



S.Y.B.A

Sociology - Paper II

**SOCIOLOGY OF INDIA
&
SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT**

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Dr. Rajan M. WelukarVice Chancellor
University of Mumbai
Fort, Mumbai-400032.**Prin. Dr. Naresh Chandra**Pro-Vice Chancellor
University of Mumbai
Fort, Mumbai-400032.**Dr . Dhaneshwar Harichandan**Professor-cum-Director
Institute of Distance and Open Learning
University of Mumbai**Course Co-ordinator & Editor** : Dr. Shashi Mishra,
R. J. College, Ghatkopar (W),
Mumbai - 400086**Course Writers** :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Dr. Shashi Mishra,
R. J. College,
Ghatkopar (W)
Mumbai- 400 086. | 3) Prof. Kinjal Mehta,
Maniben Nanavati Women's
College, Vile Parle (W),
Mumbai - 400 056. |
| 2) Prof. Gazala Bhoje,
G. M. Momin Women's College,
Rias High School Campus,
Bhiwandi – 421 302, Dist. Thane. | 4) Smt. Sudha Kini,
K. B. College of Arts and
Commerce,
Thane – 400 603. |
| 5) Prof. Mariyah Gour,
Rizvi College of Arts, Science
and Commerce
Rizvi Complex, Off Carter Road,
Mumbai – 400 050. | 6) Prof. Samya Shinde
L. S. Raheja College of Arts &
Commerce
Juhu Road, Juhu
Santacruz (W)
Mumbai – 400 050 |

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SYBA
Sociology-II
Section - I
Sociology of India

Objectives

- To introduce students to the Indian Sociological traditions
- To familiarize students with the research traditions in Indian sociology and key debates within Indian sociology.

Course Outline

Unit - I

- Indian Sociological traditions

Colonial, Nationalist, Indological, (G.S Ghurye,) Structural-Functional, (M. N. Srinivas,) Dialectical, (D. P. Mukherji, A. R. Desai,) Anti Caste(Mahatma Phule, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar)

Unit – II

Research Traditions in Indian Sociology

- Selected readings
 - o Remembered Village - M.N Srinivas
 - o Caste, Class and Power – Andre Beteille
 - o Walking On The Edge of Factionalism: An Industrial Cooperative in Rural Maharashtra – B.S Baviskar

Unit – III

Debates in Indian Sociology

- Caste and Class
- Tradition and Modernity
- Sociology From Below

Reading List

Required Readings

- Aloysius, G. (2010). Dalit-Subaltern Self Identifications.:IyotheeThassar and Tamizhan. New Delhi: Critical Quest
- Ambedkar. B.R. (2007). Annihilation of caste. New Delhi” Critical Quest.
- Dhanagare, D.N (1999). Themes and Perspectives in Indian Sociology, Rawat Publications
- Dahiwale, S.M (ed)(2004) Indian Society: Non-Brahmanic Perspectives, Rawat Publications
- Deshpande,S (2001). Contemporary India: Sociological
- Geetha V.(2002). Gender, Calcutta: Stree.
- Guru, Gopal. (1993). Dalit Movement in Mainstream Sociology. Economic and Political Weekly, 28(14)
- Fuller. (2003). The renewal of priesthood: Modernity and traditionalism in a South Indian village. Princeton University Press
- Omvedt,Gail. (1994). Dalits and Democratic Revolution, Sage, New Delhi
- Patel, Sujata 2011(Ed), Doing Sociology In India: Genealogies, locations and practices. New Delhi:OUP
- Rudolph, Susanne and Lyold. (1999). The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India. Hyderabad: Orient Longman Limited.
- Uberoi; Sundar and Deshpande. (2007). (Ed). Anthropology in the East: Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology New Delhi: Permanent Black.

Recommended Readings

- Aloysius, G.(2009). Ambedkar on Nation and Nationalism. New Delhi: Critical Quest.
- Guha R., (1998) A Subaltern Studies Reader, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Ludden (2000), Critique of Subaltern Studies, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Omvedt and Patankar.(2004). The Dalit Liberation Movement in Colonial Period. New Delhi:Critical Quest
- Omvedt, Gail. (2008). Seeking Begumpura: The social vision of anti asteintellectuals.New Delhi: Navayana.

- Rodrigues, Valerian. (2008). Dalit Bahujan Discourse. New Delhi: Critical Quest.
- Patel, Sujata.2011. Sociology in India: Trajectories and Challenges. Contributions to Indian Sociology 45(427)

Section - II

Sociology of Development

Objectives

- **To introduce various theoretical perspectives that have shaped the concept of development**
- **To help students to gain an insight into emerging issues and contemporary debates within the development discourse**

Course outline

Unit – I

Understanding Development

- Basic concepts: Social change, evolution, growth and development
- Theoretical approaches
 - Modernization theory
 - Dependency theory
 - Neo liberal economic approach

Unit – II

Process of Development: Crisis and Responses

- Issues of land displacement and rehabilitation
- Environmental degradation
- Food crisis
- Resistance movements (Posco, Vedanta, Singur, Jaitapur) 5

Unit - III

Alternative Approaches to Development

- Sustainable Development
- Feminist approach
- Inclusive Development

Reading List

Required Readings

- Agarwal, B. (1997). The gender and environment debate: Lessons from India. In Nalinivisvanathanetal (Ed) The women, gender and development reader. New Delhi: Zubaan
- Harris, Graham. (1989). The Sociology of Development Longman.
- Joshi and Verma(ed), 1998, Social Environment for Sustainable Development, Rawat Publications, Jaipur
- Kabra, Kamal Nayan. Development Planning in India: Exploring an alternative approach. New Delhi: Sage publications
- Padel, Felix and Das Samarendra.(2010). Out Of This Earth. East India Adivasis And The Aluminium Cartel. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan
- Shiva, V.(1997) Women in nature. In Nalinivisvanathanetal (Ed) The women, gender and development reader. New Delhi: Zubaan
- Sen, Amartya. (2000). Development as freedom. Anchor Books.
- Waquar Ahmed, Amitabh Kundu and Richard Peet.(2011). (Ed). India's New Economic Policy: A Critical Analysis. New York: Routledge
- Dhanmanjari, Sathe. 2011. **Political Economy of Land and Development in India. Economic and Political Weekly 16(29)**
- Iyer, Ramaswamy. 2007. Towards A Just Displacement And Rehabilitation policy. Economic and Political Weekly 42(30).
- Ramesh, J. 2010. The Two Cultures Revisited: The Environment-Development Debate in India. Economic and Political Weekly 45(42)
- Ramanathan, Usha. 2011. **Land Acquisition, Eminent Domain and the 2011 Bill. Economic and Political Weekly 46 (44-45)**
- Sarkar, Swagoto. 2011. The Impossibility of Just Land Acquisition. Economic and Political Weekly 46(41)
- Sarkar, Abhirup. 2007. Development and Displacement: Land Acquisition in West Bengal Economic and Political Weekly 42(16).

- Sahai, S. 2004. Distrust of GM foods: Addressing crisis of confidence Economic and Political Weekly:.39(23).
- India: Social Development Report by Council for Social Development published by Oxford University Press,New Delhi, 2006
- Rich lands and poor people: Is sustainable mining possible? Centre For Science And Environment.
- India Human Development Report, 2011: Towards Social inclusion.

Recommended readings

- Bhaduri,Amit. 2007. Development or Developmental Terrorism? Economic and Political Weekly 42(7)
- Dasgupta,Partha. (2001). Human Well-Being and the Natural Environment. New Delhi:OUP
- Elliot, Jennifer. (2006). An introduction to sustainable development. Routledge
- Webster, Andrew. (1984). Introduction to the sociology of Development, London: McMillan.

Films

- Development at gunpoint
- Development flows from the barrel of a gun



INDIAN SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

G. S. Ghurye (Colonial, Nationalist, Indological)

M. N. Srinivas (Structural - Functional)

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Indian Sociological Traditions
- 1.2 G. S. Ghurye (Introduction)
 - 1.2.1 Biography
 - 1.2.2 Methods and Approaches
 - 1.2.3 Works of Ghurye
 - 1.2.4 National Unity and Integration
 - 1.2.5 Criticism
 - 1.2.6 Summary
- 1.3 M. N. Srinivas (Introduction)
 - 1.3.1 Brief Biography
 - 1.3.2 Methods and Approaches
 - 1.3.3 Writings
 - 1.3.4 Criticism
 - 1.3.5 Conclusion
- 1.3.6 Summary
- 1.4 Questions
- 1.5 References

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- To familiarize students with the development of sociology in India.
- To introduced the students to the Indian Sociological Traditions.
- To familiarize students with the contribution of G. S. Ghurye.
- To acquaint the students with the methodologies of M. N. Srinivas.

1.1 INDIAN SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

Sociology as an independent social science though was born in the west in the 19th century. It emerged in a short span of time as one of the most popular discipline today even in the East. The French, British and the American sociologists in particular, have contribute a great deal of the development of the sociology on a scientific basis. Sociology had to face the challenges from other social sciences which were not ready to recognize it as one among them. Early sociologists very courageously and appropriately responded to such challenges. Sociology which imbibed the scientific perspective and accepted positivism as its article of faith forged ahead and as a result sociological studies and researches claimed credibility and respectability both in the academic and administrative circles.

Both sociology and social anthropology were brought to India from outside, particularly from Britain. British Scholars who lived in India and later Indian scholars who were trained in Britain and U.S.A. played a major role in the development of these two disciplines in India. Sociology came to be recognized as an independent discipline of academic study in India when a separate department of sociology and civics was started under the guidance of Patrick Geddes in the Bombay University in 1919.

The Western and Indian Scholars played an important role in the development of sociology in India. Scholars from both the sides produced literatures to the enrichment of sociological knowledge. Western scholars like varvier Elvin, Herbert Risley, Hutton, Nesfield, B. S. Cohn, Kathleen Gough, Sir Henry Maine, David Pocock, Charles Metcalf, Mackie Mar ricer and others did contribute during its initial stages of development in India.

Indian scholars, though some of them often pursued anthropological, historical, Indological and other approaches, contributed, in no small measure for the enrichment of sociology as an academic discipline in India. Mention must necessarily be made of the intellectual giants such as Radhakamal Mukherji, K. P. Chattopadhaya, M. N. Srinivas, G. S. Ghurye, B. N. Seal, D. P. Mukherji, Iravathi Karve, K. M. Kapadia, A. R. Desai, S. C. Dube, M. S. A. Rao, who did a lot to provide a good foundation for the study of sociology in the Indian Universities.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a note on development of sociology in India?
-

1.2 G. S. GHURYE (COLONIAL, NATIONALIST, INDOLOGICAL)

INTRODUCTION

Sociology was established as an academic discipline in India, during the late colonial period and developed rapidly after independence with the growth of the university system and the founding of research institutions.

In writings of the history of sociology and social anthropology in India, the institutions and personalities of the 'Bombay School' must find a central place. The Department of sociology at Bombay University was for many years the premier department in the country, and the head of the department during this period (1924-59), G. S. Ghurye, is often referred to as the 'fater of Indian Sociology'. Ghurye is most remembered for his leading role in the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the discipline in the country.

He build up the Bombay department practically from scratch, and during his thirty-five years as head he produced a large number of PhD and M.A. students. Including several of the most prominent sociologists of the next generation. He also founded and ran the Indian Socological Society and its journal, Sociological bulletin. Although Ghurye Indological or Cultural historical approach to sociology was soon superseded by structure – functionalism he and his students left a distinctive stamp on the way in which sociology is practised in India.

1.2.1 Biography :

Ghurye was born on 12th December, 1893 in a Saraswati Brahmin family in Malavan, Maharashtra, the West Coast of India. He died on 28th December, 1983 at the age of 91 in Bombay. From the very early years, Ghurye showed a flair for Sanskrit. After passing the matriculation examination, Ghurye got himself admitted to the Elphinston College, Bombay with Honours. He had a brilliant academic career throughout. He stood first class second at the B.A. examination and was awarded the Bahu Dazi prize. He stood first class first at the M.A. examination in english and sanskrit in 1918 and was awarded at the chancellor's Gold Medal. With Ghurye had

a background in Sanskrit later Ghurye came to sociology, which profoundly influenced Ghurye's own writings and the course of research made in the field of sociology.

While teaching at the Elphinstone College, Ghurye submitted an essay to Patrick Geddes on "Bombay As An Urban Centre." It won him a foreign scholarship. The scholarship was instituted by the university of Bombay to train promising young men in sociology. Ghurye went to London school of Economics where he briefly worked with L. T. Hobhouse. He later moved to Cambridge where he worked with W.H.R. Rivers. Rivers died in 1922 before Ghurye completed his doctoral work. In 1923, he completed his PhD under A.C. Hadden on caste and Race in India. Ghurye published by Routledge and Kegan Paul in 1932 in C. K. Ogden's order's history of civilization series. Immediately established Ghurye's reputation.

Sociology in Bombay developed under the leadership of G. S. Ghurye. Patrick Geddes was invited by the University of Bombay to start a Department of sociology in 1919. Ghurye succeeded Geddes as head and as a Reader, took charge of the Department of sociology at Bombay University in 1924. He was appointed as professor in 1934 and retired in 1959. When he retired in 1959, the university of Bombay made him an Emeritus professor. Ghurye was the first emeritus professor in Bombay University.

As a teacher Ghurye was very serious. As a research guide, he was more impressive and more successful. He created a 'Sociological awareness'. The 'Second Generation' of Indian sociologists largely his creation. They include M. N. Srinivas K. M. Kapadia, I. Karve, K. T. Merchant, I. P. Desai, A. R. Desai, Y. B. Damle, D. Narain, M. S. A. Rao, K. N. Venkatarayappa, A. Bopegamage, M. G. Kulkarni, K. C. Panchnadikar, M. L. Sharma, D. B. Unwalla & many others.

As an institution builder, deservedly, the most profound impact on Indian sociology was made by Ghurye. Ghurye was the principal architect of the department of Sociology of Bombay University, and produced a batch of renowned scholars including M. N. Srinivas, who is now internationally known. Ghurye was the prime mover in the formation of Indian sociological society in 1952.

Ghurye was elected the president of the anthropological section of the Indian science congress in 1934. In the same year he was also, elected as the nominee to the Royal Asiatic Society and continued to hold this position till 1948. During his lifetime, he won several top honours accorded to any intellectual in India.

As a scholar, in fact, throughout his life, Ghurye has been active from the academic standpoint. His 16 books out of a total of 31 books, published during his lifetime. His output is indeed prodigious by any standard. Several of them are noteworthy as pioneering contributions to the sociology field. Ghurye is most likely to be remembered by *Caste and Race in India*. The origin and subsequent proliferation of the different varieties of Indo-European civilization constitute the range of Ghurye's study.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly write a note on G. S. Ghurye?
 2. Elaborate on Ghurye as a teacher, Scholar and institutional?
-
-
-

1.2.2 Methods and approaches

Ghurye's rigor and discipline are now legendary in Indian sociological circles. Despite his training at Cambridge under W.H.R. Rivers & 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. Ghurye had conducted village, town and community studies. We can say his field survey of sex Habits of Middle class people in Bombay, conducted in the 1930s and published in 1938 and the monograph on the Mahadev Kolis (1963) demonstrated Ghurye was being an armchair textual scholarship was also field works. It would be appropriate to characterized Ghurye as a practitioner of theoretical pluralism. The fact that the he studied empirical exercise and Indian social reality using a source material.

- i) Primarily Indological methods his theoretical position bordered on *laissez-faire*.
- ii) Survey – type research involving primary data, collection, he did not conform to accepted methodological canons. 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.

iii) Ghurye also used historical and comparative method in his studies which have also been followed by his students.

iv) 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. He emphasized on indological approach in the study of social and cultural life in India.

v) Ghurye utilized literature in sociological studies with his profound knowledge of sanskrit literature, extensively quoted from the vedas, Shastras, epics and poetry of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti to shed lights on the social and cultural life in India. He made use of literature in vernacular e.g. Marathi & cited from literature of modern writer like Bankimchandra chatterjee as well Ghurye is most likely to be remembered by caste and Race In India.

Ghurye's sociology drew heavily on the traditions of British and German orientalism that had emerged out in 18 century European debates on the nature and origin of 'Civilisation'. The strong link made by orientalist scholarship between the ancient Hindu past and the present has profoundly shaped the modern understanding of Indian society and history, including the sociology of Ghurye. The social reform movement that swept through western India in the 19th Century provided yet another major source of social thought. The social reform debates in many ways prefigured sociology in the constituting 'Society' as an object of contemplation and action. Drawing upon 19th Century European intellectual trends including comte's positivism and the liberalism & utilitarianism of Bentham, Mill & Spencer, the early social reformers espoused reason, justice & equality.

The notion that caste belong to 'traditional' Society but will disappear of its own accord after the achievement of self-rule in echoed in Ghurye's sociology and in the writings of several sociologists who followed him. By the 1880s social reform was giving way to religious reform & revivalist movements as the intelligentsia turned to study of sanskrit religious text & the Indian past.

Ghurye's flexible approach to theory and methodology in sociology and social anthropology was born of his faiths in intellectual freedom, which is reflected in the diverse theoretical & methodological approaches. 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. He emphasized on indological approach in the study of social and cultural life in India.

Check Your Progress

1. In detail explain the method & approaches adopted by Ghurye?

1.2.3 Works of Ghurye :

Ghurye's writings have enormous diversity of theme and perspectives. His writings have been gathered from all sources literary, historical archaeological, Sculptural, painting and icography.

The important works of Ghurye are as follows.

Caste and Race in India (1932, 1969), Culture and Society (1947), Indian Sadhus (1953), Bharaatnatyam and Its Costume (1958), Family and kin In Indo-European culture (1955, 1961), Cities and Civilization (1962), God and Men (1962), Anatomy of a Rural – Urban Community (1962), Scheduled Tribes (first published as the Aboriginies so-called and their future) (1943, 1959, 1963), Religious Consciousness (1965), Indian Costume (1966), Social Tension in India (1968), I and other Explorations (1973), Whither India (1974), Indian Acculturation (1977), Vedic India (1979), Bringing Cauldron of North East India (1980).

Ghurye developed a cultural – historical approach to sociology that in many way reflects how English – educated high – caste intellectuals in athe late 19th & early century conceptualised their society through social reform debates and the emergent ideology of nationalism. His sociological perspective drew heavily on the converging intellectual streams of diffusionism, acquired from Rivers, and the Orientalist rendering of Indian history that he must have absorbed earlier. Ghurye's sociology of Indian civilization is clearly outlined in his first book, caste and Race in India (1932), he attempts to explain the origins and spread of caste through the examinatin of extensive historical archeological, and anthropometric evidence.

In brief, he argues that the Indo-Aryans were a branch of the Indo-European stock who entered India around 2500 BC, bringing with them, the Vedic religion and the 'Brahmanic Variety' of the Indo-Aryans civilization. The caste system he suggests, originated in the attempt by the purity by keeping themselves apart from the local population through endogamy and ritual restrictions. (Ghurye 1996:125) In *Caste and Race* Ghurye identifies Brahmanism and the caste system as the essential features of Indian civilization and traces their origin to the Indo-Aryan civilization. His further work such as *Family & Kin in Indo-European Culture* (1955), *Two Brahmanical Institutions Gotra and Charana* (1972) and *Vedic India* (1979) he elaborated on the origins of several institutions and cultural practices to the Vedic age.

For example in *Gotra and Charana* (1972), he investigates the origin, history and spread of these 'Brahminical 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. Similarly, in *Family and Kin* Ghurye argues that the Vedic-Aryan people had the joint family, with four generations living under one roof and sharing food and property, clearly suggesting that the ideal Hindu family has its origin in ancient India.

A central concern of Ghurye's sociology was to demonstrate the unity and antiquity of Indian civilization. He believed that Hinduism is at the centre of India's civilisational unity and that at the core of Hinduism are Brahminical ideas and values that are essential for the integration of society. (Pradhan 1994, Venugopal 1986). The influence of nationalism and Ghurye's desire to locate the unity of the nation sociologically become most evident in his well-known book, *The Aborigines, So-called and their Future* in which he attacks the colonial tribal policy of protectionism. Ghurye, like other nationalists, regarded the creation of 'Excluded' and 'Partially Excluded' tribal areas as a colonial strategy of divide and rule.

Check Your Progress

1. Write the sociological writings of Ghurye?

1.2.4 National Unity and Integration :

Ghurye had interest in contemporary Indian situations. As a sociologist he had been extremely concerned with the concept of integration. The process of national unity in India, and the contemporary challenges to the situation. This concern became apparent even at a time he wrote *Caste and Race in India* in 1932 & *The Aborigines - so-called and their future* in 1943. There are 3 books of Ghurye known as his 'trilogy' in this field, which are relevant in this connection. These are *Social Tensions in India* (1968) *Whither India* (1974) & *India Recreates Democracy* (1978). In these books he has developed a theoretical framework to explain unity at the social or cultural level.

Ghurye holds that through groups play an integrational role in society, true is true only up to a certain extent. In modern society, there are five sources of dangers for national unity coming as they do from a sense of excessive attachment with groups.

1. The scheduled Castes
2. The scheduled Tribes
3. The Backward classes
4. The Muslims as religious minority group
5. The linguistic minorities

Ghurye's concept of cultural unity is new one and is not secular in orientation. He is concerned with India, he says provided an excellent normative base for maintaining social and political unity in the country. According to them brought a fold widely different group in India. The various sects of Hinduism constitute vast mosaic holding together millions of people in different parts of India.

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate Ghurye's view point on national unity and integrations.

1.2.5 Criticism :

1. It has been argued that the most of Ghurye's works are based on textual and scriptural data.

2. The choice of scripture and the way of writing may have bias towards one section of society to another.
3. Ghurye further fails to recognize that qualitative. Changes has occurred in Modern India.

Because of the nature of most of his subject matter, Ghurye's method was primarily textual, but he was also an empiricist who thought that the 'facts' would speak for themselves. His books are loaded with information, often poorly organised, and short on analysis and interpretation, making it difficult for the reader to discern his argument. Ghurye advocated the collection of primary data through field research but did not carry out much field-work himself, mainly due to ill health. However he encouraged his students to do field work and directed significant field – based studies of social change in rural India and Impact of organization.

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate critically Ghurye's view point on national unity and integrations.

1.2.6 Conclusion :

Dr. G. S. Ghurye's name has assumed importance for he was one of the founding father of Indian sociology. Though Prof. Patrick Geddes started the department of sociology at the Bombay University, it was Dr. Ghurye who built and developed it on a firm foundation. He earned a permanent name as a classical sociologist of India and also of the East, by his scholarly contribution and profound depth of sociological knowledge.

1.2.7 Summary :

Ghurye's record as a teacher, research guide and author is unique.

During a same period of postretirement he had 16 books published out of 31 works that were published during his life time.

He wrote over 30 papers and spent considerable time in up-dating several of his books which were published in revised editions. Even

his postretirement achievements made an impressive and noteworthy record.

There was a time when many sociology faculties in India had at least one of his students propagating his tradition.

1.3 M. N. Srinivas (Structural - Functional)

Introduction

The main followers of this perspective are Spencer, Durkheim, Reddiffe – Brown, Evans-Pritchard.

1.3.1 Brief Biography :

The followers of this perspective focus on the understanding of the 'ordering' and 'patterning' of the social world. Their focus of attention is mainly the 'problem of order' at a societal level. Their theoretical and empirical analyses have generally been based on the assumption that societies can be seen as persistent, cohesive, stable, generally inherited wholes differentiated by their culture and social structural arrangements.

A. R. Reddiffe – Brown Says that total social structure of a society constituted a functional unity, a condition in which all parts work together with a sufficient degree of harmony and internal consistency. 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, structural – functional implies that as everything within the system is necessarily functional for the whole. M. N. Srinivas is to be credited for initiating the new line of structural – functional analysis in sociological and social anthropological research in India. Structural – functionalism is brought into sociology by borrowing concepts from biological sciences. Structure in biology refers to organisms meaning a relatively stable arrangement of relationships between different cells and the consequences of the activity of the various organs in the life process of the organism as a function.

According to Srinivas structure and function perspective in every society is a whole & that its various parts are interrelated. In other words various groups and categories which are part of a society are related to each other. (Srinivas 1964)

Check Your Progress

1. Write a brief review of M. N. Srinivas?
-

1.3.2 Methods and Approaches :

Srinivas has initiated the tradition of macro-sociological generalizations on Micro – anthropological insights and giving a sociological sweep and perspective to anthropological investigations of small – scale communities. Srinivas (1966) attempted to construct a macro-level analysis using a large number of Micro – level findings on the processes of ‘Sanskritization’, ‘Westernization’ and ‘Secularization’. Srinivas explain two basic concept to understand our society. (a) book view (b) field view

a) **Book View - (Bookish Perspective) :**

Religion, Varna, Caste, Family, Village and Geographical structure are the main elements, which are known as the base of Indian society. The knowledge about such elements is gained through sacred texts or from books. Srinivas call it book view or bookish perspective.

b) **Field View (field work) :**

Srinivas believe that the knowledge about the different vegious of Indian society can be attained through field work. This he calls field view. Consequently, he prefers empirical study to understand our society. Srinivas took the path of small regional studies rather them the construction of grand theories.

