

Sociology Paper 2 Notes  
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# Perspective on the study of Indian society

## Syllabus

- Indology (GS Ghurye)
- Structural Functionalism -MN Srinivas
- Marxist sociology- AR Desai

## Introduction

### Colonial view

- Occidental view- India is inferior, technology is inferior, Britishers are superior
- Orientalist view- Source of origin is same, westernization and industrialization required for the development.

### Nationalist view

- Swami Vivekananda- Sanatan dharma defines India, non-materialism, purity of life, no communal conflict, humanism
- The glory of the past and distress of the present. Gandhi- Ram Rajya. Nehru.
- The poverty of character is more important than the poverty of wealth- values, ethics and character building.

India imagined is different from India experienced.

## Indology-GS Ghurye

### Indology

It stresses on the study of India using Indian lenses. Culture, norms and values of India are different from the west. There are no alternates or substitutes to it. It goes for study of literature, art, architecture, science, myth, folks, languages and dance.

- William Jones- Asiatic society of bengal- To learn about indian culture for better administration.
- Max muller- similarities between Aryans and greeks. Most ancient form of religion is Aryanism
- GS Ghurye

### **Ghurye on Hindu cultural values**

Gave concept of TRIAD which is central to indian values

- Tridev- Brahmna, Vishnu and Shiva
- Triguna

- Satvik- noble qualities
- Rajvik- Lust for luxury and comfort
- Tamasik- Pleasure
- People with higher qualities are placed above. Therefore caste is not a fixed hierarchy.
- Trived- rigveda, samaveda and atharvaveda
- Three ashrams- Bramacharya, Grihasta, Sansyas
- Three goals of life- Dhara, Artha- Not just making money but understanding the purpose of life, Moksha
- Three types of values
  - Dama- Self control
  - Daan-Charity
  - Daya-Compassion
- Three kinds of virtues- Adhyan,gyan and purusharth
- Three forces within ourselves- mana, buddhi and ahankar

Unity of India has been ideological unity unlike political unity in the west. These values are shared by all communities in india.

How did the Triad develop?

Hinduism is a syncretic culture. It is the value consensus among different communities living in india. Values and gods of one community are diffused to other communities through religious preachers. Ex- Nature worship was the value of tribals. Therefore there was reciprocation of tradition. Therefore foundation to unity in the west is political while in India it is value consensus.

Ghurye on knowledge

Indian knowledge is holistic knowledge which teaches about all parts of life while western knowledge is partial which teaches only material aspects. Contradictory philosophies were present. Disciples Of guru constituted a group called charan.

Source of unity- Indian unity is the unity of values. Everyone including raja adhere to these values. They are diffused to different kingdoms and hence a syncretic culture evolved. India may be divided on the basis of kingdoms but united on the basis of values.

Caste- Aryans brought caste with them.Occupation of the people defined caste and not birth.

Initially a same family could have different castes. When non aryaans went for a specific occupation they got a caste name. Caste is not a product of hindu religion nor it is a form of DOL guided by economic needs. Foundation to caste is asceticism, moral values and ethics. Those who promote these values are placed higher in the caste ladder. Hence class and caste are different because basic philosophies of both are different.

Caste doesn't divide India because where there is caste there is gotra.Brahmins, Kshatriyas and peasants can carry these gotras even though caste is different . Hence caste makes you different but gotra unites

Ghurye on Tribes

He considers the tribes of India are the most ancient communities , independent ethnic groups having their own culture and most of the hindu gods are tribe gods. These tribal gods represent little tradition moved forward to become the gods of the great tradition of Hinduism. Hence in Hinduism as much as Aryans elements are present as much as indigenous elements.

- Therefore Hindu culture is syncretic culture.
- Therefore Hindu culture is the culture of accommodation , tolerance.
- Local deities and gods are becoming part of the great tradition.
- People living in tribal society find out their culture is a part of Hinduism and therefore they never developed antagonism towards it.
- Therefore Tribes voluntarily become part of caste society.
- Different tribes had their kingdoms in different parts. Tribal chiefs declared themselves as Kshatriyas and established alliance relationships with Hindu kingdoms.
- People of India evolved from Tribe -> Caste -> Class .
- Ghurye called them as **Backward Hindus** because they don't have religious text.

Ghurye is worried about divisive tendencies in the north east. He says that these tendencies developed because after british came to India they broke the relationship between Hinduism and tribal society and due to the work of missionary activities they became antagonistic to Hinduism. Fear of Hindu domination and loss of culture was developed in the minds of these people. Promoting social unity is a product of faith . Problem of the north east can be solved only when the voluntary relationship is revived.\

#### Ghurye on Muslims of India

Muslims of India speak in different languages, belong to different ethnic communities but united together on the basis of common faith. Large body of Indians is Muslims either by choice or by coercion. He considers the common values and culture which holds the people together deteriorated with the arrival of Muslims rulers .

- Sanskrit lost its significance as they introduced a new language.
- Institutions of learning lost their significance.
- Royal marriages , Ashwamedha yagyas lost their merit.
- To get royal patronage people started embracing Persian language and people converted to Muslims.
- Now Great tradition is controlled by Muslim rulers.
- Dialectics of values developed and people were forced to choose one side. It gave rise to division of Indian people.
- Culture was binding people together when dialectical cultures came in India it gave rise to the great partition of India.

#### Criticism of Ghurye

- Text can always explain the context. Context keeps changing. Tribes of north east were never politically socially and economically integrated with mainland India hence we cannot say that it is due to missionaries.

- He never recognized the contributions of Muslims and Christians to the Indian culture and society.
- He was more a Hindu nationalist than being a sociologist despite this biasness he is the institution builder of sociology.

### Indology

Indology is not just a theory it is a methodological approach . It provides us with data which gives sufficient insight to understand indian society better. Hence one should not be skeptical to use this data along with empirical data.

