

## DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

### Early Contribution to the study of Indian society

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#### 1.0 Objectives :-

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- 1. To introduce the nature of writings on early Indian society by traders travelers etc.
- 2. To discuss the British administrators views on Indian Society.
- 3. To introduce Orientalists and Indological view on Indian society and to highlight the main drawback of these views.

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#### 1.2 Introduction

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Indian civilization is an ancient one with a very long history but the recorded history of the earliest times is very limited. There are recorded observations on Indian society since the third century BC. These records are by traders, travelers and scholars who came to India in these early times. They were Greeks, Romans, Byzantine Greeks, Jews and Chinese. And from 1000 AD onwards Arabs, Turks, Afghans and Persians came to India from time to time. They observed the life of the people and wrote on what they had seen and heard. The early writings on Indian society were based on these observations.

These writings cannot be dismissed as tales of travelers and traders. The writings of Indian Society were based on their first hand contact with the people. They wrote on the social institutions and customs of the people. Therefore, they are a source of information on Indian society in the early times.

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## **1.2 Earliest Studies on Indian Society**

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There have been recorded observations on Indian society since the third century B.C. These early writing on Indian society are useful in our understanding of the past. Since they were based on the observations of the people and by talking to the people, these writing have value as recorded writings on India.

The early writings on Indian society are discussed under the following sub heads:-

Early studies on Indian society by the Greek ambassador.

Early studies on Indian society by travelers, traders and scholars.

Early studies on Indian society by the British.

### **1. Early writing on Indian society by the Greek Ambassador :**

The Greek ambassador Megasthenes came to India in third century B.C. He spent many years in the court of Chandragupta Mourya from 324 - 300 B.C. Megasthenes was an acute observer, but he was handicapped by his ignorance of the local languages of the people.

Megasthenes described Indian society as being divided into seven classes: 1) philosophers, who offer sacrifices and perform other sacred rites; 2) husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population; 3) shepherds and hunters; 4) those who work at traders and vend wares and are employed in bodily (manual) labour; 5) fighting men; 6) inspectors and 7) counselors and assessors of the king. Megasthenes also noted that each of these seven "classes" were endogamous. No one could change his occupation or profession. However, Megasthenes does not make any mention of the varna theory.

Megasthenes wrote on what he had observed during his stay at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Megasthenes writings do provide us some information on early Indian society, but it provides little information to our understanding stratification systems.

### **2. Early writings on Indian society by travelers, traders and scholars:**

There was extensive trade contact between Rome and India much before India was colonized by the British. Travellers and traders came to India and wrote on the life of the people. These early writings are by:

Chinese travellers' writings on Indian society.

Arab accounts on Indian society.

Early European traders and travellers writings on Indian society.

### **Chinese travellers writings on Indian Society:**

Chinese came to India between 400 – 411 A.D., Yuan Chwang came between 629 – 644 AD and I.Tsing came between 671 – 695 AD. They observed the people and wrote in detail about the life of the people.

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### **1.3 Arab Accounts on Indian society**

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The earliest Arabic accounts of Indian society describe the division of society into seven classes. Al- Biruni (973 – ca. 1030) appears to have been having some knowledge of Sanskrit sources and write on the four-varna theory of the caste system. In the seventeenth century many translations were made from Sanskrit literature into Persian by Indo-Muslim scholars. Abul Fazl Allami in late sixteenth century provides a description of Akbar's court, revenue and administrative system. He also wrote the view that the four varnas were produced from the body of Brahma at the creation of the world. He also wrote about the internal division within the four varnas.

Abul Fazl Allami made a list of military and revenue obligations of the different social groups. From this it seems that there was awareness that the Hindu social system was operational at the level of the kin based social categories and not at the level of the Varna.

Ibn Batnta, an Arab traveller came to India from Morocco in 1333 AD and lived in India till 1347 AD. His narrations contain information on geography and on the daily social and cultural life of the people.

These narratives are not based on any historical records, but on what they saw and heard, and observed in the daily lives of the people.

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### **1.4 Early European Traders, Travellers writings on Indian society by the British**

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Among the Europeans who came to India the earliest were the Portuguese travellers, adventurers, merchants, administrators. They landed on the Malabar coast in South India. At that time the population in Malabar consisted of the local Hindu castes, Moplan Muslims, Jews, Syrian Christians and other foreign people. The hierarchical principle of the caste system functioned in its extreme form. The matrilineal system of the Nayars and the practice of polyandry interested the European who began to study the social and cultural life of the people.

Portuguese observer Barbasa wrote on the major cultural features of the caste system. He wrote that the Brahmins held a high position at the top of the hierarchy and the untouchables were at the bottom. He described the ideas of pollution and the practice of untouchability. He

also described other aspects of the caste system in detail like caste based occupations, caste endogamy, restrictions on commensality, caste norms followed by each caste and the relationship between caste and political organizations.

Barbasa's narration of the caste system is based on what he saw and what he was told. Barbasa knew the local language and was able to converse with the local people. His observations can be regarded as objective in nature. He did not make any remarks on the evils or benefits of the caste system.

Jean Tavernier, a French merchant and traveller made six voyages to India and the Middle East between 1631 and 1667. he wrote detailed accounts of his travels and the people he met. He described the different routes he took. He also wrote historical and commercial accounts of his travel in India.

Tavernier wrote a history of the reign of Aurangzeb based on his talk with the people. He described the commercial activities. Finally he also wrote on the Hindu beliefs, rituals and customs by conversing with the Brahmins and through observation. Tavernier says that his writings are based on the views of "the most accomplished of their priests". He writes that they believe there are 72 castes, but these may be reduced to four principal (castes), from which all others derive their origin".

When Europeans came to India, they approached the Brahmins and discussed Hinduism and the caste system with them. Abraham Roger, a Chaplain at the Dutch factory at Pulicat in Madras studied Hinduism from Dutch speaking Brahmin, Padmanubha in the 1630's Rogers account of Hinduism contains Padmanubha's Dutch translation of Bhartrihari's Satakas.

Other Europeans traders and travellers have also described Indian caste system. These writings were based on their understanding of Indian society by discussion with the Brahmins.

To conclude, we see that the early visitors to Indian society observed the daily life of the people spoke to the local people and wrote what they had observed. These accounts are sketchy, but are useful as they provide an insight into the early Indian society.

### **Early studies on Indian society by the British:**

With the establishment of the British rule in India in the later eighteenth century, the British officials felt a need for knowledge of the Indian society and customs and practices for administrative purposes. Some British officials also began to study classical languages of India. By 1760 a systematic body of knowledge on Indian society gradually

developed. Three dominant view on Indian society was seen emerging by the end of the eighteenth century. These are:

British Administrators views on Indian society.

Orientalists views on Indian society.

Indological views on Indian society.

**British Administrators views on Indian society:**

The period 1757 onwards witnessed the beginnings of the administrators studying Indian society. The British officials were required to learn about India and Indian society for administrative purposes. Assessment of land became necessary for revenue collection. The British official who had no knowledge of land ownership patterns and cultivation practices began to study the structure of Indian society.

When the East Indian company became established in northern and southern India, knowledge of Indian political history and the internal political structure of Indian states became necessary. Nature of land tenure, documents on revenue collection and records of previous rulers were studied to determine the rights and duties of persons connected with cultivation. James Grant and John Shore studied the functioning of the Bengal society through first hand experience. However other administrators also studied the nature of land tenure and patterns of land ownership, but these accounts are incomplete and sketchy.

The British setup English courts to administer justice. These courts were based on the principle of equality. The courts treated all people of every caste as equals.

In India, we had the caste panchayat. In caste panchayat, the elders of the caste sit together and listen to the problem. Judgement was given on the basis of one's caste. As a result, the Brahmin and the upper caste could not be punished for any crime committed in the village.

The British officers gave judgement in the courts punishing those who had committed a crime. When the upper castes were punished in the British courts it created an uproar. The Brahmins began to protest when they were asked to pay a fine to lower caste.

The British judges were unable to understand why their judgements which they considered as just and right resulted in a protest by the villagers. The British judges began to study Indian customs and traditions.

In among the studies conducted by the British are William Tennant who in 1804 study the Bengal society. He studied the agricultural practices and land ownership in Northern India. He spoke to the villagers and studied their different occupations. He also described the different crops people grow and the method of cultivation in the villages. He

described village life and found that in the village there were the zamindars, potter, carpenter, blacksmith, washerman, barber, patwai, bhat, ahir, chamar, the shepherds and the Brahmins. Tenant describes in detail the social life in the villages.

In 1806, Colebrook studied Sanskrit with the help of the Brahmins. He was regarded as an early Sanskrit scholar. He described the differences in custom and culture religious practices, land ownership, political system and the history of the people. Gradually, the British officers became aware of the diversity, of the culture and traditions of Indian people.

Francis Buchanan, another British officer studied the Bengal society. He made a statistical survey of the villages and studied the houses in the villages. He also made a survey of the type of people who lived in the houses, size of the family, farm labour and different caste groups in the village. He also described the customs among the different set of the Hindus and the Muslims.

The administrative official view of the caste system also reflected the anthropological theories of 1870 – 1910. Data was collected and classified “tribes and castes” for the series of books based on provinces. For example, Crooke’s published in four volumes. “The Tribes and castes of the north-western provinces and Oudh” in 1896. Caste accounts were arranged alphabetically sub divisions of caste and marriage rules and peculiar customs of the caste were written. A description of life cycle rites for most castes, distinctive marriage ceremonies, deities worshipped was also mentioned. There was a brief description of the traditional occupations of the castes. Statistics on the geographical distribution of the castes were given in tabular form.

These and several other books were written by the British officials.

By the end of the eighteenth century, a number of studies were carried out by the British officers and administrators. The studies by the administrators were largely for administrative purposes. The attempts to collect information were carried out in a haphazard manner with the aim of carrying out administration harmoniously in Indian society.

### **Orientalists views on Indian Society:**

Much before the British established their rule in India, the British began to accumulate knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and other languages of India. Knowledge of Indian languages enabled them to understand the depth and range of the sacred texts. By studying these texts philosophy and history of India was reconstructed.

Alexander Dow, an officer in the East India Company’s army was one of the first to publish a translation of one of the standard Persian

histories of India, as the History of Hindustan in 1768 – 1771. Dow prefaced his translation with a number of essays. It seems that for Dow customs and manners appear to have largely meant Brahmanic derived from his understanding from the study of Persian texts.

Dow also attempted to learn Sanskrit, but his official duties prevented him from mastering the language. However he did attempt to study “some of the principal shasters” with the assistance of pundits from Benares. Dow presented the Brahmanical theory of the origin of the caste system. Other customs Dow wrote are astrological concerns at the birth of a child, early marriage, suttee, disposal of dead, the privileged position of the Brahmins, the role of sanyasis as conveyers of Hinduism and types of penances performed by sanyasis and the public. Dow himself was fully aware of the difficulties in understanding Indian society and Hinduism through Persian translations.

Orientalism refers to experts in the knowledge and language of the Eastern World. The Orientalists view is that the ancient texts were accurate guides to understanding the culture and society of the Hindus. N.B. Halhead compiled and translated the Dharmashastras. It was published in London in 1776. This translation was supposed to provide a precise idea of the customs and manners of these people.

A view of Indian society was derived from the study of the ancient text and by talking to the Brahmin pundits and shastris. Orientalism led to the view that the Brahmins were the dominant group in the society. This view sees the Brahmins at the centre of the social order, which describes punishment for crimes based on ones Varna status, which prohibits other varnas from learning the sacred texts. A large number of such works by European scholars is the Orientalists view on Indian society.

Cohn states that the political structure of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India shows evidence of a few Brahmin dynasties and that political – military power was in the hands of other groups.

Cohn lists several other consequences of the Orientalists views. It led to the view that the Brahmins were the dominant group in the society. This exalted position of the Brahmins in the traditional Indian society promoted caste hierarchy. This view was not a correct picture of the caste in India.

Orientalists admired in theory the civilization and religion as described in the texts. They perceived the difficulties and problem of Indian society as a fall from the golden age of an ancient civilization.

To summarize, Orientalism accepts the Brahminical theory of the four varnas and the origin of castes. Orientalism accepts the primacy of

the Brahmins as the maintainers of the sacred tradition. They are the only ones who have knowledge of the sacred texts. These views on Indian society were derived from the textual study of the ancient scriptures and discussion with the Brahmin pundits. The Orientalists made no effort to fit their knowledge to the study of political organizations, land tenure systems, the functioning of legal systems and economic structures of the everyday life of the people of India.

### **Indological view on Indian society:**

An understanding of Indian society based on the study of the ancient texts and sacred scriptures led to the Indological tradition. Indology refers to the view that the sacred scriptures and ancient Sanskrit texts offer accurate guidelines to the study of history, culture and society of the Hindu. Scholars looked to the Sanskrit texts to explore the sources of Indian tradition and culture.

Indologists studied the ancient texts themselves with the assistance of the Brahmin pundits or they mastered Sanskrit and Persian languages and translated the texts into English.

N.B. Halheard a colonial official studied the Sanskrit language and translated the Dharmashastras into English language. Alan Dow a British officer studied the Persian language and translated a Persian text or the history of India into English. These studies by the Orientalists and administrators formed the basis of the Indological tradition.

Some of the Indologists were concerned with understanding the judicial system. They stressed the importance of codifying local laws based on the existing legal texts. William Jones, Henry Maine and N.B. Halhead were appointed as judges in India. They studied the Sanskrit and Persian texts so as to have a better understanding of the legal systems of Hindus and Muslim laws.

The main concern of the Indologists was to study various aspects of Indian life based on ancient texts. They believed that these texts adequately explained the daily lives of the people. They also believed that this method of study was superior as it was objective and free from bias. The Indologists were intellectuals from England who wanted to apply the same theory and method to study India as was used to study European society.

The Indological view on Indian society had several weaknesses. The first major problem was that they relied solely on the study of texts which had little connection with the social reality of the village life. Second, the texts portrayed the Brahminical view on Indian society. Third, the Indological view gave a general view that the Brahmins were the dominant group. Fourth, the texts described the four fold Varna system- Brahmins,



Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. The four varnas did not exist in many regions of India. Instead the social categories – jati were common. Fifth, it gave a picture of Indian village community as state and timeless. Lastly it did not take into account the regional variations in Indian society and culture.

According to M.N. Srinivas “Indology has come to be regarded as knowledge about India’s past. There is a bias in favour of literary material is clearly seen in the syllabus of Indological studies in Universities. Any suggestion that Indological studies must also include studies or tribes is viewed as absurd.....

Indological studies continue to be undertaken by scholars who want to understand India’s past.

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### **1.5 Summary**

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The earliest writing on Indian society are brief and sketchy. These are by travellers and traders who came to India from time to time. They are the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, Chinese, Arab and the Europeans.

During the British period the British administrators began to study Indian society for administrative purposes. The Orientalists and Indologists also wrote on Indian society.

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### **1.6 Check your Progress :-**

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1) Discuss the statement that writings of Indian society were based on their first hand contact with the people.

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2) Why some British officials began to study classical languages of India?

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3) What do you mean by Indology ?

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## **1.7 References**

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## **1.8 Questions**

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1. Briefly discuss the Greek ambassador's writings on Indian society.
2. Discuss the early writings on Indian society by Chinese and Arab travellers and scholars.
3. Write a brief note on the views of the early European travellers on Indian society.
4. Write a critical note on the British administrators' views on Indian society.
5. Write a short note on i) Orientalists writings. ii) Indological writings.

## Development of Sociology in India : Schools, Approaches

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### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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To explain the development of sociology and social anthropology in India .

To acquaint students with the major influences on the development of sociology in India.

To study in detail the approach to the study of Indian society

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### 2.1 Introduction

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The development of social science corresponds with the development of modern industrial capitalism in Europe. A study of the history of ideas and their interpretations are closely related in the specific historical period and socio-cultural climate and the dynamics of power in the society. Hence ideas, concepts and theories are inseparable from the social, economic, political and historical condition in which they originate, grow, flourish and ever decline. This is true of social science in general, and also of sociology and social anthropology.

Sociology is a loosely defined field of study and research. There are many different approaches to the study of sociology and social anthropology. Similarly there are many different conceptions of the scope of sociology. Some regard sociology and social anthropology as

synonymous, others maintain that there is a special relationship between the two and yet others suggest that there is hardly any relationship between the two.

Aadke Beteille says that there is hardly any relationship between sociology and social anthropology in India, but ever these years this relationship has changed due to changes in the orientations of the discipline. Moreover, every discipline has to respond to a fluid and changing society. Sociology too has responded to these changes over a period of time. While sociology has adopted an open and flexible approach, it has also maintained its distinctive features.

In its broadest sense sociology and social anthropology study social relations, social processes, social structures, social influences, and social change. In the course of time sociology has accumulated a body of concepts, methods and data. These concepts and methods have their significance in the use of collection, arrangement and interpretation of empirical data. As a result, sociological enquiry and investigation, every aspect of Indian society and culture have been studied. And social anthropology in India must take into account the major influences that have shaped the development of the discipline. Sociology and social anthropology in India developed during the colonial period. The major influences are discussed in terms of:

1. Western sociological tradition in theory and method.
2. influence of colonial heritage
3. Influence of the spirit of Indian nationalism and indigenous social thought.

### **1. Western sociological tradition in theory and method**

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries evolutionism was the reigning theoretical ideology in Europe. Many European scholars tried to fit the "other" social as and social institutions into the evolutionary perspective. Western societies were placed at the upper end of the evolutionary scale indicative of the advancement of the western industrial societies. The so-called primitive and traditional societies were placed at various levels in the lower end of the scale. Such arranging of societies and social institutions in the evolutionary scheme was a dominant theoretical orientation of the nineteenth century west.

When the inadequacy of the evolutionary approach to study human societies was evident, functionalism became the other theoretical perspective. Functionalism emphasised this ideology of consensus. It is an alternative perspective to study societies. Social scientists in these

west were preoccupied with functionalist theory, and the interpretation of society based on consensus, however functionalism and not provide the framework to study the contradictions in society. The Marxist or the dialectical approach studied conflicts and contradictions in western society as a result of capitalism.

These were the dominant western sociological tradition that influenced the development of sociology in India in early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **2. Influence of colonial heritage**

During the period of colonisation British administrators and officials came into contact with these people of India. The purpose of administrators it became inseparable for him to study the people whom they ruled. The diversity of Indian society and culture.

The British administrators and scholars indeed various aspects of Indian society. They found that these Indian village community quite different from their own experience of the west. They found India to be a land of many languages, religious and diverse cultural traditions. The caste system, the family structure land ownership patterns, cultivation practices and scholars studied various aspects of Indian society.

Throughout the nineteenth century Indian villages attracted the European scholars and British administrators. Charles Metcalf, Henry Maine, Baden Powell were some of the British scholars who held these views that Indian village was isolated and self-sufficient. It was described by Metcalf as a little republic that remains unchanged for centuries.

Based on surveys, census data and other such sources theory Maine wrote his first book *Ancient law* in 1861 and his second book in 1871 *Village communities in the East and West*. Maine studied the Indian village and attempted to reconstruct these histories of European village by making comparison with India.

In 1872 Baden Powell brought out his volume work the land systems of British India where he wrote on these British experiences of more than 100 years assessing and collecting evidence of the maintained effort was to understand these land tenure systems in Indian villages.

Risley published a book on the people of India. In 1936 William Wiser wrote this classic work *These Jayamani systems*. In this book he studied these economic relations in this village between the owners of land and these artisan castes who served them. In turn, they received grain from these landlords at this time of harvest.

This writing by British administrators and scholars on Indian society was based on concepts and theories drawn from these historical experiences of western European societies. These studies were not without bias as they were written in western ideology.

According to Bernard of these British administrators and scholars contribution to studies on various aspects of Indian society, customs and traditions was wrote in western experience and theoretical orientations. They viewed tribe, caste, and village as segments that could be studied in isolation. This gave a view on Indian society as if there was no linkage between different social institutions. Secondly these ideological and orientalist approach gave a picture of Indian society state and unchanging. This colonial heritage had its impact on early sociological studies on Indian society.

### **3.Influences of the spirit of Nationalism and indigenous social thoughts:**

Indian nationalism provided another ideological basis for early Indian sociological thought. A study of the social background of the nationalist leaders showed them to be from urban middle class, most of whom had received their education in European universities. To some extent they were influenced by western thought of equality and liberty. At the same time, an nineteenth century, Indian renaissance contributed to indigenous sociological thinking. These was an acute consciousness of history and tradition of Indian society accompanied by a deep sense of nationalism religious and social reformer like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Kasbah chandaka son, Ishwar chanda Vidyasagar, social and moral philosopher life Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda, political thinkers and freedom lightes like Dadabhai Nauroji, B.G.Tilak, and G.K.Gokhale and many others tried to understand systematically different structural and cultural peculiarities of Indian society. Indian sociologist Ramakrishna Mukerjee has charaterised them as these pre-sociological reference group of Indian sociology and social anthropology which were evolving interspretative scheme for a proper apprarical of social reality in India.

These indigenous pre-sociological intellectual tradition influenced the inter development these later development of Indian sociology and social anthropology marginally, however, Indian nationalist movement was constructive and creative in that it helped to develop a sense of national identify and self- consciousness.

To conclude, we see that Indian sociology and social anthropology had many diverse influences during its nascent period of development. In the early phase Indian sociology and works of these British scholars and administrators. Their concerns, styles of narrations, there methods of collection and interpretation of data and their sociologist consciously or unconsciously. Their generated a tension and later there was a need for indiamizaing social science especially sociology and social

anthropology. Indian sociology has thus developed through all these influence.

## **2.2 Development of sociology in India: approach to the study of Indian society**

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Sociology has a body of concepts that can be used as conceptual tool for this study of society. Sociological approaches to these studies of society have given sociology a distinctiveness of its subject in the applications of these approaches to these study of society one must be open and hexible and at these sence time it is essential in maintain these distinctiveness of the discipline of if a coherent and meaningful study as to be attempted.

The task of interpretation and explanation in sociology as to place human actions and event in these context of social processes, structures and institutions in which they aceur, and the social context in which they take place. This task of interpretation requires these applications of these concepts and approaches in a systemative way one of these major hurdles that sociologists of Indian society face is these possible istroration in interpretation in these uncritical application of these. It is often arranged that categories such as family, class, and nation do not mean these some thing in all societies. Therefore the social context in which sociological concepts and approaches are applied gains significance.

Sociological studies of Indian society and culture – village, city, tribe, caste, religion, and economics. Politics, stratifications and so on another impresent concern of sociologist of Indian society and culture is these understanding of these Indian traditions, its unity, integrity, stability reliance, vulnerability and capacity for change. Sociologists study this aspect through the examination of the part as well as these present understanding the post an these present is a particularly compelling problem a India because of the richers and these depth of its tradition and its presence in contemporary times. Sociologist and social anthropologist have tried to integrate these furidingsof classical studies an Indian society with their ork on contemporary India. Among these outstanding names are G.S. Ghurge, National Kumar Bose, Irawati Karve Louis Dumont and Mckim Marrior.some of these sociologist like B.K. sardar,G.SGhurge, K.P. Chattopadhyay, K.M. Kapadia, Irwati karve were either well trained in Sanskrit as well versed in classical literature to there investigation of contemporary forms of family, marriage, kinship cast and religion reason for debate among sociologist of India is over these possibility and these importance of drawing upon tradition and develop a distinctive method for these study of society and culture of

India. Some sociologists argue that these problems arise because Indian tradition is ignored in formulating these appropriate approaches. Other sociologists suggest that a study of tradition can be adequately done by drawing from these common pools of sociological knowledge.

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## **2.3 Approaches to the study of Indian society**

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Several approaches have been used by sociologists in their study of Indian society and culture. Some of them are.

1. Indological approach
2. Historical approach
3. Structural – functional approach
4. Marxist approach

### **1. Indological Approach:**

It is also known as the textual approach. The indological approach rests on the assumption that the Indian social realities can be well grasped through the “texts”. Indian society and culture are not only unique but have a long history and tradition. The past of Indian society and culture can be best studied by looking at these sacred texts. The ancient Sanskrit texts provide an accurate account in the study of history and culture of Indian society. They aid us in our understanding of social institutions like the caste system. As a result, some scholars turned to the Sanskrit texts to explore the sources of Indian tradition and culture.

Some sociologists and social scientists advocated the Indological approach. They practiced indology as the most indispensable perspective for developing an Indian sociology. The use of the indological approach to study the people of India, caste and tribes, social institutions, customs and cultural practices also received support from the British officials and scholars. In some cases, Indian schools and British officers collaborated and made efforts to interpret traditions, customary religious cultural practices and legal codes.

The use of the Indological approach during the early years of Indian sociology and social anthropology is seen in the works of pioneer sociologists and social anthropologists like Brajendranath Seal, B.K. Sarda, G.S. Ghurde and others. Explorations of diverse aspects of Indian culture and society through the use of Indological sources was undertaken by G.S. Ghurde. His monographs on Indian Sadhu (1964), on Religious consciousness (1965), on Gotra and Charan as the two.

Brahmanical institutions (1972) among others reflect these concerns.

The indological approach has been advocated by Louis Dumont in his book *Homo Hierarchicus* (1970). In this work, Dumont focused on



these need to understand the indology of caste as reflected in these classical texts. Dumont was in support of these uses of indological approach to the study of the caste system.

The indological approach has been used by other sociologists like Irawati Karve, K.M. Kapadia and others. However some sociologists say that the Indological approach provides us with a textual view of Indian society and hence has limitations.

## **2. Historical approach:**

is used to study contemporary social institution and process to their historical settings in these past. In these studies of social institution, indology or a social movement, just a study of these present is inadequate in understanding its significance. It needs to be studied in the context of the past to understand these present. The historical approach deepens our understanding of social realities in India today. Tracing the historical origins and process of development of a social phenomenon enriches our understanding. In the study of agrarian social structure, class relations and various aspects of rural transformation and peasant movements in India can be further enriched by studying them in the context of medieval and colonial periods of Indian history.

The historical approach sensitizes sociologists to specific socio-historical context of the social phenomenon. Mukherjee did use the historical approach. A good example of the use of historical approach is seen in the work of A.R. Desai (1959). The social background of Indian nationalist. Other sociologists engaged in the study of agrarian relation frequently use historical approach. The historical approach is especially useful in making comparison of the past with the present. More recently, Yogendra Singh in his study of modernization, Sabherwal in his assessment of these colonial impacts on urbanization and social inequalities, Partha Mukherjee, Rajendra Singh and other sociologists who have studied protest movements to and reveals, workers and weaker sections in India have disproved the value of comparative history for sociological analysis.

## **3. Structural Functional Approach:**

In the post-independence period certain theoretical stances were seen to gratefully emerge. The structural functional approach was the earliest one. Structural functionalism is derived from British social anthropology. It appeared in India through the intensive field work that went with these structural functional approaches. This approach required these detailed descriptions of these social phenomena being investigated. It required an analysis derived from that description of the

social phenomenon or an aspect of these local communities in relation to the total social structure.

The 1950s and the 1960s saw the publication of monographs on various aspects of tribal, rural and urban life in different parts of these country and on different aspects of Indian culture, religion and society. The data collected through intensive fieldwork made possible a deeper analysis that Brought out the interconnections between the different parts of the social system. This resulted in a deeper understanding of the microceem being studied.

Before this sociologist of Indian society had used the textual approach to the study of Indian society and social institution. While structural functionalism explanations of a social institution by references to other features of the social system of which it formed a part gave a new insight into the microeesm being studied. A few sociologists went further and reconstructed the history of social institution.

D.N. Mujumdar remained within the structural functionalist tradition in social anthropology. He was committed to empiricism and to fieldwork tradition. In his earlier years he conducted ethnographic studies of various races and cultures in India. Later he turned to studies of the village and of his town. Intensive fieldwork and observation in the collection of data were central to his approach from which he did not depart even when he conducted large scale survey type researches.

Radhakamal Mukherjee conducted micro level analysis of rural economy, land problems, population and problem of the working class. He also studied micro-level inquiries into the deteriorating agrarian relations and condition of peasantry. Much later he took an active interest micro level empirical investigation on 'inter caste teneious' and urbanization of cities in transition.

M.N.Srinivas followed Radcliffe Brown and adopted a structural functional approach. He showed how ritual and beliefs contribute to these unity and identity of groups at different level: like these household, these village and the region. Srinivas also examined these relationship between local religious beliefs and practices and the under universe of world religious. This opened our understanding of these interplay between the local religions. This opened our understanding of the interplay between the local religions belief system and the wider religions belief system and the wider religions beliefs and practices.

Many Indian sociologists found the structural functional approach as adequate to the study of Indian society and social institution. Dhanagare draws our attention to the development of sociology in India through structural functionalism. As a result sociologists tended to focus

on the present structure of social relations and institution as 'harmonic system' but failed to highlight the conflicting forces and contradiction inherent in those systems. This complete preoccupation with the present of the structural functional approach neglected historical studies. Indian society and social institution have a long evolutionary history. Structural functionalists interest was confined to understanding on these present structures and the functional interdependence of among their parts. The use of socio- historical perspective would have enriched our present problems and future prospects or durations of development.

#### **4. Marxist approach:**

As modern capitalism developed in Western Europe from the nineteenth century onwards, sociologists began formulating concepts and theories to understand complex social realities and systems of social relations as a result of the development of capitalist mode of production. One of the interpretation of capitalist society was by Karl Marx approach to these capitalist society in these west was a system of exploitation. Its inherent contradictions reflected class antagonism which was resolved by class struggle and the emergence of classless society.

The Marxist approach highlights the conflicting forces and contradictions inherent in the society. The Marxist approach in sociology in India gained prominence as Marxist sociologists became critical of structural functionalism and the kind of research it emanated. They left there was an overemphasis on the role of traditional factors as caste, kinship and religion, which underplayed these role of class, and focus of change and contradictions in the society.

K.P. Chattopadhyay subscribed to the structural functional approach, but when he began to study problems of peasantry, working class and tribal he used the Marxist dialectical approach. D.P. Mukherjee was professed Marxist. He attempted dialectical interpretation of the encounter between Indian traditions of cultural contradictions during the colonial era. Within the broad framework of these dialectical Marxist approaches Mukherjee focused more on the historical specificity of India's cultural and social transformation.

Sociological studies on contemporary India on village, caste, religion, industry, record changes taking place in it. Marxist sociologists express these inadequacy of the structural functional framework for understand change. Change occurs with conflict and resistance hence the Marxist framework would be useful explaining these contradictions.

Another area of research in Indian society is that of inequality. The changing relations between caste, class and power drew the attention of sociologists to these external forces of change. Sociological approach.

The emphasis is on class and material interests rather than on caste and historical status. Caste and class have been studied at different levels and the contribution of some sociologists and social anthropologists is by studying it in these context of agrarian relations at these local levels. Some of these sociologists have used the Marxian approach in these analysis and interpretations.

Caste and class are after studied together not only in the study of stratification but also politics. Studies on caste politics have been attempted by various sociologists which may not have any distinctive theoretical approach but trend to be descriptive and analytical. Marxist, however, the politics of class is a matter of theory and practice. Marxist sociologists are now paying more attention to caste in their political analysis.

The diversity of sociological output and the vast numbers of studies and research is indeed an indication that sociology in India has acquired a distinctive identify. However, development of sociology in India cannot be understood as simple application of theoretical approaches that were developed elsewhere. Nor can the development of sociology in India be explained in intellectual terms alone, by explaining some elementary principles that have been applied in various segments of society. Sociologists studying Indian society draw from the stock of sociological knowledge continuously at the sometime there is a rich intellectual activity in India which provides a stimulus to sociological enquiry. Finally, the distinctive experience of a changing and complex society of India gives sociologists these colours of India. Sociology and social anthropology have developed in different ways in different societies and these disciplines have acquired the colour of that social environment.

The necessity of making sociological research socially relevant is always felt. Many Indian sociologists of Indian society and culture are politically and normally committed which is evident in their selection of the problem of research study. Sociologists of Indian society and culture have many challenges as they seek to understand, interpret and explain Indian society.

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## **2.4 Summary**

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The development of social science and sociology is closely related to the development of modern capitalism. Ideas and concepts are inseparable from the social, economic and political condition in which they originate.

In India the development of sociology work place in the colonial period. The development of sociological and social anthropology had some influences. These influences

1. Western sociological tradition in theory and method
2. Influence of colonial heritage.
3. Influence of the spirit of India nationalism and indigeneem social thought

Several approaches have been used by Indian sociologists to study Indian society. These are indological approach theoretical approach structural functional approach and Marxist approach.

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**2.5 Check Your Progress :-**

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- 1 Discuss sociology as a loosley defined field of study and approach?

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- 2 Britishers found Indian Village Community different from the West. Highlight the statement.

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- 3 Elaborate Indological approaches to the study of Indian Society.

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**Question**

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1. Briefly discuss the major influences in the development of sociology in India?
2. Discuss the approaches to the study of Indian society.

# Teaching and Research in Sociology Specialization in Sociology

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## CONTENT

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- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Teaching of sociology
- 3.3 Research in Sociology in the Post-Independence Period
- 3.4 Specialization In Sociology
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Check your Progress
- 3.7 References
- 3.8 Questions

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### 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To make students aware of the teaching of sociology and social anthropology in the department
- To examine the teaching of sociology in the post independence period
- To explore the different areas of research in sociology
- To explain students with specializations in sociology

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### 3.1 Introduction

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Teaching and research in the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology has their beginning in the colonial period. A full and authoritative understanding of the origins, teaching and research in sociology (and social anthropology ) call for intensive research into the archives of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow, Mysore which were among the earliest to teach the subject.

The Indo-British encounter in many ways was conducive to the growth of research cocern in sociology and social anthropology in India. The nineteenth century was a period when the British officials, travelers

and missionaries collected a considerable quantity of basic information on Indian society. They wrote on the people of India, its ecology, agriculture, land revenue, regional problems such as suttee in Bengal, custom of female infanticide in Gujarat and other regions of western India. The information collected formed invaluable writings on Indian society and culture, even though they were intended to meet the administrative needs of the British officials.

The next stage of data collection began with the census of 1871. Census data on Indian society become elaborate and complex with each passing decade. The Ethnographic Survey of India established at the beginning of the last century led to the compilation of district gazetteers – the Imperial Gazetteer of India. There were also many volumes written on the tribes and castes of the different regions of India. The Linguistics Survey of India provided information on many languages and dialects of India and their inter relationships.

Fronics Buchanan's wrote on India in the early nineteenth century, Baxlen Powell wrote on the Land system of British India, Risley's The peoples of India, and the works on tribes and castes by Nesfield, W.Crooh, Etc.thurstan, J.H.Hutton, and on village communities by Maine and other amassed a mass of data on Indian society.

During the colonial period educated Indians began to reflect critically on India social institutions and way of life. They sought to reinterpret their culture and social institutions and change social practices that seemed offensive. There was a systematic uncovering of India's past which played a critical role in Indian Nationalism. A sense of pride and self-respect strengthened the determination to rebuild Indian society and culture. Nationalist feeling also imparted the twin disciplines of sociology and social anthropology.

Research activities in sociology and social anthropology during their inception in India were influenced by British scholarship on the one hand and wave of nationalism on the other .

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### **3.2 Teaching of Sociology**

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Teaching is shaped by the subject develops, this means that research activities determine the courses taught. To a large extent research and teaching go together. Research is thus an integral part of teaching. Both teaching and research is require for extensive knowledge of the subject. Research is a continuous process of learning. Teaching also is a learning process.

Teaching of sociology as an academic subject has its beginning during the colonial period with the opening of departments at the

Universities that began a course or two in sociology and for social anthropology.

Development of the first Departments in Sociology and Social Anthropology in India for Teaching and Research.

The first steps to introduce sociology and social anthropology as an academic discipline in Indian Universities was during the years 1900 – 1920. The twin disciplines had their beginnings in the two cities of Bombay and Calcutta. Both Sociology and social anthropology came to be included as a part of economics departments in some Universities, and in philosophy, political science or social work in others. For example, in the Universities, Sociology and social anthropology was first introduced, it was an integral part of the civics department. In some of these Universities, Sociology and social anthropology teaching of the subject was restricted to one or two courses that post-graduate students could offer as a part of philosophy, political science or economics curricula. Today in most universities sociology and social anthropology are independent departments teaching full courses with specializations.

In the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century sociology struggled to establish itself as a discipline in Indian Universities. The first universities to teach a course or two in sociology and social anthropology were Calcutta University and University of Bombay, and later Lucknow University.

#### **Calcutta University:**

The credit of introducing sociology as an academic subject in Calcutta University goes to Brajendranath Seal. Sociology was introduced in Calcutta University in 1917. Brajendranath Seal was a Professor of philosophy in Calcutta University. He made a comparative study of Vaishnavism and Christianity. He started a series of lectures in comparative sociology. Seal was of the opinion that social institutions must be studied in the context of race, religion and culture. Seal had a strong influence on his students especially Radhakamal Mukherjee.

Sociology was taught by Radhakamal Mukharjee and B.K.Sarkar. B.S.Guha joined Calcutta University in 1926 with a doctorate from Harvard. However, in 1927 he joined the zoological survey of India. D.N.Majumdar and Nirmal Kumar Bose received their training in anthropology from Calcutta University.

Calcutta University became a centre for social anthropological research. K.P.Chattopadhyay carried out a variety of research. He inherited the legacy of Brajendranath seal and B.K.Sarkar who had pioneered studies on ethnicity, religion and culture. Seal and sarkar were products of Bengal renaissance and were inspired by the Indian National



Movement, while Chattopadhyay was a Cambridge trained social anthropologist. Chattopadhyay conducted large scale social surveys of the peasantry the tribals and the working class and portrayed the social reality of Indian society.

Calcutta University had eminent scholars who studied different aspects of Indian society.

### **University of Bombay :**

The University of Bombay started teaching a course in sociology for past graduates in the year 1914. In 1919 the department of sociology and civics was started under Patric Geddes. Geddes was interested in the study of human geography. He published reports on the town planning of Calcutta and Indore and the temple cities of South India. Geddes promoted sociology through his student G.S.Ghurye.

G.S.Ghurye studied under WHR Rivers in Cambridge for his Phd degree and wrote a book Caste and Race in India. Rivers had a great influence on Ghurye. After Geddes, G.S.Ghurye become the professor and head at the University of Bombay. Under Ghurye's leadership, University of Bombay become the leading centre for teaching sociology and research. Ghurye's scholarly interest and research covered a wide range of areas. He explored diverse aspects of Indian culture and society through use of Indological sources and empirical research findings.

This monographs on Indian Sadhus (1964), Religious consciousness (1965), Gotra and Charan as the two Brahmanical Institutions (1972) reflect his interests. This field studies includes survey of sex habits of middle class people in Bombay in the 1930s and the monograph on the Mahadev Koli demonstrate his contribution to empiricism in Indian sociology and social anthropology.

Ghurye's flexible approach to theory and methodology in sociology and social anthropology was the result of his belief in intellectual freedom. This is also reflected in the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches of his students who pursued research. Ghurye's works and interests had a profound influence on the development of sociology and social anthropology, as well as on teaching and research activities in India.

### **Lucknow university :**

A combined department of sociology and economics was started in 1921 in Lucknow University under Dr.Radhakamal Mukherjee. Later D.P.Mukherjee and D.N.Majumdar joined Lucknow University. All the three acamedicians were from Calcutta university but influenced teaching and research in Lucknow university. Lucknow University emerged as a leading centre for social science research till about the mid-1960s.

Radhakamal Mukherjee interest was in micro-level empirical investigations. Theses include studies on “inter caste tensions” urbanization especially in cities in transition. He advocated and practiced philosophical anthropology. In an almost meta-theoretical perspective he tended to view individual, society and values as an indivisible unity. In this sense, Radhakamal Mukherjee was the pioneer of a transdisciplinary approach in Indian social science.

D.P.Mukherjee did not undertake empirical data collection or surveys. He preferred to be a social philosopher and a culturologist. His academic interest ranged from music and fine arts as peculiar creations of Indian culture to ‘Indian tradition in relation to modernity’. D.P.Mukherjee was of the opinion that Indian social research must be grounded in the study of Indian traditions, custom rituals, myths and folkways. He was greatly influenced Marxian thought and attempted a dialectical interpretation of the encounter between the Indian tradition and modernity that resulted in cultural contradictions during the colonial period. In his later years he felt that it was necessary to attempt a sociological theory based on Indian traditional social thought. He felt that this approach would explain the uniqueness of Indian social thought. D.P.Mukherjee as an inspiring teacher left behind a powerful legacy that influenced later generation of Indian sociologists.

D.N.Majumdar did his Ph.D at Cambridge under Haddon. He also attended various seminars at the London School of Economics. He was committed to empiricism and the field work tradition of social and cultural anthropology. Ethnographic studies of various races and culture in India was one of the main interest of D.N.Majumdar. Later he turned his attention to studies of the village and town. He conducted anthropometric surveys of tribes and castes in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Bengal. D.N.Mujamdar had a lasting influence on his students.

At the Deccan college, Pune, The post graduate and research Institute was started in 1939 under Irawati Karve. Being a student of Ghurye, Irawati Karve inherited some of his research concern and methodology. She wrote on Kinship structures, ethnic groups and caste and the peculiar traditions of the regional cultures of western India. Like Ghurye she used Indological sources to interpret Hindu society and culture. Y.B. Damle, another eminent student of Ghurye joined Pune Deccan college. Y.B. Damle explored new dimension of structure and change in Indian society.

Teaching of sociology in these early years was alone as a part of other departments at the University level.

The real phase of expansion of teaching and research in sociology began in the post independence period. One of the most important reasons was the effort to social and economic development of the nation through programmes of planned development.

In the development of five years plans these programmes “sociology and social anthropology” were seen as possible sources of expertise on “social aspects of development”. The Research programme Committee of the Planning Commission provided finances for research. The need to study the impact of development programmes on different sections of the society created a demand for personal trained in sociology and social anthropology. this need was seen in the starting of new departments and in expanding existing ones through U.G.C. grants. Teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Indian universities from the 1950 received a big boost. Several new posts were sanctioned by the U.G.C.

During this period various social science became compartmentalized and disciplinary boundaries were drawn. Separate departments were set up for the same time there was considerable talk of interdisciplinary studies. Sociology and social anthropology became separated from other disciplines like economics, history, political science and philosophy. In some universities sociology and social anthropology became separate departments of teaching and research.

Sociology is now taught in several Indian universities at the post-graduate level. Sociology is also taught at the undergraduate level as a full course where students can major in the subject.

A review conducted by U.G.C in 1979 shows that 80 Universities had sociology both at the post graduate and undergraduate levels. More than 60 Universities had full departments to teach sociology. Some institutions like IIT at Delhi, Chennai, Kanpur, Bombay and Kharagpur, Institute of management at Bangalore, Calcutta, Ahmadabad and other institutes offering professional courses in engineering etc have introduced sociology as one of the subjects. The universities and colleges teaching sociology have increased in the last few decades.

Certain trends in teaching are visible. To make sociological knowledge more applicable, compulsory courses on ‘research methodology’, social statistics have been introduced. Other important trends are in designing courses of Indian society, and social institutions. At the post graduate level besides, intensive studies in sociological theories and courses in methodology a variety of courses and specializations are available in rural, urban and industrial sociology, social stratification and social change, sociology of economic

development, modernization, sociology of deviance, agrarian structure and change, sociology of education, political sociology. Other courses in sociology are in gender studies, sociology of the marginalized, medical sociology, sociology of professions, sociology of law, social movements, media studies and so on.

Courses are designed to meet the needs of students at the undergraduate and post graduate courses. Teaching of sociology has thus diversified into various areas of contemporary concerns.

### **3.3 Research in Sociology in the Post-Independence Period**

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In the post independence period there was a marked expansion in the development of sociology. Many Indian universities had separate departments for teaching and research in sociology. Centres for advanced study and research were also set up.

The Indian council of social science Research supported research centres such as Institute of Economic Growth(Delhi), centre for the study of developing societies(Delhi), Institute for the study of social and Economic change (Bangalore), centre for Development studies (Trivandrum); Madras Institute of Development studies (Chennai). The university grants commission promoted research through research grants to researchers and social scientists. Research is also promoted by various universities through research grants given to faculty by government agencies and autonomous research institutes. Research in sociology increased through the availability of research grants.

Sociological research continues to have debates over approach and method though there have been substantive studies in a variety of fields. In their earlier empirical work Indian anthropologists had studied the tribal or primitive communities. The 1950s onwards saw a large number of village studies by Indian and Western sociologists. It was through these village studies that Indian social scientists brought out the significance of field studies. Field work helped Indian social scientists to grasp the social reality of Indian society. They studied the daily life of the people. There emerged a 'fieldview' on Indian society as against the "book-view". This difference was explained by Srinivas. The field approach was adopted by sociologists to study Indian social reality.

In the post independence period Indian sociology has undertaken new areas of research. At the same time the research concerns of the earlier period continued, from the 1950s and into the 1970s sociology in India was virtually dominated by the study of tribes and tribal communities.

Village studies became popular in the 1950s sociology and social anthropologists undertook a large number of field studies. field work emphasized first hand knowledge. Studies on casts and village were conducted by observing the people. in the 1950s publications based on field work appeared titled Indian village , village India, india's village these studies were different from the earlier tradition of studing Indian society and civilization

The village studies questioned the earlier conception of village community as isolated and self sufficient. Through field work village was studied a part of the wider whole in relation to the city and the Indian society. To understand the village in its totality it become necessary to study the external factors that effected village life. Sociologists began to emphasized micro studies of Indian villages based on field work. these villages studies concerned themseleves with there study of distrinctiveness of rural society. Some of the studies focused on the changes in rural socioeconomic life, caste political power while other studies focussed on impact of governmental programme and policies on rural society. Sociologists studied the networks based on the ties of marriage, kinship, economics, politics and religion that stretched outward from the village.

The year 1955 saw several publication on Indian villages based on empirical studies. Indian village by S.C. dube . Majumdar's edited book Rural profiles, village India edited by Marriot and India's village edited by Srinivas. In the later part of 1950s other books were published like religion and society in Coorg by Srinivas, changing village by Dube; Caste and Communication in an Indain village by Manjumdar, Village life in northen India by Lewis; Caste and Economic frontier by Bailey besides village studies, caste was an important area of reseach. Srinivas essay in 1962 on varna and caste was a turning point in the study of caste. Srinivas argued that the unit of study was not varna but jati. Jati was the social category that existed at the operative level and had tobe studied. Research on caste showed that caste could not be viewed as harmonious system but conflicts existed between caste at village level. Reseach into the role of caste in democratic politics became another major area of study , research also covered other ares such as structure and chage in institutions like kinship religion, economic and political. These study provided a fuller knowledge on Indian society and culture. studies on family and marriage change some misconceptions. A.M. shah showed that the hindu family was sometimes small in size and yet was joint. I. P. Desai studied sentiments of Jointness in India. Mukherjee survey to analyse the compositions of different type of families in contemptory India. A number of reseach were conducted on kinship

and marriage. Kapadia studied marriage and family in the urban setting. TN Madam studied family and kinship among pandits of Kashmir. Karve studied kinship organization in India. Mayer's research showed the linkages between caste, sub-caste kinship and recognition and kinship of cooperation.

Srinivas study on the Coorg was an important sociological study of religion. He examined the relationship between religious beliefs and practices among the Coorg of South India. Srinivas also highlighted the dynamics of caste system. He proposed conceptual tools like dominant caste Sanskritization- westernization and secularism to study inter caste relations and their dynamics. Y.B. Damle put forth the reference group theory to caste study and mobility.

In 1970 Dumont published his book *Homo Hierarchies* which gave a further interest in caste studies. Dumont focused on the need to understand the ideology of caste as reflected in classical texts. Dumont advocated the use of Indological and structuralist approach to the study of caste system and village.