Srinivas wanted to understand his countrymen not an the basis of western text books or from indigenou sacred text but from direct observation, field. Study and field experience. He made intensive field study, he describes the concept of functional unity by explaining the interaction in ritual context of functional unity by explaining the different castes of coorgs, mainly Brahmins (Priests), Kaniyas (astrologens and magicians) and Bannas and Panikas (low caste). In context of the study of Rampura also, he describes that the various caste in a village are interdependent.

Srinivas also realized the need for a mathematical and statistical orientatian in sociology. Therefore it can be reflected that his self-analysis (1973). Srinivas identifies 3 main virtues in social anthropology its emphasis on a holistic approach encompassing the totality of a society its basis in intensive fieldwork involving total

immersion and language learning and its comparative perspective, which guards againsts ethnocentrism.

Srinivas has written on many aspects of Indian society and culture. He is best known for his work on religion, village community, caste and social change. He was influenced by Redcliffes – Browns notion of structure, who was his teacher at oxford. This writings are based on intersive field work and Rampura in particular.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a note on methods and Approaches adopted by M. N. Srinivas?

1.3.3 Writings :

Marriage and family in Mysore (1942), Religion and society Among the coorgs of South India (1952), India's Villages (1955), Caste in Modern India and other Essays (1962), Social change in Modern India (1966), The Remembered Village (1976), India : Social Structure (1980), The Dominant caste and other Essays (1987), The Cohesive Role of sanskritization (1989), On Living in Revolution and other Essays (1992), Indian Society through personal writings (1996).

Srinivas has also written may other important essays including 'On Living in a Revolution' (1986), 'Some Reflections on Dowry' (1984), 'The Insider and the outsider in the study of cultures' (1984) all illuminating dimension of ongoing social change in India. Thus, Srinivas writings are inter disciplinary in nature. The following themes are Srinivas contributions.

1. Social Charge : Brahmanization, Sanskritization, Westernization and secularization.
2. Religion and Society
3. Study of village
4. Views on Caste
5. Dominant Caste

Srinivas work Religion and society among the coorge of south India (1952) led him to formulate the concept of 'Brahminization to

represent the process of the initiation of life ways and ritual practices of Brahmins by the lower-caste Hindus. The concept was used as an explanatory device to interpret changes observed in the ritual practices and life ways of the lower caste through intensive and careful field study. Later on concepts of sanskritization was introduced as a concept of high level replaced Brahmanization. Beside, religion and caste the third tradition component of srinivas study is village. His personal and emotional involvement in fieldwork are visible in his study of the Remembered village (1976). Srinivas got the idea of studying India's villages from his mentor. Recliffe Brown in 1945-46. He conducted the study of Rampur – a Mysore Village, which gave him the concept of 'dominant Caste.' In the Remembered village (1976) it is here only that Srinivas takes some time to discuss social and economic changes, which have taken place in Rampura.'

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate on the writings of M. N. Srinivas?

1.3.4 Criticism :

- i. Srinivas overlook lower segments of society.
- ii. He has marginalized and alienated religious minorities.
- iii. In his endeavour for promoting sanskritization, he has marginalized and alienated religious minorities.
- iv. The construction of sanskritization and dominant caste put him closer to Hindutva ideology of cultural nationalism.
- v. The indigenous concepts of social change prevailing among sociologists in the 1950s and to a large extent also in the 1960s were formulated by M. N. Srinivas under the labels 'Sanskritization' and 'Westernization'.

Check Your Progress

1. Highlight few of the criticism attached with M. N. Srinivas work?

1.3.5 Summary :

Srinivas occupies an eminent place among the first generation sociologists of India. The main aim of Srinivas has been to understand Indian society. And, for him, Indian society is essentially a caste society. He has studied religion, family, caste and village in India. Srinivas has extensively talked about the social evils of the caste society, he pleads for change in the caste system and discusses westernization and modernization as viable paradigms of change.

Dr. M. N. Srinivas is an unforgettable name in Indian sociology. He was an internationally acclaimed Indian Anthropologist-cum-sociologist. He dominated sociology in the country more than any other single person among his contemporaries or his predecessors. Srinivas's active career as a sociologist covers a very long span of time. He was there in Oxford between 1945 and 1951, he returned to India where he built a successful department of sociology in the Universities of Baroda & Delhi before leaving for Bangalore where he spent the last 27 years of his life.

1.4 QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Write in detail the contribution of G. S. Ghurye towards the development of sociology in India?
- Q.2 Give a bibliographical sketch of G. S. Ghurye?
- Q.3 Elaborate on G. S. Ghurye's writings and methodologies?
- Q.4 Write a detail note on the contribution of M. N. Srinivas to Indian Sociology?
- Q.5 As a structural – functionalist elaborate on the methods and approaches adopted by M. N. Srinivas?

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DIALECTICAL

D. P. Mukerji, A. R. Desai

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 D. P. Mukerji (Introduction)
 - 2.1.1 Biography
 - 2.1.2 Methods and Approaches
 - 2.1.3 Perspectives
 - 2.1.4 Writings
 - 2.1.5 Main works of D. P. Mukherji
 - 2.1.6 Criticism
 - 2.1.7 Conclusion
- 2.2 A. R. Desai (Biography)
 - 2.2.1 Methodology and Approaches
 - 2.2.2 Writings of Desai
 - 2.2.3 Summary
- 2.3 Questions
- 2.4 References

2.0 OBJECTIVES

- To familiarize students with the development of sociology in India.
- To introduce students the contributory work of D. P. Mukerji.
- To acquaint the students with the methodology used by A. R. Desai in studying in Indian Society.
- To acquaint the students with the methodologies of M. N. Srinivas.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of Indian social reality from the Marxism perspective has been conducted by scholars such as D. D. Kosambi, A. R. Desai,

D. P. Mukerji, Irfan Habib and others. Among the early sociologists who emphasized the significance of the dialectical model were D. P. Mukerji, A. R. Desai and Ramkrishna Mukerjee.

The dialectical historical orientation is related primarily to Marxist methods and propositions for the analysis of social reality. In this perspective, when we look at the growth of dialectical – historical orientation in theory, we find that comparatively it is a less developed branch of Indian Sociology. Most basic Marxist thinking in India was done in the forties and fifties by non – sociologists. The dialectical historical perspective is comparatively less developed branch of India Sociology because most basic Marxist thinking in India was done in the 40's and 50's by non-sociologist.

2.1.2 Biography :

Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji was one of the founding fathers of sociology in India. He had made an attempt to analyze Indian history from the dialectical perspective of Karl Marx. He was one among those who laid the foundations of Indian sociology on a firm footing. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji was popularly known in the academic circle as D. P. only. He was born on 5th October 1894 in a middle class Bengali family that had comparatively a long tradition of intellectual achievements. D. P. was in close touch with the views and thought of the famous Bengali writers and poets such as Bankimchandra Chatterji, Ravindarnath Tagore.

Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji was born on 5 October, 1894 in a Brahmin, middle class family that had a long tradition of intellectual pursuits. After his 'Entrance' examination he opted for the social instead of the natural or biological sciences, the latter being preferred by the brightest students of those days. D. P. Opted for a career in teaching which began at Bangabasi College, Calcutta. He also began to write and publish in both Bengali and English, and soon acquired a reputation as a brilliant young man with broad intellectual interests and sound critical judgement.

D. P. Mukherji joined the university of Lucknow as a lecturer in economics and sociology in 1922 at the invitation of Radhakamal Mukerjee. Mukerjee himself had graduated from presidency college, Calcutta, with Honors in history and literature, and then specialized (M. A., PHD) in economics. He became a professor and Head of the Department at Lucknow university in 1921, in economic and sociology.

D. P. Mukherji's reputation as a teacher was not confined to the students of Economics and Sociology, but was generally

acknowledged at the University level. His lectures on the history of economic and social thought, and on historical sociology, were particularly appreciated during those days. His intellectual influence was felt even outside the university campus. He was delivering lectures and writing articles for newspapers on a wide variety of topics such as graphic, arts, music, cinema, literature and politics.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a brief biography on D. P. Mukherji?

2.1.3 Methodology & Approaches :

1. The role of tradition in order to analyses social change assumptions.
 - i. Development of man or person is conditioned by the social milieu.
 - ii. Marxism as a method of analysis rather than a political ideology.

Methodology :

- i. Marxian perspective of dialectical materialism
- ii. Trans – disciplinary approach

Dhurijati Prasad Mukherji was perhaps the most popular of the pioneers in Indian Sociology. He came to sociology more as a social philosopher. However, he ended up more as an advocate of empiricism, involving spiritual feelings. He was deeply interested in understanding the nature and meaning of Indian social reality in the Indian tradition. He was equally interested in finding out the ways of how to change it for promoting welfare of the common people by adapting the forces of modernity to the specificity of Indian tradition. He was acknowledge to be a Marxist. It implied that he followed Marxism as a method of analysis. His dialectical analysis of Indian history suggested that tradition and modernity colonialism and nationalism, individualism and collectivism could be seen as dialectically interacting with each other in contemporary India.

Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji contributed the perspective of Marxian Sociology in India. He was tolerant of western ideas, concepts and

analytical categories. He viewed that there is a need for an indigenous sociology and social anthropology. He preferred to call himself 'Marxologist' rather than 'Marxist' and attempted a dialectical interpretation of the encounter between the Indian tradition and modernity which unleashed many forces of cultural contradiction during the colonial era. He focused more on the historical specificity of India's cultural and social transformation which was characterized less by the "Class struggle" and more by value assimilating and cultural synthesis that resulted from the encounter between tradition and modernity.

Concerning Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji approach to the understanding of India, Society, culture and change, two points need to be stressed.

1. First he was very much against maintaining rigid barriers between one social science discipline and another.
2. Shared historical perspective in their studies.

Check Your Progress

1. Highlight the methodology used by D. P. Mukherji in correlation to dialectical approach?

2.1.4 Perspective :

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji was one of the very few social scientists in the academic world who recognized the importance of Marxism to analyse socio-economic forces operating in human society. His deepest interest was in the Marxian method rather than in any dogmas. He had a great faith in Marxism. Marxism gives an idea of a desirable higher stage in the development of human society. In that higher stage, personality becomes integrated with the others in society through a planned, socially directed collective Endeavour for historically understood end, which means a socialist order.

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji emphasize that it is the first and immediate duty of the Indian sociologists to study Indian traditions. And, it should precede the socialist interpretations of changes in the Indian traditions in terms of economic forces.

2.1.5 Writings :

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji was a versatile scholar. He wrote nineteen books, ten in Bengali and nine in English. His early publications include.

Basic concepts in Sociology (1932), Personality and the social science (1924), Problems of Indian Youth (1942), Views and Counterinterviews (1946), Modern Indian Culture (1942), Diversities (1958), Tagore : A study (1943), On Indian History : A study in Method (1943), Introduction to Music (1945), Modern Indian Culture : A sociological study (1942).

2.1.6 Main works of Mukerji - Sociological works :

1. "Personality and the social Sciences", 1942. Calcutta : The Book co.
2. "Basic concepts in sociology" 1932. London : Kegan Poul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
3. "Modern Indian Culture", 1942, Bombay : Hind Kitabs, 2nd revised, enlarged edition in 1948.
4. "Problems of Indian Youth", 1946, Bombay : Hind Kitabs.
5. "Indian Tradition and social change", 1955, Presidential address to the first Indian sociological conference (Dehra Dun). Reproduced in D. P. Mukerji's "Diversities". New Delhi : Peoples publishing House.
6. "Diversities", 1958. New Delhi : Peoples publishing House.

Other Important Works :

1. "Tagore : A study", 1943 Calcutta : Manisha. Reprinted with an introductory note by Satyen Bose in 1972.
2. "On Indian History : A study in Method", 1945. Bombay : Hind Kitabs.
3. "An Introduction to Indian Music", 1945 Bombay : Hind kitabs.
4. "Views and counterinterviews", 1946, Luknow : Universal.
5. "Man and plan in India" – Economic weekly, 1953. Reproduced in 1958 in D. P. Mukerji 'Diversities', PP. 28-76. New Delhi : Peoples publishing house.

1) **Personality and the social Sciences (1924) :**

Mukerji had written several books and articles. His first book in English, *Personality and the social science* (1924), was described by himself as “a personal document.” He had written the book with “the sole purpose” of clarifying his “attitude towards systematized knowledge of society and life in general.”

2) **Basic concept in Sociology (1932) :**

This book was Mukerji second major book. In this book he discussed the notions of “Progress”, “Equality”, “Social forces”, and “Social control”. In this work, he had clearly stated that he was not comfortable with the contemporary western sociological theories which seemed to him “heavily mechanistic and ethnocentric.” on the contrary, D. P. emphasized the importance of “Comparative cultural perspective and the historical situated ness of social reality.”

3) **Modern Indian Culture (1942) :**

Various factors such as the outbreak of the IInd world war 1939, the formal proposal for the partition of India in 1940, and the repression let loose by the British Raj in the wake of the Quit India Movement in 1942, had left a deep impression on D. P's. third major work *Modern Indian culture*.

Check Your Progress

Q.1 Bring out the main writings of D. P. Mukerji?

Q.2 Highlights few of D. P. Mukerji works?

2.1.7 Criticism :

1. As a pioneer, Mukerji was a man in a great hurry, who wrote a great deal on a wide variety of subjects, but did not go deeply into any of them.

2. As T. N. Madan has pointed out that there are two misconceptions about D. P. and his intellectual strands. Firstly, he was branded as a Marxist who was never able to master the theory and method of Marxism. Secondly, he has been described as basically

a Hindu intellectual, a conservative who was only superficially modern.

2.1.8 Conclusion :

The work of D. P. Mukerji is quite significant in building sociology of India. He was deeply influenced by Marxian thought as is evident in his emphasis on economic factors in the process of cultural change. We find that how he looks at the impact of the west on the Indian society as a phase in the social process of cultural assimilation and synthesis. In his view, Indian culture has grown by a series of responses, which has resulted in a synthesis.

Mukerji's basic ideas remain relevant for sociology in India even today. He showed that development of man or person is conditioned by the social milieu. Therefore, national independence, economic development and the resolutions of class contribution within society are necessary conditions for human development in countries like India. He also contributed to laying the foundations of a number of new fields of study, including economic anthropology, institutional economics, social ecology the sociology of value and socio-economics, studies of rural life & Indian working

2.2 A. R. DESAI (1915-1994) (DIALECTICAL)

Biography :

Akshay Ramanlal Desai, (1915-1994) was born on April 16, 1915 at Nadiad in Gujarat and died on November 12, 1994 Baroda in Gujarat. A. R. Desai took part in student movements in Baroda, Surat and Bombay. He graduated from the university of Bombay, and also obtained a Law Degree and a Phd. in sociology under G. S. Ghurye from the same university in 1946. Later he thought at the Bombay university and also became Head of the Department in 1947, he got married to Neera Desai, who has done pioneering work in field of women's studies.

A. R. Desai name finds a special mention among the pioneers of Indian sociology for the distinctive approach, that is, the Marxist approach which he advocated and practiced in his sociological Studies. Desai was also one among the student of Dr. Ghurye at the Bombay university who later got on the privilege of serving it as the professor and Head of the Department of sociology. He was one of the founding members of the "Indian Sociological Society" and a life member. He had the opportunity of serving the society as

its president between 1978 and 1980. He is known to the academic circle of India as one of the renowned rural and urban sociologists and also a political sociologist.

Desai ideological commitment made him to stand at a distance from the team of the sociologists of his generation. He was so much impressed by the Marxist Approach, that he took every opportunity to popularize it. "Relevance of the Marxist Approach to the Study of Indian Society", was the topic of the presidential talk delivered by him in the annual conference of Indian sociological society held at Meerut in November 1980 reveals his basic ideological commitment.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a biography of A. R. Desai?

2.2.1 Methodology & Approaches :

Desai sociological vision stands out for its differences with Indian social anthropology of the 1960s and 1970s. When the other Indian sociologist were concentrating on analyzing the micro (the village), Desai's sociology studied the macro and the meso Capitalism, nationalism, classes, agrarian as structure, the state and peasant movements among other things. Desai's Marxist sociology used the historical method to give specific meaning to the Marxist notion of structure and the various elements in its constitution in India such as feudalism, capitalism, the relationship between class and nation, peasants and working class, the post – colonial state and the rights of the deprived rather than following the Desai framed an interdisciplinary sociology in which there was very little differences between sociology and social science who used the method of participant observation and fieldwork to understand Indian social structure and capture the processes of change.

Among Indian sociology one who has constantly advocated and applied dialectical historical model in his sociological studies is A. R. Desai. Desai closely studied the works of Marx and Engel's. He is regarded as one of the pioneers of the modern Marxist approach to empirical investigations involving bibliographical and field research. Desai among Indian sociologists has consistently applied

Marxist methods in his treatment of Indian social structure and its processes. He rejects any interpretations of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities. He finds that the dominant sociological approaches in India are basically non-Marxist, and Marxist approach has been rejected on the pretext of its being dogmatic, value-loaded and deterministic in nature. The relevant approach according to Desai, is the Marxist approach as it could help to study the government policies, the well his caste and class system into state apparatus and India's political economy.

Thus in his presidential address, Desai focused on the relevance of the Marxist approach to the study of Indian society. The Marxist approach helps to understand the social reality through the means of production, the techno-economic division of labour involved in operating the instruments of production, and social relations of production or what are more precisely characterized as property relation. Thus, the Marxist approach focus on understanding the type of property relation which existed on the eve of independence in India, these are being elaborated by the state as the active agents of transformation of post-independent India.

A. R. Desai considers that the emerging contradictions in the Indian process of social transformation arise mainly from the capitalist Bourgeoisie, the rural petty, Bourgeoisie and a state apparatus law system all drawn from and industrial working classes by sheer of its power and of its skillful stratagems. The contradiction, is not resolved. It only takes new cumulative forms and emerges in the forms of protest & social movements. The social unrest is rooted in the capitalist path of development followed by India.

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate on the methods used by A. R. Desai in studying Indian Society?

2.2.2 Writings of Desai :

Desai was a prolific writer and had brought out a number of books. Historical and Dialectical perspective in which he had viewed Indian society and rural India in particular, is revealed in his major works. He attained popularity among the Indian scholars through his

works, "Social Background of Indian Nationalism" and "Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism", which are considered to be significant contributions to the realm of political sociology. Through these works, Desai endeavoured to advocate and practice the Marxist approach in Indian sociology. These books became classic works not only in sociology but also in history.

A. R. Desai, a student of Ghurye, stand out in this respect with his devoted and sustained creation to understand the diverse aspects of Indian social reality.

1. The social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948)
2. Currently operating (1973)
3. Immanent features of Indian Nationalism (1975)
4. The Issue and problems of Rural sociology in India (1969)
5. Slums and Urbanization of India (1970, 1972)
6. The implication of the modernizations of Indian society in the world context (1971)
7. State and society in India (1975)
8. Peasant struggle in India (1979)
9. Rural India in transition (1979)
10. India's path of Development (1984)

Desai also developed the field of political sociology in 1960's. In an anthology (Rural, Studies), Desai (1978) included the studies on peasant struggle, which have also been carried out by historians and social scientists of diverse orientations. Like D. P. Mukerji (1958), A. R. Desai (1976) studied Indian society from Marxian perspective and also used history fruitfully. Desai and Pillai (1972) conducted a study of slums, which constitutes or separate category within the area of city studies in (1969), Desai published an edited volume on rural sociology in India which was a major turning point and processors in the field of agrarian studies closely related to the new trend in agrarian sociology has been the trend of social movements, particularly among the peasantry. Sociology and social movement remained for a long time a neglected area. Desai's (1948) study of the Indian National Movement. Its class character and inherent contradiction was of course a note worthy and pioneering contribution of the pre 1950 era.

1. Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948)

2. Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism (1960)
3. Rural India in Transition (1961)
4. Peasant Struggles in India (1978)

Check Your Progress

1. List the writings of A. R. Desai?
-
-
-
-

2.2.3 Summary :

It is an undeniable fact that A. R. Desai was one among the most brilliant sociologist of India. He had participated in several national and international seminars, symposia, academic conferences, work shops, research studies etc. And on several occasions he had president over such academic gathering. He had taken part in the first world congress of rural sociology held at France in 1964; and had visited Russia in 1971, as a member of the cultural exchange team. He had also participated in a lecture, programme held at Colombia in 1976; an also in population and economic development. A conference held at Bangkok in 1977. He had also obtained to the privileged of making a special study on behalf of U.G.C. under two auspicious of Shastri, Indo-Canadian foundation. On several occasion like these he had the chance of revealing his intellectual caliber and also ideological convictions.

1. Desai applies historical materialism for understanding the transformation of Indian society.
2. Desai has examined the usefulness of Marxian frame work to understand India's reality.
3. Desai's all other writings also reflects the Marxist approach to understand the Indian society.
4. Desai's work includes a number of edited volumes on rural sociology, urbanization, labour, movements, peasant struggles, modernization, religion and democratic rights. They are a rich source of reference materials for students, researches and activities. Desai all writings reflects the Marxist approach to understand the Indian society.

2.3 QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Write a bibliographical sketch on D. P. Mukerji.
- Q.2 Highlight the contribution made by D. P. Mukerji to Indian sociology.
- Q4. Write a biographical sketch of A. R. Desai?
- Q5. State the methods & Approaches used by A. R. Desai?
- Q6. Elaborate the contributory work of A. R. Desai?

2.4 REFERENCES

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ANTI CASTE

Mahatma Phule, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Biography (Mahatma Jyotirao Phule)
 - 3.1.1 Methodology and Approaches
 - 3.1.2 Writings
 - 3.1.3 Views on Caste
 - 3.1.4 Summary
- 3.2 Biography (Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar)
 - 3.2.1 Methodology and Approaches
 - 3.2.2 Annihilation of Caste
 - 3.2.3 Summary
- 3.3 Questions
- 3.4 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- To familiarize the students about the work of Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
- To acquaint the students the contribution of Mahatma Jyotirao Phule to eradicate Caste system and social Injustice.
- To Bring to the students knowledge the contributing work of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar to abolish caste system.

3.1 MAHATMA JYOTIRAO PHULE (1827-1890)

Biography :

Jyotirao Govindrao Phule was born on April 11, 1827 in Satara district of Maharashtra in a family belonging to Mali caste, an inferior caste. His father Govindrao was a vegetable vendor and his mother died when he was 9 months old. After completing his primary education, Jyotirao had to leave the school and help his

father by working on the family's farm. He was married at the age of 12.

The turning point in Jyotiba's life was in year 1848, when he was insulted by family members of his friend, a bridegroom for his participation in the marriage procession, an auspicious occasion. Jyotiba was suddenly facing the divide created by the caste system. Influenced by Thomas Paine books Rights of man, Phule developed a keen sense of social justice, becoming passionately critical of the Indian caste system.

3.1.1 Methodology & Approaches :

The nineteenth century saw the beginning of a violent and controversial movement of protest amongst western India's law and untouchable castes, aimed at the effects of their lowly position within the Hindu caste hierarchy. The leaders of this movement were convinced that religious hierarchies had combined with the effects of British colonial rule to produce inequality and injustice in many fields, from religion to politics and education. Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, was one of the prominent social reformers of the 19th century India. He led the movement against the prevailing caste – restrictions in India. He revolted against the domination of the Brahmins and for the rights of peasants and other low-caste fellow. Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, was an ideologist, working out a unique brand of radical humanism. Jyotirao Phule was believed to be the first Hindu to start an orphanage for the unfortune children.

Check Your Progress

1. Highlight the experiences faced by Jyotirao Phule effect the injustice suffered in the name caste?
2. Bring out the methods and approaches used by to Mahatma Phule to fight against Caste system?

3.1.2 Writings :

Phule believed in overthrowing the social system in which man has been deliberately made dependent on others, illiterate, ignorant and poor, with a view to exploiting him. To him blind faith eradication formed part of a broad socioeconomic transformation. This was his

strategy for ending exploitation of human beings. Mere advice, education and alternative ways of living are not enough, unless the economic framework of exploitation comes to an end.

His famous published works are :

Tritiya Ratna (1855), Brahman ache Kasab (1869), Powada : Chatrapati Shivajiraje Bhosle Yancha (English life of Shivaji, in Poetical Metre) June, (1869), Powada : Vidyakhatyatil Brahman Pantoji, June (1869), Manav Mohammand (Muhammad) (Abhang), Gulamgiri (full name in english slavery : In the civilized British Government under the Clock of Brahmanism), (1873), Shetkarayacha Aasud (cultivator's whipcord) July, (1881), Satsar Ank 1, June (1885), Satsar Ank 2, October (1885), Ishara, October (1885), Gramjoshya Sambhandi Jahir Kabhar (1886), Satyashodhak Samajokt Mangalashtakasah Sarva Puja – Vidhi, (1887), Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Poostak, April (1889), Sarvajanik Satya Dharmapustak, (1891), Akhandadi Kavyarachana, Asprashyanchi Kaifiyat.

Check Your Progress

1. Write the writing of Mahatma Phule?

3.1.3 Views on Caste :

On 24 September, 1873 Jotirao formed 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' (society of seekers of Truth) with himself as its first president & treasurer. The main objectives of the organisation were to liberate the shudras and Ati shudras and to prevent their "exploitation" by the upper caste like Brahmans. Through this Satya Shodhak Samaj, Jotirao refused to regard the Vedas as sacrosanct. He opposed idolatry and denounced the chaturvarnya system (the caste system). Satya Shodhak Samaj propounded the spread of rational thinking and rejected the need for a Brahman priestly class as educational and religious leaders. He was an aboriginal of India and established satyadharama and never renounced his faith. He was against those Brahmans who were using religion and blind faith of masses for their own monetary gains. But Jyotiba had many Brahmin personal friends and he even adopted a Brahmin boy as

his heir. He made a will giving his large property after death to this Brahmin boy.

