods and services by the city consumers and readiness of this migrant poor population to provide the same.

Earlier the stress was on clearance of slums, which is now replaced by an approach for the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) by the provisions of basic services such as water supply, community toilets, drainage, paved pathways and street lights.

Some efforts made include:

- Soft loans for slum upgradation and environmental improvement schemes provided by HUDCO.
- 1989 - launched the shelter upgradation scheme under the Nehru Rozgar Yojana.
- Slum Area (Improvement and Clearance) Act seeks to clear slums and properly rehabilitate the disorganised population.
- Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana for lower caste slum dwellers in urban areas.
- The Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNURM) had a component for the urban poor called Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP).

P2 - C 3 e. Slums and deprivation in urban areas

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 7 - 7. Thinkers on Slums - Pages 47 to 52

The percentage of slum population in the four mega cities are:

- Bombay 34.30%
- Calcutta 32.90%
- Madras 32.10%
- Delhi 31.40%

An all India average where the cities with 10 lakh and above population have 29.10% population living in slums. Every eighth urban child (0-6 years) also lives in slums.

Mumbai - Dharavi, Delhi - JJ Colony, Seelampur

Upendra Hazarika Committee - Kolkata will have 30% slum population by 2030, majority Bangladeshis.

Harrington - slums of despair versus slums of hope.

MSA Rao - 'Urban Sociology in India' - urbanization led by modernization is the cause for migration. For some it may be needed, but others come to explore.

Victor D'Souza and Ghanshyam Shah - SCs have a high representation in slums.

AR Desai and SD Pillai - studied Dharavi - slums represent the ruthless face of capitalism where people are exploited to serve class interests. Also failure of welfare state to provide adequate housing and source of livelihood. Their solution was radical - nationalization of urban land resources.

Atul Thakur - 30% Indians live in space that is lesser than that available for prisoners in USA.

Myron Weiner - slums of migrants gives rise to politics of nativism. And nativism endangers democracy and national unity. However, regionalism per se is not bad as it provides a safety valve in a multi-cultural society.

Geeta Diwan Verma - '**Slumming India**' - slums are not just a material issue, but also a moral issue. They reflect an apathy of the larger society and the government.

Types of Slums:

- Original slum : An area which from very beginning consisted of unsuitable buildings. These are usually areas around an old factory or mining site which is now given up or is the zone in transition. These sections are beyond recovery as they consist of age old structures and they need to be razed in order to be eradicated e.g. Mexican Slum, slums in Kolkata.
- Transitional zone slum: It is created by the departure of middle and upper class families to other sections or it may be due to the starting of a new industry or due to congestion and subsequent deterioration of the living area. These are to be found in the transition zone of developing cities.
- The third and most unpleasant type of slum is mainly a phenomenon of transition once the area around a main business district has become blighted. Physical and social deterioration spreads rapidly. This type of slum looms with flophouses, one night accommodations for the destitute, houses of prostitution. It is populated by chronic alcoholics, beggars, homeless men and habitual criminals.

Odisha's slum rehabilitation project is transforming lives. The World Habitat Mission recognized the state government's Jaga Mission that used drones to survey slums. It is the world's largest slum land title project. It involves the government surveying and awarding slum dwellers a legal land title.

(iv) Politics and Society

A. Nation, democracy and citizenship

Nation:

A nation is a community which considers itself one. It is held together by many ties, like territory, language. Nation has a common tradition or history and a common consciousness of right and wrong. They also have a common heritage of memories of glory or of sacrifice and suffering.

In a nation people have feelings which are unique and valuable to group. They have a right to enjoy means in order to realize certain communally cherished goals. This feeling is called nationalism.

The story of how India became a nation is linked with our history. From early civilization, one set of stories, epics, symbols flowed down into different areas. Sometimes this tradition blended itself with religious and local customs. Also, the cultural traditions that the Muslims brought from Central Asia slowly mixed the then existing patterns of India. Fusion happened in many fields like language, music, architecture, painting. These symbols of a shared past give Indians a sense of belonging.

The British rule helped the growth of nationalism in two ways:

- India became one for the first time. She gradually came under one system of law, one type of administration and a uniform type of educational system.
- People of different areas, different religious, different languages made a united attempt to bring freedom to India.

Culture had heightened our feeling of unity all along. The national movement fostered it consciously and Indian culture grew more and more unified during the twentieth century. British rule, although it enslaved us, paradoxically also started a process of our liberation. It made us think of ourselves as not only a cultural unity but also as a political unity.

For a nation to develop, the feeling of nationalism is necessary. In independent India too, citizens must feel that they are one nation. The process of creating and strengthening this feeling of national unity is called national integration. The process of nation-building is a continuing process and aims at translating cultural identity into a political national identity.

Nation building strategies at the Political Level:

- Constitution
- Federal government
- Parliamentary system
- Fundamental rights, fundamental duties, DPSPs
- Socialistic pattern of state

Nation building strategies at the Economic Level:

- Five Year Plans and Planning Commission - also took political decisions example: location of industries to offset regional imbalances, how much electricity to industries and how much agriculture, etc.

- Distributive justice - fair and equal distribution of goods and services to all
- Strive for elimination of rigid controls - protection for labour, SC / ST, women

Forces which challenge the Nation building Efforts:

- Diversity of constituents - religion, language, caste, ethnicity - each such divergent groups have distinctive aspirations
- Regional and cultural identities - the polity follows a process of reconciliation to accommodate such identities. Example: reorganization of states, minority rights
- Casteism - caste has become a major basis for political articulation as it provides a mechanism for bringing people together.
- Linguism
- Communalism - the tendency of any group to maximize its economic, political and social strength at the cost of other groups
- Social inequalities

Democracy:

Democratic government is built on two very important ideas - freedom and equality. Democracy is an excellent ideal. But it is not easy to achieve this in an unequal society like ours.

Factors that hinder the successful functioning of Democracy in India:

- Inequality - social and economic
- Communalism
- Minority rights - the intolerance of the majority can also harm democracy
- Regional aspirations and Regionalism
- Caste system - responsible for maintaining the social inequality in India
- Low status of women
- Inadequate industrialization - although advantages of industrialization cannot be denied, its capacity to create new problems cannot be overlooked either. New classes arise, and with them new types of oppression, exploitation and inequality.
- Rural poverty
- Improper land reforms
- Unemployment
- Population
- Nepotism and corruption

What is needed - education, skilling, increasing agriculture and industrial productivity, better implementation of laws and speedy judicial system.

Democracy is supposed to - promote equality among citizens; enhance the dignity of the individual; improve the quality of decision-making; provide a method to resolve conflicts; and a room to correct mistakes.

Our interest in and fascination for democracy often pushes us into taking a position that democracy can address all socio-economic and political problems. If some of our expectations are not met, we start

blaming the idea of democracy. Or, we start doubting if we are living in a democracy. The first step towards thinking carefully about the outcomes of democracy is that it is just a form of government. It can only create conditions for achieving something. The citizens have to take advantage of those conditions and achieve those goals.

Citizenship:

A citizen is a person who enjoys rights and performs his duties in a State. He is a member of the State and participates in the process of government. Democracy can be strengthened if the citizens have a clear view of other own rights and the rights of others; if they demand what they can claim from the government; and if they know what the government can claim from them.

The idea of citizenship means that not only the government has some claims on the citizen but the citizen also has claims on the government.

P2 - C 4 a. Nation, democracy and citizenship

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 326 to 329

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 7 - 6. Democracy, Citizenship, Nation - Pages 3 to 8

Vikash Ranjan Book - Nation, State and Society - Pages 216, 217, Record of Democracy - Pages 231 to 234

Nation:

Kothari - although people lived all their lives in villages, these villages were not as self-contained isolated islands as was made by some Western scholars. People moved for marriage; for pilgrimage and for trade. The religious beliefs, practices and institutions provided the people a unifying force. 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.

Amartya Sen - nationalism in India borders religious revivalism of the majority. This in turn harms the secular fabric of the country and prevents the emergence of a consolidated entity.

A region does not always coincide with state. A region has a sense of unity based on language, culture and economic interests. Hence regionalism, demand for regional autonomy emerges - during British time some areas developed, some backward - but regionalism does not always do well to the region itself as contribution of other regions is essential for its growth and development.

Democracy:

90 crore voters, 10 lakh polling booths, 7 phases, 8.43 crore new voters - LS Elections 2019

TK Oomen - because of existing social structures in India, democracy is not working. Democracy cannot really flourish as long as exclusionary structures still exist in the society.

Partho Banerjee - In Indian democracy, there has been an unbridled rise of personal power.

Bipin Chandra - India has a theoretical democracy. Every political party has descendants of feudal lords / kings. Party democracy is absent in India.

Andre Beteille - Which way India will go is written in the constitution, but actual direction is being decided by people.

Atul Kohli sees that the Indian democracy is facing a crisis of governability. It is indicated by the growing disjuncture between weakening institutions and multiplying demands. Erosion in the credibility of political parties, leaders, and the indisciplined political mobilization of various social groups, and class conflicts within the society has caused the crisis of governability in India.

In India, instead of religion getting secularized, politics is getting traditionalized.

India : Parties like BJP : rise of comm. power strengthens & makes dem more mature

Modernists like Vidya Chakravarty : opposite

Frank Franklin, Rudolph Rudolph : India's dem is weak as it relies more on tradⁿ com leadership instead of modernizing

Andre Beteille : moderate approach

Though one takes the help of community to get power or win elections, after being elected better community & natl

policies are given preference

Satish Deshpande : when tribal groups get elected, it gives them confidence thus tradⁿ com are good

Citizenship:

Ramchandra Guha - we got citizenship suddenly and everyone got it at once, so people do not appreciate citizenship rights and duties - passive citizenship.

Arjun Appadurai notes the emergence of 'ethnoscapes' where cultures and people interact to create new fusions and hybridizations. He sees national boundaries to be replaced by 'ethnoscapes' where individuals interact, not as citizens but as consumers of globalization.

Indian Diaspora:

The Indian diasporic community is not one ethnic whole, as is used in the description of ethnicity used to describe diasporas as one coherent ethnicity. This view is not exactly corroborated in the case of the Indian diaspora since it is not a one cohesive or ethnic identity, delineated sharply in religion, language, caste, locality and territorial bias. Many scholars such as Parekh (1993) and Vertovec (2000) and Baallard, (2004) consider religion to be the one of the primary elements that defines/classifies the Indian diasporic community, the one thread that provides the commonality, distinctiveness and shared history. In this context, religion as well as culture provide an ascriptive measure of social differentiation and offer a symbolic resource for belongingness. Yet, Hinduism is considered to be the 'ethnic religion' that is defined by a strong sense of 'rootedness in India' as is argued by Parekh (1993). About 85% of the people of Indian origin and the non-resident Indians are Hindus, for whom the idea of 'Mother India' holds deep spiritual symbolic and sentimental reverence that is renewed through regular visits and pilgrimages. This common identity that has been forged is so strong that it has also become a resource for political mobilization.

B. Political parties, pressure groups, social and political elite

Political party is a group of people who come together to contest election and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good.

Parties are about a part of the society and thus involve partisanship. Thus, a party is known by which part it stands for, which policies it supports and whose interests it upholds.

Functions of Political Parties:

- Fill political offices and exercise political power
- Contest elections
- Put forward different policies and programmes for the voters to choose from
- Form government, make laws
- As opposition - voice different views and criticize government for its failures or wrong policies
- Shape public opinion, raise and highlight issues
- Be responsive to people's needs and demands

In a democracy, a large number of similar opinions have to be grouped together to provide a direction in which policies can be formulated by the governments. This is what the parties do. A party reduces a vast multitude of opinions into a few basic positions which it supports.

Party system is not something any country can choose. It evolves over a long time, depending on the nature of society, its social and regional divisions, its history of politics and its system of elections. These cannot be changed very quickly. Each country develops a party system that is conditioned by its special circumstances. For example, if India has evolved a multi-party system, it is because the social and geographical diversity in such a large country is not easily absorbed by two or even three parties. Since 1996, nearly every one of the State parties has got an opportunity to be a part of one or the other national level coalition government. This has contributed to the strengthening of federalism and democracy in our country.

Challenges before Political Parties:

- Lack of internal democracy within parties, dynastic succession
- Growing role of money and muscle power
- Very often, parties do not seem to offer a meaningful choice to the voters. In recent years, there has been a decline in the ideological differences among parties in most part of the world. They agree on more fundamental aspects but differ only in details on how policies are to be framed and implemented.

P2 - C 4 b. Political parties, pressure groups, social and political elite

Also to read in brief - IGNOU Handout - MPS 03 Unit 16 - Interest Group Theory and Characteristics - Pages 4 to 9
Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 4. Political Parties - Pages 353 to 359
Vikash Ranjan Book - Pressure Groups, Social and Political Elites - Pages 241 to 247

Partho Banerjee - participation of Indians in civil society is abysmally low as the basic needs have not been fulfilled

Amartya Sen - CS / PGs are the result of dissatisfaction against politicians and state's lack of empathy. Example: Anna Movement

BS Baviskar and Mukherji - In India, civil society organizations gained momentum only in late 1980s, primarily due to withdrawal of state from public welfare activity, demise of developmentalism and the advent of post-developmental neo-liberal political economy

Paul Brass - Party politics in India display numerous paradoxical features, which reveal the blending of Western and modern forms of bureaucratic organization and participatory politics with indigenous practices and institutions.

Rajni Kothari sees fragmentation or lack of sustained organization as an important element of protests.

Ghanshyam Shah notes the emergence of caste based associations which have a distinct class based outlook of serving economic interests and secular goals.

Neera Chandoke talks about counter-civil society which hampers democracy by indulging in fundamentalist violence.

Shiv Viswanath - pressure groups increase public participation but usually promote the interests of the upper classes.

Rajeev Bhargava - pressure groups are a manifestation of substantial democracy.

2015 - 31 Lakh NGOs in India

In India, most of the PGs are either non-associational or anomic - hence PGs are not contributing meaningfully to democracy here

*Rudolph -
Rudolph's Rudolph,
Firozpirel, Roshini Singh ---
articulate their concern about the
acceleration of anomic PGs non-
anomic PGs in India indicating
how in India's curvy money
power, muscle power self-
centered interest are generally*

glorified ∴ politics of opportunism in India is distinctive from politics of responsibility in European societies indicating how P.G.'s are not just "elitist" present in diversity rather than this P.G.'s one can largely look into variations in diff. diastatic societies in time & space.

Analysis: Atul Kohli in his "Democracy in India" (2009) argues that despite various political parties coming to power in India - basic economic principles in terms of welfare measures, economic policy, foreign policy remains same - during last two decades. It explains how basic decision making or "non-decision making" (issues which remain under-cursed) remain unaltered. This reality perhaps negates Parsonian and Pluralist opinion. Further, Kohli explains how rural elites were used during first two decades of Congress rule to spread its control over rural & mass. Javed Alam (EPW, 2009) argues how a group of people are controlling Indian political landscape. Indeed recent incidents suggest that a group of people are controlling Indian politics. Elite theory thus comes near to reality at least in Indian scenario. Further growing inequality and increasing prosperity of a group of people suggest that power may be of "constant-sum type".

Rajendra Singh has given a broad framework for classifying social movements based on the questions - who, why and against whom

7 (b) Almond and Coleman describe political parties as organised body of individual with homogenisation of ideology.

The main objective of political parties is to achieve political power. 70% of member countries of UN General Assembly have democracy as form of polity.

Political parties help to provide options to representative form of democracy. Elected representatives exhibit the will of common public.

Abraham Lincoln noted political parties as a means to derive common aspirations to the special house.

They as opposition scrutinise performance of government. Political parties also educate public opinions about policy implementation.

However, they are rendered dysfunctional due to social handicaps. Rajni Kothari in Caste in Indian politics writes political parties promoting caste consciousness in backward class. Mosca further adds political parties are elites who defeat democracy by creating false consciousness.

In modern times, political parties are guilty of muscle and money power, promoting leader cult over party's beliefs.

Coalition government also seem to diffuse aim of democracy as internal dynamics of a political party is compromised. Pg 17

Narmadeshwar Prasad notes that in India caste-based voting has increased caste-conflicts. Also, political parties promote use of religion. This completely defeats democracy in a secular country.

Bipin chandra in 'Communalism in Modern India' notes that most riots are triggered by political motives instead of religion.

However, political parties have succeeded in providing voice to the depressed. The rise of BAMCEF as Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh is seen as face of Dalits.

Political parties have also mobilised resources from elite to common masses. Communist regime in Cuba has brought down Gini coefficient in the country from 1959 onwards.

Democracy ideal of political and social justice are achieved through a representative form of political elections. Political parties, when divorced from religion/caste, provide face of aspirations of the masses.

C. Regionalism and decentralization of power

Benefits of Decentralization of Power:

- It helps to empower social groups which traditionally have been weak and deprived
- Decentralization is particularly necessary for a country like ours which is large in size and complex in socio-cultural settings
- Social complexities require decentralization for the purpose of planning and administration

The basic principle on which the Panchayati Raj system has been envisaged is that, whatever can be done best at a lower level must necessarily be done at that level and not at the upper level, and only those things which cannot be done at the lower level must go to a higher level.

Issues:

- States have accepted the letter of the 73rd and 74th Amendments rather than their spirit. In many State Acts, civil servants are given powers indirectly over the elected body. Transfer of activities and functions to panchayats is taking place very slowly. Only in places where strong demands from below - the Gram Sabha, Village Panchayats and District Panchayats as well as enlightened citizens organizations come up, attempts to develop powers are taking place.
- Many States have not formulated rules and bye-laws for the day-to-day functioning of Panchayats, the necessary infrastructural facilities are lacking for Panchayats.
- The Ministers, the MLAs and senior political leaders are worried that the power they enjoyed so far will diminish if the panchayats and municipalities become powerful. They do not want active and functioning local bodies to be 'nurseries' of leadership which can challenge them later.
- If Panchayats function properly with a large number of elected representatives and under the critical eye of the Opposition at the local level, people will become aware of their rights through regular participation in the Panchayat programmes and activities, resulting in the decline of the powerful position the MLAs enjoy today.
- The government officials prefer to work with a distant control mechanism that is, the State capital. They do not want to be closely supervised under Panchayati Raj. Hence, they have a noncooperative attitude towards elected panchayat members.