- Veena Das- left right dichotomy (Indology + symbolism)
- TN Madan used indological source material
- MN Srinivas compared caste and varna using indological material and field data.(indology +structuralism)
- Marxist sociologist Radha Kamal Mukherjee while speaking about dialectics of modern and cultural values used indological data.(Indology + Marxism )

Early sociologists of India were largely Indologist who looked at Indian society from a cultural historical perspective. Ghurye is different from them as he established a balance between diffusion theory of the west and the indological tradition of India. Hence the confluence between indology and diffusionism offered a foundation to sociology of India. When sociology of Europe developed as a reaction to modernity sociology of India developed as celebration to tradition. Therefore indian sociology started searching for a sociology for India than sociology of India i.e made out of India used in India rather than applying western sociology in India

### AR Desai

- He advocates that any political movement is the product of economic conditions present in the society because economy is always placed in the base and politics at the superstructure. Nationalist movement could not have taken place had there been transformation in economic structure.
- First study the location of the society and then study the system of production and system relationship in the society . On the basis of that we can talk about political mobilization.
- Books
  - Social background of indian Nationalism
  - Rural sociology
  - Peasants movement in India
  - State and society in India
  - Developmental planning in India
- He is concerned about the future of indian sociology. He considers that there two dominant traditions developing in sociology

- Culturological tradition of GS Ghurye
  - It has nothing to do with current society.
- Structural Functionalism tradition of Srinivas
  - He is more concerned about caste.
  - AR Desai is concerned whether this should be central to sociology in India. It is not addressing the issues which are close to the people like landlessness.
- Concern of sociology should be to reflect on why plans and public policy fails in independent India . Why cooperatives and community development programs didn't work out.
- He says sociology is the discipline that investigates sociological pathology , making diagnosis and giving solutions but indian sociology unfortunately is derailed from its goals.
- AR Desai Marxist approach is not the only Marxist approach to understand India.His approach is qualitatively different from his predecessors and successors.
- Marxian theory is following the footsteps of Karl Marx gives importance on forces of productions whereas Marxist theory gives emphasis on conflict i.e conflict theory.

### Dange

- Founder of communist party in India. He was from Kerala.
- Book 'From primitive communism to socialism and understanding of India'.
- Respect for brahmins has nothing to do with values (Ghurye - Cultural Indology)
  - It is a product of people's economic dependency on the rituals performed by brahmins.
  - They have knowledge about magic and rituals to induce fertility in soil and rainfall in time. Most of the rituals are centered around economic activities.
  - Therefore respect for brahmins is coming out from their economic role.
- Hence caste is a product of economic needs and it has nothing to do with values.

### Kosambi

- He questioned the observations of Dange.
- Aryans migrated from Central Asia and settled in the indo gangetic plain because it was fertile. Ganga became sacred because it gave subsistence.
- There were indigenous people who were defeated by Aryans for fertile land. Land is FOP. Fertile land became the property of aryaans.
- People who were defeated are called dasyus and aryaans their masters.
- Brahmins and Kshatriyas were mostly aryaans while shudras were mostly indigenous people.

- Slaves who accepted the ideas of the masters were allowed to service their masters. Eg Agriculturist , pottery . Those who refused to accept the ideology of Aryans were thrown out and called untouchables (Unarya) were denied entry to the production system.
- Hence caste system is a form of class in India.
- The tribes who accepted the values of the aryaans were put into the system of caste developed by aryaans while others who stayed away remained tribes. Therefore Hinduisation of tribes was a economic necessity rather than cultural.
- Hence an egalitarian society got converted into hierarchical society. But this doesn't mean that indigenous people were at peace with each other. But the reasons for war were not for materialistic gains.
- He talks about how ethnicity gives rise to class formation due control over FOP. Hence brahmins were superior due to their control over FOP rather than their knowledge as propounded by Dange.
- Category of slaves
  - Those who accepted to domination
  - Those who do not accept - untouchables
  - Tribes who accepted

#### RK Mukherjee

- Book 'Social structure of Values'.
- Value is a body of abstract standards that guides institutions (family, marriage, state) , regulating individual behavior. -Parsons
- When society change values also changes.- Max weber
- Values are conscience collective that guide individual behavior- Durkheim
- Values are located in the super structure that is conditioned by the economic base - Marx
- Contradictory classes are present in a society -Marxists
  - Ancient India
    - Brahmins + Kshatriyas control FOP
    - Values are designed to support domination. Ethics are defined in such a way that their domination is not questioned.
    - These values are taught by religion , community , sanskritic texts.
  - British India
    - FOP now came under the control of British. Corresponding to that, values need to be changed.
    - New value - The State has right over land. Until the values are not changed deposed kings , tribal kings would be going for revolt. Example - sanyasi Vidroh , Kol Mutiny.
    - New Values are dialectical to old values that gave rise to a new class in India known as Indian middle class. Gandhi- I am duty bound to stay religious but at the same time i want to learn English.

- Value dialectics is still not complete in India. Hence we talk about Ram Temple at the same time we talk about greater GDP. Social transformation in India can be talked about in value dialectics.

### Asiatic mode of Production - Karl Marx

He found a unique MOP in pre British India which is neither primitive communism or any other stages and he called it Asiatic mode of production. In India people live in villages, FOP is controlled by kings but kings cannot evict one out of land. People are engaged in different kinds of activities and exchanges between people take place. Same kind of technology , methods , instruments and property relations remained the same for centuries. Rural economy was stagnant in character. Hence no class developed in India. Hence superstructure changed but the economic base did not .

### AR Desai

As a Marxist he is explaining the history of India society by taking into modes of production. He divides modes of production in India into 3 different forms

- Pre British India-Feudal Mode of production
- British India-Capitalist Mode of production
- Democratic India-Socialist mode of production (we thought) but gave us failed socialist MOP.

### Ancient India

He is revisiting Marxian theory of asiatic theory of Production and partially accepted the theory. Village economy in **India is not asiatic mode of production but feudal model of production** which Marx failed to recognize because Marx theory was based on colonial scholar data about Indian villages. Colonial scholars like

Charles Metcalf - Village communities are little republic and they are self sufficient in character. They don't depend on others and hence don't need money and hence it is a non monetized economy. Rulers may come and rulers may go but son would be taking the occupation of father and village reproduces itself.

Desai argued that every Indian villages was surrounded by 3 kinds of land

- Agricultural land
  - Controlled by a village committee consisting of elderly members.
  - Allocates land to different families. Cannot sale this land. Hence land was not a mercantile commodity.
  - Right to use the land is transmitted from one generation to another.
  - Village committees were also dispensing justice because of their control of FOP.
- pasture land-common property resources.
- Forest land-It was demarcating the territorial boundary of the village.

But the king would be the owner of the land and he would provide irrigation facility, protection to these lands. King cannot evict the people from the land and also cannot intervene in the decision of village committees.

Small industries were also there who were producing for the use of the villagers. DOL was present but everything was used by the village and hence the market was absent.

FOP were equitably distributed among the members of the village and hence-No surplus, No market

Village patriotism and nationalism was present and they did not bother which king ruled them.

FOP- Land , tools , technology belonged to everybody . Though the production relationship was symmetrical . In the superstructure kings, folk artists , and Brahmins were present. They were fed by other people .

New forms of religion made appearances like Jainism , Buddhism - Superstructure changed but the economic structures didn't change .

New kings , Islamic invasion -New forms of art culture, language made appearance but Economic base remained unchanged .

He made a comparison between Manorial feudalism in west vs corporate feudalism in India.