Jyotiba family believed that if you want to create a new social system based on freedom, equality, brotherhood, human dignity, economic justice and value devoid of exploitation, you will have to overthrow the old, unequal and exploitative, social system and the values on which it is based knowing this well, Jyotiba attacked blind faith and faith in what is given in religious books and the so-called god's words. He tore to piece the misleading myths that were ruling over the minds of women, shudras and ati-shudras. Yielding to God or fate, astrology and other such rituals, sacredness, god-men, etc. was deemed irrational and absurd.

He also led campaigns to remove the economic and social handicaps that breed blind faith among women, shudras and ati-shudras. Jyotiba subjected religious texts and religious behavior to the test of rationalism. He characterized this faith as outwardly religious but in essence politically motivated movements. He accused them of upholding the teachings of religion and refusing the rationally analyze religious teachings. He maintained that at the root of all calamities was the blind faith that religious books were created or inspired by God. Therefore, Phule wanted to abolish this blind faith in the first instance. All established religious & priestly classes find this blind faith useful for their purposes and they try their best to defend it. He questions "If there is only one God, who created the whole mankind, why did he write the Vedas only in Sanskrit language despite his anxiety for the welfare of the whole making? What about the welfare of those who do not understand this language?"

Phule concludes that it is untenable to say that religious texts were God-created. To believe so is only ignorance and prejudice. All religions and their religious text are man made and they represent the selfish interest of the classes, which are trying to purse and protect their selfish ends by constructing such books. Phule was the only sociologist & humanist in his time that could put forth such bold ideas. In his view, every religious book is a product of its time and the truths it contains have no permanent and universal validity.

After Jyotiba's death in 1890 his spirited followers went on spreading the movement to the remotest parts of Maharashtra. Shahu Maharaj the ruler of Kolhapur princely state, gave a lot of financial and moral support to Satyashodhak Samaj. In its new incarnation as non-Brahmin party carried on the work of superstition removal vigorously. Jyotiba firmly believed that if you want to create

a new social system based on freedom, equality, brotherhood, human dignity, economic justice and value devoid of exploitation, you will have to overthrow the existing caste system.

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate an Mahatma Phule views on Caste?
2. Bring out the remedial measures according to Mahatma Phule to eradicate Caste System?

3.1.4 Summary :

Jyotiba Phule devoted his entire life for the liberation of untouchables from the exploitation of Brahmins. He revolted against the tyranny of the upper Caste. On 28 November, 1890, the great reformer of India, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, passed away.

Phule's movement was a source of inspiration to other movements of the untouchables and depressed Classes of Indian society. He occupies a unique position among the social reformers in Maharashtra in the 19th century. While many other reformers concentrated more on reforming the social institutions of family and marriages with special emphasis on the status and rights of women, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule revolted against the unjust caste system under which millions suffered injustice for centuries.

Mahatma Jyotiba Phule was a inspired by universal humanism. His movement unlike many others, gained ground in the rural areas. By the 1890's it was strong in Ahmednagar, Khed, Purandar and Indapen as well as the Bombay and poona regions.

3.2 DR. BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR

(ANTI - CASTE)

Biography :

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born 14th April 1891 known as Babasheb, was an Indian political leader, Buddhist activist, Philosopher, Anthropologist, great economist historian, orator, prolific writer etc. Dr. Ambedkar was fourteenth child of Ramji and

Bhimabai Sakpal Ambedkar. He belonged to the untouchable Mahar Caste. His father served in the British Army.

When he was studied in local school, he had to sit on the ground in one corner in the classroom, He had to drink water only when other people poured it for him and Teachers could not touch his books. Even though he had all there hardship he continued his studies and did his Matriculation Examination from Bombay University in 1908. Dr. Ambedkar married to Ramabai, a nine year old girl from Dapoli. In 1908, after that he joined the Elphinstone college for his further education. And also he graduated in political science and economics from Bombay University later he got job in Baroda.

In 1920, Dr. Ambedkar left for London for higher studies. After finishing his studies in London, he returned to India. In 1924, he commenced the Out Castes Welfare Association (Bahishkrit Hitkaraini Sabha). This Sabha was devoted to bring the downtrodden socially, politically and bring them to the same level of the others in the Indian Society. In 1925, he was appointed to the Bombay Presidency Committee to work with the all European Simon Commission. Dr. Ambedkar was appointed principal of the Government Law college in 1935. Settling in Mumbai, Dr. Ambedkar oversaw the construction of a large house, and gathered his personal library with more than 50,000 books.

Dr. Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour party in 1936 that won 15 seats in the 1937 elections to the central Legislative Assembly. In 1947, when India got independence from British; the first prime Minister Pandit, Jawaharlal Nehru invited Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to join his cabinet as a Law Minister. The constituent Assembly assigned the job of drafting the constitution to a committee and he was elected as chairman of this committee. Dr. Ambedkar introduced the Draft Constitution in 1948. Draft constitution was approved on November 26, 1949. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar wrote mans thoughtful books that gives a revolution in the hearts of many Indian.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a brief note on Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar?

3.2.1 Methodology and Approaches :

Dr. Ambedkar undertook different types of studies, some involving the collection of sizeable data and the other processing such as the election studies of 1937 and 1945, focusing on the constituencies reserved for scheduled castes. He undertook several case studies. There are studies where he attempted to locate the major changes in policy or issues over a period by dividing the period into appropriate stages. The ideas and ideals of John Dewey, Edwin R. A. Seligman, the Fabians and the British idealists had a deep impact on Dr. Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar opposed the practice of social apartheid towards depressed classes under religious sanction. According to him a religion, which discriminates between its followers is partial and the religion which treats crores of its citizens worse than animals and criminals and inflicts upon them insufferable disabilities is no religion at all. Religion and slavery are incompatible. He viewed untouchability as another application of slavery. If the country wants to uplift the untouchables, it must treat them as citizens in the social order so that they can have freedom to carve out their own destiny. If the depressed classes gained their self-respect and freedom they would also contribute to the strength and prosperity of the nation.

Dr. Ambedkar was not satisfied merely with the upliftment of the untouchables but he wanted the total restructure of the Indian society to establish a true democratic nation based on equality, liberty and feternity. Dr. Ambedkar's theory of social, transformation is based on the caste structure of the society. According to him the Hindu social order in the root because of various social evils perpetuated in various forms in the Hindu society. Dr. Ambedkar felt that in Hinduism inequality is a religious doctrine adopted and conscientiously preached as a sacred dogma.

Check Your Progress

1. Highlight the methods used by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to make people aware of injustice done to the untouchables?

3.2.2 Annihilation of Caste :

According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in *Annihilation of Caste* (1936). The path of social reform in India fell under two critics of classes.

1. Political Refirms 2. The socialists

The argument always of the issue whether the social reformes should precede (take over) political reform. But over a course of time social reform party where left behind. The Masan being that the reformers were agitating for two distincted cause. One was trying to bring reform of the Hindu family that in India widow remarriage, child marriage etc. Where as the lather was trying to abolish the caste system. The enlightened high caste Hindus argued to remove exils enforced on wide-hood, child marriages but did not stand up for the reform of the Hindu society (Abolition of caste system). That is the reason why caste system prevealed in India for a longer span of time for example.

i. Under the rule of the Peshwas in the Maratha country the untouchable was not allowed to use public streets if a Hindu was coming along as would pollute hindu by his Shadow.

ii. The untouchable was required to have a black thread either on his wrist on in his neck as a sign or a mark to prevent the Hindus from getting themselves polluted by his touch through mistake.

iii. In Poona, the capital of the peshwa, the untouchable was required to carry, strung from his waist, a broom to sweep away from behind the dust he treaded on, lest a Hindu walking on the same should be polluted.

According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Caste was another name for Division of Labour Critisized Society needs division of Labour an Caste system is a hierarchical division of labour as the gradation of one above the other hierarchical division of labour. But the principle violation of the division of labour in caste system is it involves an attempt to tasks to understand in advance, which are selected on the basis of a person's original capacities but on the social status of a person's. The division of labour brought by the caste system is a division based on choice by is based on the dogma's of pre destination. As an economic organisation Caste is a harmful institution as it involves the subordination of man's natural powers Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also stress on the fact that the objectives of Caste system was said to preserve purity and race but when taken into consideration the agencies of modern scientist, caste system potrays a social system which embodies the arrogance and

selfishness of a system of the Hindu, who put forth the laws for inter marrying and inter dining.

The effects of caste has killed public spirit caste has destroyed the sense of public charity. Caste has made public opinion impossible. Caste system has reduced his sense of responsibility and loyalty. According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Abolition of Caste is to begin with inter – caste dinners and real remedy is inter – marriage because fusion of blood can alone create the feeling of being kith and kin unless this feeling of kinship is developed caste will not vanish. The Solution put forth was the annihilation of caste is not a physical object like a wall of brick or a line of barbed wire which prevents Hindus from co-mingling caste is a notion it is a state of the mind.

Dr. Ambedkar had made it clear that his main aim in life was to remove the practice of untouchability and eradicate to bring a socio-economic equality and Justice. Through his social – movement he wanted to instill in the minds of the untouchables the idea of self – dignity, self – confidence and self – respect. Thus his movement is often called “Self respect movement.”

Dr. Ambedkar’s understanding of caste and the caste system underwent certain significant changes over the period of his writings. He suggested that evils such as sati, child marriage and prohibition on widow remarriage were the outcome of caste. The solution that Dr. Ambedkar proposed was the annihilation of caste. He suggested inter – Caste marriage and inter – dining for the purpose. After the early 1930s he gave up any hope of reforming Hinduism except for a belief while with the Hindu Code Bill which was, in a way the continuation of the agenda he had set for himself in the 1920s.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a note on Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar “Annihilation of Caste.”?

3.2.3 Conclusion :

To conclude, it can be stated that both in his training and in his vision of life, Dr. Ambedkar was deeply aware of the large dynamic

of the world, its complexity and differential bearing on social groups, localities and nations. The backward classes in India, while allowing the political legacy of Dr. Ambedkar, are yet to engage with the understanding that marked his political involvement while their counterparts will probably rest content in retaining him merely as a symbol.

Besides, given the size of Dalits, low caste and disadvantage in general, no political party can afford to ignore the electoral dividends that Dr. Ambedkar as an ally can bestow for the state to sustain a modicum of hegemony. Dr. Ambedkar has become an indispensable necessity today.

3.2.5 Summary :

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is well known as a great thinker, a social reformer, a fearless fighter, a famous advocate and a great humanist. As a contemporary of Gandhiji he rendered a yeoman service to the nation by a way of his relentless fight against untouchability, inequality, injustice and casteism. He is ever remembered for his contribution to the drafting of the constitution of India.

Dr. Ambedkar carried on his battle against untouchability throughout his life. In 1947, Dr. Ambedkar became a law minister of the government of India. He took a leading part in the framing of the Indian constitution, outlawing discrimination against untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts, ideas and philosophy are reflected in his books. His writings such as "Origin and Mechanism of caste", "Annihilation of Caste", "Who were the Shudras?", "Who were the untouchables?" etc. reveal his scholarship and the clarity of his thought.

Dr. Ambedkar's disappointment was growing because of the perpetuation of untouchability in the Hindu society. Finally in the great despair he renounced Hinduism and became a Buddhist in October, 1956. Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts and ideas and the struggle he carried on against inequality is also getting revived & reinforced.

3.3 QUESTIONS

1. Write a biography sketch of a Mahatma Jyotiba Phule?
2. Bring out the contributory work of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule to eradicate Caste system from society?
3. Write an essay on the contributions of Dr. Ambedkar?
4. Elaborate on the views of Dr. Ambedkar on Caste inequality?

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RESEARCH TRADITIONS IN INDIAN SOCIOLOGY

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Qualitative research and quantitative research
- 4.3 M. N. Srinivas, the remembered village
- 4.4 Important observations by M. N. Srinivas
- 4.5 Limitations
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 Broad questions
- 4.8 References

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand briefly research in sociology and various steps involved in it.
- To study the efforts done by Indian sociologist while doing the field work.
- To review the limitations of the study and its application in sociology.

4.1 INTRODUCTION (Meaning of Research)

Sociologist make use of different designs and methods in order to study society and social behaviour. These different design and methods are called as rese`arch practices. There are various popular research practices, survey research, observational research, cross-cultural research and secondary analysis research.

Entire process of carrying out a pattern of research is called as research methodology. Researcher uses various techniques to collect the information from the population. These techniques include interview, questionnaire, focus group, participant observation and interview schedule. Sample is a small part of the universe which is representative of different elements comprising

the universe e.g. if we are doing a study on the carrier choices of college students of Mumbai, then students of all colleges in Mumbai will comprise the universe sample. On the other hand will consist of those few colleges which are finally selected for the purpose of data collection.

Library research is reading up the available literature on the topic of research. This includes books, journals, documentaries, transcripts, pamphlets, monographs etc. In field research, researcher is going to the field or in other words the scene where the action unfolds and to which we go for collecting information from population. Before one launches full scale field work, one does a small study to familiarize oneself with the site / field of research. Data is collected on the basis of Qualitative research and Quantitative research.

4.2 QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

1. Qualitative research refers to an in depth understanding of human behavior and reasons that govern such behavior in a manner that does not involve mathematical calculations.

Quantitative research refers to the systematic empirical investigation with the help of statistical mathematical or computational techniques.

2. Qualitative research needs smaller but focused samples. Quantitative research needs bigger sample of data.

3. Qualitative research involves description, analysis and interpretations of observations. Quantitative research involves verification, validation and recording of observation.

4. Qualitative research requires broad questions to be asked and collection of descriptive data. Quantitative research requires narrow specific questions to be asked and collection of numerical data.

5. Qualitative research produces information only on the particular case study and any more general conclusion are only hypotheses.

Quantitative research produces information which is more general and which can be used to verify the hypotheses.

6. Qualitative research is the initial step that is taken towards gaining information.

Quantitative research comes after qualitative research where by the theories put forward by the Qualitative research are tested.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Research.
2. What is qualitative Research?
3. Discusses quantitative Research?

4.3 M. N. SRINIVAS : THE REMEMBERED VILLAGE

The remembered village is a book written by M. N. Srinivas which is a comprehensive study investigating various aspects of a village called as Rampura in Mysore. The remembered village is literally remembered because majority of the work done by M. N. Srinivas in writing this book was destroyed in a fire. Srinivas wrote the entire book again mainly with the help of few remaining notes, field diaries and most important with the help of his memory. The tone of his book is straight forward and it creates the picture of the village and the villagers of the year 1948 when we read the book. Srinivas was interested in understanding the day to day interaction and relation between members belonging to the different caste. Rampura was a multi-caste village and hence M. N. Srinivas adopted the participant observation method in order to carry out an intensive field study. The remembered village has three parts. The opening chapters give us an introduction of the field situation as well as of the three leading informations. Srinivas also shares his reasons to study Rampura. One reason is a sentimental desire to discover his own origins. The other important reasons to select Rampura was that it was according to Srinivas the most suitable village for his research. Srinivas was looking for a small, non-progressive and multi-caste satisfied all these three conditions.

4.4 IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS BY M. N. SRINIVAS

Srinivas started the field work by collecting genealogies and household census in Rampura. This helped in developing familiarity between him and the villagers. Genealogies and census were not only the means of collecting data. They were one of the earliest way of establishing social bonds with the people that Srinivas was studying as an anthropologist. Srinivas observed that he could do

field work for 4-5 weeks at a stretch and then he would need a break of 2-3 days when he would visit Mysore city. Srinivas was always working according to a plan which had to be revised frequently in consideration of contingencies that had arisen. Srinivas speaks of certain qualities necessary for researchers especially in a participant observation method. The researcher should interact with everyone irrespective of factors such as religious caste, class, gender and age. The villagers had to feel comfortable with him in order to give their spontaneous reactions. Srinivas also speaks about his dilemma about being a hypocrite by suppressing his own reactions and views in order to please the villagers. According to Srinivas mutual trust, affection and respect were the most important aspect of the participant observation research method. The confidence that Srinivas had created in the minds of the villagers was the foundation on which his entire field work was dependent. An anthropologist is expected to present an impersonal account of the community that he has studied. The interest of the professional colleagues is in the community and not in the relationships that the anthropologist has developed with the people of the community. But according to Srinivas these relationships are important as it is through them that the anthropologist learnt about the community. Not mentioning an important part of the reality. In order to enquire detailed information about Rampura, Srinivas tried to interact with all the villagers such as the rich and the poor people of different caste and different religions as well as the young people who were more progressive in their approach Srinivas tried to encourage the villagers to speak freely about the various aspects of their culture. He would listen with a note book and open to record the view of the villagers Srinivas also gathered information by attending weeding and funerals among the various groups & classes. These occasions provided a rich data which could not be ignored. Srinivas could also gather information about typical behavior patterns of the people of Rampura for e.g. He noticed that women were tough & aggressive while collecting water. Srinivas also saw the attitudes of villagers towards superstitions & towards the ideas of untouchability & impurity. He could not get much information about money matters especially from the rich people of the village. However, he could easily get information from the poor people regarding their financial conditions. Lack of privacy, extreme curiosity of the villagers and constant pressure of showing his best behavior made Srinivas feel claustrophobic. The villagers also studied Srinivas in their own way and had expectations from him to behave like a typical Brahmin.

Whenever, Srinivas did not show this behavior, it was found to be shocking to the villagers. This is how, Srinivas realized how far he had gone away from the traditions. Srinivas had pointed out some failures in his research experiences in Rampura. He could not develop close relations with the men whom the headman disliked as Srinivas was staying in a house that belonged to headman. He could not afford to make the headman unhappy. Srinivas could not get enough data from the Muslims, Harijans and Rampura. Finally he could not watch the actual killing of animals. However, Srinivas showed indifference to other forms of cruelty towards animals which did not in theory killings.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss M. N. Srinivas contribution to the work of sociology.

4.5 LIMITATIONS

Srinivas is guilty of making the village a very important aspect of the people. He has not focused on trying to achieve an unbiased, academic approach to interpreting culture. Further, he lost all of his research findings when his office was burnt down, so he wrote the entire ethnography from memory. It might be a good study of memory for a curious psychologist, but not for someone interested in learning a culture. The drawback of the book is that Srinivas, in his research fails to reach the lower strata of the society due to his own Brahmin tag and due to his own Brahmin tag and due to his place of residence. Another non-research related drawback of the book is the overlapping of chapters which can be irritating at times.

4.6 SUMMARY

Anthropologists, like other scholars write primarily for the members of their profession. But it presents an impersonal account of the community studied. The profession is interested in the community and not in the relationships with others. The assumptions Srinivas makes about social relationship, his initial mistake and rectifying them are essential for improving the anthropologist's knowledge. Lastly there is some loss of clarity and a failure to communicate the 'feel' of social relationships in the community studied.

4.7 QUESTION

1. Discuss in detail Qualitative and Quantitative research.
2. Explain in detail M. N. Srinivas of Remembered village.

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5

CASTE, CLASS AND POWER

– Andre Beteille

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Caste, Class and Power by Beteille Andre
- 5.3 Important observations
- 5.4 Limitations of the Study
- 5.5 Analysis of Study
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Questions
- 5.8 References

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- To acquaint students with research Methodology in to subject of Sociology.
- To familiarize students with the research tradition in Indian Sociology.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Caste, class and power by Andre Beteille, student of Srinivas, study in Sripura Village – Tanjor district in Tamil Nadu. The interplay between caste, class and power in small village in Tamil Nadu. The village is primarily populated by Tamil speaking Hindu with a smattering of Maharashtrains and Gujaratis.

This study has grown out of field research conducted in village, here called Sripuram, of Tanjore District in South India. Although most of the primary data were collected in Sripuram. It is possible to study within the framework of a single village many forms of social relations which are of general occurrence throughout the area. Such, for instance, are relations between Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, and Adi-Dravidas (Untouchables) and between Landowners, tenants, and agricultural labourers.

There are the rules governing the relations between landowners and tenants, e.g. Panchayat. Intensive field study in a single village provides have been used to for crucial evidence. Thus, in studying the social life of the village it is extremely difficult to separate what is internal to it from what belongs to the milieu of which it is a part because the outside world enters into the life of the villager in a multitude of ways.

Social relations, ties of kinship, sub-castes, lineages, and families have become much more dispersed today. Economic relations cut across the boundary of the village in a variety of ways. Many landowners live outside the village. Agricultural surpluses are sold outside. Land has come into the market. Several villagers are engaged in white-collar jobs in the neighbouring towns. The villages are linked through the system of Panchayati Raj to other villages and larger organs of local government. In this study we try to understand caste, class and power (mainly in its political aspects) and with their changing relations.

In a sense the caste structure constituted the basis of traditional society. Tanjore District in particular has been known for the rigidity and complexity of its caste structure. In the village this structure not only divided the population into sections of unequal ritual status, but also dominated economic and political life. Classes are category rather than groups. Caste, class and power relate in different ways to the broader phenomenon of social stratification. In town and cities white-collar jobs are relatively caste-free. Non-Brahmins from Sripuram can now work as clerks or accountants in offices at Thiruvaiyar and Tanjore along with Brahmins, although it is true that not many of them have seized the new opportunities.

5.2 CASTE, CLASS AND POWER

BY BETEILLE ANDRE

This study was carried out through a field research method conducted in a village called Sripuram in Tanjore District in Southern India. The central theme of this study was to understand the phenomena of class, caste and power and their changing relations. The field work was carried largely over 10 months in 1961 and 1962. The reasearcher had an opportunity to visit neighbouring villages and also to the other districts. Andre Beteille did his field work in Sripuram and lived with the village people as one amongst them. The study is qualitative in its character and emphasis. The field work was not done in a very planned and organized manner. Beteille did not have a series of hypothesis. His objective was very

broad. He wanted to understand the village and its social life in a very broad sense. Before analyzing the village, Beteille provided information about various aspects of the village such as its location, history, people, various languages, caste and religions in Sripuram, the type of agricultural crop, differences in agricultural income, etc. In Sripuram a relatively closed social system transformed into a relatively open social system. This study by Beteille tries to examine how transformation has taken place and to identify some of the factors which created this transformation.

Method of Research :

The field work on which this study is based was conducted largely at Sripuram over a period of about ten months in 1961 and 1962. During my stay at Sripuram I had ample opportunity to visit neighbouring villages, and I also made a few brief visits to other districts. However my identification with the Brahmins made me a suspect in the eyes of the Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas. My access to these groups was, therefore, far more limited than to the Brahmins. I was not able to move with them as freely as with the Brahmins. Among the Adi-Dravidas there was an additional difficulty. No Brahmin normally goes to an Adi-Dravida street, if he does so, he is required by tradition to take a bath before he enters the agraharam. My visits to the Adi-Dravida streets had, as a consequence, to be made discreetly, although sometimes I was even accompanied there by one or two "progressive" Brahmins. Also, I had many opportunities to meet the Adi-Dravidas outside their streets, particularly in the back-yards of certain Brahmin houses, and in the fields during the agricultural season.

Consequently my data for the Adi-Dravidas and also, to some extent, for the Non-Brahmins are of a poorer quality than for the Brahmins. But it has to be realized that there was, in fact, very little choice. Had I lived with the Non-Brahmins, the Brahmins would not have moved freely with me, had I lived with the Adi-Dravidas, the agraharam would have been inaccessible. I chose to live with the Brahmins for practical reason and also because this gave me an opportunity to gain some insight into the literate cultural tradition of the region. Had I lived with the Adi-Dravidas this study would perhaps have had a different focus. I should like to emphasize that the study is qualitative in its character and emphasis. I have tried to understand Sripuram not in quantitative and statistical terms, but, to quote Professor Popper, "in terms of conflicting tendencies and aims". I have tried in some measure to understand it's the social life is measured from within, in terms of the values and meanings

attributed to it by the people themselves. I frequently discussed my interpretations of their society with the villagers. Sometimes they surprised me, not only by the range of

Check Your Progress

- 1) Meaning of caste and class by Andre Beteille.

5.3 IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS

The caste system was rigid and complex. It constituted the basis of tradition society. In Sripuram caste system not only divided the population in unequal status groups but also dominated the economic and political life. Classes are categories of people occupying a specific position in the system of production. In Sripuram the caste system consisted of land owners, tenants and labourers and their own standard relation with each other. Power is located in formal structures such as the panchayats and political parties. In traditional system of Sripuram both the class system and the distribution of power were to a large extent dominated by the caste system. It means there was no differentiation of caste, class and power. Hence, Beteille considered it as a relatively closed system.