P2 - C 4 c. Regionalism and decentralization of power

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 5. Decentralization - Pages 390 to 392

Vikash Ranjan Book - Regionalism and Decentralization of Power - Pages 247 to 253

Regionalism:

Regionalism is an ideology where the interests of the people get centered on a particular region. Region here may mean culture, ethnicity, ideology, thinking, perception, outlook and not just a geographical territory.

Harihar Bhattacharya says that regionalism occurs in India due to its diversity.

Rajni Kothari says that regionalism has led to true multiparty politics with emergence of regional parties. It has also led to deepening of federalism and healthy competition between the states.

Ashish Nandy - loyalty to community, region in India is greater than pan-India identity.

Iqbal Narain classifies three types of regionalism - Suprastate (Dravidian movement), Interstate (Cauvery) and Intrastate (Vidarbha).

Society is witnessing poverty, illiteracy, regional disparity in development. Regionalism helps fulfill people's aspirations and addresses these issues. Development is now sought over integration. Thus, regionalism promotes cohesion in the society today, rather than being a threat to national integration.

Dipankar Gupta - regionalism is not bad as long as it is not driven by chauvinism.

Even over-development can lead to regionalism - example: Khalistan after GR in Punjab

Politicization of regional issues spreads regionalism - example: Cauvery water dispute

Why son of soil in Maharashtra not Gujarat:

	Maharashtra	Gujarat
Migration with cultural differences	Y	Y
Presence of higher education	Y	Y
Local population immobile	Y	N
High unemployment in middle class	Y	N (entrepreneurship)
Outside migration into middle class	Y	Y

TK Ramen indicates how autocratic Congress rule led that failed to respect / nurture regional aspirations led to rise in regional tendencies and in the form of regional parties like HMK, Assam Gona Parishad, etc. This eventually culminated in the rise of multi party system and coalition politics.

Paul Brass indicates that regionalism is a form of political opportunism that relies on exploiting regional tendencies to further the political interests of certain sections

PC Joshi indicates how uneven economic development across the country flames regional currents. This has been seen in the creation of Telangana recently and also demands of statehood from Uttaranchal, Bundelkhand & other regions.

→ Harivara Bhattacharya posits that this is rooted in Indian diversity and occurs due to geographical concentration of these markers that lead deprivation.

→ Regional affiliations also strengthen development agenda as found by Prerna Singh in 'Solidarity works for welfare' where regional tendencies accelerates pace of development policy & communal harmony

→ Rajani Kothari posits that such regional affiliations strengthen the belief in multi cultural Indian Society.

Decentralization of Power:

There are around 40 Lakhs elected representative at all levels of panchayat system.

Paul Brass was of the view that PRIs were made to fail because of the reluctance of state politicians to devolve much powers to the district level or below because they feared that if such local institutions acquired real powers they would become alternative source of influence and patronage.

Vora and Palshikar say that PRIs and ULBs have changed politics of ideology to politics of representation.

Rajvir Dhaka's study in Haryana - husbands act as proxies for women representatives in PRIs.

According to **Lieten and Srivastava**, the village panchayats were established as units of local self-government and focal points of development in country at large more often than not captured by autocratic and invariably corrupt leaders from among the male elite.

Rajani Kothari argued that village councils were nothing but catchy slogans and false promises had enabled the rulers to contain the forces of revolt and resistance and prevent public discontent from getting organized.

Ashok Mehta who headed the second Committee on Panchayati Raj refused to be pessimistic about the PRIs. He thought that the process of democratic seed drilling in the Indian soil made people conscious of their rights and also cultivated in them a developmental psyche. He was of the opinion that these institutions had failed because development programmes were channelized through official state bureaucracy, finance had been inelastic and these institutions were dominated by privileged sections of society.

In Orissa, when the new government came to power in early 1995 it was decided to dissolve the duly elected panchayats and municipalities. The real reason for this action was that the MLAs were impatient to wrest full control of large sums of money coming to the panchayats through the Central Government schemes for rural development.

(a) Nativism is the violent form of regionalism that discriminates between original inhabitants and the immigrants. The ideology has gained currency in contemporary times due to increased social mobility.

Paul Hurst opined nativism as an offshoot of globalization. Ethnicization of occupation takes place. for ex: sanitation jobs in US are mainly done by Mexicans.

Nativism can take place in two aspects:

(i) within a country (ii) between two countries.

In the former case, ethnicity and regionalism lead to struggle. This mainly has social as well as economic roots. for ex: mistreatment of migrant population from Bihar in Mumbai.

Within countries, nativism takes violent form since citizens react due to pressure on resources, division of opportunities and increased attract competition. ex: violence against Syrian migrants in Europe.

Griffin once mentioned that in a closer world, it is the West that tries to establish a hegemony which is resisted.

By the same token, nativism took a positive role when Indians resisted cultural imperialism by preserving their social rules, education and land laws.

Rajni Kothari in Caste in India

Pitfalls mentions only political origin to nativism. Nena Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

It is the policy that forces distinction between the locals and foreigners.

Marxists see nationalism as having roots in economic deprivation. The immigrant population puts up a competition for limited resources.

It was due to this feeling of nationalism that UK recently opted out of the European Union, famously called 'Brexit'. British felt that they were losing jobs to Eastern Europe under the EU umbrella.

However, nationalism can lead to long-term strategy for development. In India, an increase in competitive federalism is seen as a result of each state using its competitive advantage to outdo the others.

In sum, a violent form of nationalism is a form of exclusion and exploitation that decreases social mobility and demographic dividend. To protect one's culture is important but not shunting out opportunities to the worthy.

D. Secularization

Both Sanskritization and secularization are simultaneously operating in contemporary India.

P2 - C 4 d. Secularization

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 3. Secularization in India - Pages 336 to 344

According to **T. N. Madan** "Religion in India is constitutive of society. Politics and Economics are neither autonomous domain nor are they contradictory of religion; they are simply encompassed by religion".

(v) Social Movements in Modern India

A. Peasants and farmers movements

- Sanyasi 1772
- Wahabi 1830
- Indigo revolt 1859
- Pabna 1873, Deccan riots 1874, Ramoshi 1877
- Champaran 1917, Kheda 1918
- Eka 1920, Moplah 1921
- Bardoli 1928
- Kisan Sabha 1929
- Tebhaga 1946-47, Telangana 1946-52
- Naxalbari 1967 - present

P2 - C 5 a. Peasants and farmers movements

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN MODERN INDIA

Praveen Kishore notebook - Pages 176 to 216

Vikash Ranjan Book - Full Chapter

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 6. Do Indian Peasants constitute a Class? - Pages 116 to 124, 7. Naxalites, Maoists - Pages 134 to 136, 8. Entrepreneurial Farmers - Pages 147 to 150, 9. New Farmer Movements - Pages 151, 152

Context gives rise to movement. With change in context, basic character and composition of the movement also undergoes a change.

Both peasants and farmers co-exist in India. The transition from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture is not happening.

Peasant movements or agrarian struggles

- 1858 and 1914 - remained localized, disjointed and confined to particular grievances
- Bengal revolt of 1859-62 against the indigo plantation system
- the 'Deccan riots' of 1857 against moneylenders
- The Bardoli Satyagraha
- 1920s-40 - formation of Kisan Sabha or peasant organization demanding freedom from economic exploitation
- Tebhaga Movement - started at Thakurgaon in Dinajpur sub-division in North Bengal
- Telangana

Some Western scholars as Moore (1976) and Stokes (1978) consider that protest movements are only rarely found among the Indian peasants. Other scholars, like Gough (1974), Desai (1979), Dhanagare (1983), Guha (1983) and Singha Roy (2005) hold that during the 18th and 19th centuries, peasant revolts were quite common in almost every corner of India. It is true that the poor peasants and landless labourers have in many cases successfully fought against their exploiters.

Yet, this is also obvious that while organized movements among the Chinese and European peasants led to fundamental changes in their societies, in India peasant movements do not have an all-India character. They have not so far resulted in any remarkable and fundamental change in Indian society.

3 questions around which agrarian class conflict / feudal happens:

- land belonged to whom? - if serf demands land, conflict will happen
- who is supposed to use his labour in his process of production - if serf wants more return as he puts in labour, conflict will happen
- who is having how much right over the produce?

Marx says feudalism declines and then capitalism will rise.

Thorner - capitalism rose and persists in India - farmer demands ignored - instead placated them with Food for Work programmes, provide basic needs to stop them from mass mobilization.

Peasants have a mechanical solidarity - produce for subsistence, conventional tools, small land, family labour.

Gail Omvedt: Indian agriculture has 4 different MOP:

1. Strong capitalist MOP - Punjab, Haryana, West UP - go for mobilization for subsidy, better MSP, market access.
2. Weak capitalist MOP - Coastal Andhra, TN, Maharashtra, Gujarat - max suicides - use technology, but no mass mobilization.
3. Strong feudalism - Bihar, East UP - polarized class conflict is developing - Naxals.
4. Weak feudalism - go for supplementary sources of income, self-cultivation, contract labour.

Jodhka - the capitalist agrarian social structure has itself invited protests against extortionary measures. This has led to deepening of inequality in rural areas and hence the discontent.

General demands:

- Tenure security

- No *vetti* system
- Rate of interest no more than 12% per year
- Grain banks for emergency
- Rationalization of tax system
- Tax rate should be based on land productivity
- State should spend on agriculture infra

Some movements:

Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal (Tebhaga movement), Binod Misra, Jongol Santhal - 4 factions of Naxals

Telangana movement - two types of land:

1. Nizam --> Jagirdars --> Deshmukh, Pramukh --> cultivators, labourers
2. Ryotwari - ryots directly paid tax to the state - sub sub landlordism --> Shikindars, sub Shikindars --> became similar to Jagirdari system only, but ryot had to pay limited tax so their peasants not much burdened, concession if crop failure
Jagirdars were officers who got no salary, so max extract from land - if peasant not paying Razakars for violence

Telugu Sahitya Sabha formed - middle class together discussed impact of colonial rule, land policies - precursor to civil society.

Social movement is an ideal type - manifest function: promote literary and cultural activities in Telugus, latent function: discussion on peasant and farmer issues, political scenario.

Bhartiya Kisan Union - started under Chaudhary Charan Singh - concession based approach
Shetkari Sanghatana - Sharad Joshi - rights seeking approach

Regarding people's access to land and their desire to control and manage agricultural operations, we can take as examples those peasant movements which revolved around agrarian conflicts between tenants and landlords. As shown by Dhanagare (1983), Pankhar (1979) and Nambudiripad (1943), the Moplah rebellions of the nineteenth and early 20th century in the Malabar region of Kerala were largely a result of the poor economic conditions of the peasantry.

Similarly, the Wahabi and Faraidi (or Farazi) agitation of Bengal in the 1930s was also partly, if not solely, a consequence of agrarian discontent among the Muslim peasants.

More than simply rise in prices of essential commodities, organizational and ideological inputs have triggered and sustained peasant movements (Henningham 1982). Peasant uprising in Andhra Pradesh, from time to time, and especially in its Telangana region between 1946 and 1951, were organized on the basis of the intervention of political parties.

Agitation against forced labour (variously known as beggar, *veth* or *vethi*), performed by peasants, marks many a movement. For example, peasant movements in Rajasthan around 1941, in Andhra Pradesh between 1922-23 and in Oudh during 1921-22, were basically against forced labour (Surana 1979).

Further, control by the landlords in the form of various taxes on the peasants, raised land rents and eviction of tenants as cultivators were some factors in peasant uprising in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (Siddiqui 1978, Surana 1983 and Saraswati 1979).

A demand for two third share of the Produced Crops for the sharecroppers and land to the tillers were the main features of such peasant movements as the Tebhaga movement in Bengal in 1946-47 (Dhanagare 1976), land grab movement (Prasad 1986) and the Naxalite movement (Banerjee S. 1980, Bannerji T. 1980, Singha Roy, 2004).

The Bhoodan movement was started by Vinoba Bhave in the 1950s.

Peasant revolts occurred also due to change in the management of agricultural operations. The shift from subsistence to commercial crops entailed changes in agricultural practices and thereby also in traditional agrarian relationships. This gave an impetus to demands for higher wages by agricultural labourers. The Naxalite movement in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh (Mukherji 1979, Balgopal 1988) mobilized several peasant struggles on this issue.

Most of the revolts among the peasants took up the issues of small peasants, poor tenants, sharecroppers and landless labourers. Regarding active participation in these movements, we have a variety of peasants taking up of roles of leading and active participants. For example, Siddiqui (1978) shows that in the Eka movement in Uttar Pradesh, the rich peasants played a major role. So also was the case in North Bihar where peasant movements during 1917 and 1942 were led by rich peasants.

On the other hand, Hardgrave's (1977) study of the Moplah Rebellion of 1926 shows the active participation of the poorest tenant cultivators of Kerala.

Hardiman (1981) shows that the Kheda Satyagraha was mainly supported by the middle peasants who owned three to five acres of land. Clearly, we do not have any basis on which to claim that one or the other class or category of peasants spearheaded and sustained protest movements in India. Because of a lack of documentation we are also not in a position to assess the extent of women's participation in these movements. We do, however, know about their heroic and remarkable role in some cases. For example, **Singha Roy** (1992) shows that women played a radical role in sustaining the Tebhaga peasant movement in certain regions of West Bengal.

Gurpreet Mahajan - government investment needed to reduce agrarian distress and migrate excess agriculture labour to industries.

P Sainath - post-LPG, agriculture has become unremunerative.

CALL ONVEST is her

classification of peasant movements traces origins of peasant movement to

(A) Restorative movements
 eg. **Satyagrah, Pagaripanti**
 → subjective of restoring feudal agrarian order which was her harsh on peasants

(B) Ethnic origin
 eg. **Struggle, Khond**
 → ethnicity as factor of mobilisation of peasants

(C) Social condition
 eg. **Tebhaga, ek a na**
 → oppressive terms of condition

(D) Kisan sabhas
aggregation of peasant interest and integrated efforts with nationalist

B. Women's movement

- Ladies Theosophical Society
- Women's Indian Association 1917
- National Council of Women in India
- All India Women's Conference 1926
- SEWA 1972
- Progressive Organization of Women 1974

P2 - C 5 b. Women's movement

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 10. Women's Movement + Violence Against Women - Pages 156 to 175

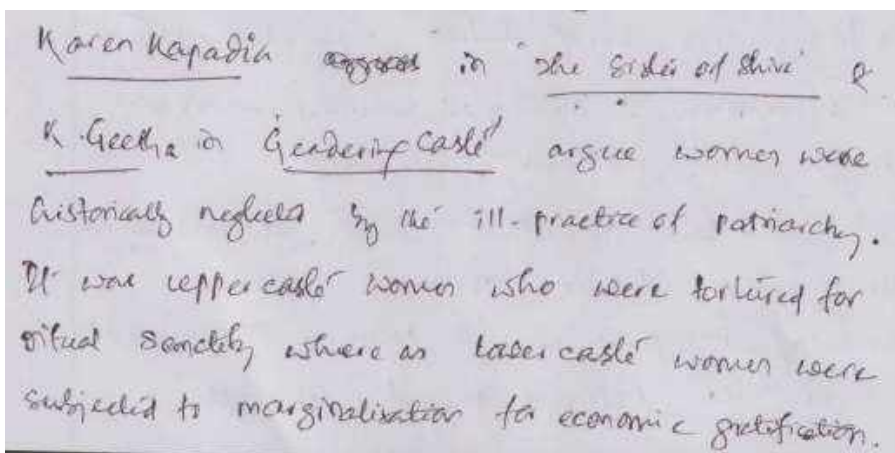
Women's movement - rights focussed, seek change in structure
Feminist movement - revolutionary, seek change of structure

The women's movement has a long history in India from 18th century social reform to current debates on reservation of seats in parliament.

- the 'first wave' of feminism in India was the period between the years 1880-1940 - At this time several organizations formed women's wings which not only took up the cause of women but gave women space and opportunity to secure the desired changes.
- From the mid-1960s onwards there is the birth of new sociopolitical movements as poverty and unemployment were widespread and people grew disillusioned with government development policies, the prevalent economic rights, land rights and the price rise.

But it is said upper caste middle class women only, ignoring Dalit women

Raka Ray, in her well-conceived empirical study, highlights that women's movements in different regions give different priority to different issues affecting women. She finds that women groups—both autonomous and affiliated with the parties in 'Mumbai', give more importance to the issue of violence against women and religious fundamentalism whereas for the groups in 'Kolkata', issues of poverty and unemployment, consciousness and literacy are more important than other issues.



Karen Kapadia argues in 'The Sides of Shiva' & K. Geetha in 'Gendering Caste' argue women were historically neglected by the ill-practice of patriarchy. It was upper caste women who were tortured for ritual sanctity whereas lower caste women were subjected to marginalization for economic justification.

Women's movements in India have mainly focused on those issues which seem to cut across boundaries such as violence against women, work related inequalities, access to education and employment, health, social recognition of work of house wives and remuneration for their work, political repression and under representation, price rise etc.

Raising issues of exploitation and oppression in different spheres of life i.e. family, marriage, economy, religion and politics, feminists seem to cover a large vista of gender concerns in diverse Indian contexts.

In all kinds of writings it has been admitted that patriarchy, stratification system and status of women are closely inter-related and any kind of positive change in the status of women would be an attack on patriarchy and stratification system. Through a symbolic analysis unequal practices have been seen express deep seated cultural valuations of what it is to be a masculine and feminine. **Leela Dube** discusses the relationship between man and women by using metaphoric concepts of 'seed' and the earth in various patrilineal cultures as justification of gender asymmetry.

Women in literary writings have been projected in a conservative form. In the last three decades large spate of writings on various aspects of gender inequality challenge the invisibility of women in economy, denial of unemployment, decision making and violence and crime against women as male privileges.

The abolition of landlordism and the breakdown of its socio-cultural milieus have affected women in a positive manner. **Mencher and Saradmoni** (1983) find that female income is essential for below poverty line houses. Most of the women are engaged in two types of work: (a) participation in the traditionally defined labour force (b) domestic work plus activities like alone. Even these women are victimized because of their sex and poor economic background.