#### Manorial Feudalism

- Land belongs to the landlord who decides whom to give how much land ,how much tax to be collected , what needs to be produced.
- Landlord would be selling the produce in the market.
- Landlord has complete control over the FOP.
- It is exploitative.

#### Corporate Feudalism

- Land belongs to the king.
- Every farmer is a feudal lord and decides what to produce and how much to be produced.
- Some part of produce is given to the king.
- It is a cooperative economy.

He disagreed with Marx. It was not a stagnant economy but a logical economy. It is driven by collective well being.

#### Industries

- Not much difference between industries and agriculture.
- They are also not meant for surplus .

- Industries and agriculture complemented each other unlike west

In India trade centers were also present beside villages. Traders were coming from within and outside. Traders were bringing goods not for the consumption of local people but for the consumption of kings and the political class.

#### Indian village

- Industries coexisted with agriculture
- Artisans were localized industrialist
- No distinction between agriculture and industries
- Self sufficient
- No surplus
- No exchange for money
- No class formation

Society was reproducing itself in an identical manner. People belonging to a particular caste pursued the same occupation generation after generation. Therefore the caste system supported reciprocal relationships. Culture and religion were also giving support to this reciprocation.

In Mughal period whatever change happened it occurred in super structure without change in economic base. In such a type of society village nationalism and village patriotism and not the Indian nationalism.

Agree and Disagree with Karl Marx - Marx never found out cities in India but cities were present in India. Urban economy was centered around the kings and aristocratic class who were the targeted buyers. Villagers refused to go to these centers. Marx never understood the caste, religion and culture located in the superstructure. He looked at India through writings of Metcalfe.

Q. Difference between sociology of India and sociology for India ?

Sociology of India - Western theory used to explain India . Example AR Desai , Srinivas , Feminist. Sociology for India - India is unique - Indology culturology - Ghurye

#### British India -Capitalist Mode of Production

British came to India in the form of traders. Capitalism developed in the case of Europe as conditions were appropriate due to collapse of feudalism, mercantilist class made an appearance, and new technology developed. People are ready to sell the surplus in domestic and international markets.

They connected port cities , cities , towns and villages in India. Hence value chain developed in India. It introduced in India a spirit of consumerism and market culture.They changed the economic base of Indian society. Corresponding to that superstructure changed. Hence economic structure changed. As a reaction to this Indian nationalism developed.

How change occurred ?

Land tenure system

- Permanent settlement
  - Irrespective of production from land , a fixed amount of revenue should be given to the state.
  - The Zamindari system was introduced and land was auctioned.
  - Land becomes a form of private property.
  - Zamindars subleased the land and auctioned the land.
  - Between state and people intermediaries developed.Tax liability of the farmers multiplied.
  - Encouragement for cash crop cultivation for more profit.
  - Desperate migration of people from villages to cities took place because land was no longer sustainable .
  - Bengal province then extended to Bombay
- Ryotwari system
  - South India
  - Moneylenders give money to farmers in case of natural calamity by mortgaging their lands.
  - When farmers are unable to pay the interest , moneylenders become the ryot of the land.
  - These moneylenders would be using agricultural laborers to till the land.
  - Land is converted into a type of industry and state and moneylenders are getting profit from it.
  - Those who need land for their survivalism are deprived of it.

Trade policy

- Preferential Trade policy
  - British products can be sold in India without taxes and import duties.
  - Certain agriculture produced in India can be sold in international markets controlled by British.
  - Cheaper British goods were dumped in India and domestic producers cannot sell at that price .
  - Indigenous industries collapsed.
  - Demographic pressure increased on land.
- Trade Monopoly
  - Products sold by British in India no other country can sell in India.

- 'Our poverty is not the product of the Indian culture but the British making'- counter Weber

### Forest Policy

- Forests were brought under the control of state. They divided forest into 3 types
  - Reserved forest
    - No entry
    - Commercially viable plants available.
    - Forest officers to take strict legal action against those who encroached into the forest
  - Protected forest
    - Permission required
  - Village forest
- Most affected were the tribes which led to deculturalization , de tribalisation .They were deprived of their livelihood.
- As a reaction to the Birsa Munda movement , Kol insurgency gained momentum.

When capitalism became extreme economic cries of all the people homogenized them together and gave rise to nationalism irrespective of their culture, class , caste and region. Therefore our nationalist movement is a cause of contradiction present in the economic base. Indian nationalist leaders made a promise to India to change the system of production after independence. Therefore India got its independence using socialistic promise questioning the capitalist system.

### Independent India

He observed 3 decades after Indian independence

- Decade of hope
  - Nehru decade
  - Greatly committed to the principle of socialism.Emphasis on industrialization.
  - Centralized planning -5 year plans
  - Human resource generation- Education
  - Land reforms gave priority and momentum to cooperatives .
  - But the people who were landlords became part of the state and industries and drafted land reforms policy in such a way that land reforms failed.
  - No skill and manpower to run these industries and hence export become uncompetitive.
  - Everything came under the control of the state and private entrepreneurship could not grow.
- Decade of despair
  - Restless in people due to unfulfilled goals.
  - Split in congress after death of Nehru.
  - Poverty alleviation measures- Making people dependent on state.

- Poverty is more contagious than pollution- Poverty breeds poverty.
- No literacy, no growth and corruption became instructional.
- Decade of discontent -(Data published in 1979)
  - 40% of the people are still living in poverty.
  - Literacy rate is also 60%.
  - Tribal poverty is high as 80%
  - Most of the tribes are victims of displacement and violence.
  - 80% of the rural population is landless or nearly landless
  - 10% have control over 75% of the agricultural land.

Therefore India has experienced a failed socialism. It is not socialism that failed India, it is indian leadership that led to failure of socialism. Problem for indian sociology is not which caste is moving towards which caste but the real problem is why poverty still persists , naxalism , rural distress ,cooperatives have failed. He is highly critical to orthodox sociological approach of India.

Nationalism is a product of common cultural consciousness- Indologist

It is a political movement , movement to capture power- political sociologist

It is the product of change in the economic base - Marxist AR Desai.

Filial socialism - Socialism should not develop through revolution but through state . Nehru wanted this.

Criticism of marxism

- Jyoti Basu - Equating class and caste in india is not suitable
- Andre Beiteille- Exaggeration of economic history into indian history
- Gail Omvedt- Not right to classify India into 2 classes. Dalits are highly oppressed than other classes in india.

## MN Srinivas

- He is a contemporary of AR Desai 1916-1999.
- He was born in Bangalore and a friend of VKRV Rao who was the economic advisor to Nehru and founder of DSE.
- He studied as a graduate student with Ghurye. Under him he went to study marriage and family of coorgs. Concept of Brahminization and Sanskritisation came from here. He found out the marriage rituals were similar to brahmin of Karnataka.
- Then he went to LSE and met Hobbhouse and AR Brown. He was influenced by structural functional theory of AR Brown.
- After coming to India he became a lecturer in university in Baroda then at DSE.