According to him a transformation was taking place from a closed system to a relatively open system in Sripuram. It means a differentiation was taking place between caste, class and power. There were many areas of life which were becoming free for ex. Modernization of cities as well as political participation. These factors were powerful which lead loosening of the hold of the caste system. The differentiation of the class system was brought about by the introduction of the cash nexus and the development of the market mechanism. When land came into the market, its chance of remaining frozen within a particular caste were reduced. The differentiation of power in Sripuram took place in two ways. First, power shifted from Brahmins to non brahmins. Secondly, the power shifted from the caste system itself to other structures such as the panchayats and political parties. According to Andre Beteille, the extent of the differentiation of power is more striking than the differentiation of class system in Sripuram. Beteille speaks about

the limitations that he experienced during data collections. He was identified with the Brahmins and hence he was not able to develop good interaction with the non Brahmins. As a result, his data related to the non Brahmins was of poorer quality. He had to stay with the Brahmins in order to gain information about the literate traditions. Beteille also speaks about the problems the Indian sociologists would have while studying his own society especially when the society is changing itself. In this situation objectivity cannot be maintained completely.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The use of a certain framework for presenting the material here has meant, of course, that some facts have been highlighted at the expense of others. As one reads through this work, it is this selective presentation which will naturally dominate one's attention. As more and more Indian sociologists take up field studies of sections of their own society, they will have to face certain problems which have not yet been posed in a very conscious or systematic manner. In a sense the British anthropologist doing field work in an African tribe is in a happier position. He does not have the same degree of concern, the same kind of involvement in the problems of the society which he studies. He comes to the field with a relatively open mind. This luxury is denied to the sociologist when he is studying his own society, particularly when that society is passing through a phase of active change.

It has by now become a truism that full objectivity in the social sciences is beyond attainment. As such, the sociologist has to examine critically at every stage the kind of concern which he carries into his research. There is no gainsaying the fact that most Indian intellectuals today are committed to social change, economic development, and political modernization, and this commitment, no doubt, gives a particular focus to their requires.

5.5 ANALYSIS OF STUDY

The recorded history of the Tanjore district goes back about two thousand years. The first dynasty of which we have authentic evidence, and the one which is in many ways the most remarkable, is the Chola dynasty. The Cholas were succeeded after an interval by the Telugu Nayakas, and these in turn by the Marathas, whose rule lasted till the beginning of the British period. The Telugu Nayakas in particular were patrons of the Vaishnava religion. The Marathas established vedapathashalas, of schools for training in

the scriptures, and chhatrams, or hospices, some of these survive to the present day.

Check Your Progress

- 1) Describe Sripuram Village.

5.6 SUMMARY

It is qualitative study. Technique of data collection is participant observation. Researcher tries to understand social life of village from within interms of values and meanings attributed to it by the population themselves. He was also interested in seeing how the caste, class and power equation in Indian villages were changing and how villages were modernising.

5.7 QUESTION

- Q1. Write a detail of work of Andre Beteille on caste, Class and Power.
- Q2. Discuss Sripuram village and limitation of the study of village.

5.8 REFERENCE

Beteille Andre, "Caste, class and power – changing patterns of stratification in a Tanjore Village." University of California press (1965).



WALKING ON THE EDGE OF FACTIONALISM, AN INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVE IN RURAL MAHARASHTRA

– B. S. Baviskar

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 B. S. Baviskar – walking on the edge of factionalism
- 6.3 Important observations
- 6.4 Method of Research
- 6.5 Limitations
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 Reference

6.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand briefly work of Baviskar in sugar co-operative Society.
- To familiarise students with research work of Baviskar and its limitations.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has been undertaken keeping in mind the success stories of sugar cooperative factories in rural Maharashtra. After much thought Baviskar chose the Kopargoan Co-operative sugar factory in Kopargoan taluka of Ahmednagar district for intensive study. The production has started in 1955. It consisted of a cooperative society which consisted of over thousand come growing shareholders. They belonged to 17 different castes - significant being Marathas (Peasants), Malis (Gardeners), Karekars (Peasants), Dhangars (Shepherds & Brahmin (Priests), It covered 59 villages most of which were in Kipargoan taluka. The focus of study shifted from relationship between industrialization and economic development one hand and social and cultural factors on

the other to the association of politics and political parties with the sugar co-operatives. He observed that most of them belonged to the Congress party and were divided into 2 rival factors. Therefore, he decided to concentrate his investigation on the relationship of the organization and functioning of the co-operatives with local level politics.

6.2 B. S. BAVISKAR – WALKING ON THE EDGE OF FACTIONALISM

B. S. Baviskar was interested in making a study of the co-operative sugar factory Maharashtra. After conducting a tour he decided to choose the Kopargaon cooperate sugar factory which was located near Kolpewadi village. This sugar factory was located in Ahmednagar district. The original plan of Baviskar was to investigate the relationship between industrialization and economic development on one-hand and social and cultural factors on the other hand. However he realized that the sugar factories were associated with powerful political leader. He therefore decided to understand the political aspect of the sugar factories. Baviskar started his field work in June 1963 and stayed in the factory Guest House till August 1964. The method of research was participant observation and Baviskar collected most of his data by this method. However he felt that data collected by this method may be inadequate. Hence he also prepared a detailed questionnaire for the workers and share holders of the factory. Baviskar did not have any precise hypothesis idea about the relationship between the sugar cooperatives & politics. He thought that after proceeding with the field work, he would get a clear picture about the field situation.

6.3 IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS

There was symbiotic relationship between the sugar co-operatives and politics. The leaders used co-operatives to rise the political hierarchy and used their political power in turn to retain and consolidate their control over the cooperatives. To understand this complex relationship Baviskar used the participant observation method. It helped him to understand the hidden meaning of the statements made verbally by the people. Participant observation helped Baviskar in understanding various trials involved in the sugar co-operatives. The questionnaire method did not help because the responses given by the people were not always honest. The people were also worried about the confidentiality of the information given to Baviskar. Baviskar observed that the people in the co-operatives probed him first before they allowed themselves to be probed by him. Most of them had a very little of the nature of his work.

Politics was of one of the main links between different categories of people. Baviskar developed good relations with the factory workers, officers, trade union leaders on one hand and the share holders and leaders on the other hand. Since, he was staying at factory guest houses, the workers started identifying him with the management. Hence he made extra efforts to mix with as many people as possible. He felt that had he been a Brahmin brought up in an urban middle class family, then the local people would not have accepted him easily. Baviskar could not get information on financial matters, and this attempt created suspicion in the minds of people. There were two rival factions in the local sugar co-operative. Baviskar had good relations with the leaders of both these factions. However, maintaining their confidence was like walking on a razor's edge. Baviskar had a privilege of attending the meeting of Board of Directors. However, he stopped attending when he realized that it created awkwardness or offensive situations for some people.

There were some people who felt that they could use Baviskar's closeness with senior officers for their own selfish interests. Baviskar could identify the difference between the subsistence farmers and the commercial farmers. The commercial farmers were very different from the popular image of ignorant, irrational fatalistic Indian farmer. Baviskar had heard about corruption but could not find any evidence of it. This was because people were very careful about keeping a watch as well as keeping things secret. Baviskar enjoyed the experience in his research work. However, he was not able to understand the exact reason behind his pleasant experience. It could be various factors such as his social background, nature of field situation, his personality traits or may be just luck.

Check Your Progress

1. Why Baviskar decided to concentrate relationship of the organisation and local level of politics.

6.4 METHOD OF RESEARCH

Baviskar was given accommodation in the housing colony of the factory by the Chairman. This helped him in his field research. He started attending meetings of the trade union, meetings of co-

operatives in the surrounding villages. By doing so he was able to get a general picture of the field situation in three or four months. He started investigation of the political activities which were exciting as well as tricky. By the end of December 1962 there was an intense struggle for power. Each faction was led by a rich Maratha sugarcane grower.

In December 1963 when he was through the mid-way of his field work, the local power situation changed. The ruling Rohmore faction lost control and the rival kale-Kolhe faction come into power. He collected most of his data by the method of participation observation. He kept a notebook in which he wrote about his interaction with various people. He also prepared a detailed questionnaire for a stratified sample of workers and share holders of the factory. This questionnaire was a structured one. Fieldwork in Kopargoan made him revise some of the popular and established ideas about the working of co-operatives.

6.5 LIMITATIONS

Baviskar had his own limitations. Firstly living in the guest house meant that ordinary workers in the factory did not feel free to come and talk to him because they identified him with the management. Secondly, his position in the factory created wrong expectations. Thirdly, he could not write or express his observations about the people since many of them were educated.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss experience of Baviskar as participant observation.

6.6 SUMMARY

The gap between the leaders and workers could only be studied due to the questionnaire surveys. There was a symbiotic relationship between co-operatives and politics could be discovered only through the observation technique.

6.7 QUESTION

1. Write a detail note on Baviskar's Research tradition in India, walking on the edge of factionalism.

2. Discuss Baviskar work on the factionalism Kopergaon co-operative sugar factory

6.8 REFERENCE

B. S. Baviskar "Walking on the Edge of factionalism" – Oxford university press.



DEBATES IN INDIAN SOCIOLOGY

CASTE AND CLASS

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Ghurye's views on the Caste System
- 7.3 Changes in Caste System
- 7.4 Correlation between Caste and Class
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Questions
- 7.7 References

7.0 OBJECTIVES

- To examine the caste based stratification in Indian society.
- To analyze the importance of Ghurye's perspective on caste.
- To understand the changes in caste system in contemporary society.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The religious explanation of the caste system is based on the concepts and interlinkages between Dharma and Karma. Dharma basically implies the rights an individual has and the duties he is prescribed. This is done in accordance to his or her Swabhava, which, in this case, is interpreted as "essential attribute" and not "nature" as commonly implied. Thus the functions of each individual within the four-fold scheme of Varna correspond to the inborn qualities of the individual. The source of these inborn qualities are not based on the abilities in the present life but on the person's deeds in his or her previous life i.e. Karma. Thus it is the combination of Karma and Dharma that determine a person's position in caste hierarchy.

The caste system according to the religious sources is based on the four Varnas, namely, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. The sources in the Rig Veda and the Shanti Parva of the epic Mahabharata stress more on the

ability of individuals in determining their position in the hierarchy. According to these sources there is a possibility that a person can change his or her rank in the hierarchy. However the later text , Manusmriti , shows that this possibility does not exist. The four Varnas , according to Manusmriti , originated from different parts of the God Vishnu's body , thus giving them their specific positions. The Brahmins were born from his mouth , the Kshatriyas from his arms , the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Shudras from his feet. The hierarchy is thus linked with the process of creation and is universal.

Though the above beliefs do not have any scientific origins , the facts that emerge are , firstly , there are natural divisions in society and secondly , these origins are based on certain specific characteristics among groups of people. The explanations given by sociologists on the origins of caste tried to take into account the basis of this diversity.

7.2 GHURYE'S VIEWS ON THE CASTE SYSTEM

Ghurye notes that the origins of caste can be traced to the Gangetic plains of India as a result of the Indo-Aryan invasion in ancient times. Thus Ghurye states that , "Caste in India is a Brahmanic child of Indo-Aryan culture , cradled in the land of the Gang and Yamuna and then transferred to other parts of the country."

Ghurye saw the caste system as a hierarchical system of separate units (i.e. caste). Each of these units were further divided and sub-divided into independent smaller units comprising the sub-castes. Each of these sub-castes maintained their distinctness through the practice of endogamy in marriage. The hierarchical pattern was maintained through degrees of social distance maintained from each other in matters of food , water , social and ritual privileges. The Brahmin was not only at the top but was also the apex of the system of ritual purity. The untouchables were at the bottom.

Let us elaborate on the features which Ghurye mentioned:

7.2.1. Segmental Division of Society

The entire society or the village community was not a homogeneous group but was divided into definite segments of castes and sub-castes , the membership of which was

determined not by selection but by birth. The social status and occupation were controlled by the caste into which one was born and was expected to remain unchanged till death. Even a change in occupation of the sub-caste did not change its social status. For example, when Charmakars (those working with hides) became agricultural labourers their status in the caste hierarchy remained the same.

Every segment (sub-caste) had a well developed life style of its own. It had its own traditional caste occupation and rules which were organized through its caste panchayat. It was the duty of this body to ensure that the rules were strictly adhered to. Thus when the Brahmins does not accept food or drink from the lower caste, they were expected not to do so by their caste Panchayat. At the same the caste Panchayat of the lower caste had to ensure that its members did not 'defile' the Brahmins by offering them food or coming in contact with them.

7.2.2. Hierarchy

One of the principal characteristics of caste was the organization of independent structures into hierarchical structures. These hierarchies were predetermined and even though there may be several views about the origins of these discrimination, the basic fact remained that they were there and the Brahmin was at the head of the hierarchy. Ghurye admitted that besides this no other statement could be made about the order of ranking of castes. there were a large no of castes or sub-castes in various parts of the country many of these could not be compared with other castes in another religion. Ghurye assessed that there were around 200 castes for each linguistic group.

7.2.3. Restrictions on feeding and Social Intercourse

There are minute rules as to what sort of food or drink can be accepted by a person and from what castes. All food is divided into two classes, Kachcha and Pakka, the former being any food in the cooking of which water has been used, and the latter all food cooked in 'ghee' without the addition of water. 'As a rule a man will never eat Kachcha food unless it is prepared by a fellow caste-man, which in actual practice means a member of his own endogamous group, whether it be caste or sub-caste, or else by his Brahmin Guru or spiritual guide.

As regards the position of the untouchables the following observation will give a clear idea. 'Even wells are polluted if

a low caste man draws water from them. Certain low castes are looked down upon as so unclean that they may not enter the courtyard of the great temples. These castes are compelled to live by themselves on the outskirts of villages.

Theoretically, the touch of a member of any caste lower than one's own defiles a person of the higher caste; but in actual practice this rule is not strictly observed. In the Maratha country the shadow of an Untouchable is sufficient, if it falls on a member of a higher caste, to pollute him.

7.2.4. Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges of the Difference Sections

Segregation of individual castes or of groups of castes in a village is the most obvious mark of civil privileges and disabilities, and it has prevailed in a more or less definite form all over India.

All over India the impure castes are debarred from drawing water from the village well, which is used by the members of other castes. 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 out 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. 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 towns, 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....In Gujarat the depressed castes used to wear a horn as their distinguishing mark.

The toddy-tappers of Malabar and the east coast, Izhavas and Shanars were not allowed to carry umbrellas, to wear shoes or golden ornaments, to milk cows or even to use the ordinary language of the country. Certain sacraments cannot be performed by any caste other than the Brahmins. The most sacred literature cannot be studied by the Shudras. No caste can employ any other priests than the Brahmins. The innermost recesses of temples can only be approached by the Brahmins. The impure castes, and particularly the

untouchables , cannot enter even the outer portion of a temple but must keep to the courtyards.

7.2.5. Lack of Unrestricted Choice of Occupation

Generally a caste or a group of allied castes considered some of the calling as its hereditary occupation , to abandon which in pursuit of another , though it might be more lucrative , was thought not to be right. Thus a Brahmin thought that it was correct for him to be a priest , while the Chamar regarded it as his duty to cure hides and prepare shoes. It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation , but also the restriction put by other castes , which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings. The effect of these rules was that the priestly profession was entirely monopolized by the Brahmins. It observed that it is not impossible for individuals to pass from one occupation to another without any alteration of social status or loss of right of intermarriage.

7.2.5. Restriction on Marriage

Most of the groups are further divided into a number of sub-groups every one of which forbids its members to marry persons from outside it. Each of these groups , popularly known as sub-castes , is thus endogamous. This principal of endogamy is such a dominant aspect of caste-society that an eminent sociologist is led to regard endogamy as 'the essence of the caste system'.

Check Your Progress

1 . Examine in detail characteristics of caste described by Ghurye

7.3 CHANGES IN CASTE SYSTEM

The hierarchical structure of caste underwent significant changes under the impact of industrialization and urbanization. The growth of industries destroyed the old crafts and provide various new ways earning livelihood. Members of a caste could no longer be forced to stick to their traditional caste occupation , Brahmin could take to business , Vaishya could take to politics and low caste Mahars could give up their

polluting village work and take to government service. Occupational mobility and movement from the compact ancestral village started breaking down those caste norms which did not concern marriage.

It was believed by some scholars that industrialization would lead to the automatic dissolution of the caste system and its progressive replacement by a class system analogous to that found in the advanced industrial societies of the west. But this thesis about social change presents only the economic perspective. There are socio-structural and demographic concomitants too of social change. Industrial society need not be a full 'rational' society.(Ram Ahuja , 1993 , P.280)

Urbanization considerably changed the functioning of caste in India. Not only the commensal inhibitions have been relaxed but the authority of Brahmins has also come to be questioned. M.N.Srinivas has stated that due to the migration of Brahmin to the towns , the non-Brahmins refuse to show the same respect which they showed before. G.S.Ghurye (1961:2002) too accepted the changes in the rigidities of the caste system due to the growth of city life with its migratory population. Kingsley Davis (1951) too held that the anonymity , congestion , mobility , secularism and changeability of the city makes the operation of the caste virtually impossible.

The notion that a person is defiled by a lower caste man coming in contact with him is no longer universally held by Hindus. On the contrary , in states like Bihar , some upper and lower caste have formed their own 'Senas' (militant groups) to protect their interests. Some castes have started consolidating their groups to secure greater social and political power. Feeling or casteism has increased. In some states, even intercaste conflicts have increased. The lot of scheduled castes has been slowly improving. They are offered more educational and service opportunities through the reservation policy. Though untouchability cannot be described as a thing of the past , yet its practice has diminished to a greater extent.

Thus broad changes in the caste system in present day India can be summerized as follows:

1. Caste system is not dying out but is making adequate adjustment with modern conditions.
2. The religious basis of caste has cramped.
3. Old social practices imposing restrictions on individual freedom are dwindling.

4. Caste no longer determines the occupational career of an individual.
5. Serious efforts are being made to grant equality to the out-castes and the backward castes which suffered for ages due to restrictions imposed by the caste system.
6. Inter-caste conflicts are increasing. These are more for achieving power than on grounds of ritual status.
7. The 'Jajmani' system in the villages has weakened affecting inter-caste relations.
8. Caste no longer acts as a barrier to social progress and to nation's development. India is on the move in spite of the caste system. (Ram Ahuja , 1993 , pp. 282-83)

Check Your Progress

1. Give an overview on various changes tht have occurred in caste system

7.4 CO-RELATION BETWEEN CASTE AND CLASS

The ritual hierarchical order of the caste system has led to categorization of castes in terms of upper and lower as equivalent to class division : It is assumed by many scholars and demonstrated by a few studies - that upper castes not only hold higher ritual status but also higher economic status in terms of occupation and income of lower castes on the other hand and poor. Significant correlation between caste and class exists. Most of these studies , however , do not lead beyond 'socio-economic hierarchy'. Relationship among classes cutting across castes has hardly been discussed. They overlook the fact that all the members belonging to a particular caste do not enjoy equal economic status , in other words , castes are not homogenous from an economic point of view. Economic differentiations within most of the caste- high as well as middle and low- exist or have been developing during the

last two decades. Intra- caste economic differentiation varies from caste to caste. (Ghanashyam Shah, 1985)

To understand the complexity of relationships between caste and class , it is necessary to ask two pertinent questions : first , what are economic differentiations within a caste and how do they cut across various castes both vertically and horizontally ? Second , to what extent does the ritual of a caste and a sense of fraternity among caste members blur economic differentiation ? There are two more factors as Shah points out : One , India follows the path of capitalist economy , and competitive policy. Capitalist economy develops differentiations in society on class lines and competitive polity compels politicians to widen their support structure across narrow boundaries of kinship and caste. Secondly , political ideology and practice ignore the growing economic differentiation within and between tribes. This brings us to the third dimension of hierarchical system , namely among the Tribes in India.

Perceptions about the nature and significance of caste have changed in the last 60 years. There were three major areas of social life in which the evidence suggested that caste was declining and not advancing. First , the observance of the rules relating to purity and pollution were becoming weaker. Second , the regulation of marriage according to the rules of caste was becoming less stringent. And third , the relation between caste and occupation was becoming more flexible. If one kept one's eyes on these three aspects of caste , one would have reason to believe that caste was on the whole becoming weaker.

7.4.1 Rules of Commensality

The ethnography of the pre-Independence period is replete with discussions of the rules of purity and pollution and their use in maintaining social distance between castes. Most conspicuous among these rules of commensality. J.H.Hutton (1961:71) wrote , "Now the taboo on food and water as between caste and caste is subject to many gradations and variations. It is often stated that the rest of a 'clean caste' that is to say , a caste of respectable and non-polluting status , lies in whether or not a Brahman can accept drinking water at its hands".

Srinivas was no doubt right in pointing out that in modern India secularisation and sanskritisation were advancing together. Sanskritisation enlarged the scope of ritual, particularly on ceremonial occasions which began to be organized on a large scale than before and with enormous expenditure. But the scope of ritual might increase on ceremonial occasions while at the same time declining on everyday occasions. The huge expenditure on ritual in the public sphere might in fact be a compensation for its attenuation in domestic life.

Even where ritual observances are given a new lease of life by the enlargement of ceremonial, the rules of ritual do not perform the same function as before. Their role in maintaining and reinforcing social exclusion has been weakened. The link between caste and ritual has weakened precisely in matters relating to commensality. When food is served on festive occasions, members of different castes are no longer served food according to the rules of caste. To require people to sit for a meal according to their caste on a public occasion would cause a scandal today.

Nowhere in the world do people freely inter-dine with each other without any consideration of rank or status. The criteria of rank and status are changing in ways which affect commensal practices as well as the operation of caste. The old ritual criteria have not disappeared, but they have to compete increasingly with new secular criteria. Salient among the latter are education and occupation. Wealth always mattered, but education and occupation have gained ground increasingly as markers of status in contemporary India and they determine to some extent who eats with whom on social occasions.

7.4.2 Rule of Endogamy

The rule of marriage that is linked most directly and obviously to the perpetuation of caste is the rule of endogamy. In the past, the weight of local opinion ensured that the marriage partners were properly matched not only according to caste but also according to sub-caste or even sub-subcaste.

One important indicator of the kind of change is the obsolescence of the rule of hypergamy or anuloma. According to the anuloma system men of a superior caste or sub-caste might marry women of inferior sub-castes but not the other way around. The opposite kind of match, between a man of

inferior caste and a women of a superior one , known as pratiloma was not only disallowed but severely condemned.

Significant changes are taking place in the position of women in Indian society. They are now joining the ranks of the middle class in their own right , as doctors , lawyers , professors , bankers , and consultants , and not just as daughters or wives of members of that class. As young adults, they are better able to exercise or at least indicate their marriage preferences than adolescents or children which is what most brides were when they were married off in the past. It does not follow from this that many women do in fact exercise their choice on favour of marriage outside the caste. At the same time , the marriage of adults , no matter how compliant , is more difficult to regulate according to the rules of caste than child marriage.

7.4.3 Rise in age at Marriage

The secular trend of increase in the age at marriage for women is one of the most significant features of contemporary Indian society. It is important in itself and has far-reaching consequences for the structure of society. It will be reasonable to maintain that there is no going back to the days of child marriage. This does not mean that there will be no more arranged marriages , but even in such marriages the distinctions of sub-caste and sometimes also the distinctions of caste might be ignored.

It is true that the middle class has had to make many compromises with caste. But caste too has had to adjust itself to the demands of an expanding middle class. There is no reason to expect a perfect correspondence between the layers in the middle class and the gradations of caste.

7.4.4 Change in Occupation

For centuries in the past , caste had provided the social basis for the division of labour in an economy of land and grain. There were two distinctive , if not unique , feature of the traditional division of labour. The first was the extreme specialization of crafts and services that grew within it ; and the second was the close association between each specialized occupation and a designated community in which membership was by birth.

British rule created the conditions for change , and the inevitable outcome was the loosening of the association between caste and occupation. Apart from the decline of traditional crafts and services , a significant development was

the emergence of a new kind of occupational system based in the office and the factory. The new occupational system introduced its own social gradations which began to cut across the gradations of caste.

These developments are creating a churning process in which old occupations based on caste are being displaced by new "caste-free" occupations.

7.5 SUMMARY

This unit aimed at providing a basic background to study stratification in Indian society through caste system. It focuses on Ghurye's work on caste system and also gives an indepth understanding on changing face of caste in modern Indian society.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss relations between caste-class.
2. Explain rule of endogamy.

7.6 QUESTIONS

- Q. 1 Examine the role played by caste in formation of basis of stratification in Indian society.
- Q. 2 Write a detailed account on Ghuryes contribution on understanding caste in Indian society.
- Q. 3 Critically analyse the increasing co-relation between caste and class in contemporary society.

7.7 REFERENCES AND READINGS

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TRADITION AND MODERNITY

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Definition of Tradition
- 8.2 Traditionalism
- 8.3 Definition of Modernity
- 8.4 Dichotomy between Tradition and Modernity
- 8.5 Tradition and modernity a global phenomenon
- 8.6 Modernity and Tradition in Indian context
- 8.7 The Minakshi Temple
- 8.8 Izhavas of Kerala
- 8.9 Sociology from below
- 8.10 Major trends of social transformation
- 8.11 Context
- 8.12 Perspective from below and the other perspectives
- 8.13 The need for a perspective from below
- 8.14 Problems with this advocacy
- 8.15 The Book-view and the Field-view
- 8.16 Summary
- 8.17 Questions
- 8.18 References

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the term modernity and tradition in contemporary society.
- To explain the contradiction between modernity and traditionalism.
- To examine the internal variation between the said terms.

8.1 DEFINITION OF TRADITION

The English word "tradition" comes from the Latin *traditio*, the noun from the verb *traderere* or *tradere* (to transmit, to hand over, to give for safekeeping); it was originally used in Roman law to refer to the concept of legal transfers and inheritance. According to Anthony Giddens and others, the modern meaning of tradition can be seen as having evolved in the European discourse in the last two hundred years, during the Enlightenment period, as philosophers and thinkers counter posed

the concept of modernity with the concept of tradition, in the context of progress.