Political development in India through government initiatives of panchayati raj and democratic decentralization attracted the attention of sociologists who studied their impact on village rural structures and village life.

Other areas of research included social mobility among different caste, stratification studies and studies of social change. Contributions of R.S. Khare, Sunanda Patwardhan and K.C. Alexander are frequently mentioned. The research interests took sociologists like Satish Saberwal beyond the village to study patterns of changes in urban settings.

Another area of research was concern with tribal societies – tribal villages, their economy, marriage, family and kinship structures, customs, traditions and folk lore as well as change in tribal societies due to impact of modern political development, welfare measures by the government and other reforms for the welfare of the tribals.

With the growth of industrialization and rapid urbanization many sociologists turned their attention to industrial aspect as an area of study and research. N.R. Sheth in 1968 analysed the structure of relationships among people working in factory in relation to the social and cultural milieu in which they lived and worked. Baviskar studied the role of caste in the political power structure within the organizational framework of a corporative sugar factory. Other areas of research in the field of industrial sociology are the social effects of industrialization, workers' commitment, worker-management relations, job satisfaction, formal and informal groups in relation to work, productivity and trade unionism,

studies by Punekar, S.M. Pandey and Ramaswami are some of the important contributions.

Urban studies is another important field of research. Some of the pioneer sociologists like Ghurye, Radhakamal Mukherjee, Chattopadhyay and others studied the city. Studies on growth and development of specific cities and the process of urbanization in different regions was carried out by urban sociologists like Balsara, Sovani, Bose, Mitra, D'souza and others. Influence of the on the hinterland, socio cultural impact of urbanization, the modernizing influences of city on village life by Damle.

Sachchidananda, Vidyarthi and others studied the impact of urbanization on tribes and tribal villages.

Sociology of education developed after the 1950s. Expansion of education led to the growing awareness of the role of education in development and as an agent of social change. Some researchers focused on the role of teachers, social background of students, problem of education among weaker section, etc.

M.S.Gore, Suma Chitnis, I.P.Desai are the notable contributors to this area of research.

Development studies have also been undertaken. These include research areas such as role of elites in economic development , role of community development programmes, cultural variables that influence economic development and so on.

Studies on crime, deviance and delinquency is another area of research for sociologists. Growing criminal activities in the cities, breakdown of normative system, delinquency among urban youth are of concern for the sociologist. Research areas for sociologists span other areas like sociology of law, sociology of medicine and so on. Gender studies has become one of the more popular research areas that studies.

On aspect of women such as traditional sexual division of labour, forms of patriarchy, laws and customs governing husband wife relations, inheritance rules , ritual roles , cultural preference for male children , differential socialization of male and female children , marriage presentation and dowry , the institution of purda, segregation and isolation of women .gender studies are also researching into the living and working conditions of women in different occupations , and from diverse ethnic and religious groups , and also women belonging to weaker sections of society . violence against women is another area of research and study .

Impact of globalization , information technology are other areas of research . research in sociology thus cover a vast span. New areas of research and study are constantly being explored by sociologists.

The growth of research in sociology is accompanied by a steady increase in publications of book and different journals. The oldest professional journal is Man in India which was started in 1922 which covers a variety of articles by physical and cultural anthropologists and sociologists. The Sociological Bulletin, is the journal of the Indian sociological society started in 1951.

The Sociological Bulletin publishes research papers and articles in both sociology and anathropology. Another important journal is contributions to Indian sociology which began publishing in 1957. The Economic and political weekly publishes articles on contemporary concerns. There are several other journals on gender and society and gender studies publishes articles on gender issues. The journal of family welfare publishes articles related to the family. International journal of critical sociology (Jaipur), Indian journal of comparative sociology (Hydrebad), Emergent sociology (Meerut), Journal of social and economic studies (Patna), Social scientist (Trivandrum), and others.

Research paper by socioligsts are regularly published in several different journals and knowledge of recent research and finding are disaminated to the academic community.

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### **3.4 Specialization In Sociology**

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One of the signs of the progress in sociology snd anthropology in India is to be found in the increasing specialization . Apart from the older division areas of specialization like rural sociology (rural studies), urban sociology (urban studies) new areas of specialization have rapidly established themselves .Sum of these areas of speciaization are briefly revived.

On of the first areas of specialization of the sociology was in the study of village and rural society. Rural sociology or rural studies stuck various of rural life stratification pattern, cast and class , family , rural transportation keys and movement community development programmes , agrarian etc.

Reform panchayati raj, impact of city on rural life and so on. Rural studies has thus branched into an area of specialization.

Along with rural sociology urban sociology also branched into a specialized area of; study. Urbanization and industrialization have impacted the city in a big way. Sociologist are studying these city, and their growing population, problems of poverty, employment, housing



&slums, transportation, crime , violence, affect of globalization and other related issues.

Industrial sociology deals with areas of study on employer, employee relations, role of management industrial relations, trade unionism , growth of the informal sector , problems of workers, women workers , child labor and so on. Specialization in these field of industrial relations , labor welfare are quite common.

Tribal studies have been one of the earlier concerns of sociologist and social anthropologists. The study of tribal societies- their culture, language, and institutions, adaption of tribes to these process of industrialization & urbanization. Impact of Christianity on tribal life, tribal community, tribal identity, political developments and their effect on this tribe are some of these areas of study undertaken by sociologists and social anthropologists. Specialization in tribal studies and knowledge of tribes are useful for policy makers.

For couples of decades, new areas of specialization have been emerging among these new developments are gender studies. There has been a worldwide interest in gender studies, and in India, since the 1970s gender studies has brought out through need to work at social institution and culture from the point of view of women. It has generated an interest in studying these subordination and oppression of women in all societies. Patriarchal societies undermine and decline women. Gender studies have theoretical perspective on gender and have imitated debates on issues pertinent to women. In India the publication report Towards Equality, of these committee on status of Women in India (Government of India 1974) was a turning point for women's studies. Through active support of all university grants commissions and these Indian council for social science and research several Centers for women's studies and university departments for women's studies have received financial support.

However gender studies are not the exclusion concern of women sociologists, male social scientist are also keenly interested in this area of research and specialization.

Gender studies represent a trend of viewing society from these point of view of the under privileged these oppressed and marginalized. This has resulted in the emergence of another area of specialization the, sub pattern studies this is seen in the study of Indian society.

Another relatively new area of specialization among sociologists is to study the environment .Sociologists research on environment arises from academic interest as well as concerns of the world regarding

environmental issues. This is an area where research and policy are closely connected.

Health and medicine is a recent area of specialization and research. Conceptions of health and disease are cultural construction and there are large variations across cultures and within cultures with regard to illness. Sociologists play a crucial role in studying these variation role of professional and the doctor – patient relationship etc. There are alternative systems of medicine India has some traditional practices and people in India do for this alternative system of medicines. Of Sociological development and social change political sociology of family, are other areas of specialization. This subject of violence provides challenges and opportunities for sociological enquiry.

Indian society faces several challenges in her effort to build a state. Sociologists and social anthropologists with their knowledge of society cannot stay away from this stupendous task of nation building.

They can be useful in a variety of areas whether it is in progressive reformation of policies in response to changing politico economic situations or in observing and recording of development programme in this study of social change among different sections of this population in different parts of this country. Sociologists can play a useful role in planning because of their knowledge of people's custom and institution. Sociologists can provide profiles of problem that enhance these people understanding of their problems.

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### **3.5 Summary**

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Teaching and research in sociology and social and anthropology began during this colonial period. Research was influenced by British scholarship on this one hand or by this wave of Indian nationalism or these other. The first department to teach sociology and serial anthropology was at these posts graduate level universities these Calcutta university, university of Bombay and luck now. Sociology and social anthropology in this British period was taught as a part of causes in economic, political science, philosophy. In the post independence period sociology branched into specialized discipline with these setting up of separate departments both at these post graduate and undergraduate levels .Research in sociology in these post interdependence period receive an impetus through funding of research by these u. g . C and ICSSR several sociologists conducted research and published .The result of their research finding in books and journals.

Sociology has progressed .this is evident in these specialization seen in various subdiscription of sociology beside the older subdivision of rural sociology, urban sociology, industrial sociology and tribal

sociology, new area of specialization are seen in gender studies, sociology of health and medicine, sociology of development and so on. Sociologist has a major role to play with their knowledge on society in the proud of development and nation building.

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### **3.6 Check your Progress**

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1. Research is an integral part of teaching. Discuss.

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2. Explain development of sociology in the post- independence period.

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3. Discuss area of specialisation of the sociology subject.

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### **3.7 References**

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### **3.8 Questions**

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1. Briefly described the teaching of sociology and social anthropology in the colonial period.
2. Explain the progress of sociology as a discipline taught in these post graduate and undergraduate courses in this post-independence period.
3. Discuss the different area of research under taken by sociologists in these post independence period.
4. Write a short note on specialization on sociology .

## Contribution of Indian Sociologist

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Writing of Ghurye
- 4.3 Approaches of Ghurye
- 4.4 Six broad areas of Ghurye
- 4.5 The Historical : Evolutionary approaches in Ghuryes writing
- 4.6 Ghurye as an institution builder
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Check your progress
- 4.9 References
- 4.10 Questions

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### 4.0 Objectives

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To bring awareness among students regarding differences in Indian caste, tribes and races, metropolitan cities and small villages.

To acquaint students with Ghuryes as a prolific writer.

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### 4.1 Introduction – G. S. Ghurye

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Ghurye's broad area of interest was the general process of evolution of culture in different civilization in general and in Indian (Hindu) civilization in particular. The origin and subsequent proliferation of the different varieties of Indo-European civilizations constitute the range of Ghurye's study. The range is wide indeed. As two principal branches of Indo-European people subsequently prospered in India (the Indo-Aryans) and Europeans (the Anglo-Saxons, for example), he has shown wide similarities between these two people as regards the two principal institutions, viz the family and the caste. Not only this, a host of other things also came within Ghurye's range of interest. Rajput architecture and funerary monuments, Shakespeare and Kalidasa, castes, tribes

and races, metropolitan cities and small villages. He says each and every bit of his writings is fortified with facts so that the readers can make his own conclusion.

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## **4.2 Writing of Ghurye**

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The present writer is, however, of the opinion that there is a central theme underlying all the diverse writings of Ghurye. The theme is a very broad one it is the theme of acculturation that goes on and on since the time of arrival of the Vedic Aryan in India. Indian society through its long historical process of growth, presents a picture of a vast mosaic of culture held together by religion, values and norms of Hinduism. As a sociologist, Ghurye feels the imperative of exploring this unifying and synthesizing process. In spite of many diversion (which will be discussed later on), exploration and analysis of the process of culture unity in India through ages constitutes the major thrust of Ghurye's writing.

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## **4.3 Two approaches of Ghurye**

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In describing Ghurye, two approaches may be approximated. First, one may divide the entire range of Ghurye's writing into a number of broad themes and analyze each of these items showing how Ghurye discussed the institutions and processes. As the following unit will reveal a thematic analysis of Ghurye's writing is an imperative necessity to assess him properly. In fact despite some of interesting diversions, Ghurye's major writings have been arranged thematically. Thus caste, tribes, family and kinship, culture and civilization, religious institution, social tensions etc have been separately analyzed in the body of this unit. An attempt has also been made to explain not only the thoughts of writing of Ghurye but also to make a critical assessment of them vis-à-vis contemporary sociological thinking and researches obviously, the present author tried to be as much as analytical as possible in accepting or confuting Ghurye's contributions.

Secondly, the question whether Ghurye's writings can be divided into different phases is also relevant here. The question is important because Ghurye was a prolific writer and had written for more than sixty years. We know that there are writers who have change their opinion and even approaches in different phases of their life. Harde Laski, for example, possessed an acute, an analytical and receptive mind and one is to take into consideration the different phases of life in order to analyze his thoughts.

### **G.S Ghurye (1893 - 1984):**

#### **Life:**

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye *is* a major figure in the intellectual and

academic area in India. Due to his unique contribution in the field of Indian sociology, he is called as the Father of Indian sociology. He was born in December 1893. However he never studied sociology as a subject *either* in his school or college. Infact, he was a scholar in Sanskrit and ancient religious books have played a major role in the development of his ideas in the field of sociology. He passed his graduation from the renowned Elphinstone *College*. The intellectual environment in the *college created a paradox in his* young mind. The paradox was between the knowledge of European history which emphasized on his college and his own interest in the heritage of Indian history which he admired through the studies of ancient religious text.

It was this type of heritage on one side and interest in contemporary social questions. On the other, that, Ghurye *entered into the field of sociology*. Ghurye and his colleagues like K.M Kapadia, Iravati Karve and many others devoted themselves into understanding social institution and practices.

Ghurye did his Phd. from The Cambridge University, where he was greatly influenced by Prof. Riverse. It was under his guidance, that, Ghurye came to the conclusion that “The Anthropological approach to Sociology was the most appropriate one.” During that time he wrote papers like Dual organisation of Society in Indian ad Ethnic theory of Caste. He was of the opinion that Sociology was nothing but, the past history of mankind. After he returned to India, he became the head of the department of Social Bombay University in 1924 and he also became a guide for many *M.A* and Phd. students. He devoted his entire life towards writings on matters of sociological concerns through papers and articles.

### **Work and Writings:**

The few broad areas that have been identified in Ghurye’s writings are;

1. Castes.
2. Tribes.
3. Kinship.
4. Culture and Civilisation.
5. Religion.
6. Sociology of Conflict and Integration.
7. Family and Marriage.

**Caste:** Ghurye’s important contribution is in the field of Caste. His book “Caste and Race in India is a pioneer book on India’s social stratification. His ideas on caste includes cross cultural prospective and evaluation of caste from pre-vedic period to present day.

**Tribes:** He coined the term Hinduization to refer to changes in the tribal society. He called the tribes as backward hindus.

**Kinship:** He has done extensive work in the field of family and kinship, Indo-european culture, sexual behavior of American females, "Gotra" and so on.

**Culture and Civilisation:** His focus was on ancient civilisation and the process of centralization & the process of Acculturation and also civilization of the different societies other than India.

**Religion:** Evolution of Hindu religion, Indian sadhus, vedic India were also special areas of his interest.

**Conflict and Integration:** Since he was a sociologist, he never lacked interest in the process of integration between the different groups in the country.

#### **WRITINGS:-**

- Caste and Race in India (1932)
- Indian Sadhus (1953)
- Bharatnatyam and its costume (1958)
- Family and Kinship in Indo-European culture (1955)
- Social tensions in India (1968)

Ghurye was interested in various topics i.e. from Shakespeare to Sadhus, from Art and Architecture to Folk Sods and Goddesses, from Family and Marriage to Race and Religion. He left a deep impact on various aspects of society which we now call as culture.

His analysis of social institutions is based on the Sanskrit literature, specially of the pre-vedic and during the vedic periods. Because of his background in Sanskrit and knowledge of anthropological orientation of sociology. There are 3 prominent words which are featured in Ghurye's writings. These are - Diffusion, Acculturation and Integration. The diffusionists are the ones who believe that most of the culture traits originate at the center and are borrowed by others.

Acculturation refers to those phenomenon which occurs when people of different cultures come into continuous contact with each other resulting in change/ changes in their original pattern by one or both of them.

Integration is bringing together people from across the society in order to maintain peace and harmony which is essential for the growth of society.

His pioneering work in the field of the caste system is known as the "Brahminical" approach in contrast to the dalit approach. According to

him. In India, races were of 6 types, which were based on region rather than cast or community, they are;

- Indiarayan type.
- Pre-dravidian type.
- Dravidian type.
- Western.
- The Mundas.
- Mongoloids.

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#### **4.4 Six Broad Areas of Ghurye are as follows**

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We have divided the whole range of Ghurye's writing into a number of broad themes. The classification has not always been a neat one, sometimes a little bit of description had to be used but this enabled us to arrange more systematically Ghurye's ideas. Thus six broad areas have been located in Ghurye's writing. These are: 1] caste, 2] tribes, 3] kinship, family and marriage, 4] culture, civilization and the historical role of cities, 5] religion and 6] sociology of conflict and integration. Besides these, there are a number of important writing of Ghurye which could not be fitted into the above scheme. These spill over have been taken up in the book entitled 'Society, change and other writings'. It is believed that this arrangement of Ghurye's writing will enable us to present a coherent and systematic analysis of his ideas.

Of these, caste constitutes an area of foremost importance in Ghurye's writings. It includes a cross-cultural perspective as well as the evolution of the institution in India from the earliest Vedic period to the present day.

Ghurye's discussion on tribes is important not only because he vehemently opposed Elvzin's theory of 'isolationism' but also because he presents his own thesis of the 'Hinduization' of the tribes with the help of authentic data. Described by others as the process of 'Aryanization', 'sanskritization' or 'tribe- caste continuum', the process has been widely corroborated by sociological researchers and Ghurye makes a serious attempt to establish this thesis. Ghurye's interest in kinship studies dates back from his association with Rivers. Since then he has been engaged in writing continuously in the sphere of kinship, marriage and family. As a sociologist following the historical and evolutionary approach, study of the evolution of culture and civilization in different societies in general and in Indian society in particular constitutes a point of depart were for Ghurye.

Basically, Ghurye was a sociologist of Hindu religion. And this stems from his wide and extensive knowledge of Sanskrit and Indology. This,



at the same time, leaves one pondering if Ghurye's writings constitute a part of Indology or sociology. The position we have taken is that though there are many things of Indological interest in Ghurye's writings his discussion on the process of evolution of Hindu religion has got many sociological insights and should promote further research in this field. As a sociologist, he has 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 the time he wrote *Caste and Race in India* in 1932 and *the Aborigines – so – called – and their Future* in 1943.

There are many other fields which have attracted Ghurye's attention. His analysis, with the help of empirical data and field study, of the process of emergent social change in rural societies has attracted wide attention. *After a Century and a Quarter* (1960) and *Anatomy of a Rural urban community* (1963) are the outcome of such interest. In a few articles and in last two chapters of his book *Cities and Civilization* (1962), Ghurye has also discussed the changes occurring in an urban and industrial situation. Again, his discussion on the 'sartorial habits' of the Indian people is a pioneering work by an Indian sociologist and *The Indian Custom* (1952 – 1966) and *Bharatnatya and its custom* (1958) are of interest from this standpoint. His knowledge in the field of art and architecture is revealed in his *Rajput Architecture* (1968) and *Social Tensions in India* (1968). He had also discussed the 'Evolution of Knowledge Systems' in India in his *Vidyas* (1957) which he claims to be a part of sociology of knowledge. This small book is a homage paid to come on the occasion of his death centenary. Narain has rightly commented. "That an Indian Sociologist was mindful of this event in itself remarkable.

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#### **4.5 The Historical – Evolutionary Approach in Ghurye's writings**

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The range of Ghurye's interest in encyclopedia, from Shakespeare to Sadhus, from art and architecture to folk goods and goddesses, from sex and marriage to race relations – Ghurye had made his peregrination, took interest in and left his mark on the multiple aspects of what may broadly be called "culture". The time span and the area which he covers in process is equally impressive. His abiding interest is in the course of world civilization in general and in Hindu civilization in particular. While discussing the major civilization which have originated and operated outside India, he has covered the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian civilization and also the subsequent evolution of this civilization in Europe. But Ghurye's special point of interest is in the evolution of the Indo-Aryan Civilization.

Ghurye has been concerned not merely with the past evolution of Indian society and culture but also with its present tensions and problems. He is very much disturbed over the fact that the 'oldest civilization of the world' is showing signs of fissures and cracks. As early as in 1932, while analyzing the operation of caste in India, Ghurye discussed the changes brought about in the institution of caste by British rule. That was a sharp departure from the current ethnological orientation of anthropological literature and it was not received well by the academic community. His second major work, 'The Aborigines – so – called – and their Future' was largely devoted to the problem of the integration of the tribes into larger Hindu society. It was related with the problem of nation-building in future India. Three other books viz. Social Tension in India, Whither India and India Recreates Democracy, his 'trilogy on Indian political society'.

Dumont and Pocock observed: "In our opinion, the first condition for a sound development of a sociology of India is found in establishment of the proper relation between it and classical Indology.... It should be obvious, in principle that the sociology of India lies at the point of confluence of sociology and Indology". From this perspective, Dumont himself, in his home, Hierarchicus, has built up a model of competitive ritual hierarchical system. Dumont's basic postulates and conclusion have been widely criticized, but there is no doubt about his original contributions in the fields of Indian Sociology.

Profound knowledge of Sanskrit literature provided Ghurye's force. One finds an unmistakable evidence of this phenomenon in all of Ghurye's writings. Ghurye said to the present author: "Throughout my life as a sociologist, I have always tried to use my knowledge in Sanskrit literature in all its branches to enlighten the past history.

I am a firm believer that whoever wants to do sociology of India in particular must have a through grounding in Sanskrit Literature'. Knowledge of classical texts and contact with Rivers directed Ghurye to make research on the early social institution and civilization history of India. The interest was more argued by the MA syllabus of Bombay University which included papers on civilizational history.

Thus, Sanskritic and Indological background and anthropological orientation of sociology provide the three prominent intellectual stands in Ghurye's writings. And all these approaches have been trained admirably fitted into his evolutionary framework. Pillai says, "One wonders what would have been the course of sociology in India if Ghurye has not been trained in anthropology and Sanskrit at the same time. He put a bold close relation between Indology and Sociology, and

stood against any segregation between social anthropology and sociology.

It would be wrong to say that Ghurye was not aware of theoretical formulation of the functionalist school. But functionalism, according to Ghurye, is based on unsound premises. One cannot understand the present without reference to the past. Functionalism gives too much importance on the present and ignores the relevance of historical evolution. Ghurye says: "Functionalism is against diffusionism and that fails to give you a historical background. Function cannot be explained without reference to history". Further he says; "I have not very much cared to follow Redcliffe-Brown because he was a functionalist near to Rivers" method combines both functional and specific.

But the significance of the 'functionist revolution' in the sphere of sociology cannot be denied. A sociologist's task is to understand the present day organization and the past is relevant only to the extent it serves this goal. Functionalism provides a theoretical formulation which corrected the exaggerated conception of history propounded by the diffusionists. In spite of its many limitations it has certainly helped us to understand social organization and functioning in a better way. Srinivas has indicated how when he was collecting data on the Coorgs under guidance of Ghurye, he was acting like a conjectural historian and a collector of discrete ethnological facts without being able to integrate them into a meaningful framework. Ghurye's failure was that he refused to take into consideration the significance of later theoretical development in the field of sociology.

A. R. Desai, whom the present author met to ask about Ghurye's supported the broad, theoretical formulation then strong in Great Britain Evolutionism was the main tenet at that time Comte, Durkheim, Hobbes and others were the main personalities in the field of sociology subject. Sociologists were not only concerned with such macro aspects as culture, civilization, laws of history, progress etc. Ghurye discusses the role which the Indo-Aryans and particularly the Brahmins, the most intelligent and energized group among them, played in maintaining cultural unity in India. He shows that caste system as it emerged in India is a "Brahmanic child" originating from the Brahmanic practice of endogamy, an institution which was intended to maintain the 'racial purity' of Brahmins. He shows that gotra organization is essentially Brahmanic in origin. It emerged in India among the Brahmins and that some of the Brahmanic institutions gave birth to it, viz., the earlier system of family exogamy prevalent among them, the 'sapinda' rules, the cult of the human community, etc. Again the three supreme Gods in Hindu religion Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are the creations of Brahmanic mythology. The ultimate

emergence of the complex of five deities, viz. Surya, Shiva, Vishnu, Devi and Ganesha is the result of the 'syncretic endeavors' of the Brahmins. This constitutes Ghurye's theme of analysis in two of his books. Finally, the leadership which the Brahmins have given in rejuvenating Hinduism in crisis period, their role in spreading Hinduism among others- all these lead one to the conclusion that cultural unity in Hinduism may, in India, is essentially the result of the Brahmanic endeavour.

The question is, how could the Brahmins, who constitutes so small portion of population could spread their influence and their cultural organization among others? The process is a fascinating one and Ghurye calls this the process of acculturation.

When the Indo-Aryans came to India, there were no castes among them – there were only their well defined status groups. Gradually, the Brahmins set themselves apart from others and made a virtual monopoly of priest craft. They included the indigenous people as dasas or shudras and gave them a very low status. They projected a very high image of them in society. Ultimately, the Brahmins were crystallized into castes into castes when they prescribed endogamy for them. All these occurred when the Indo – Aryans were confined to Northern India. Hence, Ghurye says, caste in India is a Brahmanic child, cradled in the land of Ganga and Yamuna and then transferred to other parts of the country. Brahmanic practice of endogamy gave birth to a full-fledged caste system. And, the process through which these Brahmanic ideas were accepted by others is termed as the process of acculturation by Ghurye. The immense prestige and social superiority of the Brahmins. Led other groups to initiate the Brahmins, Brahmanical practice of endogamy.

So far as the development of sociology in India is concerned we can make a division between the three distinct stages of its development. The first concerns the period from 1773 – 1900, when there emerged a definite tendency to analyze the functioning of various social institutions in a scientific manner. Many attempts were made at this period to study society in an empirical and positivistic manner and to core the functioning of various social institutions. The Asiatic society in Calcutta, for example encouraged such type of empirical research.

“The department (of Anthropology at the University of Lucknow) and the students who passed out of it to spread out into the far corners of the country, like his earlier pupils, are the greatest contributions Majumdar has made to Indian Anthropology. Nowhere is the statement more applicable than in the case of Ghurye. Ghurye's students are the greatest proof of Ghurye's contribution. The present author interviewed M.N. Srinivas, A.R. Desai, Neera Desai, Y.B. Danle, Ramkrishna

Mukherjee, Dharendra Narain, J.V. Ferreira and Andre Beteille on the contribution of Prof. G.S. Ghurye.

Ghurye, as a reader, took charge of the Department of Sociology in 1924. He was appointed as Professor in 1934. He retired in 1959, after 35 years of continuous teaching. But he did not cease to be academically active after retirement from services. His last research student submitted thesis in 1971. During these about 50 year span, he supervised as many as 80 theses. Of these, 40 theses have been published as books. Between 1959 (when he retired) and 1970, 14 of these students got Ph.D. degrees, a feat which may not be possible for a sociologist during his entire life. Many of these theses have been highly original and acknowledged internationally. The present author met Ghurye when he was 86 years old and found him remembering the name, place of origin and research topic of each of his research students. This was indicative of the importance which he gave to research work.

As a teacher, Ghurye was very serious and meticulous in preparing his lecture notes. Many of his students have testified that his lectures were heavily documented. The academic seriousness with which Ghurye prepared his lectures notes can be testified by the fact that many of his subsequent books were based on the materials which he collected for his class lectures. Family and Kin in Indo – European culture, cities and civilization, Occidental Civilization, Sexual Behaviour of the American Female are the examples Ghurye sincerely believed that the greatest reward of a teacher lies in the academic success of his students both inside and outside the class. Srinivas says “Ghurye looks trouble over the preparation of his lectures but I found them dull and repetitions”.

Ghurye does not reflect much awareness of the modern western sociologists; many notable sociologists have acted as the external referees of the Ph. D theses of his students. Thus, Merton, Maclver, Parsons, Mandel Baum, Ogburn, Serokin, and others have acted frequently as examiners of the research theses of many of his students.

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#### **4.6 Ghurye as an Institution Builder**

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Ghurye's own nature and personality does not make him quite fit as an institution – builder. Ghurye gave highest priority to academic values and chaired the University Department of Sociology for 35 years helped him to create and sustain some academic institution.

Establishment of the Indian Sociological Society in 1952 and the publication of the bi-annual sociological Bulletin as its official journal.

During this long span of his fifteen years association with the 'Bulletin' Ghurye published many special matters of sociological import and most important, made it a serious academic journal.

### **Segmental Division of Society**

If the Rampura villagers relation with the external environment was mediated through agriculture his relations with other human beings was mediated through caste. But it was caste in the sense of jati, the small local endogamous group and not in the sense of broad all India category of Varna. One of the first questions asked of a visitor was about his jati, and the villagers regarded that bit of information as essential in order to learn about his occupation, diet and life- style. How they behaved towards him also depended to some extent on his jati.

Every caste has a traditional occupation and the various caste of a region were mutually dependent. The fact that money played a minimal role in the traditional economy of the village helped to stress the interdependence of the members of different castes and classes. A townsman like me could not help being impressed, even in 1948, at the popularity of barter in the internal economy of the village linked to this was the villagers; at least the older villagers attitude to cash.

Among the Hindu castes, at the annual festival of Gowri (the wife of Shiva and the mother of Ganesha), the tools used in the hereditary occupation were worshipped. The festival came soon after the end of the hectic period of sowing and transplanting rice and the tools deserved the thanks of those who had used them. The next hectic period came at least a hundred days later when the ripe crop was ready for harvesting.

While occupational specialization resulted in the interdependence of castes, hierarchical ideas, especially as expressed in endogamy and the restrictions on inter-dinning, emphasized their separation from each other. Hypergamous ideas did occur in southern Mysore as elsewhere but they were not elaborated as in Kerala, Gujarat, Rajasthan, or in nineteenth century Bengal. Caste endogamy was the rule, and until the thirties the smallest local jati was usually the unit within which marriage occurred. This was particularly true of the lower castes. But during the forties, and more especially during the post-Independence years, marriage increasingly ignored the smallest sub division within the main jati.

The maintenance of the separateness of castes and of the structural distance between them was achieved through the idea of purity and pollution. A caste was pure in relation to a lower caste and impure in relation to a higher. The higher castes was prohibited from accepting cooked food or drinking water from the lower, let alone have connubial relations with it. In extreme cases, as between a Brahmin and Harijan, a minimum physical distance had to be maintained.

## Hierarchy

The idea of hierarchy was present everywhere. Each man belonged to a caste which formed part of a system of ranked castes. Particular elements of culture such as diet, occupation and custom and ritual were distinguished as higher and lower diet, and superior as well as inferior occupations. Animals, vegetables, plants, grain, timber and fuel were also dismissed as 'Kilu jati' (lower jati).

A peasant, for instance would cite a proverb commenting on the unreliability of the Smiths (Waja nanna Magana aju goju), and another criticizing the interminable disputations of the Shepherds. A shepherd, on the other hand, mentioned a saying about Peasants that the money earned by them was squandered in paying fines presumably to caste or village assemblies.

However, castes were not the only area for the expression of hierarchical ideas. Land ownership patterns were inegalitaria in as much as there were a few big land owners at the top, each of whom owned a sizeable quantity of land while at the bottom were a large number of landless labourers. In between were small land owners many of whom were also tenants, and they were followed by tenants. Many tenants hired themselves out as labourers during transplantation and harvesting.

A rich land owner commanded prestige just as a poor landless labourer excited in the more fortunate either pity or contempt. The former had also the capital to invest money in profitable enterprises. Typically, a rich land owner lived in a substantial house with an open, central courtyard, and was creditor to a large number of people while a landless labourer lived in a tiny hut or on the Verandah of someone's house. He had to borrow money from others to survive but he was such a poor risk that it was very difficult for him to find a creditor.

The view of caste as a ladder like hierarchy expressed in Varna prevents the understanding of jati which is basically local. While uncertainty as to mutual rank is a marked characteristic of the middle regions of the jati system, it is not restricted to them. Even the popular idea that the Brahmins occupy the top position in the hierarchy needs to be modified. Brahmins are not a single homogeneous group but an energeties of similar yet different jatis. For instance, a large number of castes, including of course other Brahmins, will not accept food or water handled by the Marka Brahmins (also know as Hale Karnataka).

It is significant that the Kulvadi coming from the oppressed jati of Holeyas should have taken it upon himself to punish the smith. And the offending smith was no ordinary person- he was an outsider and town-dweller, and had lent money to a few leading lights of Kere. But the

Kulavadi ignored all this and looked upon him as a member of the 'Left Hand' group who had no right to take on the symbols of the high castes in the 'Right-Hand' group. It gave him an opportunity to punish a member of a higher caste.

The women who were honored by the headman were the Rama priest's wife, the unmarried daughter of the Brahmin post master, and three smith wives. I was surprised to find that the Smith wives were included among those honored I could not help recalling a dispute which had taken place in a satellite village of Kere many years ago in which a peasant had been punished by the village elders for allowing a young girl from a friendly smith family to take part in a wedding procession in his household. Along with peasants wives, this girl had carried a Kalasa ( a metal vessel filled with water and its mouth stoppered with a coconut, and with betel or mango leaves stuck between the inner rim of the vessel and coconut). A Kalasa was regarded as sacred; and worshipped.

### **Purity and Pollution**

The distinctness of each caste and its distance from the others were maintained, in the last resort, by appeal to certain sanctions. Thus those who violated the rules governing the acceptance of cooked food between caste, or the rule of caste endogamy, were punished by the concerned caste council. Perhaps more important was the effect of the rule of pollution and purity which were instilled in people from their earliest years. Children were taught these rules in the household, kin group, neighbourhood and in their travels and the pilgrimages, folktales and songs, disputes, and ordinary talk contained references to pollution and purity.

The settlement pattern of the village took note of the need to keep caste distinct though this was an ideal only insufficiently realized in practice. It may be recalled here that the village shifted from its original site on the southern embankment of the Big Tanked to its present site in 1874 (Circa) and perhaps the Presidential pattern of the old village could not be totally carried into the need.

Only some Muslims visited to harijan ward freely. This was perhaps why the headman always sent messages to his harijan worker though one or other of his Muslim clients, Kareem, Nasser and Imamu. It was significant that Muslim houses were interposed between the harijan and the caste Hindu houses.

Contact between different castes was regulated by the related ideas of pollution and purity and 'contact' was defined culturally. Thus traditionally an orthodox Brahmin considered himself impure (i.e. polluted). If he was very near a harijan even though physical contact did



not occur. But similar proximity did not result in pollution in the case of some other caste. The structural distance between different castes varied, and traditionally, each caste knew literally where it stood in relation with other.

Contact had to be forbidden or regulated between castes in such other matters as accepting drinking water and cooked food, having sexual relationships, giving or taking girls in marriage, in an ascending order of seriousness. Two other types of contact need to be mentioned because they were looked upon as serious: beating another person with leather sandals or spitting upon him, acts which resulted in the person beaten or spat on being outcasted automatically.

Generally, when a pure person or object came into contact with an impure person, the latter communicated this impurity to the former and not vice versa. A purificatory rite was essential to restore the lost purity and that rite was simple and inexpensive, or complex and costly, depending on the gravity of the impurity.

Population purity concepts were more pervasive and systematized among the Brahmins than the others, the next to them were Lingayats, but as I have stated earlier, in religious matters the richer peasant and other tried to emulate the Brahmins or Lingayats or both. The existence of two sects, the Vaishnavas and other Shivites, among the non-Brahmin castes relevant in this context. The Dasayats, who were Vyaishnavas and Jogayats who were Shivites, were both medicinal priest and they were to be found among a variety of non-Brahmin castes including Harijans. Recruitment to the order was in theory voluntary though in actual fact family tradition played an important part in recruitment. In families which had a tradition of supplying recruits at least one member from each generation was persuaded to join the order. Dasayats were initiated by Shri Vyashna (Iyengar) gurus while Jogayats were initiated by Lingayat gurus. Both types of gurus had links with the monasteries of their respective orders.

In short both Dasayats and Jogayats were instruments for the greater Sanskritization of the ritual of their respective families and local sections of their castes. Dasayats drew on the Shri Vyaishnav model of Sanskritization. While the Jogayats drew on the Lingayat model.

Generally, the members of each caste had a temple of their own, the priesthood of the temple being vested in a particular lineage. But (the association of a caste with a temple did not mean that worshippers were only drawn from it). The eldest son of the man holding the priesthood succeeded to the office after his father's death. Such a priest was termed

Gudda, and the other was some variability from temple to temple, in the duties of the Gudda.

In some temple the gudda was required only to open the temple doors once a week or so and light the lamps. Sometimes he had in addition, an active role at the elaborate, periodical festival of the deity. But whatever the duty was a gudda was expected to lead a strict life than a lay man. A Gudda, who was a vegetarian, or meticulous about the observance of pollution and diet rules, was singled out for praise by the villagers just as a lay gudda was criticized.

Again, the other villagers generally were more poised than the younger. The difference in age frequently also inflected difference in exposure to education and to urban and political forces. Thus the younger, school educated and politically conscious peasant youths were inclined to be distanceful of pollution rules. They were also critical of the older leaders' piety and contrasted it with their unethical conduct.

The Harijans deserve a separate section if only because they were treated differently from every other group in ritual matters. They were not allowed to worship in caste Hindu temples or draw water from caste Hindu wells. (Muslims were allowed to use Hindu wells). They were also excluded from using the big tank and only the canals taking off from it were permitted to them. It was all right for water to flow from the high caste Harijans but not the other way about.

Certain indispensable services were provided by the Harijans to the village community as a whole. Caste was recognized as a basic unit for administrative purpose by the pre-British rulers and this continued even under the British. Thus Brahmins were appointed as accountants (Shanbhog), land owners from the locally dominant caste as headman (Patil), village servants (Chakra) from Harijans. Chakra had been given land by the government as payment for the services they rendered. Chakrahood was hereditary like other offices and the amount of land which was given to the original appointer had been divided through successive portions into minuscule bits among present holders of the office. The main duties of the Chakra's were to assist the accountant and headman in the collection of land taxes, and act as messenger and town criers at village festival and other important occasions.

### **Muslims**

Muslims were the 3<sup>rd</sup> biggest group in the village and they had close economical and social relations with Hindus. The Muslims appeared as a homogenous group to outsiders, and this was enhanced by the absence of any restriction on intermarriage between their various subgroups. Such an appearance was however, deceptive as such groups

endogamy was preferred though not mandatory. Future, the sub group formed a hierarchy, the Sheikhs and the Sayydas regarding themselves as superior to other. It was significant that neither group ate bech, while the dayiri pronounced dhare did. The (greatly respected coz of age) Venerable Luking Hakim Sab told me that 'eating cow was like eating one's mother'. Hakim sab was extremely hierarchical in his outlook and had no hesitation in dubbing people high or low caste. I asked him why a young girl Mamusab's house was wearing a headband he replied "it is not among us but only among low caste people.

As among Hindus, land owning household had a higher status than the others. If this was combined a long period of staying Rampura, that enhanced the status further. Those households which had a house and some land in the old village enjoyed special esteem in the eyes of the villagers.

Land seemed even more precious for Muslims than for the others as only a few of them could be included even among the second level land owners. A good many Muslims were engaged in trade and commerce while a few others provided certain services and skills absent among Hindus. The fact that Muslims were prominent in non-agricultural activities drew adverse criticisms from Peasants who thought that only agriculture was real work. According to the latter, Muslims made their living by gilitu (corruption of 'gilt', meaning polish rather than substance) and thus escaped the need to do hard work. Being poor and economically dependent the goodwill of the Peasant landowners, Muslims had to be respectful to their patrons and this again was interpreted as an attempt to escape hardwork by seeking the support of powerful men. It was true that unlike the poorer Hindus Muslims, by and large, preferred trade and commerce to working as jita labourers and this was because they were less ties to the land and had to be on the lookout for other opportunities presented by trade and commerce.

Muslims were also socially dependent on the Hindus and in particular on the leaders of the dominant caste. They were certain that the headman, Nandu Gowda and others could be relied upon to protect them from local harassments and indignities. According to one informant, Rampura Muslims were spilt into three factions, and there was little communication between the factions. Any disputes among Muslims, including disputes among close kindred, had to be settled by Peasants.

While relations between individual Muslims clients and their Hindu patrons was one of trust, the relations between Hindus and Muslims as distinct groups were marked occasionally by suspicion. And this war largely due to the forces operating in the wider society especially during

the critical years of 1946 – 1948 when the country was repeatedly shaken by the riots and violence which both preceded and followed the partition of the sub-continent into the two sovereign states of India and Pakistan. Sometime in 1946 there had been a communal riot in Chhannapatna town (to the north-east) resulting in the migration of several Muslims into Rampura (the riots had resulted into the brutal murder of a poor Hindu school master and this was known to some villagers). The more politically conscious villagers occasionally expressed their suspicious about the loyalty to India of some of the immigrants. A few shepherd youth employed in a Bangalore mill visited Rampura during Ugadi, the New Year festival, and they narrated with pride their role in a communal fight which had broken out in Bangalore in 1947. One of them told me that initially the Muslims had the better of the exchanges but this has been reversed later.

The Indo – Pakistani conflict over Kashmir began in December 1947 and continued into 1948. The bloody and bitter communal riots of north India had resulted in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30 January 1948. While Gandhiji's martyrdom brought Hindus and Muslims together the events preceding it did not the marching of Indian troops in no time. The Nizam was the world's richest man and he had a great army. Khwaja had only a picture of Mr. Jinnah the founder of Pakistan, in his shop, and none of either Gandhi or Nehru. After the successful police action in Hyderabad, he was reported to have gone on a fast.

Before and during the movement of troops into Hyderabad, some younger Peasants became excited at the attitude of Khwaja and few other whom they considered to be pro – Pakistan. They believed that Muslims discussed political matters regularly after the Friday prayer at the mosque. The discussions were said to be anti – Indian in intent. Local Muslims were also supposed to be receiving advice regularly from their co-religionists in the cities.

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#### **4.7 Summary**

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The development of social sciences corresponds with the development of modern industrialism, capitalism in Europe. Ghurye studied the society in a scientific manner. His aim was to make sociology not only as a professional or academic discipline. It was also deeply concerned with the issue of relevance which was closely connected with the nationalist ideology and cultural reform movement.

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**4.8 Check your progress**

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1. Describe Ghurye's range of interest.

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2. Elaborate the word acculturation since the time of arrival of the Aryan.

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3. What is indology?

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4. Explain culture introduced by Ghurye

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5. Discuss Dumont ideas on development of sociology in India.

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**4.9 References**

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**4.10 Questions**

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1. Discuss Ghurye's contribution to the Development of Sociology in India.
2. Discuss in detail Ghurye's contribution to the caste system in India.

## IRAVATI KARVE

- 5.0 Objective
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Writings of Iravati Karve
- 5.3 Kinship System
- 5.4 Joint family in India
- 5.5 Method of Investigation
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Check your Progress
- 5.8 References
- 5.9 Question

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### **5.0 Objectives**

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To acquaint students with the contributions of Iravati Karve in Indian Sociology.

To bring awareness among students different types of Joint Family system and kinship systems.

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### **5 .1 Introduction**

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Iravati Karve was born in 1905 in Burma. She completed her formal education in Pune. She also did her masters degree in Sociology from the Pune University in 1928. In 1930 Iravati Karve acquired her doctorate in Anthropology from Berlin. She joint the Deccan College in Pune as the head of the department of sociology and anthropology.

She was greatly responsible for the development of sociology as an academic subject in the Deccan college. She contributed greatly both the subject of sociology and anthropology (research of culture). Hence, she is regarded as a sociologist as well as a anthropologist.

She had a great support in her academic activities from her family. She was daughter-in-law of the great social reformer 'Maharshi Karve'

## **Work of Iravati Karve:**

### **Caste and Kinship organisation:**

#### **a) Characteristics of Caste system:**

Iravati Karve has done significant research on the caste system - Iravati Karve has done significant research on the caste system and she came to the conclusion that castes are ranked in a certain order, there is caste endogamy, distribution over a definite region and hereditary occupation are generally found all the country.

#### **b) Kinship organizations In India:**

Iravati Karve lists down 4 zones on the basis of kinship pattern in India, they are;

- Northern Zone - includes whole of the northern India and languages like Punjabi, Sindhi, Hindi, Bihar, Bengali, Assamese and Pahadi.
- Central Zone - includes languages like Rajasthani, Hindi, Oriya, Marathi and Gujarati.
- Southern Zone - includes languages like Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu and Tamil.
- Eastern Zone - includes languages like Mizo and other north-eastern states.

#### **c) Family system in India:**

When I. K. started her research, the joint family system was highly prevalent because agriculture was the main occupation of the people, and majority of them lived in villages. A joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof who eat food cooked in one kitchen, who hold property in common, participate in common family worship and are related to one another as some particular type of kindred.

I.K. was instrumental in popularizing two terms Patrilineal family and MatriKneal family. PF is found in almost whole of India where the eldest male member is the head of the family and the property is passed on from father to son. On the other hand, MF is found in some parts of the country where eldest female is the head of the family and property is passed from mother to daughter.

Iravati Karve was born on December 15, 1905 and died on August 11, 1970. She was an Indian anthropologist. She was born in Mynjan in Burma and was educated in Pune in India. She received her Masters degree in Sociology from Pune in 1928 and a doctorate in Anthropology from Berlin in 1930. She was the Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Deccan *College*, in Pune till her retirement. She wrote in Marathi and English on a wide variety of academic subjects - as well as on topics of general interest.

She was the daughter in law of Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve. Dinkar Karve, her husband was an educator. Her daughter, Gauri Deshpande made name for herself as a writer. She presided over the Anthropology Division of National Science Congress held in Delhi in 1947. She died in Pune of a heart attack in 1970.

**Some of her important books are;**

1. Kinship organisation in India (1953) - a study of various social institutions in India.
2. Hindu Society - an interpretation (1961) - a study of Hindu society based on data collected on her field trips and *her* study of various text in Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. She paid great attention to caste system and she discusses the existence of this phenomenon and traces its development to the present form.
3. Maharashtra - (1968) Land and People
4. Yuganta - It was a book, which studied the main characters of Mahabharat. By studying the characters she could understand to some extent their attitude, and behaviour and on the basis of this she tried to understand the set up of the Society during those days. It was originally written in Marathi and was later translated to English by Iravati herself. The book won the Sahitya academy award in 1968.
5. Other Marathi works include - Paripurti. Bhovara. Aamchi Sanskriti and Gangajal.

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## **5 .2 Writings of Iravati Karve**

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She has written the following book:-

Hindu Society and Interpretation

Kinship Organization in India

Maharashtra – Land of People

Yugant

She gave a lot of importance to research in sociology. According to her Indian culture was the foundation of the Indian Society. Hence, her Approach towards society was essentially anthropological in nature.

**Selected Work Of “Iravati Karve”:-** She has significantly contributed to family and kinship in India. She has particularly studied the Indian Joint family as a group of people who generally live under one roof, eat food cooked at heart, hold property in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular types of kindred. Thus, she has identified important characteristics of the joint family.



Common Residence  
 Common Kitchen  
 Common Property  
 Common Worship of God  
 Common Kin

Three things are absolutely necessary for the understanding of any cultural phenomenon in India. These are: the configuration of the linguistic regions, the institutions of caste and the family organization. Each of these three factors is intimately bound up with the other two and the three together give meaning and supply basis to all other aspects of Indian culture.

A language area is one in which several languages belonging to one language family are spoken. From the Himalayas in the north to the river Godavari in the South and from Karachi in the west to Gauhati in the east is a language area in which a majority of the languages spoken belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. The second language area extends roughly from the middle reaches of the river Godavari in the north to the southernmost tip of India and from a few miles east of the city of Sholapur in the west to a little north of Shrikakulam on the eastern coast of India.

The third language area belonging to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages does not represent, geographically, a solid contiguous block of territory, but is broken up by areas of the Indo-European and Dravidian languages. It consists of the forested area of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra, and of the tiny isolated area in the central Himalayan foot-hills and in the forests of central India.

The linguistic regions possess a certain homogeneity of culture, traits and kinship organization. The common languages make communication easy, sets the limits of marital connections and confine kinship mostly within the language region. Common folk-fines, kinship, folk-songs and common literature characterize such an area. This is inevitable as large numbers of people are illiterate and literary traditions are transmitted orally. Most of the devotional literature of medieval India developed this way. The Ramayana of Tulsidas and the stories of Alba and Udan are recited, sung or retold now in the villages of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The poetry of the Marathi saints is preserved in the memory of thousands of illiterate Marathi peasants and artisans. The same type of stories, songs and proverbs are met with over wider areas covering different regions acquired them from a common source or there are inter-regional agencies, which transmit this cultural material from one region to another.