- His last lecture at DSE was 'An obituary to Caste'. He was influenced by the transnational character of Bangalore and thought that globalization would bring an end to caste.
- He gave his students the intellectual freedom to pursue whatever they want. Therefore many specialist evolved in many fields
  - Andre beiteille - Max weber in India.
  - MSA Rao- Urban sociology.
  - Uma ramaswamy- Industrial sociology.
  - Anand chakraborty - rural and agrarian sociology
- His core concern was to study caste in India.
- Book 'Social change in India', 'caste in modern India', 'Social structure' and 'Dominant caste'.
- He made a demarcation between book view and field view.

### Methodology

- He believes in positivist methods.
- Sociology cannot go for macroscopic analysis because there is a danger of our ideology's influence to data. (Seen in writings of GS Ghurye and Desai). It should go for microscopic enquiry.
- Sociological generalizations should be based on facts.
- Distinction between book view and field view
  - Book view is ideal while field view is empirical.
  - Field view - collecting data and testing the authenticity of data. Using scientific method in analysis

### Structural Functionalism

- It is the application of positivism in the field of sociological enquiry.
- It gives importance on data and only on the explanation of data based on data.
- Data should be empirically verifiable.
- It believes every sphere of social life has a definite structure. To understand structure one must understand its parts. Structure is a product of rules guided by values and motives. Example In the past respect for brahmins by everybody i.e caste structure was fixed then Buddhism, Jainism and Bhakti saints questioned this superiority. Caste structure changed and Brahminic superiority is being questioned. If rules are changing, structure would be changing.
- Each structure has a relationship with another structure. That may be functional, dysfunctional or non functional to each other.
- It rejects generalizations about reality data that should speak for itself. Unlike Marxian AR Desai and Ghurye which involves speculations.

### Radcliff Brown

- Structural functional analysis is the most appropriate to study small scale societies because relationships are easier to establish.
- When comparing structures , the same structure in different situations carry common characteristics. These are called structural principles. Example - Children belonging to the same parents share strong relationships in every kinship system whether in America or in India.
- On the basis of the comparisons then go for generalizations.

#### Evans Pritchard

- He looks into the structure of religion in African tribal society
- Two types of spirit
  - Spirit of Above - Everything above is the agent of god and exhibits power through lightning and thunder. It is so powerful that it can give happiness or make life miserable. If spirit is pleased it will send its agent eg. Lightning kills a person. This death is celebrated as it is thought that the person who died is dearest to the spirits above. Cattle sacrifice is done to please them.
  - Spirit Below - Considered to have lower power. Eg . Some disease in person. Worship him with cucumber and tell him to treat it as ox.

#### MN Srinivas borrowed idea from both of them to study Indian society he writes

- India is such a huge society housing different ethnic groups, caste and sustaining for centuries therefore developing a generalized explanation of India is a sociological impossibility. When we generalize India we speak through ideology ignoring facts. Therefore sociology should not go into macroscopic understanding.
- Indian sociology should go field view and book view (Indology) and ideology (Marxist) should not have any place.
- Field for him is village so he introduced a village study method in Indian sociology i.e participant observation method keeping ideology and biases aside.
- Most important part of the field view is that village people should accept one as a part of themselves.
- Within villages
  - caste structure
  - economic structures are present. - There is a class structure also present in the village (Dominant caste).
  - Family structure/ Kinship structure is present in the village, it is a form of social capital.
  - Political structure-Sarpanch
  - Informal power structure-Tau, Pandit
- How is the village structure changing ?
  - Girls coming to the families are educated and hence expectations are changing . Therefore family structure is changing.
  - PRI have now reserved seats for SC and women.

- Caste structure and gender structure is changing. This is also leading to caste conflict because of disjunction between old power and new power.
- Community Development program (MGNREGA)
  - People are empowered now.
- Can add more points ..
- But change taking place in one village is different from other villages hence microscopic study based on facts.

Applying structural functional methods to study

## Caste

- There are roughly present 3000 which are subdivided into 30000 smaller units and carry different names in different parts of the country. Very difficult to put these group in hierarchical order nevertheless caste doesn't has a singular structure but dual
  - Ritual structure
  - Secular structure
- Each caste demands superiority to equals and equality to superior.
  - Barber and carpenters both consider themselves superior.
  - Jat and Yadav
- Position in the ritual hierarchy is defined on the basis of birth , deities , food , dress and language.
- Position in the secular structure of caste is defined on the basis of education , land.
- Earlier ritual position was corresponding to secular position till the entry of Muslims rulers who appointed people , gave land grants therefore intermediary caste groups got patronage. Like Nairs in Kerala, Kayasth in Bihar.
- When British came to India a large number of castes improved their secular position. Zamindards - Yadav , Jats .
- When position in secular structure is improving people go for sanskritisation.
  - Changing surname , lifestyle ,dress and hence improve their position in ritual hierarchy.
  - Change in secular hierarchy is not an end in itself it affects the ritual structure.
  - Therefore caste is a dynamic structure.
- In 1975-1976 a large number of intermediary caste groups benefited from land reforms, PRI , green revolution. Then they refused to accept the domination of the congress party and wanted to have their own political organization. Therefore Dominant caste made an appearance in different parts of the country. They are called A-Ahir , J-Jat, G-Gujjar ,R-Rajput. They introduced reservation for their own support base when they came to power.

## Family Structure

- According to Marxist with the arrival of capitalism - Nuclear family.

- Indologist - Dharma- Joint Family , Adharma- Nuclear family. When Dharma disappears, the nuclear family will make an appearance.
- Srinivas says that both views are ideologically charged.
- India is experiencing varied forms of families driven by necessity.
  - Great Joint Family
  - Intermediary Joint Family
  - Small Joint Family
- Family may not be joint but functional jointness is present- Financial support , Assembly in functions. Only residence cannot be the only criteria for joint family.
- Uttarakhand- Young men in Delhi for jobs , In villages parents , wife , grandparents , children.
- Therefore it is not joint vs nuclear but it is the diversity of family based on the necessity.

### Village structure

- Within every villages there is segmentation
  - Caste-Kinship
  - Class on basis of land holding, income
- Class position may or may not be similar to caste structure. Depending on the requirement people belong to a particular caste , class in different situations.
- External influences changing the village structure
  - CDP
  - PRI

#### Education

- Cooperatives...
- Despite these structures and inequality when it comes to the matter of village pride , village benefit people would be coming together. It is a manifestation of fission and fusion.
- He is using the concept of village solidarity.