Q: Evolution of the SHG movement in India:

The first organised initiative in this direction was taken in Gujarat in 1954 when the Textile Labour Association (TLA) of Ahmedabad formed its women's wing to organise the women belonging to households of mill workers in order to train them in primary skills like sewing, knitting embroidery, typesetting and stenography etc. In 1972, it was given a more systematized structure when Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was formed as a Trade Union under the leadership of **Ela Bhatt**. She organised women workers such as hawkers, vendors, home based operators like weavers, potters, papad / agarbatti makers, manual labourers, service providers and small producers like cattle rearers, salt workers, gum collectors, cooks and vendors with the primary objective of (a) increasing their income and assets; (b) enhancing their food and nutritional standards; and (c) increasing their organisational and leadership strength. The overall intention was to organise women for full employment. In order to broaden their access to market and technical inputs, these primary associations were encouraged to form federations like the Gujarat State Mahila SEWA Cooperative Federation, Banaskantha DWCRA, Mahila SEWA Association etc. Currently, SEWA has a membership strength of 9,59,000 which is predominantly urban. In the 1980s, MYRADA – a Karnataka based non-governmental organisation, promoted several locally formed groups to enable the members to secure credit collectively and use it along with their own savings for activities which could provide them economically gainful employment.

Major experiments in small group formation at the local level were initiated in Tamil Nadu and Kerala about two decades ago through the Tamil Nadu Women in Agriculture Programme (TANWA) 1986, Participatory Poverty Reduction Programme of Kerala, (Kudumbashree) 1995 and Tamil Nadu Women's Development Project (TNWDP) 1989. These initiatives gave a firm footing to SHG movement in these states. Today, around 44% of the total Bank-linked SHGs of the country are in the four southern States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala.

The positive experience gained from the above programmes has led to the emergence of a very strong consensus that the twin concepts of **(a) small group organisation** and **(b) self-management** are potent tools for economic and social empowerment of the rural poor. Efforts have been made almost in all parts of the country to adopt this model as a necessary component of the poverty alleviation programmes.

Forming small groups and linking them to bank branches for credit delivery has been the most important feature of the growth of the SHG movement in our country. The SHG-Bank linkage programme was started as a test project in 1989 when NABARD, the Apex Rural Development Bank in the country, sanctioned Rs.10.0 lakhs to MYRADA as seed money assistance for forming credit management groups. In the same year, the Ministry of Rural Development provided financial support to PRADAN to establish Self-Help Groups in some rural pockets of Rajasthan. On the basis of these experiences, a full-fledged project involving a partnership among SHGs, Banks and NGOs was launched by NABARD in 1992. In 1995, acting on the report of a working group, the RBI streamlined the credit delivery procedure by issuing a set of guidelines to Commercial Banks. It enabled SHGs to open Bank Accounts based on a simple inter-se agreement. The scheme was further strengthened by a standing commitment given by NABARD to provide refinance and promotional support to Banks for credit disbursement under the SHG – Bank linkage programme. NABARD's corporate mission was to make available microfinance services to 20 million poor households, or one-third of the poor in the country, by the end of 2008. In the initial years, the progress in the programme was a slow; only 33000 groups could be credit linked during the period 1992-99. But, thereafter, the programme grew rapidly and the number of SHGs financed increased from 82000 in 1999-2000 to more than 6.20 lakhs in 2005-06 and 6.87 lakhs in 2006-07. Cumulatively, 33 million poor households in the country have been able to secure access to micro-finance from the formal banking system.

C. Backward classes and Dalit movements

- In 1942, Dr. Ambedkar formed the All India Scheduled Castes Federation, dissolved after his death and RPI formed in 1957
- All India Backward Classes Federation 1950
- Dalit panther 1972

P2 - C 5 c. Backward classes and Dalit movement

Objectives of the Backward Caste Movement are:

- Protests against discrimination of various kinds,
- To gain self-respect, honour and status,
- Status mobility movements,
- Caste unity movements

Self-respect movement and Satyashodhak Samaj movement were of cultural revivalism - contra culture development - thus secularization started here long before other parts of India - revolutionary, subaltern movements

Identity politics - identity is made, changed and with this new identity, one goes for self-assertion and control of power - group of people reject old identity and collective mobilization based on new identity

Self-respect movement:

Dravidian Mahajan Sabha by **Nateswar, TN Nair** - it was initially a movement of secularization in search of equality and end to Brahmanic domination - do not call Brahmins for rites, send kids to schools.

Max Weber - Protestants look at their life beyond divine intervention. Rites, rituals to change existential conditions not needed, rather rational behaviour is needed for change - same philosophy followed by Dravidians.

"No work is high or low, but one should not do work which others refuse to do" - this is the dignity of labour preached by Dravidian Mahajan Sabha.

South Indian Liberation Front - political outfit of non-Brahmins - won 60% seats in Madras in 1917.

Periyar had joined INC in 1920, but left in 1925 as they did not accept reservation principle - he demolished SILF and started 'Justice Party' to convert a caste movement into a mass movement - girl education, family planning, refuse to do what Brahmins ask them to do - movement of resistance - united all castes and religions as Dravidians - land reforms, do work by own choice, tenancy reforms, minimum wage for labourers - he sought to create a cultural, classless, egalitarian society - vernacularization of education, Tamil culture in school books - wanted a separate country called Dravidistan which will be guided by the principle of "Sama Dharma".

If you have faith in God, custodians of God would exploit it, and make you dependent on God and lead to a hierarchical society.

Periyar's successor = Annadurai - his successors were MGR and Karunanidhi

Course of the movement: Dravidian Mahajan Sabha --> SILF --> Justice Party --> Self-respect movement --> DMK

This was a total movement as it had an impact on every sector of the society - women, land, children, education, economy, politics.

Satyashodhak Samaj:

Malinowski - wrote "Myth as a charter of society" - they may be stories, may be unrealistic, but people collectively have faith in it - faith is conscience collective as per **Durkheim** and holds people together - myth gives identity of origin and ideology which provides space for collective mobilization.

Phule - cultural revivalism, agrarian radicalism and a sense of dismissal towards nationalist movement of India - used myths to explain how outsiders exploited the indigenous people - Raja Bali - they were the original Aryans Western Braciphelus - Ram, Lakshman came later and called themselves Aryan too - aggression rather than syncretism from the new Aryans.

SNDP:

Narayan Guru - caste is not a product of culture, rather it is a product of people's self-interests - pollution not due to birth but due to way of life, occupations, dress - Sanskritization - opened schools, preached personal hygiene, avoid dead end jobs, opened temples with Dalits as priests.

Yadava Movement:

Maharashtra, 1902 - Shahu Maharaj started All India Yadav Govil Association - unify all Yadavs as Yaduvanshis - pastoralists so difficult for census to count them as caste or tribe - Ahir, Gawaria, Gaudas, Gola, Govil, Yadavs - too dispersed so integration failed.

In Haryana, they went for Sanskritization inspired by Arya Samajis and changed surnames, in Maharashtra went for Secularization and education - in UP, Bihar for backward class mobilization and capturing state power - only 12% in Bihar, 9% in UP but very powerful.

D. Environmental movements

- Chipko 1973
- Narmada 1988

P2 - C 5 d. Environmental movements

Gadgil and Guha identify four broad strands within the environmental movements in India based on vision, ideology and strategy. The first types are those which emphasize on the moral necessity to restrain overuse and ensure justice to the poor and marginalized. Mainly Gandhians belong to this strand. The second strand stresses on the need to dismantle the unjust social order through struggle. Marxists mostly follow this strand. The Third and fourth strands advocate reconstruction, i.e. employing technologies appropriate to the given context and time. They reflect the concerns of the scientists or the spontaneous efforts of the communities at the village level who aim at protecting local community forests or the right to pursue environment-friendly agricultural practices.

More of a livelihood movement in India.

Both capitalism and socialism exploits nature - only the exploiting parties are different - capitalist or state.

Daily 300 acres forest land is being diverted for development purpose.

India got political independence but not economic independence - we also following colonial model of exploitation of resources - environmental degradation.

Nehruvian development was based on **Rostow's** European model - industrialization, urbanization, deforestation - skill development, market diversification, exchange of goods, labour and services - borrow technology from foreign.

Gandhian model of development - small, sustainable, limited needs, people and environment friendly.

Citizens = benefit from development and celebrate it - supra citizens

Sub-citizens = victimized by development and go for a movement against it

New Social Movement	Old Social Movement
Issue based	Ideological
Mass based	Class based
Questions state and its policies	Targets its class enemy
Talks of mass welfare and mass rights	Talks of class rights

People displaced:

Hirakud - 11 million

Nagarjuna Sagar - 2 million

Rengali Dam and Subarnarekha project - 3 million

Total 18-19 million Indians, out of which 80% are from vulnerable sections have been displaced by dam projects

Primary displacement = thrown out of habitat

Secondary displacement = no knowledge of the new habitat

Lack of socioeconomic security or emotional connectivity

Walter Fernandes - Between 1960 and 1980, only 30% of the displaced were rehabilitated, and that too poorly. Till the year 2000, nearly 16 million have been displaced and over 40% of them are tribals.

Bela Bhatia - study on displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement due to Sardar Sarovar Dam.

Primary displacement --> secondary displacement --> detribalization

Jagannath Patra - 3 types of displacement:

- Primary - evacuation of people with monetary compensation
- Secondary - once compensation is exhausted, back to marginalization and distress, may go for forced migration - new occupations have to be taken up, not due to choice, but depending on the availability of opportunity
- Tertiary - new place where cannot adjust culturally, psychologically

Dams:

+ve - electricity, flood control, irrigation

-ve - location (Tehri in seismologically active zone), commercial viability takes precedence over ecological stability, affects hydrology, course of river, flora fauna

Ecological Movements:

Chipko movement

- Emerged during 1970s - 1974 Chamoli District
- Non-violent movement building on Gandhian philosophy
- peaceful resistance 'tree hugging'
- Prevent tree cutting and promote conservation
- 1970 - **Chandi Prasad Bhatt** in Dasuli village - organized local people and exhorted them not to tolerate deforestation. Protection Committee formed in every village - **Sundarlal Bahuguna** joined this movement and women took active leadership - became Chipko - **Gauri Devi**

Ramchandra Guha - '**Unquiet Woods**' - Chipko was not only synonymous with eco-feminism but was also a product of realization that environmental degradation had produced floods in the past like in 1970. He also calls it an expression of eco-feminism because women are most intimately connected with their environment right from fulfilling their domestic needs of water and fuel wood to their religious needs like worshipping a river or a rock.

Guha and Gadgil said that the economy of subsistence was pitted against the economy of profit.

The silent valley project, 1978

- Agitation against the building of dam on Kunthipuzha River in Kerala
- grassroots movement became the bedrock of Indian environmental activism

Jungle Bachao Andolan, 1980s

- began in Bihar and later spread to States like Jharkhand and Orissa
- The tribals of Singhbhum district of Bihar bubbled up a protest when the government decided to replace the natural sal forests with highly priced teak, a move that was termed "a greed game, political populism"

Navdanya Movement, 1982

- Initiated by **Vandana Shiva** who set up the Navdanva in 1982
- The organization promotes biodiversity conservation and organic farming
- It has not only helped create markets for farmers, but also quality food for consumers, connecting the seed to the cooked food

Appiko Movement

- the southern version of the Chipko movement
- Locally known as "Appiko Chaluvali"
- The locals embraced the trees which were to be felled by contractors of the forest department
- Apiko movement in Karnataka - **Panduranga Hegde** - against paper and plywood industries who were felling exotic and vulnerable species in the ecologically sensitive zone - supported by **Sitaram Kesari**, **Salim Ali**, **MS Swaminathan** - government declared it as "Reserved Ecosystem"

Narmada Bachao Andolan, 1985

- began with a wide developmental agenda, questioning the very rationale of large dam projects in India
- Later on, the movement turned its focus on the preservation of the environment and the Eco-systems of the valley

Anti-mining movements in - Jharia (river and air pollution - polluted water in 40 km radius, poison air in 10 km radius), Kalinganagar, Dun valley gypsum project, Goa (lost massive natural resources in only 5 years).

Marine resources movements - Kerala fishermen cooperative (against trawlers and mechanical boats in the 1980s), Chilka Bachao Andolan by **Banka Bihari Das** (mechanized trawlers), Ganga Mukti Abhiyan and Yamuna Bachao Andolan (river pollution), against landfill site in Sanjay Gandhi National Park.

The famous environmentalist Thomas Meline
advocate that India is experiencing new forms
of eco-dynamism whereby eco-satyagraha

is the way to environmental sustainability and balancing the trade off between development and environmental concerns.

Vandana Shiva advocates that Eco-feminism is gaining momentum due to women empowerment and this is a new positive development to ensure fulfillment of social inclusion goal of our policies without harming the environment.

⊙ According to Murray Bookchin, cities are sprawling environment damaging monsters that devour energy and generate unsustainable waste.

Summary

- Environmental movements are the movements of the people who are either marginalized or, forgotten by the state policy and are coming forward and asking for their right over natural resources.

Therefore, environmental movement is a contest between people's right to livelihood and state's need for development.

It is an attempt, emphasizing on a balanced developmental approach, ~~rejecting~~ to technological, anti-environmental, class-specific, state-sponsored developmental programmes.

Participants of the movement largely go for Grassroots acts of protest like Pradarshan, Rasta Roko, Jail Bhaag, Jul Samadhi etc. They generate public opinion towards ecoseensitivity by publishing literature, organising street plays or, delivering public speeches. They indicate that Eco-Feminism offers a foundation to women self-sufficiency which is being destroyed by ruthless developmental model adopted by the State.

Hence, in conclusion, environmental Movement is a testimony to the people in margins coming forward, asserting their rights, questioning State's decisions, challenging to expansion of Capitalism, democratising the democracy of India.

Hence, environmental movement speaks of People Power against power of State & Capitalists.

Somita Kothari calls the movement as "People's Movement"

K.C. Aggarwal calls it as "Grassroots Movement"

Ramachandra Guha calls it as "Totalistic Movement"

Madhav Gadgil calls it as "Subaltern Movement"

E. Ethnicity and identity movements

- Santhal 1855, Birsa Munda 1899
- Khalistan 1970s and 80s
- Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh 2000

P2 - C 5 e. Ethnicity and identity movements

Identity is created, dismantled / changed and recreated for gratification of contemporary needs - identity focussed movements include: caste movements, women movements, regional movements, tribal movements - movement gives you an identity, and you use this new identity to go for a movement.

- Caste as identity - Dravidian movement, Dalit movement, Yadav movement (Shahu Maharaj), Jat, Patidar, Maratha
- Gender as identity - patriarchy, dowry, domestic violence, female foeticide
- Region as identity - Gorkhaland, Khalistan (no industrialization, agriculture diminishing returns - discontent) - DO NOT WRITE KASHMIR
- Tribe as identity - Nagalim, Bodoland, Garo state (because they say all development funds go to Khasi Hills)

Political mobilization based on different identities = identity movement

In India studies of stratification have to address not just issues of caste, class but tribes and communities-religious/linguistic/regional. The last decade or more has witnessed a surge of ethnic/national revivals. One may identify several situations where 'ethnicity' or outsider identity becomes salient vis-à-vis 'nationality' or insider identity.

- The demand for a distinct homeland based on religion (e.g. the demand for a sovereign state by a section of the Sikhs) or language (e.g. the Tamil demand for an independent state).
- The demand for a political-administrative unit within the Indian state (e.g. Gorkhaland for Nepalis, Jharkhand state for the tribes of Central India).
- The demand for expulsion of 'outsiders' when the entire state is engulfed by migrants from other states or neighbouring countries (e.g. in Assam and Tripura).
- The demand for the expulsion of videshis (foreigners) belonging to other folk regions within the state (e.g. the Chotanagpur tribal demand to expel fellow Biharis of the plains) or from other state (Bengalis or Marwaris).
- The demand to expel those who do not belong to the same cultural region although they are from the same state (e.g. the demand for the expulsion of Andhras from the Telangana region).
- The demand to expel migrants from other linguistic states who come to work and reside in metropolitan centres (e.g. mobilization against Tamils in Bombay and Bangalore).

Nandini Sundar - '**Burning Forest**' - Human Rights violation by police in Bastar. The growth and spread of Naxalism is attributed to poverty, lack of "development" and the want of primary services like health and education. This has been termed as the "root causes perspective" by Nandini Sundar.

Sanjib Barua - development process did not meet the aspirations of the North East, hence demands like Bodoland.

Punekar - four bases of ethnicity in India are religion, race, region and caste.

1. (b) Approaches to understand concept of 'Ethnicity'

Ethnicity is a social phenomenon in which people learn their ethnic difference as part of socialisation and with use of endogenous device of marriage etc which helps them develop distinctive cultural behaviour distinguished from others

Ethnicity has been understood from different approaches

(A) PAUL BRASS in ethnicity and state says

there are 3 types of ethnic movements

- (a) Intra ethnic "Shiva Vs sumi"
- (b) Inter ethnic "mov of Assamese Vs bodo"
- (c) Vs state "Naga secession"

(B) Dipankar gupta in context of ethnicity studies with khelister movement and differentiates

between conflict of communalism and
ethnicity

(C) SURAJIT Saha uses five class model to
differentiate ethnic movements

- (i) Reform mov. "Bhagat, Vaidyanava"
- (ii) ethnic rebellion "Santhal"
- (iii) agrarian unrest "Naxalbari"
- (iv) political autonomy "Jkd, Chotanagpur"
- (v) secessionist "Naga"

(D) D.L. Sethi uses relative deprivation and
insufficient integration to understand ethnic
movement

(E) Aparna Banerjee says contemporary ethnic
movements are monopolised by emerging
middle class from within ethnic communities

Thus we see different
approaches to understand concept of 'ethnicity'.

(vi) Population Dynamics

A. Population size, growth, composition and distribution

2011 census - 121 crores - 17.5% world's population, 2.4% of world's land.

- Between 1901-1951 the average annual growth rate did not exceed 1.33%.
- In fact, between 1911 and 1921 there was a negative rate of growth of -0.03%. This was because of the influenza epidemic during 1918-19 which killed about 12.5 million persons or 5% of the total population of the country - **Visaria and Visaria**.
- The growth rate of population substantially increased after independence, going up to 2.2% during 1961-1981.
- Since 1951, the population of India has nearly tripled.
- Every year, a whole Malaysia or Australia is added to India's population.
- The density of population has increased from 72 persons per square kilometer in 1901 to 267 persons in 1991, 325 persons in 2001 and 382 persons in 2011.
- The percentage decadal growth during 2001-2011 has registered the sharpest decline since Independence - a decrease of 3.90 percentage points from 21.54 to 17.64%
- Nearly 40% of India's cause population consists of those below 15 years of age and about 5 to 6 per cent of 60 years and above.