Actually both these factors are at work and show us the interrelation of various regions and ultimately reveal the common fabric which we understand as Indian culture.

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### **5.3 Kinship System**

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The kinship terminologies of all the three language areas. It would have been possible and might have seemed more logical to divide the book into three parts dealing with these areas separately as 1] Indo – European or Sanskritic,

2] Dravidian and 3] Mundari organization of kinship. Instead, I have presented the kinship organization in a geographical sequence of 1] northern, 2] central, 3] southern and 4] eastern zone. This procedure was adopted deliberately to emphasize the spatial pattern and interrelation of the kinship organization and the linguistic division. Since the geographical distribution. Instead, I have presented the kinship organization in a geographical sequence of 1] northern, 2] central, 3] southern and 4] eastern zone. This procedure was adopted deliberately to emphasize the spatial pattern and interrelation of the kinship organization and the linguistic division. Since the geographical distribution and the linguistic divisions. Since the geographical distribution of different languages families in India is well known, here I have only tried to relate this configuration with another cultural phenomenon, the kinship organization.

A caste is, with very few exceptions, an endogamous group, confined to one linguistic region. Barring a few very large groups like the Marathas of Maharashtra and the Rajputs of Rajasthan, the number of people belonging to a caste ranges from a couple of 1000 to a couple of a 100 thousand. Endogamy and distribution over a definite are make caste members related to one another either by ties of blood or by ties of marriage. Therefore caste can be defined as an extended kin group. In Indian literature, both old and new, the words for caste are: jati, jade or kulam. Many castes having similar status and performing similar functions have names, one part of which may be common. Thus the castes, engaged in the work of a goldsmith have Sonar (worker in gold) as the common part of their names. In Maharashtra, for example there are the following distinct castes doing work in gold: Daivadnya Sonar, Ahir Sonar, Lad Sonar etc. Each of them is fully endogamous and occupies, within Maharashtra, a region slightly different from the other. In a village a man may describe his caste simply as Sonar, but further inquiry will bring out a fuller designation of the caste. This phenomenon has led older anthropology to assume one caste for every major occupation and to call the endogamous groups following one occupation “sub-

castes". The terms "caste" and "sub-caste" led to the belief that the groups called sub-castes were formed out of the bigger groups called castes.

In the above example it would mean that in Maharashtra there was originally one large "caste" called Sonar which in course of time and for varied reason spilt into smaller, mutually exclusive "sub-caste". This view introduces further complications when it is seen that in most linguistic regions such as UP, MP, Rajasthan and Gujarat, there are many sets of castes styling themselves. Sonar, similarly in every linguistic region of India there are priestly castes calling themselves some type of Brahmin. If the terminology "caste" and "sub caste" is retained the inevitable conclusion would be that originally for the whole country there was a Sonar caste and Brahmin caste which spilt into various Sonar and Brahmin "caste" and "sub-caste" either within the same region or between different region.

Endogamy distribution over a definite region and a hereditary occupation are thus characteristic of a caste as defined above. In addition castes are ranked in a certain order. Sometimes a whole caste cluster occupies a definite position in relation to other caste clusters. Even within the caste cluster there is generally a ranking the position and rank of a caste within a caste cluster as also in relation to other caste cluster is almost never agreed upon by all part of Indian social history in ancient and modern times is made up of such disputes.

The caste included in the 5<sup>th</sup> or panchama order where called in British "untouchable" and later "schedule caste". The word "untouchable" was translated in Indian Language e.g. "asprashya" (in Marathi) 'achuyut' (in Hindi) to denote those castes. They were not known by such a name in pre- British time. The aspect of untouchability was stressed by the British and later by the Indian reformists. This would have served well in drawing people's attention to the social injustices under which these castes have suffered. It is however and unfortunate word from the point of view of analysis and understanding of the institution of caste. Untouchability is a characteristic of the caste structure from top to bottom. A few decades back a Brahmin would have been polluted by the touch of any other castes. If he came in contact with person of other castes he had to take a bath to get rid of the pollution before he could take his food. Brahmin's touch was not polluting to the others; but any caste, coming in contact with others became polluted.

The Brahmin Varna included all castes which called themselves Brahmin of some sort. A few castes claim Brahminhood, but are not accorded with by the other Brahmin.

Castes which claim to be Kshatriyas, that is, warrior or ruling chieftans, belong to Kshatriya Varna. All the moder claimants to the rank try to trace their genea logies to the great heroes of Indian mythology. Where no such descent is established, an attempt is made to derive such castes from fire etc.

Vaishaya generally go by various names: Vani, Seti and Shetti. Their hereditary occupation is trade, commerce and shop keeping. Anybody doing the ritual work of a Brahmin generally claims to be a Brahmin. There have been however, at all times in India, well known ruling houses and trading people who did not belong Kshatriya or Vaishaya order the Shudra order made up of an extremely large number of caste clusters following various profession and includes chiefly food producers (agriculturists, fish, poke etc), artisian, the so-called service caste and others. The last order has been sometimes regarded as a sub order of Shudras. It consists of all castes which have many things to do it caste carcasses, removal of night soil and such other occupation. Their houses are always situated apart from the rest of the village and they touch is said to pollute all the other caste.

Caste from the shudra order try to rise to the higher orders especially that of the Kshatriya. Certain well established pattern of marriage and concubinage were known to exist between castes belonging to different Varnas. They will be considered later at the proper place.

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## **5.4 Joint Family in India**

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The 3<sup>rd</sup> important factor in Indian life is the family and by family is meant the joint family. In India joint family has endured for as long as any records exist. Even about 1000 BC in the time of Mahabharata was the joint family existed more or less as exists today. Earlier records of Sanskrit text called Brahmanas and Vedas justify the inference that the partiilinean, patrilocal joint family was in existence even then. Either the Muslim or the British rule was able to modify the structure of this most ancient institution of India. The industrial revolution and western technology introduced by British or gradually making in roads into the joint family and one does find in India, few e.g. of truly single family on the western model. However in great majority of cases it is still a larger or smaller joint family which one finds in India.

A joint family is a group of people who generally leave under one roof, who eat food cooked in one kitchen, who hold property in common, participate in common family worship and related to one another as some particular type of Kindred.

This definition of a joint family needs clarification necessitated by the expression “who generally live and eat together. Those people who subsisted solely by agriculture did as a matter of fact, live and eat together,” but in the case of other engaged in trade or where in armed forces or civil services, some members of the joint family might remain away from home for an indefinite period. A joint family has always refer to his ancestral seat or locality. However, humble an Indian might be he will always refer to his ancestral village as his home. As all service was payed for in land in ancient days, every Indian had a small family holding in same village and may just a strip of land or artisian, just a small house.

This connection of family with a locality lingers even after the family has finally migrated out of its village such family keep on worshipping of gods or other locality or come back, time and again to keep certain vows made to those gods.

Every existing joint family is a piece broken off from a larger unit. In a city or a village there may be even ten or 12 houses, each sheltering a joint family, and all acknowledging common decent and showing relationship though one male line. Very often, in such cases, one house is known as the ancient house and called the “great house” may shelter the family gods and therefore, all the people of the other houses may have to go there on certain occasion of common worship. A time comes when even these ties are broken and the off shots establish their own family gods in their own respective houses. In most Indian houses one corner of a room is given to the gods. This room however, whatever its other uses (as store-room, dinning room or kitchen) is often referred to as deoghar – the house of the gods. The northern family often breaks up at the deaths of the man who first founded it. He may be the father or a very vigorous grand father, who has succeeded in keeping together four generation of males. When such a family splits and there is a partition, it almost never splits into as many units as there are individuals families, but into smaller joint families made up of a man, his wife and children and a couple of younger brothers who wish to have his protection or who may not be old enough to take care of themselves. In such cases the family gods remain in the ancestral home with the senior branch of the family.

The northern family is strong in the unity of its men. This unity tends to break down because all the brides are from different houses. Also there is much rivalry among fathers and sons and among collaterals. In the southern matrilineal family there are no affinals i.e. relations by marriage. Sons may wish for a closer bond with the father, or a father may wish to secure property for his sons, but this is debarred by the

laws of inheritance. People brought up in a patrilineal house may think that life without fathers and husbands would be impossible, but it may not be so in actual practice. It is difficult to assess what the actual feelings of those who live in a tharwad are because these communities have been greatly affected by contact with powerful patrilineal communities and sometimes mirror the sentiments of the latter. A serious study of the human values evolved in matrilineal communities before they came into contact with other communities, or at least felt the urge to imitate them: must be made from their literature, folk-tales and songs and from studies of their personality development. On the face of it, the southern joint family does not have the internal stresses and strains which so often lead to the breaking of the northern joint family. Rivalries of brothers, wives and sister-in-law and mother-in-law do not seem to form a theme of the songs and proverbs of the matrilineal people. And yet a tharwad claiming descent from an ancestress breaks up into separate units.

Thus the joint family is a community in itself which provides a person with almost all physical and cultural necessities. A man born in a joint family in the northern zone has a very large number of playmates of his own generation. He may be with the mother during feeding times only. At other times he may be looked after by one or two aunts (father's brother's wives) or grandmothers (father's mother or father's father's brother's wives).

After marriage he may see his wife now and then moving and working with other young brides in the house. He ceremonially commences to live with her after she reaches puberty and then also his sexual lives regulated by the wishes of his mother and aunts. A man can speak to his wife only occasionally when young. When he grows up and has children, he may speak to her more often but even then direct address to her is forbidden by convention. He is fed and cared for by the women folk but his life is mostly spent in the world of men. The women have a joint life of their own in which adaption to other women, who also look after the older children, husband-wife relationship in such a household does not take up a primary position in one's life. In a patrilineal household a man does not have to change his ways of life or become a stranger to his old friends because he is married. The wife neither demands nor gets the all absorbing attention that she does in the Western household. The women have many new and far-reaching adaptations to make after her marriage but they are not in terms of a life of all absorbing passions of men and women. The loyalty to her husband is loyalty to the agnatic joint family of the husband. The question of divided loyalties arises only when the husband quarrels with his kin though women is often depicted

as the breaker of the joint family, not seldom does she bind together the elements which would otherwise fall out.

A joint family of this type is always an exciting group to live in. all the time something of interest is happening there. Now it is the marriage of a girl or a boy, now it is a initiation ceremony, the birth of a new baby, the purberty rites of a new bride, a particular family ritual, a fast, a feast and sometimes a death. The wide extent of the family always ensures the coming and going of guests. The brother of the bridges come to invite them to their mother's houses, the daughters of the house are being brought home for a family feast or wedding. There is always bustle and expectation, laughter and quarrels, discussion and plans. Life may be complicated, sometimes full of bitterness, always full of quarrels and petty jealousies but rarely dull, atleast from the point of view of the children.

In the alternative the caste may reject the new pattern and excommunicate the individual or the whole family for accepting it. In olden days excommunication was a terrible thing. A man was barred entrance into the house of a caste member, denied food or shelter and had to leave the village because the village always upheld the decision of the caste. The British government in India made it possible for the people to withstand the pressure of the caste because the first reformers were employed by government or semi-government agencies which were outside the jurisdiction of the caste or the village. Even so the caste could make its power felt. A few years ago in city of Sholapur in Maharashtra a rich man of Vaddars there is a taboo against women wearing bodies. They may wear rich saries or gold ornaments but must never wear a bodies or a blouse. The gentleman ordered his women folk wear these like the women of all the other caste. He and his were promptly excommunicated and after a few weeks of resistance they had to give up the innovation, make an abject apology and pay a heavy fine before they were admitted back into the fold. This happened before 1953. recently the same caste has made a new innovation by ordering its women folk to wear a blouse.

The present day cultural problems before India largely revolve round three entities – language, caste and family as the following example will show. The tendency is to minimize the differences and establish uniformities. Some people would much rather have a unitary state with one languages rather than a federation with many linguistic states. The new Indian state has abolished in law all privileges and discriminations connected with the caste system. It wishes to abolish the very metion of the word caste. The establishment of a uniform civil code for all citizens is a directive principal of the Indian constitution. So far a number of laws

have been passed which however apply only to Hindus and not to other. This action is contrary to the professions about a secular state, which has the task of governing a multicultural multireligious society.

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## **5.5 The Method of Investigation**

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In Maharashtra there is a group forming about forty percent of the population and made up of various interconnected castes called Maratha and Kunbi. The Marathas claim to be Kshatriyas or warriors and gradually the Kunbis are calling themselves process may be called. Marathization in the narrow sense. This group is at its strongest in central Maharashtra.

These are caste like the Mali (gardener), Nhavi (barbar), Parit (washerman), Mahar and Chambar (the lowest castes of hereditary village servants whose main work consists of removing dead cattle and skinning them). They also do other work like carrying messages, providing wood for cremation, etc. Some Brahmin castes like the Deshastha Rgvedi Brahmins are closely associated with the Marathas. On the other hand there are castes which do not allow cross-cousin marriage, but which are so far influenced by the common practice of the region that an occasional case of such a marriage is condoned. A minority of caste follows quite different practices as regards marriage. All these castes within one region could be arranged in two ways: 1] according to their connection with the main Maratha-Kunbi group, or 2] geographically i.e. according to the territory they occupy within the linguistic region.

The caste has its own modes of behaviour including those about marriage. Each caste goes on following its modes. There are no institutions like a central church or a common law to enforce certain pattern and yet people living together and speaking the same language tend gradually towards certain uniformities through imitation. Immigrant groups which come with their own gods' speech, marriage practices, etc. gradually adopt local gods, local speech and local customs. Thus over one linguistic region uniformities are found which justify the region being considered as a cultural region. One example of this type is worth recording Khandesi in the north western district of Maharashtra with a common northern boundary with Gujarat and MP. In north Khandesh there are agriculturists called Gujars. They marry among themselves and have no contacts beyond the border. Their men speak Marathi; their women do not speak it to well. The dress of the men is Marathi but among the women a very large number still dress in the central Indian way. Their rules of marriage are like those in North India. At the time the author visited the area an important meeting of the caste council was held in order to decide whether a young man wanting to marry his mother's



brother's daughter should be allowed to do so. After a debate lasting for two days it was allowed.

The modern situation however was that the higher, more educated and urbanized castes had given it up. A reference to past literature and present practices clearly showed the change which was coming over a society and also pointed out which groups were the most exposed to modern western contact and change and which of them were more resistant. The diachronic study of this type makes assessment of quality and direction of change and the identity of the affected groups possible. It shows the relationship of the, "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition". It also clarifies the environmental differences between the "urban and the rural".

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## 5.6 Summary

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Any study on Indian society and social institutions cannot exclude the study of family and kinship relationship. It is in the family and kins group that an individual's life goals are met. It provides the necessary prescription for pursuing one's economic endeavors and is the socially recognized group for human relationship. The family and kinship group caters to the physical as well as social and emotional needs of man. The family and larger kin group regulates and controls man's behaviour.

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## 5.7 Check your progress

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1. Why Iravati Karve is known as anthropologist as well as sociologist.

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2. Discuss important characteristics of Joint family identified by Iravati Karve.

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3. How linguistic region leads to homogeneity?

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4. Describe caste as endogamous in nature.

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**5.7 Reference**

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Dhanagare, D.N. Themes and Perspectives in Indian sociology, New Delhi, Rawat Publication

Karve Iravati (1965), Kinship Organisation in India, Asia Publishing House.

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**5.8 Questions**

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1. Explain the meaning of kinship and discuss the different ways in which kinship bonds are formed.
2. Discuss the joint family system in India.

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## M.N. Srinivas And A. R. Desai

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 The man and his work
- 6.3 Higher studies
- 6.4 Contribution to Professional organization
- 6.5 A.R. Desai Contribution to Society
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Check your Progress
- 6.8 References
- 6.9 Questions

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### 6.0 Objectives

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1. To bring awareness among students regarding contribution of Srinivas and Desai's to Indian society.
2. To acquaint students with the term Sanskritisation, westernization and jajmani system in India village

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### 6.1 Introduction

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Srinivas was born on 16 November, 1916 in a traditional Brahmin family in the city of Mysore, then capital of the princely state of Mysore. His father Narasimhachar was a minor official in the government. The initials M and N in Srinivas name stand for Mysore and Narasimhachar respectively.

Srinivas's family environment was conducive to education. His father had moved from Trakere to Mysore mainly with the intention of providing education to children members of his mom's family had made a name for themselves in the educational field. His maternal aunt was one of the two earliest women graduates in the old princely Mysore state. The other women were also related to Srinivas. Srinivas was a youngest of Narasimhachar's four sons. His eldest brother had completed his

education by the time Srinivas was in school. He had a post graduate degree in Eng Lt. and was teaching in the Maharaja's High School in Mysore. (He was later appointed Assistant Professor in English in the University of Mysore.) When Srinivas father passed away at an early age Srinivas was 17 at that time his eldest brother became the head of the family and took decisions about his younger brother's and sister's education.

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

#### Life:

Mysore Narsimhachar Srinivas, a student of Dr. Ghurye has made significant contribution in Indian sociology. He is the founding father of the department of sociology for many universities including that of Baroda and Delhi.

#### Academic Life:

Srinivas was born 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1916 in a traditional Brahmin family in the city of Mysore. His family environment was conducive to education. As a child Srinivas was underweight and therefore his family thought, he was too delicate to pursue studies in medicine or engineering. In spite of being a bright student, he was forced to enroll in modern history, logic, mathematics at Maharaja's College in Mysore. He graduated in social philosophy which included papers in sociology, ethics, political thoughts, comparative religions and so on. The minor subjects included were social anthropology, social psychology, comparative politics and Indian economics. He did his master's degree in sociology from Bombay university and also studied law simultaneously. During his M.A course he presented a dissertation based on marriage and family among the kannada caste in Mysore state under the guidance of Dr. Ghurye. His study was based on ethnographic literature, folk-lore, questionnaire along with field work. This research work was later published as "Marriage and Family in Mysore" in 1942.

In June 1940, Srinivas started on his Phd. thesis on Coorg in South India entitled as "The Coorgs: A socio ethnic study" and submitted it in December 1944.

After his research fellowship expired, he joined Dr. Ghurye as a research assistant and gathered the data regarding folk-lore in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. From here he went to Oxford University for his B.Lit degree and he submitted his post doctoral dissertation on "Culture patterns among South Indian Ethnic group specially Coorg's A Toda's."

After his return to India, Srinivas laid the foundation of department of sociology at Baroda university. In this department he made some

changes in the traditional syllabus and his most important contribution was on his emphasis on field work and contribution was on his emphasis on field work and less on classroom teaching.

Srinivas joined the Delhi university in February 1959 and started the department of sociology. His main focus was on integrating sociology-end social anthropology and this was reflected in the syllabus for M.A as well as Phd. students which included topics like caste system, kinship, religion, urban community, etc.

Later in his life he joined the institute for social and economic change I Bangalore. He was successful in unifying the Indian sociological society ad all India social conference.

As mentioned earlier, his major areas of study were social change in terms of processes like Sanskritisation, westernization and dominant cast. He is best known for his work on religion, village community, caste and it is based on intensive field work in south India in general and coorg and Ramkura in particular eg; He tried to study how a dominant cast in a village in Mysore i.e. Lingayats have started a non-bramhinal movement to disapprove the dominance of Brahmins that area.

- Marriage and Family in India (1942)
- The coorgs - a socio ethnic study (1944)
- Cast in modern India (1957)
- The remembered village (1976)
- The dominant cast and the other essays (edited)
- Village cast gender and methodology (1998)

The major concepts he coined in the field of sociology are sanskritisation, westernization and dominant cast.

**1. Sanskritisation:** It can be defined as the process by which a low caste or a tribe takes over the customs the rituals, believes, ideology and Style of living, particularly of a twice born cast member.

**2. Westernisation:** According to Srinivas, westernization was the change brought about in India due to it's relations with the western culture, particularly with the british. The upper cast in particular, adopted the cultural lifestyle of British including their technology, ideology, value system, education system, administrative system, etc.

**3. Dominant caste:** For Srinivas, the term dominant cast refers to the numerically strongest caste in the village who exercise the economic and political influence.

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## **6.2 M.N. Srinivas the Man and his work**

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Srinivas was scrawny and grossly underweight and his relatives and friends thought that he was too delicate to pursue a serious course of study such as medicine or engineering. He did reasonably well at the Secondary School Leaving Certificate Examination (1931) conducted by the University of Mysore, and he could have opted for a 2 years. Intermediate course in Science in a college in Bangalore like many others who had secured good marks. However, his eldest brother vetoed the idea and advised him to enroll in a course in modern history, logic and mathematics at Maharaja's College in Mysore.

Srinivas passed the BA (Honours) examination in summer of 1936, missing a first class by a narrow margin.

Having passed the BA examination. Srinivas decided to go to Bombay to enroll in the Master's course in sociology and to work for a law degree in the evenings. The Department of Sociology at the Bombay University was the first post-graduate department of sociology to be set up in the country and had earned a high reputation with a short period of time due to the distinction of its founder, Patrick Geddes and his successor as head of the department.

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## **6.3 Higher Studies**

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After completing his doctorate, Srinivas considered the idea of pursuing, higher studies abroad. He was admitted to the B.Litt course in social anthropology at Oxford, with provision for its later conversion to D Phil with retrospective effect. For his dissertation he submitted a proposal on 'Culture Patterns among Three South Indian Ethnic Groups – Coorgs, Todas and Chenchus' with financial support from his family, he went to Oxford in May 1945. Later he received a Carnegie research grant for two years.

He was awarded the D Phill degree in July 1947. Evans-Pritchard's influence had to effect of steering Srinivas away from Radcliffe – Brownian functionalism and towards a more balanced view of social anthropology.

Srinivas joined the University of Delhi in February 1959 and the new department began to function soon thereafter. The first major task in setting up the Department was to prepare a syllabus for the Master's programme. He gave it more or less the same general thrust that he had given to the syllabi in Baroda: a broad comparative perspective entailing integration of sociology and social anthropology. The themes of research for PhD. Students had a similar thrust: a broad spectrum. Varying from the traditional themes of social anthropology such as caste,

kinship and religion to the traditional themes of sociology such as urban community and industrial and other complex organization.

During his 12 year tenure as Head of the department, there was always some exciting new development or activity taking place in the department. The high point, however was the academic year 1967-68 during which several important developments took place one after another. First, the UGC set up a special cell for the Development of Sociological study of the North-Eastern Hill Areas and the Pakistan Area Studies Programme (in collaboration with the Department of Economics) in the department. Second, the department undertook the teaching of BA (Honours) programme in sociology. And third and most important the UGC reorganized the department as a Centre of Advanced Study.

Srinivas wrote the book *the Remembered Village* (1976) based almost entirely on his memory of field experiences in Rampura at ISCE, Bangalore.

Dr V.K.R.V. Rao informed Srinivas that he was setting up a new institute – the Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) in Bangalore and he wanted Srinivas to join Director.

Srinivas joined the ISEC in May, 1972. Initially things proceeded smoothly. But soon Srinivas began to complain about the load of administration work and its adverse effect on his academic work. He gave up the joint Directorship.

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#### **6.4 Contribution to Professional Organization**

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The Indian Sociological Society founded by Ghurye in 1952, published journal, *Sociological Bulletin*.

The All – India Sociological conference was merged into the Indian Sociological society under Srinivas leadership. He became the 1<sup>st</sup> President under the new arrangement the office of the Society was also shifted to the Department of sociology at the University of Delhi, Srinivas has received wide spread for his contributions to sociology and social anthropology and to academic life in general.

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#### **Scholarly work of Srinivas**

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Though Srinivas has written on many aspects of Indian Society and culture he is best known for his work on religion, village, community, caste, social change and methodology. While most of his writings are based on intensive fieldwork in South India in general and Coorg and Rampura in particular.

His concepts of ‘Sanskritization’ and ‘dominant caste’ have been used by a wide range of scholars to understand Indian society and culture, past and present.

Srinivas does not describe himself as belonging to any 'school' or 'ism' except empiricism. His empiricism related to his belief that for many years to come field studies, particularly intensive studies, will provide deeper insights into Indian society and culture, although he is not averse to using data from macro surveys and developing overall perspectives of social process.

Srinivas has remained active even after his formal retirement from the ISCE. He had taught at several universities, colleges and institutes both in India and abroad as a visiting professor. He has also been involved in writing and publishing, delivering lectures, sitting on imp committees and performing many other public functions.

Srinivas was elected chairman of the Board of Governors of ISCE in 1990.

### **Dr. A. R. Desai :**

#### **Life :**

Dr. A. R. Desai was born on April 16, 1915 at Madia in Gujarat. As a college student, Dr. Desai took part in students' movements in Baroda, Surat and Bombay. He graduated from University of Bombay and secured a Law degree and a Phd. in Sociology from the same University in 1946 under Dr. G. S. Ghurge. In 1947 he married the student activist Neera Desai who has done significant work in the field of women's studies.

He became a member of the Communist Party of India in 1934 but resigned from it in 1939. Dr. Desai started his academic career in 1946 as a lecturer of Sociology at Siddharth College in Bombay. In 1951 he joined the department of Sociology of Bombay University. In 1969 he became Professor and the Head of the Department till his retirement in 1976.

#### **WRITINGS:-**

1. Social background of Indian Nationalism ( 1948)
2. Peasants struggles in India (1979)
3. India's path of development: A marxist approach (1984)
4. Recent trends in Indian Nationalism (1960)
5. Aggregarian struggles in India after Independence (1986)
6. Rural Sociology in India (1975)
7. Violation of Democratic Rights (2 volumes) (1986)
8. Edited a monthly journal in Gujarati- 'Padkar' which means challenge.



**Work:**

Dr. A. R. Desai's contribution is highly significant in study of peasants and the Agrarian struggles in India. He concentrated on the category of class rather than caste. He focused on rural areas to understand the changes in the conditions of life which were brought about due to the reforms introduced during the British rule as well as post independence period. He examined the struggle of the farmers and disagreed with the view that Peasant struggles obstructed the development and modernization of rural areas.

He distinguished between peasant struggles in pre-independence and post-independence era. eg:-in pre independent era, the peasant struggle included agitation against the Zamindari

system and various other land tenure systems. After Independence the princely states were dissolved and there was political reconfiguration of India along linguistic lines. In independent India the land reforms furthered the gap between the rich and the poor. He categorized agrarian struggle into two types:

1. The movements initiated by rich farmers to gain benefit from Govt. and

2. Included those movements or agitations launched by agrarian poor against the rich farmers as well as industrial and agricultural policies of the state. Desai's work signifies a shift from a static, synchronic view of the Indian Society to a view that captured processes of change and transformation. He was greatly concerned about economic and social conditions in India But unlike other scholars, he looked upon the agrarian unrest more truly because he hoped that there would definitely be a socialist revolution which would bring about a change in the life of rural farmers.

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## **6.6 Summary**

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Indian society and culture is one of the most complex, Indian history is marked by invasion and conquest and her residence marked by change and continuity. Indian social landscape can be understood by the unique traditions that persisted through time as well as the changing pattern across the ages. It is difficult to explain the regional and local variations in customs, traditions, languages, class, food, village festivals and deities etc. but both tradition and change best describe India's unique social life.

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**6.7 Check your progress**

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1. Discuss Srinivas families' environment.

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2. Srinivas did his master degree from which university?

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3. Srinivas joined Oxford University, Discuss?

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4. Srinivas wrote Remembered Village?

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5. Write A.R. Desai work on village.

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**6.8 References**

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Srinivas M.N 1977, Caste. Its twentieth century avaters: New York Penguin Inc.

Desai A.R. 1966, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Bombay, Popular Prerker.

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**6.9 Questions**

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1. Elaborate in detail Srinivas Contribution to the development of society.
2. Discuss in detail A.R. Desai work on Indian Society.

## Caste and Class

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Teaching of sociology
- 7.3 Research in Sociology in the Post-Independence Period
- 7.4 Specialization In Sociology
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Check your Progress
- 7.7 References
- 7.7 Questions

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### **7 .0 Objectives**

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1. To bring awareness among students regarding division of Hindu Society on the basis of Varna.
2. To acquaint students with caste system and exploitation of Shudras

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### **7 .1 Introduction – Varna and Jati**

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The layman is unaware of the complexities of Varna. To him it means simply the division of Hindu society into four orders viz, Brahmana (Brahmin, traditionally, priest and scholar), Kshatriya (ruler and soldier), Vaishya (merchant) and Shudras (peasant, labourer and servant). The first 3 castes are 'twice-born' as the men from them are entitled to don the sacred thread at the Vedic rite of upananyana, while the Shudras are not. The untouchables are outside the Varna scheme.

The first two represented broadly the two professions of the poet-priest and the warrior-chief. The third division was apparently a group comprising all the common people. It is only in one of the later hymns, the celebrated Purushasukta that a reference has been made to four order of society as emanating from the scarifies of the Primeval Being. The names of those four orders are given there as Brahmana, Rajanya (Kshatriya), Vaishya and Shudra, who are said to have come from the

mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of the creator. The particular limbs associated with these divisions an order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in the society of the time, though no such interpretation is directly given in the hymn.

Firstly, according to the Varna scheme there are only four castes excluding the untouchables, and the number is the same in every part of India. But even during Vedic times there were occupational groups which were not subsumed by Varna even though it is not known whether such groups were castes in the sense sociologists understand the term. Today, in any linguistic area there are to be found a number of castes. According to Ghurye, in each linguistic region, there are about 200 caste groups which are further sub-divided into about 3000 smaller units each of which is endogamous and constitutes the area of effective social life for the individual (ibid : 28). The Varna scheme refers at best only to the broad categories of the society and not to its real effective units. And even as referring only to the broad categories of the society it has serious shortcomings. It has already been seen that the untouchables are outside the scheme, but as a matter of actual fact they are an integral part of the society.

The category of Shudras subsumes in fact the vast majority of non – Brahminical caste which has little in common. It may at one end include a rich powerful and highly Sanskritized group and at the other tribes whose assimilation into the Hindu folds is only marginal. The Shudras category spans such a wide structural and cultural gulf that its sociological activity is very limited.

It is well known that occasionally a Shudra caste after the acquisition of economic and political power, Sanskritized its customs and ways, and succeeded in laying claim to be Kshatriyas. The classic examples of Raj Gonds, originally a tribe, but who successfully claimed to be Kshatriyas after becoming rulers of a tract in Central India, shows up the Varna classification. The term Kshatriya, for instance, does not refer to a close ruling group which has been there since the time of the Vedas. More often it refers to the position attained or claimed by a local group whose traditions and luck enabled it to seize politico-economic power. In fact, in peninsular India there are no genuine Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. In this area these two categories only refer to the local castes which have claimed to be Kshatriyas and Vaishyas by virtue of their occupation and martial tradition, and the claim is not seriously disputed by other claims to being Brahmins are much less common.

The position which each caste occupies in the local hierarchy is frequently not clear. It is true, however, that in most areas of the country

Brahmins are placed at the top and untouchables at the bottom, and most people know who the Brahmins are, and who, the untouchables. But in southern India the Lingayatas claim equality with, if not superiority to the Brahmin, and orthodox Lingayatas do not eat food cooked or handled by the Brahmins. The Lingayatas have priests of their own caste who also minister to several other non Brahmin castes. Such a challenge of the ritual superiority of the Brahmin is not unknown though not frequent. The claim of a particular caste to be Brahmin is however, more often challenged. Food cooked or handled by the Brahmins of Mysore, for instance, is not eaten by most Hindus; not excluding Harijans.

The Varna scheme is a 'hierarchy' in the literal sense of the term because ritual considerations form the basis of the differentiation. It is true that generally speaking the higher castes are also the better off castes, and the lowest castes are also among the poorest, but a ranking of a caste on principally economic or political considerations would produce a stratification somewhat different from that based on ritual considerations. The disparity between the ritual and economic or political position of a caste is often considerable. In the Mysore village, Rampura, for instance, the Brahmin priest is accorded every respect by the village headman who is a Peasant (Okkaliga) by caste. But the headman is the richest man in the village and in the area, the biggest land owner and money – lender, the official headman of the village, and generally a very influential man, and one of the managers of the Rama temple at which the Brahmin is a priest. In secular matters the priest is dependent on the headman. In the summer of 1952, the priest's eldest son passed the lower secondary examination in the first class, and he went to the headman's house as soon as he heard the news.

Varna has provided a common social language which holds good, or is thought to hold good, for India as a whole. A sense of familiarity even when it does not rest on facts is conducive to unity.

Stratification or of society into hierarchical segments is a universal phenomenon. It means social group with differentiated status. Most striking examples of social stratification are the caste and classes. Caste are unique to India while classes are universal especially in western societies. According to the caste system the status is ascribed on receipt by birth. The class status is however achieved, while there may be easy mobility of class because of democracy, education and changes in transportation and communication. It is not so with regards to caste, caste mobility is difficult.

According to Sorokin, a renowned sociologist started "unstratified society is a myth". To him, there are differences in man and so stratification cannot be avoided. According to Gishbert "social

groups or categories linked with each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination.

Cast is a unique social institution of Indian society originated from the varma system described in the Vedas. Caste has conditioned our social life for several centuries. These has been the pre-dominant form of social stratification in India and even today it exerts considerable influence on our lives & social interactions.

According to Malver and page, "whom status is wholly predetermined, that men are born to their lot in life without any hope of changing it then takes the form of caste." caste had fixed system, which were as follows-

**1) Ascribed status:** - The membership of an individual in a caste is determined by birth since each caste has its own rank in relation to the other caste, the high or low status of an individual depends upon the social status every aspect of the life of an orthodox Hindu depends upon the level of caste into which one is born.

**2) Endogamy:** - The members of a caste have to marry within their own caste or sub caste. Endogamy has, thus been permanently enforced within caste group.

**3) Fixed occupation:** - Each caste has its fixed hereditary occupation which he cannot change.

**4) Commensal restrictions:** - Detail rules are laid down with regards to the kind of food that can be accepted by the person of different caste. According to Baun there are seven important taboos in this respect.

i) Commensal taboos which determine rules regarding persons in whose company one may eat.

ii) Cooking a taboo which lays down rules regarding persons who may cook food.

iii) Eating taboo which describes rules regarding accepting water, etc from other person.

iv) Food taboo which describes rules regarding the kind of food one may eat with members of other caste.

v) Smoking taboo which lays down rules regarding whose pipe (hukka) a man may smoke.

vi) Vessel taboo which determine the types of vessel to be used or avoiding for cooking food to protect oneself from being polluted.

**5) Compelling religious sanctions on social participation:-** Restriction on social interaction have been imposed because of the belief that pollution can be carried by more bodily contact. It is because

of such belief that low caste people engaged in inferior occupation are avoided by the upper caste, like wise beef eating low caste commonly known as untouchables were totally avoided by high caste Hindus. There were specific rules for tracing and interacting with members of high intermediate caste, for sharing common cot with other and for day to day as well as ritual interaction.

6) The outcaste substratum: - Caste engaged in defiling or manial or polluting occupations are treated as untouchables. They are called out caste, depressed caste or schedule caste. These caste are believed to have descended from the races originally inhabiting India before the invasion of the Aryans. They mostly lived outside the village and seek out their existence by neighbor like scavenging, shoe making, tanning they were not permitted to draw water from the well used by the upper caste. They were debarred from public roads, schools, temples, termination grounds, hotels and tea shops. Their presence and their touch was considered polluting.

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### **7.3 Features of Caste System**

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The earliest account of this institution, given by a foreigner of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, B.C. mentions two of the features characterizing it before it was modified by close cultural contact with Western Europe during the last century.

Though this statement of Megasthenes brings two of the most salient features of the institution to the forefront yet it fails to give a complete idea of the system.

The outstanding features of Hindu society when it was ruled by the social philosophy of caste; unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties, may be discerned to be six.

#### **Segmental Division of Society:**

Caste were groups with a well developed life of their own, the membership whereof, unlike that of voluntary associations and of classes, was determined not by selection but by birth. The status of a person depended not on his wealth as in the classes of modern Europe, but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the luck of being born... To restrict myself to the Marathi region, a person is born either a Brahmin, Prabhu Mautha, Vani, Sonar, Sutar, Bhandari, Chambbar or a Mahar etc. If he changes to take a vocation which is not remarked for a particular caste, say the military – he remains a casteman all the same. A Brahmin general and a Maratha general though of equal status in the army, belong to two different status groups in their private life and there cannot be any social intercourse between them on equal

terms. But this is not the case in a class society where the status is determined by vocation and consequent income.

The governing body of a caste is called the panchayat. Some of the offences dealt with by it are : a) eating, drinking or having similar dealings with a caste or sub – caste, with which such social intercourse is held to be forbidden, b) keeping as concubine a women of another caste, c) seduction of a adultery with a married women, d) fornication, e) refusal to fulfill a promise of marriage, f) refusing to send a wife to her husbands when old enough, g) refusing to maintain a wife, h) non – payment of debt, i) petty assaults, j) breaches of the customs of the trade peculiar to the caste, k) encroaching on another's clientele and raising or lowering prices, l) killing a cow or any other forbidden animal, m) insulting a Brahmin and n) defying the customs of the card regarding feasts etc. during marriage and other ceremonies. It will be seen from this list that some of the offences tried by the governing bodies of castes were such as are usually dealt with the state in its judicial capacity.

The punishments that these councils awarded were: 1] out – casting, either temporary or permanent, 2] fines, 3] feasts to be given to the castemen, 4] corporal punishment and 5] sometimes religious boycott

This description of the activities of a caste council will enable us to appreciate the remark, 'The caste is its own ruler'. The diversity in the administration of law necessarily led to differences in moral standards of the various castes.

The customs about marriage and death vary widely among the different castes Brahmin did not permit widow-marriage not tolerate concubinages as a caste-practice. This could not be said of many lower castes. These differences of morals and customs were so manifest that the early British courts in India not merely asked the options of their pundits, but took the evidence of the heads of the castes concerned as to their actual usages.... Hence castes are small and complete social worlds in themselves, marked off definitely from one another, though subsisting within the larger society.

### **Hierarchy**

John Fryer, who visited India in 1670, seems to refer to this attitude. In any one of the linguistic divisions of India there are as many as two hundred castes which can be grouped in classes whose gradation is largely acknowledged by all. But the order of social precedence amongst the individuals castes of any class cannot be made definite, because not only is there no ungrudging acceptance of such rank but also the ideas of the people on this point are very nebulous and uncertain. The following observations vividly bring out this state of things.



In Hindustan proper, castes can be divided into 5 groups: first, the twice-born castes; second, those castes at whose hands the twice born can take pakka food, third those castes at whose hands the twice born cannot accept any kind of food but may take water, fourth, castes that are not untouchable, yet are such that water from them cannot be used by the twice born, last come all those castes whose touch defiles not only the twice born but any orthodox Hindu. 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 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. But in practice most castes seem to take no objection to kachcha food from a Brahmin'. A Brahmin can accept kachcha food at the hands of no other caste, some of them, like the Kanaujia Brahmin are so punctilious about these restrictions that as a proverb has it, three Kanaujias require no less than 13 hearths. As for the pakka food, it may be taken by a Brahmin at the hands of some of the castes only. On the whole, however as E.A. Blunt has made out, there is no relation between a caste's social position as the severity of its cooking taboo'. (Blunt 1969: 90-4); as many as 36 out of 76 castes of UP take kachcha cooked food from only their own members and none others.

In Bengal the castes are divided into two main groups: 1] the Brahmins, and 2] the Shudras. The second class is further divided into four sub-castes, indicating their status as regards food and water; a] the Sat- Shudra group includes such castes as the Kayashtra and Nabasakh, b] then come the Jalacharaniya – Shudras, 'being those castes, not technically belonging to the Mabashakh group, from whom Brahmins and members of the higher castes can take water; c] then follow the Jalaubyabaharya – Shudras, castes from whose hands a Brahmin cannot take water, d] last stand the Asprishya – Shudras castes whose touch is so impure as to pollute even the Ganges water, and hence their contact must be avoided. They are thus the untouchables (Risely 191, II: 270). In the matter of food western Bengal resembles Hindustan except in this that in Bengal there are some people who will, not accept kachcha food even from the hands of Brahmin, pakka food can be ordinarily taken not only from one's own or any higher caste, but also from the confectioner class, the Muras and Halwai's. 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, but a great deal depends on the character of the vessel used and of the well from which water is drawn.

In eastern and southern Bengal and in Gujarat and the whole of southern India there is no distinction of food as kachcha for the purpose of its acceptance or otherwise from anyone but a member of one's own caste. In Gujarat and southern India, generally speaking, a Brahmin never thinks of accepting water, much less any cooked food, from any caste but that of Brahmins and all other castes or groups of castes more or less follow the principle of accepting no cooked food from any caste that stands lower than itself in the social scale. This rule does not apply with the same strictness to accepting water. Again as a rule, a lower caste has no scruples in accepting cooked food from any higher caste. Thus all the castes will take cooked food from the Brahmin.

Thus the Shanar, today apper of Tamilnadu, contaminates a Brahmin if he approaches the latter with 24 paces. Among the people of Kerala, a Nayar may approach a Nambudiri Brahmin but must not touch him, while a Tiyar must keep himself at the distance of 36 steps from the Brahmin and a Pulayan may not approach him within 96 paces. A Tiyar must keep away from a Nayar at 12 paces, while some castes may approach the Tiyar though they must not touch him. A Pulayan must not come near any of the Hindu castes. So rigid are the rules about defilement which is supposed to be carried with them by all except the Brahmins, that the latter will not perform even their ablutions within the precincts of a Shudra's habitation. Generally the washerman and the barber, who serve the general body of villagers, will not render their services to the unclean and untouchable castes.

### **Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges of the Different 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. Southern India as in the matter of ceremonial purity and untouchability stands out distinct in the rigidity of these rules. In northern India generally, in the Maratha country and as it appears sometimes in the Telugu and Kanarese regions, it is only the impure castes that are segregated and made to live on the out skirts of village. It does not seem that other groups of castes have distinct to them excepting in parts of Gujarat.

In southern India certain parts of the town or village are inaccessible to certain castes. The agitation by the impure castes to gain free access to certain streets in Vaikam in Travancore brings into clear relief some of the disabilities of these castes. It is recorded that under the rule of the

Marathas and the Peshwas, the Mahars and Mangs were not allowed within the gates of Poona after 3 pm and before 9 am because before nine and after three bodies cast too long a shadow, which falling on a member of the higher castes especially a Brahmin – defiles him. However, in the Dravidian south, the very land of the supreme dominance of the Brahmin, the Brahmin was restricted in his rights of access to any part of the village. It is well known that in a village which is a gift to the Brahmin, a Paraiyan is not allowed to enter the Brahmin quarter, but it is not known to many students that the Paraiyas will not permit a Brahmin to pass through their street, so much so that if one happens to enter their quarters they greet him with cow-dung water... 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 foot prints 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 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 large 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 people warning them of his polluting presence.

In Dravidian India the disabilities of the lower caste went so far as to prescribe what sort of houses they should build and what material they might employ in the construction thereof. The Shanars and Izhavas, today tappers of the eastern and the western coasts, were not allowed to build houses above one storey in height. In Malabar the house is called by different names as to the occupant's caste and peoples of inferior castes dare not refer to their own homes in the presence of Nambudiri Brahmin in more flattering terms than as 'dung-heaps'.

In the Maratha country, at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the great preacher Ramdas tried to inculcate in the minds of the people the idea of unity based on the bond of common locality. During that latest period of the Peshwa rule (latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century), however, this ideal dwindled into the orthodox one wherein Brahmins figure prominently, the State having non higher function than that of pampering them. Under the Hindu rulers the Brahmins must have secured to themselves many pecuniary privileges, denied to others, on the strength of this orthodox theory of the proper function of the state, and perhaps more because they happened to occupy the ports of importance. Thus in the Maratha

region during the period referred to above, the Konkan as the Brahmin clerks obtained the privilege of their goods being exempted from certain duties and their imported corn being carried to them without any ferry – chargers. Brahmin landholds of a part of the country had their land assessed at distinctly. Lower rates than levied from other classes. Brahmins were exempted from capital punishment, and when confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the other classes.

#### **Lack of Unrestricted Choice of Occupation :**

Generally a caste or a group of allied castes considered some of the callings as its hereditary occupation, to abandon which is pursuit of another, though it might be more lucrative, was thought not to be right. Thus a Brahmin thought that it was correct from him to be a priest, while the Chamar regarded it as his duty to cure hides and prepare shoes. This was only generally true, for there were groups of occupations like trading, agriculture, labouring in the field, and doing military service which were supposed to be eligible for any of them. Among the artisans, occupations, which were more or less of the same status, were open to the members to take to any calling which was either degrading, like toddy tapping and brewing or impure like scavenging or curing hides. 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 caste to follow their callings.

Before the Indian Mutiny the Kanaujia Brahmin used to enter the Bengal army as sepoy in large numbers. Some of the Rarbi Brahmins of Bengal accepted service under Mohammedan rules. Some of the Brahmins of Rajasthan served their Marwadi masters. The majority of the Brahmins in the lower Karnataka, according to Buchanan, almost entirely filled the different offices in the collection of revenue and even acted as messengers. Of the Hindustani Brahmins of Central India [MP] it is said that a considerable population of them are concerned in trade. The Havig Brahmins of the Tulu country did all kinds of agricultural labour that they even till the soil with their own hands, while shop-keeping and hawking form the main source of livelihood for the Sanadhya Brahmins of that region.

#### **Restrictions on Marriage :**

Most of the groups, whose features I have attempted to characterize above, 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 principle of strict 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'. There are, however a few exceptions to this general rule of marriage within one's own group which are due to the practice of hypergamy. In some parts of Punjab, especially in the hills, a man of higher caste can take to wife a girl from one of the lower castes, while, in Malabar, the younger sons of the Nambudir and other Brahmins consort with the Kshatriya and Nayar women, among whom mother right prevails. Excepting for these cases of inter-caste hypergamy each group has to contract matrimonial alliances within its own limits. Outside of this practice the only other authentic case where inter-caste marriage is allowed is that of some of the artisan castes of Malabar.

To illustrate from the Maratha region, a Konkanasth Brahmin must marry a girl in Konkanasth Brahmin family while a Karhada Brahmin must similarly seek his partner from amongst the Karhada Brahmins, and so on, the principle being that marriage must be arranged within the group which is most effectively considered to be one's own. If this rule is violated expulsion from the membership of the group is generally the penalty which the offending parties have to suffer. In Gujarat the unit within which all matrimonial alliances must be contracted is very often still smaller than the so called sub-caste of the Marathi region. Among the Banias, the trading caste, for example, there are not only the divisions of Shrimali, Porwal, Modh etc. but there are further sub-division like Dasa Porwal and Visa Porwal.

To regard endogamy as the chief characteristic of a caste is to treat all so called sub-castes as the real castes. There are two reasons against this procedure of raising sub-castes to the position of castes, viz. it would be contrary to the native feeling on the subject, and would be highly inconvenient in practices as it would create a bewildering multiplicity of castes. As for the second objection; we may safely pass it over, as it concerns only an administrative difficulty.

For a Brahmin most others are Shudras, irrespective of high or low status; and for two or three higher castes that are allied to the Brahmins in culture, the rest of the population, excepting the impure castes and some other specific groups, in Kulwadi or Shudras a generic term for manual worker the higher castes are grouped together as either Ashrafin in Bihar, Bhadrakok in Bengal, or Pandhar-peshe in Maharashtra. Further, if we are to take some kind of Indian sentiment as our guide in our analysis, then according to the orthodox theory on this matter, there are only two, or at the most three castes in the present age, and we shall have to divide the whole population of any major linguistic province into two castes, Brahmin and Shudra, or at the most three, where the existence

of the Kshatriya is grusolgingly granted. Evidently no scientific students of caste, not even Gait himself, has proposed to follow India to get a sociological correct idea of the institution we should recognize sub-castes as real castes.