8.2 TRADITIONALISM

- Adherence to tradition as authority, especially in matters of religion.
- A system of philosophy according to which all knowledge of religious truth is derived from divine revelation and received by traditional instruction

8.3 DEFINITION OF MODERNITY

There have been numerous attempts, particularly in the field of sociology, to understand what modernity is. Modernity is often characterized by comparing modern societies to premodern or postmodern ones, and the understanding of those non-modern social statuses is, again, far from a settled issue. To an extent, it is reasonable to doubt the very possibility of a descriptive concept that can adequately capture diverse realities of societies of various historical contexts, especially non-European ones, let alone a three-stage model of social evolution from premodernity to postmodernity.

- The quality of being modern.
- Something modern.

8.4 DICHOTOMY BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY

In contemporary social and political analyses modernity has generally been considered opposed to tradition .The opposition of modernity and tradition go back at least as far the enlightenment.

The assumption that modernity and tradition are radically contradictory rests on a misdiagnosis of tradition as it is found in traditional societies, a misunderstanding of modernity as it is found in modern societies, and a misapprehension of the relationship between them. There is striking contrast between the image of modern society developed by European and Western scholars and the image drawn by those who compare such modern societies with traditional non-western societies.

Scholars who study modern society have stressed traditional survivals. American sociologists studying the fate of the melting pot emphasize the importance of ethnic and

religious solidarities and structures. The literature on organization reveals that the modern corporations attempts with considerable success to create diffuse, affective bonds among not only economic relations among and between employers and employees take an affective dimensions and assume aspects of traditional patron-client relationships.

The misunderstanding of modern society that excludes its traditional features is paralleled by a misdiagnosis of traditional society that underestimates its modern potentialities. The new urban sociology tells us that the metropolis produces collectivities of urban villagers. In short the literature focusing on modern society tend to contradict the notion that tradition and modernity are dichotomous . Instead it suggests that there may be certain persistent requirements of the human condition that tradition can and does satisfy.

On the other hand the image of modern society that emerges from existing literature, comparing it to traditional society, we find that its traditional features have either disappeared from view or are pictured as residual categories that have file to yield.(because of some inefficiency in the historical process, to the imperatives of modernization).

8.5 TRADITION AND MODERNITY – A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

The opposition of modernity and tradition is also a natural consequences of the comparative method of analysis. We recognize how modern we are by examining how traditional they are .The too easy equations of western and modern has become increasingly apparent in number of studies on modernity. (increasingly the Japanese and Russian cases). Comparison becomes a way of carrying normative implications.

The separation of tradition and modernity may arises from distortions of views by classes, races or nations who existed or were subject to them. The mirror image of others becomes an element of civilization , national and personal esteem. Africans , including Americans Negroes , long appeared to Americans as black , lazy , cannibalistic , chaotically sexual , childish and incapable of social organization and government. We like them that way because it strengthened the mirror image we had of ourselves as white , industrious , self-controlled , organized , orderly and mature.

8.6 MODERNITY AND TRADITION IN INDIAN CONTEXT

Mostly the concern is to give higher priority to tradition in the study of modernization. This is often the case in previous analysis. By placing the manifestation of Indian tradition foreground of observation, we are in better position to understand the internal variation potentialities for change. The examination of internal variations within traditional and modern societies draws attention to those features of each other that are present in the other.

If one views Gandhiji's leadership, it would be difficult to place him with either the new or old society, although his symbolism was traditional. His ideology and tactics-stressed non-violence, asceticism compromise and consensualism (themes that are as susceptible to a fatalistic and other worldly interpretation as to an activist and this-worldly one). One or another inter predations is valid depends upon the meaning with which they are infused and the purposes to which they are put. In fact, Gandhiji harassed them to the requirements and purposed of a modern man movement to the requirements and purposes of a man movement whose goals were national independents, coherence, and self-esteem.

Increased attentiveness to traditional society not only yields insights into the connections between it and modernity, but also when combined with attentiveness to "traditional aspect of modern society, raises questions about the meaning of modernity. The modernization of traditional nations has begun to suggest that established notions of modernity may have to be amended and revised. Our study of Indian law suggests how and why Indians, still closer to consensual and face-to-face procedure of traditional law, might choose, even as modern western law of late has, to incorporate such "traditional" aspects into their legal system.

Our argument concerning modernity of tradition and its correlate, that modernity incorporates traditional aspects, is based on a rather different view of historical processes, sequences, and end products than many comparative analysis of modernization in new nation. In what follows we explore the modernity of tradition in India.

Check Your Progress

1. Critically examine whether modernity and traditions are synonomous or contradictory?

8.7 THE MINAKSHI TEMPLE

8.7.1 Background:

In Tamil country , especially temples have been crucial institutions for state for 1500 years. The king's relationship with the temple was very vital. In Madurai the ruling king was also the principal patron and protector of their Temple. During colonial period the officials assumed it to be their duty to protect the temples. However after 1863 Religious Endowment Acts the temples were handed over to local managing committees. After mismanagement of 19th century R.S.Naidu , a powerful politician was appointed as the first executive officer .

The rights and privileges of minakshi temple's priests grew after the end of Nayaka and got direct royal control over the Temple. Evidence suggests that Nayaka kings and ministers interfered with the priestly affairs but British officials did not and also acknowledged the authority of chief priests , which properly encouraged the priests to conceptualize their rights as hereditary property.

By 1945 , although the priests were not deprived of their hereditary rights , they had lost a lot of money and many were heavily debt. They were forced to except the authority of the executive officers and his tightened supervision of their work in the temple. The chief priest had also lost their ceremonial privileges. In 1970 WMK government abolish the hereditary priesthood. By 1976-77 , the Minakshi Temple priest had suffered forty years of loss , including threat to their very existence.

It is therefore understood that demoralization was widespread among priest , so that most of them said that they hoped their sons would find better jobs outside the Temple. Their community's best prospect , was to come in terms with the contemporary world by trying to give up their traditional vocation and find alternative employment.

Though the priest were not causalities at all , and since 1970's (late) their position in Minakshi temple has considerably improved. The priests growing commitment to agamic education made a crucial contribution to their renewal , and here too , the state's role is important.

To sum up , from the period of Nayaka rule to the present day , the state has always had a vital bearing on the position of the Minakshi Temple priests. This has been true not only when rulers , government and officials have directly , intervened in the Temple , but also when they appeared to be leaving it alone , as in most of the colonial period. It remains true today as well , even when , for instance , the priests decide for themselves to send their sons to private run Agamic schools or choose to earn money by performing rituals outside then own temple.

Finally one can turn to story of Minakshi Temple priests to understand the relationship between modernity and traditionalism. The modernization theory of 1950's and 60's postulates that all traditional societies would eventually become modern by the same route and in the same way , is now widely discredited. Nevertheless , misconceptions about modernity , tradition , and traditionalism that are characteristically western and indeed modernist are still in social science.

8.8 IZHAVAS OF KERALA

The study of the low-caste Izhavas of Kerala , shows that in search of social mobility , the members of caste have deliberately chosen to repudiate the past to embrace the modern. It is true that modernity and progress of Izhavas are not always about rejecting tradition ; in the religious domain in particular , emulation through sanskritization - which necessarily implies a certain acceptance of traditional Brahman or high caste values - has been a salient component of their social mobility. Izhavas self consciously undertook is avoided many social practices for the sake of their progress. An important factor in the making of Izhava modernity is overseas migration , mainly to Persian Gulf , so that the "Gulf Style", especially in patterns of consumption , epitomizes the "modern" although the influence of Mumbai and other Indian metropolitan cities is also marked. In this context also the ethnography by **Katy Gardner of Sylheti Muslims in neighboring Bangladesh** is a good example , where society has been transformed by overseas migration. Gardner also addresses the question of modernity and traditionalism , and she similarly shows how "discourses rooted in bidesh [overseas].....are presented as the source of progress , and the desh (home) as backward and in need of development".

For Sylhetis , though , especially in relation to gender and religion , modernity is consistently conceptualized as

movement toward "correct" Islamic practices , which mainly come from abroad (especially Saudi Arabia), so that it is expressed through a traditionalism that is oriented against the new and seeks to represent it as if it were authentically old.

Despite their very different circumstances , there are clear parallels between progressive , traditionalist Muslims in Sylhet and the Minakshi Temple priests , among whom emigration - at least so far - has not had a huge transformative role.

8.9 SOCIOLOGY FROM BELOW

Indian society is the product of a long and complex historical process. The seven major events that contributed to the formation of this process are the Aryan advent, the emergence of the Indian 'protest' religions—Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism, the entry of non-Indic religions into the sub-continent as immigrant religions, the Muslim conquests, western colonialism, the anti-colonial freedom struggle and the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 on the eve of the British exit (Oommen, 1998:229-40). The product of this long process is a four-in-one society.

Like all societies, Indian society too is stratified based on age, gender, rural-urban differences and class, but unlike many of them, Indian society is marked by considerable cultural heterogeneity. However, what is unique to India is the all pervasive caste hierarchy, legitimised through the Hindu doctrine of karma and reincarnation.

8.10 MAJOR TRENDS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The complex structure of Indian Society is based on four major trends of social transformation are in evidence (Oommen, 1998:229-40-)

1. Trend from cumulative to dispersed dominance.

First, a transitional trend from cumulative to dispersed dominance. If status, wealth and power were earlier concentrated in the hands of the twice-born caste Hindus—Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya—accounting for a mere 15 to 20 percent of the population, now there is an incipient trend towards dispersal of political power to the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) due to adult franchise.

In addition to the dispersal of political power there is also a limited dispersal of wealth among the above categories, heralding

the birth of a middle class among them. The policy of protective discrimination as in reserving seats in educational institutions and government service are primarily responsible for the emergence of a bourgeoisie among the SCs and STs. The Kulaks among the OBCs are a product of agrarian reforms, which abolished absentee landlords and transferred land to the tenants and sharecroppers drawn from among them, and the Green Revolution, which provided subsidized inputs and assured minimum prices for agricultural products to owner cultivators.

However the changes in power and wealth are not matched by a change in status. Inter-dining, intermarriage and social interaction between the twice-born and the SCs are still rare, particularly in rural areas. This results in status incongruence, that is their upward mobility in wealth and power is not matched by mobility in status.

2. The gradual movement from hierarchy to equality:

The second major trend in social transformation manifests in the gradual movement from hierarchy to equality, resulting in the decline of traditional collectivism and the emergence of individualism. With the emergence of individualism, the salience of traditional collectivities manifested through joint family, jati, village, etc., are relegated to the background. While there is no neat and tidy displacement of collectivism by individualism, the birth of the Indian individual is clearly in evidence.

3. The simultaneous demands for equality and the assertion of collective identity:

The third important trend in social transformation in India is the simultaneous demands for equality and the assertion of collective identity. The Indian Constitution unambiguously assured equality and concomitantly, social justice to all individuals, irrespective of caste, creed or class.

At any rate, the stigma associated with their identity prompted them to abandon it and plumb for assimilation, as the process of sanskritisation implied. But gradually it dawned on them that individual equality per se would not emancipate them and they needed to re-invent dignity in their collective identity. Expressions such as Dalits and Adivasis in the place of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes clearly point to this trend.

4. The movement from a plural society to pluralism:

The fourth transition is the movement from a plural society to pluralism (Oommen, 1997(a):259-71) A plural society is one in which different social and cultural segments uneasily co-exist, interacting in the economic context, but prohibiting legitimate transfusion of blood (inter-marriages) or transmission of culture. This arrangement prevailed within the Hindu society through the operation of the jajmani system for centuries. Latterly, the twice-born castes interact with the OBCs and SCs both in the political and economic contexts, but have very limited interaction in the socio-cultural contexts.

The four trends of change that have been listed, namely the movement from cumulative to dispersed dominance; from hierarchy to equality and the consequent birth of individualism; the simultaneous demand for equality and identity and the gradual transition from a plural society to pluralism (the dignified co-existence of different socio-cultural segments as equals in the polity) have tremendous methodological implications for the study of Indian society.

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate on major trends of transformation in Indian society

8.11 CONTEXT

The view from below is an old and persisting issue in social science, particularly in sociology and social anthropology. But concomitant to the emergence of the traditionally oppressed and stigmatized collectivities as partially emancipated and empowered ones, their conventional silence is being replaced by audible new voices. In turn, the need for their representation in the process of knowledge production is grudgingly being recognized.

If earlier, those who occupied the bottom of society were invisible due to the cognitive blackout perpetuated by upper caste, middle class, urban, male researchers, today, they are in full view and demand their legitimate share of representation in the production and representation of knowledge.

All societies have their bottoms. Thus, the bottoms of societies which are homogenous and merely stratified are occupied by women, youth and the proletariat. These categories have

questioned the knowledge produced by their counterparts—men, adults and the bourgeoisie. Over a period of time, the specific role of each of these disadvantaged categories has come to be recognized in the production of knowledge.

In culturally heterogeneous societies, if the segments are unequal, small or economically weak or culturally 'back-ward' or all of these, the tendency is to ignore them in the representations of reality. There are numerous instances when these ignored or marginalised communities demand to be represented in the process of knowledge production. A familiar example in India is the neglect of the numerous less developed linguistic communities.

In plural societies, the unrepresented bottom categories are invariably viewed as outsiders to the society, as in the case of followers of the non-Indic religions in India. Voices of protest from them have gradually led to the provision of space for their experience in the context of knowledge production.

The bottom layer in hierarchical societies is constituted by the cumulatively deprived sections of society. Unlike women, youth, proletariat, culturally backward or alien segments, which are deprived in one of the contexts, the cumulatively deprived are subjected to multiple deprivations. They are found only in hierarchical societies. The ex-untouchables of India afford an ideal example of this category of bottom.

8.12 PERSPECTIVE FROM BELOW AND THE OTHER PERSPECTIVES

It is also necessary, to indicate how what the perspective from below is not. First, the view from below should not be confused, for the study of other cultures, the conventional avocation of anthropologists.

8.12.1 Anthropological Method:

The specificity of anthropological 'method' is the distinction between the etic and emic approaches both of which entailed the technique of participant observation, which is often mystified (Oommen, 1969:809-45). But the demystification of participant observation was bound to happen when anthropologists started investigating their own societies. The point of interest for the present is that in hierarchical societies, anthropologists drawn from the upper castes were invariably reluctant to 'participate' at the bottom rung of the society, given the norms and values associated with the practice of untouchability. Should an effort to participate in the life-world of the untouchables be made by a savarna anthropologist, it will be disapproved, not only by this own jati

peers, but also by the untouchables themselves given the grip of the , doctrine of karma and reincarnation on them.

Even the distinction between the etic and emic approaches remained problematic. The etic approach identified and studied social reality independently of the natives' cultural judgements. The emic view, in contrast, is an insider's view.

8.12.2 Subalternist perspective:

Second, the perspective from below should not be confused for the much-heralded subalternist perspective. Subalternists focussed their attention on the circles of elite politics and have emphasised the insurrectionary activities and potential of the subaltern classes (artisans, poor peasants and landless labourers, which are essentially economic categories), who, according to them, possessed self-conscious and coherent conceptions of resistance that were directed against rich peasants, urban traders/merchants or the colonial revenue administrators. Subalternists claim to have unfolded the incapacity of nationalist historiography to incorporate the voices of the weak into the project of history writing (Guha and Spivak (eds.), 1988).

8.12.3 Prole-tarian, feminist or generational perspective:

Third, the view from below is different from the prole-tarian, feminist or generational perspective. Class in the sense of social gradations exist in all societies and there are no immutable boundaries between classes. Both embourgeoisement and proletarianisation are perennial possibilities. Indeed, declassing has been advocated and successfully attempted by many investigators. There was a time, say in the 1960s, when the widespread belief prevailed that the youth alone had the capacity to cognise truth; those above 30 were adjudged to be incapable of perceiving truth (Feuer, 1969).

The extremists among feminists seem to take the view that only women can understand and analyse issues concerning women. The corollary of this is that only men can understand their problems.

8.12.4 Economic and political perspective:

Fourth, in plural societies, the segments, even when they are equals, remain cultural strangers. That is, even as they interact in the economic and political contexts which result in interdependence, culturally, they are insulated. Following Simmels' (1950) notion, one can even accept the advantages of doing research among strangers. The point is very that the perspective from below is the specific need of hierarchical societies such as that

of India, wherein the society is so tightly compartmentalised that one segment cannot penetrate in to the other.

Having said the above, we need to add a caveat here. If one were to take a position that there is no possibility of an outsider ever investigating a segment of society to which he does not belong, then each segment will have to produce its own set of researchers. This will leave some segments uninvestigated for ever. For example, who will study children, individual, imbeciles or insane people? At any rate, there is an advantage for those segments which can be studied by its own representatives and by outsiders also.

Check Your Progress

Examine the contrast between the perspective from below with other prevalent perspectives in society

8.13 THE NEED FOR A PERSPECTIVE FROM BELOW

The need for a perspective from below is inextricably interlinked with the hierarchical nature of societies such as those of India. All the available evidence suggests that Indian sociologists and social anthropologists, predominantly drawn from the twice born caste Hindus, at least until recently, have largely neglected the social realities of the lowly placed and oppressed-the OBCs and SCs.

In All India Sociological Conference held in 1955 D.P. Mukherji insisted that it was not enough that an Indian sociologist be a sociologist, but that he be an Indian first. And how do sociologists acquire Indianness? By situating himself in Indian lore, both high and low But, "unless sociological training in India is grounded in Sanskrit, or any such language in which the traditions have been embodied as symbols, social research in India will be a pale imitation of what others are doing" (Mukherji, in Saksena, 1961:23). Although Mukherji wanted sociologists to be familiar with Indian lore, both high and low, he thought that our traditions were embodied in Sanskrit.

8.14 PROBLEMS WITH THIS ADVOCACY

First, only the twice-born caste Hindus were allow any access to Sanskrit, in which the traditional texts of knowledge were

written. By insisting that Sanskrit be the route through for Indian sociologists could cultivate originality, Mukherji was narrowing the recruitment base of Indian sociologists.

Second, by the time education became a constitutional possibility, Sanskrit ceased to be a live language.

Third, the reference to 'such other languages' may be an allusion to Pali and Tamil, but does it include Persian, too? If indeed all the four languages—Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil and Persian—are under reference, one cannot talk of tradition in the singular, for indeed, there is a multiplicity of traditions in India.

Fourth, even if one takes such an accommodative view, still all the traditions under reference are Great Traditions. And, the traditions of the vast majority of the people of India are Little Traditions, confined to folk regions. No sociologist can afford to neglect this rich variety of traditions if he wishes to be called authentic.

Fifth, it is difficult to comprehend why training in sociology grounded in Sanskrit and/or other such languages can inform sociology of originality.

According to Mukherji's prescription, an overwhelming majority of Indian sociologists are pale imitators. On the other hand, those handful of Sanskrit-knowing sociologists hardly demonstrated any originality; they invariably indulged in exegetical analyses. In turn, this blurs the distinction between Indology and sociology.

Mukherji, in *Indian Sociology and Tradition*, said: "All our Shastras are sociological." There is an interesting link between the need to anchor a sociologist's training in knowledge of Sanskrit and the observation that the Shastras are sociological because the latter are in Sanskrit. But, a few uncomfortable facts may be noted here.

First, in the observation stands for Hindus. But Indian sociology cannot be equated with Hindu sociology for the simple reason that one out of every eight Indians is a non-Hindu.

Second, Hindu sociology necessarily implies Muslim sociology, Buddhist sociology and the like, the very antithesis of sociology as a humanistic and encapsulating enterprise.

Third, our does not stand even for all Hindus, the majority of the Hindu population (the OBCs and SCs) have no role in the making of these Shastras and they are treated as congenital inferiors by twice-born Hindus. In fact, the panchamas, those of the fifth order (the untouchables) are not even accounted for in the 'Chaturvarna' theory which deals with the Hindu doctrine of creation.

Not only that, the Shastras also assign a marginal position to the women of even the twice-born Varnas. To put it pithily, the Shastras privilege upper-caste males and treat the vast majority of Hindus as inferiors. Can they be sociological? sociology cannot ignore the experiences of any segment in society much less treat them as inferior. The mission of sociology is all embracing and ought to be humanistic.

While the Shastras are theological, they cannot be sociological. To anchor Indian sociology to the Hindu Shastras is to undermine sociology's secular and humane foundations. Finally, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, in his debates with M.K. Gandhi in the 1930s, insisted that only if the Puranas and Shastras and all scriptures that supported caste (i.e. inequality and injustice), were disowned, could he call himself a Hindu. As is well known, the challenge was not admissible to caste Hindus and Ambedkar embraced Buddhism in 1956.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss the need of perspective from below and problems associated with it

8.15 THE BOOK-VIEW AND THE FIELD-VEIW

Indeed the 'book-view' of sociology in India was is excessively in favour of projecting the view from above. To counter this, the field-view would have been greatly helpful if executed with care. But that was not to be. Almost all field studies in sociology and social anthropology until recently were under-taken from the perspective of twice-born middle class Hindus. For example, there is hardly and study of a village, a much celebrated theme in Indian sociology, which views the village reality from the perspective of a Cheri, Maharwada or Chamar Mohalla. And, in field studies as in texts those below the pollution line are designated as Chandals, Mlecchas, exterior castes, untouchables etc., if they are referred to at all. Even designations such as Scheduled Castes preferred by the state and Harijan coined by Narasinh Mehta and propogated by M.K. Gandhi are not acceptable to them. That is, the very labelling of these categories has been debilitating and stigmatising. The compelling need for a view from below will have to be situated in this context.

But it is important to note here that the bottom layer of Indian society itself is no more uniform and homogenous. The upwardly mobile, urban educated Dalit elite are qualitatively different from the cumulatively dominated rural illiterate, economically stagnant Dalits. The urban Dalit elite should not be allowed to endanger the cause and interests of the cumulatively oppressed rural Dalits. That is, the perspective from below is the epistemological privilege of the cumulatively oppressed. Those who are incorporated into the establishment often get disembedded from their roots. It is a time to indicate the theoretical foundation of the approach designated as the 'perspective from below'.

There has been a cognitive black-out in Indian social science, at least until recently, as far as knowledge regarding the life-world experiences of Dalit-bahujans is concerned. The fact that the lifestyles of upper castes and Dalit-bahujans vary dramatically in terms of food habits, worship patterns or gender relations is tacitly acknowledged. But instead of squarely recognising these variations and explaining why they exist, the dominant tendency in Indian sociology has been to suggest that the Dalit-bahujans are abandoning their way of life in favour of the lifestyle of caste Hindus. This is what sanskritisation is all about. In this perspective, not only are the norms and values of caste Hindus privileged, but they are also christened as norm setters and value givers for society as a whole. Conversely, the norms and values of Dalit-bahujans are knocked out, ignored, stigmatised and de-legitimised. Indeed, the field-view has made Indian sociology more authentic as compared with the book-view, but its authenticity has been largely partial. To correct this imbalance, we need the perspective from below.

8.16 SUMMARY

Finally, it is necessary to recognise that knowledge has two uses: oppression and perpetuation of hegemony and institutionalisation of equality and justice. The view from above sometimes directly and almost always indirectly aids and abets oppression and hegemonisation. The view from below can and should provide the much-heeded antidote to this, facilitating the institutionalisation of equality and social justice. This is the rationale and justification for the perspective from below, which can contribute to the nurturing of a robust civil society.

8.17 QUESTIONS

Q.1 Examine the dichotomous relation between tradition and modernity in contemporary society.

- Q.2 Briefly analyse the parallels between modernity and tradition through the example of Minakshi Temple.
- Q.3 Elaborate on the need and problems associated with the perspective from below.
- Q.4 Critically examine the complex historical process of Indian society and the major trends of transformation.
- Q.5 Delineate how the perspective from below is different from other perspectives of society.
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UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Basic concepts
- 9.3 Theories of development
- 9.4 Summary
- 9.5 Reference
- 9.6 Questions

9.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the concepts of social change, evolution, growth and development.
- To understand the modernisation theory approach to development.
- To critically evaluate the modernisation theory.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The sociology of modernization and development is about people in the Third World and elsewhere, who have their own ideas of progress, who live in a socio-economic environment which they cannot fully control, and who yet have their own cultures. Views of development are inevitably linked to some idea of progress, which involves a change, perhaps an evolution, from one state to the other, both of which are real or idealised.

9.2 BASIC CONCEPTS

9.2.1 Social change refers to any significant alteration over time in behavior patterns and cultural values and norms. By “significant” alteration, sociologists mean changes yielding profound social consequences. Examples of significant social changes having long-term effects include the industrial revolution, the abolition of slavery, and the feminist movement. Encyclopedia Britannica defines social change as the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure,

characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organizations, or value systems.

9.2.2. Throughout the historical development of their discipline, sociologists have borrowed models of social change from other academic fields. In the late 19th century, when **evolution** became the predominant model for understanding biological change, ideas of social change took on an evolutionary cast, and, though other models have refined modern notions of social change, evolution persists as an underlying principle. Evolutionary theories believe that societies gradually change from simple to more complex forms- from traditional to modern. Early sociologists like Comte, Spencer and Durkheim believed that human societies evolve in unilinear manner. For Comte human development corresponded with societal development where society passed through three stages of social change- the theological, the metaphysical and the positive stages. Herbert Spencer compared societies to human organism. Applying Darwin's principle of survival of the fittest he argued that societies have evolved from military to industrial stage. Durkheim saw societies move from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity characterized by increased division of labour and specialization. They viewed social change as being positive; moving towards progress and growth that is beneficial to the society. The evolutionary view of societies moving towards new and higher levels of civilization is associated with Charles Darwin theory of organic evolution. The multilineal theory of evolution believes that all societies don't move in the same direction.