Thus, the problem of population growth is really a serious one as the increases in employment opportunities and other resources cannot keep up with increase in population.

P2 - C 6 a. Population size, growth, composition and distribution

POPULATION DYNAMICS

Vikash Ranjan Book - Full Chapter

Also to read in brief - Census 2011 - Vision Material

Mohapatra Notebook 7 - 5. Population Dynamics - Pages 53 to 70

Demography is the systematic study of population.

Year	Total population (in millions)	Decennial increase During the decade (in million)	Decennial growth rate during the decade (per cent)
1891	235.9	-	-
1901	238.4	2.4	1.0
1911	252.0	13.7	5.7
1921	251.3	-0.7	-0.3
1931	279.0	27.7	11.0
1941	318.7	39.7	14.2
1951	361.1	42.4	13.3
1961	439.2	78.1	21.6
1971	548.2	108.9	24.8
1981	683.3	135.6	24.7
1991	846.3	162.9	23.5
2001	1028.7	182.4	21.5

DEMARU - Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat.

Table 1: Population Growth in India, 1951-2001.

Year	Population in Million			Decadal Growth Rate of Population in percent			Density of Population	Ratio of Population to 1951 Population
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban		
1951	361.1	298.7	62.4	13.31	8.79	41.43	117	100
1961	439.2	360.3	78.9	21.51	20.449	26.41	142	121.63
1971	548.2	439.1	109.1	24.8	21.86	38.23	173	151.81
1981	683.3	523.9	159.4	24.66	19.32	46.14	216	189.23
1991	846.3	628.7	217.6	23.85	20.01	36.47	267	234.37
2001	1027	741.7	285.3	21.35	17.97	31.11	312	284

Source: Census of India, Provisional Population Totals, 2001.

B. Components of population growth: birth, death, migration

Causes of high Birth Rate:

- Early Marriage.
- Illiteracy and Poverty.
- Preference for a Male Child.
- Socio cultural phenomenon and relatively slow to change, but increased level of prosperity exerts a strong downward pull.
- Belief in high fertility has been strongly supported by religions and social institutions in India.
- Universality of the institution of marriage.
- Often, there is no economic motivation for restricting the number of children, because the biological parents may not necessarily be called upon to provide for the basic needs of their own children since the extended family is jointly responsible for all the children born into it.
- Absence of widespread adoption of methods of conception control.
- As in all traditional societies, in India too, great emphasis is laid on bearing children. A woman, who does not bear children, is looked down upon in society. In fact, the new daughter-in-law attains her rightful status in the family only after she produces a child, preferably a son.

Causes for decline in Death Rate:

- Increased levels of control over famines and epidemic diseases.
- Improvements in medical cures for diseases, mass vaccination and efforts to improve sanitation.
- Substantial improvements in productivity of agriculture and means of transportations.
- **Amartya Sen** - famines were not necessarily due to fall in food grains production; they were also caused by a 'failure of entitlements', or the inability of people to buy or otherwise obtain food.

Migration:

The 2011 Census found that 69% of our population still lives in villages, while the remaining is living in cities and towns. However, the urban population has been increasing its share steadily, from about 11% at the beginning of the 21st century, an increase of about two-and-half times.

Processes of modern development ensure that the economic and social significance of the agrarian - rural way of life declines relative to the significance of the industrial - urban way of life. Example: Agriculture as a part of the GDP has been falling continuously.

Moreover, more and more people who live in villages may no longer work in agriculture.

Mass media and communication channels are now bringing images of urban lifestyles and patterns of consumptions into the rural areas. Consequently, urban norms and standards are becoming well known even in the remote villages, creating new desires and aspirations for consumptions. Mass transit and mass communication are bridging the gap between the rural and urban areas. Migration is no more a taboo now.

Considered from an urban point of view, the rapid growth in migration shows that the town or city has been acting as a magnet for the rural population. Those who cannot find work (or sufficient work) in the rural areas go to the city in search of work.

This flow of rural-to-urban migration has also been accelerated by the continuous decline of common property resources like ponds, forests and grazing lands. These common resources enabled poor people to survive in the villages although they owned little or no land. Now, these resources have been turned into private property, or they are exhausted.

If people no longer have access to these resources, but on the other hand have to buy many things in the market that they used to get free (like fuel, fodder or supplementary food items), then their hardship increases. This hardship is worsened by the fact that opportunities for earning cash income are limited in the villages.

Sometimes the city may also be preferred for social reasons specially the relative anonymity it offers. The fact that urban life involves interaction with strangers can be an advantage for different reasons. For the socially oppressed groups like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, this may offer some partial protection from the daily humiliation they may suffer in the village where everyone knows their caste identity.

The anonymity of the city also allows the poorer sections of the socially dominant rural groups to engage in low status work that they would not be able to do in the village.

While urbanization has been occurring at a rapid pace, it is the biggest cities - the metropolises - that have been growing the fastest. There are now 5,161 towns and cities in India, where 286 million people live. However, more than two - thirds of the urban population lives only in 27 big cities with million - plus populations. The larger cities are growing at such a rapid rate that the urban infrastructure can hardly keep pace. With the mass media's primary focus on these cities, the public face of India is becoming more and more urban rather than rural. Yet in terms of the political power dynamics in the country the rural areas remain a decisive force.

P2 - C 6 b. Components of population growth: birth, death, migration

Also to read in brief - IGNOU Handout - ESO 16 Unit 4 - Determinants of Infant and Child Mortality - Pages 11, 12

Birth:

The crude birth rate is generally expressed per thousand of population. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{Total number of live births during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of that year}} \times 1000$$

Expectation of Life at Birth

The average of life at birth is a good measure of the level of mortality because it is not affected by the age structure of the population. The term "average expectation of life" or life expectancy represents the average number of years of life which a cohort of new-born babies (that is, those born in the same year) may be expected to live if they are subjected to the risks of death at each year, according to the age-specific mortality rates prevailing in the country at the time to which the measure refers. This measure is complicated to calculate but easy to understand.

Infant Mortality Rate

Infants are defined in demography as all those children in the first year of life who have not yet reached age one, that is, those who have not celebrated their first birthday. Infants are studied separately, as mortality during the first year of life is invariably high. In countries like India, where health conditions are poor, infant deaths account for a substantial number of all deaths. The infant mortality rate is, therefore, often used as an indicator for determining the socio-economic status of a country and the quality of life in it.

Box 1 Measurement of Infant Mortality

The infant mortality rate is generally computed as a ratio of infant deaths (that is, deaths of children under one year of age) registered in a calendar year to the total number of live births (children born alive) registered in the same year. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{Number of deaths below one year registered during the calendar year}}{\text{Number of live births registered during the same year}} \times 1000$$

It needs to be noted that this rate is only an approximate measure of infant mortality, for no adjustment is made for the fact that some of the infants dying in the year considered were born in the preceding year.

In Indian society, a fatalistic attitude is ingrained and fostered from childhood. Such an attitude acts as a strong influence against any action that calls for the exercise of the right of self-determination with reference to reproduction. Children are considered to be gifts of God, and people believe that it is not up to them to decide on the number of children. High infant and child mortality rates also contribute to a large family size. A couple may have a large number of children in the hope that at least a few of them will survive up to adulthood. The low status of women is also a contributing factor to high fertility. Women, unquestioningly, accept excessive childbearing without any alternative avenues for self-expression.

Death:

The Crude death rate is the ratio of the total registered deaths occurring in a specified calendar year to the total mid-year population of that year, multiplied by 1000. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{No. of registered deaths during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of that year}} \times 1000$$

Migration:

In a layman's language, the word 'migration' refers to the movements of the people from one place to another. According to Demographic Dictionary, "migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival." Such migration is called permanent migration, and should be distinguished from other forms of movement, which do not involve a permanent change of residence.

Everett Lee, a well-known demographer, defines migration broadly "as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary and involuntary nature of the act. Migration, according to **Eisenstadt**, refers to "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social-setting and entering another and different one." **Mangalam** also stresses the permanent shifting of people in his definition and considers migration as a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called the migrants, from one geographical location to another.

Immigration and Emigration.

Immigration and Outmigration.

4 types of Internal Migration: R-R, R-U, U-U, U-R.

Long range migration v/s short range or seasonal migration.

DATA BOX CENSUS 2011	
Rural to Rural Mig.	47%
Rural to Urban	22%
Urban to Urban	22%
Urban to Rural	9%

Chain migration - For example, research reveals that in certain hotels in Jaipur almost all the workers belong to one particular sub-region of Kumaon. The agricultural labourers in Punjab and Haryana are mainly from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Economic factors - pull factors and push 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. He calls this as a 'push back factor'.

Jan Bremen says caste and religion act as signposts for migrants, hence clustering occurs in specific areas and jobs, ensuring social and economic support.

Socio-Cultural and Political Factors.

Consequences of migration - economic, demographic, social and psychological.

China controls migration using Hukou system.

The need for a balanced spatial distribution of economic activities to be emphasized, and stress to be laid on the need to prevent the unrestricted growth of big cities.

C. Population policy and family planning

At the level of the family, family planning implies having only the desired number of children. However, family planning implies both limitation of the family to a number considered appropriate to the resources of the family as well as proper spacing between the children.

The various components of the family planning programme are:

- Information, Education and Communication Activities
- Contraceptives: Supplies and Services
- Training of Personnel
- Research
- Administrative Infrastructure

P2 - C 6 c. Population policy and family planning

The most prominent deficiencies and mistakes of India's family planning programme are, it is argued, related largely to a typical bureaucratic (and perhaps political too) predilections, hazy perceptions about effective strategy, and relatedly a chronic mismatch between expressions of priority and actual fund allocation to FPP, which were confounded by a distinct lack of openness (until very recently) towards the experience and expertise of the international community.

Visaria and Chari write, "the Planning Commission that was bold enough to make India a pioneer in the field of population policy in 1951 was hesitant in its approach".

- **First Five-Year Plan** (1951-56) - setting up of family planning clinics for those who needed such services (what is known as 'clinic-based approach'), the chief emphasis during this period was on natural method (example: rhythm).
- **The Second Five-Year Plan** document also clearly identified "an effective curb on population growth" as an important condition for improvement in the level of living, but by the end of Second Plan (1961) only 411 clinics were set up, all failing to attract expected number of clients, and sterilization was not financed by the FPP till 1960. The pace of increase in voluntary contraceptive acceptance by the end of Second Plan was slow, and the record of voluntary attendance in family planning clinics was poor.
- In the **Third Plan** the clinic based approach was sought to be replaced by an extension-education approach in which health workers were to visit women of childbearing ages to motivate them to limit their family size. This extension approach recognizes the importance of appropriate information- education- communication (IEC) procedures for wider acceptance of FPP.

While the extension approach was supported in principle, this focus faded before it took root. The 'target approach' was readily understood. The extension approach was overwhelmed by the pre-occupation to achieve 'target' - Visaria and Chari.

With the setting up of demographic goals and targets to be achieved by the health department, the programme began to be entrenched in what K Srinivasan named as HITTs model: health department operated, incentives based, target-oriented, time-bound and sterilization - focused programme.

- During the **Fourth Five-Year Plan** (1969-74) the FPP was integrated with the maternal and child health (MCH) programme implemented through the primary health centers (PHCs) in rural areas and urban family planning centers in towns. The Minimum Needs Programme was formulated which combined three services: health, nutrition and fertility reduction. The incentive programme both for acceptors of vasectomy and tubectomy and for motivators was stepped up, with enhanced incentive amounts for acceptors. With a strong desire to achieve much faster reduction of birth rate the government of India, following HITTs model, opted for organizing sterilization (chiefly vasectomy) camps on a mass scale - 'camp approach'.

Measures beyond family planning such as legalization of abortion (the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act being enforced in April 1972) and the raising of the minimum age of marriage among girls to 18 years were also introduced during this period.

- Emergency.
- In the post-emergency period followed a tremendous backlash on the FPP, so much so that, to quote from Karan Singh's autobiography, "family planning became a dirty word".

The new government renamed 'family planning programme' as 'family welfare programme' (FWP for short), and it reduced the targets on sterilization and proposed to rely more on education and motivation for achieving demographic goals. The new government issued a new Population Policy Statement in 1977, which reaffirmed the entirely voluntary nature of FWP, and against the compulsory sterilization.

- The change of government in January 1980 marked a turning point in the programme and helped to restore it to some extent with continuing emphasis on its voluntary nature. During the revised **Sixth Five-Year Plan**, 1980-85, a Working Group of Population Policy set up by Planning Commission formulated a long-term goals and programme targets for family welfare programme. The health-based, time-bound, target-oriented FWP was revived with lesser emphasis on sterilization and a greater emphasis on spacing methods and on child survival programmes. These were to be implemented through all sub-centers and primary health centers in rural areas, without any aggressive campaigns or mass camps for sterilization. The importance of involving various NGOs, social groups such as *mahila mandals* and other similar organizations was recognized, and effort was to be made in this direction. The tubal ligation of women began to rise steadily, and it became a dominant method of family planning, especially with a limited availability of spacing methods.
- The **Seventh Plan** (1985-90) continued the tradition of target-setting and population projections, and it envisaged a reduction in the rate of growth down to 1.53 per cent during 1996-2001. Despite a low key approach to family planning, the Seventh Plan witnessed a slow but steady increase in the number of acceptors of female sterilization. There was greater emphasis on reversible methods and, younger couples were offered incentives not to have more than two children.

- One notable development from the early 1990s has however been intensification and expansion of the women's movements within the country and outside, which have been very critical of FPP's policies and directions characterized by overwhelming responsibilities imposed on women for achieving fertility reduction and demographic transition. The preponderance of female sterilizations as a dominant method of family planning in the country is, it is argued, due to the pressure brought on women by the health department officials in order to fulfil their own quotas of family planning. This has often been viewed as a serious infringement on women's fundamental rights.
- The process of democratic decentralization was sought to be set in motion along with the passing of constitutional amendments 72nd and 73rd enactment of Panchayat Raj and Nagar Palika Acts in 1992. The primary health care including family planning, primary education and provision of such basic amenities as drinking water and roads became the responsibility of the panchayats. The reservation of one-third of the seats in panchayats for women members was also enacted, with the aim of boosting the process of women's empowerment. The powers of state governments to impose coercive FPP through its primary health centers and sub-centers have also been sought to be curtailed. While this process of demographic decentralization is still in place, its speed and intensity vary widely across the states.
- Meanwhile, the deliberations and recommendations of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994, organized by the United Nations, came up with a Programme of Action (of which India was one of the signatories), which viewed population policies as an integral part of programmes for women's development and rights, women's reproductive health, poverty alleviation and sustainable development.

It was strongly felt at the Cairo Conference that population policies, which are dominated by macro demographic considerations, and acceptor-target-driven programmes are unnecessarily and unevenly burdening women with the task of regulating reproduction to meet the macro goals. It was argued that henceforth population policies should be guided primarily by the considerations of reproductive health, reproductive rights and gender equity, rather than solely by the concern of fertility regulation as hitherto practiced.

Following the Cairo Conference deliberations and Programme of Action, the government of India adopted the Reproductive and Child Health approach to family planning and population stabilization, and the method-specific and acceptor-based family planning targets were abolished in the country as a whole since April 1996.

National Population Policy 2000 - Strategic Themes:

- Decentralized planning and programme implementation.
- Convergence of service delivery at village levels.
- Empowering women for improved health and nutrition.
- Child health and survival.
- Meeting the unmet needs for family welfare services.
- Under served population groups like urban slums, tribals, hill areas, displaced, migrants, adolescents and men to be included.
- Diverse health care providers.
- Collaboration with and commitments from NGOs and private sector.
- Mainstreaming Indian systems of medicine and homeopathy.
- Contraceptive technology and research on reproductive and child health.
- Providing for the older population.
- Information, education and communication.

National Commission on Population, State / UT Commissions on Population, Coordination Cell in the Planning Commission, Technology Mission in the Department of Family Welfare created.

D. Emerging issues: ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health

Ageing:

Becker defines ageing in the broadest sense, "as those changes occurring in an individual, as a result of the passage of time".

According to Stieglitz, "ageing is a part of living It begins with conception and terminates with death".

Tibbitts says "ageing may best be defined as the survival of a growing number of people who have completed the traditional adult roles of making a living and childrearing".

There is a broad distinction between physical and social ageing. The social ageing need not necessarily coincide with physical ageing. Physical ageing may be conditioned by the health status whereas social ageing may coincide with retirement from the production process. The age at which one's productive contribution declines and one tends to be economically dependent can probably be treated as the onset of the aged stage of life.

Social ageing in the Indian context may be interpreted in a different way. This is so because social and cultural aspects are included besides the economic aspects. In rural areas where still the past-oriented societies prevail, the aged are meaningful links to tradition and ensure historical continuity. In industrialized societies and urban areas, the roles get shifted from authoritarian-patriarchal type to an equalitarian partnership. Here, there are more nontraditional roles and discontinuity of status among the aged in terms of family and kinship patterns.

The number of people 60 years and over in the globe is expected to increase to 2 billion by 2050. According to 2011 census, senior citizen population is 103.8 million or 8.6% of the total population. This is expected to grow to 177.4 million by 2025.

Sex Ratio:

India's sex ratio is 940 as per Census 2011. It was 933 in 2001. However, child sex ratio (0-6 years) is 914, which is lowest since independence. It was 927 in 2001. Decline in child sex ratio has been unabated since the 1961 census.

Demographers and sociologists have offered several reasons for the decline in the sex ratio:

- The main health factor that affects women differently from men is childbearing. It is relevant to ask if the fall in the sex ratio may be partly due to the increased risk of death in child birth that only women face. However, maternal mortality is supposed to decline with development, as levels of nutrition, general education and awareness as well as the availability of medical and communication facilities improves. Indeed, maternal mortality rates have been coming down in India even though they remain high by international standards. So, it is difficult to see how maternal mortality could have been responsible for the worsening of the sex ratio overtime.