### Gender Structure - Dowry Structure

- Dowry was a cultural practice because it indicated that a girl is meant for Daan. Over a period of time it has become a compulsion rather than voluntaristic act.
- Upper class gives it because they have plenty of it , middle class gives it because it is a matter of social status , lower class it is a compulsion.
- Dowry in south India is a form of investment - circulation of wealth- cross cousin marriages , but it is a form of exploitation in north India where it is having a impact on sex ratio.
- Dowry is a form of modern sati which is defined by greed today. Cases of suicide , bride burning .

Social change in India is of two types

- Orthogenetic change
  - Change coming from within
  - Sanskritisation
- Heterogenetic Change
  - Change from outside - By British
    - Technological change
    - Institutional change
    - Ideological change
  - Westernisation

### Political Structure

- Earlier political structure , economic structure and caste structure were strongly interconnected with each other.
- Note-Andre beiteille- Brahmins consider dalits are not a part of village in sreepuram village in Tamil Nadu. Idea of pollution and purity.
- People belonging to different caste are competing in elections now
  - Person elected as panchayat head , has to look after the needs of everyone irrespective of the caste.
- Network of political relationships is extended from village to state capital because of PRI which was earlier confined to villages.

### Criticism of MN Srinivas

Yogendra singh - Founder of sociology in JNU

- MN Srinivas sociology suffers from objective idealism
  - He thought Indian society cannot change and change is limited and restricted and speaks about change in structure rather than change of structure.
  - Data is used to confirm to his ideology that change is limited .
- Before the scientific research is conducted the outcome is known to the researcher.
- Therefore it is a conservative sociology and not a radical sociology.

TK Oommen

- He is collecting data from villages. Fundamental question is that are villages representative of the entire India.
- Sample size is too small. We cannot make generalizations about whole India , it can be a microscopic inquiry.

Gail Omvedt

- Srinivas sociology is a Brahminic sociology because he being a brahmin he consider putting tilak, vegetarianism is considered sacred.(Coorgs)
- In many places people didn't up the upper caste values rather they picked up secular attributes rather than ritual attributes.

- In some cases lower caste culture is taken by upper caste. Punjab has gone for Islamization, shudraisation , if tribes are dominant then tribalisation.

## Impact of colonial rule on indian society

### Syllabus

- Social background of indian nationalism
- Modernization if indian tradition
- Protest and movement during colonial period
- Social reforms

### Social background of Indian nationalism

Nationalism is not progressive or regressive , it is not democratic or autocratic , not normal or pathological; rather nationalism appears, disappears and reappears for different causes.

It is easy to define a state but difficult to define a nation.

State is a political body with 4 fundamental features

- Rule of state is territorially defined.
- People of the state are supposed to accept the rule of the state.
- Enjoys sovereignty.
- run by a government

Nation is a form of psychic unity among the people. Nationalism consciousness may be shared by the people living within or outside the state.

#### How nationalism Developed ?

- Common culture, Common history , common language - Voluntary Nationalism.
- Nationalistic consciousness may be also developed as a reaction by forgetting internal differences - Reactionary nationalism.
- Constructive Nationalism
  - To make a state people have to be unified together by glorying language, culture and identity. It is driven by the principle of inclusion and exclusion.
  - Britain , France , Germany.
- Cohesive Nationalism
  - By force
  - North Korea
- State sponsored Nationalism
  - State teaches how to prove nationalist credentials.
- Developmental Nationalism
  - Through development promoting unity.

Is patriotism the same as nationalism ?

- When somebody is committed to his profession and gives their best for the service of the nation . Patriotism is the manifestation of the commitment to the duty.
- Nationalism is a spontaneous discourse.

### Indian Nationalism

Whether India was a nation or not ?- Two views

- KM Paniker , Ramesh Thapar , Romila Thapar.
  - India was never a nation rather India was a land of multiple nationalities. People lived in different localities and had distinct languages. If People belonging to a particular nation has a ruler then it constitutes a nation state. In India there were nations and some other nation states.
  - India was a land of multiple nations happily coexisting without conflict.
- RS Sharma-India was a nation.

### Three Aryan theory about nation

- Aryans invaded India and settled in the fertile lands and defeated indigenous rulers and imposed their ideas and rulers. They imposed a kind of cohesive nationalism. Romila Thapar accepts this.
- Aryans came from Central Asia and diffused to different parts of the world and have great knowledge of science , medicines and all the world civilizations developed from Aryans. Aryan Nationalism was present all over the world . British scholars accept this .
- Aryans never came from Central Asia. These Aryans were very much Indians. Jambudweep (India) whose ruler was Bharat and his descendants are called as bhartiya. They had great knowledge about science , medicines and passed on this knowledge to everybody on the land as a result of which India evolved into a rich productive nation. Essence of Indian nationalism was peace, different rulers into different pockets ruled with peace. These Indians and their tradition got destroyed by Muslim invasion. RS Sharma accepts this.

### First Phase of Indian Nationalism

When British came to India they developed research on Indian ancient texts. Vedas are the source of all possible knowledge that came from British research. Once these works were published the Indian educated middle class developed nationalism. They realized India has lost its significance due to

- casteism
- Sati
- Child Marriage

Therefore to reclaim the glory India has to go for reforms. Several socio religious reform movements were launched. Therefore Indian nationalism is not just a political movement it started as a socio religious movement. This idea of India nationalism 'Go back to vedas' by Dayanand sarswati was questioned by ishwar Chandra vidyasagar , raja ram Mohan Roy who

propounded for modern education, English language , secularism. India can become great again by modern education only.

Therefore two types of nationalism emerged

- Cultural nationalism
- Reformist Nationalism

### Second Phase of Indian Nationalism

When British rule got consolidated in India and a large number of people belonging to different castes joined the administration by getting access to British education , some Indians made a fortune by doing business. Such people were discriminated against by British. Therefore they become reactionary. Nationalism here is an elitist movement to promote safeguard their interest (Moderates). Drain of Wealth. They went for litigation, appeal. They failed as a reaction to this extremist appearance. They propounded that nationalism is not a political program, it is a religion and it is the moral duty of every citizen. Symbols came into prominence- Bharat Mata and revolutionary literature was published. Large number of Indian people left their Job . Therefore a base for Indian nationalism was prepared.

India is a hindu rashtra - Veer Savarkar. Public policy should develop in conformity with hindu philosophy and ideology. Muslims are not the full citizens of hindu rashtra. His nationalism is hindu nationalism. In contrast to him Gandhi evolved.

### Gandhi Nationalism

Gandhi was acceptable to all. He introduced the policy of swadeshi which benefited to Indian entrepreneurs. Working class also joined the movement for the right to land. Middle class joined the movement because they would benefit if British left the government posts. Objectives of nationalist movement kept changing with time.