9.2.3 Development is not just an economic phenomenon but a multidimensional process involving reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social system. There is no agreed definition of development. It is a normative term which has at different times meant economic growth, structural economic change, industrialization, capitalism, socialism etc. Todaro's 3 objectives of development includes raising people's standard of living, creating conditions conducive to growth of people's self-esteem and increasing people's freedom by giving them choices. Human development is defined as a process of enlarging people's choices to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. The human development

index is based on 3 indices of development that includes life expectancy, literacy levels and the standard of living. Amartya Sen believes that development is not just an economic phenomenon but has to be associated with what it does to the lives of human beings. Enhancement of life is an integral part of development. Economic growth and human development are interrelated. While economic growth provides resources to achieve improvements in human development, improvements in human capital can play an important role in achieving economic growth. The capability approach has provided the theoretical foundations for human development. The capability approach as developed by Sen and Nussbaum refers to what people are able to do and be i.e. what are their capabilities that can help them enhance quality of their lives and remove obstacles that they have more freedom to live.

9.2.4 Modernization is defined as what is 'up to date' in a specific location at any given time. It is usually the result of a process of 'Westernisation', involving economic, political, social, and cultural changes which contrast with a previous 'traditional' stability.

Development is defined as much the same as modernization: a far reaching, continuous, and positively evaluated change in the totality of human experience. The difference between the two concepts is that whilst there need be no argument about modernization, about what is actually happening, there will inevitably be strong disagreements as to whether or not development is also occurring. Development, then, is always a valued state, which may or may not have been achieved in some other social context, and which may not even be achievable. Development as Modernization emphasizes process of social change which is required to produce economic advancement; examines changes in social, psychological and political processes. How to develop wealth oriented behavior and values in individuals; profit seeking rather than subsistence and self-sufficiency. Shift from commodity to human approach with investment in education and skill training.

Check Your Progress

- 1 Explain the concepts of social change, evolution, growth and development.
- 2 Show how modernization and development are interrelated.

9.3 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

In the past, modernization theorist tended to equate modernization and development. They focused largely on the 'new' nation states, and assumed that what had occurred in the West could be repeated, albeit with the little help in the way of capital, technology, expertise and 'rationality'. Underdevelopment theorists and other critics of modernization theory have taken a more hostile attitude to Westernization, arguing that the expansion of Western capitalism incorporated the Third World into an exploitative world system, thus leading to its underdevelopment.

9.3.1 Modernization theory

There is no one modernization theory. The beginnings of modernization theory can be traced to 18th century when evolution of societies was studied in a systematic way. A long, gradual process of social and cultural change considered as differentiation, a movement through defined stages from the simple to the complex, has marked Western social thought throughout and dominated the great eighteenth century program to establish a science of man and society. Early modernization study was carried out by **Daniel Lerner**. In 'The Passing of Traditional society' (1958) he examined the process of modernization in several Middle East countries. According to him modernization is a global process, the same the world over where traditional society is slowly disappearing. In particular, the role of mass media is crucial, and is associated with cluster of other indices of development: urbanization, accompanied by an increase in literacy, leads to an increase in exposure to the mass media. At the same time, increasingly literate and urbanized population participates in wider economic system. For Lerner, modernity comes about through changes not only in institutions but also in persons. One of the crucial aspects of modernization is the development of a 'Mobile personality' characterized by rationality and empathy, which

enables newly mobile persons to operate efficiently in a changing world. Lerner classified individual respondents to his questionnaires as traditional, transitional or modern. From the response, he found that, compared with 'traditional' individuals the 'modern' were happier, better informed and relatively young whereas people who were in the transitional category were unhappy and extremists especially if the progress was blocked by lack of suitable political institutions.

Several themes common to early modernization theory are found in Lerner's study: the classification of societies as traditional or modern or transitional, a focus on such indicators of modernity as urbanization and literacy; exposure to the mass media; the importance given to specific personality types in the process of modernization. In addition values and their relationship to the wider community are significant factors in discussion of development.

- 9.3.2** The question of values was also taken by **McClelland**, a psychologist who for many years studied how people came to display a 'need for achievement', otherwise known as n.ach. By this McClelland means 'the desire to do something better, faster, more efficiently, with less efforts'. Those who evidence this trait are similar in some respects to Lerner's Mobile Personalities. In brief McClelland asserts that the need for achievement can be found in individuals from different cultures, and that this need is associated with other indicators of development, including economic growth. As a personality attribute, n.ach developed in children through literature that emphasizes the value of self-help, competition and generally outgoing behaviour. Adults too are able to develop these personality trait, and McClelland claimed that short training courses for Indian Businessman had demonstrated that within a few days they become more adventurous, innovative, enterprising and generally more efficient. He does not entirely ignore social factors, and accept that the need for achievement is not the only requirement in modernization. Historical factors are also important in determining whether or not specific group evidence that trait. Finally, at a psychological level, economic success is seen, by McClelland, as constructed on a desire to prove superiority and to promote the common goods. Nevertheless, such a desire can be produced in a variety of ways, including specific training programming introduced

primarily to promote the growth of the needs of achievement. **Hagen** followed McClelland's concept that level of development is correlated with achievement motivation. He tried to explain why achievement motivation varies between societies and their classes. In the traditional society where status of individuals is fixed status quo is maintained. Children learn to act according to established norms and deviations are punishable. However external influences might create a new group challenging the status of the old elite. The insecurities and frustrations arising from these challenges leads to changed behavior which has consequences for the family. Children readily accept new values and in the course of time become innovative personalities. If these persons become dominant groups in the society then it causes economic development.

9.3.3 Hoselitz, an economist lifted the pattern variables from Parsons. He considered economic roles in underdeveloped countries to be particularistic, functionally diffuse, ascriptive and self-oriented. He aimed to demonstrate that economic change cannot be explained by reference to economic factors alone. For Hoselitz the economic, social and cultural are interrelated and the interlinkages and causal patterns vary across societies and according to the period when development occurs. Towards the growth of the western societies he takes a multi causal approach arguing that cultural and social variables may have created the conditions for economic change. He attempted to deal with the transition from underdevelopment to development and discussed the possibility that innovation in economic activity tends to be introduced by social deviants who are marginal to the rest of the society. For Hoselitz the focus on deviants as innovators and entrepreneurs is necessary, but not a sufficient cause for social change. It was important to examine other factors like the man/land ratio. He related the process of development to political structures suggesting that expansionism was more likely to occur in and reinforce an open stratification system, whereas intrinsic change tended to reinforce rigid class structures and centralised decision making.

Critique :

His thesis is considered theoretically inadequate in that all roles are given equal weight, in that it fails to specify which section

of society is the unit of analysis and also that it ignores the historical and structural basis of underdevelopment. Whilst Hoselitz did not ignore the structures of underdevelopment, for him as well as Parson's the empirical development of the third world was secondary matter. Frank argues that he ignored the economic and political structure within which underdevelopment is situated. However at the same time his contribution is noteworthy where he warned against the view that underdeveloped societies would follow the European paths of development, emphasised the importance of research into development in specific societies and attempted to relate economic change to social, cultural and political variables.

9.3.4 SMELSER AND ROSTOW

Both Smelser and Rostow attempted to provide more general perspectives in the analysis of development.

Sociologist **Smelser** was particularly concerned with the effect of economic development and growth on social structure.

He detailed 4 major processes that were especially important. First, there was a move from simple to complex technology, secondly, a change from subsistence farming to cash crops, thirdly, a move from animal and human power to industrialization and finally, an increasingly urban based population. Smelser stressed that such processes would not occur simultaneously, and that changes would differ from one society to another. The process of change and factors promoting it would be different being crucially affected by tradition, thus leading to different paths towards modernization. He went on to suggest that national differences are always important and events such as wars and natural disaster, can crucially affect the pattern of development. He goes on to suggest that, local conditions notwithstanding, these 4 processes of change have a similar effect on modernizing societies.

The family loses functions, economic activities become distinct from the domestic and religious spheres and social stratification becomes more complex, with greater emphasis on achievement and social mobility. To maintain social cohesiveness, new integrative mechanisms arise. Welfare agencies link the family to the economy, voluntary associations emerge, including trades unions to counter

feelings of anonymity brought about by urbanization and new political institutions cater for an increasing number of interest groups. All of this is in line with a structural functionalist perspective that emphasizes the adaptive capacity of societies and the corresponding need for social equilibrium. Despite the formation of new integrative mechanisms, Smelser regards social disturbances as inevitable. They come about for several reasons, the most important of which are the clash of tradition and modernization, unevenness of structural change and the rapidity of industrialization. In effect, modernizing societies are portrayed as battlegrounds, where tradition is pitted against the forces of structural differentiation and where integrative mechanisms strive to hold the balance. The success of these mechanisms depends on the intensity of structural change, the nature of premodern society, the degree to which the rebels have access to political power, the extent to which rival social groups overlap and foreign intervention.

To conclude Smelser is dealing with a more or less uniform pattern of social change, in which modernizing societies are following the examples set by their more advanced counterparts. And social adaptation seems to occur without a great deal of assistance from human agents. Instead, societies are like huge self-correcting machines, with defence mechanisms being brought into play as soon as social equilibrium is threatened. That said he does not pretend that modernization is easy, or that industrialization will occur immediately.

Critique :

In Smelser, we see a neo- Durkheimian, structural functionalist perspective, which sees social change in the third world as a necessary factor in economic growth. If only social disturbances can be contained, perhaps through new, stronger political institutions and leadership, the third world will be able to follow the western path with some local variations.

9.3.5 Rostow's stages of growth

In his best known publications (1960), Rostow suggests that all societies can be placed in one of the 5 categories, or stages of economic growth. These he derives from his study of western economic development. In traditional society,

the **first** stage, output is limited because of the inaccessibility of science and technology.

Values are fatalistic and political power is non-centralized. At the **second** stage, the preconditions for take-off, new ideas favouring economic progress arise and with them education, entrepreneurship and institutions capable of mobilizing capital. Investments increase especially in transport, communication and raw materials, and the result is a general commercial expansion. Despite the development of some modern manufacturing, traditional social structures and production techniques remain.

Rostow's **third** stage is the stage for take-off, where traditional barriers to economic growth are overcome either due to absorption of new technology or with the additional emergence of new political groups that encourages modernisation of the economy. Investment and entrepreneurial class increases. Agriculture is commercialised leading to an increase in productivity, a necessary development if the demand rising from the expanding urban centres is to be met. In the **fourth** stage of 'the drive to maturity' economy grows internationally. Technology becomes more complex and there is a move from heavy industry. Production is matter of choice than economic necessity. This leads to the **final** stage of high consumption where the leading economic sectors specialise in manufacturing durable consumer goods and services. Basic needs are satisfied and there is focus on social welfare and security. There is also mass production of luxury goods.

Critique :

Rostow's theory claims to be dynamic, dealing not just with economic factors but also with social decisions and policies of governments. Like other modernisation theorists, he incorporates the idea of diffusion in his account of development. Echoing the views of Marion Levy, he regarded the process of modernisation as inevitable; societies could opt to halt development but in practise the momentum would be maintained by population increase and attraction of modern living standards. He also suggested that available technology set constraints on social, economic and political action and within these constraints individuals were free to

make choices. His theory has often been criticised. Leaving aside economic arguments, it is doubtful whether western development occurred along the lines he suggests, and even more unlikely that it could occur on such lines in the third world. The political message of Rostow's work is inappropriate; if colonialism and neo colonialism have actively underdeveloped the third world; it is unlikely that closer association with and following of the developed countries will enable third world countries to make up for the ground they have lost in the race towards the age of high consumption. His unilinear approach to development and the idea that traditional societies underwent change in the economies, values as well as social structures can be found elsewhere. Whereas Smelser considered strong, centralised government a necessity and Rostow emphasised entrepreneurial elites in the economic take off period, such themes were general among early modernisation theorists.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the various tenets of modernisation theory?
2. Critically evaluate the contributions of the following to modernisation theory: a) Daniel Lerner b) Hoselitz c) Rostow d) McClelland e) Hagen f) Smelser

9.4 SUMMARY

In the 1960's modernization was adopted by social scientists, planners and politicians, both in the west and in the third world. The unit of analysis was the nation state and the third world nations were put on the evolutionary scale with the western societies at the top. These modern western societies provided a development pattern which if followed in the third world would allow the developing societies to catch up with the west which would help the other developing and underdeveloped country through capital, expertise and technology to grow. In classical Marxism one found the variant of modernization theory.

9.5 REFERENCE

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9.6 QUESTIONS

- Q1 Examine the basic concepts of social change, evolution, growth and development.
- Q2 Examine the interrelation between growth and development.
- Q3 What is development? Examine the various modernisation theoretical approaches to understand development.



THEORETICAL APPROACHES DEPENDENCY THEORY

Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Underdevelopment theory
- 10.3 Neo Liberal Economic approach
- 10.4 Summary
- 10.5 References
- 10.6 Questions

10.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce students to the dependency theoretical approach that has shaped the concept of development.
- To provide a critique of the dependency theory.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Dependency theory, a key element of underdevelopment theory, arose from the disillusionment with economic strategies of development, especially as they had been applied in Latin America.

10.2 UNDERDEVELOPMENT THEORY

Just as there is no single modernisation theory, there is no one Marxist approach to development. A variety of approaches originating in classical Marxism and leading to a broad based school of neo Marxists , whose collective work has come to be known as dependency theory, world systems theory and development theory. Dependency theory refers to the body of thought concerning development that emerged in Latin America in the 1950 and 1960 and which was later to lead to a more general view of development and its opposite, underdevelopment, as key features of the world capitalist system. Dependency theory and world systems theory can be seen as constituting

underdevelopment theory, which is reference to all neo Marxists perspectives, regards underdevelopment and not development as the result of the spread of internationalism. Dependency theory was based on the premise that the periphery nations provided the core nations with cheap raw materials and labour that helped the core develop, whereas exploitation of the periphery nations led to their underdevelopment. The key elements of dependency theory are that poor nations provide cheap raw materials, labour and market for developed economies; wealthy nations through various mechanisms like banking, finance, education etc. perpetuate a state of dependence and wealthy capitalist nations actively regulate attempts by dependent nations to resist dominance and influence either through economic sanctions or use of military force.

Dependency theory states that the poverty of the countries in the periphery is not because they are not integrated into the world system, or not 'fully' integrated as is often argued by free market economists, but because of how they are integrated into the system.

Theories of underdevelopment

10.2.1 Baran and underdevelopment

In the 'Political Economy of Growth', Baran asserted that bourgeois social science gave ideological support to the exploitation of the third world inherent in capitalism. The capitalist world kept the third world nations backward to further their own capitalistic expansion. The third world provided the capitalist nations with raw materials and opportunities to extract economic surplus. Underdevelopment in the third world was a result of capitalist development in the west, a relationship that no amount of agrarian reforms or aid could disguise. To escape from this exploitation, the only way, according to Baran, is to withdraw from the world capitalist system completely and introduce socialist economic planning. He posed a direct threat to the prevailing notions of capitalist development that had been disastrous for the third world. Monopolies that had once been considered progressive were now active in keeping wages down, thus inhibiting the demand for their own products, and while general increase in consumption would benefit the entire capitalist system it would ruin any individual company prepared to increase the consumer power of its own workers to the detriment of its own competitiveness. Baran did not ignore the internal class structures of underdeveloped

societies and he did not suggest that it was impossible to obtain an economic surplus. However he felt that the actual, rather than the potential surplus were largely wasted. First a part of it went to the lumpen bourgeoisie that included money lenders, real estate agents and others he considered to be parasitic and non-productive. Secondly, domestic industrial producers also received some of the actual surplus. They remained monopolistic discouraging competition. Thirdly, the economic surplus was received by the foreign enterprise. Foreign companies brought few benefits to the host society; investment tended to be from profits made locally and most capital goods were imported. Foreign enterprises were inclined to be capital intensive, providing less work to the local workers. His assertion that foreign companies were reluctant to employ workers was however questioned by critics. Finally the economic surplus is also taken by the state. Baran refers to 3 types of state: the directly administered colony which uses its revenue to develop its resources of raw materials, secondly the government that rules on the behalf of western capitalism, concentrates on developing its military and ideological apparatus and caters to the tastes of the rich and finally the new deal type of government which is the area for competing class interest of national bourgeoisie and feudal elements.

Critical evaluation

Baran is dealing with ideal types of societies in two respects

- 1) In the more social scientific sense some characteristics of existing societies are abstracted and developed into a conceptual tool to be used as an aid in analysis.
- 2) He refers to an ideal society, a socialist society without exploitation and with the potential economic surplus fully used for the benefit of the majority rather than for the exploiting minority.

There are problems with Baran's thesis. He mentions but does not develop the fact that underdeveloped societies may exist within the developed societies and his concept of development is outdated. Against this he clearly has in mind the possibility of a just and non-exploitative society, based on socialism rather than on capitalism. He was utopian in his view of what could be achieved by the third world societies following socialist path of development, seeming to suggest that in such societies, or between them,

inequality would no longer exist. Baran was not against western capitalism. Baran's book described as a "Stalinist tract" and a predictable piece of Marxist orthodoxy. Its effect on economists and sociologists was minimal. However the book was to play an important role in the formation of the Marxist and neo Marxists views on development and Baran reiterates and develops the concept of uneven development. His focus on exports, on capitalist competition and on the role of war is regarded as a continuation of the concerns of classical Marxism. Nevertheless it is understatement to claim that by regarding capitalism as a hindrance to the third world development, Baran's views represented a change of emphasis from previous Marxists writings. Such a view was contradiction to capitalism as well as Marxist, both of which argued that capitalism was nothing else but a necessary stage for the development of any society.

10.2.2 Frank's critique of the Sociology of Development

Frank, a Chicago trained economist was influenced by Baran. Modernisation theory according to him was empirically invalid, theoretically inadequate and politically ineffective. He criticised the ideal typical approach of Hoselitz and Rostow in which development is seen as change from one stage to the other. In Frank's view neither developed nor do underdeveloped societies reveal the characteristics suggested by Hoselitz. Rostow's stages of growth theory was criticised on the grounds that they simply do not correspond to the past or present reality of underdeveloped countries. Frank also criticised the acculturation or the diffusionist perspective that suggests that if development fails to occur, it is because within the third world there are obstacles to diffusion. He denies that development can be introduced in such societies and suggests that it is not poverty that has prevented underdeveloped societies investing in their own future but the net outflow of capital into the west. In short the third world has subsidised the development of the first. He also criticised the approaches of Hagen and McClelland who gave the psychological explanations of development.

Frank criticized the thesis which stated that 'the underdeveloped countries with their traditional societies would gradually become developed and modern countries by engaging with the developed capitalist economies and modern societies'. Therefore, he has presented the new analysis of the relationships between economically developed and underdeveloped countries.

The Development of Underdevelopment Theory

In his book 'The Development of Underdevelopment' Frank gave emphasis to the fact that, in his belief every country passes through all the stages of development, and every stage of this process will vary in time, depending on the position of the country. Besides, he stressed that there is no concept of 'an underdeveloped country' if we talk about the economically developed countries – these are countries which were at one point merely undeveloped, but not underdeveloped. The notion of 'the development of underdevelopment' is the main concept in the development theory.

Frank pointed out that the contemporary underdevelopment position of a country is the result of its economic, cultural, political and social characteristic features. Moreover, the underdevelopment as the result of past and present relations is an integral part of the world structure. He pointed out that the capitalist system has developed rapidly during the last centuries and its effect has reached the most isolated parts of the underdeveloped world. Moreover, the metropolis-satellite relations have been spread in the Latin American colonies and countries, having structured the economic, political, and social life of these countries. Frank has come to a very interesting conclusion that underdevelopment is generated by the historical process which has generated economic development and the development of capitalism. Therefore, the two types of countries are connected with each other through exploitation and colonization. Frank has found the connection between the development of the centre and the periphery countries.

Besides this Frank explained in his book 'The Development of Underdevelopment', that Latin America and other similar countries are underdeveloped countries owing to the foreign competition, and the introduction of free trade, which is in the interest of the ruling groups of the economically developed countries. The now underdeveloped countries have not had the opportunity to continue developing in the conditions of growing capitalism. Consequently, the development of these countries has had to be sacrificed for that of others. Therefore, the contemporary underdevelopment of certain countries is connected with their close ties with now economically developed countries, which have become economically developed owing to these underdeveloped countries in the past, and which have abandoned them when the wealth of their mines, raw materials and natural resources disappeared.

Critique

On the whole what is evident in Frank's thesis, the development of the centre not only involves, but requires the underdevelopment of the previously undeveloped periphery. This is because development has depended upon resources which are stolen from the periphery, and resources which are exploited; as well as people which are exploited. At the same time the periphery becomes increasingly dependent upon the centre for certain crucial "modern" resources, including technology and knowledge. Frank's early speculation on *The Development of Underdevelopment* was crucial for the emergence of both the dependency theory and the world-system paradigm. His efforts at systematically linking the external economic behaviour of the socialist alliance to the larger capitalist division of labour, has been instrumental in our understanding of not only the nature and role of existing socialisms, but the overall dynamics of the world economy. In his view, Asia and Latin America have actually developed underdevelopment; whereas Europe, North America, and Australia have accumulated capital at the expense of the periphery. This accumulation of capital has been made possible through the process of unequal exchange between regions, and the transformation internally of regions at the productive, social, and political levels.

Frank applied his theories of development to various countries affected by underdevelopment; specifically those of Latin America and Asia. These however are just to name a few; his theories could be applied to many other underdeveloped countries. Frank viewed the present world as a manifestation of the dominance the centre metropolis has over the dependent periphery; involving unequal exchange and exploitation.

The exploitation of the people, and of the natural resources and raw materials of these countries, is what Frank believed to be the key behind his Dependency Theory. He asserted that developed countries such as Britain, Australia, have only received the labels of being 'developed countries' because of their dependence on these underdeveloped countries. The low wages given to workers of these underdeveloped countries, together with the natural resources and raw material which are either stolen or bought at low prices, are all a combination of what allow the developed countries to have such large margins of profit. These high amounts of profit can then be reinvested in order to increase

the riches of the countries further; all at the expense of underdeveloped countries.

That is to say, if developed countries did not exploit underdeveloped countries, then in Frank's views they would not be such a thing as an 'underdeveloped county;' all countries which have not become economically developed, would simply be undeveloped. The term undeveloped at least allows a country the opportunity to become developed; whereas underdeveloped implies it can never become developed due to the continuing exploitation of these developed countries.

10.2.3 Wallerstein's Theory

Immanuel Wallerstein further advanced the concepts of underdevelopment theory in his book, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. He did this principally by reconceptualising Frank's model and adding another category. Wallerstein's theory was based on a capitalist world-system. Immanuel Wallerstein develops a theoretical framework to understand the historical changes involved in the rise of the modern world. The modern world system, essentially capitalist in nature, followed the crisis of the feudal system and helps explain the rise of Western Europe to world supremacy between 1450 and 1670. According to Wallerstein, his theory makes possible a comprehensive understanding of the external and internal manifestations of the modernization process during this period and makes possible analytically sound comparisons between different parts of the world. The new capitalist world system was based on an international division of labor that determined relationships between different regions as well as the types of labor conditions within each region. In this model, the type of political system was also directly related to each region's placement within the world economy. As a basis for comparison, Wallerstein proposes different categories, core, semi-periphery and periphery into which all regions of the world can be placed. The categories describe each region's relative position within the world economy as well as certain internal political and economic characteristics. The world system had a core consisting of the highly developed countries of the world, a periphery consisting of countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia, which are commonly referred to as the 'Third World', and a semi-periphery that was made up of countries that

were neither core nor periphery, such as the Newly Industrialized Countries (NIC).

The Core

The core regions benefited the most from the capitalist world economy. For the period under discussion, much of northwestern Europe (England, France, and Holland) developed as the first core region. Politically, the states within this part of Europe developed strong central governments, extensive bureaucracies, and large mercenary armies. This permitted the local bourgeoisie to obtain control over international commerce and extract capital surpluses from this trade for their own benefit. As the rural population expanded, the small but increasing number of landless wage earners provided labor for farms and manufacturing activities. The switch from feudal obligations to money rents in the aftermath of the feudal crisis encouraged the rise of independent or yeoman farmers but squeezed out many other peasants off the land. These impoverished peasants often moved to the cities, providing cheap labor essential for the growth in urban manufacturing. Agricultural productivity increased with the growing predominance of the commercially-oriented independent farmer, the rise of pastoralism, and improved farm technology.