- Combined with the fact that the decline in the child sex ratios has been much steeper than the overall figure, social scientists believe that the cause has to be sought in the differential treatment of girl babies.

Several other factors may be held responsible for the decline in the child sex ratio including:

- Severe neglect of girl babies in infancy leading to higher death rates.
- Sex specific abortions that prevent girl babies from being born.
- Female infanticide (or the killing of girl babies due to religious or cultural beliefs).

The regional pattern of low child sex ratios seems to support this argument. It is striking that the lowest child sex ratios are found in the most prosperous regions of India, Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh. Delhi, Gujarat and Maharashtra are among the richest states of India in terms of per capital incomes, and they are also the states with the lowest child sex ratios. So, the problem of selective abortions is not due to poverty or ignorance of lack of resources. For example, if practices like dowry payments to marry off their daughters, then prosperous parents would be the ones most able to afford this. However, we find that sex ratios are lowest in the most prosperous regions.

It is also possible (though this issue is still being researched) that as economically prosperous families decide to have fewer children - often only one or two now - they may also wish to choose the sex of their child. This becomes possible with the availability of ultrasound technology, although the government has passed strict laws banning this practice and imposing heavy fines and imprisonment as punishment. Known as the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, this law has been in force since 1996, and has been further strengthened in 2003.

Child and Infant Mortality:

Infant mortality rate compares the number of deaths of infants under one year old in a given year per 1,000 live births in the same year. IMR is 34 in 2016-17. The target for IMR under National Health Mission is 25 per 1000 live births by 2020.

Child mortality rate is the number of children who die by the age of five, per 1,000 live births per year. The CMR is 39 in 2016. SDG target for under-five child mortality for India is 25 by 2030.

Neonatal mortality rate (NNMR) constitutes deaths within one month of live births. Post-neonatal mortality rate (PNNMR) constitutes deaths from one month to 11 months - a function of infectious diseases like diarrhoea and acute respiratory infection. The NNMR is 24 in 2016.

Neonatal deaths constitute more than 70% of the IMR in India. This may be due to several reasons:

- There has been a significant increase in institutional deliveries since the introduction of the NRHM all over the country. However, neonatal deaths did not adequately respond to this change. Perhaps this indicates that the mere enhancement of institutional delivery may not bring down neonatal deaths as it has to be accompanied by quality public healthcare services. The public health system needs attention on several fronts to enhance reduction in neonatal deaths.
- Widespread undernourishment and anaemia levels among pregnant women in the country lead to the birth of a considerable proportion of underweight children. Most public health facilities are unable to cope with such children as they lack the specialized newborn care facilities needed.

Undernutrition among pregnant women in India is a larger public health issue and cannot be addressed by the NRHM alone.

- Although the aim of the GoI has been to enhance the public spending on health from 0.9% prior to the NRHM to at least 3% by 2022, it has only gone up to 2.2% of the GDP in the Interim Budget 2019-20. While the share of the central government's expenditure has gone up in recent years that of the state has come down. Public health spending in India remains one of the lowest in the world despite increased allocation during the NRHM period.
- The public health system faces severe shortage of health functionaries, particularly specialist doctors. Vacant positions of doctors and paramedical staff are almost a norm in many states and regular appointments are often either neglected or delayed unduly.

Reproductive Health:

Maternal mortality rate (MMR) per 100,000 live births was 130 in 2015-16.

Some important factors are:

- Mother's age, mother's education, maternal anaemia, family income, spacing.
- Nutrition and medical care during ante - natal period, care at birth, and preventive and curative care in the post-natal period.
- Household and community-level factors like water, sanitation and housing.

P2 - C 6 d. Emerging issues: ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health

Ageing:

Need a "care economy" with old age homes, pension, health insurance - social welfare.

According to Help Age India, by 2050, 20% India above 60 years.

Hemanand Biswas Commission recommended focus on geriatric care and expansion of old age homes.

Studies by **De Souza, Desai and Naik** show that religion plays an important role in the life of the aged.

Bhatia - age and ageing are equally related to role-taking, value orientations and modes of behaviour of a person, the expectation of which varies at different age-stages of members of a society.

It is reported that people over 65 years spend on average 1.5 times on healthcare compared to those in the 60–64 years age category (**Mahal et al 2002**).

The political economy of old age explores the relationship between the labour market, government policy and social class. **Peter Townsend** - inadequate state pensions lead to poverty among those who are from lower social class background. During working lives, these people have too little income to save for retirement, so poverty in old age.

Linda R. Gannon - ageing affects women more adversely than men as a result of lifestyles, habits, expectations and roles that place women at risk. Materially disadvantages as paid less and have more caring responsibilities. Menopause seen as a disease and treated with hormone replacement therapy - even men produce less androgen hormone as they age, but not seen as a problem.

Jenny Hockey and Allison James - elderly are often compared to and treated as children. Infantilized old age. They argue that both childhood and old age are social constructs linked by the common theme of dependency. Yet both can be much more independent than society usually allows them to be.

Lorraine Green - ageism is the systemic stereotyping of and discrimination against individuals on the basis of their age.

Disengagement theory - suggests that people slowly disengage from social life as they age and enter the elderly stage.

UN classification:

- Young-old - 60-75 years.
- Old-old - 75-85 years.
- Very old - 85+.

Elderly women - more issues - biophysiological, psychological and sociological.

Rural urban distribution of elderly, gender ratio, marital status, work participation (if any), living arrangement, health and disability status, changing patterns of kinship.

The elders as a resource.

In 2020, the average Indian will be only 29 years old, compared with an average age of 37 in China and the United States, 45 in Western Europe, and 48 in Japan. The demographic dividend that the country enjoys would diminish by 2050. India's population structure by then would mirror that of the major industrial countries as of now. The fiscal impact of ageing is substantial and, therefore, in India, measures should be initiated in time to address the problem. A significant proportion of individuals in the country lack the foresight to save for their retirement years, this may be due to financial illiteracy or due to economic reasons. Therefore, the impact of ageing in terms of financial planning in the absence of adequate provisions would directly fall on the government.

The problem faced by aged retired from organized sector, informal sector or agricultural sector varies. The persons retired from organized sector have less economic insecurity. People from the informal sector lack even the minimum economic security. Thus the aged peasants may become the worst sufferers, under the shelter of bread winners. who may be sons or daughters. This may lead to the prolonged work participation by aged even after their attainment of age specific. In the agricultural sector, the aged may retire only due to illness or problems connected with physical strength. Otherwise their participations still continues which is needed for their survival.

Social exchange theory establishes that people will maintain stable relationships only if they find it profitable to continue their exchange.

With advancing age, old people have less to offer to the relationship, which makes them feel awkward and ultimately adversely affects their well-being.

The needs of the aged can roughly fall into the following categories:

- Environmental
- Occupational
- Economic
- Health
- Leisure
- Social

International Initiatives:

Interest in the subject of ageing of population is of very recent origin and it still needs research and understanding of the issues and their interrelationships. International community first debated the question of ageing at the United Nations, at the initiative of Argentina, in 1948. The issue was next raised by Malta only in 1969. In recognizing that longevity was becoming one of the major challenges of the 20th century, the United Nations convened World Assembly on Ageing in Vienna in 1982. That same year the UN General Assembly endorsed the International Plan of Action on Ageing. In 1990, the Assembly designated October 1 as the International Day for the Elderly, later renamed the International Day of the Older Persons. The CTN General Assembly decided in 1992 to observe the International Year of Older Persons in 1999 to raise awareness of the fast changing demo-graphic picture of older persons, to stimulate debate, promote action strategies, and encourage research and information exchange. The theme of the year is 'towards a society for all ages'.

Participation in the first world assembly on ageing in 1982 and adoption of the Vienna International Plan marked the path of formulation of the national policy for the aged in India. A framework of the policy was made in 1990. This draft was reviewed and modified by experts and it ultimately gave the national policy its shape in 1999, which coincidentally was the international year of older persons. Association of Gerontology, India was founded in 1982.

The second world assembly on ageing was held at Madrid, Spain, in 2002, with the objective to guarantee economic and social security to older persons. In this assembly, profound and enduring consequences of ageing for all societies was discussed. Emphasis was given to issues of dwindling family support for elderly care, increasing risk of marginalization of the aged, burden of the elderly to take care of orphaned children who have lost their parents to AIDS, provision of adequate pension and preventive health measures, lack of opportunity for the elderly workforce, etc. As declared in the assembly by the then union minister for social justice and empowerment, the government is committed to providing an effective environment to secure the goals of economic and emotional security for the elderly. The intervention and action strategies of the national policy of India have been directed towards financial security, healthcare and nutrition, shelter, education, welfare and protection of life and property.

The Netherlands and Norway provide universal basic pensions to their citizens that are tax-financed. Similarly, South Africa, Australia, Brazil, Lesotho and Chile also have pension schemes that exclude only a few. A basic universal pension based on the criteria of citizenship, residence, and age is provided by New Zealand, Mauritius, Botswana, Namibia, Bolivia, Nepal, Samoa, Brunei, Kosovo and Mexico City. Ironically, except for New Zealand none amongst these is a developed country. It means that various developing countries have also been providing economic security to their elderly population by formulating UPS mainly because the scheme is more inclusive in nature in comparison to any other means tested scheme.

$$\text{Old dependency ratio} = \frac{\text{Per cent of Population of 60+ age group} \times 100}{\text{Per cent of Population of 15-59 age group}}$$

$$\text{Young dependency ratio} = \frac{\text{Per cent of Population of 0-14 age group} \times 100}{\text{Per cent of Population of 15-59 age group}}$$

Table 2: Gender wise Old Age Dependency ratio in India

Year	Total	Males	Females
1961	10.93	10.91	10.94
1971	11.47	11.39	11.57
1981	12.04	11.84	12.24
1991	12.26	12.16	12.23
1996	12.00	11.99	12.02
2001	11.88	11.72	12.05
2011	12.84	12.67	13.01
2016	14.12	13.94	14.31

Table 1: Population in India across Different Age Groups (million)

Age groups	Census 1991	Census 2001	Census 2011
All ages	838.6	1,028.6	1,210.6
0–14 years	312.4	363.5	372.4
15–59 years	464.8	585.6	729.9
60 years and above	56.7	76.6	103.8
Age not stated	4.7	2.9	4.5
% of 0–14 years	37.3	35.3	30.8
% of 15–59 years	55.4	56.9	60.3
% of 60+ years	6.8	7.5	8.6
Decadal Growth Rate of 0–14 years (%)	–	16.4	2.4
Decadal Growth Rate of 15–59 years (%)	–	26.0	24.6
Decadal Growth Rate of 60+ years (%)	–	35.1	35.5

Source: Census of India, various issues.

Sex Ratios:

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Population by Broad Age Groups, Sex and Residence, 2012

Residence Sex	Broad Age Groups			
	0–14 years	15–59 years	60+ years	
Total	Total	29.1	62.6	8.3
	Male	29.7	62.4	7.9
	Female	28.4	63.0	8.6
Rural	Total	30.5	61.2	8.3
	Male	31.1	60.9	7.9
	Female	29.8	61.5	8.7
Urban	Total	25.2	66.5	8.2
	Male	25.9	66.2	7.9
	Female	24.5	66.9	8.6

Source: Sample Registration System (2012).

⊙ Dr Betty Cohen of Ludhiana college reports that there were days when first girl child birth was welcomed, second was tolerated and third eliminated. These values still persist.

⊙ Femicide - female foeticide/infanticide despite PCPNDT act and sex-determination tests lead to poor CSR.

Ashish Bose, demographer posits that this is a sign of dysfunctional society and civilisational collapse.
→ People also find it dichotomous that govt asks for less children and then demands no infanticide.

Reproductive Health

1. Definition of reproductive health

Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of reproductive disease or infirmity. Reproductive health deals with the reproductive processes, functions and system at all stages of life.

The International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action states that "reproductive health ... implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant... Reproductive health includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counselling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases."

Reproductive Health Interventions:

epidemiological data and the expressed wishes of diverse constituencies indicate that reproductive health interventions are most likely to include attention to the issues of family planning, STD prevention and management and prevention of maternal and perinatal mortality and morbidity. Reproductive health should also address issues such as harmful practices, unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion, reproductive tract infections including sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, infertility, malnutrition and anaemia, and reproductive tract cancers.

Appropriate services must be accessible and include information, education, counselling, prevention, detection and management of health problems, care and rehabilitation.

Reproductive health strategies should be founded first and foremost on the health of individuals and families. In the operationalization of the strategies all reproductive health services must assume their responsibility to offer accessible and quality care, while ensuring respect for the individual, freedom of choice, informed consent, confidentiality and privacy in all reproductive matters. They should focus special attention on meeting the reproductive health needs of adolescents.

(vii) Challenges of Social Transformation

A. Crisis of development: displacement, environmental problems and sustainability

Development is a stage in which with the help of his knowledge and skill man is able to relieve himself from the natural environment and molds it for his own advantage.

Development is necessary for the progress but it cannot be done without changing the land use and erecting some form of new structure and for this the original user of the land has to be displaced which if not done with the free will and convenience for the original user, it is bound to create problems to him. Such problems are termed as development induced displacement problems. In short, this is crisis of development.

Environmental problem means overall lowering of environmental qualities because of adverse changes brought in by human activities in the basic structure of the components of the environment to such an extent that these adverse changes affect all biological communities in particular.

According to **Ulrich Beck** (1992) in every stage of history, technology has developed to harness environment. Technology is a primary tool of social change. However, today's complex technology leads to pollution and degrades environment. Such complex technology is also prone to error. More the complexity of a technology more is the risk of error. In spite of this our society uses it with the hope that in future, better technologies will be developed to compensate and overcome the effects of present technologies. Basically, our society 'risks' using these technologies. Beck calls modern societies as risk societies.

Einstein said, "All our technological process - our very civilization - is like the axe in the hand of the pathological criminal. So, like pathological criminals we have mercilessly destroyed the forest and converted fertile land into desert."

Indira Gandhi said, "Modern man must re-establish his unbroken link with nature and with life. He must again learn to invoke the energy and to recognize, as did the ancients in India centuries ago, that we can take from the earth and atmosphere only so much as one put back into them."

Sustainability cannot be achieved at isolated pockets as the issues of ecology are global. For example, the loss of tropical rain forests in South America would adversely affect the biodiversity of the whole world.

Environment, Economy and Community are integrated and interdependent, and we cannot focus on only one aspect totally ignoring the others.

P2 - C 7 a. Crisis of development: displacement, environmental problems and sustainability

CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 300 to 303 - Displacement Cases

Development is a multifaceted phenomenon and complex phenomenon. In simple terms it means, the movement of a society from a simple to an advanced society. This can be manifested in following ways:

1. Increasing productivity and efficiency leading to high growth.
2. Transformation of the economy from agricultural to industrial society.
3. Increasing the freedoms available to the people. (Amartya Sen)
4. Improving the quality of life of the people along with better environment.

The process of Social Transformations brings about change in the below mentioned different aspect of social life and side by side generates new social problems:

- Ideologies
- Values
- Attitudes
- Institutions
- Power
- Authority
- Interests of Society

Any development should follow John Rawl's principle of justice.

If the process of social transformation is suppressed, it generates new social problems like, farmers unrest, Naxalism, unemployment, youth unrest, etc. If the process of transformation taking a natural course, the society faces the problems of adjustment like, generation gap, caste conflict, poverty, inequality and deprivation, displacement, during the transitional phase of the decline of the old system and emergence of the new system.

More examples: Water parks, IPL in water scarcity areas; Personal gardens in rich areas, no access to poor

Sustainability = balance between development needs and carrying capacity of nature.

Displacement affects: local economy, women, children, elderly, culture, social structures

Among tribals, mechanical solidarity is replaced by atomistic existence - Open Lost Theory - loss of identity and culture

There is a need to move from balance between nature and development, to balance between nature, culture and development.

As Jodhka points out, agrarian sector in India is undergoing a big 'crisis' phase wherein due to the State's gradual withdrawal from agriculture and extension services, farmers, specially the middle farmers who aspire for better harvests but are constrained by lack of resources, are getting caught in debt-traps.

§ Jodhka says that as agrarian crisis deepens in the countryside even the traditionally dominant landed castes have started pressing for reservation.

B. Poverty, deprivation and inequalities

According to **Dutt and Sundaram** rural poverty directly affects urban poverty because most of the urban poor are migrants from the villages, driven out of their villages due to poverty. **Dandekar and Rath** have observed that the urban poor of India are only an overflow of the rural poor into the cities and that essentially, they belong to the same class as the rural poor. According to **D'Souza** the primary reason for rural-urban migration is economic, and the rural poor migrate to the cities in search of employment rather than better employment opportunities.

According to **D'Souza** the spontaneous settlements of the urban poor are not merely collections of sacks and huts but communities of fellow migrants. Each is based on a network of primary ties based on language, region, village, caste or kin. It has enabled the rural migrants coming from small village communities to become familiar with and acculturated in the complex and diversified environment of a metropolitan city.

Bose has observed that the disparity in the level of expenditure between the top 5 per cent and the bottom 5 per cent of the population has been gradually increasing and in the urban areas it is becoming more acute than in the rural areas.

Moreover, it has also been observed in recent studies that in the last few decades the proportion of cultivators came down from while the percentage of agricultural labourers increased. This reflects an increasing incidence of pauperization of the rural poor (**Chattopadhyay**).

Approaches towards poverty alleviation and development:

1. Growth Oriented Approach:

- Community Development Project, 1952
- Land Reforms, Tenancy Reforms
- Intensive Agricultural District Programme, 1960
- Intensive Agricultural Area Programme, 1964

2. Growth with Social Justice:

The motto of development since the early seventies became growth with social justice.