### After Independence

- Old nationalism got replaced by new nationalism.
- Nehru glorified the idea of nation building. British destroyed India and it should build new and modern society. Developmental nationalism was the agenda. Once development come social hierarchy would be wiped out
  - By education.
  - Expanding Industrial Base.
  - All inclusive

### Ideology

Moderates ideology

Extremist ideology

Hindutva ideology-Savarkar

Subaltern Ideology

- India has always been a caste centric society.
- Upper caste ideology has given rise to marginalization .
- Therefore Hindutva philosophy is disconnected with the subaltern people.
- Once colonial rulers leave the country upper caste domination would prevail. Therefore they refused to connect with the nationalistic ideology.

- They want a strong responsive state and not a nation.

Mahatma Gandhi tried to promote a negation between all these ideologies.

#### Support Base

- During the war Indian industrialists prospered. They were comfortable with the idea of swadeshi hence the bourgeois class supported to nationalist movement.
- Middle class supported Gandhi ideology in anticipation of jobs.
- World politics were changing and both democratic and communist movements got momentum. 1930-1940 peasants movement got momentum, industrial and mining workers got momentum. Nationalist leaders made promises of better benefits to them. Entire working class joined the nationalist movement after 1934.

Hence appropriate conditions were, ideology, support base, organizational character (INC) and leadership. Most of the middle class leaders become the voice of the voiceless.

#### Nationalism is context specific

- Prior to Indian independence nationalism was progressive because it promoted unity. Nationalism was a need at that point of time for decolonization.
- Soon after the independence crisis of nationalism. People wanted states on the basis of language. Sardar Patel had to negotiate with the princely states. Nationalism is not promoting unity but it is the state.
- Separatist movement in north east and Dravidian movement. The nationalism which gave freedom was not sustainable now.
- Nehru proposed a new kind of nationalism which is developmental nationalism i.e building of modern India.
  - Universal education
  - Massive Industrialization
  - More Dams
  - Secular society
- In 1970 Samukhya Socialist party which was gaining the support of the poor then Indira Gandhi launched the programs for the poor to widen their support base. Hence people got united to support her and became role models. The deficit of the state was hidden in the Indian nationalism. To hide the failure of government nationalism is used and abused. It was constructed with nationalism.
- When an emergency was declared the entire nation came together to bring democracy back. All political leaders got the common agenda supported by masses. The Sampurna Kranti movement was initiated as a counter hegemony movement. The movement that spoke about a revolution got converted into a political party 'Janata Dal' and won the elections. This was a kind of reactionary nationalism.
- During 1990s LPG reforms. Nationalism for taking the nation out of BOP crises.
- In the last 5 years it is understood that the problems of India are due to the deficiency of nationalism. Need for respect of Indian symbols. Unless people would become self centric and individualistic. This is state sponsored nationalism. If nationalism is there
  - People would not throw stones in Kashmir

- Insurgency movement would die out.
- In many situations **voluntaristic nationalism is getting momentum**
  - Reaction to Nirbhaya case asking for women protection.
  - Cricket nationalism
  - Movies - URI

A kind of nationalism will sail in the society which is accepted and subscribed by everybody. Populist nationalism will sail in society. Gandhi nationalism was good in the long run but was not subscribed by everybody. We need a strong state, individuals don't make state but institutions make state.

Marxist: There is a dialectics between people wanting nationalism to be promoted and others.

Randheer Singh advocates that post independent India has evolved into a belated capitalism, bourgeois are born old without any youth (Ek dum ameer). India has been converted into a land of mass hunger, illiteracy, mass unemployment and polarized class conflict. Attempts are made to divide people on the basis of religion, caste and ethnicity. Deficit of nationalism is ethnicized today therefore division of India is the essence of state sponsored nationalism in contemporary India.

In answers, combine AR Desai from the previous chapter with this. AR Desai- Indian nationalism is the result of change in economic base by Britishers.

- BCEtion
- Vegetarian
- Made Gautama Buddha as one of Dashavatar

Therefore the challenge was diffused.

KM Paniker - There are no Kshatriyas present after 5th BCE and a vacuum was created. **Anybody who became a power holder declared themselves as Kshatriyas.**

- Same thing for Jainism- Vaishyas went for more Supreme values, supreme form of tortures on the body.
- Shudras went for more purification and a Bhakti cult was formed. They had only one ambition in India to connect with god. Religious texts and songs were written.

Therefore Sanskritisation is not a single concept.

### **Criticism of sanskritization**

- Srinivas is only looking into the higher caste culture. Brahmins all over the country are not following similar culture, eating habits and dressing. His view is a myopic view. Therefore his **theory is based on assumption**.
- **Sanskritisation is not an all India phenomenon**
  - In Punjab there is a major impact of Islamic culture.
  - Tribalization in Tribal areas.

- De sanskritization in south India
- Hence one cannot keep value neutrality in sociological enquiry. He being a brahmin only sees sanskritisation.
- Nowadays if people proclaim higher caste status there are less benefits. There is a competition for backward status now. Hence his theory is not valid today.

### Westernization

- Westernization is a concept used to understand socio cultural changes that Indian society has experienced during 150 years of British rule in India. It is a historical narration of change and he is not using modernization because he thinks it is a value loaded concept.
- Modernization explains every modern change is good while westernization explains change with neutrality.
- Changes introduced by British
  - Change in Technology-Printing press, railways, industry, standardized currency system
  - Change in institution-Education, trade centers, courts , police , civil service , modern healthcare
  - Change in Values-Rule of law, spirit of competition,individualism
- The influence of westernization on the people of India was three fold
  - A small group of Indians refused to accept anything western and went for internal and external sanskritization and obstructed social changes in India. They went for cultural revivalism.
  - Another small group of people went for internal and external westernization. Rejected sanskrit values , culture.-Ambedkar
  - Majority of Indians went for internally sanskritised but externally westernized. Therefore in the case of India tradition did not disappear with the advent of modernity. Every Indian is choosing how much modernity one needs to consume. It is an individual phenomenon not an all Indian phenomenon.
- Most of the Indian choose love for tradition and quest for modernity. Examples of bureaucratic relationships in India.

### Marxist approach to modernity

- DP Mukherjee -Dialectics of Values
  - Colonial rule enforced values like materialistic , individualistic values into the Indian society. These values were not important to masses in India.
  - Upper class Indian imbibe these values so that they can benefit from trade, commerce.
  - A large body of Indian middle class experienced a dialectics between values from family, kinship groups and the values they are getting from education. Unaware which values to accept and which to reject. Gandhi and Nehru both from middle class yet so different. Not knowing how much of modernity to accept and how much to reject.