The Periphery

On the other end of the scale lay the peripheral zones. These areas lacked strong central governments or were controlled by other states, exported raw materials to the core, and relied on coercive labor practices. The core expropriated much of the capital surplus generated by the periphery through unequal trade relations. Two areas, Eastern Europe (especially Poland) and Latin America, exhibited characteristics of peripheral regions. In Poland, kings lost power to the nobility as the region became a prime exporter of wheat to the rest of Europe. To gain sufficient cheap and easily controlled labor, landlords forced rural workers into a "second serfdom" on their commercial estates. In Latin America, the Spanish and Portuguese conquests destroyed indigenous authority structures and replaced them with weak bureaucracies under the control of these European states. Powerful local landlords of Hispanic origin became aristocratic capitalist farmers. Enslavement of the native populations, the importation of African slaves and coercive labor practices made possible the export of cheap raw materials to Europe. Labor systems in both peripheral areas differed from earlier forms in medieval Europe in that they were established to produce goods for a capitalist world economy and

not merely for internal consumption. Furthermore, the aristocracy both in Eastern Europe and Latin America grew wealthy from their relationship with the world economy and could draw on the strength of a central core region to maintain control.

The Semi-Periphery

Between the two extremes lie the semi-peripheries. These areas represented either core regions in decline or peripheries attempting to improve their relative position in the world economic system. They often also served as buffers between the core and the peripheries. As such, semi-peripheries exhibited tensions between the central government and a strong local landed class. Good examples of declining cores that became semi-peripheries during the period under study are Portugal and Spain. Other semi-peripheries at this time were Italy, southern Germany, and southern France. Economically, these regions retained limited but declining access to international banking and the production of high-cost high-quality manufactured goods. Unlike the core, however, they failed to predominate in international trade and thus did not benefit to the same extent as the core. With a weak capitalist rural economy, landlords in semi-peripheries resorted to sharecropping. This lessened the risk of crop failure for landowners, and made it possible at the same time to enjoy profits from the land as well as the prestige that went with landownership.

According to Wallerstein, the semi-peripheries were exploited by the core but, as in the case of the American empires of Spain and Portugal, often were exploiters of peripheries themselves. Spain, for example, imported silver and gold from its American colonies, obtained largely through coercive labor practices, but most of this specie went to paying for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France rather than encouraging the formation of a domestic manufacturing sector.

Critique

The capitalist world economy, as viewed by Wallerstein, is a dynamic system which changes over time. However, certain basic features remain in place. Perhaps most important is that when one examines the dynamics of this system, the core regions of northwestern Europe clearly benefited the most from this arrangement. Through extremely high profits gained from international trade and from an exchange of manufactured goods

for raw materials from the periphery (and, to a lesser extent, from the semi-peripheries), the core enriched itself at the expense of the peripheral economies. This, of course, did not mean either that everybody in the periphery became poorer or that all citizens of the core regions became wealthier as a result. In the periphery, landlords for example often gained great wealth at the expense of their underpaid coerced laborers, since landowners were able to expropriate most of the surplus of their workers for themselves. In turn in the core regions, many of the rural inhabitants, increasingly landless and forced to work as wage laborers, at least initially saw a relative decline in their standard of living and in the security of their income. Overall, certainly, Wallerstein sees the development of the capitalist world economy as detrimental to a large proportion of the world's population.

Through this theory, Wallerstein attempts to explain why modernization had such wide-ranging and different effects on the world. He shows how political and economic conditions after the breakdown of feudalism transformed northwestern Europe into the predominant commercial and political power. The geographic expansion of the capitalist world economy altered political systems and labor conditions wherever it was able to penetrate. Although the functioning of the world economy appears to create increasingly larger disparities between the various types of economies, the relationship between the core and its periphery and semi-periphery remains relative, not constant. Technological advantages, for example, could result in an expansion of the world economy overall, and precipitate changes in some peripheral or semi-peripheral areas. However, Wallerstein asserts that an analysis of the history of the capitalist world system shows that it has brought about unequal development in which economic and social disparities between sections of the world economy have increased rather than provided prosperity for all.

This model helped to place the NICs within a neo-Marxist theory of development. Wallerstein argues that we cannot understand any nation-state in isolation, because its development status will be shaped by its placement within the overall world-system. Another key aspect of Wallerstein's theory is that it is based on a changed definition of capitalism as 'production for sale in a market to realise the maximum profit'. This departs from the more usual definition of capitalism as the existence of a specific mode of production based on private property; capitalists who own the means of production and workers who are free wage labourers.

The new definition allows Wallerstein to argue that capitalism existed from the fifteenth century. It also provides the basis for a world analysis, which suggests that as the world economy develops, so does the division of labour, with different regions specializing in different aspects of production and consumption. The core consists of strong states that enforce both unequal trade and political relationships in such a way as to benefit the core at the expense of the periphery. Core takes appropriate surplus value from the periphery, which consists of areas that engage in mono-agriculture and export commodities that are produced using labour that is paid a low wage. The semi-periphery produces both high and low wage products. Wallerstein's model of a capitalist world-system, based on three interconnected regions, therefore synthesised various theoretical and empirical strands within neo-Marxist theory. Orthodox Marxists returning to Marx's original writings argued for a shift away from the whole world as an object of analysis, and back to the region and the nation-state.

Check Your Progress

1. Critically evaluate Baran's theory of underdevelopment.
2. Examine Frank's Development of Underdevelopment Theory.
3. Critically evaluate Wallerstein's theory.

10.3 NEO-LIBERAL ECONOMIC APPROACH

The term neoliberalism was introduced in 1930's by European liberal intellectuals to promote a new form of liberalism. In the decades that followed, neoliberal theory tended to be at variance with the more laissez faire doctrine of classical liberalism and promoted instead a market economy. In the 1960's the usage of the term "neoliberal" heavily declined. When the term was reintroduced in the following decades, the meaning had shifted. The term is now normally associated with laissez-faire economic policies, and is used mainly by those who are critical of market reform.

10.3.1 Neo-liberal economics has certain characteristics:

There is a re-conceptualization of the role of government expenditure. State spending is seen as justified only by the need to make domestic capital more competitive. This allows for spending on education, health and other public services to a certain degree, but only when this can be justified in economic terms as leading to an increase in efficiency. The safety net for the poor is removed. There is reduction on expenditure of maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply again in the name of reducing government's role. In addition, the provision of such services is seen as something which can best be provided by the private sector, with the role of the state mainly to manage the awarding of the relevant contracts and ensuring that no single monopoly provider gains too much power in the market at the expense of other capitalists. So privatization is central to neo-liberalism. The rule of the market is followed. Neoliberalism believes that an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone.

Neo-liberal thought is based around the breaking down of national economic barriers. The most important of these is in the financial sector. Neo-liberalism strongly advocates the removal of capital and exchange controls and the opening up of financial markets to foreign investment. National controls on imports of goods and services, especially tariffs and quotas, on intellectual property rights, on the awarding of government contracts and on productive investment are all to be removed and handed to international institutions, notably the World Trade Organization (WTO). However, national controls on the movement of labour remain.

It follows domestic deregulation. A central plank of neo-liberalism is a programme for 'flexible' labour markets, with maximum freedom for employers in the terms of hiring and firing workers and strict limits on trade union rights. Areas like pensions are also embedded as much as possible in a market framework. State-imposed limits on the behaviour of companies, such as the controls on interest rates and lending activities are removed. Again, the regulatory role of the state is restricted to competition and anti-trust policy, in support of those capitalists who might lose out if a monopoly becomes too strong, rather than providing a counterweight to the power of capital.

The concept of public good is replaced with individual responsibility.

Around the world, neo-liberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) policies reflect the neo-liberal ideology that drives globalization. SAPs are economic policies for developing countries that have been promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since the early 1980s that provide loans and help countries make debt repayments on the earlier debts owed to commercial banks, government and the World Bank. They are designed to encourage the structural adjustment of an economy by, for example, removing “excess” government controls and promoting market competition as part of the neo-liberal agenda followed by the Bank. Although SAPs are designed for individual countries but have common guiding principles and features which include export-led growth; privatisation and liberalisation; and the efficiency of the free market.

SAPs generally require countries to devalue their currencies against the dollar; lift import and export restrictions; balance their budgets and not overspend; and remove price controls and state subsidies. Devaluation makes their goods cheaper for foreigners to buy and theoretically makes foreign imports more expensive. In principle it should make the country wary of buying expensive foreign equipment. In practice, however, the IMF actually disrupts this by rewarding the country with a large foreign currency loan that encourages it to purchase imports. Balancing national budgets can be done by raising taxes, which the IMF frowns upon, or by cutting government spending, which it definitely recommends. As a result, SAPs often result in deep cuts in programmes like education, health and social care, and the removal of subsidies designed to control the price of basics such as food and milk. So SAPs hurt the poor most, because they depend heavily on these services and subsidies. SAPs encourage countries to focus on the production and export of primary commodities such as cocoa and coffee to earn foreign exchange. But these commodities have erratic prices subject to the whims of global markets which can depress prices just when countries have invested in these so-called 'cash crops'.

By devaluing the currency and simultaneously removing price controls, the immediate effect of Structural Adjustment

Programmes is generally to hike prices up three or four times, increasing poverty to such an extent that riots are a frequent result.

One important criticism of SAPs, which emerged shortly after they were first adopted and has continued since, concerns their impact on the social sector. In health, SAPs affect both the supply of health services (by insisting on cuts in health spending) and the demand for health services (by reducing household income, thus leaving people with less money for health). Studies have shown that SAPs policies have slowed down improvements in, or worsened, the health status of people in countries implementing them. The results reported include worse nutritional status of children, increased incidence of infectious diseases, and higher infant and maternal mortality rates.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the various features of neoliberal economic approach?

10.4 SUMMARY

The neoliberal economic approach is characterized by the rule of market, cutting public expenditure for social services, deregulation, privatization and eliminating the concept of the public good or community " and replacing it with "individual responsibility." Pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of health care, education and social security all by themselves -- then blaming them, if they fail, as "lazy." Around the world, neo-liberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank.

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10.5 QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Examine the neoliberal approach to development.
- Q.2 Discuss Baran theory of underdevelopment.



PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT : CRISIS AND RESPONSES

Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction and meaning of Development
- 11.2 Some of the positive and negative observations of Human Development Index
- 11.3 Food crisis, food production, food distribution, corporatisation of agriculture
- 11.4 Consequences of Environmental crisis
- 11.5 Summary
- 11.6 Questions
- 11.7 References

11.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To enhance students' understanding that have shaped the concept of development.
- 2) To acquaint them with meaning of HDI and its positive and negative consequences.
- 3) To help students to gain an insight into the issues of food crisis and its various occurrences
- 4) To enable students to understand the impact of environmental crisis in India.

11.1 INTRODUCTION AND MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT

In a developing country like India, the process of development faces various challenges. The Government makes efforts to analyse the crisis and respond to it in order to minimize it. A significant way of analyzing the crisis relating to the process of development is by taking into consideration the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI is a composite index comprising of 3 indicators namely consumption expenditure (income), education

and health. To understand the present scenario, India Human Development Report, 2011 has been taken for reference.

11.2 OBSERVATIONS OF 2011 REPORT (HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX)

Some of the Positive observations of HDI (Human Development Index) are as follows :

India recorded 21% growth in the Human development Indicators (HDI) of health, education and income. States that fared better on health and education were also the states with higher per capita income, thus having a high HDI. The report placed Kerala on top of the index for achieving highest literacy rate, quality health services and consumption expenditure of people. Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Goa were placed at 2nd, 3rd and 4th positions respectively. The report sites a fall in the overall fertility rate as the greatest achievement in health. The report said that good governance and social mobilisation by state governments was reflected by the fact that SCs and OBCs in Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Tamilnadu and kerala were better off than even the upper castes in Bihar, Chattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh in terms of the various health outcome indicators. The overall improvement in the index was largely attributed to the 28.5% increase in education index across the country. Positive growth in education was a result of Central interventions like Sarva Shikshya Abhiyaan and Right to Education Act.

Some of the negative observations of report of HDI (Human Development Index) are as :

- 1) India ranks 134 in HDI. Asset ownership both in urban and rural areas continued to be highly unequal and concentrated among the top 5% of households. 2/3 rd of the households in the country reside in pucca (cemented) houses. 3/4th of the families have access to electricity for domestic use.
- 2) The report indicated that economic prosperity was no guarantee of better social indicators. Gujarat, with a high per capita income, ranks below some poor states in terms of hunger. This clearly suggests that economic prosperity alone cannot reduce hunger. There is a need for specific target-oriented policies to improve hunger and malnutrition situation. On the issue of right to food and nutrition, the report revealed that calorie consumption has been declining.

The intake of calories by the poor is way below the recommended norm. As a result, malnutrition, hunger and anemia rates along with infant mortality remained severe.

- 3) India is the worst performer in terms of low birth weight and underweight among children in BRIC and SAARC countries. States like Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh continue to lag behind in HDI. 75% of the households in these states do not have toilet facilities, Hence open defecation continued to be the biggest threat.

11.3 FOOD CRISIS

One of the biggest hurdles in the process of development in India is the food crisis. Food crisis is a complex issue as there are various factors which are simultaneously responsible for its occurrence. Hence it is necessary to understand these factors. Some of the important factors are as follows.

A) Food Production:

- 1) The production of food has declined due to a number of causes. This is a serious issue as we have a huge population size Land degradation is a significant cause of declining food production. There are increased instances of human induced soil erosion. This leads to loss of soil productivity. As a result, land gets degraded. Farmers are not getting adequate credit and marketing facilities. Hence they are not able to invest the essential resources in agriculture such as good quality of seeds, fertilizers, machinery, etc. They make use of outdated agricultural technology or traditional ways of production. Hence the production of food is low.
- 2) There are uneconomic land holdings. It means the land itself is highly fragmented and hence is unprofitable. As a result, only labour-intensive techniques can be used. Modern technology cannot be adopted for farming. This results in low productivity and low food production. Some agricultural areas have inadequate irrigation facilities. Hence productivity is low in these areas as they are totally dependent on rains. This unpredictable situation leads to low production of food.

B) Food Distribution :

- 1) Public Distribution System (PDS) is a very important practice related to food distribution. The basic objective is to provide essential consumer goods at cheap and subsidized prices to the consumers so as to insulate them from the impact of rising prices of these commodities and maintain the minimum nutritional status of the population. However, it is found that the distribution of food has not taken in a proper manner. It means there are flaws in the PDS. PDS has given limited benefit to the poor. Ration cards are given to those with proper residential address. However there are a large number of poor who are homeless and others without proper residential address such as the migrant labourers. Hence these people are automatically left out of the PDS.
- 2) The coverage of PDS in rural areas is insufficient. This is because of an urban bias. In spite of corrective measures, there is no significant change in the situation. It is noted that there are many fair-price shops in the rural areas. However, there are doubts about their actual effective functioning. The actual supply of essential commodities particularly in backward, remote and inaccessible areas is very inadequate. This is due to leakages in the PDS. It means diversion of food grains to the open market. Instead of selling the ration at subsidized rates, the shopkeepers sell them in the open market at higher prices and pocket the difference. Providing food at subsidized rates has created severe financial burden on the government. It has to supply food grains at low prices but there are rising costs of procurement, storage and distribution.

C) Food consumption Genetically Modified (GM) crops and foods:

- 1) Inadequate food supply to the poor and other underprivileged sections of the society has caused serious impact on their health. Hunger, malnutrition, low birth weight, infant mortality are some of the grave consequences that our society is experiencing.
- 2) Crops or foods whose genetic characteristics have been altered by the insertion of a modified gene or a gene from another organism using the techniques of genetic engineering are called as GM crops and foods.

Opinion is divided on whether genetic engineering and genetically modified (GM) crops offer a solution to hunger in the developing countries. If hunger could be addressed by technology, green revolution would have done it long ago. The fact is that hunger has grown in India in absolute terms—some 320 million people go to bed hungry every night.

- 3) In reality, GM food diverts precious financial resources to an irrelevant research, comes with stronger intellectual property rights, and is aimed at strengthening corporate control over agriculture. We need to question then that why is the Indian Government experimenting with GM crops and food.

There are two reasons: First, India is under tremendous pressure from the biotechnology industry to allow GM crops. These companies have the financial resources to mobilize scientific opinion as well as political support. Second, agricultural scientists are using biotechnology as a Trojan horse. With nothing to show by way of scientific breakthrough in the past three decades, GM research will ensure livelihood security for the scientists. GM crops experiments show that the country is fast moving into an era of biological pollution, which will be more unsustainable and also destructive to human health and environment.

D) Corporatisation of Agriculture :

- 1) Corporatisation implies being part of a corporation. All resources, be it human, capital or technology, are directed towards a common purpose. In our country, corporates are the form in industrial enterprises and service industries. When it comes to agriculture, rather agribusiness, the concept of corporatisation raises eyebrows. There is a huge migration of villagers to urban areas in search of a livelihood. That is the time when land sharks take advantage and corporate farming or industries start to flourish. The control of Indian agriculture is slipping into the hands of multinationals, either Indian or alien. This has left the poor Indian farmer in a real shock.
- 2) Corporatization of agriculture has gobbled up thousands of acres of farmland and has eroded the livelihood resources of the poor farmers. The corporates are profit-driven and hence they exploit the agricultural sector for their own selfish interests. They tend to make huge investments in crops

which will give them a large profit margin and ignore the food needs of the population.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you mean by development?
 2. Discuss the report of Human Development Index.
 3. Explain food Crisis.
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11.4 ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

It refers to problems related to the environment. Environment basically is related to the natural conditions, surroundings and resources. The quality of the environment has been negatively affected due to the exploitative man-made activities. This has led to environmental degradation. Environmental degradation over a longer period of time has caused environmental crisis. Some of the important examples of environmental crisis are ozone depletion, global warming, acid rain, deforestation and threats to biodiversity.

a) Ozone Depletion :

Ozone gas is present in the upper strata of the atmosphere in the stratosphere. It lies between 7-10 miles above the earth's surface. It forms a protective layer around the earth to protect it from the ultraviolet radiation. Ozone depletion refers to the thinning of the ozone layer. One of the basic causes of ozone depletion is the presence of Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) which are created due to the exploitative human activities. Thinning of ozone layer would mean more UV rays on the earth's surface. This leads to several serious effects on the climate, on human body as well as on plants and soil. The climate is affected by the increase in temperature. This leads to the problem of global warming. There will be rise in sea levels due to the melting of ice glaciers and the coastal areas would be submerged.

The human body will be prone to health problems such as skin cancers and decrease in immunity levels. Rise in temperature

in equatorial regions can affect physical and mental growth. There will be a decrease of the process of photosynthesis in plants which will affect their growth. Due to increased temperature, the soil will lose its moisture which will affect the agricultural productivity.

b) Global Warming :

Global warming is the natural or human induced increase in the average temperature of the earth. Sunlight warms both atmosphere and the earth's surface. 2/3rd is absorbed by air, water, land and plants. 1/3rd is reflected back into the space. Thus the balance of the global temperature is maintained. Human activities have led to the increase of the greenhouse gases such as methane, carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide and CFCs. These gases trap the heat from the 1/3rd part that is reflected back. Hence the atmosphere becomes warm. This leads to global warming. There are various effects of global warming such as fluctuating patterns of rainfall, rise in sea levels due to the melting of the ice glaciers, soil infertility and low agricultural productivity as well as extinction of certain species of plants and animals.

c) Acid Rains :

When acids mix with rain water, it leads to acid rain. The three main acids which mix with rain water are nitric acid, sulphuric acid and hydrochloric acid. Human beings carry out extensive industrial operations. As a result, oxides of nitrogen and sulphur are created. Reaction of nitrogen oxide with water forms nitric acid. Reaction of sulphur oxide with water forms sulphuric acid. The sea-water vapour contains sodium and chlorine atoms which get separated. Reaction of chlorine atom with water forms hydrochloric acid. The occurrence of acid rains has serious effects. Some of them are damage to buildings, statues and metals, damage to forests as well as damage to aquatic life.

d) Deforestation :

Deforestation is the clearing of forests, or intentional destruction or removal of trees and other vegetation for agricultural, commercial, housing or firewood use without replanting (reforesting) and without allowing time for the forest to regenerate itself.

Deforestation basically is the conversion of the forest land for a non-forest use. Increased industrialization and urbanization are the main causes of this conversion. Disregard or ignorance of

intrinsic value, lack of ascribed value, lax forest management and deficient environmental laws are some of the factors that allow deforestation to occur on a large scale. Deforestation has also been used in war to deprive an enemy of cover for its forces and also vital resources. Deforestation is one of the major factors contributing to the greenhouse effect and desertification. The removal of trees without sufficient reforestation has resulted in damage to habitat and loss of biodiversity. Deforestation leads to soil erosion and frequently degrade into wasteland.

e) Threats to biodiversity :

Biodiversity is defined as the totality of genes, species and ecosystems of a region. It means the biological diversity is noted at 3 levels namely genetic diversity, species diversity and ecological diversity. Biodiversity is very significant for human society for the various uses it has. Human beings get food resources like grains, vegetables, fruits from plant resources and meat, eggs, milk and milk products from animal resources. They also get other resources like medicine, fuel, timber, fiber, wool, wax, resin, rubber, silk and decorative items.

However, it is observed that various factors are responsible for the destruction of biodiversity. They act as threats to biodiversity. Growing human population is an important threat to biodiversity. As population increases, there is an over-utilization of natural resources such as forest and water. This affects the terrestrial and aquatic biodiversity. Over-hunting is also a significant threat to biodiversity. It has led to endangerment and extinction of valuable species. Habitat loss is a crucial threat to biodiversity. Habitat is the natural environment in which a species normally lives or grows. Due to encroachment by humans, the species are displaced from their habitat. This loss of habitat and the inability to adapt to new habitat proves to be damaging. Pollution also acts as a threat to biodiversity. The quality of the habitat is affected by the pollutants which in turn affects the species of plants and animals. Changing global climate is one of the most serious threats to biodiversity . Problems such as ozone depletion, global warming, acid rains, etc have caused destruction of biodiversity.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain the meaning of development
 2. Discuss positive and negative observations of HDI.
 3. Explain food crisis.
 4. Describe the meaning of food production and food distribution.
 5. Explain environmental crisis in India.
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11.5 SUMMARY

Improvement in health, education has been lower, Despite the right to education act, school education faces challenges of quality and employability.

Food crisis is a major hurdle in the process of development in the Indian society. Hence certain solutions are necessary. The consumer as a market force can proactively influence the food industry, thereby making sustainable practices the norm. It is very important to empower women as consumers with awareness and education on food safety, nutrition and its dependence on sustainable practices to exert a 'pull' on the market. A multi-disciplinary approach is necessary. It must involve factors such as consumer pressure, policy changes like participation of panchayats and local level organizations in monitoring PDS and efforts to steer food production and consumption in a more sustainable direction.

11.6 QUESTIONS

- Q.1 What do you mean by development. Highlight positive and negative implication of development.
- Q.2 Food crisis is a complex situation? Discuss.
- Q.3 Highlight how food crisis is the biggest hurdle in the process of development.
- Q.4 Write a detail note on consequences of environmental crisis
- Q.5 What is biodiversity and explain its consequences.

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RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Meaning & nature of resistance movements.
- 12.2 Issues of displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation and its drawback
- 12.3 Examples of recent resistance movements
- 12.4 Summary
- 12.5 Questions
- 12.6 References

12.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To enable students to understand the meaning and nature of resistance movement.
- 2) To help students to gain an insight into the issues of movement, displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation.
- 3) To acquaint them with examples of resistance movement like Singur and Jaitapur.

12.1 MEANING & NATURE OF RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

The resistance movements basically try to resist the exploitation of certain sections of the populations. This is because the existing social conditions have been unjust, unequal, discriminative, undemocratic and even anti-humane in reality. All movements are mass struggles. They originate from social, economic, cultural and political factors. The resistance movements are organized and launched to expose the human rights violations by governmental authorities and private bodies on one hand and to seek redressal by mobilizing and shaping public opinion on the other hand.

Nature of Resistance Movements :

- 1) They are mass-based movements. It means they involve the masses or the common people.

- 2) They are reactionary in nature. It means the masses react against the anti-social practices in the society as well as against the autocratic and repressive governments.
- 3) They are change-oriented as they aim at bringing about desired changes in the society.
- 4) They adopt violent or non-violent methods depending upon the nature or seriousness of the violation.

13.2 ISSUES OF DISPLACEMENT, RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION AND DRAWBACK

Development projects bring about advancement in the economy. However, the social impact of the projects needs to be considered. It has been observed that the development projects have certain crucial drawbacks. One of the important aspect which has led to resistance movements in the contemporary society is the development induced displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation. Displacement refers to the process of moving out from the dwelling previously occupied usually due to force or pressure. Thus it is forceful removal from the usual place. Displacement is not only the loss of physical assets but also the loss of emotional and cultural ties. Under the pretext of development, it is generally the marginalized people who are displaced. They are relocated to a new place. The process of resettlement in a new place is complex. The displaced people face adjustment problems as the new place may have a totally alien social environment and culture. As resettlement becomes difficult, the process of rehabilitation also becomes very tough. Moreover, there are several problems of rehabilitation which are related to the development projects as well as the attitude towards the displaced population.

Many times , there is no clearcut rehabilitation policy. It means there are no guidelines existing for rehabilitation in project plans. Facilities for rehabilitation may differ from project to project. Rehabilitation is considered as an obstacle in implementing a project and an extra financial burden. The cash compensation is very less. Compensation for land and houses is too little. Nothing is paid for loss of employment and disruption of livelihood. Thus the authorities try to get away by paying the minimum. When the villagers are illiterate and ignorant, they are not able to fight for their rights against this exploitation. Thus displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation become serious issues of injustice on the underprivileged.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss nature of resistance movements?
2. Explain meaning of displacement.