These major groups were held together by the possession, with few exceptions of a common priesthood. There was a sort of an overall counting which grouped all of them into five or six classes overtly expressed or tacitly understood. Over a large part of the country they were welded together for civil life in the economy and civics of village communities. Common service to the civic life, prescriptive rights of monopolist service, and specific occasions for enjoying superiority for some of the castes, considered very low, made the village community more or less a harmonious civic unit. Complete acceptance of the system in its broad outlines by the groups making up that system and their social and economic interdependence in the village not only prevented the exclusive organization of the groups from splitting up the system into independent units, but created a harmony in civic life.

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### **7.3 Summary**

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Hindu society is caste structured, caste system is based on ritual, purity and impurity of people or a system that determine people's occupations and social status. It also includes class and power dimensions, besides gender and ethnicity . These dimensions are central to our caste system in one of the many farms which coexists along with occupational stratification, linguistic, hierarchy religion and so on.

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### **7.4 Check your progress**

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1. Explain the term twice- bain caste.

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2. Discuss Ghurye's view on caste system

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3. Highlight the role of Panchayat in the caste system.

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4. Discuss caste is related with hereditary occupation.

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### **7.5 Reference**

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### **7.6 Questions**

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1. Explain the nature of caste system in India.
2. Briefly discuss the Varna and Jati. Explain features of the caste system in India.

# Perspectives on Caste: The Brahmanical View of Caste and Dalit

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Dumont Writing on Indian Caste System
- 8.3 The Ambedkarite Phase
- 8.4 The Dalit Perspective
- 8.5 The Mandalization Phase
- 8.6 The Process of Dalitization
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- 8.8 Check your progress
- 8.9 Reference
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## **8 .0 Objectives**

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1. To bring awareness among students regarding Hierarchy system persist on Indian society.
2. To introduce modern society characterised by individualism and egalitarianism.

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## **8.1 Introduction**

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The castes teach us a fundamental social principal, hierarchy'. Hierarchy is said to distinguish Indian society from 'modern' societies whose fundamental social principle is equality. The major theme of this review can be anticipated thus: any hierarchy, like any equalitarian system, is opposed by those who see its effect upon themselves as disadvantageous no matter how loudly or piously it is advocated by those who benefit from it. Those low in an hierarchical system universally see it as disadvantageous to themselves and object either to the system or to the manner in which it is applied to themselves.

Interpretation the book presents: The assumption that there is a clear and consistent, universal and fundamental disparity between what



the author term's 'traditional' or 'simpler' societies (e.g. Indian) and 'modern' ones (e.g. French, British). Dumont finds 'traditionally' societies to be characterized by conceptions of the collective nature of man, by the primacy of social rather than individual goals, and thus by 'hierarchy' (by which means ritual hierarchy, based on the purity / pollution opposition). 'Modern' societies are characterized contrastively by individualism and hence by egalitarianism (the antithesis of hierarchy). In his words: as opposed to modern society, traditionally societies, which know nothing of equality and liberty as values, which know nothing in short, of the individuals, have basically a collective idea of man, and our apprehension of man as a social being is the sole link, which unites us to them and is the only angle from which we can come to understand them.

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## **8.2 Dumont Writing on Indian Caste System**

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And Dumont describes those who write of 'stratification' in the Indian caste system as ethno or 'socio' – centric. He claims to derive his own view of caste from purely Indian sources, thereby discovering the truth which has escaped those less capable than he of transcending their modern, western biases. The result of his insights, however, is an explanation of caste and culture in India, based on a series of oppositions or dualities (modern / traditional, hierarchy / equality, purity / pollution, status / powers etc) which is remarkably consistent with the dialectical and structural viewpoints of his European, and especially French, intellectual forebearers his analysis is at least as suspect of ethnocentrism as those of the stratification sociologists he criticizes for it, as much as they, reflects alien, Western perspectives.

The Indian world of ritual hierarchy described by Dumont is as sterile and unreal as the world of stratification depicted by sociologists he vilifies. In each case the people who comprise the system are depicted as unfeeling, regimented automatons ruled by inexorable social forces, conforming unquestioningly and unerringly to universal values.

To assert that members of 'traditional' societies behave otherwise is a blanket denial of individuality and initiative which reflects a kind of ethnocentrism and condescension no less distorting in its effect than the 'socio-centrism' which Dumont deplors. Indians are not so simple, so consistent or slavish to custom or to one another as he implies. Surely among the conspicuous strengths of Indian society are its tolerance for deviance, for non – conformity and for diversity, and the many outlets it provides for their expression. Dumont's assertions are as inconceivable to me as the bland and erroneous claims made by other authors that Indians are not progressive or innovative, or are not motivated to achieve.

Such characterizations are simply not true to the Indian experience, however much they satisfy their author's theories.

The notion that power and economic and political factors are distinct from and epiphenomenal to caste and that ritual hierarchy is the central fact of castes, independent of power. I would assert that the power status opposition is a false dichotomy in the context of caste. The two are inseparable. Thus, for example, Dumont notes the status claims of upwardly mobile castes, but says, 'to make a claim is one thing, and for it to be accepted is another true enough. The history of myriad cases of this kind (and we may note that they are endemic to India's caste system – the Census of India did not generate them, though it did afford a new area in which to flight them out) demonstrates that the claim is granted or denied on the basis of power. Special circumstances can lead to apparent anomalies (e.g. relatively weak but respected Brahmins; relatively powerful Shudras), but usually status and power go together. Dumont explains all instances of ranking as either the rational manifestation of the hierarchical principle (ritual status) or contradictory and presumably irrational impositions of power.

A case as good as that Dumont makes could be made for the primacy of power in caste relationships in India. He asserts that 'no doubt, in the majority of cases, hierarchy will be identified in some way with power, but there is no necessity for this, as the case of India will show'. Actually, the case of India can be used to show that ideology is primary (as Dumont does), or that power is primary, or that both are crucial and inseparable in the functioning of Indian caste.

This does not distinguish inequality from exploitation; it identifies their common characteristics and caste systems in India and elsewhere epitomize this relationship. That the relationship is described as paternalism that it is rationalized as being for the benefit of all – is universal and hardly surprising since such description are purveyed by the beneficiaries of the system, who arrogate to themselves the role of spokesmen for it.

The notion that caste occurs only in India and is not subject to cross cultural comparison. The theoretically weakest part of the book is where Dumont discusses and dismisses the notion of cross- cultural comparisons of caste organization. In this there is an anachronistic, romantic and perhaps ethnocentric element partaking of the old stereotype of 'the mysterious East', reminiscent of the authors similarly held notion (discussed above) of the qualitative differences between wholistic, 'traditional' societies and individualistic, 'modern' ones. Not that Dumont is entirely wrong.

In fact this is the only way to determine what is specific to one culture, society or situation, and what is common to types or categories of social organization, or is common to recurrent process and historical circumstances. Since, including social sciences depends upon identifying and comparing common phenomena in the universe of unique elements. Whether and in what ways phenomena are 'the same' must be carefully specified but to require that they be in all respects identical is to deny the possibility of a science of society. In any case, to deny the possibility of comparison of caste in India with other social system is a logical trap for the thing called 'caste' varies widely within Hindu India by region and rank.

Unfortunately, the theme of non-comparability of India caste is central to the argument of the entire book. Dumont is evidently unaware of the nature of conspicuously hierarchical, rigidly stratified caste like system outside of South Asia, and particularly of the value systems – the ideologies underlying them. An even casual acquaintance with the system of ranking, separation, repression and their accompanying value system in the United States in Japan and in Runada for example, would preclude most of his arguments about the non-comparability of hierarchy in India.

Dumont unwillingly puts his finger on the central issues when, citing Talcott Parson, he notes that hierarchy inevitably implies equality within the hierarchically ordered group (257). This is exactly the case in the American caste system. The ideology is equalitarian only as applied within the caste (white or black); it is hierarchical when applied without. To confuse this with equalitarianism is an inexcusable with reference to India. It is worth nothing in passing that contrary to Dumont's assumption, caste membership in America is not based on physical traits, important as they are, but as in India on birth on putative heredity of which physical traits are major. The crucial fact is that one is born black, not that one looks black.

The limited biased, albeit scholarly, sources of evidence upon which the arguments are based. The nature of the sources upon which Dumont relies in his analysis account for the books other shortcomings to large extent shortcomings which I regard as fatal to its purpose; explication of the nature of caste in India.

The result is that the conveys a view of caste which is artificial, stiff, stereotypical and idealized. It is a view which confirms rather closely to the high caste ideal of what the caste system of Hindu India ought to be like according to those who value it positively; it conforms well to the theory of caste purveid in learned Brahmanical tracts. But it bears little

relationship to the experience of caste in the lives of the many millions who live it in India, or to the feeble reflections of those lives that have made their way into the ethnographic, biographical and novelistic literature. And this, I insist, is a travesty. A frank talk with a untouchable who knows and trusts one would be enough to make this clear. Hundreds of such talks would confirm it. A careful and empathetic reading of the recent empirical literature supplemented by the epic and mythic literature from which we learn much of the social history of India would do the same. Instead, we get from Dumont a view of caste in India an a logous to the view one might derive of race relations in America if he were to consult the United States Constitution Declaration of Independence, Pledge of Allegiance, contemporary political party platform, speeches of incumbent politicians authorized text books and editorials of major (and especially Southern) newspaper. The picture is not wholly false, but neither is it true, it is biased. In this case it amounts to a celebration of the rationale for a system of institutionalized inequality as advertised and endorsed by its architects and beneficiaries.

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### **8.3 The Ambedkarite Phase**

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Ambedkar constructed a distinct mode of nationalism in opposition to the other two nationalist schools mentioned above, for him the contradiction between Dalitbahujans (in his words depressed classes) and the Brahminical (exploitative) castes was the principal contradiction. His agenda of anti – colonialism was therefore intertwined with the agenda of annihilation of caste. In the course of organizing anti – caste and anti – colonial struggles he realized that the annihilation of caste was closely related to the critique of Hinduism itself.

In the arena of social struggles to abolish untouchability, Ambedkar picked up the Mahad water tank issue, temple entry, opening of educational institutions for Scheduled and backward castes (the process began with Jotirao Phule and Savitribai Phule) as entry points to attack Brahminical civil society. When he decided that Hinduism itself must be attacked in order to bring down the edifice of castes, he located an alternative even in the sphere of religion for Dalitbahujans who had never been brought under an organized religion after Buddhism has been eliminated from the land of its birth. Buddhism was indeed his strategic political alternative, using it as a religion his tactical move.

In the political field, Ambedkar conducted to destabilize Brahminism by publicity burning the Manu-dharma-shastra and demythologizing the Hindu gods Rama and Krishna. His political battle against modern Hinduism was carried out by exposing Gandhian Hindu designs. In the South, E.V. Ramaswami attacked the images of the Hindu

gods: they were taken out on the streets and beaten with slippers should be addressed in different ways, whereas for E.V.R. all religions were political agencies and therefore the battle was solely political. Nevertheless, both located their enemy in Hinduism and Brahminism.

In the realm of the state, Ambedkar created a speculative idea of 'state socialism' which he thought would establish a casteless society (it would not his concern whether it would be classless or not). His political strategy for the capture of state power by the Dalitbahujan masses was through adult franchise. For a quicker realization of state power, he advocated two votes for Dalitbahujans and also double member constituencies.

Give the resistance to capture of power by Dalitbahujans; Ambedkar set an agenda of reservations, both in education and in the bureaucracy to resolve the problem of the historical inadequacy of the Dalitbahujans in running state institutions. The struggle between Ambedkar and Gandhi on the question of reservations was concluded with a compromise by both of them in the Poona Pact.

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## **8.4 The Dalit Perspective**

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The Brahminical Marxist nationalist school, while organizing the working class, the peasants and agrarian labour, retained hegemony of the Brahminical castes within their own organization. Through slogans of 'land to the tiller', the middle caste, (with emerged as the Shudra upper caste) acquired land.

The only channel that allowed for the entry of schedule castes and tribes into the Indian parliament, educational institutions and bureaucratic structure (and at the provincial level even for the OBCs) was that of reservations, beginning with Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur and spreading into the Tamil country later, abetted by EVR, played a crucial role in debrahminizing the state and civil society. It must be said that until Ambedkarism spread all over India, even the 'souther reservation' system helped only a section of Shudras, who gradually emerged as an elite class and check mated the Brahminical authority but did not attempt to Dalitize it. Ambedkarism alone kindled the consciousness of self respect and of political assertion among the most exploited and suppressed castes, paving the way for the consciousness of Dalitization.

The Gandhian Harijanization process was also carried out through the state apparatus. The Nehruvian state did this through the process of Brahminization of the structure which ensured that to so – called secular state became the private property of the Brahminical castes. The recruitment boards, educational centres, judicial structure, the military and police agencies were consciously handed over to the Brahminical

force. To appear to be Secular some marginalized institutions were allowed to be headed by the Muslim elite but they were coerced into accepting Brahminical hegemony.

Their cultural life was shaped by meat – eating , participation in production and the absence of Brahminical ritualism. Job reservations brought them conflict with upper castes that hated them and treated their cultures as inferior.

The Chamars (Madigas, Matangs and Paraiyahs in the south) in their childhood were trained to remove carcasses, turn skins into leather, and to use that leather to make implements such as blowpipes, buckers, ropes, belts and bags. The other castes, such as Malas, Mahars, Pallas, Paswans, Jatavs, cleaned the villages, defended them from enemies, constructed the village tanks and canal systems trained the cattle to work in the fields. The Dobhis discovered soaps to wash cloths and processes of boiling cloths to kill germs. All these proto – scientific processes were discovered and developed by Dalitbahujan castes, but they found no place in the texts written even during the nationalist period, leave alone the Dharmashastra.

The Dalitbahujans who were entered political parties, government services, private institutions, business firms, both through reservations and on the basis of open recruitment, attempted to Harijanize themselves in order to adjust with the Brahminical forces. Top political leaders like Jagjivan Ram, Karpuri Thakur, B.P.Mandal and others made effort to improve the conditions of Dalitbahujans from non – Ambedkarite platform without invoking Ambedkar's name. The few Dalitbahujan's who made their way into state secretariats, courts and universities pretended to be sanskritized so that they would not become alienated and their life would not become miserable in the Brahminical environment. They started worshipping, Hindu gods and goddess and stopped eating meat, yet even so did not get an equal and respectable place in upper caste houses.

It showed that the experience of individual and communities can be turned into a framework of analysis of the whole society. Though a majority of feminist scholars could not bring the experience of caste oppression into their analysis, as they could do for gender oppression, since most of them were rooted in the Brahminical perspective and training, their methodology was useful in examining the hegemonic – subordinate power relations from the point of view of caste, just as they did from the point of view of gender. Thus like, class and particularly caste also began to be treated as an analytical category by the Palit

bahujan intellectuals. This began to change the contours of knowledge in India.

When members of the scheduled castes and tribes began to be visible in bureaucratic structures at the all India level (and OBCs at the state level) the Brahminical leaders started arguing that 'reservation' was a negative mechanism and must be done away with. The threat of de-brahminization of institutions was foremost in their thoughts. In the 1970's and 1980's, therefore, they started deliberately undermining and destroying the public sector institutions and productive centres. Public sector funds were siphoned, off to construct huge private properties. The mechanism of reservations was cutting into the Brahminical preserve called the state economy. Given the failure of the Sanskritization process the same institutions were now being used by the Dalitbahujan forces against the Brahminical social order. The fundamentalist Brahminical forces (which were / are the principal organizers of Hindutva) also realized that the 'boiling pot' cultures that were coming into existence among the urban middle classes were debrahminizing a large section of Brahmin – Baniyas, who were taking to meat and liquor. Brahmin – Baniya women were mixing educated Dalitbahujan men, sometimes resulting in Liaisons and marriages between upper caste girls and Dalitbahujan boys, and vice-versa. Brahminical hegemony had always been maintained by controlling the sexuality of their women. Now that was thrown into crisis. The feminist movement also helped this process along. This was the period when major physical attacks on Dalitbahujans, particularly on SC's, began to take place.

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### **8.5 The Mandalization Phase**

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Mandalization on other hand, shifts the emphasis to OBC localities where some degree of Hinduization formation of peasant property, greater degree of patriarchy (when compared to SC localities) have already acquired a social base. The most important link between SC's and OBCs was, however still maintained by their involvement in productive labour. The OBC caste occupations and the agrarianization of their economy had not as yet alienated them from productive labour in the way the neo – kshatriyas have become alienated in the recent past. The process of Mandalization is thus not wholly anti caste, but merely anti – Brahmin anti – Baniyas, anti – Kshatriya and anti – neo – Kshatriya. It, therefore, presumes that private property has to operate as the essential ingredient of the socio – political system and that it should accommodate all castes in the property structures. It represents a phase in Indian history where class formation should take place in every caste. The Mandalization process forces the SC- OBC unity which

was earlier seriously divided because of untouchability. However, for the sake of de – brahminizing the state institutions, the SCs had to swallow this bitter pill. It is however a historically progressive step and indeed a conscious one. Of course, in the era of the New Economic Policy, Mandalization suits all those who want to adjust to changes and yet retain some aspects of the old order. This is one reason why the so called secular and democratic upper castes are not as opposed to Mandalization as they are opposed to Dalitization. The Dalitbahujan organic leadership is however conscious of such positive and negative dimension of the Mandalization process.

But Mandalization is an objective that is attainable in the immediate future, and with it de-brahminization of state and civil social institution could take place within a short span of time. The fundamentalist Hindu forces therefore, organized a resistance to the process of Mandalization. The ‘upper’ caste campaign against it took an ugly turn with the self – immolation of ‘upper’ caste youths and attacks on Dalitbahujan youth in colleges and universities. The brahminical forces in all sphere of life organized themselves to overthrow the government that had implemented the MCR. In a was, this unification of the brahminical minority opened the eyes of OBCs who had earlier never sought to join hands with SCs and STs fighting street battles in defence of the MCR. Almost immediately, the educated OBCs, SCs and STs formed a block. The counter attacks began, teaching the Brahminical minority a lesson. The entire country was on the verge of a division into two warring camps – pro Mandal and anti – Mandal. At this juncture, the Hindutva forces realized that Mandalization was going to create a situation of rioting between the Dalitbahujan majority and the Brahminical minority in which case the latter would be the losers. They therefore decided to divert the attention of the OBCs to the ‘Mandir – Masjid’ question and prise them from the Mandal fold. In the initial stages, until the destruction of the Babri Masjid in December 1992, they succeeded. From then on, the agenda was to capture Delhi and delegitimize the whole Mandalization set in motion by the Janata Dal Government. Meanwhile, the post Rajiv Gandhi Congress, headed by a south Indian Brahmin, P.V. Narasimha Rao, systematically undermined the Mandalization process.

The third (upper caste secular democratic) school sought to mediate between Mandalization and Hinduization by setting up a discourse of ‘secularism vs. communalism’. It characterized the BJP – RSS – VHP mode of politics as communalism and the Mandal / Dalit politics as casteism. Reservation was seen as an undesirable mechanism of social adjustment. But the elite among the Dalitbahujans



understood that the discourse of 'secularism vs. communalism' was a trap.

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## **8.6 The Process of Dalitization**

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Brahminism is a state of mind. It emerged and constructed itself in a hierarchical order based on ritualism within a characteristically Indian mode of exploitative class relations. Dalitization is a reversal of the process. It begins to construct human relations based on the labour process (as against the ritual process) and assigns the highest dignity to the most difficult and creative labour. To begin with it will have to wage a political battle against the notion of purity and pollution, and hegemonize the 'use value' of labour. The higher the utility of a commodity that is produced out of labour, the higher should be the value of that labour. Dalitism accords the highest priority to science and attacks myth. The Dalitist mode of organization of social relations and the inter connection it establishes with the nature can keep the environment productive and human friendly. It establishes relations and cultures where plurality is organic. Human relations in Dalitist cultures are never moulded into monolithic forms.

The political and economic programme of Dalitbahujans is not yet fully developed. After Ambedkar's writings, not much political, economic documentation has emerged although a lot of mobilization is taking place. The first Dalitbahujan Intellectual Forum conference held at Delhi in May 1995 has worked out a brief but reasonable alternative programme for establishing a Dalit democratic revolutionary system.

A nation is not merely a notion, but a living reality of people. Brahminism is to this day attempting to construct the Indian nation in the image of a fantasy. On the contrary, the Dalitbahujans want to build the nation on the basis of its productive culture and consciousness. As a Telugu Dalit activist put it. 'Those who live to eat cannot build a nation, but those who eat to live can' to make a pot', says a potter, 'not only must you know the whole process of pot making, you should have the will to put your hands in clay. Likewise, a nation is not made with imagination but by putting your hands in its soil'. Even after 50 years of Independence, we have been endeavouring to make the Indian nation by chanting mantras, but now it is time to soil our hands.

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## **8.7 Summary**

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India has a complex system of stratification based on caste. The caste system is based on ritual purity and impurity of social groups. However besides caste other forms of stratification like class linguistic, religion etc. exist in India side by side. The Brahmanical view of the caste system is the textual view that analyses caste in terms of ritual

hierarchy notions of karma and dharma account the vast diversity of the caste system, caste ranking and caste ..... Therefore it is a theoretical view of the caste system.

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### **8.8 Check your progress**

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1. Discuss disparity between traditional society and modern society.

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2. Explain the term stratification

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3. Highlight Ambedkar view on anihilation of caste.

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4. Elaborate brahmanical views on reservation.

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5. Discuss mandalisation process.

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### **8.9 Reference**

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### **8.10 Questions**

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1. Describe the major weakness of the Brahmanical view on caste.
2. The Dalit view on caste is a view from the bottom. Explain the statement.
3. To what extent the Brahmanical view on caste explain the nature of caste syatem in India.
4. Discuss Dumont views on nature of caste system in India.

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## Caste in Contemporary India

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Transformation of caste
- 9.3 The Ethnography of Caste Today
- 9.4 The modern transformation of caste
- 9.5 Summary
- 9.6 Check your progress
- 9.7 Reference
- 9.8 Questions

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### 9 .0 Objectives

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1. To make students familiar with contemporary villages which has unchanged since ancient times.
2. To introduce students about the role of politics for the strengthening of the caste system.

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### 9 .1 Introduction

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The most powerful theory of caste developed in the anthropology of India is undoubtedly Dumont's, as magisterially set out in a *Homo hierarchicus* (1970). As the reader will be familiar with the book, I need not outline its contents, beyond recalling that Dumont's theory of caste crucially depends on a xioms especially about the Brahman – Kshatriya a relationship within the Varna hierarchy – that be derives from early Hindu texts, and that the data explained by this theory came predominantly from ethnographic studies of India rural society. The structure of Indian society, as concretely manifested in its contemporary villages, is thus revealed as fundamentally unchanged since ancient times.

The majority of Dumont's critics have to varying degrees, attacked both his theoretical model and his ethnographic representation of the

caste system. The most obvious line of attack on Dumont's model is to question his interpretation of the texts, as has been done by scholars like Heesterman (1971; 1985) or Marriott (1969, 1900b), who polemically contrasts ethno sociological approaches with Dumont's narrower model of Indian society constructed with some western categories (1990). In much the same vein is the critique of Dumont's special concept of religion, which largely reduced it to hierarchical values, that has been developed in the large body of anthropological writing on Hinduism produced since the 1970s (Fuller and Spencer). My purpose here is not to reassess the criticism of Dumont's model, but only to observe that it has been disrupted by arguing that Dumont has misunderstood the texts, the Hindu religious tradition partly encapsulated in those texts, or both. Because India's ancient past and its structural continuity with the present are under scrutiny, Dumont's critics, as much as he, are therefore predominantly oriented towards traditional rather than modern India even when they are actually dealing with contemporary material.

#### **Caste in contemporary India:-**

There are two views regarding the present and the future of caste system. One which is that caste system is passed changing and weakening though it is not being disintegrated or abolished, to this school belong early scholars of 1950's, 60's & 70's like D.N Mazumdar, Kaliprasad, Gardner Paulin Kolenda and Max Weber. In 1980's and 1990's late R.K. Mukherjee, Miller and M.N. Shrinivas, the other view is that caste system is not transforming itself and changes are gradual. To this school belong G.S. Ghurge, Desai, K.M. Kapadia and present scholars like Damle, Louis Dumont, Yogendra Singh, S.C Dubhey and T.M. Madan.

D. N. Mazumdar while explaining how caste system has passed change has letter to fusion and fusion of caste and assimilation of tribes Ramakrishna Mukherjee stated that both the economic aspect and the social aspect of the caste system has vastly changed.

But the scholars of other view coins the caste system changing slowly and gradually and in some cases even superficially do not consider these changes as being disintegrating caste system as a whole. These scholars though they do not imply the dissolution of caste yet have made it clear that caste today is not the same as it was half a century or century ago.

For example, A.R. Desai and Y.U. Damle said the magnitude of changes imparts of the caste system is not as they great as it is believed to be. These changes have not affected aspects of caste system as a whole.

Ghurge was of the opinion that caste system has some of its features. He said caste no longer rigidly determines an individual occupation but still it continues to prescribe almost in its old power. The circle into which one has to marry still depends very largely on one's caste also during critical periods of one's life like marriage and death. He has to depend on its caste group. He further said that though caste have ceased to be unit, administering justice, yet has not lost its hold on its individual members who still continues like is strong today as it ever was.

Narmadshwar Prasad analysed caste function at two levels, 1<sup>st</sup> rituals (marriage, dining), etc 2<sup>nd</sup> ideology (attitude towards Brahmins to unite itself to lighting elections).

He found that changes were taking place of both levels that is ritual and ideology. In spite of these changes. He maintained that the caste system two exists but not beyond the system.

Kapadia tried to study the transition nature of the different characteristic, caste council, ceremonial purity and endogamy, analysing the functions of caste council, he found that one caste councils were powerful in 1860s and 1910, in 1960 though they were legally deprived of their authority to enforce their traditional norms, upon their member by excommunication yet they continued to regulate the conduct and mines of their member Kapadia stated that the Hindu concept of pollution was very extensive in its observance till the 20's of these century. These rules are still observed in some high caste family more often in rural areas. While pointing to endogamy he said that he do find that the number of inter caste marriages is on the increased particularly giving the 20 years at the same time use have clear evidence of the perristance of caste endogamy. He who conducted that whatever people may say about caste there is evidence that caste is not on its last length though that caste is not on its last length though it has undergone a significant change.

Dumont taking up the question of "what is the caste system becoming now a days" In his book home hierarchy holds that contemporary literature exaggerates changes. What is certain that caste system as an over all frame work has not change. The only change that seemed to have taken place is that traditional independent of caste has been replaced by universe of clocks, self sufficient and competitions with one another

Caste has not disappear it has merely shown its resilience to adopt to the changing situation.

### **Caste and Politics:-**

The relationship between caste and politics has been analysed had two levels;

- i) How caste affects politics
- ii) How politics affects caste

Caste has recovered determined factor of political elite status. Studies conducted on political elite by scholars like Ram Ahuja, S.K. Lal, etc have all points out that in the emergence of elite higher caste have an extra ordinary advantage over the middle and low caste. Before independence generally the upper caste groups occupy the centers of political stage in congress party, engage in the freedom struggle, but after independence individuals from middle to lower caste enter political field. the reservation policy enable individuals from the lower caste to emerge as leaders while elite term the middle caste emerge due to their improved educational and socio economic status. Thus caste system which has only ritualistic function (including determining occupation and social status). Assume the new role of regulating political behavior great significance in emerging power structure in offices, universities, secretary / secretariat. There are hobbies, for eg; Jain Lobby, caste group lobby, Brahmin lobby, Yadav lobby, ready lobby, etc. Over political posts. Thus many talk of secularism and denounce caste, and casteist policies, but in practice they function over emergence as leaders has a caste background.

Political parties also mobilized cast support in fact the problems of mobilization of masses today are same as they were four decades ago.

Caste thinking is deeply involved in political ellit and political parties. A Brahmin leader will have less trust and confidence in non-Brahmin labours. He will always depend upon advice and co-operation. No wonder leaders are mostly surrounded by their caste members. It has been pointed out that ever pandit Nehru refered to surround himself with the members of sapos and Nehrus.

However it will not be correct to say that caste alone is the basis of fractional politics in our country, many a time personal loyalty, ideological orientation, regional identification, etc also operate within the political parties.

In Bihar, politics is mainly based on caste whether it is present ministry or earlier ministries the tratrangle and sources available to the political leaders enabled them to create a co-relation of fractions on caste basis. Leaders were bound to political elite in power in a complex network of personal obligation times., Each of these leaders in turn have

a group of followers tied to him in accordance with same sect of (caste and principles) perform of this caste, may vary but whatever may be their social compositions, they demand a higher degree support from this members. It is the past cohesion which treats the leaders. It is the past cohesion which treats the leaders in power the same is too for politics in many other states like Karnataka, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Utter Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and so on.

The mobilization of schedule caste members by schedule leaders of Jats by Jat ministers of a Reddy by Reddy chief ministers of kurmis by agriculture ministers illustrates the way in which caste is used in politics by a still full organizer to transfer his caste into a viable, political force.

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## **9.2 Transformation of caste**

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The most telling criticisms of Dumont's ethnographic representation of the caste system have been inspired by historical research. During the 1970s and 1980s, it became clearly understood that Indian society, and specifically its caste system, as described in the 'village studies' ethnographies of the 1950s and 1960s were not something ancient that survived in 'traditional villages. On the contrary; village society was the product of history and particularly colonial history. To summarize all the historical literature that has now been published on this subject is impossible. Fortunately, though I can draw on the masterly synthesis by Bayly, who rightly observes that both the old idea of timeless India and the never revisionism which almost claims that colonialism alone made India into a caste society are erroneous. In fact, both in precept and practice, caste as a rigid and hierarchical system had long notion of caste held among different social groups tended to be ignored. In as much as increasing diversity in itself a salient feature of contemporary change in caste, an excessively holistic approach is unproductive. On the other hand, partly because of the influence of recent historical work, there is now a risk of exaggerating diversity within Indian society, as if high and low castes. Hindu and Muslims, or men and women all inhabited autonomous social universe. That plainly is not the caste and irrespective of the attention that ought to be given to diversity ( or resistance), we should not lose sight of the unity ( or ideological dominance) that are also characteristic of Indian society and culture.

If we add a potential (feminist critique to the historical arguments already discusses, and then include all the other work that has critically reanalyzed village ethnographics, little appears to remain of Dumont's ethnographic representation of the caste system. Furthermore, since that representation mainly built, albeit selectively, from the village studies



ethnographics of the 1950s and 1960s, we have to ask whether we actually have any reliable knowledge of caste in the Indian village at that period.

The question is the serious the because in relation to the subject matter of this book, any assessment of how caste had changed over the last few decades on adequate knowledge of it in the past. Nonetheless, as long as the earlier ethnographies are read with the same kind of critical scrutiny that would be applied to other historical sources, they can supply the data that are needed; taken as a whole, they include copious detailed evidence about village society, particularly local caste systems, as well as accounts of ordinary people's concepts and beliefs, which cannot plausibly be dismissed as in accordance. In other words even though the ethnographies of earlier years tended to mis construct 'traditional' caste based village communities, it does not follow that most of the information contained in them is unreliable ethnographic reportage. Two cases in point, to cite only the village ethnographies written by contributors to this volume, are the monographs on Ramkheri (Madhya Pradesh) in the mid – 1950s by Mayer (1960) and on Sripura (Tamil nadu) in early 1960s by Beteille (1965). But there are many other sources as well, and as a body of evidence summarized most fully by Mandebaum (1970) in an underrated synthesis which is, unlike *Homo hierarchicus*, a work of empirical induction – the ethnography plainly shows that relatively rigid and stable caste hierarchies were central features of village social structure in the mid – 20<sup>th</sup> century throughout the plains of India. Undoubtedly, there was a tendency to over state both the importance of caste in relation to other aspects of the social structure, and the salience of purity and pollution in comparison with other criteria for determining status. Such overstatements were converted with the eoretical sophistication into the absolutes of Dumont's theory. Analytical overstatement, however, need not undermine the quality of ethnographic reportage. The answer to the question posed above, therefore, is that the village studies ethnography as a whole provides us with a predominantly accurate record of rural society and caste as they existed at the time of fieldwork, a historical period when the 'traditional' society consolidated by British rule was still largely intact.

In many parts of rural India, things have not yet altered very much. Estimating their number accurately is hard, but millions of Indians certainly do still live in villages, mainly ones that are remote from urban influences and have seen little agricultural, infrastructural or educational development in which there has been relatively little social change during the half – century since independence. In many other settlements, however, considerable change has occurred and caste in particular has

become increasingly unlike the institution described in earlier ethnography. It is the empirical fact of social changes, as much as contemporary 'post – structuralist' intellectual movement, which shows us that Dumont's theory is linked to the ethnography of a specific historical period that is now passing away, so that his synchronic structural *ridel* has become unconvincingly inappropriate for analysis.

In 1957, Srinivas argued that caste had been strengthened in the context of modern politics, 'the power and activity of caste has increased in proportion as political power passed increasingly to the people from the rulers. Although this strengthening had started in the colonial period, it greatly accelerated after independence in 1947. Partly by generalizing from Srinivas and other writers like Ghurye, Dumont sought to identify the process of change in more theoretically exact terms as 'a transition from structure to substance' 'competition' substitutes for 'interdependence' between hierarchically ranked castes and 'the caste seems to accept equality which means that 'from the ideological point of view, structure seems to yield to substance, each becoming an individual confronting other individuals substantialization, though, claims Dumont, is still confirmed to the secondary, politico – economic domain encompassed by the religious ideology of hierarchy and hence it cannot amount to a fundamental transformation of the whole system.

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### **9.3 The Ethnography of Caste Today**

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Partly because he was the author of one of the classic village ethnographies, Mayer's report on the changes that have taken place in Ramkheri over nearly forty years has a special interest. As Mayer shows, caste rank has become much less sharply defined in Ramtheri, at least among the higher castes and at feasts at which pakka food is served ranked is barely marked by separate eating lines (*pangat*) nowadays. Caste endogamy, however is still universally practiced, but it is now justified by claiming that the *Khan – pin* (food and drink) or *rahan – sahan* (way of life) of each caste is distinctive and expressive of cultural differences that should not be mismatched, rather than by suggesting that a purity based hierarchy of castes should not be undermined. This alteration in the normative basis of caste – from purity as an index of hierarchical rank to difference as a maker of separation is a matter a degree rather than kind, because change has occurred through a realignment of ideas about rank and equality with the former becoming proportionally less important in relation to the latter since 1954. Hence there is continuity as well as change, but the pattern of change is consistent with Dumont's substantialization thesis that as the ideological

level, structure yields to substance and each caste becomes like a collective individual with its own distinctive culture and way of life.

Mayer's material also suggest that despite the changes that have taken place in Ramkheri, the emphasis on difference between castes can still imply an evaluation of that difference in terms of relative status. Such evaluations however, are now a days mainly made in private, not public. Significantly, although the public consumption of pakka food scarcely express caste ranking today, kachcha food the staple diet and always subject to greater restriction than pakka food is not served on public occasions and is only rarely eaten together by people of different caste at home. As Mayer remarks: 'People may therefore be saying that the old value of caste purity, conveyed by kachcha food, still exists for them'. This observation strongly suggests that relational hierarchical values, as expressed impurity rules, remain salient in the private, domestic domain even though they have been displaced by substantialist ones in the public domain.

That caste hierarchy can no longer be legitimately defined in public has itself contributed to the emergence of a more or less acceptable public discourse about status coded as cultural difference. Because people cannot openly speak of castes as equal they describe them as different indeed like people in Ramkheri they may avoid the terms 'caste' or 'jati' and refer instead to 'community or samaj'. As Mayer suggests, this change may indicate greater commitment to equality, but it is at least as likely that it does not for terms like samaj are frequently euphemistic and the language of difference can be coded means to assert the status of one's own caste and to justify in equality among caste. Hence the significance of this language partly lies in the opportunity that it provides to say the publicly illegitimate lies in the opportunity and substantial is an ideological shift that simultaneously sharpens the divide between public and private behaviour and expression.

In urban settlements, as opposed to villages caste is changing in yet other ways. In Tiruchengodu town in Tamil Nadu, described by Rinichi, the Mudaliyar caste has become increasingly powerful during the last half century. Mudaliyars identity has developed in opposition to the Chetliyors and especially the Vellalars, partly through stereotypes expressive of distinctive caste cultures. At the same time, the Mudaliyar castes distinctive culture is significantly constituted by its individual members commercial success, which crucially depends (among other factors) on their ability to master for co-operative purposes kinship and marriage relationship and interactions with other castes. Individual

success itself engenders increasing socio-economic differentiation within the caste, and the process of concurrent substantialization at the ideological level, and differentiation, at the empirical level, is similar to that found in Ramkheri villages, but in Tiruchengodu it is more firmly established. Reiniche's analysis is also important because it unmistakably shows how thriving mercantile capitalism can reinforce, rather than dissolve, cultural distinctiveness among caste so that in Tiruchengodu, individuals who have successfully differentiated themselves and their own lineage segment may embody, at the same time mobilize the apparently united front of their caste.

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#### **9.4 The Modern Transformation of Caste**

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Throughout modern India, public and political discourse about caste is dominated by the perceived illegitimacy of 'traditional' caste hierarchy, and by the need to overcome the effects of persisting caste inequality. Nowhere is this discourse simple and devoid of inconsistency, but in TN as Dirks's chapter shows, it has probably attained its most involuted and singular form. By tracing the development of ideas about Brahmans and Brahmanism, mainly in the context of the growth of a Dravidianist ideology identifying Brahmans as Aryan 'others', the 'Muslims' of the south, Dirks explores how these ideas were complexly constituted during the colonial period in often paradoxical ways. By analyzing the 'cultural politics' of caste, Dirks particularly reveals the inadequacy of explanations for the rise of anti-Brahmanism which focus too narrowly on non-Brahman resentment of Brahman political and economic, and he is also able to explain how those cultural politics remain salient even today, when the old Brahman dominance has virtually disappeared. Put simply, the Versus non-Brahman opposition is now so deeply inscribed in Tamil discourse that caste – particularly as expressed by that opposition always seems to be the rhetorical point of over determination.

In making sense of the data on caste today, it is useful to reconsider the relation between caste and ethnicity, for Barnett's description of substantialisation as a form of ethnicisation (1975 : 158-9) has some analytical advantages which have not been sufficiently explored. In Weber's original model, status group stratification develops from perceived differences between styles of life, and if these differences are thought to be based on common descent and are further reinforced by restrictions on intermarriage in particular, status groups become ethnic groups. Ethnic groups in turn can develop into castes: 'the caste structure transforms the horizontal and unconnected co existences of ethnically segregated groups into a vertical social system of Supra and

subordination'. And whereas each ethnic groups can 'consider its own honour as the highest one' the caste structure brings about a social subordinate and an acknowledgement of "more honor" in favour of the privileged caste and status groups'. In general terms, the transformation from ethnicity to caste described by Weber is now proceeding in reverse in contemporary India. The 'vertical social' system defined by hierarchical relationships is decaying and caste are becoming like 'horizontally disconnected.

This political strategy has been seen by Srinivas and many others as crucial for the survival or strengthening of caste in post independence India. Treating substantialization as ethnicisation, however, also helps to draw attention to connections between the politics of caste and religious nationalism (or communalism). As we have already seen, Islamisation and the associated development of Muslim identity are significantly expressed by a collective denial that Indian Muslims have castes, unlike Hindus. At the first sight, it looks as if the reinforcement of caste group solidarity in the political field ought to inhibit the development of a broader Hindu identity, but this is not in fact inevitable. Indian politicians are consistently trying to forge inter caste alliances in order to built much larger blocs, and in theory this process of alliance formation could continue until all Hindu castes joined together in a single.

All the same, the strengthening of Hindu communal identity in India today is atleast in part, an extension, rather than a negation, of the ethnicisation of caste. Moreover, the substantialised, ethnic identity of caste may be reciprocally expressed by emphasizing its Hindu identity by asserting that its distinctive caste culture is itself a manifestation of Hindutva, 'Hindu – ness'. Such a development, whereby the symbols of Hindu identity are transmuted into a new symbols of caste identity, appears to have been actively promoted by the BJP in Rajasthan, were Hindutva has been refashioned as a distinctively Rajput set of values.

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## **9.5 Summary**

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Under these contemporary circumstances, although the overall direction of change is fairly clear, the social fact caste appears increasingly ambiguous, inconsistent and variable. What people mean when they identify themselves as members of caste as nearly all Hindus still do or as non-members of any caste as many as Muslims do is itself changing in diverse ways and the same of course applies to the identification of others. Intentions and belief in relation to caste therefore became patently problematic to an extent that they did not before, and this is partly because the deconstruction of 'traditional caste entails the collapse of a relatively coherent internally consistent ideology, so that a

multiplicity of often contested meanings emerges in its place. Reinciman, in his Werberian exposition social theory, rightly insists that.

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### 9.6 Check your progress

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1. Discuss how caste had changed over the few decades ?

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2. Highlight factors responsible for rural India unchanged.

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3. Explain Srinivas argument on caste and politics.

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4. Politics of caste leads to communalism. Discuss

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### 9.7 Reference

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### 9.8 Questions

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1. Briefly discuss the role of caste system in India
2. Write short note on caste and politics.

## Emergence of Classes Within Caste System

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Caste and class conflict

10.4 Summary

10.5 Check your progress

10.6 Reference

10.7 Questions

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### 10.0 Objectives

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1. To acquire students with traditional static role of caste system in hindu society.
2. To bring awareness among students regarding the role of English education system and its close link with employment oppurtunity.

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### 10.1 Introduction

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While traditional i.e. pre-British Indian society was static in character, it did not allow social mobility upwards as well as downwards in the social hierarchy. But after independence some lower caste rose to powerful position and also developed themselves economically. These caste brought or received many areas of land in due course of time and became land owners in villages. Numeric strength and prestige and power coming from ownership of land and putting them in strategic position for capturing political power in periods of uncertainty opportunities for fixing pol power were more likely to be available to them. This is why in south dominant peasant caste such as Reddies, raws, Coorgs Dellalas have been able to chain Kshatriya's status. The patidars of Gujarat in origin of peasant caste became politically powerful in the 18<sup>th</sup> when they claim to be Kshatriya's After Independence these caste have bargained with the political parties became useful as vote banks. During election these dominant cast became more powerful.

**Emergence of classes without the caste system:** - In urban areas higher caste took the opportunities for higher education and were able to find employment at higher level and also as professional. These who took advantage of English education entered better pay prestigious occupation. This resulted in considerable overlap between the traditional and modern elites. This had the twin effect of increasing the cultural and ideological difference between high and low caste as well as making the new opportunities desirable. In the first place they were well paid and prestigious and in the second only the high caste has succeeded to them.

Less frequently in some areas, a few lower caste had succeeded to new trading or employment opportunities. For eg: - Oil men all over India benefited from the enlarged market for trade in oil and seeds brought about by improved communication and population growth. Noways from eastern U.P. kolies of Surat coast in Gujarat and members of several other groups benefited from the new employment opportunities resulting from railway, road and canal construction. In all such cases some such families form new classes within their own caste groups and desire to move up in the caste hierarchy by acquiring the symbols and rituals of high caste.

The mobility of few lower castes had a demonstration effect on all the other region. The later felt that they were no longer contempt to poverty, operation and lack of esteem they could also move up if they work hard enough.

Due to the reservation policies many schedule caste received the opportunity to have access to higher education and through their hard work they also reached the higher levels. They were also sincere and thus moved up in their caste hierarchy. Definitely they formed new rich classes having prestigious occupation many doctors, professors, lawyers and other profession among the schedule caste and tribes formed their separate classes from their own caste men they were aspire to become one with higher caste by ignoring their own caste fellows and adopting the symbols of higher caste in order to be recognized as members of the upper classes. Thus became distinct among their own caste.

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## **10.2 Caste and class conflict**

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Caste and class are viewed as the most significant dimensions of stratification. They are considered as closely interrelated almost inseparable processes of social life. It is one thing that caste is *viewed* as a sole mou analysing Indian Society or class is used for analysing caste and power. But quite different in real life as caste and class are



not only highly differentiated internal complexities of their expression and articulation signify *the vast ramification* structured social inequality.

The notion of caste referring to it as a rigid, unchanging, archaic and orient system though found functionally as inevitable and useful or as antithetical to system based on class relations are deeply contradictory in terms.

Among the divisive forces which afflict our national *life, disrupt the* bonds unity among the Indian people, and affect social advancement and further development casteism and caste conflict are the *major* factors.

The frequent instances of caste confrontation, leading even to occasional outburst of caste violence, both in urban centres and the countryside, seek some attention. The issue of reservation in services and higher educational institutions, especially its extension to other backward classes, raises a storm every now and then.

Since agrarian relations, economic transactions and service relations ha. changed, the caste system too has changed a lot setting *in* motion *the process, role - reversal*'. A couple of studies have highlighted the role of migration, education, occupation, power, style of life, ownership, control and use of land, inter - cast feuds, competition and bargaining for higher - wages as the *changing criterion* o status - determination and the caste class nexus. *Agrarian reforms and the greet revolution have affected* caste, class and land relations by creating divisions comprising various kinds of gainers and losers which also has implications for the emergence of a new *power* structure.

Caste and class are not polar opposites, caste and class are not found in both rural and urban areas, caste is not simply confined to ritual ranking and class is not just grouping of people based on common economic and occupational interests both caste and class are corporate as well as individualistic entities, and the two have fixity as well as flexibility. Caste is not being replaced by class, and caste is still changing rapidly finding a place for itself in non-conventional and secular domains of social, political and economic life.

However, the nature of social change in India's village during the fifties and sixties indicate an uneven impact on its social structure. The domination of the traditional castes and classes continued despite social and economic reforms. The electoral challenges from the lower castes, the extenantry, working classes and the weaker sections did not alter the traditional power structure. The benefits of extension work in agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, marketing, credit and co-operatives were monopolised by the traditional upper caste rich strata.

More significant changes in the power structure of the rural society took place in the southern states than in the northern ones, because of the differences in caste demography. In this region too, spectacular patterns of changes emerged later as the investment made during the fifties and sixties matured in the seventies and eighties. Social mobility during the first two decades after independence was slow and classes. The poorer section of peasantry, agricultural workers and havi-fans did feel the liberating impact of the new reforms, psychologically, and in some measures culturally but their over all impact on their social status and power and income remained marginal.

Caste is not today what it was before 1947, and it has also not become class or a replica of it. Based on the study of a village in Tamil Nadu. Harris observes that caste gives coherence and meaning to and structures actual social relations. Caste is both an actual structure of social relationships and an ideology. Caste structure does not rest upon unequal access to the means of production and the appropriation of surplus alone by a dominant caste. A dominant caste (or dominant families) must be a part of the dominant class. The two may be congruent phenomena, but not always necessarily. There re complimentary unequal exchanges between members of different castes, hence hierarchy and the exploitation of labour, the poor and the lower caste men.

The caste - class nexus has undergone a considerable change and yet there exists a close tie between caste and class. In Kerala, 'leader land lord nexus' is reported as new phenomenon, and a good number of the leaders (also land lords) belong to the communist party of India (marxist) and hail from a high social stratum Rural Assam too shows a highly stratified system with social and economic correspondences at different levels of society. No other state is apparently as divided as Bihar on the basis of caste since the 1970's. Bihar is viewed in terms of forwards or twice - born, upper - backwards, lower-backwards and minorities, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

A couple of studies of peasant movements and peasant organisations. In different parts of India have shown that wherever the lower castes have been numerically stronger and also extremely poor, radical mobilisation has been far greater than in other areas where such a situation did not exist. At the same time caste and other conservative forces have limited the scope of mobilisation in some parts. Mobilisation across caste lines is not quite clear even among the communist led movements. Even religious divides have been exploited by different sections of society of extricating the maximum possible economic and political advantages.