- Modernity in India is a product of dialectics between two kinds of values which gave multiple directions to modernity. India is neither capitalist , nor feudal or social but a mixture of all.
- Therefore India is experiencing a contesting form of modernity which is not unilineal.
- AR Desai- Historical Materialism
  - MOP was controlled by the state and gave rights to specific people. Peasants and farmers were exploited. Petty traders were exploited.
  - Administration , modern education was introduced to promote the interest of those who controlled the FOP.
  - Result of modernity - Pauperization of masses. It gave rise to true class consciousness.
  - Modernity benefited the British and exploited the Indians.
  - Nationalism was the movement of the proletariat against bourgeois (British)
- Contemporary Marxist - Randheer singh
  - Sociology should look into postcolonial modernity introduced by the state of India. Architect of that modernity was Nehru in the form of industrialization , big irrigation projects, expansion of urban centers , expansion of school colleges and universities , expansion of communication and transport networks.
  - Modernity in India is a state sponsored program and people are prone to consume this modernity.
  - When modernity is chosen by the people they will be respecting it , if it is given to the people they may or may not accept it.
  - There are two types of people: those who benefit from modernity and others who are victims of modernity; they are called citizens and sub citizens respectively.
  - Land , developmental projects and industries are controlled by capitalists and others are the victims of modernity. Crony capitalism on rise.
  - Modernity in India has expanded the class divide.

### Structural Functional Theory

During 1960-1970 a number of European sociologist took interest in the study of Indian society

- Marion levy
- Wilbert Moore
- Gunner Myrdal

Whether modernity has failed India or India failed modernity ? Why it didn't worked out

Modernity is not just technological, institutional , to make modernity effective and functional one has to create condition for modernity to sustain

- Economic conditions
  - People should be eager to improve their level of living.
  - In India people are used to their living- Happy Poverty.
  - Perception towards life and work - virtue missing
  - Entrepreneur culture is missing

- Social conditions
  - How family ,religion, and society supports modernity is different in India and the west .

Hence India has failed modernity.

Q Do you consider western model of modernity could produce results in countries like India ?

### Cultural Theory on Modernity

It tells us that it is the value system, culture and ideology of India that need to be taken into consideration whether India can go for modernity or not. If possible , is Indian modernity the same as western modernity? When India is going for modernity how it is addressing the after effects of modernity.

### Cognitive Theory of Louis Dumont

- Every society is guided by well defined ideas and values. Influenced by Hegel.
- Ideas and values of Hindu society are dialectical to ideas and values present in western society.
- Centrality to Indian Values is the concept of purity and pollution and can be applied to things, places and beings.
  - Things - Non veg is impure and Veg is pure
  - Places - graveyard is impure , Temples are pure
  - Behavior- Making liquor - impure
- Impures accept their impurity and the purity of pure and therefore caste in India has evolved into a synchronic model and because of this people do not change their occupation, behavior. This has led to a hierarchical and fixed caste system.
- A man of wealth is never considered superior to brahmins because of the cultural sanctity. A brahmin suffering from poverty is not losing their status. The people who are proclaiming the status of Brahmins the whole world knows who they are. Example: Lingayats.
- Pollution is contagious but purity is non transferable. If a pure person comes into contact to impure he would be suffering from temporal pollution.
- Caste mobility is a sociological construct and not an empirical reality (criticism to Srinivas).
- In indian society some values are there
  - Holism -Part is connected to the whole. One structure cannot be studied in isolation. Till the advent of British in India people were sticking to their occupation.
  - Transcendence
  - Hierarchy
  - Lack of innovation and collectivism.
  - Pessimism - Tolerance to poverty , hierarchy
- Values in Europe
  - Individualism
  - Rationality
  - This worldly behavior

- Independence
- Innovation
- From our values caste system developed from their values class developed
- Therefore India is homo hierarchicus and they are homo equalis.
- Hence modernity is not possible in India.

### Little tradition and Great tradition theory

Milton singer and McKim marriott.

- Milton Singer is the student of Robert red field who introduced field study tradition in sociology who studied a Mexican peasant village.
- Redfield make a comparison for culture and civilization
  - Culture stands for villages and civilizations stands for cities or
  - Culture stands for tradition and civilizations stands for modernity
  - Cultures are myopic, orthodox and non innovative, civilizations are dynamic , open and adoptive.
  - Every civilization over a period of time would become dormant , sterile and non productive . Birth-> Growth -> Maturity ->decline. At the time of decline it is the responsibility of creative geniuses to introduce novelists. Culture refuses to change and they would be refusing to change.
  - America is going for continuous revival while Mexico is static.

Milton singer took an exception to this

- One cannot call one society as civilizations and other as villages. This is driven by biases.
- All society whether traditional or modern are civilizations.
- Every civilization operate at two different levels
  - Masses-Culture of the masses is known as **Little Tradition**
  - Elites-Culture of elite is known as **Great Tradition**
- Civilizations can be classified into two types
  - Primary civilization
    - People operating at the mass level are lifting themselves to the position of elites.
    - They carry with themselves little tradition
    - Example Gandhi , Shastri
    - Their thoughts resonate with the masses.
    - Reciprocation between LT and GT.
    - Modernity came to India and in the whole process indianized itself.
    - Example Television glorifying Indian tradition.
  - Secondary civilization
    - European societies.
    - Elites are not from the masses. They get exposure to modernity. Slowly they inject these modern values in the masses.

- Masses internalized modernity abandoning the tradition.
- They are going for regular upgrades of technology.
- Therefore complete modernization is possible in secondary civilizations while in primary civilizations modernity would be adjusting with tradition. Hence no uniform pattern of modernity.

### McKIm Marriott

- Studied Indian village Kishangarh (Meerut).
- He introduced two concept
  - Universalization
    - When elements of local tradition are moving up and becoming universal culture practice .
    - Example raksha bandhan started by rajputs, Holi , Goverdhan
  - Parochialization
    - When an universal cultural practice is losing significance and becoming the cultural practice of a small community.
    - Example Covering face with veil, Culture of tilak by brahmins, Devdasi system

### Criticism by SC Dube - Multiple Tradition theory

- LT and GT concept is applicable to western societies because people were either living in villages or cities.
- India has gone through multiple traditions
  - Ancient Indian tradition
    - Vedas , Upanishad , TRIAD -Ghurye
    - Continued till the end of Hindu rulers
  - Islamic Tradition
    - New language , food, culture
    - People adopted Islam for benefits or by force.
  - British tradition
    - Srinivas - Westernization
    - New dress , values , education
  - Regional Tradition
    - Bengali , Punjabi tradition
    - Every region had its own distinct culture and tradition.
  - Local Culture Tradition
    - Bhojpuri , eastern western up culture
  - Village culture
    - Culture of one village is different than other
  - Family Culture
- Indian culture is a rainbow culture not a melting point culture. One culture is respecting other cultures.