12.3 SOME SIGNIFICANT EXAMPLES OF RECENT RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS :

Singur :

Singur is located in Hooghly district, West Bengal. It gained international media attention since Tata Motors started constructing a factory to manufacture their \$2,500 car, the Tata Nano. The state government of West Bengal took over of 997 acres of farmland to have Tata build its factory. There are several critical issues which need to be understood. The people staying in the proposed land were forced to evacuate by the government. The compensation given was considered inadequate and the new housing facilities offered were delayed.

The Tata Motors site is the most fertile one in the whole of the Singur, and the Singur block, in turn, is among the most highly fertile in West Bengal. Consequently, almost the entire local population depends on agriculture with approximately 15000 making their livelihood directly from it. The direct jobs to be created were about 1000 in number and many would have gone to the outsiders. Hence the local population felt threatened for their livelihood. Environmental degradation is also feared. Other aspects of the process of setting up the factory that have come under severe criticism are the government's secrecy on the details of the deal and furnishing of false information by the Chief Minister such as having acquired 912 acres of land through voluntary consent of the owners without the use of force. The project was opposed by activists, displaced land owners and opposition parties in Bengal.

Jaitapur :

Jaitapur is a small port situated in Rajapur Tehsil of Ratnagiri district, Maharashtra State. It lies on the Arabian Sea coast. Jaitapur came into limelight due to the proposed Jaitapur Nuclear Power Project by Nuclear Power Corporation of India. The project is to be spread over 968 hectares of land, swallowing five villages namely Madban, Nivel, Karel, Mithgavane and Varliwada -which together have a population of 4,000. Madban and Varliwada have been identified for the site of the project proper, while Karel, Nivel and Mithgavane would become the township for the project staff.

There are several critical issues which need to be understood. The Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) maintains that the Jaitapur nuclear power park will not lead to any displacement of people, and that much of the acquired land is unproductive. 65% of the land has been labeled as barren. The local population finds this shocking because the land is highly fertile and produces rice, other cereals, the world's most famous mango (the Alphonso), cashew, coconut, kokum, betel nut, pineapple and other fruits in abundance. Some of the land is also used for cattle-grazing. It means the land is very productive and supports thousands of livelihood. The Jaitapur-Madban area has a sizeable fishing economy. The fishing population will also be affected. The Konkan contains rainforests and an immense diversity of plant, animal and marine life. The gigantic Jaitapur nuclear project will damage this ecosystem irreparably.

Jaitapur is located in a seismically sensitive region. It comes under Zone IV as per the earthquake hazard zoning of India, ranging from I to V in growing seismic intensity. This zone is called the High Damage Risk Zone. This was taken into account when the site was chosen. There are genuine concerns about the safety and viability of the European Pressurised Reactors that are to be imported for the Jaitapur nuclear power plant as they are untested reactors. Even after decades of claims by the nuclear industry, humankind has found no way of safely disposing of nuclear waste. It remains dangerously radioactive and hazardous literally for thousands of years. There is utter disrespect shown by the state agencies for civil rights in pushing for these "development" projects.

Vedanta :

Lanjigarh's mining based Refinery Project (Vedanta)

Lanjigarh is part of the Kalahandi district of Orissa. Tribal people like the *Dongaria Kondh*, *Kutia Kondh*, *Jharania Kondh* have

lived in the Niyamgiri mountain range of Lanjigarh area from time immemorial. The *Kondhs* are a primitive tribe fully dependent upon forest products and forest based agricultural land for their subsistence. Again Kalahandi district (one of the three infamous £8K districts) is notorious for its poverty and starvation deaths. Its rare distinction is its low agricultural productivity. It is also one of the poorest districts in the country. Because of its poverty it has been a hot breeding ground for the Naxalites.

Vedanta Resources Pic (VRP) is a UK based company. The Company's original name was SIIL. In December 2003, it was launched in the London Stock Exchange as VRP in order to build Lanjigarh refinery in Kalahandi district of Orissa. The VRP had started its work for setting up of a refinery at Lanjigarh and mining of bauxite from the Niyamgiri Hill Range. Now it is working under the banner of Vedanta Alumina Limited (VAL), based in Mumbai, which is a subsidiary of the London based company VRP. This company in order to feed its Lanjigarh refinery was to mine bauxite from the Niyamgiri hills jointly with OMC as per, the lease agreement signed between VAL and OMC in October 2004. Both SIIL and the VAL are headed by a non resident Indian, Anil Agarwal. The major share holders in VAL are Barclays, Deutsche Bank, and ABN Amro. The aggregate investment of the project was approximately Rs. 4000/- crores then. For this purpose, 723.43 hectares of land was required by the VAL. Out of which 232.75 hectares was private and most of this land belonged to the *Kondhs*. Most of the lands are categorized as forest. According to the office of the Collector, Kalahandi, 12 villages of the Gram Panchayat Lanjigarh and Batelima will be affected by the proposed Alumina refinery at Lanjigarh. From these villages (60 families were to be displaced and 302 families will be affected as their land will be acquired for the project. But in reality the plant displaced 102 families from their homes. Another 1,120 'project affected' families lost either all, or parts, of their farmland. So far, the project displaced two villages partially and two completely and the list will add on. Out of the 64 displaced households in Jaganathpur village, most of them are *Kondhs* who had been cultivating there for generations. On 23 January 2004, four tribal villages, Borobhota, Kinari, Kothduar, Sindhabahali, and their agricultural fields in south east Kalahandi district, were razed by VAL where from the villagers were forcibly evicted. Lanjigarh movement is not only about its large scale displacement of tribal people, but also about the violation of environmental laws/forest conservation laws as its extensive mining in the Niyamgiri mountains threatens an entire ecosystem, implying

even drying up of rivers flowing from the mountains. Further it is also about violation of 1996 Act of Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA).

Check Your Progress

1. Elaborate Jaitapur movement.
2. Highlight Singur movement.

12.4 SUMMARY

In contemporary society resistance movement is taking place due to displacement of poor people from their land and their resettlement and problems related with rehabilitation. Very often forceful displacement and lack of proper rehabilitation, resettlement faces common and poor people resort to resistance movement. Since majority of villagers are illiterate they suffer from injustices and exploitation.

12.5 QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Discuss resistance movement with the issues of displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation.
- Q.2 Highlight resistance movement and its various drawbacks.
- Q.3 Write a detail note on Singur, Jaitapur movements as recent resistance movements.

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13

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Concept of sustainable Development
- 13.3 Challenges and support base for sustainable development.
 - Role of international organizations
 - Role of government and public authorities
 - Role of technology
 - Role of individuals and community
- 13.4 Summary
- 13.5 References
- 13.6 Questions.

13.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce the concept of sustainable development to the students.
- To discuss the various challenges posed by sustainable development.
- To make the students aware about the various support base for sustainable development.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

What is development?

The word development means elevation or upliftment. Development is sustained elevation of the entire society and a special system towards a better or more humane life. Development aims at the welfare of the individual and society.

Def. : According to D. Maurice

The objective of development is to satisfy necessary human needs.

According to Dubleyeers :

Development is a normative concept. It's goal is to provide all the facilities required for the full development of the human personality.

13.2 CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

With growing population, degradation of environment and the depletion of natural resources, the question is whether future growth in either population or economic activity is tolerable. Can the earth sustain further growth? Many environmental scientists warn that human activities are overwhelming the basic life support system of the biosphere. But economic growth is essential for the development of the country. An intermediate person's position between the extremes of no growth versus unlimited growth is sustainable development based on the use of renewable resources in harmony with ecological systems. Therefore it is necessary to think of sustainable development.

The idea of sustainable development was introduced to the world in 1987, when the World Commission on Environment and Development presented a report – Our Common Future – to examine the environmental problems and proposals to solve them. The idea presented was to have sustained human development without affecting the natural resources of the future generations. The commission which was chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland defined sustainable development as “meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs.” Thus sustainable development means progress in the human well being that can be extended as prolonged over many generations rather than just a few years.

In the concept of sustainable development the importance is given to the following points :

1. Human Needs :

As Stated by D. Maurice, the whole object of development is to satisfy necessary human needs. The basic needs of the people are adequate and nutritious food, proper shelter, sufficient clothing, sufficient and clean drinking water, adequate education facilities etc. All these basic needs of the people must be fulfilled otherwise

they remain below the poverty line. The more the number of people under the poverty line, less the development in the country.

ii) Methods of meeting needs :

The methods of meeting the present needs should not be at the cost of the ability of future generations to meet their needs. Meeting present needs should not undermine the capacity of future generations to meet their needs. Thus sustainable development implies that environmental protection and economic growth are complementary and reinforce each other. Sustainable development is based on the understanding that natural resources, which are necessary for economic development are finite and that overstepping these limits could lead to disastrous consequences for the present as well as future generations, unless a determined effort is made to change the course of economic development.

Equity :

Equity means every person in existence on the surface of the earth, irrespective of developed or developing countries, should have equal opportunities for the means of earning to fulfill their basic needs

Intergeneration Equity :

The inequity in distribution of wealth between the developed and developing countries has led to uneven development and this is not compatible with sustainable development.

Intergenerational Equity :

The worst effect of environmental degradation is that its adverse effects pile up for future generations. Intergenerational equity refers to equity among the people of present generation and future generation. There should not be any adverse effect on the consumption of resources for the future generations.

13.3 CHALLENGES AND SUPPORT BASE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Serious action for sustainable development is essential because there is continuous deforestation, desertification, scarcity of water, loss of biodiversity, pollution, global warming, ozone depletion, increasing poverty, increasing health problems etc.

Need for Social, Political and Economic changes

It is possible to have sustainable development only if people will work for social, political and economic changes.

★ **Role of International Organisations**

The United Nations conference on Environment and Development, at Rio De Janeiro, on 5th June 1992, was represented by 179 countries. The conference popularly known as “Earth Summit” adopted various environmental issues facing different nations.

★ **Role of Government and Public Authorities**

Government’s role is very important. Government can do the following things :-

- i. For environmental protection and improvement, government can do their best with available resources in the country. With new and additional funding support, people will be in a position to deal with the environmental problems.
- ii. Government can develop various programmes for environmental awareness and conservation. Formal education and training programme in specialised areas of pollution control and environmental management is necessary.
- iii. It is very important to have effective implementation of laws and regulations for environmental protection through strengthening of and closer interaction among the regulatory bodies and administrative machinery.

Government’s Policy :

This should be favourable to meet our development needs such as clean drinking water, housing, sanitation, education, nutrition, health services, food requirement, infrastructure etc. Without this development, threats of to the environment will grow definitely.

In Five Year plans of India, emphasis is laid on certain issues and various policies are formed from time to time such as health policy, natural water policy, national tourism policy, environment policy etc. These policies promote sustainable development.

Though there are Government policies made at the National level, but there are many problems at the local level depending upon the local environment. Therefore local bodies have to take certain decisions and they have to work for their implementation. That is why formation of various local bodies such as Gram Panchayat, Municipality, collector’s office etc are required.

Political and administrative will is required to prepare an action plan, to pass it and to implement it, requires strong political will. The voice of the people is raised in the newspaper or other

media regarding any serious issue, but the implementation of the same is in the hands of political leaders and administrators.

★ **Role of Technology -**

Recycle or Reuse :

Due to the use of technology we can make the best use of available resources. The processing on used water and making it available for reuse, reduces the demand for fresh water. The recycling of water helps to make best use of available resources, e.g. Hiranandani Gardens in Powai, recycles one and half million liters of water for gardening and air condition machines.

The use of substitutes for natural resources :

By finding out substitutes for available natural resources, we can reduce the use of available resources. The rapid gain in the use of non-conventional resources like wind energy, solar energy, tidal energy, geothermal energy etc. has reduced the pressure on coal, diesel, petrol etc. The use of solar batteries to run the vehicles may reduce the use of diesel or petrol which can be saved for the future. Many villages in India are electrified with the help of solar energy. The use of solar cooker or solar chullah, reduces the extraction of fossil fuel or wood for cooking purpose.

Due to the invention of eco-friendly building material there is a saving of certain natural resources and they can be spared for future generation. The use of "Thermocol Sandwich Concrete Bricks." Substitute to traditional bricks, is important because it provides excellent thermal insulation, therefore temperature is maintained and the house remains cool even in summer season.

New Technology for the use of waste :

'Do not waste the waste because waste is precious.' The importance of this statement should be understood by people and they should develop new technology for processing waste and converting it into useful products. In Maharashtra state hazardous waste management projects are being developed at six places. In Pune city, "Urjit passco plant" has been developed for wet waste management. Solid waste is converted into natural fertilizers. For this conversion, vermicompost can be undertaken by individuals or co-operative housing societies or social workers too. e.g. Big earthen pots are placed on the beach to collect waste during Ganesh Visarjan & Durga Pooja.

★ **Role of Individual and Community :**

The two very important factors concerning sustainable development are increasing consumerism and rapid growth of population and control of both the factors is in the hands of individual. Reducing controlling the rapid growth of population are essential for the survival of our nation. We should use such principles in our life which can bring about sustainable lifestyle.

Check Your Progress

1. What is development?
 2. What is sustainable development?
 3. Explain – Reuse and Recycle?
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13.4 SUMMARY

Sustainable growth refers both to the peace and pattern of growth, which are considered interlinked and therefore need to be addressed together. The idea that both the peace and pattern of growth are critical for achieving a high, sustainable growth record, as well as poverty reduction, is consistent with the findings in the Growth Report : Strategies for sustained Growth and Inclusive Development (Commission on Growth And Development, 2008)

13.5 REFERENCES

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13.6 QUESTIONS

- Q1. Discuss the various challenges and support base for sustainable development.
- Q2. Briefly discuss the concept of sustainable development.
- Q3. Explain the role of individual and technology for supporting sustainable development.



FEMINIST APPROACH

Unit Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Development from a feminist perspective
- 14.3 Dimensions of the feminist development approach.
- 14.4 Supporting factors that enhance women's capacities in development programs.
- 14.5 Summary
- 14.6 References
- 14.7 Questions

14.0 OBJECTIVES

- To discuss the role of feminist approach in development.
- To acquaint the students the need for supporting women's development programs.
- To familiarize the students as to how development of capacities is intrinsically related to the significance of the freedom of women.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

This is a unique approach in promoting and supporting women's capacity development in relation to women's power relations and roles that reinforce the sense of the 'self' (Self-Worth, Self-esteem, self-reliance and selfhood) and of their relationships based on feminist research and concepts of capacity development denominated "the feminist capacity development approach." From a feminist perspective, development of capacities is intrinsically related to the significance of individual real freedom so women can be benefited in defining their own preferences. By this way, women's' optimum environment is prepared to begin to change. Women themselves have to acquire knowledge and understanding of gender relations, develop a sense of "self", belief in one's ability to secure desired changes and the right to control one's life, gain

the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power and develop the ability to organize and influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order in society.

One of the main objective of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) to reduce poverty and exclusion is dealing with the inequalities of gender and gender equality. If the MDG's are achieved, this will represent enormous progress towards the association for women's Rights in Development's initiative that of producing and disseminating knowledge on developmental issues with special emphasis on women's perspectives in order to undertake advocacy actions and alliance building to influence development policy and practices.

In setting this goal, governments recognized the contributions that women make to economic development and the costs to societies of the multiple disadvantages that women face in nearly every country. From a feminist perspective, development of capacities is intrinsically related to the significance of individual real freedom so women can be benefited in defining their own preferences. Making sure that women and men have equality of opportunity is an important priority to foster development.

14.2 DEVELOPMENT FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Development of capacities within the feminist context take turns to lead, change definitely power structures. Feminism is aimed at breaking down these types of structures, to allow people to participate equally and the most important to permit women to try different roles. Here is the point where development and feminism come together. Emerging structures, women's agency, capacities, skills and power dynamics, new roles – common and powerful characteristics – stand and in corporate each other as fundamental elements to fortify integral vision and space dynamics. As the process becomes stronger and constant women equally with men will. develop multiple economic, social, cultural and politic relationships.

Feminism is aimed at altering relationships and structures, creating opportunities for women to participate equally and permit them to try different roles. Power dynamics play a key role for capacity development. It's purpose is to ensure that women gain equal access to resources, actively participate in decision – making processes and are able to demand their rights. In the personal,

relational and collective dimensions, women will be enabled to express their views, negotiate as equal partners to demand their rights in policy systems.

14.3 DIMENSIONS OF THE FEMINIST DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

i. Women individual capacities (Power within) :

Considered as the process that embodies and develops a sense of the “self”. Personal capacities like to learn, self-reflect discusses values and discover abilities and skills to transmit self confidence, self-reliance and action to change gender norms. Power within refers to the characteristics of the self, such as self-esteem, self-worth, selfhood and self-confidence. In a sense all power starts from here, from the inner – Such individualities are necessary before anything else can be achieved.

ii. Women’s relational capacities (Power to) :

This refers to women’s ability to build up and strengthen their position in the household and family context, women’s ability to influence the nature of the household’s relationship and make decisions within the family that incorporates the attitudes of the family unit and of the society at large toward women’s economic activities, the economic and social circumstances that encourage or resist change in these attitudes.

iii. Women’s Collective capacities (Power with) :

Women are able to build up the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of relationship and decisions made within. Participative learning in order to increase efficiency and flexibility of communities and organizations, even though, women construct co-production among themselves. They develop social group membership and collective action skills. e.g. at political, legal and socio – economic framework conditions for them and achieve more efficient organizations and networks.

14.4 SUPPORTING FACTORS THAT ENHANCE WOMEN’S CAPACITIES IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Internalized oppression can be worked in women on settings of participative group training and transformational learning. These sessions have to include gender issues in order to make women conscious of the oppressive situation they live in. Gender training is essential for women because they will reflect on their inter-gendered and intra-gendered power relations with men. Women need to recognize norms and conceptualizations of gender equality

and also eradicate the belief that subordination is normal but not a social and cultural construction. Offering gender training to male components in order to inform them of the process women are going through is very essential.

Check Your Progress

1. What is Feminist Approach?
 2. What was one of the main objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's)?
 3. Explain the concept of "self"?
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-
-
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14.5 SUMMARY

The Feminist Development approach aims at constructive economic, social and political transformation of women in empowering them, as individuals and collectives, to collect, analyze use information to improve and gain more control over their lives at the micro- and macro-levels. Development strategies that were not previously fulfilled need to be complemented and supported with other approaches that focus women's needs. In fact, these have to be protected by a set of social and economic policies to guarantee their adequate functioning in benefit of the female population. Measures have to be geared to the creation of a national policy in development with emphasis in a feminist development approach.

14.6 REFERENCES

1. Rowlands Jo (1997), "Questioning Empowerment – working with Women," Oxford.
2. Sen Amartya (2000), "Development as Freedom," Oxford utv. Press.
3. World Bank (1990), World Development Report – 1990, Washington DC : WB.

14.7 QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Discuss development from a feminist perspective.
- Q.2 Explain the dimensions of the feminist development approach.



INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Definition
- 15.3 Instruments for inclusive development
- 15.4 Inclusive development – The challenges ahead
- 15.5 Summary
- 15.6 References
- 15.7 Questions

15.0 OBJECTIVES

- To acquaint the students the need for inclusive development.
- To brief the students with the challenges that are faced due to inclusive growth.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Inclusive growth as the literal meaning of the two words refers to both the pace and the pattern of the economic growth. The literature on the subject draws fine distinction between direct income redistribution or shared growth and inclusive growth. The inclusive growth approach takes a longer term perspective as the focus is on productive employment rather than on direct income redistribution, as a means of increasing income distribution schemes which can in the short run reduce the disparities between the poorest and the rest, which may have arisen on account of poverty. While income distribution schemes can allow people to benefit from economic growth in the short run, inclusive development allows people to “contribute to and benefit from economic growth.”

The “inclusive development approach” as a strategy to economic development received attention owing to a rising concern that the benefits of economic growth have not been equitably shared. Growth is inclusive when it creates economic opportunities along with ensuring equal access to them. Apart from addressing the issue of inequality, the inclusive growth may also make the poverty reduction efforts more effective by explicitly creating

productive economic opportunities for the poor and vulnerable sections of the society. The inclusive development by encompassing the hitherto excluded population can bring in several other benefits as well as the economy. The concept “inclusion” should be seen as a process of including the excluded agents whose participation is essential in the very design of development process and not simply as welfare targets of development programmers. (Planning commission, 2007)

15.2 DEFINITION

Def. :- Rapid and sustained poverty reduction requires inclusive growth that allows people to contribute to and benefit from economic growth.

- **Elena and Susanna.**

This definition of inclusive development implies a direct link between the macro and micro determinants of growth. The micro-dimension captures the importance of structural transformation for economic diversification and competition, including creative destructions of jobs and firms.

15.3 INSTRUMENTS FOR INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

The main instrument for a sustainable and inclusive growth is assumed to be productive employment. Employment growth generates new jobs and income for the individual – from wages in all types of firms or from self – employment. usually in micro-firms – while productivity growth has the potential to lift the wages of those employed and the returns to the self – employed. After all in many low-income countries the problem is not unemployment, but rather underemployment. Hence, inclusive development is not only about employment growth but also about productive growth. Moreover, it is not only about wage-employment but also about self-employment which means that returns to capital, land and other assets matter to the income potential of the focus group.

The following parameters will show as to why inclusive development is the need of the hour :-

1. Inclusive development refers both to the pace and pattern of growth, which are considered interlinked and therefore is needed to be addressed together.
2. The inclusive development approach takes a longer term perspective as the focus is on productive employment rather

than on direct income redistribution as a means of increasing income for excluded groups.

3. Inclusive development focuses on ex-ante analysis of sources of and constraints to sustained high growth and not only on one group-poor.
4. Policies for inclusive development are an important component of most government strategies for sustainable growth.
5. There are important lesson to learn from this approach including that development policy is country-specific, may involve just a few reforms that can be optimally sequenced to relax binding constraints and it may lead to large positive welfare impacts.
6. The ability of individuals to be productively employed depends on the opportunities to make full use of available resource as the economy evolves over time.
7. An important question is the extent to which the current employment status of an individual has a potential for further income growth or if moving out of low-income situation means finding another type of employment in some other sector.
8. The inclusive growth takes a longer term perspective. This is necessary because of the emphasis on improving the productive capacity of individuals and creating conducive environment for employment, rather than on income redistribution as a means of increasing incomes for excluded groups.

This implies that the analysis must identify future constraints to growth that may not be binding today, but that many need to be addressed today in order to ensure sustainable and inclusive growth. Inclusive growth analytics is about policies that should be implemented in the short run, but for sustainable inclusive growth in the future.

15.4 INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT – THE CHALLENGERS AHEAD

Inclusive development focuses on economic growth which is a necessary and crucial condition for poverty reduction. It adopts a long term perspective and is concerned with sustained growth.

- a. For growth to be sustained in the long run, it should be broad based across the country. Issues of infrastructural

transformation for economic diversification therefore take a front stage. Some countries may be an exception and continue to specialize as they develop due to their specific conditions e.g. Small States.

- b. It should be inclusive of the large part of the country labour force

where inclusiveness refers to equality of opportunities in terms of access to markets, resources and unbiased regulatory environment for business and individuals.

Inclusive development focuses on both pace and pattern of growth. How growth is generated is critical for accelerating poverty reduction and any such strategies must be tailored to country specific circumstances.

Inclusive development also focuses on productive employment rather than income redistribution. Hence the focus is not only on employment growth but also on productive growth. Also, inclusive development is defined not in terms of specific targets such as employment generation or income distribution. These are potential outcomes, not specific goals.

“India is committed to sustainable development and inclusive growth even when economic conditions are challenging” – Said Kamal Nath (New Delhi, Oct. 15), Union Minister for Urban Development. He even added that in the next ten years more than 600 million people will live in Indian cities. More than 53 cities have population of more than one million and will grow 60 times in these ten years also 70% of new jobs will be created in and around cities. He identified that all this put together, but at the same time poses immense sustainability and inclusive development challenges. It calls for policy and urban infrastructure solutions that tackle several urban challenges, including sanitation, water, land use, ecological conservation. He even called for measuring sustainable development beyond GDP for which developed and developing countries will have to use different approaches. Here developing countries will have to take the approach of green development whereas developed countries would have to tremendously reduce their ecological footprint.

Check Your Progress

1. Define inclusive development.
2. Which are the instruments for the inclusive development?

15.5 SUMMARY

Policies for inclusive growth are an important component of any government strategy for sustainable growth and the frameworks for inclusive growth analytics are eclectic in spirit. The main instrument for a sustainable and inclusive growth is assumed to be productive employment. Employment growth generates new jobs and income for the individual from wages in all types of firms or from self-employment, usually in micro firms – while productivity growth has the potential to lift the wages of those employed and the returns to the self – employed. The ability of individuals to be productively employed depends on the opportunities to make full use of available resources as the economy evolves over time. The analysis therefore looks at ways to strengthen productive resources and capacity of the individual on the labour supply side as well as way to open up new opportunities for productive employment on the labour demand side.

The inclusive development approach takes a longer term perspective. With this longer term perspective, it is important to recognize the time lag between reforms and outcomes. Inclusive growth analytics is about policies that should not only be implemented in the short run, but for sustainable inclusive growth in the future also.

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15.7 QUESTIONS

- Q1. What is inclusive growth? Discuss the parameters to show why inclusive development is the need of the hour.
- Q.2 What are the challenges to be faced ahead by inclusive development?