Programmes in Rural Areas:

- Small Farmers Development Agency
- Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Programme
- Drought Prone Area Programme
- Antyodaya, 1977
- Food for Work, 1977 - which became National Rural Employment Programme in 1980
- Sub-plans for Hilly and Tribal Areas
- Minimum Needs Programme
- Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment, 1979
- Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, 1983

- Integrated Rural Development Programme - which became Swarnjayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana in 1999 - which was then restructured as National Rural Livelihood Mission
- Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, 1989
- Indira Aawas Yojana
- MGNREGA
- Janashree Bima Yojana, 2000
- Aam Aadmi Bima Yojana, 2007
- National Agricultural Insurance Scheme, 2000
- National Food Security Mission, 2007
- Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana

Programmes in Urban Areas:

- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, 2005
- Swarnjayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana, 1997
- National Urban Livelihood Mission
- Rajiv Aawas Yojana

P2 - C 7 b. Poverty, deprivation and inequalities

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 20. Sociology of Poverty - Pages 319 to 323

At the time of independence the poverty rate was around 60%. Today, the poverty has been reduced to 21%. According to **Amaratya Sen**, poverty in India is the result of non-inclusive approach to development.

The types of research studies on poverty in India can be classified into:

- In terms of a poverty line related to income or more commonly to estimates of consumption expenditure based on successive rounds of the National Sample Survey
- the breakdown of poverty by state or region
- as a voluntary or co-opted vigilance force for the state and critically evaluate the implementation and impact of Anti-poverty programmes, particularly those related to asset transfers and employment creation
- the relationship between poverty and extreme events, ecological degradation, gender, age, caste and legal access; examining the conceptualization and experience of poverty of the poor themselves and carrying out participatory and action research
- micro-level research studies of small localities, villages and slums

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 peripheralization” where the pollutant industries and poor migrants are obliged to locate in the hinterland that have very poor quality of living.

growth, redistribution, basic needs and direct-targeted programmes - poverty alleviation

Annadurai suggests 'deglobalization' as a process to end the perpetual atrocities faced by poor in the hands of the rich.

Anand Chakravarti - malnutrition in India has created a huge dependent population. The sustainability of development can be ensured by schemes that are aimed at amelioration of problems of the masses and not the classes.

C. Violence against women

- Every 21 minutes - molestation
- Every 34 minutes - rape
- Every 42 minutes - sexual harassment
- Every 43 minutes - kidnapped
- Every 93 minutes - killed
- Every sixth girl child dying in India is because of malnutrition
- 15 million baby girls are born every year, and 20% of them die before the age of 15
- Women food intake is 1000 calories less than that of men
- Healthcare spending on women is 1/3rd that of on men
- Girl child is breastfed for lesser time period than baby boy

P2 - C 7 c. Violence against women

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 323 to 326 - Violence against Women

63 million missing women, 21 million unwanted women born due to son meta preference.

Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) - CEDAW's General Recommendation No. 19 is about violence against women and recommends steps to be taken to reduce violence against women.

According to **Veena Das**, it is the cultural enslavement of women which is responsible for violence against women.

Sylvia Walby - sexual harassment at workplace = reactionary measure of men to stop women from gaining financial independence.

According to **Kalpna Bardhan** "Although the family is the salient units of analysis for stratification studies, whether based on class or caste analysis, it is not quite sufficient situated within the broader framework, the division by sex and the status of women affect its properties of stability and dynamics".

Agnihotri and **Agarwal** gave preference for Marxist approach in analyzing women. Agarwal proposes that a number of questions which would have a bearing on gender relations will get obfuscated in the organization of production and relations of production. But despite the metaphor of reforms and individuation of women, emphasis on chastity, patriarchy, division of Labour, sacredness of Marriage seclusion with the household has persisted.

M.N. Srinivas 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 and creates the dominant ethos which underlie the practice of dowry within Hindu society. The increasing social and economic differentiation has increased the demand and expectation on the part of the groom's family.

Recent literature suggest that tribal societies are changing at a fast pace. Colonialism, coexistence with caste groups, missionaries, industrialization, education, political democratization etc. have influenced them to a great extent. Gender asymmetry which always existed in these groups has multiplied and become more complex due to import of outside influences and growing stratification based on wealth and power - **Mehrotra**

Agarwal notes that effective rights in land alone can empower women.

Lotika Sarkar - anxiety is the other name of women in the Indian context.

Neera Desai - commodification of women using technological media tools has increased - example: advertisements.

Patricia Uberoi - ritual practices of *purdah* or *ghunghat* construct a symbolic boundary between the personal and public spaces.

USA - Women have been almost entirely barred from political life. Until the 1920s women could not vote. In recent years women have made only modest gains limited in part by what **Thio** calls a "double bind." He explains, "If a woman campaigned vigorously, she would likely be regarded as a neglectful wife and mother. If she was an attentive wife and mother, she was apt to be judged incapable of devoting energy to public office."

Michael Mann (1986) discusses patriarchy, economy and class structure. According to Mann compartmentalization of women persists despite involvement of women in politics, development programmes and processes and feminism. Indian society has been divided into *purush jati* and *stree jati*.

To conceptualize women and write about them, **Nita Kumar** (1994) suggests four ways to deal i.e. by making women the object of human 'gaze' by seeing women as actors and subjects by giving them the prerogative of males, by focussing on the patriarchal, ideological discursive within which women exist and which seemingly control them without a chance to get out of them, by looking at the hidden, subversive ways, in which women exercise their agency. She raises some questions like desirability of having women as subjects and to replacing of the masculine, rational, free subject into a feminine one.

According to **Monisha Behal**'s (1984) work in Mainpuri district in west Uttar Pradesh, women's lives in the village are full of gloom and sadness because of work overload, bad health, drudgery and poverty. **Madhu Kishwar** and **Ruth Vanita** (1984) pose the women's question by highlighting the incompatibility of Indian constitutional Law, violence, aggression and crimes against women.

Joanna Liddle and Rama Joshi (1986) studied the Indian women in the context of interconnections between gender, caste and class. They explained that the patriarchal upper castes tightened both caste and gender division as they consolidated their economic supremacy and defended challenges to that supremacy.

In Indian society, restrained and controlled sexuality is a pre-requisite for socially sanctioned motherhood (Dube).

Utsha Patnaik - a pair of bullock works for 1064 hours a year, man for 1212 hours a year, woman for 3485 hours a year.

Aileen Ross and Sachidananda Sinha mention the role of education in increased parity in modern family in India.

Only 9% startups are owned by women.

Aparna Basu - sex ratio is better among Dalits and poor Tribals because they do not follow the Hindu culture.

The notions of patriarchy and patriarchal socialisation, leads to values of subordination in women. This reduces the chances of reporting of cases and hence encourages the aggressor.
The women are educationally disadvantaged, economically unempowered and political marginalised. This lowers their reactions against violence.
Some forms of violence are not even recognized like marital rape.

D. Caste conflicts

Herbert Risley noted that there were 2378 main castes among the Hindus in India. Caste conflict refers to conflict between two castes or group of castes on specific issues. In general, it is side effect of the problem of casteism. Apart from casteism, caste conflict arises when:

- one caste attempts to dominate over others
- when higher castes exploit the lower castes
- when castes perceive other castes as barriers in their mobility and in achieving political power
- when caste find that they are not able to share in the new economic opportunities or acquire symbols of high status

The mobility course attempted by the low and backward castes as a means to get rid of social and economic oppression and to as obtain their legitimate rights, has always been resisted by the upper castes to protect their own vested interests. This resistance attempt on the part of the upper castes and mobility movement on the part of the lower castes leads to conflicts between them.

According to **Kaka Kalelker**, "Casteism is an overriding, blind and supreme group loyalty that ignores the healthy social standards of justice, fair play, equity and universal brotherhood".

M.N. Srinivas has said that the caste "is so tacitly and so completely accepted by all including most vocal elements in condemning it, that it is everywhere the unit of social action." In his opinion, most of the shortcoming of the caste system can be removed and the door opened to democratic equality through adult franchise, five year plans, and the provision of education, constant progress of the backward classes and the influence of the culture of higher caste on the living standards of the lower castes.

According to **Ghurye**, the conflicts originated in casteism can be removed by encouraging inter-caste marriages.

According to **Iravati Karve**, in order to put an end to the conflict arising out of casteism, it is necessary to create economic and cultural equality between the castes.

According to **Prabhu**, the conflict 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. The cinema can do much towards the creation of these attitudes.

P2 - C 7 d. Caste conflicts

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 328 to 330 - Thinkers on Caste Conflict

The conflicts arise when (i) one caste attempts to dominate over others, (ii) when higher castes exploit the lower castes, (iii) when castes perceive other castes as barriers in mobility and in achieving political power, and (iv) when castes find that they are not able to share in the new economic opportunities or acquire symbols of high status.

Sometimes the desire for successfully competing with other castes compels small segments to unite and form a single caste category. As **Andre Beteille** has pointed out, "Competition for power and office requires a certain aggregation of segment as individually they cannot compete in the struggle for power." When they come together, they are regarded as powerful castes. The example of Kolis in Gujarat and Yadavas in North India provide an instance of coming together and forming a single caste-category in order to strengthen their political power.

Caste consciousness and caste prejudices which exist among the masses are turned by politicians into caste passions.

Classification of caste - also known as secularization of caste - **DL Sheth** states two factors for this: de-ritualization and politicization.

Regarding caste inequalities **Anand Chakravarty** says that despite the democratization of the political structure, there is still hegemonic domination of land owning castes in both micro and macro spheres.

Upendra Baxi study of medical professionals in Delhi - 80% are *Dwijia* though they are only 18% of the population.

Dalit capitalism —a term coined by activist **Chandra Bhan Prasad** and can be defined as when capitalism (business/economic activity) is seen as a solution for the upliftment and emancipation of Dalits. DICCI founded in 2005.

Challenges faced by Dalit Capitalism:

- The fundamental flaw in the argument for Dalit capitalism is that it merely seeks to find an equal space for Dalits within what is inherently an exploitative system i.e. capitalism.
- Rather than grapple with the question of a comprehensive transformation of political, economic and cultural relations towards equality in society, Dalit capitalism ingratiate itself with the present exploitative order.
- Problems faced by Dalit Entrepreneurs in terms of discrimination at various levels - social, economic and politico-administrative levels.
- Dalit Capitalism still lacks in uplifting the poorest of poor Dalits because it is not organized on the issues of mass pauperization, question of land, or the issue of landless Dalits and their forced displacement by mega-projects and rapidly widening social-economic inequalities due to mercantile capitalism and globalization.

• **Badri Narayan** says - creation of Hindu Ambedkar, Left Ambedkar, Dalit Ambedkar is there. This is creating a tussle to make Ambedkar's legacy affiliated to a political outlook, increasing politicisation.

उम्मीदवारों को इस हार्डिप में नहीं लिखना चाहिए।
Candidates must not write on this margin.

Q5.

(d)

भारत में आरक्षण जिसका कुछ लोग इसका बहुत ही तीव्रता के साथ विरोध करते हैं और दूसरी ओर कुछ लोग इसे उसी तीव्रता से समर्थन करते हैं, का सबसे विवादास्पद मुद्दा होने के कारणों की चर्चा करें।

Discuss the causes of reservation being the most contentious issue in India since some people oppose it very vehemently and on the other hand some people support it with equal vehemence.

10

Reservation is an instrument of affirmative action designed by our constitution makers to end discrimination and empower truly marginalised in the spirit of Articles 15, 16 & 46. Phases of Reservation:

- Phase I (1947) → Constitution makers focussed on victims of caste structure providing representation in view of historical injustices towards SC/STs
- Phase II (1990) → Socially and educationally backward classes
Mandal Commission granted 27% reservation to OBC.
- Phase III (2019) → Economic backwardness as sole criteria for granting 10% reservation to EWS category

Opposition to Reservation

- ① It is considered anti-meritocratic & inefficient.
- ② Inequality still persists even after 7 decades, this means it is futile. eg Oxfam report - top 1% own 70% of wealth in India (2016-17)
- ③ Srinivasan a dalit scholar in his book 'Caste Matters' as argued that benefits of reservation are limited to the dalit elites
- ④ A process of de-sanctification is observed as upper castes seek 'backward' status to get reservation eg Jats, Patidars, Marathas.
- ⑤ Arjun Shourie in his book 'Falling Over Backwardness' has argued that instead of overcoming caste divides, caste

has become primary axis of distribution of state goods.

- ⑥ Bhannu Pratap Mehta, criticising reservation to EWS category has argued that purpose of reservation has been over-stretched beyond combating discrimination.

Support to Reservation

In the context of reservation -

- ① Reservation provides avenues of social mobility in caste based society which was second system.
- ② Increased representation of talents in education and professional employment including government sector.
- ② It helps to create an egalitarian society as it facilitates distributive justice, as envisaged by Dr. Ambedkar.
- ④ Gaail Omvedt has argued that aim of reservation was not just a hand-holding mechanism rather it was a part of broader visionary attack on exploitation.
- ⑤ Satish Deshpande reservation is tool to combat forced exclusion which continues to exist even today.

Hence, reservation can not be completely eliminated but it needs to be reformed, it can't be used as an excuse for policy escapism. As Ambedkar has

argued that ~~it~~ it need to be supplemented with improved quality education translating to employability to youth.

Push better ut this work collect well

E. Ethnic conflicts, communalism, religious revivalism

Ethnicity is a collectivity of people of a distinct nature in terms of race, descent and culture. An ethnic group is a social collectivity having certain shared historicity and certain common attributes, such as race, tribe, language, religion, dress, diet, etc. Its members generally think in terms of a real or factious commonality based on common ancestral, cultural heritage, language, religion and even economic interests.

E. B. Tylor defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Culture is the man-made part of the environment.

The lacks of distributive justice, differential accessibility to resources and cultural differences have been considered the main causes of ethnic problems.

W.C. Smith - "Communalism is that ideology which has emphasized as the social, political and economic unit the group of adherents of each religion, and has emphasized the distinction, even antagonism, between such groups."

Bipan Chandra argued that, "Communalism was the false consciousness of the historical processes of the last one hundred fifty years, because, objectively no real conflict between the interests of Hindus and Muslims existed". It was a false view of history. He further argues that "Communalism was an expression of and deeply rooted in the interests, aspirations, outlook, attitudes, psychology and point of view of the middle classes in a social situation characterized by economic stagnation the absence of vigorous struggle to transform society - the communal question was petty bourgeois question par excellence".

Gyanendra Pandey suggested that "Communalism is a form of Colonialist knowledge, which in its Indian usage, means a condition of suspicion, fear and hostility between members of different religious communities".

K.N. Pannikar said that "Communalism is a state of consciousness which primarily draws upon certain assumptions of distinct cultural identity for members professing the same religion".

Bipan Chandra remarks - "While the communal riots give credibility to the basic communal ideological precepts among the ordinary people and enlist further support for communal politicians, it is communal ideology and politics, which the communal politicians and ideologues preach in normal times, which form the real basis on which communal tensions and violence occur. In other words, communal ideology and politics are the disease, communal violence only its external symptom. Communal riots and other forms of communal violence are only a concrete conjunctural manifestation of the communalization of society and politics. Communal ideology leads to communal politics and psychology differentiation, distance and competition along religious lines."

Leaders of sects and cults aggressively campaign their religion using different means. They lure customers and ensure their importance in the market of religion where supply is very low as compared to demand. **Ashish Nandy** writes that this is the reason why sadhus are not successful in India and successful in West.

Colin Campbell - Religious revivalism is greatly a response to threat to one's family and community or even larger society of which he is a part. In a multi-cultural society growing cultural hostility when experienced by child during his childhood or early adulthood, he becomes more possessive about religion. So, while holding secular position he is bound to reinforce activities endorsed by religion.

Bainbridge advocates that the conventional theory of modernity speaking out secularization and happiness has found out no place in present empirical world. So, role of religion in human society is not predictable, it is dynamic and variable. The people who are secular at one point of time are outnumbered by people those who want and religious revivalism. Thus, we live in a paradoxical time, whether like it or dislike, we are bound to be affected by religious revivalism, directly or indirectly.

P2 - C 7 e. Ethnic conflicts, communalism, religious revivalism

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 21. Thinkers on Communalism - Pages 283 to 288, 22. Thinkers on Revivalism - Pages 294 to 296

Communalism is an ideology which states that society is divided into religious communities whose interests differ and are at times even opposed to each other and hence antagonistic in nature. **K.N. Panikkar** argues that it is a state of consciousness which primarily draws upon certain assumptions of distinct cultural identity for members professing the same religion.

Elections in independent India became ends in themselves and narrow self and political interests rather than larger national interests became more important. In this scenario, the communal implications of the numbers game in a pluralistic society became apparent. The political parties conceive of their interests in terms of caste and religion.

Such an ethnic orientation of the numbers game has two prominent features:

- One is the rise of new political organizations that are sometimes blatantly and sometimes not so blatantly communal
- The capture of political organizations by cultural and sectarian organizations is also a case in point

Deepankar Gupta argues that the ethnic movements are the movements related to the nation-state i.e. related to the territory and the sovereignty aspects of the state. According to him in the ethnic mobilisation the loyalty of one ethnic group to the referent of nation-state is questioned.

Before independence, it was easy to argue that communal violence was the result of the British policy of divide and rule. Now the reality is more complex. Religion has come to be politicized and politics has come to be criminalized.

Latent communal orientation prepares a breeding ground for manifest communal behaviour.

Durkheim does not distinguish between sacred and secular, but between sacred and profane. For him, sacred and secular are same.
Sacred --> worship totems --> secular in traditional society
Sacred --> worship national flag --> secular in modern society
In both societies, symbol of unity is being worshipped and is secular as well as sacred.

Scholars like Zoya Hasan assert that communalism is the aspect of primordial society going through modernization whereas Asghar Ali Engineer relates it to macro-level factors in form of uneven development ^{across communities} due to scarcity & class-nature of society.

Bipan Chandra - Communalism: It is a false consciousness that colours the way people look at society and politics - majority communalism will lead to fascism

Stage 1 - distinct identities due to different religions

Stage 2 - religious differences imply different secular interests - social, economic, political

Stage 3 - secular interests are not only different, but also in direct opposition to each other

Ashish Nandy - use of religion for political gains is communalism.

Louis Dumont states that "communalism is an affirmation and assertion of the religious community as a political group."

Lokanath Misra cautioned the Constituent Assembly that "the cry of religion is a dangerous cry. Today, religion in India serves no higher purpose than collecting ignorance, poverty and ambition under a banner that flies for fanaticism. The aim is political, for in the modern world all is power-politics and the inner man is lost in the dust."

Vishal Arora - communalism in India is due to British policy of pitting one religion against the other.

According to **Veena Das**, the floating population of modern cities are always ready to act as rioters in communal incidents.