Caste and class have always been interrelated dimensions of the same social reality. The following observations may be noted :

1. A 'rich peasant class' has emerged. But this class has emerged mainly out of the ex-ryots who generally belonged to the upper stratum of the intermediate agricultural castes, and to the formerly land - owning upper castes who have now taken up agriculture as self-cultivators. The green revolution has mainly benefited these sections of rural India.

2. A section of the upper castes has taken up white - collar employment as the basis of its livelihood. This has accorded it a high status, and has resulted in migration and mobility among them.

3. There has been an increase in the country town nexus. Partly migration and mobility and partly the governmental strategies of development have led to this increased nexus between the two.

4. Politicization of caste identity, despite its weakening in social and ritual spheres, has occurred in the form of an easy means to seek political favours.

5. The scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes are still generally at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy barring a small minority of their political and administrative elite. Hence, they also show internal differentiation based mainly on economic and political criteria.

6. Urban - industrial social stratification is characterised by the capitalist -entrepreneurial, professional, white-collar and working classes to a large extent. All these classes are also highly differentiated internally.

7. Social mobility is complex and varied like social stratification in Indian Society. Emergence of the elite from among the SCs and STs on the one hand and pauperisation of some upper caste families on the other are two contrary trends. It is also a fact that the upper castes have not maintained status - quo, they have diversified their status - base, and at the same time also socially declined. The middle castes have improved their overall social position, while some families continue to remain backward even among the highly upwardly mobile castes. The SCs and STs barring their 'elite', remain at the bottom of the social pyramid.

There is no uniform pattern of the nexus between caste and class. Castes occupying leading positions in the competitive economy of the Punjab are also leading castes among Sikhs and Hindus. These dominant castes are in a position to mobilise their respective fellow men to defend their economic and political interests. On the contrary, the situation is quite different in Bihar where castes are used openly

and unhesitatingly in an almost virulent form to divide the society in real life situations.

Castes are presenting themselves as 'confederations' and senas (armies) against one another. The state is divided into forwards, backwards, harijans, addivassis and muslims. Caste-encounters, accompanied by fights, feuds, murders, etc. have been quite frequent. Thus, caste is becoming a political process in which class and power are inherently embedded. Since caste is a political process in the marketing, it can be thought of as a means of creating a contradictory situation. In which conflicts and 'secularisation', could co-exist. But politics does not get 'secularised', therefore, itself gets 'secularised', but makes politics ethnic and sectarian.

What we have in the specific Indian situation today is a mixing up of two social differentiations. One, based on caste, is a legacy of the past but has been carried over in to the present. The other is class differentiation, based on the development of productive forces and the commensurating production relations. Inevitably, the second one is growing more powerful each day, and is breaking up the rigid frame work imposed by the caste system - objective developments are strengthening class divisions and antagonisms, and the struggle between classes is becoming sharper.

Some persons, who desire to take an advantage by playing up casteism, equate caste with class and even caste war to a form of class war in Indian conditions. This is totally a wrong and disruptive concept. It ignores reality and the march of time. While class consciousness and class struggle unite all sections of the exploited masses against their exploiters, caste consciousness and caste struggle divide the exploited masses according to their castes while claiming to fight the exploiters. The caste is ideology of the dominant castes <-an not be fought by building a caste ideology of the lower or backward caste.

The beginning decades of India's developmental experience in past -independence period were marked by extraordinarily high degree of optimism. By the end of sixties the Indian state had succeeded in laying strong foundations for both industries and agriculture in newly formed nation states. However, by the end of Sixties many fissures were becoming evident in economic, social and political structure of country. Thus the end of sixties also witnessed struggles and events of unrest both in the industries as well as agrarian sectors. One witnessed the beginning of militant trade unionism in cities and simultaneously the Naxalite movement broke out in eastern and southern agrarian zones of country. These events were precursors to longer and much more militant

struggles that were to characterise the elecade of seventies in Indian politics.

### **Class struggles in the sixties :-**

Although India had recorded fairly high annual rate of growth in almost all sectors of industries and agricultures, social distribution of wealth generated left much to be desired. Although the situation emphasised the socialist character of the nation it was soon realised that a new economic and political elite had consolidated itself within Indian social structure, as a result one being able to notice an increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of very small minority. This minority elite were then interested only in furthering their profit motive at the expense of larger social goals of achieving growth with social justice and equality.

In cities the workers were beginning to realise that they were being paid less and less in proportion to the goods that they were producing. Cities like Bombay became very important centres of T. V. activity and the workers used these forms to simultaneously express their disappointments as well as their resolve to struggle unitedly against their perceived exploiters. Thus we see that by sixties especially in industrial cities and specially rigid social hierarchy had come into existence.

In the agriculture sector too the prevailing inequalities at the time of independence instead of being done away with had only acquired a new resilience (strength). The particular policy decisions taken at time of independence for e.g. policy of land to tiller remained only a popular slogan. The abolition of zamindari system too was not carried out with any political will with the result that although zamindari system was said to be abolished on paper in reality the system was flourishing. Rural inequalities were also thus on the increase.

The social system of caste which is highly hierarchial and evaluates was another system that the new nation state sought to abolish. However, by the late 60's social scientists were already observing and recording what they felt was the reassertion of caste sentiments. Caste was beginning to play an increasing role in both political as well as economic system in India.

1970's too were years mostly of struggles, turbulences and crisis, however great the hopes of renewal with which they started. But the struggles and crisis were of a different nature. Whether in Gujrat, Bihar or the J.P. movement, they were essentially secular and wholly social in nature. The "agitators" were all the same man and women, ready to kill each other now, who were showing their discontent and exasperation

with the performance of our economy, management of the polity, and the corroding influence of corruption in society. Although the class outlook of the leadership of the movements and the contents of the demands that were raised were basically oppositional, those movements were essentially democratic and anti-authoritarian in character. In spite of the bourgeois formations providing the leadership, the movements had an all - people's character. There is evidence to assert that in the mobilisation of people the inherited structures or ideologies, whether of caste or religious community, did not divide the people. In fact, there did take place great deal of self - mobilisation by people across such social division.

The mass movements and agitation of 1970's were built - upon and were a' continuation of those of 1960's but with one difference. The most important mass movements of 1960's were more clearly class-based around the interests and demands of the exploited classes and toiling masses. They were led, unlike in 1970's, by the left opposition political parties and groups. We find during this period either the communist or socialist political parties leading the extra - parliamentary agitations and popular struggles, the right wing opposition generally shunned the path of extra - parliamentary struggles. The repeated let down of popular hopes and the aggravation of old miseries due to the deepening impact of the crisis of capitalist development created during the course of this decade a widespread predisposition among people to take to agitations. None of the organised political forces could have survived this situation without channelising the growing discontent.

Social scientists like Rajni Kothari and M.N.Srinivas were increasingly beginning to talk about caste as important phenomenon within Indian social reality. Kothari's book "Caste In Politics" was a landmark study of reassertion of caste in domain of politics. It was believed that in post independent India caste would have no role to play within politics system in India. To ensure this the constitution had already declared recognition and practice of caste hierarchies in public illegal, untouchability as a social practice was banned. The Indian State would consider all citizens to be equal under law. Political equations were to be made on exclusively secular grounds. Caste associations were to be permitted but only so far as charity programmes for welfare of their own members was concerned.

These directions were laid down in the Indian Constitution with the hope that caste will become less and less a part of dominant Indian social reality. It was felt that processes such as industrialisation and urbanisation along with modernity and secularism would help in creation

of a society which would function on completely secular principle with caste being reduced to put affair if it existed at all.

By 70's it was quite clear that these hopes were completely belied (to give tie to hope). An analysis of voting patterns from panchayati raj elections upwards reveal. That most voters caste their votes not according to the particular political parties that were being represented but in response to the caste of particular individual candidates who stood for election. This observation led to full length study of the role of caste in contemporary Indian politics. The conclusions of this study reveal that far from being a non entity caste is in fact a dominant player and in many cases the crucial factor in electoral politics. This conclusion had very great implication for the social sciences in India. Most social scientists had predicted the end of caste with the coming of modern industry forever. It was observed that caste only took different manifestations in changed social situation. Both in industrial townships and in rural villages castes was the dominant experience around which people built up their public roles.

Another sociologist followed up above conclusions with detailed studies on roles of caste in contemporary India. It was observed that as a result of modernity and secularise the caste hierarchy was no longer as rigid as used to be. In fact the possibility of changing one's status within caste hierarchy had increased substantially. In other words, caste mobility came to be one of the important characteristics of caste hierarchy in modern India M.N. Srinivas carried the term "dominant caste" in order to understand this particular phenomenon. The traditionally dominant caste ls caste hierarchy according to him need not retain their dominance for all time. In fact various other had begun to play a crucial role in the understanding of dominance. Dominance no longer was a function of ritual status and purity alone. In fact the acquisition and ownership of land was increasingly becoming an important marker of dominance within geographical area. These then influenced the political structure that governed the village economy.

By the 70's the Indian polity specially in rural areas had a substantial number political parties and caste associations which far from bringing about the end of caste system actually helped in political mobilization of caste groups. Caste was being accepted as an important variable within the political climate of contemporary India. In addition a for more disturbing facet of caste based politics was renewal of violent struggle between various castes in rural phurterland. Reports of massacre of whole harijan communities by higher caste landlord and were being carried by daily newspapers particularly from areas like U.P., Bihar and Tamil Nadu in South. These reports pointed to an almost complete feature

of med” and secularisation programme that India had embarked on under the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The extreme violence that was manifest in these caste wars was of great concern to political leadership in India. However, not many steps have been taken to prevent the reoccurrence of these caste wars. In fact caste has continued to play a divisive role within Indian society as a whole. Perhaps the most recent manifestation of the divisive nature of caste politics can be witnessed in controversy and violence surrounding the announcement of the implementation of Mandal Commission report pertaining to reservation of seats in employment and educational institutions on basic of caste backwardness.

To conclude then one can say that social scientists theorizing about the phenomenon of caste in rural India were completely unable to understand the actual reality about caste and its role in a modernising society. They predicted the gradual withering away of caste structures as a result of industrialisation, urbanisation and other processes of modernity. However, caste conflicts and class divisions have been steadily on an increase in independent India and by late 70's social scientists were beginning to realise that caste and class will continue to be a phenomena that will not go away easily and hence a commitment to study and understand the true nature of caste and class within Indian society was needed.

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### **10.3 Summary**

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Caste and class are significant dimensions of social stratification. Though closely interrelated, they are highly differentiated internally and perpetuate inequality and conflict. Caste is not being replaced by class and is undergoing a change. The scenario has changed with the emergence of dominant castes and classes. In India, today we have a mixing up of two social differentiations - one based on caste and the other based on development of productive relations and the commensurating production relations. The latter is becoming stronger and breaking the rigid framework imposed by caste. In the late 60's, caste was playing an increasing role. 1970's were also marked by struggles which were secular and social in nature. In recent times caste has been found to play an important role in politics and this helped in political mobilisation of caste groups. Social scientists have realised that caste and class will continue to dominate the science and a commitment to study the true nature of caste and class in the Indian society was needed.



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**10.4 Check your progress**

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1. Why pre British Indian was static?

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2. Highlight those reasons responsible for high caste people to acquire higher education ?

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3. In which way reservation policy has helped the low caste

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4. Caste- class nexus has undergone considerable change ? Discuss

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5. Discuss the role of caste in village.

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**10.5 References**

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1. Gupta Dipankar 2000, Introgating Caste, Understanding hierarchy and differences in Indian Society. New York Penguin Puthan Inc,
2. Srinivas M. N. 1997 Caste, Its twentieth century avatar, New York Penguin Putnam Inc,

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**10.6 Questions**

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1. Highlight in detail the role of caste after Indpendance ?
2. Write short note on emergence of class within the caste system.

## **Family and Kinship : Concept And Types**

- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Indo – Aryan Kinship System
- 11.3 Dravidian Kinship System
- 11.4 The traditional Indian family
- 11.5 The Clan Organization of the Marathas
- 11.6 Summary
- 11.7 Check your progress
- 11.8 Reference
- 11.9 Questions

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### **11.0 Objectives**

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1. To bring awareness among students about different types of kinship systems found in different parts of India.
2. To introduce students regarding importance of family ties and kinship relationship for healthy life and development of society.

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### **11.1 Introduction**

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Iravati Karve in her work “Kinship Organization in India” (1968) analyses different kinship systems found in different regions of the country. Based largely on her finding and supplemented by material for other studies, we can construct the Indo – Aryan and Dravidian kinship system in India.

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### **11.2 Indo – Aryan Kinship System**

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The organization of the family is essentially similar throughout with most of the caste conforming to the pattern which has its roots in the Indo – Aryan patriarchal family.

Marriage regulations are based mainly on considerations of consanguinity. The ancient rule of avoiding marriage with somebody who is removed by less than seven degrees from the father and five

degrees from the mother is quoted by all castes when asked marriage practices.

The actual rule of marriage is however that a person

Must not marry in his patri – family which can be called patri – clan in some cases.

Must also avoid marriage with the children of his mother's siblings and cousins and with the children of father's female cousins.

If a daughter is given into a certain family of a certain villages a second daughter is generally not given into the same family or village in that generation and owing to the taboos mentioned above, not in the next two generations at least. Also, there is a prejudice against exchanging daughter.

Though there is a wider and wider circle for seeking marital alliances there is always an outer limited for this expansion which is different for each caste. This region of endogamy may comprise from a few administrative district to whole linguistic region. This limitation of the fields of marriage is due to the fear that the bride or groom of a distant village, though preferring to belong to the same caste is one's own, may be inferior in some ways. Therefore, daughters are given in marriage to families with whom did official relations of one's own family or one's affinal families can be established.

Folk literature singles out certain pairs of relations as natural enemies such as a woman and her husband's sisters (nanad), and a woman and her husband's mother (sas). The nanad has to leave the house in which she was born and find that a complete stranger takes her place in it. The sas is the ruler in the joint family and though she, like the daughter – in – law, has also come into family through marriage, she has established certain rights.

Early marriage to a complete stranger out of the native village is a terrible crisis in a girl's life. Marriage is a sacrament and no normal man or woman must die without receiving this sacrament. The marriage ceremony involves pomp and fun and yet the moment of parting from the mother is poignant. The husband is a shadowy figure the real people are the parents in law. There is the ever present fear of the husband bringing another wife. Only when a girl becomes a mother of a boy does she feel completely at home in her husband's house.

Though the system of Levirate (marriage of a widow to the husband's brother) is found among a large number of castes it does not have the sanction of the present day Brahminic religion. Higher caste and ruling families generally prohibit levirate and prefer that the widow should adopt a boy.

The words for 'marriage' are different from the words of 'widow-marriage' in India. The second marriage of a widow was absolutely prohibited in certain castes, while in other castes, where it was allowed, such a marriage did not have the sacredness of a first marriage. This type of taboo on the second marriage of a man does not exist, but there is a social dislike against it. Multiple marriages gave prestige to a man, but lowered the social status of the family which gave its daughter to man whose first wife was alive.

The northern family is a continuation of the family of the ancient times with slight modification. It is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. Marriage is generally outside of the kin group and the local group. It is a joint family which the brides are all brought from outside and the girls are all given away. The behaviour is strictly regulated according to generations, according to whether one is born in the family or married into the family, and finally according to whether one is a man or a woman. Customs like levirate and sororate show that marriage is very much a relationship between two families rather than between two individuals

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### **11.3 Dravidian Kinship System**

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In a large number of castes the 1<sup>st</sup> preference in marriage is given to a man choosing his elder sister's daughter as a bride. A man's elder sister is given in marriage to a family which is led into an obligation to give the daughter of the marriage back to the family from which they had originally received the bride.

Among the preferred marriage, a man's marriage with his father's sister's daughter (i.e. a woman marrying her mother's brother's son) comes next among a very large number of castes. The family which gives a daughter expects one in return. This return is however effected in the next generations.

The third type of preferred mating is that of a man with his maternal uncle's (mother's brother's) daughter. Those who have given a daughter to a particular family must continue to do so even afterwards; those who have received one from a particular family must always go on receiving from that family.

There is a definite bias for marriage within a very small kin group, just outside the immediate primary family. The only rule is clan – exogamy.

Exchange of daughters is favoured and marriage among close kin is the preferred one. The rules of marriage as deduced from kinship behaviour are:

One must not marry a member of one's own clan.

A girl must marry a person who belongs to the group 'older than self' and also to the group 'younger than the parents'. Therefore she can marry any of her older cross – cousins, as also the younger brother of her mother.

A boy must marry a girl belonging to a group 'younger than self' and who is a child of the group 'older than self'. He can therefore marry any of his younger female cross – cousins and also a daughter of any of his elder sister.

A form of marriage allowed is the marriage of a man with his wife's younger sister (though there is a taboo against a man marrying his wife's elder sister).

The category of kin are not blood relations and in – law relations as in the north but blood relations whom one may not marry and blood relations whom one may marry. A man does not bring a stranger as a bride to his home, a woman is not thrown among complete strangers on her marriage. Marriage strengthens existing bonds. The emphasis is on knitting families closer together and narrowing the circle of the kin – groups, a policy exactly opposite to the one followed in the north.

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#### **11.4 The traditional Indian family**

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Before examining the impact of various processes of change on the family, it would be useful to look at the important characteristics of the traditional Indian family. Gore (1968) identified the important components of the traditional Indian family with reference to the larger social and economic context.

An economy in which an overwhelmingly large proportion of the population depends directly on agriculture and allied activities.

A level of technology where the domestic unit was also the unit of the economic system.

A non differentiation of occupation between father and son, or between brothers.

An institution of property where the sons inherit equally but not individually and the daughters had no share at all.

An institution of marriage characterized by the rule of early marriage, caste endogamy and arranged marriage.

Maharashtra on the other hand is an area where the Sanskritic northern traits and the Dravidian southern traits almost hold a balance with perhaps a slight predominance to the north of this area though the language spoken are officially northern language like Gujarati, Rajasthani, Mimadi and Hindi there is a vast belt of broken mountain ranges (the Satpuda and the Vindhya) and forests which harbour many primitive

tribes which speak Mundari and Dravidian languages mixed with the Sanskritic language enumerated above. To the south and the south – east Maharashtra is bounded by plain fertile country and populous areas where the two Dravidian languages Kannada and Telugu are spoken. Inscription and records show that parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra were ruled by the Satavahana kings for seven centuries, by Calukya kings for 250 years and by Rastrakuta kings for a similar period as one kingdom or empire. Geographically and politically it was an area of cultural contacts and this fact is reflected in the social institutions of Maharashtra.

In northern Maharashtra (the basins of the rivers Tapi, Purna, Vardha and Vainganga) there are many Kunbi castes each sub divided into exogamous clans. Some of these admit having the customs of levirate; some have a taboo on cousins' marriage, while some practice cross cousin marriage. In central Maharashtra where the Marathas are the dominating caste, one type of cross cousin marriage and hypergamous clan organization is almost the rule, which in southern Maharashtra there are instance of both types of cross cousin marriage as also of undenience marriage among some castes.

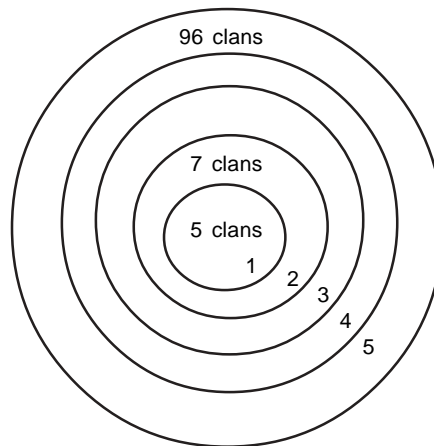
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### **11.5 The Clan Organization of the Marathas**

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The clan organization of the Marathas has some similarities with that of the Rajputs. They have no the elaborate mythology associated with the origin of the Rajput clans, but many clans claim to be Rajput in origin and so naturally claim also the mythological origin of the Rajputs. These are Shelar (Shilahar of North Konkan), Kadam (Kadqmba of South Konkan), Shinde (Sind of Sinnar in Nasik District), Chalake (Chalukya). Against these are such names as Chavhan, Powar, Salunke which seems to be derived from Rajput clan names like Chauhan, Parmar, Solanki etc. there are some names which are also claims.

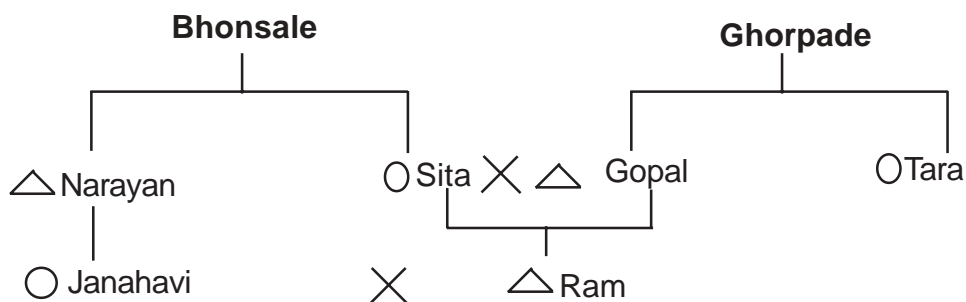
The rule for marriages is that of 5 can marry among themselves or can marry girls from the other clans but do not give their daughters to anyone outside of the 5 clans. The '7 – clan' division can marry among themselves or can give their daughter to the five clan or receive girls from all the rest except the five clan division. The difference between Rajput arrangement and this is that among the Rajputs the Surya – bansa, the Andra bansa etc. are exclusive of earn other while here each inner circle is contained in the larger circle. The clans are part of the seven clan & of the 96 clan. Mot so the Bansa, except that they all belong to the same Rajput caste. They cab be represented visually on a ladder but not as concentric circles.



Like the Rajputs the Marathas seem to be made up of various ethnic elements some considering themselves to be higher in status.

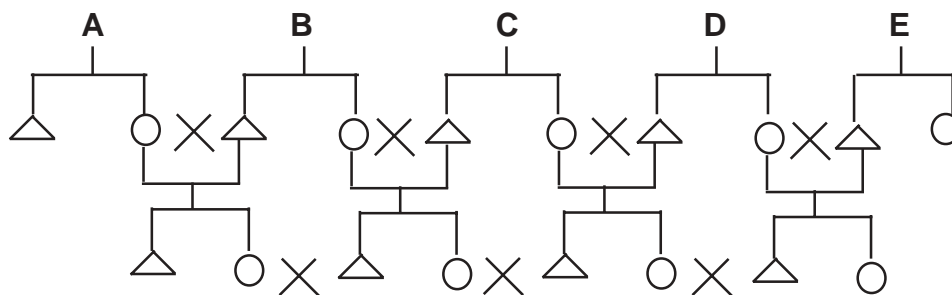
Unlike the castes in the northern zone most of the communities in Maharashtra have no marriage taboo based on bilateral kinship. Besides the taboo based on the own brothers and sisters a person must not marry the parallel cousin through the mother and must not marry any parallel paternal cousins. In northern and central Maharashtra there is also a taboo against the marriage of a man to his paternal cross cousin, i.e. his fathers' sisters' daughter. Sister can among northern Kubis and other castes (Tirole, Govari etc.) but is not tolerated in the rest of Maharashtra. A man can marry his wife's younger sister but not the older sister. With the later his behaviour is very respectful and circumspect while with the former he may cut any jokes he pleases.

The two customs taken together evolve a certain pattern. The social status determines the roles of the two families as givers of brides and receivers of brides. When a man Gopal from the Ghorpade family has married a girl Sita from a Bhonsale family the two families feel obliged to perpetuate an affinal connection and Sita's family is anxious to give another daughter into Gopal's family in the next generation and the new bride is by preference the brother's daughter of Sita.



This pattern is adhered to consciously if the superiority sentiments are deeprooted, but even when there are no tacit standards about the superiority or inferiority of clans this pattern is followed so that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. A woman is always anxious to bring her brother's daughter as her daughter – in – law and that has resulted in the term 'Atya' or "Mavalar" being applied to both father's sister and husband's mom.

There is a belief among all Marathi people including even those who do not possess clan that if a man marries his father's sister's daughter some ill-luck befalls the family. The reason against such a marriage is given in an expression 'the creeper (a climbing vine) must not return'. The girl given to a family as a bride is the creeper or vine. If her daughter comes back as a bride into her father's family, there is a return of the creeper which is contrary to nature. The vine which all its shoots must go in one particular direction, it must not come back.



We have thus givers and receivers of girls even among people who theoretically belong to the same status. Among those who are of the same status ultimately the circle of giving will be closed by C or D or E giving daughter to A. We have thus a principle of indirect exchange. But very often it leads to social maladjustments by which daughters of highly born families tend to remain unmarried for failing to find a groom of equal status or must marry below their grade and become members of a lower social group. In such marriage the married girl loses the usual contact with her parent's home and is not treated as an honoured guest.

Sometimes in central Maharashtra and more frequently in south Maharashtra, a man may marry his father's sister's daughter but on such occasions some expiatory rite is always performed at the time of marriage. On one such occasion a miniature replica of a vine was made in gold, passed over the heads of the groom and the bride and given away to the officiating priest. This was supposed to avert any evil resulting from such a marriage.

Exchange of girls as bride between two families is frowned upon by all who have any pretention to status. In Maharashtra many Brahmin



castes follow the same pattern as the non – Brahmins. All Brahmins possess Gotra's and a man, provided he marries outside his Gotra and Pravara group, can marry his blood relation on the mother's side preferably the daughter of mother's brother. They do not regulate their marriage according to the consanguinity taboos of the north but on a system of clan exogamy where the Gotra takes the function of the clan. Such a cross – cousin marriage (a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter or a woman marrying among the Saraswat, the Kardhada and the Desastha an Rgvedi Brahmin caste of Maharashtra.

The Madhyandina caste of Brahmin not only practice the usual rule of Gotra and Pravara but insist that the Pravara of the brides Mama must be different from the grooms Mama i.e. the grooms maternal uncle. This taboo on all families belonging to the mother's Gotra is not found among other Brahmin castes of Maharashtra Brahmins are a later in migration into Maharashtra from the north zone.

The Gujars in Khandesh (North West Maharashtra) do not allow cross cousin men and follow in custom. Recently however after much debating in the caste council permission was granted for one such man of the caste elders said, "When all around you, other castes are indulging in such marriages you cannot prevent it happening in one isolated caste. One can't live in the sea and not get wet'.

Thus we see that the preferred type of marriages in Maharashtra is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter. It is found among the majority of castes. It is supposed to result in misfortunate and some expiratory rites need to be performed when it does take place. The endogamous castes, other than the Marathas do not possess a pronounced hypergamous structure and do not give hypergamy as a reason for following such a practice; but the fact that Marathas do possess such a system, and that they also form an influenced majority in the region seems to indicate that such a marriage and the accompanying taboo against the other type of cross cousin marriage rest on feelings of superiority and inferiority arising from such a system.

The southern influence is more marked in the Maratha region than in Rajput an a and Kathiawad. Some kinship terms are literary and are used by Brahmins and are purely Sanskritic. There are others more colloquial and equally respectable, used both by Brahmins and non – Brahmins which can be explained and understood by reference to the southern system. The Marathi language has a large kinship vocabulary than any other language either in the North or the South because of the double nomenclature for certain relations.

In the North the words for brother's wife is Vahini which however is used also for the younger brother's wife. If the reference is to a younger brother's wife one must say 'Dhakti Vahini' i.e. younger Vahini. The other word for Nanad is Vanse or Vaitese used as a term of address or else as a term of reference.

The words Mama, Mami, Atya and Mavalana are already discussed. Among husband, while some give the word Mama or Mavala. A man can & does many times marry his wife's younger sister. This custom is reflected in the Marathi proverb Ai Meli Ki Bapa Mause i.e. after mother's death the father is but the Mause's husband. It means that from a close blood relation he becomes as distant as an affinal relation when he marries the younger sister of the mother.

The word for brother and sister are similar to those in the North Bhau and Bahin. The Marathi people however use a lot of nicknames for older and younger brother and elder and younger sister like Padi, Anna, and Nana, Bapu for brother and Tai, Mai, Akka etc for sister. They are either word for father and mother (baba and bapu or Tai and Mai) or borrowed from Dravidian (anna, nana, akka). This very peculiar custom of designating brother by nickname seems to be derived from the Dravidian custom of nomenclature which is discussed later.

In Maharashtra one does not have so many terms and the type of terms and changes accordingly as the speaker is a man or a woman. For own son and daughter the terms are put or lyok or Mulga and Lek or Mulagi. The same terms are used when a women speaks of her sister's.

Children when a man speaks of his sisters children the words are Bhacha – Bhachi. This system is a sort of a compromise between the South and north system. In a purely classificatory system one would have expected only two pairs of terms for

Children of the same sexed sibling, own children, husband's brother's children and wife's sister's children and

The children of the different sexed siblings. Wife's brother's children and husband's sister's children.

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## **11.6 Summary**

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Human beings prefer to live in groups. Members do not behave independantly of one another. They are related to one another. They are related to one another interms of kinship relationship. Kinship relationship is a bond of family ties interms of sex, age, residence, marital status, religion or any other interest. Their relation to one another determines the types of social units, their relationship to one another and also the types of interaction. Thus in India in kingroup humanbeings gets the

opportunity to fulfill not only his goal but also goal of family member and relatives.

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**11.7 Check your progress**

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1. Highlight the rules of marriage found in Indian society.

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2. Why marriage was considered as sacrament

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3. North family is basically a patriarchal family. Discuss

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4. Explain Dravidian marriage system.

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5. How dravidians marriage system different from northern marriage system ? Discuss.

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**11.8 Reference**

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1. Dube Leela (2001) , Anthropological explanations in Gender, New Delhi, Sage Publications.
2. Singh Yogendra (1988) Modernisation of Indian traditions, Jaipur : Rawat Publication.
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**11.9 Questions**

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1. Discuss the different kinship systems in India in terms of patrilineal and matrilineal system.
2. Explain the meaning of kinship and discuss the different ways in which kinship bonds are formed.

## Family and Kinship: Issues of Structure and Change

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Meaning and Definition of Family
- 12.3 Studies on the Indian Family
- 12.4 Structural changes in the family
- 12.5 Ethnicity, Definition Ethnic Groups and Identity
- 12.6 Summary
- 12.7 Check your progress
- 12.8 Reference
- 12.9 Questions

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### 12.0 Objectives

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1. To bring awareness among students regarding social structure of society.
2. To acquaint students with changing family situation, economic organisation and behavioural patterns.

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### 12.1 Introduction

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The rigidity or the elasticity of a social structure may depend either on the nature of the particular social structure or on the whole cultural fabric of a society.

A few examples will make this clear. In Maharashtra some castes follow the northern type of kinship behaviour as regards marriage while the majority of castes allow them of a man to his mom's brother's daughter. Among these castes which follow the northern pattern a few cases of cross cousin marriage do occur very rarely.

Often it becomes very difficult to differentiate and study separately kinship groups and the joint family. Members of the joint family are often the members of the kinship group. It is the family that socialises the individual. It is in the family that the individual internalises the norms of

behaviour and customs of the society. The family is an important social unit in the life of an individual.

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## **12.2 Meaning and Definition of Family**

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The family is the smallest social unit in human society. It is considered as a biological or reproductive unit, consisting of a man and a woman having a socially approved sexual relationship and their children, (natural or adopted). As can be seen a family is a social unit made up of persons of the opposite sex who are related to each other by marriage and children who are either their own or adopted. In such systems where the social emphasis is placed primarily on the marital relationship, families are relatively independent of the wider kinship network.

Murdock defines the family as a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction.

Aileen Rosa defines a family as a group of people usually related as some particular type of kindred, who may live in one household and whose unity resides in patterning of rights and duties, sentiments and authority.

### **Issues of Structure and Change :-**

Divorce is not tolerated by the Brahmanic law books and has not the sanction of the priests. The Hindu law codified by the English with the help of the Brahmin savants withholds recognition of divorce and yet divorce is a firmly established social institution all over India in all castes except a few which consider themselves the top castes e.g. Brahmins, Kshatriyas etc. Divorce is granted in the Indian law courts and also in the castes councils without recourse to the law courts and yet all castes combine in a conspiracy which denies the existence of this feature of the marriage customs of Hindus. This refusal to face facts is helped by certain linguistic devices. There are different words for the 1<sup>st</sup> marriage i.e. marriage of a virgin and for the subsequent marriages i.e. the re-marriage of a widow or a divorcee.

The family in the majority of regions in India is an autonomous unit with its own gods, its own observances, its own economic organization, which is semi – independent of other similar units. The caste in its turn is also a closed autonomous unit which has certain limited contacts with other similar units and which controls the behaviour of families in certain respects. A linguistic region is a kind of a group where people are generally not aware of the membership of a group. Changes occur in the structure of all these groups and there are, as we have seen, device of accommodation. It is interesting to study what happens in such cases.

The Hindu family organization had to be modified to accommodate this new change because it could not cut off the deviating members in the old way. The four children of the Sanyasi namely Nivrthi, Jnanadeva, Sopara and the girl Mukka, even after reaching unprecedented social eminence as poet saints could not hope to lead normal lives as householders in the Hindu society of those times. The children of a re-married widow (in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century) on the other hand could find mates in their own society and she and her husbands came to be respected as pioneers in social reform. This difference in the consequences is no doubt dependent on the change in social situation due to culture contact, but it became possible power, thus making the old mechanisms of social sanctions and social control ineffective. These unfortunately remain mainly unexplored fields of anthropology in India, the tolerance of a structure for aberrations and deviations and the mechanisms of structural accommodation have not been studied satisfactorily.

The changes considered above were of a type initiated by individuals. Ultimately almost all the changes in a social structure are initiated by the deviating behaviour of a single person. To take a concrete e.g. the mass transportation of people from the primitive tribes to the tea gardens of Assam and the life of the primitives there is a factor which one would expect would lead to profound changes in the family structure of the primitives. At a labour depot in Koraput in Orissa, I had a very interesting conversation with the man who selected the labourers and arranged for their transport to Assam. He told me of the different ways in which people of different tribes reacted to the environment of the tea garden. He gave just a small instance. He said that the Koya of the Godavari forests had a passion for saving money.

Ross makes a distinction between four substructures of the family (i) *ecological substructure*, that is, the spatial arrangement of family members and their households or how relatives live together, (ii) *sub-structure of rights and duties*, that is, division of labour within the household, (iii) *substructure of power and authority*, that is, control over the actions of others; and (iv) *sub-structure of sentiments*, that is, relationship between different sets of members; for example between parents and children, husband and wife and between siblings.

Sociologists often distinguish between *extended* or *joint* family and the *nuclear* family. The term *extended* family refers to a family system in which several generations of kin live in one household and wider kinship obligations are strong. The term *nuclear* family is used to refer to a unit consisting of spouses and their dependent children.

Sociologists like **George Murdock** assert that the family is a *universal human grouping*. The main reason for (the) universality of the family is its utility in performing the tasks necessary for the survival of the human society and its social continuity namely the regulation of sexual relationship, reproduction, socialization of children and economic cooperation.

**William Goode** had predicted that almost everywhere in the future, the predominant type of family will be the nuclear family made up of parents and their unmarried children. Talcott Parsons, an American sociologist holds a similar view. There is a historical trend to reduce the size of the kinship units in the direction of the nuclear family.

**Kolenda** states that there is growing evidence to suggest that first, to some extent industrialization, urbanization and westernization are in some way related to a trend toward an increasing proportion of nuclear families and decreasing proportion of joint families. Second, industrialization, urbanization sometimes strengthens the joint family because of joint family business, or a new family enterprise.

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### **12.3 Studies on the Indian Family**

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Sociology of the Indian family has been an important field of study for Indian sociologists. In 1953 Karve studied the ancient family in India and concluded that besides joint and patriarchal families, individual families also existed. In 1955 G.S. Ghurye studied the Indo-European "culture as a whole and especially the family and kin with reference to India. In 1955 K.M. Kapadia also studied the Hindu joint family. He based his study on the Vedic Literature, the Dharmashastra and Manusmritis. Studies by Kapadia, L.P. Desai and M.S. Gore examined the changing nature and structure of Indian family as a result of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation. A.M. Shah used the structural functional approach to study the changing dimensions of the family in India. S.C. Dube, Pauline Kolenda, B.S. Cohn and others have studied the family in India and regard co-residentiality and commensality as essential features of the joint family in India. Sociologists like F.G. Bailey and T.N. Madan feel that joint ownership of property is the most important feature of the joint family. Ramakrishna Mukherjee in the 1970s studied the extent of changes in the family in West Bengal by using systematic quantitative methodology.

Some questions raised in the sociology of family and Kinship studies relate to the following : Are Indian families typically Joint families? Are joint families more common among the higher castes than among the middle and low castes? Are joint families characteristics of landowning castes.

Making a comparison of 26 sociological and anthropological studies carried out since independence on the Indian family, Pauline Kolenda concludes that there are marked regional and sub-regional variations in family structure. **The Indian Joint Family**

India is regarded as a classic example of a society with large extended families often called as joint families. The often quoted definition of Indian family is by Karve. **Irawati Karve** defines joint family as a *group of people who generally live under one\* roof, eat food cooked at one hearth, hold property in common, participate in common family worship, and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred*. According to **Karve**, the ancient Indian family in the Vedic and Epic periods were joint in terms of residence, property and functions. She mentions five characteristics of the joint family.

**i Common residence** : all members of the joint family live together under one roof, under the authority of the oldest male who is the head of the family.

**ii Common kitchen** : food is cooked for all members of the joint family in one kitchen (hearth) by the women folk under the supervision of the mother-in-law that is the wife of the oldest male.

**iii Common Property** : Property, that is land is owned by the joint family. There was no individual ownership of property.

**iv Common family worship** : all members of the joint family worship the common family deity or goddess. They also worship common ancestors.

**v Common kin** : all members of the joint family are related to each other by kinship bonds that are affinal (through marriage) or consanguinal (blood) relationships.

For **I.P. Desai** intra-family relationships are important dimensions of the joint family. Desai classifies joint families into the following types : functionally joint family - when two families having kinship relationship live separately but function under one common authority. A traditional joint family - consist of three or more generations living together A marginal joint family - two generation family living together.

Aileen Ross distinguishes four types of families - large joint families, small joint families, nuclear families and nuclear families with dependents like a widowed sister or an unmarried sister.

F.G. Bailey and T.N. Madan given importance to joint ownership of property, irrespective of type of residence and commensality. According to the Hindu Succession Act. 1956, the word common or joint property means all the living males and female members upto three generations



have a share in the paternal property.

Sociologists studying family in India discuss family forms. K.P. Chattopadhyay distinguishes three types of family - simple family consisting of man, his wife, and unmarried children, compound family consisting of two families, for example a man his wife and unmarried children, the man's parents unmarried brothers and sisters, and composite family consisting of lineal and collateral joint families. Gore identifies three types of joint family - (1) filial joint family consisting of parents and their married sons with their wives and children, (2) fraternal joint family consisting of two married brothers, their wives and their children and (3) filial and fraternal joint families consisting of married brothers their wives and married sons, their wives and children.

Ahuja considers a nuclear family as one that has separated from father's or married brothers family as fissioned family. The

Dube and Karve suggest that the smaller joint family is becoming typical of India. Dube and Beteille's studies show that the land owning groups in villages show the characteristics of a typical joint family

Studies by various sociologists on the Indian family suggests that the traditional large joint family in India has changed. Some family studies suggest that the family form would change from joint to nuclear especially in the urban setting. However, we find that both the nuclear and the joint families are found in the rural as well as in the urban areas. Studies on the Indian families have shown that the forces of industrialization, urbanization and modernization has broken the large joint families. Families that are nuclear become joint when married sons continue to stay with parents after marriage. There are four reasons : one the parents may wish that the son should continue to stay with them because of strong family bonds in Indian society. Secondly, the high cost of housing especially in urban areas may compel married sons to "continue to live with their parents. The third important factor is the filial duty of a son to look after his aged parents. The value that a son must look after his parents in their old age is still important. When the son invites his parents to come and live with (him) the nuclear family becomes Joint. And lastly, working women prefer to live with their in-laws knowing that the burden of house-keeping and child rearing would be shared by the elders in the family.

Based on the various studies on the Indian family Ahuja discusses the structural changes in the family and changes in the intra-family relationships.

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## 12.4 Structural changes in the family

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- a) The number of fissioned families is increasing but even living separately, they fulfil their traditional obligations towards their parental families.
- b) There is more jointness in traditional (rural) communities and more nuclearity in communities exposed to forces of industrialisation, urbanisation and westernisation.
- c) The size of the (traditional) joint family has become smaller.
- d) As long as the old cultural values persist among people, the functional type of joint family will continue to exist in our society.
- e) Changes in the family include trends toward neo-local residence, functional jointness, equality of individuals, equal status for women, increasing opportunity to individual members to achieve their aspirations and the weakening of family norms.

**2. Changes in intra-family relations** are studied in terms of husband-wife relations, parental-filial relations.

The relations between husband and wife in Indian family have been reviewed by Goode, Kapadia, Gore and others. These studies indicate change in (a) power allocation in decision-making, (b) emancipation of wife, and (c) closeness.

In traditional family, wife had no voice in family decision-making. But in contemporary family, in budgeting the family expenditure, in disciplining the children, in purchasing goods and giving gifts, the wife's decision is equally important. Husband and wife consult each other in taking decision. This does not mean that husband-dominant family is changing into equalitarian family. Economic role and the education of wife have made wives potential equals. Women especially in the urban areas are seen going out on social visits and outings with the husband and children. Food is taken together as a family. However, authority still lies with the male the husband/father. In this sense traditional values have not changed much.

The relations between parents and children may be assessed in terms of authority, freedom in discussing problems. Studies by Gough and others show that in traditional family, power and authority was totally vested in the patriarch and it was he who decided everything including education, marriage and the career of children. In the contemporary family — both nuclear and joint, the grandfather has lost his authority. The authority has shifted to parents who consult their children on all important issues before taking any decisions about them. Ross' study showed that grand-parents are no longer as influential. Gore also found

that It is now parents who take decisions about schooling, occupation and marriage of their children. Children have also started discussing their problems with parents. They even oppose their parents. Kapadia's study showed that children today enjoy more freedom. To conclude changes in the family has taken place structurally and in intra-family relationships. However many traditional values continue to play a crucial role in the Indian family .

### **12.5 Ethnicity, Definition Ethnic Groups and Identity**

Since attempts to define and circumscribe ethnicity a fluid shifting and historically contingent formation seem as numero was they are futile. Yet it might be useful to clarify the term 'minority' as we will be using it. Minorities after all only exist in relation to majorities within a common social framework where contest over strategic cultural and economic resources is an issue. The obverse is also the case where a numerical majority might be politically marginal and thus a minority as for example is the case with women who might be a numerical majority in a given nation but often constitute a political minority since they have less access to and control over strategic resources. The point then is that there are two kinds of majorities and minorities, numerical ones and more or less politically powerful group. Rather, we propose that numerical majorities and minorities are themselves constructed and manipulated just as ethnicity is, in group struggles for power and hegemony.

State building in the region has been riddled with paradoxes. The curious phenomenon of numerically dominant ethnic communities manifesting a 'minority complex' or anxieties about minority groups is evident in the vise of Sihala Buddhist nationalism in Sri – Lanka cultural nationalism has not then been confined to minority groups fighting for self – determination against assimilation by the majority. Rather, cultural nationalism is an evident among numerically and politically dominant national group as it is among minorities.

In India, the ethnicization of the state came about through two processes: 1<sup>st</sup> British colonial policies that reinforced the magic of number and 2<sup>nd</sup> post colonial state centralization which resulted in the redefinition of relations between the centres and the region, and between the Hindu, population respectively and minorities. In some instances the result was the rise of regional secessionist movements.

Ethnicization has also informed party politics. Their role in directing cultural politics has varied from state to state. Frequently centralist programmes promoted by governments are geared towards jeously guardes interests of the majority groups. More often than not, clientelistic attitudes have characterized political hierarchies being under pressure

to promote their own people to political positions, and to acknowledge loyalty by appointing their clients to political and administrative offices as reward. Due to the territorial distribution of the population, paternalist attitude towards one's peers within political parties and centralizing measures tend to reinforce one another.

The existing federacist structures in India have partly proved beneficial to the ethnic minorities providing a more secure basis for participating in the Indian polity, while strengthening national unity through a more pluralistic system. However they have mainly served to diffuse more extreme ethnic claims.

The economic measures benefiting some groups and by passing others differ not only according to ethnic compositions and the existing institutional and procedural orders, but also in relation to the strategic importance of a particular resource. The ethnicization of the state affects the distributional patterns of resources mainly in three areas: where the state is the majority employer, such as forests, and where the state policies affect region development, i.e. when there is a detectable tendency to privilege areas inhabited by the majority populations.

As a rule, economic opportunities through employment within state institutions are not confined to a monthly salary and pension. Rather, employment within the bureaucratic system is considered a precondition for further gains, often at the expense of wider sections of the population. Where employment within state institutions reflects patterns of a cultural division of labour, members of minority groups are increasingly protesting against the dominance of those in charge of deciding how to redistribute societal resources. Once appointed or elected, minority elites may pursue their individual goals or engage in politics not directed towards goals specifically related to their particular minority groups). Further more, the mere fact that minority elites can climb the social hierarchies may relate to peoples need for symbolic representation in public space.

When the state is an important economic actor providing jobs, investing and planning, the allocation of natural resources is of concern to all groups. Groups partaking within the state are bound to establish a hold over resources that have thus far been at the disposal of other societal groups. All the case studies in this volume provide important examples of state dominated by particular cultural groups securing forests, water resources and / or mineral resources at the expense of their former owners or usufructuaries.

Putting natural resources, even in the most remote areas, under the control of central elites, regional or local elites backed by central elites. Regional disparities existing in all the four countries in this study

do not however necessarily coincide with cultural cleavages. Over the last few decades, local societies have become sensitized to the ways in which the state has acted as a redistributors of the social procedures through various economic policies relating to taxations. Regionalist movements are most likely to emerge under two conditions: either where the under development chance at the centre, especially in the form of taxes have not been balanced out through investment in regional production and consumption (health, education, cultural institution, etc).

However, redistributive practices have not in their entirety succeeded in challenging resources to the economically successful regions and particular population sections. Members of minority groups have not been entirely relegated to inferior economic status when they have lacked access to governmental positions.

Groups which have been successful as entrepreneurs have had to accept powerful patrons within the state institutions. Material success could not then translate into the cultural presence of minority cultures have been either suppressed or neglected. The national symbols proudly displayed in the post colonial period were clearly coined by elements of majority cultures. Which cultural markers dominated public displays signified majoritarian success and also decided individuals' personal chances of access to public institutions.

The majority groups dominating the state have been careful to design policies elevating their own cultural traits over those of the minorities. Subsequently, cultural politics has been closely intertwined with policies directed towards control over resources. Detrimental economic policies could alert them to the concomitant forms of cultural neglect. Also, the redress from the state to valued cultural trails could sensitive minorities to other forms of oppression or marginalization. It is now time to examine how projects of nation building have built upon and brought about cultural dynamics opposing the trends set by the dominant groups.

'History' and 'culture' often serve to substantiate the claims of minorities who have been denied access to political, economic and cultural power.