Neera Chaudhoke argues that minorities have to be given special rights to allay their fears of domination by the majority. But, politics of religion consider this as ~~majority~~ ^{minority} appeasement. The majority is mobilised for these issues.

Pauline Kolenda notes that plural Indian urban society ~~is~~ undergoes fusion through: (i) democracy (ii) inter-caste marriages and (iii) inter-mingling of workforce.

B.B. Mishra credits the middle class for the plural outlook of India as a nation which has been a result of education and joint stock companies.

Mother Teresa once said that if one wants peace in the world, he must go home and love his family. Indian unity derives its roots from strong yet diverse kinship relations.

However, the melting-pot cultural outlook has posed danger to national unity at times.

T.K. Doreen considers communalism prevalent in a violent form in India largely due to incomplete secularisation of India as a democracy.

Bipin Chandra in his book noted 'Communalism in Modern India' noted rise of minority consciousness due to economic backwardness a threat to national unity.

Communalism notes Louis Dumont can be traced to pre-colonial past, given lack of structural unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. Dumont contends that these two communities while may have ideologically fused at different junctures of history, never maintained a structural unity.

This dissonance Dumont asserts became sharper under the colonial government. The formal emergence of communalist based politics can be attributed to the post Swadeshi era, followed by the emergence of the Muslim League and the religious revivalism of the Swadeshis.

Moreover, 'in-group', 'out-group' identities are evoked. Charles Tilly in fact notes the 'repetitive dramaturgy' of communal riots, manipulated by politicians.

F. Illiteracy and disparities in education

- Literacy Rate: 2011 - 74.04%, 1951 - 18.33%
- Number of Illiterates: 2011 - 272.95 million, 2001 - 304.15 million
- Literacy Rate 2011 - Male 82.14%, Female 65.46%
- 84% of the Indian illiterate population lives in rural areas
- Rural Literacy - 59.21%, Urban Literacy - 80.06%
- Officially, 35 million kids are out of school - actual figure may be 60 million
- Dropout Rate after Class 8 - 47%

Study by the ICSSR in 1974 under the coordination of **I.P. Desai**. It covered 14 states and was concerned with the situation and problems of SC and ST school and college students in the country. This study, pointing out apathy of ST students to education, indicated that illiteracy increases inequality and prevents occupational as well as social mobility.

Victor D'Souza traced the pattern of disparity between the education of the SCs and the others in Punjab and pointed out how the structure of caste system, caste behaviour, economic factors and the form and operation of welfare programmes influence the pattern.

V.P. Shah pointed out relationship between education and untouchability in Gujarat.

Sachchidananda Sinha has described the situation of SC students of colleges in Uttar Pradesh.

Similarly, there have been studies on women by **K. Ahmad** and others in terms of significance of education to their role in a developing society.

Baker studied the aspirations of female students with a view to understanding the problems they encounter in making use of educational facilities.

Chitnis studied the impact of co-education on Muslim women students in Bombay.

Gore - Rural residence, low caste, and low economic standing definitely tend to deny opportunities of education to a girl.

Amartya Sen - Knowledge is indicator of participatory development.

According to **Prasad**, unless tribals are taught both their tribal dialects and state languages, teachers are given incentives for working in isolated areas, single-teacher system is replaced by two or more teacher system, and unless school timings are fixed according to the convenience of the local people, an education will remain inaccessible to the vast majority of SC/ST students. Only especially crafted education policy will fulfil the needs of SCs and STs.

Education is related to equality of opportunity. This is perceived on the basis of the findings of one empirical study conducted in eight states in 1967 on the social background of students (age, sex, caste, father's occupation, father's education, etc.) studying at various levels-high school, college and professional colleges. This study presented two possible propositions:

- Education is a priority with those in the white-collar group, and children in this group use educational facilities more than other groups; and

- Education is differentially available to those who do not belong to white-collar group

Programmes for Universal Elementary Education have included:

- National Policy on Education, 1986
- Operation Black Board, 1987
- Shiksha Karmi Project
- Lok Jumbish Programme
- Mahila Samakhya, 1989
- District Primary Education Programme
- National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 1995
- Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, 2000
- Mid-Day Meal Scheme, 2001
- 86th Amendment Act in 2002 - Article 21A to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years as a fundamental right
- Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009

P2 - C 7 f. Illiteracy and disparities in education

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 6 - 23. Disparities in Education - Pages 299 to 305

The literacy rate of women was around 5% in 1947 which has been improved to 65% by 2011.

Access to graduation and above level education:

- Upper caste - 9.09%
- Dalits - 1.67%
- Adivasis - 1.14%
- Muslims - 2.17%

① Sujatta cites in National focus group for SC/ST children that community schools in Andhra adjust holidays based on tribal festivals, breaks in weekly local bazars, these have helped tribal attendances. But such practices are rare.

Indian Thinkers

MN Roy:

1887 - 1954

Communist, Nationalist, Humanist

One of the first communist thinkers in India

Armed struggle not needed in colonies to bring independence - argued with Lenin

Said non-cooperation movement more dangerous than armed revolt - need to understand bourgeoisie - they were more developed plus were well organized and were influential in Congress

Criticized that pre Gandhian days had poverty of theory in the independence movement

But said Gandhi more metaphysical and less understanding of economics

Cannot apply Marxism uniformly everywhere - see the social context

Tried to radicalize Congress but failed

RRMR was okay with elements from Islam, Christianity too - supported things that matched European philosophy

Dayanand Saraswati - rejected all non - Hindu influences

Ramkrishna Paramhansa - did not reject any ideas of other religions, said you practice your faith

Vivekanand - Advait Vedanta, criticized Buddhism

Gail Omvedt:

1) Criticism of MN Srinivas -

- His theories are reflection of Brahminical ideologies.
- Caste as a product of culture, shared by everyone is unacceptable.

2) Criticism of AR Desai -

- Marxists see only two classes. Whereas in India the degree of Inequality experienced not equal. Dalits are highly suppressed.

3) Criticism of GS Ghurye -

- He ignores protests in Caste system.

4) On Satya Shodhak Samaj -

- Phule's solutions are very modern.
- Like Biotech, watershed development, interbreeding, HYV, etc.
- Considers SSS not a Reform Movement but a transgressive movement (that is considered offensive at the moment and is (generally) ahead of its time).

5) On Peasants Movement -

- Alongwith Ashok Rudra, says Peasants Movement in India are similar to that of Europe.
- Similarities like abolition of intermediaries, taxes and creation of infrastructure.

6) On Self-Respect Movement -

- Calls it Anti-Hindu, Anti-Brahmin, Sub-Altern movement.

7) For Dalit Movements in India -

- These are instrumental in promoting true social revolution in India.
- In India there are 2 kinds of poor - Incidental Poor and Historically Shifted to Poverty.
- Dalit Mobilisation is addressing the needs of second category.

Lohia:

1910 born
 Gender equality
 No racial discrimination
 Caste equality - more to be blamed for English victory than Indians
 Remove economic inequality
 Remove land ownership - all over the world - US, USSR are also like Landlords only
 State not to interfere in personal life
 Language - opposed foreign language like English
 Remunerative prices for agri, comparable to industries
 Himalaya Bachao - protect country from enemies
 Bottom to top administration powers - decentralization
 Vote, sickle and jail - democracy, redevelopment and jail the corrupt
 1967 - mobilized states to defeat Congress in 9 states

Box 7.1: Caste Restricts Opportunity

“Unlike the Marxist theories which became fashionable in the world in the 50’s and 60’s, Lohia recognised that caste, more than class, was the huge stumbling block to India’s progress. Then as today, caste was politically incorrect to mention in public, but most people practiced it in all aspects of life - birth marriage, association and death. It was Lohia’s thesis that India had suffered reverses throughout her history because people viewed themselves as members of a caste rather than citizens of a country. Caste, as Lohia put it, was congealed class. Class was mobile caste. As such, the country was deprived of fresh ideas because of the narrowness and stultification of thought at the top, which was comprised mainly of the upper castes, Brahmin and Baniyas, and tight compartmentalisation even there, the former dominant in the intellectual arena and the latter in the business. A proponent of affirmative action, he compared it to turning the earth to foster a better crop, urging the upper caste as he put it, “to voluntarily serve as the soil for lower castes to flourish and grow”, so that the country would profit from a broader spectrum of talent and ideas. In Lohia’s words, “Caste restricts opportunity. Restricted opportunity constricts ability. Constricted ability further restricts opportunity. Where caste prevails, opportunity and ability are restricted to ever-narrowing circles of the people”. [2] In his own party, the Samyukta (united) Socialist Party, Lohia promoted lower caste candidates both by giving electoral tickets and high party positions. Though he talked about caste incessantly, he was not a casteist – his aim was to make sure people voted for the Socialist party candidate, no matter what his or her caste. His point was that in order to make the country strong, everyone needed to have a stake in it. To eliminate caste, his aphoristic prescription was, “Roti and Beti”, that is, people would have to break caste barriers to eat together (Roti) and be willing to give their girls in marriage to boys from other castes (Beti).” (cited from Ramakrishnan, 2005: 2-3).

Jayapraksh Narayan:

1902 born
 Spoke of citizen charter long back
 Supported Bhave in Bhoodan and Gramdaan - left Marxist ideology and was criticized for this
 Participatory democracy, anti-corruption
 Trusteeship model of Gandhi

Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay:

1916 born
 Protection of refugees - SP Mukherjee and he were among the founders of Jan Sangha
 Opposed Kashmir separate constitution
 More focus on education and employment rather than only industrialization
 Don't impose foreign values - look for Indian thoughts

→ thinkers → ^{on} Indian society

caste → Ghurye, MN Srinivas, André Beteille,

Louis Dumont, Dipankar Gupta, AR Desai
(Marxist)

Fransh, Subaltern approach

Religion

family - Amstutz, IP Desai, André Beteille,
(household)

TN Madan

Radhika Karve → kinship systems in
India

tribals - Ghurye, Erico Cluif, Rajwade
Xaxa, Fraifamdet

feminists → Vandana Shiva, Usha Patnalk,
Gail Omvedt. (radical feminists)

village → MN Srinivas, S C Dube,
British, AR Desai, André
Beteille, GS Ghurye.

Social change in India - Sanskritization &
Westernization - Malinowski
modernization concept by G. Smith
Little and great tradition by Milton Singer

Social class → agrarian class - Dantel
the memo
↳ Laxta patnaik
Trotsky → criticized the
classification made by
other sociologists

Patriarchy - fradstone, Nicki host, vandan
Shiva, ana okaley,
↳ sexual div. of labour.

fundamentalism - Steve Bruce.

the resolution of class contradictions

Gail Omvedt has studied agrarian structure and social movements from a Marxist perspective. Her studies of the Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra, Jharkhand Mukti Moorcha in Bihar lead her to postulate a closer relationship between class and caste identities. She argues that the capitalist mode of production has now taken root in the rural social and economic structure. However, class as separate structure has not yet crystallized in rural society. Class identity remains anchored in the caste structure. Class exploitation is compounded by caste oppression, and the mobilization of oppressed caste alone offers an opening in India for effective class struggle and revolutionary transformation (Gail Omvedt: 1971, 1981). This approach adds a new sociological depth to the application of the Marxist method for the analysis of Indian social reality. It highlights the role of caste and related concrete processes in society as different from the uses of formal categories of class which are common in Marxist sociology. The application of this paradigm has continued in several areas of study such as the educational system (A. K. Kamet: 1979, N. Singh: 1982), the social history of feudal political economy and agrarian structure (H. Singh: 1979), caste and class relationships (Mellissoux: 1973), the autonomy of super-structural forces in Indian social villages (Djurfeldt and Lindberg: 1979). And the structure of poverty in Indian village (Djurfeldt and Lindberg: 1975). Several new studies on aspects of social structure which use the mode of production paradigm for social analysis are in the process of completion.

The significance of the role of symbols and cultural designs in the understanding of the agrarian structure of village has been forcefully articulated in the study of **Rajendra Singh** in the Basti district of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. He found a close relationship not only between caste and class structure but also underlying it a continued reinforcement by symbolic tradition, linguistic forms and cultural practices. This reinforcement both articulates and perpetuates the caste-class relationships (see Rajendra Singh: 1977, 1978). This has also been confirmed by **Ravindra Jain** in his study of the peasantry in the Chhatisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh (R. K. Jain: 1977). The nature of poverty, class exploitation and emerging social contradictions can be grasped not merely through the use of formal categories, but also through attempts to understand them in their symbolic contexts in the anchorage of tradition. Marxist studies of social structure, though now slowly awakening to these requirements, have not been fully sensitive to their significance. K.L. Sharma in an exhaustive review of Marxist studies of agrarian structure and history in India quotes D.P. Mukherjee to the effect that 'there is no escape from tradition in terms of economic forces' (D.P. Mukherjee:1956). On the basis of his own studies, he concludes that 'the capitalist mode of production in Indian agriculture is more of a myth than a reality; the mode of production is a complex whole, a continuous process, and not a static entity, hence not replacement in totality of one mode of production by another' (K.L. Sharma: 1983, b). There is, however, now an increasing realization among the Marxist social scientist as well as party leaders of the importance of recognizing the significance not only of tradition, caste, kinship and belief systems but also their relative autonomy from the economic forces for defining a mode of production. In some quarters even a jati mode of production is being hypothesized perspective has, however, yet to emerge.

M.S.A. Rao argued that in India many villages all over India are becoming increasingly subject to the impact of urban influences. But the nature of urban impact varies according to the kind of relations a village has with a city or town. He describes three different situations of urban impact:

Firstly, there are **villages in which a sizeable number of people have sought employment in far-off cities. They live there leaving behind the members of their families in their natal villages.** In Madhopur, a village in north central India, 77 out of 298 households have migrants, and a little less than half of all the migrants work in two cities of Bombay and Calcutta. About 75 percent of the total migrants send money regularly, and 83 per cent visit the village from four to five times a year to once in two years... A considerable number of emigrants reside not only in Indian cities but also in overseas towns. For instance, there are many overseas migrants from Gujarat villages living in African and British towns. They have built fashionable houses in their natal villages, invested money on land and industry, and have donated liberally to the establishment of educational institutions and trusts...

Box 1.1

The second kind of urban impact is to be seen in **villages which are situated near an industrial town...**When an industrial town like Bhilai comes up in the midst of villages, some villages are totally uprooted while the lands of others are partially acquired. The latter are found to receive an influx of immigrant workers, which not only stimulates a demand for houses and a market inside the village but creates problems of ordering relationships between the native residents and the immigrants...

...The growth of metropolitan cities accounts for the third type of urban impact on the surrounding villages...While a few villages are totally absorbed in the process of expansion, only the land of many others, excluding the inhabited area, is used for urban development...

Satish Saberwal elaborates upon the modern context by sketching three aspects to the modern framework of change in colonial India:

- modes of communication
- forms of organisation, and
- the nature of ideas

Kumud Pawade in her autobiography recounts how a Dalit woman became a Sanskrit teacher - Sanskritisation backlash

Several profound transformations in the nature of social relations in rural areas took place in the post-Independence period, especially in

those regions that underwent the Green Revolution. These included:

- an increase in the use of agricultural labour as cultivation became more intensive;
- a shift from payment in kind (grain) to payment in cash;
- a loosening of traditional bonds or hereditary relationships between farmers or landowners and agricultural workers (known as bonded labour);
- and the rise of a class of 'free' wage labourers'.

The change in the nature of the relationship between landlords (who usually belonged to the dominant castes) and agricultural workers (usually low caste), was described by **Jan Breman** as a shift from 'patronage to exploitation'

The migrant workers have been termed 'footloose labour' by **Jan Breman**, but this does not imply freedom. Breman's (1985) study shows, to the contrary, that landless workers do not have many rights, for instance, they are usually not paid the minimum wage.

Cases

Kargil war compensation to the widows - forced marriages to brother-in-law so that the compensation remained with the deceased man's patrilineal family

During the post-unification period in the 1990s Germany witnessed a rapid decline in marriage because the new German state withdrew all the protection and welfare schemes which were provided to the families prior to the unification. With growing sense of economic insecurity people responded by refusing to marry. This can also be understood as a case of unintended consequence

2004 Tsunami experience - having access to modern science and technology does not make modern cultures superior to the tribal cultures of the islands.

In his influential book, *Orality and Literacy* Walter Ong cites a study of 1971 that states that only 78 of the approximately 3,000 existing languages possess a literature.

TNCs - Only two US factories ever made shoes for Nike. In the 1960s they were made in Japan. As costs increased production shifted to South Korea in mid-1970s. Labour costs grew in South Korea, so in the 1980s production widened to Thailand and Indonesia. In the 1990s we in India produce Nike.

Studies on poor women in South Asia has shown that often they are forced to give their small savings to their husbands who demand it for their drinks. They then devised a way out by hiding their money in two places. When they were forced to give up their hard earned saving, they gave the money from one of the hiding places. And thereby ensured the safety of the other saving.

Family norms vary from society to society. For example, among the Banaro of New Guinea, the husband does not have sexual relations with his wife until she has borne a child by a friend of his father.

Brown and Harris - Depression in women - triggered by short or long term life events - which are triggered by income and class

James Gilligan - differences in homicide rate are related to inequality in the society - shame is a breeding ground for violence and murder

Otto Klineberg - Sioux Indians for South Dakota - culture - do not answer in presence of someone who does not know the answer

William EB Dubois - some successful African Americans were breaking their ties with other African Americans in order to win acceptance by whites. This weakened the African American community by depriving it of their influence

African pastoral tribe Bantu - livestock is the most precious wealth for them - reared by women, but women not allowed in the market where they are sold, as believe that women carry a spirit and cattle entering the market carries a contradictory spirit, if both at same place, will clash and one of the two will die; Some tribal societies have rituals were women are not allowed

Adrian C. Mayer found it useful to study municipal elections in Dewas town of Madhya Pradesh through the operation of quasi-groups (half formed groups) for a specific situations in the nature of 'actions sets'.

Roger Ballard - Jalandhari Sikhs v/s Mirpuri Muslims in Britain - Sikhs more prosperous as come from fertile land, decided early on to bring family too so less money wasted in travelling and sending home, some women also work - Muslims more attached to their land (close kin marriage and ancestors buried, so very close-knit and geographically limited network) so by the time they decided to bring family, they had very little savings and immigration rules had also become stricter.