During the 1980's and 1990's local identity politics and conflicts have been much less affected by direct cross border interventions from neighbouring state and transborder irredentism, than by global discourse on ethnicity. American world which perceive themselves to be 'flooded' by immigrants or hit by a migration crises. Ethnicity formation and mobilization are increasingly shaped by an emerging international civil and human rights frame work, even as this frame work is a result of

the interweaving and meshing; so to speak, of various global and local discourses or identity. It is in this context that international discourse on ethnicity and the related themes of 'community', 'collective action' and 'solidarity' becomes important when trying to explain the salience and proliferation of contemporary ethnicity based movements'.

Human rights, environment and development areas in which international civil society values upholding communal values and local culture have emerged. Several movements in India provide examples of how a forceful movements comprising growing number of non – government or civil society organization and sympathetic on lookers has emerged, increasingly effecting the decisions of national and international policy making and implementing bodies. In many countries of the world 'Chipko' or 'the anti – Narmada Dam' movements are synonymous with local people's courage, organizational abilities and, last but not the least, the salience of minority cultural values. More often than not such movements have been actively supported by leaders who understood the need to support local protest by promoting form and ideologies considered 'indigenous', and at the same time were able to attract international audience.

The struggles over the managements of natural resources have brought the importance of collective spirit to the people in yet another form. At present, the negotiations on Indian policies of forest protection and management have become intimately interwoven with the endeavours of various ethnic minorities. The Jharkhand movement provides a good e.g. of how disputes between government and local society over forest management can eventually result in attempt at more thoroughly redefining the relations between the state and people. Simultaneously the mobilization of forces in struggle to regain precious resources. As is apparent in the following statement formulated by indigenous people in co – operation with several south and south-east Asian rights organization.

'Solidarity' has become a salient notion in development discourse particularly among non – government organization (P. Faff – Czarenelta 1997b). Generally NGOs refer to a civil discourse. Indeed, many NGOs are or claim to be members of minority groups or their legitimate representative. In this process of mobilization an intimate relationship between the category of 'minority' and 'collectivity' comes against: today, minorities are seen as subjects who are in charge of pursuing their own projects but whose resources to approach the public sphere are usually weak. Hence, the relations between groups are seen as closely corresponding to the internal organization of the minority being

supported. Though elaborate form of the collective management of resources and concomitantly.

The international currency of minority and / or conom discourse has spurred representative of indigenous groups to display 'traditions' and 'cultures'. This process is partly the out come of the rights discourse which play greater stress on minority and or collective cultural forms and identities. Ethnic movement emerging in the various countries of South and South East Asia, though they have a hard core of social justice issue, are therefore articulated in terms of ethnicity and identity even as governments change their stand on policies directed at minorities and / or collective actions, since new ideologies stressing collective rites and collective action. Also, the formation of the powerful global movement from environment protection has combined, among others the issue of guarding living space with concerns to protect the rights of minorities.

In shifting to ethnicity in the Indian context there are a few general comments that need to be made at the outset. Few Indian scholars have worked on these topics and fewer still have worked out details typologies or approaches to ethnicity.

Among those who have unhesitantly used the concept in the Indian context are mostly western scholars led by political scientist like Myron Weiner (1978), Poul Brass (1985), Schermehron (1978), Das Gupta (1975) followed by Kothari (1989), Phadnis (1989), Baruat (1994) (a) and Pandian (1987) among others. The terms are however surfacing in literature at a steady pace and are being used in varied ways by scholars in different disciplines, be they anthropology, sociology, psychology a political science.

Scholars writing on India have largely focused upon caste to the extent that descriptions of Indian society have already concentrated on caste to the exclusion of all other group forming identities. While it is true that any description of life in India must address the issue of caste, it is important to realize that there are other groups forming criteria of equal importance in Indian society such as region, religion, jati, language and tribe, which cannot be ignored. These various markets haven't received equal treatment in academic terms.

It is not that sociologists in India, have not written on aspects other than caste or on urban India as opposed to village India. It is just that these writings struggled to hold their own in a country that is over 70% rural and where the major trajectory of sociological work was on caste in the village setting or on the joint family. So, despite the fact that one of the earliest recorded Indian usage of the term ethnic was in a paper written in 1965 by M.K. Bose, it did not quite capture the imagination. To

my and however, a brief look at this paper is crucial in order to embark on a discussion on Indian ethnicity.

An e.g. describing the social composition of Calcutta, Bose describes the diversities with ethnic roots in 'Language, religious faith and historical tradition (1965 ca):95). He regards the Bengalis as an ethnic group, as also the Rajasthani community, the Gujaratis, Punjabis, Sikhs, Anglo – Indians, those from the South Indian states, and the Muslims. More importantly, he links economic interests with ethnic identity since according to him ethnic groups tended to pursue a particular range of an occupation Bose concluded.

The diverse ethnic groups in the population of the city have come to bear the same relations to one another as do the castes in India as a whole. They do not enjoy monopoly of occupation as under castes, nor are they tied to one another by trading in reciprocal exchange of goods and services. But preference for or avoidance of some kinds of work are expressed in class difference among occupation.

The last point is further illustrated by Bose when he says, 'The respect that has traditionally been shown to cultural difference under east have also played some part in maintaining the segregation of ethnic group. He goes on to note that 'Although Calcutta is the centre of Bengal. Cult a Bengali wishes a Rajasthani to remain as he is rather than demand that he conforms to the way of Bengali's. His approach thus neither advocates assimilation nor homogeneity nor does it assert the hegemony of the dominant Bengali culture.

Hardgrave's work notwithstanding the urban rural dichotomy or continuum debate is an on going one in India. There have been studies on ethnic groups in rural setting which have shown that it is possible to use the concept. Among the workers. I would like mention here are those of Ravinder Kaur (1986) on the Jat Sikhs in the Punjab, Madam (1976) on Kashmiri Pandits, Mines (1976) on Tamil Muslims, and Kosambi (1991). These works have also treated native settlers of an area as ethnics. In additions some of these works have drawn connections between religion and ethnic identity formation.

Moving away from specific issues in the description of ethnic groups in India let us for a moment look at the only work that stands out as having formulated a theory of ethnicity in India. His work reflects the ideas that dominated ethnicity theory at its inception in the US particularly the idea of the majority groups and therefore shares some of the same 'draw backs' but is nonetheless worthy of consideration. This neglect of majority Hindus in writing on ethnic groups India is as already pointed out, common to many works.



Schermerhorn believes that these modes of incorporation appeared chronologically in India. The first where caste hierarchies maintained their form through the Brahminic guest Tradition. The equivalent mode came into being with the separate electorates introduced by the British for different religious groups. Independent India ushered in the last mode, with the introduction of a constitution whereby citizens were all equal in theory with universal adult franchise symbolizing these units. Schermerhorn is clearly equating equal status as citizen's co being a solution to integration problem posed consistently by American and Soviet Literature which doubted ethnic loyalty to the nation.

Schermerhorn concludes that India's minorities have a problematic integration before them. The process will be marked by violent conflicts between the salient minority & the majority community. It is interesting to note that six of Schermerhorn's then ethnic groups are religious or sectarian and none are identified on the basis of language or other sources of 'community' in the country is as I have pointed out. The neglects of the Hindus not only regards them as one cohesive group or as a homogenous community, but also continent as to regard them as different from other like groups with Indian society.

The politicization of language based ethnicity in India could well be because 'ethnic identity provided by language has both a cultural basis and a political organization provided by language has both a cultural organized largely on linguistic lines, there are many areas of language use that can be contentious. These include lines there are many areas of language use that can be contentious. These include issues of standardization of language the choice of writing system, contact languages, bi – lingualism, that is, use of different languages for the domestic and other settings, and official languages policy which may restrict the medium of instruction in schools and also control entry into employment as one example. They have received some attention by Morris – Jones (1967), Pandit (1977) Khubechandani (1988) and there has been work on specific language based political movements such as Telangana, but language issue come a poor third to caste and religion in the quantum of late generated on and about India.

Beteille who first wrote on ethnic groups in 1971, views the caste system as a particular caste of ethnic groups are all integrated within a hierarchical order. Ethnic groups are not necessarily arranged in a hierarchy and they are not necessarily arranged in a hierarchy and they are not always integrated within a unitary system. The point has also been made by Weber who says ethnic co existences condition a mutual repulsion and disdain but allow each ethnic community to consider its own honour as the highest one: the caste structure brings about a social

subordinate and an acknowledgement of “more honour” in favour of the privileged caste and status groups.

Ethnic differentiation could emerge 2th for groups that are hierarchically arranged such as the castes and for those that are not like groups using languages, religion and tribes as ethnic markers. This notion of ranking with respect to castes could well be the reasons that scholars have been unable to treat castes at par with other ethnic groups, drawing on other identities. This problem can be overcome once it is realized that all the ground level, it is jati identity that matters not the Varna scheme. This distinction will form the crux of some later arguments as this work proceeds.

The politicization of ethnic differences has occupied centre stage in a large number of academic works on ethnicity and no one can doubt Gupta's basic point that there is a level of manipulation of the many by the few when ethnicity is transformed into a political vehicle. Writers like Weiner have linked the politicization of ethnic groups to economic resources. Weiner's analysis centres around the sons of the soil movements in different parts of the country which were mostly against migrant labour. He explains ethnic conflict by saying it is not inequalities between groups that generate conflict but competition. This competition according to him is for control over economic wealth, social status and political power. Policy then becomes a political weapon that the group formulating procedure wields and may often use against others.

So whether it is competition that leads to an ethnic movement or manipulation of identity, the point has been made with some consistency that there is a distinction between ethnic group constitution consciousness of identity and the political use it can be out to American political scientist, Paul Brass who has done considerable work on the ethnic politics in India makes a similar distinction. He concludes that it is the political elite who manipulate specific aspects of ethnic identities for specific individual and party gain.

Brass also accords weightage to government policies in influencing this procedure. This is undoubtedly true and social policy very often determines which divisions in society assume significance. The point of contention between a sociological and a purely political analysis of ethnic politics is that in the ultimate analysis the political views tends to be more sweeping in its generalizations and also to focus on areas of contest than on the everyday aspects of ethnic group life. In ultimate analysis, ethnic politics is another form of interest groups that emerged in the US in 1960's and 1970's.

What seems storage in both Gupta's & Brass work is the fact that while political elite are being given credit for transforming groups into self conscious entities, neither can build the system of ethnicity without there first being present in society certain objective cultural differences between people. How do societies socially organize and recognize cultural differences and how do various components of these identities articulate with each other are questions that need to be answered before focusing on their utilization for political or other gain. Somehow, most emplanations regard this basic organization as a given and as being simplistic. This document aims at representing ethnic criteria in their full multiplicity and also examine how these factors articulate in a person's life thus hoping to illuminate the issue of manipulation is a must, it has to represent a popular view or else it will not work.

Scholars working on India could question the decision to use the notion of ethnic groups to describe social reality in contemporary India. They might speculate to whether a new term is needed at all in a field already replete with terminology. It would for instance, be said that the term community describes cultural collectiveness just as well as the term ethnic.

Moreover, in Indian sociology the terms community studies has most often meant the study of village communities which have been regarded as being a microism of the larger Indian society. This usage employs the term to describe the way of people in particular territorial settlements. Pioneered by anthropologists in 1930s, the usage is also current with geographers who use the term place community to describe greal or sub units within cities following the work of Chicago ecologists.

'Secularism' to define an ideology and movement wherein social and individual moralities, hitherto determined by the transcending principles of religion, were now to be determined by reason. In different to religion, this version of secularism. It ignored rather than confronted religion or religious discourse.

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## **12.6 Summary**

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Family plays an important role in the daily life, rituals and social ceremonies in India. People look to the kin group not only in times of difficulties but also on a rgular basis. After the family the lineage or vansh is the kin gorup. While the clan or the gotra is larger than the vansh. They are the exogamous in nature. Kinship System in India have a wide variation. Descent is lineal that is either partlineal or martilineal . Partlineal kin groups are commonly found throughout India while the martilineal is found among the few tribal group and the Nayars in Kerala.

It is difficult to study the joint family in India separately from the

kinship group. The family is the most important social unit in the life of the individual. It is the unit of socialization. It is also the unit where an individual's emotional, social and economic needs are met. Sociologists distinguish between the extended or joint family and the nuclear family.

The Indian joint family has been defined by many sociologists. One of the often quoted definition is by Irawati Karve. She mentions five characteristics of the joint family common residence, common kitchen, common property, common family worship and some kinship relationships.

Studies by sociologists suggest that, the traditional large Joint family has changed into smaller Joint families and nuclear family forms. There are also changes In the relationship between family members because of industrialisation and modernization.

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### **12.7 Check your Progress:-**

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1) Explain meaning of family'

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2) Highlight various studies on Indian family

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3) What do you mean by Hindu Joint Family

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4) Discuss changes in the family structure.

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**12.9 Questions**

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1. Define and Explain meaning of family.
2. Discuss the joint family system in India
3. Do you agree with the statement that the joint family is disappearing in India.
4. Discuss the structural changes in the family
5. Write a note on changing intra family relationship.

## Ethnic Identity and Conflict

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Meaning of ethnicity
- 13.3 Prejudices or ethnicity
- 13.4 Ethnic identity and conflict
- 13.5 Globalization, and structural adjustment
- 13.6 Summary
- 13.7 Check your progress
- 13.8 Reference
- 13.9 Questions

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### 13.0 Objectives

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1. To acquaint students with cultural values, norms of one society to another society.
2. To bring awareness among with many different characteristics of ethnic group interms of language, history, religion, style of chess which is universal in nature.

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### 13.1 Introduction

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Ethnicity refers to cultural values and norms wfticT distinguishes the members of a given group from others. An ethnic group is one whose members share a distinct awareness of a common cultural identity, separating them from other groups around them. In all societies ethnic groups exist, the ethnic differences get associated with variation in power and material wealth. Such differences becomes very pronounced when, ethnic differences are based on Race and religion. An ethnic group is set aside because of its origin and distinctive cultural pattern, e.g. Parsis in India and Negroes in America are ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are minorities. Because of their cultural practices and outlooks they are distinguished from other communities. Members of ethnic groups in a

society see themselves culturally distinct from other groups. Many different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups from one another but most usual are language history, ancestry (real or imagined) religion, styles of dress, adornment etc. Ethnic differences are learned. The ethnic attitude becomes part of the personality and lasts life long. Even most liberal people too carry some feeling of ethnicity learnt in early childhood. Ethnicity therefore is universal.

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### **13.2 Meaning of Ethnicity**

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Ethnic conflicts take place when ethnic groups ethnicity exceeds and becomes ethnocentric. It begins to practice ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is suspicious of outsiders combined with a tendency to evaluate the culture of others in terms of one's own culture. This is further led to the closure of the group from outsiders. Group closure leads to restrictions in terms of boundary maintenance which would restrict social and economic interaction with other groups in society. The consequence of group closure will be economic inequality in the various ethnic groups. Thus ethnicity is closely connected to social stratification.

An ethnic group is set aside because of its national or distinctive cultural pattern. In India we have many ethnic groups like the Parsis, the Nagas, Dravidians, the Nagas Kukis, the Khasis and the Garos etc. In the basis of the norms and values, customs and practices and their place of origin, culture and religion, languages and race India has a large number of ethnic groups. India is a plural society where harmony and cooperation between various groups is the national objective. However after Independence we have witnessed many conflicts some which have been separatist movements like the fight for independent Khalistan, Nagaland etc. These conflicts have been for acquisition of power. Often religious conflicts have taken place between Hindus and Muslims. The Ayodhya mosque demolition and Bombay blast are examples of this. Between Hindus and Christians tensions have occurred around the conversion issue. Narrow parochial interests have given rise to local political parties like Shiv Sena who have been responsible for communal fights. Caste conflicts occur quite frequently especially against the untouchables. Religion, caste, region, language have been the main areas of ethnic conflict in India.

In India the processes of development and change have also generated conditions for ethnic conflict, as the fruits of these developments have been unequally distributed. Also the nature and character of the power structure are also responsible for the same.

Because of such conflicts there is antagonism against the ethnic and minority groups. This antagonism is mutual. During peaceful period

there is more tolerance of the differences but during conflict it becomes manifested in extreme violence also: There is ingrained prejudice against them. Even though there is no physical, racial difference with the rest, of the society prejudices persist and there is long standing persecution against a community". For example Christians and Jews are prejudiced against each other for last 2000 years. Nazi ideology killed millions of Jews brutally because Jews were considered different ethnic group. Ethnicity-refers to the cultural practices and out look of a particular community. The members of ethnic group think they are different from the rest and the rest also think the same about them. Language, history, ancestry, religion, styles of dress etc. distinguish one ethnic group from the other. A plural society like India has a large number of ethnic groups. One of the reason for ethnic antagonism is that the ethnic groups are market with inequality of wealth and power.

The ethnic antagonism is caused by deep rooted prejudices and discrimination against them and they are segregated for the same reason. Prejudice is a negative attitude towards an entire category of people, often an ethnic minority. Prejudices are found in all sections of a society. Communalism is an extreme form of prejudice. Prejudice can result from ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is a tendency to assume that one's culture and way of life are superior to all others'. Ethnocentric people judge other cultures by the standard of, their, own group and view other cultures as inferior.

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### **13.3 Prejudices on Ethnicity**

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According to the functionalists prejudice -against minority helps the majority, the dominant group to justify their own action of exploitation and suppression of the minorities. It also prevents the latter from raising their head against the injustices meted to them Prejudice thus serves the interest of the powerful. Discrimination is a process of denying opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups because of prejudices or any other arbitrary reason. There can be discrimination on the grounds of sex, caste, nationality etc.

Prejudicial attitude and discriminatory behaviour are not same though they are related to each other. One can stay without the other. One may be prejudiced but not act according 14. For example, a person may discriminate against the appointment of a person because of pressure. Sociologists are not interested so much against individual discrimination as much against institutionalised discrimination. It is a normal operation against individuals and groups because they belong to a discriminatory group. Institutionalized discrimination continuously imposes more hindrances on certain ethnic groups and awards them



fewer benefits. Some times neutral agencies also do this For example, schools giving admissions only to the children of rich and educated parents.

Prejudice refers to opinion or attitudes held by the members of one group about another. Discrimination refers to actual behaviour towards them. Prejudice involves holding preconceived views about individuals or group, often based on hearsay rather than direct evidence. These views are resistant to change even in the light of new information. Discrimination disqualified an individual of an opportunity because he belongs to prejudiced group.

Prejudices and discriminations harm the society in following ways.

- 1 They fail to use the, resources of all individuals and group.
2. They limit-the search for talents and leadership only to the dominant group.
3. They aggravate social problems as poverty, delinquency, crime increase. This is ultimately a social burden on the majority.

### **Minorities, Social Stereotypes, Scape Goats :**

Minority group is a part of the total population some times it can Be little less than-fifty -percent. For sociology size of the minority population is not important when they talk of majority and minority they are primarily concerned with the economic and political powers or powerlessness of that group. Minority group is a subordinate group whose members have significantly less control-or power over their own lives than the members of a majority group have over their own life.

### **Sociologists have identified five basic properties of a minority group :**

- i) Physical, cultural and social traits : Either physical or cultural or both characteristics distinguish, a minority group from the rest. They often isolate themselves and live in their own neighbourhood. Minority groups promote separatism even when they are physically not different. For example, different ethnic groups in India are from the same physical stock,
- ii) Solidarity : The minorities have strong in group and out group feeling. Due to long term prejudice and discrimination, solidarity becomes all the more intense. This kind of solidarity gives their, a sense of belonging. They themselves see themselves apart and not as equal part of the majority.
- iii) They-practice endogamy: Anybody wanting to marry outside the group is taken as a great insult and not tolerated. Minority membership is an ascribed status. One is born into it and has no

option to come out of it.

- v) Minorities get unequal treatment : This happens because of prejudices and discrimination against them.

Social stereotypes takes form because of prejudices. We classify our imagination and understanding of a people into categories. Every social group has stereotypes feelings about others. This stereotypical thinking is emotional and often not 'neutral'. It is prejudiced and biased. Stereotyping of groups all-right as long as there is no antagonism by way of hatred and hostility against any group. Often stereotyped people become victims of anger and hostility. They blame them for every thing that goes wrong they then become the scape goats for others who" take out their frustrations on them. This further increases prejudice. This is also known as projection and mechanism of displacement.

**Sociological interpretation** explains stereotypical thinking" and scape goating minorities. It is a psychological mechanism to justify the majority's superordination on them. Scape goating helps them to justify their hatred against them. It is a universal human nature. But ethnic conflicts cannot be explained in this psychological manner. Actually there are some concrete reasons for this .It is linked with the resource allocation of the society. It also satisfies the ethnocentric feeling of the majority group. One can cite the example of violence and hostility shown against minorities in the Bombay riots in 1993.

The ethnic and minority problems can be solved if they try to assimilate with the larger groups, like the Parsis they need not abandon their customs and practices but mould their behaviour to the values and norms of majority. Secondly if all adopt the modern culture whether minority or majority, there will be no distinction. It will be like a melting pot where all become one and the same with one single national identity. Cultural pluralism is also fin approach where ail sub cultures live on the basis of equality with multiple identifies. This however is a very difficult task to achieve.

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### **13.4 Ethnic Identity and conflict**

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The impact of the neo-liberal economics and its process, which have not even spared the ethnic issues various ethnic groups and minorities, is a serious concern. It is widely assumed that rapid industrialization is the key to economic growth and that benefits from economic growth will be broadly diffused with resultant improvements in human welfare. Most contemporary economic development models incorporate this view. However policies based on these models often produce the problems about which critics of the industrial revolution wrote. Industrialization and urbanization cause tremendous socioeconomic upheavals.

Poor people migrate to cities in hope of employment, they strain existing resources and are better placed to make demands on regional and national governments. A highly urban-ized young men from rural areas who move to the city with unrealistically high expectations may be particularly hostile to some cultural aspects of modernization, and therefore ripe for radicalization. Many urban migrants tend to be men; women and children are often left behind in rural areas, reducing the stabilizing influence of family ties. Unattached males provide a pool of supporters for ethnic or religious organizations and they look to those groups for help in finding jobs, medical care, and a sense of belonging. Governments are rarely equipped to meet either the emotional psychic or physical needs of their burgeoning urban populations. Those left behind in rural areas are often exploited and ignored by politicians who are preoccupied with maintaining a semblance of order in the cities. Even under the best of economic circumstances, both urban and rural populations may be ripe for recruitment to political movements that offer a group identity and the promise of a better life. Moreover, the chronic volatility of most Global economies results in precarious job security and high unemployment plus the uncertainties associated with high inflation. All of these factors increase alienation and the attractiveness of ethnic nationalist movements. In south India these conditions mushroom the youth involvement in ethnic conflicts.

Economic development strategies must acknowledge the realities of ethnic diversity and the economically disruptive potential of violent ethnic conflict. Thus minimizing ethnic tensions may be as important contributor to economic growth as diversifying a nation's industrial base or promoting exports. Economic benefits, with a reasonable degree of equity across ethnic groups. Unfortunately, while most large donor organizations have now recognized the importance of governance, they have failed to acknowledge ethnic and regional cleavages within recipient countries. Perhaps one cause of this problem is the gulf that exists between the academic disciplines of economics and political science. While political scientists are increasingly studying national economies (if not economics), economists rarely study the politics or society of specific nations or regions.

There are no simple formulas for designing policies that will balance economic performance and inter-ethnic, but there are some common-sense strategies. One is to reduce or avoid sharp disparities in regional investment allocations, especially where a nation comprises ethnically homogeneous regions. Economically deprived regions on a nation's periphery often provide fertile soil for militancy. Countries which have avoided sharp disparities in regional investment include Tanzania,

Malaysia, and Singapore. Malaysia is working to reduce regional disparities, especially now that its pro-Malay policies have succeeded in building up a pool of educated and qualified Malays who can provide leadership in regional development.

There should also be ethnic pluralism in economic policy - making so that dominant group leaders are sensitized to subordinate group concerns before, rather than after, violence breaks out. Employment and promotion practices in both the public and private sectors should provide opportunities for the "best and the brightest" among subordinate group members to become participants in the system rather than turning them into alienated revolutionary leaders. Few states have succeeded in this respect; most have succumbed instead to the temptations of preferential politics. Interestingly, Sri Lanka has continued to appoint Tamils to some high political offices (though not to high positions in the security forces), despite more than a decade of ethnic civil war between the predominantly Sinhalese government and militant Tamil separatists.

#### **CASTE:**

The state has withdrawn its responsibility to the more liberal in this phase of economy and have made a negative impact on the deprived societies, to be more specific people belonging to the low castes in India. The state have disowned them by withdrawing its role in their upliftment.

Globalisation is seen as a process of integration of markets, nation-states and technology stemming from the result of human innovation and technological progress. But it is also seen as a deliberate ideological project of economic liberalization that subject states and individuals to more-intense market forces. Globalisation has always existed, in one form or another, it is only in the past 50 years or so that it has become a major force controlling not only the economic spheres but also the political, social and cultural ones. Today commerce and financial services are far more developed and deeply integrated than they were at the time.

Historically there has been trade in goods and services and flow of capital and labor across the countries. The significant aspect of new globalization however is the attempt to create new rules and regulations for free trade of goods, capital, and services and to enforce and monitor this new agenda through new international instruments such as World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.

What does new form of globalization involve? The globalization involve two main changes - one it involve liberalization of international

trade, that is to remove the restrictions imposed by the countries on trade and thus allow free flow of good and services capital information and technology between the countries, second it is also involve change in the economic structure of individual countries and the proposed new economic structure include promotion of private economy based on private market. The second feature necessarily involve withdrawal of State or minimum role of the state in economic and social governance of the economy and society. This is the strategy of the Government which has had a negative impact on the people belonging to the underprivileged sections of the Indian society. The state has withdrawn its responsibilities towards these people, (people belonging to Schedule caste, schedule tribes and other backward classes) leaving them to have their own survival strategies in the competitive world. This has had a negative aspect on their lives be it employment, health and issues of social security in informal economy, the state is responsible for their welfare as per the constitution of the nation which is being ignored so far making the conditions worse for the people of the disadvantaged communities across the country.

Privatisation of economy, channeling the economic activities through the private markets and free international trade are the key features of the proposed new economic order.

It is argued that this new economic order with free trade, private economy and market is supposed to be the best alternative order for promoting economic growth and prosperity of the people. So homogenization of economic system is the agenda hardly it is a reality in India, which has thousands of castes and social obligations like preferences over caste has created the polarization of economy and heterogeneity among people.

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### **13.5 Globalization and Structural Adjustment “Response of the Governments”**

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In pursuance and compulsion of international institutions and agreements the Indian government has introduced several new economic measures both in the spheres of liberalization of its trade with other countries and structural adjustment of its own economy, partially in the mid eighties and more comprehensively in the early 1990's. This process of so called reform is on. These measures have now come to be known as New Economic Policy. These measures are new in so far as they reverse the main if not all the policy instruments used by the government since the beginning of the planning in the early 1950s. The New Economic Policy is based on the premises of free trade - national and international, private sector and private markets, and hence drastic

reduction in the economic and social role of the government.

On the international trade front India has provided market access and liberalise flow in the case of about 760 commodities, similar access is allowed in capital investment and flow both ways. International companies are allowed in insurance and other services, (a) privatization of public sector and service, (b) liberalization in the form of removing the restriction on private sectors, and (c) withdrawal of the state from many sectors and therefore reduction of government role.

In the industrial sector the government brought a major change. The Industrial Policy resolution of 1948 reserve 18 sectors for state and according to 1991 Industrial policy this has been reduced to almost four, limited to strategic sectors. Further services like banking, insurance, education have been now open for private sector. Thus the private sector has been accorded a major role even in key and basic industries and some essential services.'

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### **13.6 Summary**

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Scholars writing in India have focussed upon caste its characteristics, dominant caste, caste mobility which describes Indian society , concentrates highly on caste and exclusion of other community people . While it is true that any description of India must adhren the issue of caste. It is important to realise that there are other groups forming criteria of equal importance in Indian society such as religion, region, jati, language, and tribe which cannot be ignored. These various markets haven't received equal treatment in academic terms

### **13.7 Check your Progress:-**

1. Describe ethnicity

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2. Why in society antagonism exist between ethnic and minority groups.

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3. Highlight functionalist prejudices on ethnicity

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4. How ethnicity leads to conflict

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**13. 9 Questions**

1. Explain eyhnicity and discuss prejudices related with ethnicity
2. Write a note a ethnic identity and conflict in India.

## **Social Change in India : Modernization and Development**

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Characteristics of Modernisation
- 14.3 Modernisation issues
- 14.4 Modernisation - Social aspects
- 14.5 Criteria of Modernity
- 14.6 Complexities of Modernisation
- 14.7 Summary
- 14.8 Check your progress
- 14.9 Reference
- 14.10 Questions

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### **14.0 Objectives**

1. To bring awareness among students about the term modernisation and changes in values beliefs and norms.
2. To acquaint students with various issues and ideology of modernisation stirs peoples aspirations and makes them achievement oriented

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### **14.1 Introduction**

The main purpose of modernisation is to promote economic development to permit the achievement of a decent level of living for all the people. But almost no one will argue that the progress of a nation a people should be measured slowly by reference gross national product the per capita income development encompasses the idea of political motorisation as well as expressed in stable and orderly processes of government resting on the expressed will of the people and it also include the attainment of popular education the burgeoning of the arts, the efflorescence of architecture , the growth of the means of communication , and the enrichment of leisure indeed in the end the



idea of development requires the very transformation of the nature of men a transformation that is both a means to end the yet greater growth and at the same time one of the great end itself of the development process.

In the first place from more traditional to more modern qualities in man often mean someone must give us ways of thinking and feeling that go back decades , sometimes Centuries and to abandon , these are seems to be abandoning principle itself for another thing ,the qualities that make a man modern often do not appears to be natural characteristics that any man have , but instead & represent the distinctive traits of the European , the American or the western that he is band on imposing on the people so as to make them over in his own image in the third place many of the characteristics that are described and as modern and therefore automatically describe , in fact are not very useful or situate able to the life and conditions of those of whom they are urged or even imposed.

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## **14.2 Characterstics of Modernisation**

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The characteristics mark of the modernisation was has two parts ;one internal the other external ;one dealing with this environment the other with his attitudes , values & feeling .

It may be summarized by reference to a service of key terminal ; urbanisation education , mass communication industrialisation, politicisation. These term signify that in contrasts to his for bears living in the traditional order of his society .The modern man is less likely to work the land as the farmer and he is more likely to be employed in a larger complex productive enterprise, based on the intensive use of power of advanced technologies .The various economic yielded by the concentration of industry in certain cities and the further demand of those industrial concentration make it likely that the contemporary man will live in a city or some other form of urban conglomeration .Here he will experience not only crowding but access to all manner of resources and stimulation characteristics of urban life.

Although there is no single standard definition of the modern man that all accept and use . There is quite good agreement among students of the modernisation process as to the characteristics that distinguish the more modern from the man from the more traditional. To convey my impression of his traits .I have choosen to describe him in the term of a series of attitudes and values that we are testing in a study of the modernisation process among workers and peasents in developing countries .The order in which these characters are presented here is not meant to are presented here are not suggest that is the actual

sequence in the process of individual modernisation so far , we are not aware that there is a clear consequence but rather have the impression that the process develops a broad front with many changes occurring at once .

Yogendra Sharma has defined modernisation as, primarily a process of socio-cultural transformation generated and marked by technological progression, institutional innovation, rational value, reorientation and psychic and physical mobilisation of people driven by heightened aspirations.

The first element in our definition of the modern man is his readiness for new experience and his openness to innovation and change . We consider the traditional man to be less disposed to accept new ideas , new ways of feeling of something that it itself a state of mind a psychological disposition, an inner readiness , rather than of the specific techniques or skills a man or a group may possess because of the level of technology they have attained .

The second in our complex of themes takes us into the realm of opinion over a large number of the problems issues that arise not only in his immediate .Environment but also outside of it .Some pioneering work on this dimension has been done by Dania Lerner , of the Massachusetts institute of technology who found that the individual with any country and the populations of different countries in the middle East varied greatly in their ability or readiness to imagine themselves in the position of prime minister or comparable government leader & thus to offer to advise what should be done to resolve the problem facing the country. Thus more traditional man .We believe takes those that touch him immediately and ultimately; and even when he holds opinions on more distant matters; he is more circumspect in expressing them.

A Third theme we deal with at some length is that of time .We view a man as more modern if he is oriented to the present or the future , rather than to the past . We consider him as more modern if he accepts fixed hours that is to say , schedules of time , as something desirable as against the man who thinks these fixed rules are something Either bad or perhaps a necessity , but unfortunately also a pity .

A fourth theme that we include into the definition is planning. The more modern man is oriented toward and involved in planning and organising and believes in it as a way of handling life.

A Fifth and important theme we call efficiency .The modern man is the one who believes that man can learn, in substantial degree to dominate his Environment in order to advance his own purposes and goal, rather than being dominated entirely by those Environments.

Sixth, an Element we consider part of the modern complex & , include in our set of themes is calculattivity .But our definition , the modern man is one who has more confidence that his world is calculable , that other people & institutions around can be relied on to fulfil or meet their obligations and responsibilities . He does not agree that everything is op-determined either by fate or by the whims of particular qualities & character of men.

The Seventh theme that we stress is dignity. The more modern man, we feel is one who has more awareness of the dignity of others and more dispositions to show respect for clearly in attitudes toward women & children.

Eighth , we hold that modern man is a great believer in what we call for this purpose ; distributive justice .That is to say , he believes that reward should be according to contribution , and not according to either which or special properties of the person not related his contribution.

The Second factor that may contribute facilitate religious practice in the city is economic. To practice your religion, generally costs something ex-you may have to buy candles. If there is a religious ceremony usually the religious specialists to perform usually ceremony, usually the religious specialists who perform the ceremony must be given some kind of payment something is require of you if you are living a sufficiently marginal Existence as a peasant this may be one of the costs you forgo. When you get to the city and a more stable & steady income, you may be more willing to underwrite these costs.

So much for our conceptions of the qualities that make a man, modern, what can we say about the forces that produce such amen most rapidly and effectively inculcate in a population that attitude, values, needs of ways of acting that better fit him for life in a modern society.

In many countries, the weakness of the nation's researches permits schooling to be only of very poor quality and the pressures on the poorer people force the children to be quite irregular in their attendance. In a number of countries, it has been observed that if children can obtain only two or three years of schooling and especially does not particularly reinforce or support the school, their the effect of education on moolerrisation will be very modest indeed.

Similarly the degree of traditionalism of the school itself plays some role.

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### **14.3 Modernisation - Issues**

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One source of modernisation, which generally accompanies urbanisation but is also an independent influence is mass communication. Almost all studies of the growth of individual modernisation show that those who are more exposed to the media of mass communication have more modern attitudes. Since such exposure especially in the case of the newspaper, depend on literacy and education, it is important to stress that the modernisation effects of the mass media can be shown to exert their influence within groups at almost any educational level. These media greatly enlarge the range of human experience with which the individual can have contact, Even if only vicarious.

Another source of modernising influence is the development of the national state and its associated apparatus of government bureaucracy, political parties and campaigns, military and para-military units and the like. The more mobilized the society, The more dedicated the Govt to Economic development and spreading the ideology of progress the more rapidly and widely may we expect the attitudes and values of modernity to expand. Some of the agencies of the state-in-particular, the army may play an especially important role in introducing men to the modern world, both in the direct instruction they offer and indirectly in the model of routine, scheduling they offer and efficacy that inheres in many of their operations.

In modern times we are experiencing a process of change affecting everything, yet controlled by no one it is, in a sense strictly spontaneous; Yet it is in some ways the most strictly determined process history has yet known. Since no one can escape it no one may be unconcerned with it .Some people in backward countries are ready to believe that any change is for the good, others feel that much they now have is superior to what is being offered, and they are deeply convinced that many of the changes the contemporary world is introducing into their lives are no improvement, while others are positively disastrous.

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### **14.4 Modernisation : Social aspects**

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Modernisation is the current term for an old process-the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international, or intersocietal, communication. As Kari Marx noted over a century ago in the preface to *Das Kapital* ; “The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed the image of its own future.”

Enabled one to speak concisely of those similarities of achievement observed in all modernised societies whether western, as in Europe and North America, or non western, as in the soviet union and Japan – as well as of these similarities of aspiration observed in all modernising societies regardless of their location of traditions.

Modernisation therefore, is the process of social change in which development is the Economic component. Modernisation produces the societal Environment in which rising output per head that produce rising output most understand and accept the new rules of the game deeply enough to improve their own productive behaviour and to diffuse it throughout their society. As Harold D. Lasswell has forcefully reminded us, this transformation in perceiving wealth-oriented behaviour entails nothing less than the ultimate reshaping and resharing of all social values, such as power respect, rectitude, affection, well being, skill and enlightenment. This view of continuous and increasing interaction between Economic and non-economic factors in development produced a second step forward, namely, systematic efforts to conceptualize modernisation as the contemporary mode of social change that is both general in validity and global in scope.

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### **14.5 Criteria of Modernity**

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There appears to be a large area of agreement despite conceptual and terminological differences of more or less importance that among the salient characteristics of modernity area:-

1. A degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy or atleast growth sufficient to increase both production and consumption regularly.
2. A measure of Public participation in the polity on atleast democratic representation in defining and choosing policy alternatives.
3. A diffusion of secular rational norms in the culture-understood approximately in weberian parsonian terms.
4. An increment of mobility in the society understood as personal freedom of physical, social and Psychic movement.
5. A corresponding transformation in the modal personality that equips individuals to function effectively in a social order that operates according to the foregoing characteristic. The personality transformation involving a minimum increment of self.

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### **14.6 Complexities of modernisation**

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The complexities of modernisation puzzle social scientists who are indispensable for rational planning because such complexities bring together varieties of institutional individual behaviour have past been

studied in very different way under specialized division of labour in social science. The variation in the level of knowledge & the state of the art in different social science has been so large that a major effort of reintegration is required to deal with the model of social change presented by matrix of modernisation.

The 'boomerange effect upon the social sciences produced their effort to deal with modernisation in relevant in two ways.

First in seeking to account for variation in the responses of less developed societies to the picture of their own future presented by more developed societies, scholars, have felt obliged to re-study the modernisation, path of the more developed societies. W. Arthur Lewis building upon prior work on condition of economic progress by Colin Clark and other has produced a theory of economic growth that measures less developed as well as more developed societies on the same continuum of aspiration and metric of achievement.

David C. McClelland building upon prior work in psychology of achievement- aspiration ratios . Since William James produced a synthetic constant of achievement motive applicable to all recorded history. Seymour Lipset building upon prior work in sociology the processes of social change. Karl Marx and Max Weber has re-written the history of United States as 'The first new nation'.

Walt W. Rostow reviving the latterly quiescent but newly relevant discipline of history and political economy formulated a general theory of modernisation that range all societies of world along the stage of single continuum of self sustaining growth.

Moreover and this is the crux of the matter the attainment of self sustaining growth involves for more than purely economic process of production and consumption. It involves the institutional disposition of the full resources of society in particular its human resources.

For an economy to sustain growth of , by its own autonomous operation it must be effectively geared to skills and values of the people who make it work. A society capable of operating an economy of 'self sustaining growth is feed to a modernised society.

All models of modernisation that aim at generality have dealt in some way with the economic development variable that affect rising output per head directly and visibly such as industrialisation, urbanisation, national income as per capital income.

In their question for modern sufficiently general to subsume the move from rising output per head 'to self-sustaining growth' socio-logists have added to these variable an enlightenment variable measured in terms of schooling, literacy and media exposure. Political scientist have added

a power of variable measured in terms of participation in party membership and voting. Psychologists have added across cutting variable of personality measured in terms of authoritarianism empathy and need – achievement. Anthropologists have enriched the general model by obliging it to account for local temporal variants those diverse culture which in Kluchohn's words shape the behavioural variation underlying our common humanity.

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### **14.7 Summary**

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Change in structure and function of society leads to social change in established patterns of social relationships in social values or changes. These changes can be partial or total. Modernisation is a current term for an old process the process of social change whereby ten developed countries acquired characteristics common to change having many dimensions. Earlier the term modernisation was used to refer only to change in economy and its related effect on social values and social practices. Today modernisation the elements of science and technology.

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### **14.8 Check your Progress**

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- 1) Discuss characteristics of modernisation ?
- 2) Highlight the qualities which make a man modern ?
- 3) How media plays a positive role in modernisation ?
- 4) What are the complexities of modernisation ?

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### **14.9 References**

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- 1) Singh Yogendra - 1988, Modernisation of Indian Society , Jaipur, Rawat.
- 2) Pandey Rajendra (ed) 1988, Modernisation and Social change , New Delhi, Criterion Publication.

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### **14.9 Questions**

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- 1) Discuss modernisation ? Highlight consequences of modernisation in India ?
- 2) Define modernisation and What are its characteristics. ?

## Development - A case study

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction- Development
- 15.2 Meaning of Development
- 15.3 Sub- culture forms of Westernisation
- 15.4 Great tradition of cultural modernisation
- 15.5 Nationalism and Modernisation
- 15.6 Summary
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- 15.9 Questions

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### 15.0 Objectives

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1. To bring awareness among students regarding open, liberal, equalitarian, scientific and technological world.
2. To acquaint students with influence of British power which led to cultural changes in India.

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### 15.1 Introduction – Development

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The normative elements which come into contact through ancient cultural traditions were pre-modern and served only to perpetuate the traditional outlook and social system. But the contact of the Indian tradition with the west was of a different and a modernizing cultural system. By the time the western tradition could bear meaning fully upon the cultural, political and social system of India, its own structure had undergoing radical internal metamorphoses, its traditional hierarchical and holistic character had broken down: its value – structure was rendered more open, liberal, equalitarian and humanistic; and this traditional was imbued with a new-found sense of confidence in the scientific and technological world view or rationalism equality and freedom.



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## 15.2 Meaning of Development

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The consolidation of the British power in India, which started in early seventeenth century, was complete only towards the end of the nineteenth century. Behind this political power was the cultural tradition of the west. There were basic differences between this politico-cultural tradition and the Indian. Some of these have been sketched by Max Weber with great lucidity and historical objectivity. According to him, emphasis on formal rationality, experimentation, codification, verification, and rational utilitarian orientation in behaviour and thought, are some of the unique substantive qualities of the western cultural tradition.

Following the analytic scheme we developed for the study of cultural changes in India through exogenous sources we shall describe the ramifications of western impact—both on the little and great cultural traditions in India. We shall use the term ‘primary westernization’ for changes induced by the western impact on the Indian little traditions. Such changes generally are of two types: first, the emergence of a westernized sub-cultural pattern through a minority section of Indians who first come in to contact with western culture. This also includes the sub-culture represented by those Indian intellectuals and scholars who not only adopted many western cognitive patterns and styles of life, but also supported its rapid expansion.

The second type of primary westernization in the little tradition refers to the process of general diffusion of western cultural traits, such as the use of new technology, dress, food and changes in the habits and styles of life of people in general resulting from the cultural contact with the British. This form of westernization differs from the sub-cultural form in two respects: first, it does not have its basis in the assimilation of values or cognitive categories but merely in imitation of external forms of culture. Secondly, it is unlike the first process of primary westernization, diffused both among the laymen as well as the scholars, among the villagers as well as the urban dwellers.

These forms of cultural innovations in India make a substantial contributory to the emergence of a new great tradition of modernization, parallel to the classical great tradition. This leads us again to the problem of coexistence between the traditional and modern value system in the changing cultural tradition of India, and the question of, how far it could be realized. In the following pages we shall evaluate these problems. First we shall discuss the cultural changes introduced by an analysis of the emergence and continuity of the great tradition of cultural modernization in India. Then we shall analyse the trend of modernisation in the little traditions of India. The evaluation of the problem of synthesis

and identify formation in Indian culture shall be analysed in the last section.

### **15.3 SUB-CULTURE FORMS OF WESTERNIZATION**

The subcultural form of westernization also grew in stages. Its first manifestation could be found in the emergence of a commercial middle class in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Its social composition was different from region to region. In the Calcutta region, which during this period was the most important centre of British influence in politics and commerce being the seat of the company's govt., the new middle class came mostly from the banyan or sarkar caste. In Madras region most of them were Brahmins and in Bombay the majority of them consisted of the Parsis. The members of this class served as middlemen for the European traders and had generally a lower class origin. Some of them were petty clerks; others were interpreter's cashiers and petty contractors who went from one part of the country to another, to make purchases for the European trading companies.

Commercial middlemen were probably the earliest groups to come in contact with the western cultural pattern. This sub-culture of westernization continued to expand in India throughout the eighteenth century new sub-cultures of westernization began to emerge. These were represented by the new generation of middle-class professional groups and groups of social reformers. Western educational institutions which contributed to the growth of this class were still localized in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay regions.

The result of educational change was twofold: first, the interjection of the western values and ideologies among the members of the new educated class, & secondly, the rise of social & cultural reformation movements. Coupled with the expansion of Christianity, these changes gave a further push to the process of westernization. Most of the early educational expansion was confined to the upper and middle class urban people. Their interaction with the western cultural tradition led, in the initial periods, to an exaggerated effervescence for all that was western.

The emergence of this literary sub-culture of westernization was not typical of only Bengal. Tamil in Madras. Telugu in Andhra and Marathi in the central peninsula of India were equally influenced by the English literary tradition. These literary works created an indigenous medium for the transmission of many western values to the Indian people. Marathi writers not only translated the works of Shakespeare, Johnson and Bunyan, but some of them consciously imitated the style of Gibbon, Johnson and Macaulay and many of them had deeply imbibed the rational – positivistic values of Bentham, Mill and Herbert Spencer- The same of the true of

the Tamil & Telgu literatures, and also of many other regional literary traditions.

The process was conformed not only to the world of literature but also look an organized form in various reform movements one such movement was led by Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal. He was a profound scholar and linguist. He was a pioneer in introducing humanistic social reforms. In his judgment the cause for the oral and material decadence of India was formalism of Hindu religion. He was, therefore, for innovations in Hindu culture and pleaded for radical westernization. Underlying his faith in the western values was his passionate desire to revitalize India and credit in with the social culture and economic dynamism which he observed the western societies possessed.

Rammohan Roy was a passionate advocate of western values, ethical systems and spirit of positivism for Indian culture. He campaigned for the introduction of western form of institutions of learning in India and sent a petition to the Governor General against the establishment of the Sanskrit college in Calcutta since he thought "the pupils will these acquire what was known 2,000 years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative member traditional education was according to him, out-dated for the present needs of the Indian society. As a student of comparative religion Rammohan Roy founded the Brahma Sabha based on his conception of theism and ethical precepts. This society meets every Saturday for two hours in the evening when passages from the scriptures were read out followed by a sermon in Bengali and then by the singing of hymns. The kind of theism propagated by the Brahma Samaj was a syncretic form of rational humanism plus monotheism as found in Hindu Vedanta philosophy and Christianity. The overall orientation was apolitical, since Rammohan Roy believed that "the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interests and hence religions must be reformed first. His commitment to western value his admiration for the Christian ethics was even stronger than that of Raja Rammohan Roy he considered the contact of the India society with the west as a source of cultural & moral redemption for India & pleaded for whole-heartedly emulating the western cultural values of humanism, rationalism and science.

Similar movements for westernization were also going on in Bombay and Madras regions. The prototype of the Brahma Samaj in Madras was the Veda Samaj and in Bombay the Prathana Samaj. Both societies were devoted to reformatory theistic movement in Hinduism and propagated the discontinuance of harmful social usages & customs

prevalent in the contemporary Indian society. They opposed the custom of child-marriages & exploitation of women. As in Calcutta Bombay and Madras too had the hyper westernized youth movements, but their scale was not the same as existed the Bengal. In Bombay this form of westernization was confined only to the Paris otherwise, in emphasis & orientation primary westernization process in Madras and Bombay was deeply embedded in the emergent nationalistic aspiration.

Localized and elitist as these movements were, they made some more than expected impact on the policies pursued by the British govt during the early nineties and succeeded in carrying through many radical humanistic social reforms. These reforms related to the social practices generated by the little tradition of the Hindu culture for instance, we may mention the practice of widow burning which in Bengal alone consumed the lives of about two widows annually on the steadfast initiative of Rammohan Roy this custom was abolished in Bengal in 1829; Bombay followed suit in 1830 & some Rajasthan state abolished in 1846 how were also passed banning infanticide stealing of children for slavery and claims of legal rights on slaves widow remarriage account was passed in 1856 for the first time, according legal sanction to such marriages. These changes in the social customs and institutions of the Hindus society were forerunners of basic cultural readaptations to follow later in this society. The underlying values forms which the rationale of these reformations emanated were these of humanism universal equality, dignity and freedom of man.

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#### **15.4 The GREAT TRADITION OF CULTURAL MODERNIZATION**

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The change from sub-cultural or primary mode of westernization to secondary westernization or modernization with interlink ages in the great tradition of India was caused by factors partly historical and partly cumulative historically, an important dividing line was the revolt of 1857. It brought about a radical change in the response pattern of educated Indians to the phenomenon of westernization; in orientation & ideology now gradually started to wane and give way to a cultural reaction, the motto of which was; "to draw level with the west in achievement & western estimation & at the same time to be loyal to Hindu past. The writings of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Condorcet, David Hume, pain and Bentham, which inspired Indians to look at the west with a feeling of nationhood & quest for liberty and freedom.

The development in these field had the consequence of extending the communication network and structure foundations of the institution of modernization. In addition to this, the process of modernization in

other. Aspect of culture continued unabated, and with an increased momentum. Some of the institutional development which have directly been instrumental in the tradition of a great tradition of modernization in India are- 1) The growth of a universalistic legal superstructure 2) expansion of education. 3) urbanization & industrialization 4) interested network of communication & 5) growth of nationalism and politicization of the society each of these factor had a pan- Indian significance & was not a sub-cultural or localized. Process as primary westernization was.

### **1) The Growth of a Universalistic Legal system:-**

If we follow Emile Durkheim law is a “visible symbol” of the invisible fact of social solidarity in a society: society being a moral phenomenon eludes measurement or observation through other objective indices. He also maintains that, “customs is not opposed to law, but is, on the country, its basis, “and these two together provide an indirect measures of the nature of social solidarity or the extent of internal differentiation wit in a particular society, In exceptional circumstances, however a conflict between customs & low might arise gut this, according to Durkheim, is mainly due force of habit’ which drives a wedge between custom and low, as in India, based on the historical process of cultural encounters and diffusion of hetrogenous traditions of legal norms. However, his emphasis on low as being the objective effect of the causes of social solidarity and social processes, adds a new significance to the study of change through the study of transformations in the customs and low of the India society.

The dharmashastras clearly lay down differential standards of legal rights & administration of justice based on the recognition of qualitative – ascriptive status of various cases & classes to which the standards of legal sanctions were graduated. “Thus a Brahmin standering a Kshatriya a vaisya or a shudra the fines are only twenty- five & twelve panes, respectively.

In both instances, however, we come across the principle of hierarchy. In Hinduism, the innate moral & qualitative attributes of men have been conceived of hierarchically, and there differ in men according to their birth in high or low castes. The men in the higher castes are, therefore, expected to be also having a higher level of charismatic moral endowments in comparison to those at the lower lever. Hierarchy of charismatic qualities (guna) in human nature to which reference has been made before logically hits in with this form of particularistic & non-equalitarian system of particularistic & non- equalitarian system of law, which imparts justice not on the basis of enquiry & individual responsibility but on the ground of holistic group or caste affiliation or status of a person.

Theoretically, such a system of law could be treated to be logically consistent with the Hindu phenomenology of human nature and the conception of social structure. But in practice there have always been variations in the functioning of this system.

At the time of the contact of the British with the Indian society, the legal system which existed in various parts of the country was still particularistic & non-equalitarian. Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century most of the central India & the Deccan was under the domination of the Marathas and in these areas Hindu form of legal administration operated. Whatever accounts are available reveal that justice was inequitable, often arbitrary and without conforming to any systematic logic of law. The operation of the law was also partial owing to the lack of law and order and an organized form of political structure in the country.

The foundations of the new legal system were laid down by Warren Hastings. He was for a decentralized system of law courts to conduct civil & criminal justice in the districts. There were all company's courts; Supreme courts, first in Calcutta & then in Madras & Bombay were also established under royal charter based on the provisions of the regulating act of 1773 enacted by the British parliament to control the activities of the East India Company, the Supreme courts or King's courts, were separate from the company's courts & exercised no jurisdiction over the latter. So far a time there existed a dual form of administration of justice which was confusing & often led to hardship for the people, these lower courts & the high courts were the judicial committee of the majority's Privy Council as the court of ultimate appeal, vested with highest powers.

The first law commission, under the presidency of Lord Macaulay, was set up in 1834, its most notable achievement was the production of the draft of the Indian Penal Code, which, however, did not become law until 1860, Macaulay's commission also drew a number of reports which embodied proposals for legislation & which fell under the consideration of a succession of law commissions which set in England at various times between 1853 & 1870 & whose efforts led to the enactment of the codes of procedure, civil & criminal in 1859 & 1861 respectively. These latter years also marked the unification of the judicial system in by the amalgamation of the European and Sadar courts into the high courts, latter fruits of the labour of these commissions were the Succession Act (1868) the Limitation Act (1871), the Evidence Act & the Contract Act (1872), & still later, under the direction of the Court of India, there came the Specific Relief Act (1877) the Negotiable Instruments Act (1881) The Trust Act (1882) and the Easement Act (1882) by this time, it may be said, the process of codification came to

an end, through further legislation of a comprehensive character was undertaken to define the law of and tenure for the various provinces.

These legal innovations provide us examples of gradual spread of modernizing cultural norms in Indian society. It is true that until independence many aspects of the Hindu customary & personal law were left intact by the British. Despite this, they had introduced numerous enough legislation to change the very forms of rural administrative relationships pertaining to the economic, commercial and social institution, firstly the rural postulates emphasized "equality in the eyes of the law, judicial ignorance of the complainants, the ideal that economic relations are based on contract not status, the goal of setting the care at hand & only kin that care, and the necessity of a clear-cut dastan rather than compromise, which in procedures were fundamentally different for the traditional pattern.

Cultural modernization through legal innovations therefore proceeds in India in many forms. It produces changes also of a systematic & pan-Indian character by being a part of a uniform judicial administration, which constitutes a new cultural great traditions in India it serves the objectives of modernization by also educating people in the culture of individualism & rationalism & consciousness of their rights & obligations. Finally, it contributes to the growth and multiplication of modern legal professions and new professional norms leads to the establishment of rule of law which, as Weber had postulated reinforces the growth of a value & rational economic system. So essential for modernization

## **2) Education & Modernization:-**

Traditionally content of education was esoteric & metaphysical its communication was limited to the upper classes, or the twice-born castes & the similitude of its professional organization was hereditary & closed. Its content is liberal and exoteric & it is steeped in modern scientific world-view, freedom equality, humanism & denial of faith in dogmas are the themes which a modern education should contain. Some branches of modern education such as science, engineering and medicine directly focus on a world view which embodies the core values of modernization & imparts still to realize the goal of a modern society. Traditional India education departed fundamentally from these normative and organizational prerequisites.

The foundation of modern education in India was established by the British. Its historical landmarks are Macaulay's policy of 1835 to promote European learning through English, Sir Charles Wood's dispatch of 1859 which was the first time recognized the need for mass education which the private & missionary help & gave up the policy of selective

education known as the filtration theory, & finally the first India education commission of 1882 which recommended the initiative of private India agencies in the expansion of education.

In cultural modernization through education after more positive value is associated with learning of physical and biological sciences, medicine & engineering rather than the humanities of social sciences. The reason for this association is not only that science. Education has more modernizing effect than arts, but because this education creates manpower which is indispensable for economic & industrial growth. Nevertheless, if the creation of a substantial profession in science & engineering contributes to modernization of society, education in the humanities social sciences contributes to the modernization of man, one must not be consciousness less significant than the other.

Apart from the emphasis on the works of western thinkers & literatures a current of cultural introspection and new look on traditional literature was simultaneously going on in India. Its symbols were drawn from the pragmatism of the Vedas, the logical metaphysics of the Upanishads & the karma yoga Vivekananda, Tilak Gokhale, Gandhi & Aurobindo established the foundation of this tradition. This cultural process served to counter balance the effect of western education and its literary and cognitive content.

Progress has also been made in other spheres of educational planning and modernization of its organization percentage of girls going to schools & colleges has increased. In many state schooling of children has been made free & compulsory. The working conditions and salaries of teachers at all levels have been improved to a considerable extent, although at all levels have been improved to a considerable extent, although some imbalances still remain. But all this growth rate of education does not seem to be very impressive or phenomenal.

Also the expansion of education has not led to a sociologically meaningful degree of social mobility and change in stratification system. Higher education is primarily confined to the upper classes is a scarce good and reflects the advantages of wealth and social origin. More than seventy-five percent of people are still illiterate.

### **3) Urbanization & industrialization:**

In sociological literature, a relationship between cultural modernization & urbanization & industrialization is assumed as a matter of logical necessity. All classical works in sociology are replaced with construction of neat dichotomies such as rural urban, community society mechanical solidarity organic solidarity sacred secular etc which not only suggest that a transition from the stage to the other would mark the



growth of new forms of social structure but also of new level of moral & cultural patterns. Willy-nilly in each formulation the first part is associated with traditional, social & cultural patterns & the latter part with modernization which of course is evaluated differently by different sociologists.

However, as we move away from the above world of logico deductive formulations to that of reality, we are confronted with more complex phenomena which elude neat compartmentalizations. This is specially true about the extent to which urbanization or industrialization led to the modernization of culture. Modernization is a relative phenomenon & an open-ended process. The role of urbanization & industrialization is necessarily modernizing although variations in its extent & pattern may be there in such pattern variations historical factors play a crucial role. This is specially true from India.

Urban culture in India is centuries old. Handicraft & commerce based industries are also as old as the cities. Hindu tradition provides elaborate guides for the planning and construction of various types of cities, from this literature, it is evident that traditional cities in India were planned in accordance with the principle of hierarchy, the caste and social rank determined the extent to which more or less favourable sites or neighborhood could be allotted to a family. The kings or chiefs' fort must be located on the most favourable site, followed by those of priests (Brahmins) and merchants. The lower & the untouchable castes must live at the outer fringes of the cities away from the higher castes. Hence, traditionally "at the ideal level the city is the centre of caste as at the political level it is the centre of the king whose prime duty one need scarcely stress, was the maintenance of the caste order.

Traditional form of urbanization thus only reinforced the established culture pattern which was hierarchical, caste-oriented & pre industrial historically, in India therefore no straight equation between urbanization & modernization might be possible to establish after modernization may lie in the breakdown of the hierarchical or traditional form of urbanization, which is as old as the Indian tradition. Is such a process taking place? Is industrialization modernizing process in urbanization? Answer to these questions are important.

Cities in India do not constitute as cultural isolates; the centre & network of cultural & communication in many cities expands to next only the hinter land but a whole region & in some cases to the country as a whole. Thus is a continuity of interaction between the city & the villages and in many realms of cultural activities the distinction between the two as separate complexes is blurred by the unity of the regional cultural

pattern. Castes & community neighbourhood of the Indian cities find its parallel in the *compadrazgo* & *vacindades* of Mexico city, which also represent neighborhood unit based on face to face relations & kinship ties. It is a process of 'urbanization' without breakdown in the traditional patterns.

Persistence of the traditional cultural patterns in the cities or often an invigoration of the traditional ways have been reported in many urban studies. Prof. G.R. Gadgil's study of the Poona city revealed an increased strengthening of caste & communal association for management of contemporary changes in outlook & communal identities. Urbanization in therefore, not only having a modernizing impact on culture in India but also tends to reinforce tradition.

In spite of the comparative slow rate of urbanization, there has been a steady growth in this respect since 1881, when only 9.3 percent of India's total population was living in cities. Davis writes; during the entire period from 1881 to 1941 the percentage of the Indian population in urban places increased only 41 percent, where as in the United States in increased 11 percent. As against again of only 0.7% in the united status. It appears that India is just beginning a period of rapid urbanization comparable perhaps to the 1820 30 period in the United States.

The slow rate of urbanization in India which no doubt has retarded the pace of social structural changes in the society has not to the some extent slackened the process of cultural modernization or diffusion of modern values. Communication studies have revealed that within a structural frame work of ranking & distance from the cities cultural values & information how steadily from the cities to the villages urban returns bring with them many elements of modern ways of city and habits from the cities to the villages. The village studies conducted by social anthropologists have consistently supported this fact.

Kingsley Davis Summaries the causes for this slow growth as follows:

The gist of Indian Industrialization can be summed up in four general propositions:

- 1) There is no doubt that industrialization has been moving ahead in this region, growing faster than population.
- 2) But there is also no doubt that it has moved ahead more slowly than it might have done.
- 3) Among the reasons for retardation are apparently the Indian social organization the long away of Britain & the gradually evolving demographic situation.

- 4) By now, with independence attained, the major obstacle to rapid industrial growth is the excessive population although other obstacles are also present.

Despite the persistence of traditional culture value & institutions in the cities, urbanization and industrialization faster many cultural norms and material conditions which are macroscopic and modernizing. We have mentioned the role of mass media of education recreation and leisure. Increased are of modern transport, banking & other rational monetary transactions, modern medicine & political culture create a broad cultural foundation of modernization in the cities & the industrial centers, which merge into the formulation of the great cultural tradition of modernization in India.

#### **Communication & modernization:-**

The media of communication which have accelerated the rate of growth & cultural diffusion of modernization have also been introduced in India through the western contact printing was introduced by the portuguese, in the second half of the sixteenth century and incentive for this was provided by the Christian missionaries. British territory. The first press appeared in Bombay in 1674 on the initiative of an Indian named Bhimji parech but it doubtful if it ever functioned effectively, similarly the British also introduced telegraph, railways & modern postal system in India.

The expansion in the technological means of travel and transport & increase in the no and circulation of the newspapers as forms of media-exposure are, according to Daniel Lerner, directly Associated with cultural modernization. In the India caste, this media exposure results both in modernization & traditionalization postal and telegraphs services not only being with them more information about distant places the relatives located distantly, thus increasing people's psychic mobility', but also the facility to organise caste associations and other traditional group activities more efficiently. Hence, the modernization of the channels of communication & modes of transport result into kind of cultural syncretism between the value system of traditional & modernity.

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### **15.5 Nationalism, politicization & modernization**

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Nationalism & political culture of democracy are another forms of normative innovation which are essentially modern in ethos & have a pan Indian character. Both of these phenomenons are of exogenous nature and pose serious challenges to the primordial normative structure of the India tradition. Nationalism implies the consciousness of one nationhood & it's related sense of political identity, which result from political consensus. It's sociological manifestation is the idea of a nation-

state democracy is a special form of political organization and system of values on which a nation-state can be founded. Both nationalism & democracy in his contemporary & nationalism can be associated with the break down of the feudal hierarchical system of estates and rise of the philosophies of the reformation and the enlightenment. This led to a breakdown in the medieval system of patrimonial 'authority relationships which are replaced by individual authority relationships. These were achieved by a revolution which was industrial and at the same time political.

Before this revolution the norms of hierarchy and holism, which are characteristic of any traditional society, were also present in the western culture. Rights and liberties were only extended to groups and not to individuals; the system was dissensual rather than consensual.

Both Nationalism and democracy in India have come into being in a different historical context. The cultural consequences of these systems may be as radical for India as it was for the west, but its historical manifestation can not be identical. This is for various reasons. First, these values have been derived from an alien tradition and have grown from the soil of India under a colonial patronage, which is psychologically some factor. Secondly, the economic and social structural factors of the contemporary India are not comparable to those of the 17th and 18th century west. Thirdly, for historical reasons these intuitional innovations have been introjected in the Indian body. Politics in a compressed form which in the west had evolved gradually, and this phenomenon created new and for greater cultural stresses than it did in the west.

This would be evident if we review the process of growth in nationalism and democracy in India. Historically, Indian nationalism has been a forerunner of democratic polity substantively, it was never modelled completely after the western pattern from Rammohan Roy to Gandhi, the nationalistic consciousness was oriented, towards the Indian tradition in this matter there were differences of degrees but not of kind, The national leaders were for modernity but not at the cost of traditional cultural identity, Tilak and Gandhi represent extremes on this movement, being the advocate of a kind of nationalism which was deeply embedded in the past Hindu tradition. In the rise of Indian nationalism, the role of Gandhi has specially been of great historical significance, which renders Indian political process of modernization unique.

Gandhi had an uncanny skill to project to Indian masses the many humanistic values of the modern world through traditional cultural symbolism', the kind of nationalism of which he was an advocate was rooted in the Hindu tradition but at the same time was non-communal & to that extent secular, secularism for Gandhi did not mean a religiosity

but the spirit of religious tolerance which he postulated on the basis of universalistic ethic of Hinduism in itself this conception of Indian polity was entirely non-communal and yet not secular in the strictly western sense of the term.

Increasing nationalism contributed also to rapid politicization in India. This movement was primarily led by the Indian National Congress which, right from its beginning took a non-communal standpoint. One year after its founding in 1885 its report stated that "the Congress is a community of temporal interests and not of spiritual convictions that qualify men to represent each other in the discussion of political questions. Commitment to this ideal was kept intact by the Congress despite many difficulties, such as heterogeneous nature of its leadership which from time to time consisted of even zealous communal nationalists and the system of communal representation introduced by the Government of India Act 1919 and the historical suspicion or ambivalence in Muslim-Hindu relationship in India. These factors taken together led ultimately to a partial if not the total triumph of communalism, the partition of the country.

In free India, however, secularism has survived despite its many difficulties. The Indian National Congress, which came into power as a political party under the leadership of Nehru, consistently advocated the need for India becoming a secular state. Free India adopted a constitution which guarantees individual and collective freedom of religion & lays down that there should be no state discrimination on the ground of religion in public employment and education. It further provides that the state as such must be neutral to religious goals and should not levy taxes for religious purposes or encourage religious teachings in educational institutions wholly financed by the state. It however does provide for special seats in the legislative assemblies & the House of the People for the members of the scheduled castes and tribes, on purely humanitarian considerations. Thus, the constitution of India offers us a democracy which forms essential parts of the great tradition of modernization in India.

However, the enactment of the secular ideals in the constitution does not imply an actual conformity to its norms in public life and relationships between major Indian communities. Its proper evaluation is necessary. It may be pointed out that the Hindu community, right from the beginning of the British rule, took a more liberal attitude towards various social legislations which abolished many of its pseudo-religious customs by law. It even tolerated legislation affecting the caste system quite early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as we mentioned above. After independence, many legislations regarding reforms in customs of marriage, untouchability, inheritance, etc. have been accepted without much opposition. This may partly be explained by the emergence of

an enlightened elite in the Hindu society with rational commitment to nationalism. The case of other major Indian community, the Muslims, as we analysed above has been fundamentally different.

These are also other inconsistencies in the growth of secularism in India. Despite claim made for religious neutrality, the state in India has after intervened in the religious matters, this particularly holds in case of management of temples and religious institutional, such as monasteries and monastic heads. Enactment in this sphere, of course, existed from the British time; for instance, in Bengal in 1810 and in Madras in 1817 regulations were passed from regular administration of temple endowments by the govt of India appointed a Hindu Religious endowments commission to examine the administration of Hindu religious endowment and suggest steps to improve their management.

Despite these difficulties secularism has been accepted widely as the national policy in India. Majority of the political parties and even the Jana sangh which is often accused of being communal in orientation profess to be secular in outlook. As Danalid; E. Smith says "it state, despite the existence of the problems. India is a secular state in the same sense in which one say that India is a democracy. Despite various undemocratic features of Indian politics and govt, parliamentary democracy in functioning, and with considerable vigour. Similarly, the secular state; the ideal is clearly embodied in the constitution, and it is being implemented in substantial measure.

The Indian constitution recognizes diversities in the Indian tradition through its emphasis on federalism and decentralization it has an imprint of the Gandhian philosophy in its recognition of the need for village panchayats, cottage industries and to a great extent its emphasis on a welfare state embodies the central values of humanism and tolerance preached by Gandhi. During the previous decade and a half the functioning of democracy in India has further vindicated the extent to which it is rooted in to the basic textures of traditional particularistic values represented by caste, kinship & other parochial identities. Pressure groups based on universalistic identities of political and economic interests as operate in the western democracy are replaced in India by group which have quasi-universalistic if not fully particularistic identities from a sociological point of view these manifestations are not necessarily symptomatic of malfunctioning of democracy in India. In fact, these are natural manifestations of the stuff of which Indian democracy is made. This gradual change will further contribute to the industrialization of politics and democracy in India.

The five major dimensions of cultured modernization, we discussed above are dated with the formal aspect of the contemporary cultural traditions in India.

It consists of changes in dress, food habit, rituals, material cultural made of travel and type of conveyance and customs traditionally, home made cloths were worn by villagers all over the country, a customs which now survives only among a few. Castes in some region in India. The factory produced cloths now have replaced the home spoon cloths and occasionally one might come across modern synthetics fabrics like nylon, terylene etc., even in remoter parts of the country. In the eastern V.P villagers many shopkeepers which fifty years ago kept the handle many-produced cloth in stock with a very small stock of factory made cloth now deal mostly in factory- made textile and the of ready- made clothe now deal mostly in factory- made textile and the sale of ready made garments is becoming quite popular. Even the made of dress has changed considerably in these villages. The use of turbans by peasants has become rare; so is also the old style of loose shirts which has increasingly been replaced by modern style shirts. Traditional combs mad for wood or horns hare now almost disappeared from the villages and have been replaced by combs made of synthetic materials, bottoms thinkets and toys made of synthetic materials have become commonplace things in the villages.

About the changes in dress & other habits in Mysore prof-srinivas writes: "The westernization of the Brahmin of mysore brought about a no. of changes in their life. There was a change in there appearance & dress. The tuft gave way to cropped hair & the traditional dress gave place, at least partially, to western type dress and shoes for instance, formerly eating was a ritualact and a Brahmins had to wear ritually pure robes while eating or serving meals. This meant wearing either a freshly washed cotton dhoti, or a silk dhoti, and a pure upper cloth. But as western clothes become more popular Brahmins set at dinner with their shirts on. And today during at a table is becoming common among the rich; changes in dress also of other 'twice-born' castes have taken place on the same pattern in varying degress.

A change in food habits has also taken place which brings people nearer to modern food technologies. In use of Ghee eating increasingly been replaced by vegetables oils not only in the urban areas, but also in the villagers; tea shop are now common in most of the roadside villagers where persons of all castes take tea in china cups, have been brown by a person of lower caste. Prof Srinivas writes about the Mysore region "that popularity of travel and tea shop is not confined to city folk but extends to villages as well. Meat eating and use of eggs among the

higher caste members is on the increase, and in north Indian villages where a decade back poultry farming was looked down upon as a polluting occupation the no. of such farms has now multiplied, formerly upper caste men used to avoid eating at restaurants & public places, but now fewer people observe these restrictions.

Modern technology and cultural equipment too now form part of the little traditional in India. In the urban areas “the pressures of urban life’ itself, as Prof Srinivas says, make people adopt new schedules of work and personal habits & motivate them to use modern media of transport, communication & leisure. But due to changes in the frontiers of made, transport and expansion of administrative, developmental & political activities at the village level in India these modern technological and cultural life too. Modern agricultural equipment, chemical fertilizer, fractors bicycles now from part of rural material other in India. In many household one will find china up pots, radios & cosmetic goods brought from the cities or presented by family members working in urban central & city.

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### **15.6 Summary**

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The process of modernistion in India has to a large extent, been influenced by westernisation, Modernistion process has passed through colonial and post has passed through colonial and post independance phase of modernisation marked a new beginning in the sense that the government of free India choose modernisation as a goal of nation building under enlightened leadership. India chose a constitution which enshrined the modern values of democracy, socialism and secularism.

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### **15.7 Check Your Progress**

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1. Explain cultural innovation in India

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2. Discuss sub-culture forms of westernisation.

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3. How universal legal system and education played positive role for modernisation in India.

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4. Explain politicization

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### **15.7 References**

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1. Singh Yogendra - 1988, Modernisation of Indian Society, Jaipur, Rawat.
2. Pandey Rajendra (ed) 1988, Modernization and Social change, New Delhi, Criterion Publication
3. How universal legal system and education played positive role for

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### **15.8 Questions**

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- 1 Discuss the factors which have been instrument in the modernisation of Indian Society.
2. Write a short note on nationalism, politicization, and modernization.

## Secularism and Secularization

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Meaning of Secularism
- 16.3 Opinion of fundamentalist
- 16.4 Constitutional safeguard for minorities:
- 16.5 Secularism
- 16.6 Process of secularization.
- 16.7 Impact of Secularization on Hinduism
- 16.8 Summary
- 16.9 References
- 16.10 Questions

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### 16.0 Objectives :-

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1. To acquaint students with over riding influence of religious dogmas, doctrines which affects the secular culture of society.
2. To indtorduce the students with concepts of pollution and purity related to Hinduism and every Indian language.

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### 16.1 Introduction

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Secularism normally means that religion is a personal matter and state had nothing to do with it. But in the Indian constitution secularism means that the state cannot promote any particular religion or discriminate between different religions. The areas of religion and of policy are not totally separated. The state has to treat all religions as equal. It can even interfere in religion to bring about social reform. In this sense Indian secularism is Sarva Dharm'a Sama Bhavana is equal respect to all religions and not neutrality in religion. Thus the ideals of secularism also support the Democratic principle of equality and freedom.

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## 16.2 Meaning of Secularism

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Right from school days children are told that in India we have unity in diversity. The constitution recognizes linguistic and regional diversity by making India a federal state. Each one has its own policies regarding agriculture, irrigation, forest, public health etc. that are meant to meet the local needs.

The Constitution strengthens the forces of national unity by providing for a strong central government. The central government has great powers and greater financial resources. It has the power to declare emergency if it finds that the unity of the country is threatened. Fresh elections are held. Thus no diversity is allowed at the cost of national unity.

India is geo-politically well integrated for its geographical unity. Himalayas is in the north and ocean on the other 3 sides. And the whole of India has the political culture of democracy. The ancient world Bharat Varsha for India reflects the idea of geopolitical unity of the country. Our institutions of pilgrims are on four sides of the country. Badrinath and Kedarnath in the north, Rameshwara in the south, Jagannath Puri in the east and Dwarka in the West and a network of temples visited by pilgrims.

A nation may be defined as a state endowed with nationality, which is the sense of oneness, but this is not enough. To become a nation a country should be a state. Garner has defined state as "Community of persons, more or less numerous inhabiting a permanent territory independent of external control and having a government to which a majority of inhabitants pay habitual obedience". Population, Territory, government and sovereignty are the chief constituents of a nation. Nationalism is an ideology aspiring for nationhood e.g. After 1857 India developed a feeling of unity against colonial rulers and they strove to become independent and sovereign. Nationalism was an attempt to become a nation and India became successful in 1947.

National integration is a "humanitarian" issue. It is a matter of co-existence, goodwill, co-operation, mutual understanding and friendliness. It implies integration at social, cultural, economic and political levels. It leads to stability, harmony and integrity of the nation. Tolerance, co-operation, co-existence are the other essential elements of national integration in India. National integration is a process in which different groups of people of a nation unite as one nation. In India there are too many linguistic differences. It is said that every few miles the language changes in India. Also there are many other problems like caste system, provincialism, regionalism, communal disharmony and separation. National integration is a policy and programme to reform and unite the

people and it is also a strong sentiment of the people.

Secularism does not mean rejection of religion. A religion has two aspects. One is the philosophic or ideological aspect and the other is the ritualistic aspect. The philosophic aspect deals with the belief system and the ritualistic aspect with various practices. However scholars believe that there is a great unity between all religion and they perform the some social function all over the world. The ethical values and moral codes of all religions do not differ from each other and that is why there is unity in mankind. The secularism books at religion from this angle and therefore give equal respect to all religion. A religion however does not remain at the personal, private level. It gets institutionalized. Then it is not just a matter of personal faith, piety or inner experience. Once it is institutionalized it gets interested in maintaining its hold on the people and other establishments that are declared binding upon its memDers. In this process often it gets into conflict with other religious group.

Secularism is the belief or ideology that religions or religious consideration should be deliberately kept out from political affairs It basically speaks of Neutrality. Secularization according to Peter 5erger is the process by wiiich sectors of society and culture are removed fi om the domination of religious institutions and symbols. According to Weber, Secularization is a process of rationalism. He considers rational scientific thought as important. After the partition of the country, politicians wanted to assure the minority community, especially the Muslims, that they would not hp discriminated in any way. % Hence the constitution pi uvuu'es that India would remain secular, which means that

1) Each citizen is guaranteed full freedom to practice and preach his own religion.

2) All citizens irrespective of their religious faith will be equal. This indicates that in a secular society, followers of different religions can continue to believe in and practice their religious principles. No outside agency including the state can interfere in legitimate religious affairs. The two important features of a secular states are

- a) Complete separation of state and religion
- b) Full liberty for the followers of all religion as well as "atheists and agnostics" to follow their respective faiths.

In our modem times, concept of secularism has become quiet popular. It is believed that secularism is completely opposed to religion. A person who is secular cannot be religious. But that is not true at all. Secularism means all religions are equal and all enjoy equal respect. There will be no distinction on the basis of religion; capabilities and ability of individual will be not be decided on the basis of religion.

Secularism believes that religion is private affairs of every individual and it is for individual alone. Every advanced state today believes in the philosophy of secularism. Gone are the days when the State took pride in promoting a particular religion at the cost of another religion. Secularism as a concept is catching the imagination of the world. Religious minorities are given some constitutional rights and guarantees. There are several religious minorities like the Jains and the Jews and minority sects such as Muslims, Khojas who belong to the Muslim faith but regard them as a minority within a minority. It is not possible for us to describe the position and problem of each of these communities. Most of them are able to look after themselves.

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### **16.3 Opinion of fundamentalist**

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Religious fundamentalism is sticking to the fundamentals of ones own religion and ignoring the secondary and peripheral aspects derived from the cultural milieu of that society. Fundamentalism rejects two most basic tenets of secularism.

- 1) Autonomy of secular life i.e. instead of giving spiritual freedom it controls the members to the rigidity of its practice.
- 2) It becomes a dictator and the individual is deprived of his personal freedom as if an individual is only a passive receiver of religious prescription. Individual is as if only a unit in that religious community who has to blindly accept what the fundamentalists say and close all the door to change and innovations. The real threat to secularism is not from religion but fundamentalism. A religion liberates an individual but fundamentalism blinds and suppresses him. Culture influences religion for e.g. Christianity was influenced by secular liberal and humanistic culture of modern times. - India must remember that it is pluralistic, multi-religious state where mutual tolerance for a peaceful and harmonious co - existence is necessary.
- 3) The thesis that Indian society has become mere secular is easy to understand but complex to demonstrate. According to it many religious practices and values have changed and declined and have been replaced by science and nationality. There may be a change in the attitudes of people towards religion but decline in religious practices does not necessarily indicate the secularism process among Hindus.

Secularism in the Indian context has tried to enhance the power of the state by making it a protector of all religious communities and an arbitrator in their conflicts. It checks patronizing of any particular religion

by the state. However if a question is asked whether India is really secular the answer may not necessarily be yes. This is because of various factors.

- 1) It is generally noted that as science and technology widen, the area of religion decreases. Some of the religious functions are taken up by other agencies but India has failed to develop diversified institutions that may take over the traditional functions of religion. Therefore India remains communal and religious beliefs continue to exist.
- 2) Problems are viewed in a narrow and communal perspective and not in a wide and national perspective. A secular society is not against religion. People require religion as a source of faith and support during crisis situation. Therefore religion is an important institution of the society. Secularism accepts this importance of religion. According to it separate religious identities will be permissible in our society. As long as they do not question the legitimacy of the larger national boundaries these religious identities cannot be upheld if they come in the way of national integration or create problems in it.

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#### **16.4 Constitutional safeguard for minorities:**

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The founding fathers of the Constitution were aware of the problems of the minorities and ensured constitutional safeguards for their protection. According to the Constitution everyone has the fundamental right to enter public places including places of worship and drink water from anywhere. However if any body violates this law he will be punished. After the Emergency in 1975 - 76, the fundamental rights of minorities have become much more powerful.

- 1) Article 25 provides freedom for minorities for indulging in any profession, subject, public places and they are entitled for practicing and propagating any religion.
- 2) Article 26 provides freedom to manage religious affairs subjected to public order. Every religious organization has got rights to establish institutions for religious and charitable purposes.

To manage its own affair in the matter of religion

- a) Article 27 says that no person should be compelled to pay any taxes for promotion of any particular religion. Instead these expenses should be used for maintaining religious institution.
- b) Article 28 deals with religious institutions. The idea is that educational institutions should not compel students to receive religious instructions.
- c) Article 29 protects the interest of minorities. It gives a chance to

every minority to use their own language, script or culture in order to preserve the same. No citizens can be denied admission to any institution maintained by the state or receive state funds only on grounds of helping religions race, caste, language etc.

- d) Article 30 gives right to minorities to establish educational institution for e.g. Equality before law is a fundamental right to move freely throughout India to reside and settle in any part of India. These fundamental rights have not been placed in group of minorities' rights. Actually they are not meant only for minorities but they are meant only for minorities but they are meant for all. This is evident because a citizen speaking Marathi and residing in Maharashtra is in the majority but if he settles in Bengal he belongs to a minority. Hence wherever possible the constitution avoids using the term minority and uses the phrase citizen of India.

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## 16.5 Secularism

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Secularization is yet another concept which has come to be widely used to describe social change. While sanskritization has been more marked among Hindus and tribals, secularization has been a more general process affecting all Indians<sup>6</sup>. The term secularization implies that what was previously regarded as religious is ceasing to be such. Essentially, when the over riding influence of religious dogmas, doctrines and explanations on cultural traditions declines and religious activities become secondary to other major facets of life, society and culture are believed to have become secular.

**Peter Berger** defined secularization as *the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols.*

**Weber** considered secularization as *the process of rationalisation whereby scientific principles are used for achieving given ends.* Rationalism regulates individual and social life in accordance with the principles of reason and eliminates, as far as possible, everything irrational. Therefore rationalism involves the replacement of traditional beliefs and ideas by modern knowledge.

One of the results of a century of westernization has been secularization of Indian social life and culture. It has been a process brought in by British rule. Secularization has gradually increased with the development of communications, growth of towns and cities, increased spatial mobility and spread of education. The two World Wars and Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience campaign mobilized the masses in India socially and politically. This in turn has contributed to increase secularism

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## 16.6 process of secularization.

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In India the Hindus were most affected by the process of secularization. But different sections among them have been affected in different degrees. In his discussion of secularization, Srinivas has referred principally to the new elite in Mysore, presuming that his remarks would be also applicable to the elite in other parts of the country. He has considered the effects of secularization on ideas regarding (i) pollution and purity, (ii) changes in the lives and position of priestly Brahmins and (iii) changes in caste, village community and the joint family.

### 1. Secularization with reference to pollution and purify

The concepts of pollution and purity are intrinsically related to Hinduism. Various terms exist for pollution and purity in every Indian language. Pollution may refer to uncleanness, defilement and even to sinfulness while purity may refer to cleanliness, spiritual merit and indirectly to holiness. Ideas of pollution and purity permeated in the following.

- i) The structural distance between various castes is defined in terms of pollution and purity. A higher caste is always pure as compared to a lower caste. A higher caste had to observe ... certain forms of contacts with the lower castes in order to retain its higher status, e.g. not ordinarily eat food cooked by lower castes, marry them or even touch them. If the higher caste broke these rules it rendered the member impure. Purity could be restored only after purification rites were performed.
- ii) Besides caste, kinship was also bound by kashas of pollution. Thus, both birth and death pollution were observed for specific periods. Within the kinship group,<sup>1</sup> the mourning period is longer for the closest relatives.
- iii) Girls and women were considered polluting periodically. All bodily waste matter was regarded as polluting. This is why a bath was necessary before prayers or performing rituals. Traditionally men did not shave but were shaved by barbers after which they had to purify themselves by having a bath. The place where the tonsure (hair cut) had been performed was purified with cowdung. Finally women especially widows and elderly men were generally more particular about observing the rules of pollution than the others.

All these notions of pollution and purity have weakened and become less pervasive now. Industrialization and urbanization have set up their own pressures and have had an impact on an individual's daily routine place of residence, food and dressing habits. Immigrants from villages have been freed from caste and kin pressures. Earlier, Brahmins



did not patronize coffee shops even where the cooks were Brahmins. Today, we find not only Brahmins but even women (who were earlier prevented or discouraged from eating out) of all ages and class visiting restaurants. Now, coffee shops do not have room reserved for Brahmins - infact such reservations would be against law. Educated customers are now more concerned about cleanliness in restaurants rather than caste. Spread of education has made people give up traditional ideas of purity and think more in terms of hygiene. Infact, educated Hindus rationalize traditional behaviour by saying that purity is nothing more than hygiene and that it was brought within the fold of religious behaviour only to make people follow it.

The secularization process has also affected the life cycle ritual. Many ceremonies are beginning to be dropped, some rituals are omitted and some are abbreviated. Thus, today a wedding lasts only *i* one day against the earlier five to seven days. The age of marriage, especially for girls has been raised enabling them to take advantage of opportunities for higher education.

Urban religion has also been affected by the process of secularization. Religious festivals have now become important cultural occasions like Dassera in the State of Karnataka, Navrathri in Gujarat, Ganesh Chaturthi in Maharashtra. Pilgrimage centres which are very popular enable many to satisfy their religious aspirations as well as tour the country. Tourist buses cater to both these needs since they include visiting shrines as well as objects of tourist interest.

Mass media on its part, has not only contributed to secularization but it has also democratized sacred traditional culture. While school textbooks contain incidents from the Hindu epics and lives of regional saints, radio and television broadcast and telecast devotional songs, and screen popular films with secular messages. Democratization, whether through films, books or radio, has been instrumental in bringing about radical changes in the content of traditional culture.

## **2. Secularization with reference to changes in the position of priestly Brahmins /**

As secularization and westernization of Hindu life and culture grew, the priestly Brahmins steadily started losing their prestige. As long as Sanskrit learning had a reputation, priests commanded the respect of people. However, as Sanskrit came to be taught in modern schools and colleges, priests began to loose their valued monopoly over the language. Sanskrit learning became open to everyone irrespective of caste and religion. The development of ' various disciplines like history, archaeology

etc. have provided a broad chronological framework for Sanskrit literature and in the process freed it from myth and legend. Those priests who did not take note of these developments began to be regarded as intellectually old fashioned. While all the sciences, technology, medicine and engineering have been rising in prestige, humanities in particular have fallen in prestige. Initially, parents wanted their children to take up courses of study which would get them high income and economic security. Gradually, prestige associated with various subjects also seemed equally important.

Srinivas has cited a number of examples to show how the gradual change in the life style of Brahmins in the south gave rise to a conflicting situation between them and the priests. The Brahmins' deviation from the daily rituals, using of western clothes, meeting people and interacting with people of different castes and religions angered the priests. Since they no longer commanded prestige or power, they lacked the courage to throw their powerful patrons (Brahmins) out of the caste. As secularization spread among the Brahmins, the style of life of the priests themselves became westernized to some extent. This resulted in occupational changes among different generation of priestly families. Many who came from priestly and orthodox families started choosing secular careers.

Although the priests were affected by secularization, they did not have the confidence to take initiative in religious or social reforms. Neither have they been in a position to reinterpret Hinduism to suit modern circumstances. It is only the Westernized Hindu elite (who are anti ritualistic and are against popular sacrifices, beliefs and practices) who have re-interpreted Hinduism. In the process Hinduism has been stripped of a great deal of its content.

This highlights the fact that Hinduism does not have a universal organization and a hierarchy of officials whose function is to interpret religion in the context of changing circumstances. It is true, however, that some Hindu sects have elaborate organizations which are headed by pontiffs. But these pontiffs have authority only within their sect or division within sects and not Hinduism as a whole.

### **3. Secularism with reference to caste, village community and family system**

As secularization, mobility and equalitarian ideology has increased, the caste system is no longer perpetuating values which were traditionally considered to be an essential part of Hinduism. The castes of modern India have been performing several functions such as providing hostels, housing etc. They also act as interest groups in the

political arena. All these are in sharp contrast to the role that caste groups played in the traditional context of village and region. Secularization has even affected the endogamous nature of caste. Today, the institution of dowry, western education and job opportunities have made many Indians overlook traditional barriers in their search for a suitable marriage partner.

The Indian village community has been able to integrate itself with the wider economic, political, educational and religious system due to the impact of secularization. The aspirations and attitudes of villagers have changed because of vast improvements in rural communication, the introduction of universal adult franchise, self governments at various levels from the national to the village abolition of untouchability and the increased popularity of education among the rural people. Since ideas of pollution are less forceful today, social life has become freer than before.

With increase in secularization of village life, the unit of endogamy, though somewhat widened, has been along traditional lines. That is to say that although barriers between sub-castes are beginning to break, marriages spanning wide structural or cultural gaps are still not very common. Thus, we do not find a peasant marrying a shepherd, a potter or a smith. But different peasant sub-castes speaking the same language are coming together for marriage alliances. Interdining among castes is slightly more liberal than before.

The processes which have affected caste and the village community have also affected the family system. While this has happened at all levels and in every section of the society, it has affected mostly the westernized elites living in the larger towns and cities. The development of communications and the growth of urbanization and industrialization has dispersed kin groups from their natal villages and towns. Although this suggests that the Indian joint family has changed from the joint to the nuclear type, in reality, this is not so. The urban household may be nuclear in composition but kinship duties, obligations and privileges overflow in many important ways. Many urban families are only the satellite of a dominant kin group living in a village or town several hundred miles away. The Indian family system like the caste system, is resilient and has shown great adaptability to modern forces.

The urban household often lacks elders who were not only familiar with traditions but were also knowledgeable about the complex rituals to be performed at festivals and other occasions. Young girls who are now educated have no time to learn the rituals from their mothers or grandmothers. Elite households have become aware of the highly

competitive educational and employment system. They are therefore absorbed in getting their children admitted to good schools, supervising their curricular and extra curricular activities.

In the big cities, the loss of the traditional social and cultural environment of the family is made up in some ways by voluntary social and cultural associations. Concerts are held, regional festivals are celebrated and there is a certain amount of residential clustering on the basis of language. However this re-created traditional environment in the city is very different from the environment that was left behind. This is a freer, streamlined and a cosmopolitan version which lacks the rich details, complexities, rigidities, nuances and obligations of the traditional environment.

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### **16.7 Impact of Secularisation on Hinduism**

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The significant changes in the caste, family system and the village community has resulted in Hinduism lending itself to be constantly re-interpreted. New agencies have emerged to provide a structure for this re-interpretation.

New institutions like the Ramakrishna Mission and the Arya Samaj and old sects and monasteries have tried to provide for a structure for reinterpretation of Hinduism. Traditional institutions such as bhajans and harikathas and the cult of saints are also contributing to the evolution of a new structure. Bhajans are an all-India phenomenon and are popular both in rural and urban areas. They are popular among urban educated Hindus because they are free from rituals, have great aesthetic and emotional appeal and they are capable of cutting across caste distinctions.

Religion in India has been very pervasive and therefore, it is difficult to draw a sharp line between culture and religion. Indian music, painting, dance, sculpture draw greatly on Hindu religion and mythology. But an interesting development in the twentieth century has been the emergence of Indian dance and ballet divorced from the traditional contexts of temple and festivals, as purely aesthetic forms.

Hinduism has also been modernized through government legislation. Changes have been introduced in Hindu personal and family laws. The administration of Hindu temples and monasteries has been radically altered by State legislations. The task of supervising temples has been passed from a regulatory commission to an executive department directly under a cabinet minister. In brief, Hinduism is slowly getting cutoff from its traditional social structure of caste, kinship, village community, and is becoming associated with the State, political parties and organizations that are promoting Indian culture.

To conclude, modernization has come to reflect both a process and an impact. As a process it refers to the gradual application of science and technology to various facets of human life. As an impact it refers to all types of consequences and changes in social organization and human behaviour.

In India, the identity and ritual components of tradition have / played prominent roles in the process of modernization. As an ideology, modernization is a form of rationalization through which social and cultural changes in society is legitimated.

The process of secularization began with British rule and has/ become increasingly wider and deeper with passage of time. The secularization thesis proposes that many religious values have changed, several practices have declined and science and rationality have increased in importance. Secularization is more marked in towns and cities among the urban and educated groups. It has helped to diminish the forces of beliefs, customs and traditions that are either in conflict with the general urban culture which have become dysfunctional in the context of contemporary life.

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## **16.8 Summary**

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The term secularisation and secularism are sometimes confused to be same however in a strictly sociological sense there is a different in the meanings of both there terms. Before we understand secularisation and secularism it is necessary to understand the term secular.

Has been derived from the latin word "Seculm" which means this world was divided into two broad catogories namely the religious world and non – religious natural secular world. This same meaning is carried forward in order to understand secularisation and secularism.

Secularisation an be understand as a process by which sector of society and cultural and removed from the domination and religious institutions and simbols. Secularism can be understand as an Ideology which is determine by reason and is in different to religion. Both secularisation and secularism are related terms but they are not congruent terms. It means they do not mean the same secularisation can be understood through the actions and behaviour patterns of the people were as secularism can be understood through ideas and beliefs of the people.

It is essential to understand the role of secularisation and secularism in India. India being a multi-religious country. The concept of secular state becomes significant.

India has been declared as a democratic, republic secular state, Hence it is important to understand and compare the concept of secularisation and secularism in India context.

Secularisation as a process has been Implemented in the Indian Society and it has been followed to a certain excellent by the people. The Government or state claim it self to be a secular state, hence secularisation have been succesfull. However, secularism as an ideology has definitely failed in India. The religious difference especially between the Hindu and the muslim which wee present since the pre-independence base are still carried forward almost with the same named, This is because in the practice people of this two religious may be staying together but in principle the ideological difference are very much maintain.

One of the main reasons of the failure of secularism is because of the selfish interest of certain politician and political partiees. In theory the Encourage the secularisation in reality they encourage the division forces between different religious.

Hence, India truly has become Secular, than the both secularisation and secularism must go hand in land.

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### **16.9 Check your Progress :-**

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1. Explain the meaning of secularis.

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2. Discuss the role of constitution to protest secularism

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3. Why fundamentalist rejects secularism

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4. How constitution provides protection to minorities

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5. Explain secularism

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6. Highlight pollution and purity in Indian society

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7. How Hinduism is affected by secularisation.

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**16.9 References**

1. Explain the meaning of secularis.
2. Discuss the role of constitution to protest secularism

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**16.10 Questions**

1. Has India succeeded in becoming fully secular state ? Give five reason for your answer.
2. What has been impact of secularisation on Hinduism?

## Globalization- Concept and Brief History

17.0 Objectives

17.1 Introduction

17.2 Definitions of Globalisation

17.3 Brief History of Globalisation

17.4 Economic Performance in 1990-91

17.5 Globalization, Fragmentation and Modernity

17.6 Multiple modernities or single universal modernity in a global age

17.6 Summary

17.7 Check your progress

17.8 Reference

17.9 Questions

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### 17.0 Objectives

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1. To introduce students with complex globalisation process and its effect on the third world countries.
2. Aims to bring awareness among students structural adjustment programme, New economic policy, liberalisation programme for the development of Indian Economy .