Agnieszka Bielewska - Polish in Britain - post Wars one kept Polish identity and are very close 'bonding capital', post EU ones are more integrated with non-Polish 'bridging capital.' Former does not like latter as they believe war was a valid reason to migrate, not economic opportunities. But behaviour of latter may change once they decide to start families

Elliot Liebow - Tally's corner - participant observation of black streetcorner men in low income area of Washington DC - culture of poverty refuted, supports situational constraints thesis - It is not the time orientation that differentiates the streetcorner man from members of the middle class, but his future. Whereas middle class individuals have a reasonable future to look forward to, the streetcorner man has none, so he spends what he earns fast. No possibility of deferred gratification, as he does not have resources to defer, insufficient income to meet the ends. What appears to be a cultural pattern of immediate gratification and present time orientation is merely a situational response, a direct and rational reaction to situational constraints.

While **Surinder S. Jodhka's** Caste in Contemporary India examines questions of untouchability, social mobility, and Dalit activism, a particularly telling portion in the book is on how caste is seen in the very shining example of modern India: the corporate sector. Jodhka finds how inclusion is not part of a capitalist society, even though it is argued that people are judged according to their merits. Even HR departments, involved in the crucial tasks of recruitment and promotions, have mostly upper caste people, he finds, and while merit is the main criterion for recruitment, cultural prejudices play a crucial role in judging the "soft skills" of candidates.

Free-floating intelligentsia - Is it possible for social scientists to remove themselves from the particular nature of their social affairs and be objective, as, say, a physicist studying sub-atomic particles could? **Karl Mannheim** spoke of the free-floating intelligentsia not by way of thinking up a classless, creed-less, value-neutral section of social scientists who could mimic the methods and results of natural science, but of the modern intellectual who could empathise with the feelings of different sections of society without ever being affected by her own place in the milieu.

Preference falsification - The act of misrepresenting one's actual opinions or preferences due to a fear of social pressures. The term was first coined by social scientist **Timur Kuran**, who used it in his book *Private Truth, Public Lies*, published in 1997. The idea has since been used to explain some sudden and unexpected political and social revolutions. The fear of social rejection can cause even preferences that are widely held to remain undercover for a long time, and exposed suddenly at some point. The latter could happen, for instance, when a sufficient number of people learn by some means that others covertly share the same preference.

Noam Chomsky - characteristics of language of a society can tell a lot about social structure of that society

The term 'emotion work' was first used by **Arlie Hochschild** in 1983 to describe the sort of work done by female airline cabin crew in trying to keep passengers happy.

Sects - People's Temple by Reverend Jim Jones - mass cyanide consumption , Branch Davidians by David Koresh - fire
Cult movement - Heaven's Gate by Marshall Applewhite, mass suicide in 1997 when the comet Hale-Bopp passed close to earth

Parsons - variable sum theory of power - Sioux Indians of USA are a hunting society. Group leader - greater his team coordination, higher chances of getting buffalo meat and so more food for all - power differential is functional for the society

Chenchu tribes - 1994-95 in AP - given houses with modern amenities, but soon left as they believe in spirits so want house covered with sufficient number of trees which have benevolent spirits. And when someone dies, they burn down the house as malevolent spirit

ARRB - Andaman and Nicobar

Evan Pritchard - Nuer in Sudan

Franz Boas - native American tribes in USA

Margaret Mead - Samoa

Clifford Geertz - Bali

WHR Rivers - Todas of Nilgiri

William Foote Whyte - *Street Corner Society*

LK Ananthakrishna Iyer wrote accounts Of castes and tribes of Cochin and Mysore, besides carrying out a useful survey Of the Syrian Christians of Kerala

S.C.Roy carried out studies of Indian tribes such as the Oraon, Munda, and Birhor.

JH Hutton and JC Mills - tribes in Naga Hills

The British government has appointed its first ever Minister for Loneliness, who will help tackle the problem of isolation and loneliness suffered by an estimated 9 million people in the country - 10% of population

In Dhaka, a park to manage anger - The 38-acre sprawl will help its 15 million inhabitants cope with rising daily stress

MP has started a ministry for happiness

Social exclusion - Maharashtra law against social boycott - the Maharashtra cabinet approved a legislation (Prohibition of Social Boycott Act, 2015) to tackle social ostracism in the name of caste, creed, community and rituals. First state in the country to enact a law against social boycott of individuals or families by caste panchayats. It aims to crack down on extra-judicial bodies like caste and community panchayats that promote social discrimination and is meant to send out a message that democracy is not about majoritarianism.

Tribal women, especially widows labelled as witches in Rajasthan

According to National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), more than 2,500 Indians have been chased, tortured and killed in witch hunts between 2000 and 2016 and Jharkhand topped the chart of witch-hunting murders.

Maharashtra government has announced a 1% reservation in the open category for orphans in the state. Only children who have no idea who their parents were and what their caste is will be covered under this reservation. This will help orphans get education and employment, especially in government services. This will help many children who otherwise find it hard to be assimilated in mainstream.

"Love Marriage Tax" on Low caste people - A couple who married outside their caste have been asked to either pay Rs. 50,000 or leave the village. The demand was made by some village strongmen, calling it "love marriage tax." The police have registered a case and assured action against the accused.

How the proposed amendment to child labor act reinforces caste system and hampers social mobility. There is a provision in the

amendment for allowing children to do certain jobs after schooling hours. Apart from preventing them from rest and recreation, this provision might hamper a key intent of education. Its potential to trigger upward mobility of hitherto unprivileged classes. Also, it will lead to strengthening of caste-based occupation.

How external factors affecting the religious practices of minorities? - Influence of Dominant religion and changing religious practices with the environment

- a. Absence of emotional integration of Muslims
- b. Apathy of minority elites towards masses

- Practical difficulties like where to keep contraceptives in single room houses
- Declining population - low representation in lok sabha, caste power lowered, village conflict - no state apparatus to support - many hands required in family.
- Religiosity associated with deliberate control on child birth - no. of children is perceived to be decided by God.
- Communal feelings of increasing population of their own community.

- This change is usually in material environment and the adjustment we make to the changes often modify customs and social consequences are the technological result of technological change such as new organization of labor, the expansion of the range of social contacts, the specialization of function and the encroachment of urban influences on rural life.
- Opinions in villages is generally controlled by opinion leaders and local elites. Any attempt to social change must take into account such leaders.
- Social science including Sociology are themselves a product of the aspirations for control over the direction of social change and have contributed greatly to its establishment.
- Joint family helped in arranging resources, permits, licenses for business
 - traders could leave behind wife and children with family
 - kinship networks helps in trade
- Agriculture
 - green revolution required large land, high investment - joint family
 - high input - misalignment of goal and means - dowry - dowry deaths

Vrindavan elderly widows - Sulabh international helping them

Demand for euthanasia, suicide by elderly in Kerala

More means of communication, so easy to mobilize - but are you sharing own view or are you being sold post truths by those in power?

Acid Attack victims to get 1% reservation under expanded disability quota - DP is playing the lead character in a film based on acid attack survivor - Indian acid survivor walked the ramp for NYFW - short film on acid attacks based in Pak had won an Oscar

All State-run universities in Karnataka will have to provide 1% reservation for girl children of women who were victims of sexual assault or were Devadasis.

Body shaming online, surgeries for beauty v/s no filter pics, unwaxed pics, #MeToo - new feminist movements

'Menstruation Hut' - Many communities in Nepal consider menstruating women as impure and force mothers and daughters to stay in sheds away from the family home, despite the practice being outlawed - short film "Period. End of a sentence." based in India won an Oscar - Menstrual = temporary pollution

Women education, career orientation, supplementary bread winner --> marriages delayed, pre-marital happening --> violation of sexual morality --> permanent pollution, but men have temporary pollution --> Hence previously had child marriages before puberty --> hence women suicide more due to relationship failure not career or education --> men due to economic reasons as expected to be primary breadwinner --> suicidogenic impulses due to difference in values, norms and institutions --> hymen reconstruction surgeries

Brahmins can come to city and do lower jobs due to industrialization and urbanization anonymity, desanskritization

Faking caste certificates 11700 government employees in Maharashtra caught - on the other hand, 51 FIRs registered against young men from Haryana in the past two years who have tried to pass themselves off as Jatt Sikhs so that they can join the Army's Sikh regiment.

A petition has been filed in the Delhi High Court, arguing that the appointments made to the President's Bodyguard be set aside because only people from three castes - Jats, Rajputs and Jat Sikhs were asked to apply - small unit, only 150 troops - The Army has admitted in the Supreme Court that recruitment to President's Bodyguard (PBG) is open only to Hindu Rajputs, Hindu Jats and Jat Sikhs, saying that it is done purely on functional requirement; and there is no caste and religion bias in it. the Army refuted the allegation that any of the recruitment is done on the basis of caste and religion, saying that ceremonial duties in the Rashtrapati Bhawan demand common height, built and appearance

the government has rolled back its decision to issue orange-coloured passports to those with "emigration check-required" (ECR) status - would have led to discrimination against India's migrant workers, who would be treated like "second class citizens"

Farmer also egoistic suicide --> small land, all land cultivated using cash crops only, so once price falls, loss and family expectations - **Dipankar Gupta** says gender divide in farmer suicide too - Bihar less than Maharashtra even though more poor because no capitalistic farming and society used to poverty

Acute water shortage in Cape Town - rich buy and pay fine for overuse - 4 million residents

About a quarter of Cape Town's population lives in the informal settlements, where they get water from communal taps instead of individual taps at home, Carden said. "And there are always pictures of running taps and broken fixtures and 'Look at the leakage' and all the rest. But the reality is that those 1 million people out of a population of 4 (million) only use 4.5% of the water."

Nagamese is a creole used in Nagaland. It has its origin from the interaction of the hill Naga people with the Indigenous Assamese people in the plains and developed primarily as a market language to communicate for trade. Since Nagaland is inhabited by people belonging to different Naga communities speaking languages which are mutually unintelligible, it has now come to serve as the more common lingua franca of the state, though English is the official language of the state.

Dawoodi Bohra - A newly formed association of women from the community who believe in the practice describe it as khatna, khafz, or female circumcision. They consider it to be a harmless cultural and religious practice of over 1,400 years that involves a tiny excision of the prepuce, which is the fold of skin surrounding the clitoris. Khatna is carried out on girls as young as seven years of age. These women insist that female circumcision and FGM are different things: while followers of the tradition say that the purpose is to achieve taharat or religious purity, those who do not subscribe to the practice believe that it is meant to curb the sexual urges of a woman.

Hollywood remaking famous movies with women cast - example: Oceans, making certain characters black - example: Hermione - #OscarsSoWhite movement when in 2016, no POC in the 20 acting nominations

Chola Naikar tribe - Kerala - affected by floods and is so now moving away from their old home, leaving the forest and settling in plains

Kerala floods - Dalits not allowed in relief camp in Alappuzha district.

Sentinelese killed a foreign evangelist who had tried to befriend them - he went there without permission

Iran allowing women spectators in stadiums, Saudi allowing driving

Kerala film industry - actresses talking about sexual harassment - many are out of work now - Kerala magazine breastfeeding

Sabarimala - the lone dissenter judge was female

Leprosy no ground for divorce

Delhi HC strikes down the Begging Act

Punjab - Nearly 1 lakh women have reported using a substance - Social stigma and lack of exclusive facilities are deterring many of them from seeking help - 31 government deaddiction centres but there's only one centre exclusively for women

Even new age startup founders are from mercantile castes - Bansals, Agrawals; Mumbai slums - caste-wise settlements, also do same occupation as in village - kumhars, tanners; Dalit groom - no procession from certain areas; Untouchability in modern societies - separate lifts, entrances, utensils for service people

Mid day meal - Dalit kids made to wash utensils, parents do not let Dalit women become cooks - eggs removed from MDM due to upper caste objection

2017 - over 300 scavengers died on work

Jharkhand tribals migrate to Kolkata - income same, but less expenses as do not have to spend on ceremonies, rituals of community

ASHWINI Gudalur Adivasi hospital in the Nilgiris, where the management and most staff (except the doctors) are tribal

The District Magistrate of Bihar's Aurangabad has reinstated a Dalit widow as the midday meal cook at a school and also shared the food prepared by her with the students - school headmaster had sacked the cook after her husband passed away - same act by DM Gopalganj

Re-assertion of identity associated with caste - beef festival by Ambedkar Periyar Study Circle in IIT Madras.

Race - Meghan and Harry

Savita Halappanavar - Ireland abortion

Yellow Vest Protests - France's Occupy Wall Street

Vajpayee - foster daughter did rites - 4 sisters did the same in a village, the community did not give them food

The Delhi High Court in a recent judgement announced that the eldest daughter can be the karta of the Hindu Undivided Family property. Karta under the Hindu Succession Act is the coparceners or eldest of those entitled to inherit the property of a Hindu Undivided family (HUF). The Karta has the right to manage the property and business of the HUF even without the consent of the rest of the family.

New York Fashion Week - Marian Avila, a 21 year old Spanish model with Down syndrome walked the ramp

Miss Universe is cancelling swimsuit round

11 October is National Coming Out Day

Transgender inducted in one of the state committees of a political party - kinnar akhada at Kumbh this year

'Adultery, homosexuality not acceptable in Army' - Army chief - some countries have don't ask don't tell policy

Army schools open to girl students

TPP agreement has clauses for protection of Maori tribe - none of India's BITs have clause for tribe protection

Roma - a film on maid on Netflix

Ekta had a baby through surrogacy - even tried IUI and IVF for 7 years - was ready to carry herself

Garima Yatra - poor survivors conducted a march till Delhi - #MeToo movement of the subaltern - families angry because they participated

More than 3,000 women marched from Chitradurga to Bengaluru to demand a liquor ban

FRA 2006 - 11.8 lakh title claims of 'tribals and forest dwellers' rejected by states - now SC is ordering eviction - but later SC stayed it

Hungary offers tax incentives to get retirees back at work - acute labour shortage - also offering tax incentives to women who have 4 or more kids

Rap, hip hop - music of the subaltern, sharing their stories - a band called 'Casteless Collective' in Chennai talks about caste discrimination - the Mumbai hip hop collective Swadesi, known for singing about urban gullies and ghettos, has gone on to take up the cause of saving the local Adivasi population from being displaced by a controversial development project in Aarey Colony

Elders abandoned at Kumbh

BJD, TMC fielding 33% female candidates in LS elections

DP doing a film on acid attack survivor

Why many women in Maharashtra's Beed district have no wombs - Cane-cutting contractors are unwilling to hire women who menstruate, so hysterectomies have become the norm - Cane cutting is a rigorous process and if the husband or wife takes a break for a day, the couple has to pay a fine of ₹500 per day to the contractor for every break - contractors give them an advance for a surgery and that the money is recovered from their wages - WTF

Payal Tadvi - casteism in medical colleges

Iskcon's Akshaya Patra Foundation refuses to add onion or garlic to the mid-day meals it provides in Karnataka - 4 lakh kids

The Nashik Police have set up a 'Nirbhaya squad' to prevent incidents of harassment of women

Citizenship - NCR issue - Mohammad Sanaullah declared illegal immigrant had served for three decades in the Indian Army

Arjun Reddy

Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act (1979), enacted to prevent migrant workers from being exploited, but it is rarely invoked and the penalty is minimal

World cup - political banners flying over the stadium - innovative way of protests

Women victims of car accidents are 73% more likely to die or suffer serious injuries than men. Meanwhile, "female" crash-test dummies are almost NEVER used and when they are, they're 5ft, 110lbs when the average woman is 5'3", 170lbs

Sociology Current Affairs

- 1) Dalit capitalism- Dicci just like ficci, term coined by Chandra Bhan prasad
- 2) theory of technological evolution- by Veblen
- 3) Bolsa familia scheme in Brazil successful due to role of civil society
- Saiha Abhiyan-** Initiative of Rajasthan govt and UNICEF to stop child marriage.
- New Urban Agenda:** Called as Habitat III adopted by UN to promote sustainable urbanisation in next 20 years
- 3) in Harsora vs harsora case, SC removed word "adult" from Domestic Violence Act
- 4) David Ricardo- argument against comparative advantage
- Female skewed sex ratio:** cradle baby scheme started in Tamil and allowed anonymous leaving of girl child in adoption centres. More than 260 girl child left in a single centre in one year
- 5) soul for slums- civil society
- Social realism- Marx and Durkheim
- Interpretative discipline- Weber
- Health, less jobs, skill begets skill- constraint in participating women in labour force
- "Nothing to lose but their chains"-Marx
- Dr Sabu George:** declared by BBC as India's leading activist against female foeticide
- Ministry of statistics and program implementation:** highest share in crime against women is domestic violence
 - Pam Rajput Committee on improving status of women: India's missing girls
 - 1. Armed forces special power act be repealed
 - 2. Gay sex decriminalised
 - 3. Atleast 50% reservation for women right up to parliament

Sociology case study data sources

1. NCRB- violence against women
2. NSSO- Agrarian class
3. The lancet- population dynamics, poverty
4. Thomson Reuters- informal sector, crime against women
5. National health account
6. Centre for policy research
7. Economic Survey- informal sector labour
8. Bill and Melinda Gates foundation
9. Global gender gap index
10. World bank Digital dividend
11. UNICEF
12. Amartya Sen- The country of first boys
13. Ministry of statistics- elderly in India 2016. Kerala has maximum number of elderly at 12.6% of its population
14. Assocham- work and labour
15. Justice JS verma committee report on crime against women
16. VV Giri National Labour Institute

Sociology Books

Stratification

1. Marx
 - The Poverty of Philosophy
 - Das Capital
 - 18th bromaire of Louis Bonaparte
 - Contribution of critique of political economy

Coser- Functions of social conflict

Dahdorf- Class and class called nflict in industrial society

Michael Young- The Reis of meritocracy

Social mobility in industrial society- Lipset

Politics

- The circulation of elites- Pareto
- Politics as a vacation - Weber
- Sudipta Kaviraj
- Ramachandra Gita- Democrats and dissenters
- Ted Gurr- Why men rebel
- Ramcharan Guha- Patriots and Partisans
- The vacation of politics- weber
- Poverty and unbritish rule in India- Marijo
- The economic history of india- RC dutt
- Making democracy work- Robert putnam
- Diamond- re-examining democracy
- TH Marshall