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### 17.1 Introduction

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Globalization is a complex process by which the world is becoming a highly interconnected world through economic, social, political and cultural contacts. It refers to the intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkage, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange (India and Rosaldo, 2002:2). The intensity and the momentum of this process are further enhanced by the sophisticated instant communications and ever expanding fast travels. Thus, globalization ceaselessly cuts across national boundaries, it involves flows of goods, capital, people, information, ideas, images and risks across national



borders combined with the emergence of social networks and political institution. In other words globalization means “integrating and connecting cultures and communities in new space time combinations and making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected.

According to some scholars the concept of globalization became current from about the mid 1980s at the end of the bipolar world with the collapse of the USSR and the rise of uncontested and unregulated capitalism, which marked by unprecedented socio – political changes in the world scenario. Hence there was the Bretton Woods conference which set forth structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) the introduction of New Economic Policy (NEP) and liberalization programme. All these brought a new global situation seeking a fundamental restructuring of the economic and political arrangements since the industrial revolution giving rise to a kind of global integration beyond the boundaries of nation state.

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## **17.2 Definitions of Globalisation**

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1. Globalisation means. “Integrating and connecting cultures and communities in new space time combinations and making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected.”

2. According to Friedman, “Globalisation is the integration of markets, finance and technologies in a way that is shrinking in the world from a size medium to a size small and enabling each of us to reach around the world further, faster and cheaper than ever before. Like all previous international systems It is directly or indirectly shaping domestic politics, economic policies and foreign relations of virtually every country,”

3. The Human Development Report of South Asia 2001 has defined Globalisation as the “Free movements of goods, services people and information across national boundaries. It creates economy, which influences both economy as well as social relations with and across countries. The opening up of the economy increases competition internationally as well as externally, leads to structural changes in the economy , alters consumer preferences, life styles and demands of citizens.

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## **17.3 Brief History of Globalisation**

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Globalisation is viewed as a century’s long process, tackling the expansion of human population and growth of civilisation that has accelerated dramatically in the past 50 years. Global integration continued through the expansion of European trade as in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the Portuguese and Spanish empires reached to

all corners of the world after expanding to America.

Globalisation became a business phenomenon in the 17th century when Dutch East India Company, the first Multi-National Corporation was established.

Liberation in the 19th century is sometimes called the “First Era of Globalisation”, a period characterised by rapid growth in international trade and investment between European imperial powers, their colonies and later the United States. The First Era began to breakdown at the beginning with the First World War and later collapsed in 1920’s.

The current wave of Globalisation began in era since World War II and was the first result of planning by Economist, business interests and politicians who recognised the cost associated with protectionism and declining international economic integration. This work led to the Bretton Woods Conference and founding of several international institutions intended to oversee the renewed processes of globalisation promoting growth and managing adverse consequences. These were the introduction of New Economic Policy, liberalisation programmes, international Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It has been facilitated by advances in technology which have reduced the costs of trade and trade negotiations rounds originally under the auspices of GAT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) which led to a series of agreement to remove restrictions on free trade. The creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) helped to settle trade disputes and set up a platform of trading. In the name of SAP (Structural Adjustment Programmes), these institutions forced many countries that were facing debt crisis in 1980’s to create conditions for liberalisation in the developing countries.

During the time of Information Technology (IT) particularly the Internet, computer chip has added the intensity of global contacts. People began to migrate to different geographical regions looking for better prospects. All these brought a new global situation seeking a fundamental restructuring of the economy and political arrangements since the industrial revolution giving rise to a kind of global integration beyond the boundaries of nation-state.

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#### **17.4 Economic Performance in 1990-91**

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Till 1980’s, India had Economic Performance in 1990-91 a fairly good economic performance. But in 1990-91, the Indian economy entered an unprecedented liquidity crisis. This was due to the combined effect of many factors:-

1. The economy of the Soviet Union and that of most of the East European countries collapsed towards the end of the eighties.

Some of them were India's major trading partners.

2. The Gulf war in 1991 resulted in rising oil prices and there was a virtual stoppage of remittances from Indian workers in the Gulf..

As a result, India found difficult to raise funds from the World and IMF by mortgaging the gold reserves of the country. Under these circumstances, it was felt there was no alternative but to undertake drastic economic reform i.e. of Globalisation, Liberalisation and Privatisation (LPG).

Thus the new Industrial Policy of 1991 led to opening up of the economies to foreign investment. Today we notice that a large number of international products in automobiles, consumer goods, personal products are available in domestic market.

Globalisation takes the whole world as a single economic unit and market as its instrument. Thus globalisation also produces new understanding of culture, nationality, environmental relations and many other aspects of social life.

According to Friedman, 'Globalization is the integration of markets, finance and technologies in a way that is shrinking the world from a size medium to a size small and enabling each of us to reach around the world further, faster and cheaper than even before. Like all previous international systems, it is directly or indirectly shaping the domestic politics, economic policies and foreign relations of virtually every country.

The difference aspect of Globalization such as economic social, political and cultural has important implications for human life. Economic Globalization means that the monetary and fiscal policies of national government are dominated by movements in the international financial markets reducing the economic autonomy of nation – states. Globalization takes the whole world as a single economic unit & the market as its instruments.

As a consequence, multinational companies move into different locations where the labour is cheap. People from different national boundaries shift their place of work and residence exposing themselves to different cultural worlds. The global financial organizations appropriate the maximum surplus leading to an intense disparity new understanding of culture. All these affect our traditional ways of living and managing world affairs.

Globalization has both positive and negative potentials as well as dangerous consequence. It is a double edged sword. Positive; it avails the scientific medical and others innovations available to all. Unjust laws in some nations have been challenged by international law e.g. the Hamburg Tribunal established the principle that where there are

international rules protecting humanitarian values which conflict with laws, so long as individuals are in a position to exercise 'moral choice' they are legally and morally bound to transgress the state laws.

Globalization process also enhances interactions between large humanitarian and charitable operations such as Oxfam Aetion Aid, HR Watch, and Christian Aid etc. Similarly, scientific and professional bodies like the International Association of Nutritional sciences and the International Sociological and Anthropological Associations link up their concerns and ideas globally.

The positive consequences of Globalization are growing unemployment due to inability of smaller industries to compete with the international industrial firm, loss of livelihood for traditional artisans and craftsmen and immigration of people from their original environment for livelihood.

Globalization accelerates the movements of population from the less affluent parts of the globe into the major urban centres of the 'developed', 'developing' nations. Such cultural interaction affects how we live in our locality and prompts us to? our traditional understanding of culture, nationality, citizenship and many other aspects of social life. Thus, there is an increasingly global standardization of cultural goods, tastes and practices in clothes, food and music to architecture, film and TV cutting across national boundaries. Globalization heightens expectation and creates illusion through the media and ad. It is because the experience of Globalization is rather an uneven process. E.g. While some people may process the political and eco resources to trot across the world, many more have little or no access to transport and means of communication. The price of an airplane ticket or a phone call is just too high for them. According to John Allen & Chris Hamnetl e.g. Whole area of Africa are quite literally off all kinds of maps – maps of telecommunication, maps of world, trade and finance, maps of global tourism and the like. Such place thus have few circuit connecting them to any where, only routes of common and transportations that pass over or through them.

Globalization which brings the secular and liberal cultures creates a troubled relationship between native and international. This gives rise to cultural nationalism i.e. a relationship in which the native culture excites people and ideological struggles framed in termed of cultural authenticity increases foreign influences. For as example, the Hindutva movement in India tries to define India in terms of Hindu cultural nationalism.

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## **17.5 Globalization, Fragmentation and Modernity**

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Globalization is not only a concept it remains a fact. In India the New Economic policy of PM Narsimha Rao of 1991 opened the domestic market for foreign products and companies. This changed the lifestyle of middle and upper class people. In particular, in the fields like software production, India is among the leading nations in the world. Social structure is in a process of change, the old, rigid caste structures begin to weaken, human rights movement like the Palit movement articulates their claims for equality.

Ronald Robertson, one of the pioneers of Globalization theory described Globalization as the compression of the world and rapid increase of consciousness of the world as a whole (Robertson and Rhonoka).

According to Archer (1991 : 133 these processes endanger a growing world wide inter connectedness of structure, culture and agency.

The economic theory relates Globalization to the model of a free world market without restriction of competition and mobility, a global mass culture and a world encompassing information society. Transnational competition processes of selection and economic of scale will single out those enterprises that are not fit enough to survive. This approach shows that the new liberal market model of domestic economies has simply been shifted to the world market level. While in the course of western liberalism a mere condition for the emergence of market society was a successful in civilization - gwndization means that in addition to these process, people have to be liberated Gm nation state constraint that hinder the free flow of goods, services, finance and knowledge.

However, with the world financial crisis this neo-liberal market fundamentalism of 1990's has been scrutinized and the call for regulation international institutions of the world economy and particularity the financial sector, as well as for protectionist policies, has become ladder. Faced with a rapid decline of social security systems, people in continental economy doubt a self regulation of the market within a socially acceptable dimension, but also they do no longer believe in an efficient state interventionalism on behalf of socially as advantaged people.

The future post-industrial firm is virtual inomre a localized physical entity, but a flexible network of temporary contracts and co operative relations that functions via computer, net and mobile phone, often on a world scale. Firstly, the technologies and directed towards information processing the raw material as well as the outcome of the process is information. Secondly they affect process is, the transformation rather

than product. The new technological paradigm engendering and increasing flexibilities of organization in production. Consumption and management and this minimized the distances between economy and society.

Large corporations that required and developed these new technologies have themselves become obsolete, how as an organizational form. With these new technologies vertical hierarchies are no longer necessary and even inefficient compared to the more flexible network structure, characteristics to the global age is the network society.

According to Bamyeh, in spite of globalization process, governance is still represented and expressed in the inter caste system. The reason is that international organization such as UN are made up by national state representative and quota, while no state organizations and associations are excluded from participation. A nation state is very often more important from the international than the domestic perspective. The Internationalization of this interstate system was related to the spread of standard rules of representation according to the national state model as an offspring of western modernity.

“Nation” comprises “people of common culture, history & tradition in political system or by a bill. Cohesion is achieved by differences between US and others “we”- This is the citizen who has certain rights & obligations that distinguished them from “Them”- The foreigners. Solidarity has to be extended from ascriptive to ethnic, cultural and political “relatives” to engender a close feeling of commonness (‘we’). This will be achieved by symbols (Lymes, flag, passport etc.) and a clear ant delineation of strangers.

National & ethnic identities can compete with each other. Separatist processes are characteristics to weak nation state & have caused a number of nation state to collapse. War lordism grows genocides occurs against other ethnic groups or other beliefs.

The paradox of global age is that the world drifts into 2 distinct directions on one hand nobody will deny processes of Globalization of economy, civilizing the world policy, secularization of cultures & value system or changing role and gender relations. The boundaries of nation state, national economies & national identities become permeable and a world economy, world society, world political system and world cultural development.

## **17.6 Multiple modernities or single universal modernity in a global age**

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One way to cope up with the problem of modernization is to walk about multiple modernities as characteristics to the global age. Appa Durai & Breken Rich believe that ‘most societies today process the means for the local production of modernity’.

The emergence of modernity as the beginning of the second arial age, in which a distinct, cultural, political and institutional program crystallized & expanded throughout most of the world encompassing all the classical arial situations, as well as pre & non arial ones. This caused tension and challenge which were repended in different ways and engendered different civilization premises of modernity or as he later writes an emergence of multiple modernities, it is worth to have a closer look at this argumentation.

In western modernity, the key issue of the enlightenment was the sovereignty of reason, which subsumed substantive rationality under formal rationality. Already Man Webber referred to the contradictions between the basic premises of modernity & real institutional development. This is what system theory developed under the topics of autopoiesis and self refrenciality. Central antimony is the incompatibility of individual freedom & restrictive control by institution in modern societies.

General trends to structural differentiations of various institutions are as economic the political that of family to urbanization extension of education & modern means of communications & tendencies to individualistic orientations- developed in most of these societies. But these patterns did not constitute simple continuation in the modern era of the respective traditions of these societies. They were distinctively modern even if they were dynamic were great influenced by their cultural premises, traditions & historical experiences.

This holds true for various nationalists & anti-colonial tradionalists movement as well as for contemporary fundamentalists ones. Crucial to these movements are the confrontation between traditional sectors of society & modern sectors & centers between the culture & modernity in these modern ones. Modernity cities & intellectual belong to the driving force of the social change, however at the same time they reject certain aspects of western culture & harmony.

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**17.7 Summary**

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Globalization under the impact of growing capitalists' harmony intensified international migration and an emergence of international, social & environmental problems that demonstrates the powerfulness of nation states on their allegedly national affairs. At the same time as already discussed under the state has lost its legitimacy of violence to peripheral ethnic and for religions movements, aiming at coupes details separatism or destruction of nation state by terrorist acts.

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**17.8 Check your progress**

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1. Discuss globalisation cut across national boundaries.

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2. Define globaliation

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3. Highlight globalisation as business phenomena

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4. Explain globalisation is not only a concept but it remains a fact

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5. Discuss problems of modernisation.

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**17.9 References**

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**17.10 Questions**

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1. Define Globalisation. Discuss briefly the history of globalisation.
2. What do you mean by globalisation ? Highlight briefly the history of globalisation.
3. Discuss Globalisation and explain how globalisation leads to multiple modernities or single universal modernity.

## Dimensions of Globalization

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Situation in India
- 18.3 Dimensions of Globalisation
- 18.4 Positive Effects of Globalisation
- 18.5 Negative Effects of Globalisation
- 18.6 Summary
- 18.7 Reference
- 18.8 Questions

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### 18.0 Objectives

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1. To bring awareness among students about various dimensions of globalisation.
2. To acquaint students with various positive and negative effects of globalisation in third world country especially in India.

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### 18.1 Introduction

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Globalization is not an entirely new phenomenon. It has been slowly maturing, and has a history of over 300 years. Industrial revolution of 16<sup>th</sup> century marked the beginning of this process; it steadily penetrated other areas of social activity and institutions with varying consequences.

The pursuit of science and technology laid the first foundation of social change, slowly transforming agricultural societies and their institutional practice. First in the Great Britain and then in other countries. Colonial conquest marked ones distinct method of expanding frontiers for promotion of trade and economy hegemony, with visible effects on the human and natural resources of the colonized or subject countries- be they India, Indonesia, or West and South Africa.

Movement for independence was governed by deeper spirit of nationalism and an age for formation of sovereign nation – state. It is

well known that the freedom struggles carried out by the many nationalists in various colonized countries were largely based on principle of self-rule and self-determination.

The political freedom created a compelling environment for the national leadership to pay due attention to issues of social equity, justice and economic betterment of the masses. This was the political compulsion dictated by the need to stay in power in a democratic setting. Thus, on the one hand, there were pressures to meet the goals of economic expansion and enhancement of productive capacities of the nation; while on the other hand, there were immediate demands in terms of employment, food security, health care, housing, etc. there was lack of synchronization between the goals of growth and those relating to distribution – a conflict that has persisted for decades in many countries.

The development agenda of the 1970s was based on the affirmation of national Sovereignty in the economic field; endanger development and a diversity of economic systems enshrined in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties (adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1974). Past 1970s witnesses the end of cold war and the collapse of central planning in the Soviet Union and among its allies. This was also the time when there were deepening crises, affecting the fate of developing countries. Two principal crises can be mentioned one relating to soaring petroleum prices in 1970s, and the second related to the decline in commodity prices in the early 1980s.

In 1993, the commodity prices were 32 percent lower than in 1980 and, in relation to the price of the manufactured goods, they were 55 percent lower than in 1960. Thus, there was a sharp deterioration in the terms of trade. This adversely affected the developing countries structural adjustment programme (SAP) was essentially a result of this debit crisis.

In industrialized countries, population growths come down from 1.2 percent in 1950s to 0.6 percent in 1990. In absolute members, total population in the world raise from 3.7 billion in 1970 to 5.7 billion in 1995 two additional billions in a mere twenty-five years. Population growth passed serious problem for developing countries. "All but 1 percent of future population growth will be concentrated in today's developing countries, and no less than two-thirds of this will occur in only two regions Africa and South Asia. These areas are the world's poorest; they have the lowest quality of life, and most regrettable situation for women. Women are also in disadvantaged position in Western Asia and North Africa, regions expected to experience the fastest demographic rates of growth"(UN Human Development report, 1995).

However, there were breakthroughs in the field of technology, health, education, and material well-being. "The average real income in developing countries, measured in constant purchasing power parity dollars, rose in 1960 to \$2730 in 1991. These rises were substantial in all regions except Africa and South Asia" (UN Human Development report, 1994). In terms of health, life expectancy at levity in developing countries cease from 46 years in 1960 to 63 years in 1992. in industrialized countries, life expectancy stood at 76 years. There were improvements in educational sector also literacy was declining with advances in enrollment in primary and secondary schools.

But poverty, both in absolute and relative forms was taking a social and economic toll, deepening margernalilzation among the vulnerable groups of societies.

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## **18.2 Situation in India :-**

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In India the people who are in the immediate cloth of economic hardships are trying to modalize there rank and life, and pressurizing the political parties to after the pace and intensity of liberalization and globalization. The dominant trend seems to lee that the state would attempt to neutrealise the labour unrest and resistance through diffused mechanisms like the deteraiming, micro fiancé micro accommodation in source sectors etc whether Indian state could succeed in helping the large mass of people to come account of others personal predicament are mat, one cannot we too serve given the existing evidence of governmental indifference and diffidence on welfare front.

In other countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America, the impact of globalization is no less server. The affected peoples and there organizations in these countries have also become alive to the need of organization and modernization on Massline for countering the effects on their consumption basket.

Globalization as it functions today has compelled many to think beyond the conventional paradigm, and come up with new and more radical ways of addressing the onslaught of their fundamental rights to survival and development. But one thing is certain that this new leadership and their new ideas and imagination will raise definite questions to those who believe in pursuit of globalization in disregarded to needs and interest of the failing masses.

The elite play critical role in social change and transformation ever in the present struggle against negative impact of globalization, the elites will play a significant role, as D. Bandopadhay, thinker, has put it:" It is not so much the north versus the south, in would say that it is the North of the North and the South of the south."

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## 18.3 Dimensions of Globalisation

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### 1] Economic Dimension:

The economic dimension relates globalisation to the model of a free world market without restrictions, of competition and mobility, a global mass culture and a world encompassing informational society. Prior to 1991, state played an important role and controlled some of the key industries, adopted the policy of import substitution and economic self-sufficiency.

The interdependence of enterprise results from world trade, foreign and joint venture investments, worldwide consumer markets, processes of concentration, international labour migration, international financial speculation, computer networks etc. The aim of globalisation is to encroach all the arenas of the society i.e. bank, power, insurance industries, airlines, railways, education, agriculture etc. and to make it part of global economy so that imperial capitalist can easily flow in these areas and maintain their hegemony on developing countries. In these business centres, jobs that are particularly valuable for the global economy receive top incomes.

But the workforce in the organised industry is declining. The permanent workers are losing jobs to machine but equally to cheap labour and contract labour. In 1997, the public sector got rid of 2.17 lakh workers and paid them 2373 crores as compensation. Globalisation has brought much larger impact on domestic industries. Under the WTO tariffs on imported goods is lowered so that they may have accessibility in the domestic market. This has led to competition and benefit the consumer. The domestic industries find it difficult to face the competition with regard to the design of the product and the price. The developed nation have high volume of production of industrial and non-industrial items, they have large market ready available for dumping these goods. Industrial units like Bharat Heavy Electricals and machine tools industry in India is affected as their products are costlier to the imported ones. Chinese imports have affected a wide range of industries like household items, electronic accessories, bulbs, batteries, locks, silk yarn and so on. The only industries which are prospering now are the IT (Information Technology), Telecommunication and entertainment industry. The other potential sunrise sector industries are pharmaceutical, biotechnology industry.

The agriculture sector has also come under negative dimension. The Indian consumers are receiving imported milk, vegetables, fruits. This has direct bearing on small farmers who have no option but to sell

their land to private ventures. Stiff competition, lower prices, quality has been hurdles for Indian farmers to compete with new production system.

The privatisation of power, roads, hospitals, transport and communication will affect the common masses and would be out of reach for them.

In spite of growing poverty and starvation, the better off classes support globalisation because they see a definite advantage for themselves a globalisation which effectively improves their living standards even as it leaves the mass of the population without any obvious benefit and in some case may even worsen their condition.

## **2] Technological Dimension:**

The Micro-Electronic Revolution of the 1980's brought sudden improvement in the field of information technology and telecommunication. The future post-industrial firm is virtual, no more localized physical entity, but a flexible network of temporary contracts and co-operative relations that function via computer, net and mobile phone, often on a world scale. Information technological paradigm has fundamentally changed society with material basis. The new technological paradigm engenders an increased flexibility of organisation in production, consumption and management and thus, minimizing the distance between economy and society.

Information Technology through electronic mail, the Internet and instant communication by mass media across the world, has eloquent and powerful manifestation of globalisation. IT industry commonly associated with Silicon Valley (USA) where a reverse brain drain and technology transfer is becoming evident.

The Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) and the Knowledge Process Outsourcing (KPO) are illustrations of the large bank of Indian technological talent that is being utilised by the so called hi-tech countries. The KPO industry is expected to reach US \$17 billion, out of which \$12 billion (Rs.52, 000 crores or 70%) would be outsourced to India in the next 5 years and generate 2, 50, 000 high paying jobs.

Technological parks in Bangalore and Hyderabad are the new centres of excellence. The new visible heroes of the IT revolution are Bill Gates, Narayan Murthy, Azim Premji, Sam Pitroda and so forth. There is qualitative exchange of information by Internet on a daily basis. A normal computerised scientific worker sends 50-100 e-mails, holds live seminars, discussion etc. just to keep up with project that she or he is doing. One can find information on history, geography, culture, religions, population, tourism etc. by linking various sites like google.com.

### **3] The Ideological Dimension:**

The ideological dimension of globalisation is what has been called triumph of liberalism or capitalism or about the 'end of history'. Lack of an alternative to liberalism gives rise to the view that capitalism is an inevitable world wide phenomenon. During the cold war era, socialism provided a promising alternative modernisation path contrary to the leading capitalist countries. Socialism itself was considered to be a transgression to communism with a dictatorship of workers that legitimized authoritarian governance and failures, that the socialist block provided a counter power to the capitalist world. With the collapse of socialism as a serious alternative to capitalism, the opportunity of the non-western world to take advantages from the cold war by getting military and financial support from either of both sides has also ceased. Instead, in the beginning, international organisations like World Bank and IMF, force national governance into structural adjustments and deregulation, opening of these countries for western products and capital. With this anti-western rhetoric grows, because this is seen as an expression of neo-imperialism.

### **4] The Political Dimension:**

The political dimension of globalisation is closely connected to the discipline's historical points of reference: society and nation-state in early modernity. With the coming of a 'world society', it is being represented by super-national political structures. The government has become much more dependent on international organisations, bilateral and multilateral contracts, so that sovereignty has decreased. Also in spite of globalisation processes, governance is represented and expressed in the inter-state system, while transactional forms of political organisations have been comparatively less successful. The reason is that international organizations, such as the UN are made up by nation-state representatives and quota, while non-state organisations and associations such as citizen group and NGOs are excluded from participation. An important source of legitimacy of a state in the international arena is its recognition by other states. The internationalization of this interstate system was related to the spread of standard rites of representation according to the nation-state model as an offspring of western modernity.

Like national identities, ethnic identities are a construct, which not only determines action but also becomes important as a means of inclusion and exclusion. On one side, the boundaries of nation-state, national economies and national identities become permeable and a world economy, world society, world political system and world culture

develop. There is a global responsibility for global issues like trade, terrorism, drug trafficking, etc.. continue to be dependent on a nation-state as its vehicles. The nation is still a point of contact and communication and the basis of identity.

On the other hand, we may observe a process of fragmentation, renaissance of nationalism, splitting up of nation-state and retribalisation, re-fundamentalism, cultural relativism and regression of civility. The role and reach of the state in our lives is declining. Smaller states and lesser government is the norm of liberal capitalism. The recent formation of Jharkand, Chattisgarh and Uttaranchal states are clearly a case in point.

Thus Globalisation has engendered unification and fragmentation, common identity and awareness of political differences. It has reinforced both subnational regionalisms.

### **5] The Cultural Dimension:**

Globalisation enriches the world culturally. It leads to multi-cultural 'global village'. The concept of globalisation assumes that cultures are becoming the same -the world over. Most commonly it is assumed that it is spreading from the West and thus produces uniformity and standardization through technological, commercial and cultural synchronization. Not only non-western societies were infiltrated by an American way of life being supposed to cause a loss of cultural values, customs and manners, but also America and Europe adapted elements of foreign civilizations, Eastern philosophers and management styles, music or food and the cuisine.

Globalisation increases the expansion of trade in cultural products to foreign goods. This often leads to change in local cultures, values and traditions. While globalisation does affect local cultures, it can also strengthen local cultures.

Example, in India, due to satellite T.V., the number of regional channels has increased. Many of these channels telecast regional Indian context. This gives an Indian citizen opportunity to identify with his/her regional ties.

Either McDonald, CocaCola and American fast food culture; the taste of the product is culturally adapted but the target of these products are different. In America and Europe McDonald is a lower-middle class and lower class phenomena, where as in a number of non-western countries the visitors are upper-middle class families and youth who consider themselves to be modern and perhaps also western and many young people use these places as meeting points.

With, the process of globalisation, the new changes have been noticed in the life-style, consumption patterns, production of cultural



expressions, use of language and communication, media at the local, regional and national levels. The changes are more remarkable in the life-style of youths and adolescents who are driven by consumerism. Consumerism has led to sale of fancy mobiles, i-pods, laptops, costly items of birthdays or Valentines Day gifts.

Globalisation of markets has led to conversion of traditional objects of arts and aesthetics having mostly ritual uses in the local communities and in marketable commodities. This has disrupted the autonomy of folk cultures but also destabilised the life of artisans by creating new networks of competitions and price-wars.

### **6) The Environmental Dimension:**

The environmental dimension of globalisation refers to the world being a highly fragile ecological system. An imbalance has caused effects on both local and global level. This dimension is an outcome of reflexivity of late modernity. People have realised that technical progress and production of risks for the environment are closely related.

In pre-modern times, all that happened was, explained by fortune and destiny- the will of the supernatural powers but not caused by mankind. The dangers of the middle ages were external in nature-enemies, weather, animals, gods and demons. Enlightenment (Scientific Age) has replaced Gods by reasons engenders a self-responsibility of man. The world became man-made and future could be planned, formed and aimed to be better than past. In addition to wars, the industrial-scientific age engenders risks that are related to people's occupation and lack of work and environmental protection.

Western people and educated rich people are aware of global risks due to reflexivity of modernity, spread of information by means of news, scientific warning, ecological movements, and weather conditions.

In the name of economic development and current development (infrastructure) and projects and 'policies, have brought the tremendous loss of resources such as forest, land, money and government. On the other side Indian government facilitated the national/multinational corporates to take control of the common resources like land, water and forests.

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## **18.4 Positive Effects of Globalisation**

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Globalisation is a process of change that affects all regions of the world in a variety of areas, including the economy, politics, education, culture and environment, it is giving rise to new markets linked globally, new tools like internet links, cellular phones, media network, new actors like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) with authority over national

governments, the Multinational Corporations with more economic power than many states, Intellectual Property Rights and Multi-lateral agreements on Trade.

### **Education :-**

The key measures of progress have been found to be declined globally. Meanwhile, globalisation is expected to have a positive influence of the quantity as well as quality of knowledge through interactions among the states. In a globalised world as technology becomes its main motor, knowledge assumes its powerful role in production, making its possessions essential for nations, as they are successful to pursue economic growth and competitiveness. Education assumes a central role in globalisation process, as it is most potential instrument of creation. The impact of globalization on education start materialising through the cut in expenditure of the centre as well as the States" from 1992-93 and freezing the funding of higher education by the UCG. Government proposed vocational programmes to meet the varying needs of the socially disadvantaged groups. Vocational courses are offering marketable self-financing courses such as hotel management, agriculture related courses, training and handling computer packages, fashion designing, interior decoration etc. would help them acquire suitable productive skills. It will make their lives more meaningful as they will be economically independent and self-reliant.

The modern advance in information technology has revolutionised, among others, the content of knowledge and the processes of educational transaction. The increasing use of electronic media has brought education on the doorstep of the common man. Earlier Indian youth were migrating abroad to gain knowledge (higher education) but with Govt. policy and help of private sectors, many foreigners are coming to India for higher studies.

### **Health -**

With the overall changes in the global political economy, health policy began to be looked through the prism of economies. Technological interventions are considered, both, crucial and cost effective for prevention and creative health care and improving health outcomes. Globalised health programming also increases the number of stakeholders which include World Bank, WTO, WIPO, etc.. Thus, a number of 'Global Health Partnership' have come up, with World Health Organisation facilitating-collaboration between corporate agencies and inter government organizations to achieve health goals. These partnerships mainly target single communicable diseases or focus of intervention such as TB control, drug development, elimination of leprosy,

HIV-AIDS, immunization, etc More than 80 such initiatives have so far been identified which have emerged into independent organizations each with its own goals, structures, methods of functioning, funding mechanisms, etc..

### **Movements -**

In almost every sphere of activity there are growing number of transnational including social movements like Greenpeace. Women's movement, concern for Empowerment etc. They are becoming even more relevant, linking people in transnational relations. The widespread network of Human Rights, international governmental organization combined with UGO provides the condition for global governance In case of India Dalits could challenge the state for violation for human rights in the international forums such as World Conference Against Racism From 1980s, various movements and groups in India have raised several issues in which the issues of democratic and human rights equality, justice, and environmental sustainability have been integral to world.

### **Globalisation and India's trade in service**

The future of economic globalization in India depends to a large extent on the internationalization of trade in service. According to a forecast by NASSCOM, India's service sector exports are likely to touch \$ 35 billion by 2007. China is considered as a manufacturing power-house, the same status is given to India in the service sector. India has 49 % of its GDP accounted for by the service sector. India has set the target of achieving 1 % of the global merchandise trade by 2007. The sector of importance to audio-visual services, construction and engineering services, educational services and tourism and travel related services. Growth in trade in services promotes employment within the country and, to a larger extent, growth in abroad. Liberalisation of services leads to lower prices, better quality and wider choices for consumers.

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### **18.5 Negative Effects of Globalisation :-**

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Along with globalisation, key measures of progress have been found to be declined globally. Economic growth and rates of improvement in life expectancy, child mortality, education levels and literacy, all have been declined in the era of Global corporation compared to the years 1960-80. Many of the middle and poor income countries experienced unprecedented levels of foreign debt and loss of the right to interest on loans during the period.

Globalization intensifies economic processes and gives them a new form. Employment is one such component. During the 1990s, in India as a whole, the GNP grew by 6 to 8 % per year but according to

ILO, India lost 12 million jobs in the first half of the 1990s. An estimated 1 million jobs were lost after agricultural imports were liberalized in April 2001 and more because of other imports. Rural employment grew by only 0.58 % during the 1990s, which is lower than what it was in 1980s.

Poverty too grew proportionally. Against the official claim of 34 % of the country's families being below poverty line, the reality seems to be more than 40 %. It is not surprising because intrinsic to globalization in the middle class is getting its benefits at the cost of the poor. The exclusion of the poor goes beyond the sphere to the services which have been turned into sources of profit. Health care, for example, has become an industry. Hospitals are being run by companies registered in the stock exchange but public that are already efficient, are neglected further. So, only those, who have money can buy good health care. 50 % villages are without drinking water and urban supply-is-polluted but the middle class can afford 'Bottled mineral water and colas. Public transport is neglected to the individual vehicles. To earn foreign exchange for petroleum imports, have grown by 15 % a year, but other imports are neglected and exports, even of staple food, get priority. As a consequence, rural poverty grows, so does migration to the urban slums. More urban poverty is another outcome. For example, Mumbai slums population is estimated to have grown from 35 % to 50 % of its total in recent decades, since growing poverty has pushed the poor towards town and cities.

With globalization, the culture of consumerism is growing; it is based on created needs and the ethics of profit at any cost. New goods are produced to suit these needs and human status is linked to them. While the poor are dying of hunger, India exported 5 million tones of wheat in 2002 and declared loss mainly because of reduction to the PDS (Public Distribution System).

In spite of growing poverty and starvation death, the better classes support globalization because they see a definite advantage for themselves in globalization which effectively improves their living standards.

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## **18.6 Summary**

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Globalization is a complex place by which the world is becoming economically, politically, socially and culturally . Globalisation symbolises a world in motion providing ways to new way of life. Globalisation has important implications for individuals and society.

A study of the history of globalisation shows that it is not a new process but has a history of about 300 years. The beginning of this process can be traced to the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century

in Europe. The need for new markets and expanse of trade resulted in colonisation of countries in different parts of the world. The advancement in science and technology gave the impetus necessary for global interconnectedness.

Globalization has impacted all areas of society. Economic dimensions of globalization refers to free world market. Technological dimension of globalization saw the development in the field of information technology and telecommunications. The political dimension of globalization saw the emergence of a world society represented by the supernational political structure. The cultural dimension of globalization has resulted in the emergence of new global hybrid culture. The environmental dimensions refer to the very fragile eco system and the effects of global risks. These various dimensions take place more or less at the some time but the impact has been varying.

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### **18.7 Reference**

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### **18.8 Questions**

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1. Discuss globalisation and highlight various dimensions of globalisation.
2. Explain globalisation and Discuss positive and negative effects of Globalisation

## A Case Study On Globalization

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Case Study
- 19.3 Impact of Globalisation in Bidar District
- 19.4 Self Help Group Movement
- 19.5 Indianisation Across the Globe
- 19.6 Summary
- 19.7 Check your progress
- 19.8 Reference
- 19.9 Questions

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### 19.0 Objectives

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1. To bring awareness among students regarding effects of globalisation on Indian society.
2. To acquaint students with effects of globalisation on third world countries.
3. To introduce the students consequences of globalisation on local community a study of Bidar district.

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### 19.1 Introduction

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Along with high growth rate nations around the world have been achieving there also exist extreme poverty and high unemployment in the third world countries like India. The effects of globalization is not uniform. The comprehensive reform implement in India should enable the country to achieve a high growth rate. This is one side of the picture of the effects of globalization.

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## 19.2 Case Study

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Impact of Globalisation on a Small Town -A Study of Bidar district of Karnataka

Bidar district is situated at the northeastern tip of Karnataka, India. It is a small district having only five taluks, representing unity in diversity. It not only has a long historical background but also rich cultural heritage.

During eleventh century A.D., Kalyanpura - Kalyani (presently known as Basavakalyan of Bidar district) was the capital of Kalyani Chalukyas. The same Kalyanpura, during twelfth century A.D., witnessed a unique and dynamic socio-religious revolution, popularly known as Sharana movement, under the leadership of Basaveshwara, who was the Prime Minister of King Kalchuri Bijjala ruling from Kalyanpura.

During the fifteenth century A.D., when Bidar became the capital of Bahamani rulers, many people from the Central Asian kingdoms started flocking to Bidar in search of jobs and with the intention of trade and business. After the end of Bahamani rule in 1490 A.D., Bidar lost its political significance. Adil Shahis and Mughals conquered it. The rule of the Nizams started in 1724 A.D. After a long period Bidar became a part of the Union of India in September 1956 with the end of the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad. With the reorganization of states of linguistic basis, Bidar district was transferred to the New Mysore State (Karnataka) but only with four taluks. Bidar district is surrounded by Maharashtra on its west and north and by Andhra Pradesh on its east. Towards the south there is Gulbarga district. Due to historical reasons and geographical situation, the people of Bidar are multilingual and have a unique culture of their own. As people of the district in general lack managerial abilities, industrial development "could not take place.

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## 19.3 Impact of Globalisation in Bidar District

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Life in Bidar district of Karnataka is like a tree, which has old roots. In this small but unique district, the progress started from 1960s. The first degree college of the district started functioning from 1960. In this predominantly agricultural district, the process of modernization is very slow. Bullock carts on the road, jet planes in the sky and colour T.V. in a hut with cable connection. Mobile phone is found in the pocket of every individual, even construction labourer. There prevails poverty with high level of aspirations. Self Help Groups (SHGs) of economically poor women and farmers associations exist here.

The impact of globalization observed in Bidar district in some sector is fast and bold e.g. transport and communication sectors. Telecommunication sector fast also received boost. With the entry of

private sector, bus services with better facilities to cities like Hyderabad, Gulbargad, Banglore and Mumbai have improved. Demand for train “facilities have also increased. The same is the case with hotels and lodges also. Auto rickshaws have replaces cycle rickshaws (drawn *by* man) as means of the local transport. The number of motor-cycles and cars is steadily increasing.

People, as a whole have become conscious about education and health. This has given boost to upcoming of private institutions to cater educational and health needs. Demand for science and technical education is growing.

In cultural sphere also changes have been observed. The personal and family lifestyles are changing fast. Traditional mode of living is giving way to modern life. Women, especially in urban areas, are benefited the most. They are getting greater opportunities and enjoying liberty. Caste rigidities are disintegrating. At the same time, caste and sub-caste feelings are being aroused and utilized for political and other gains.

With all these developments, what one can see in this district is that the agriculture, which is predominant, is still faced with various problems. The cost of cultivation has increased considerably. Due to unstable prices of agricultural produces, farmers are distressed. Diversification in the greater pattern of agriculture is not picking up therequired speed. Though there is greater potentiality for horticulture, sericulture and floriculture, not much is bempg” achieved. Dairy, which has a vast scope, is still being carried out in a traditional manner. Corruption and corrupt practices in public life is causing concern.

The flow of credit level in Bidar district is increasing. In Bidar District Annual Credit Plan, 2005-06, “the economy of Bidar district mainly depends on agriculture and allied activities. More than 70 % of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood.”

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#### **19.4 Self Help Group (SHG) Movement**

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Self Help Group (SHG) movement, under the leadership of District Co-operative Central Bank Ltd; Bidar, has almost gained recognition as the “Bidar Model of SHG.” Almost all the economically poor families have joined the SHG/Stri Shakti groups. More than 80 % of those groups are linked with bank branches/PACs (Primary Agricultural Credit Co-operative Societies). The saving amount of groups has increased considerably and has made them financially independent. More than 50 % of the village of Bidar district has clubs of farmers under the banner of VVV (Vickas Voluntary Vashini) of NABARD. NGOs branches of various banks, Anganwadis and PACs of DCC Banks are playing their role. Women are being empowered. SHG members have found a way out in



tackling the twin problem of poverty and unemployment. SHG members and artisans of Bidar district are demanding for their skills and development and skills upgradation.

Thus the impact of globalization, as a whole, in Bidar district is not easy to access. Globalisation has its indirect impact on few sectors like communication, transport, personal as well as lifestyle. Some of them have affected farmers and the youth too. Farmers have become aware of the increasing cost of cultivation and suffering debt burden, which has become a major concern. They are trying to reduce the cost cultivation, but have not succeeded yet. They have also realized the need to improve the quality of produces. Compelled by the situation, now, they are getting organized and making efforts to overcome difficulties.

Still, there is no defined answer to the problem of growing unemployment. There has been improvement in the quality of education at all levels, skill development, self-employment opportunities and providing stable prices to agricultural produces. Improving marketing infrastructural facilities, especially in villages, is a need- By committing to rural prosperity through human resource and development, the challenge of globalization could be faced. This applies to almost all districts of India. The need of the hour is to utilize the available resources in an effective manner with the help of local participation.

The need is of improving the quality of production, achieving more production and equal distribution. Capitalism cannot be avoided but socialism cannot be neglected. Thus with globalization process, there should be judicious mix of socialism and capitalism.

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### **19.5 Indianisation Across the Globe :-**

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Indian population is the third largest and the most spread out in the world after the British and the China. India, being a diverse country, having varied regions, religious, castes, languages, ethnicity, races; people who have migrated have managed to develop distinct identities and ways of life wherever they have settled. They carry "Little India" with them. Indian cinema, cuisine, cricket along with Internet facility, has kept Indian cemented together. Their mode of adoption is marked by a clear preference for economic integration. The 20 million strong Indian population is spread over many countries and has significant economic and political presence in a number of them.

Indian cuisine is gaining popularity and it is easy to locate an Indian restaurant in any cosmopolitan city of the world. Religion has served as a major symbolic resource in building community and professing of ethnic identity.

Indian immigrants have formed various voluntary organizations to meet the challenges of globalization. They have also managed to build effective transnational business networks that stretch, from the place of origin to the place of settlements. Also Indian entrepreneurs from immigrants have gained competitive advantage by developing international business links. Most fast growing business in the IT sector have established outsourcing arrangements with Indian firms.

Several Indians have carved out dominant spaces in global world especially , in knowledge based technologies and economies. Gururaj Deshpande, Sabeer Bhatia, Kanwal Rekhi and the most recent one L. N. Mittal to name a few have been listed among the world's richest in Fortune 100 and in Forbes. Indian born Amartya Sen and Jagdish Bhagawati have established coveted academic status in the world.

With globalization, yoga has become a respite for thousands in the West. Spiritual centres, ayurveda healing and massage therapies, herbal cosmetics and vegetarianism have begun penetrating in the mainstream western culture. Yankee Yogis like Madonna, and William Dafoe chant Indian devotional bhakti songs and meditate yoga.

Thus people of India can do act as a catalyst of change across the globe with the spread of Indian culture, values and of late business enterprise.

### **Globalisation and Family Change in India :-**

India is currently one of the world's rapidly changing societies. As adoption and adaptation of globalization takes place in urban and educated India, the country appears to be one of the first societies to follow and adopt the western styles of family life. The family in India is not uniform or homogenous in nature. Each of the state-languages/ subcultures has unique features and each tribal group has its own culture traditions.

In today's world, with the growing inroads of materialism and consumerism- luxury cars, credit cards, change of life styles; youth is leading towards an entirely different way of life style of the modern city. Internet marriage sites such as Shaadi.com, have enables young men and women to find partners without much family involvement. Emerging new occasions like Valentine's Day and modern discos have exaggerated freedom created by more and more job opportunities through the BPO, KPO and Call Centres. One consequence of emerging BPOs, we find that more and more young women are choosing their partners. They are also working shifts, especially night shifts. With this we can see change in traditional attitudes of people that women should stay home, especially during night.

The traditional family bonds of husband- wife and parent-child relationships are losing their meaning. Married men and women are staying in far off places, meeting only occasionally, Apart from this; separate-living, single-parenting, live-in relationships are also found in Indian cities. The parent-children relationship has also undergone tremendous change. In most professional, working-couple families, they find little time to meet and interact with their children.

Today, even the traditional family breakfast or dinner pattern has departed from, those enjoyed a generation ago.

### **Role of Outsourcing in India**

#### **Outsourcing :-**

It is also believed that globalization has encouraged the developed countries to outsource their production to the less developed countries. This is done through the process of outsourcing. In India, we see different types of outsourcing. Some of these are in the domestic market and others are in the international market. Outsourcing in domestic market, we find that the large-scale industries are slowly closing down or downsizing their labour. Production is instead moving out of the urban-industrial areas and into the rural areas or to smaller industrial areas. Labour in these areas is cheap, there are no unions and labour laws are not applied as in urban sector. Even government in its bid to promote industrial development in these areas, special areas called 'Industrial Development Zones' (Special Economic Zones), these are operated through the state's industrial development corporation. By shifting corporation from urban to rural areas, it does not mean that the consumers will benefit by getting the goods at cheaper rates. Example, since 1980s, the large-scale textile mills have closed rendering hundreds of thousand of workers unemployed. Production of textiles has not decreased as a result of closure. Instead production is outsourced to powerloom sector.

#### **Outsourcing for Indian market: -**

India is a land of contrasts. On one side there is high level of illiteracy and on the other side there is a highly qualified workforce that has spread all over the world due to its superior skills. Also with improvement in communication and technology, large pool of technical personnel India has taken advantage to attract international companies.

There is outsourcing at the micro-electronic sector involving large contracts for developing software, etc.. The more current trend is of Business Process Outsourcing (BPOs). This involves operation of call centres at very wide scale and other forms of outsourcing is Knowledge Process Outsourcing (KPOs) where legal companies, banks and other

legal agencies outsource their office work to these Indian companies.

India has a comparative cost advantage as far as software is concerned. Similarly, the call centres have flourished because the operators know English and are available at much cheaper rates than their counterparts in the USA and UK. This boom in call centres has provided employment to several thousands of youth in the different cities.

The boom in BPOs has had other effects. The areas in the cities where these offices exist have had changes to suit the needs of the employees. Shopping malls, multiplex theatres, smart cards and restaurants have sprung up giving the local economy a boost. At the same time, there is a sense of insecurity amongst the employees. The jobs are not secure. They can be terminated at anytime. There is a total lack of social security in these jobs, as outsourced activities are never permanent. If some other country provides better opportunities and lower costs, the offices will shift there leaving those here without jobs. This is just what happened in the developed countries like USA when these jobs were outsourced. In India there is constant fear that other countries like China will takeover the outsourcing of software and BPOs as it can offer cheaper jobs.

The loss of job will result in pauperization of the worker, leading worker to commit suicide, loss of education, less attention to health, increase in divorce because not able to support the family, increase in crime, etc..

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## **19.6 Summary**

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There is growing interdependence between and among the countries in the world. The social economical and political connections which cross out borders between countries decisively condition the lives of people there. Such situation is globalisation. Though we are not dependent on foreign products so much but for the technological development we need various parts and raw materials from outside. Process of manufacturing has stretched all over the world. Such economic development is called globalisation in which not one but many countries are involved. Even rich and wealthy countries are dependant on other countries for their economic development. Poor countries have to depend upon powerful countries for the conducting their business in international market.

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## **19.7 Check your progress**

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1. Effect of globalisation is not uniform . Discuss
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2. Discuss impact of globalisation on Bidar District.

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3. What do you mean by self help groups ?

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4. Indian immigrants have formed various voluntary organisations to meet challenges of globalisation. Discuss ?

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5. How globalisation has affected family ?

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### **19.8 Questions**

1. Write detail note on Impact of Globalisation on Bidar district of Karnataka.
2. Explain outsourcing, Highlight the role of outsourcing in terms of Indian market.



**S.Y.B.A.**

# **SOCIOLOGY PAPER - II**

**Indian Society : Concept  
Structure and Processes**

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# Syllabus

(With effect from the academic year 2007-2008)

## S.Y.B.A. PAPER - II

### INDIAN SOCIETY : CONCEPTS STRUCTURE AND PROCESSES

#### Objectives :

To provide students with an insight into the development of Indian Sociology.

To acquaint students with some important aspects of Indian Society.

To develop analytical skills among students through the use of case studies.

#### I Development of Sociology in India : An Overview

Early contributions to the study of Indian Society.

Development of Sociology in India : Schools, Approaches.

Specializations in Sociology.

#### II Contributions of Indian Sociologists (G.S. Ghurye, Irawati Karve, M.N. Srinivas and A.R. Desai)

Life and Works

Approaches to Sociology

Selected readings of each sociologist

#### III Caste and Class

Varna and Jati, Characteristics of caste

Perspectives on Caste : Brahmanical and Dalit » Caste in contemporary India - caste and politics

Emergence of classes within caste

#### IV Family, Kinship and Ethnicity

Family and Kinship : Concept and Types

Family and Kinship : Issues of Structure and Change

Ethnicity : Definition, Ethnic groups and Identity ; Ethnic Identity and Conflict.

#### V Social Change in India

Modernisation and Development

Concepts and Issues

Development : A Case Study

Secularism and Secularisation  
Concepts and Issues

## **VI Globalisation**

Concept and brief history  
Dimensions  
Effects of globalisation  
Globalisation : A Case Study

### **Reading List :**

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