- Understanding modernization in India is not so easy because of multiple cultures. How much of modernity one is consuming depends on the individual .

### **Integrative Approach to modernity**

Yogendra Singh

- He is a parsonian sociologist.
- He is using the concept of LT and GT , concept of dialectics , sanskritization and westernization.

India has experienced orthogenetic and Heterogenetic change.

- Orthogenetic change - Buddhism , Jainism , Bhakti
  - LT- people imbibing the values and followed the saints who reached to the people in villages. followers of the Bhakti leaders went for purity and came to be known as saptshudras. They went for a kind of sanskritisation.
  - GT- Different rulers patronized Buddhism and Jainism, Bhakti literature.
- Heterogeneitic change -Islam
  - Some are coming to India as invaders , traders and messengers.
  - It first changed the macrostructure- Replaced the hindu rulers . Sanskrit is replaced by Persian, New architecture , town planning, land policy .
  - When GT is changing little change cannot be unaffected.
  - LT- People in the villages in search of benefits are joining the administration , conversion , people are imbibing their values , language , dress , music . This is known as acculturation.
  - In LT the change was not so much as in the GT.
  - But dialectics between the two values in LT . Example : We still find in India Muslims in an area doing a particular occupation i.e their caste character is intact.
- GT of Indian civilization has always been subject to change but the kind of change GT is experiencing the kind of impact is not felt by LT so much. LT more complex and there is problem of
  - Contradiction - What to choose
  - conflict - between two
  - continuity - When the identity of people are attacked they may become more conservative .
- Heterogenetic - British
  - They also targeted GT first. They replaced the Muslim rulers, introduced modern education , land tenure system , new system of governance .
  - Once macro structure is changing the changes in microstructure
    - Villages are no longer isolated.
    - The Jajmani system was affected .
    - New group of traders are making an appearance.
    - Tax collectors are coming from outside .

- Villages are no longer self sufficient.
- Caste no longer defined the occupation.
- Because of these changes sub culture centers of modernity developed in India . Bombay , Calcutta. In these cities people are restless, driven by a spirit of individualism and consumerism which were unknown to them .
- When opportunists are available people in microstructure are grabbing them. Example People studying in modern colleges. These people eventually evolved into the Indian middle class. *The Indian middle class has a love for tradition and a quest for modernity .*
- Brahmins in south India were the first to benefit from these changes. They were the first ones to have control over modernity. The Dravidian movement realized that brahmins have monopolized every sphere.
- Hence British changed both the structures of Indian society. It changes the basic structure of Indian society
- Heterogenetic change changed the entire structure of the indian society. Srinivas being a conservative is not looking into these changes.

## Education

- In ancient India education was selective and not all inclusive as propounded by Ghurye. \*When criticizing to Ghurye write this\*.
- Traditional education was selective and elitist and modern education was open for all.
- Traditional education was religious while modern education is inventive , creative and liberal.
- Modern education is offering a platform where people belonging to different backgrounds market.
- Hence modern education is the biggest integrator for Indians.
- Modern education made occupation caste neutral .
- Had there been no education there would have been no middle class and no national movement .
- Social transformation of India both in structural and cultural sphere is the child of modern education.

## Technology

- Application of science is technology.
- *The story of civilization is the glory of technology .*
- British introduced industry, printing press , railways and communication.
- After independence technology was given a boost and it made contributions in every sphere of life be it entertainment , agriculture , industries .
- Production is multiplied - Green revolution.
- So we cannot say India refuses to become modern because in every sphere there is modernity in the form of technology both in macro and micro structure.

## Law

- In traditional india law was selective and descriptive. Law was guided by values
  - Elder son more share of paternal property as he should be performing rituals for dead ancestors
  - No property rights for women.
  - No entitlement for untouchables.
  - Women could not enter the temple during the menstrual cycle.
- British introduced uniform law and it attacked to values and customs
  - Workmen compensation act.
  - Sati Abolition act .
  - Factory acts
- Law gave rise to making of modern India society because
  - It is protective
  - It is prohibitive
  - It is progressive
    - Transgender protection law
    - Sabarimala judgement
- Therefore law is bringing modernity in India.

### Political Structure

- Educated India middle class went for mobilizations, made political parties , youth clubs , trade unions , officers unions and realized the power of the masses under British India .
- Congress became a larger face to the smaller groups of people .
- After independence constitution came into prominence
  - Power of center and power of the state , president , PM
  - Power is demarcated by the constitution.
- Political parties are coming into prominence. It is giving individual opportunities for the gratification of power, interest articulation ,political aggregation.
- Political modernity has given power to citizens to question their rulers.

Therefore modernity has influenced every sphere of india. Modernization of Indian tradition has taken place which the myopic sociologist refused to accept (Srinivas , Dumont , Mckim marriott ).

### Skeptics to modernity - Postmodern View

- Contemporary sociologists are developing skeptical views on modernity.
- Impact of modernity on every sphere of India i.e integrative approach.
- When modernity is not there people cry for it but when they have it they realize the pathos of modernity.
- Bhiku Parekh
  - Dams , industries , hospitals are becoming the cause of human sorrow and suffering.
  - Entire ecology of the region where the dam is constructed is disturbed, natural flow is affected. Human cost and cultural cost of dams is not taken into

consideration. Those who need dams are powerful prosperous and small while masses are the victims

- Hospitals - Sex Selective Abortion, empathy and concern is absent, money centric, India becoming a destination for surrogacy.
- Industries - Driven by spirit of mercantilism, entertainment and education has become industries
- Partho chatterjee (JNU- Pol sci)
  - Book - 'Nation and its fragmentation'
  - Modernity has contributed to the fragmentation of the nation. It is differently distributed in different regions of the country. Where modernity is more there growth is more. Unequal growth in different regions.
  - Where modernity is less, those regions are labeled as underdeveloped regions and others as developed. People in these regions develop self doubt. Eastern Up is different from Western Up....
- Sudipto Kaviraj (JNU)
  - Modernity has always been an external agenda. First brought by British and then by the state.
  - When modernity is chosen by the people they would be enjoying it.
  - Therefore modernity is not having the expected result as it had in the west.
- TN Madan
  - Modernity means sameness, sameness means dullness , dullness means the death of intellectual creativity of the man. Therefore those who question modernity carry a creative mind while those who accept it carry a mechanical mind.
- Ashish Nandi
  - He is reflecting on modern Hindi cinema. Despite their superficiality, despite the lack of creativity , originality. Hindi cinema is consumed by the majority of the people who are torn between tradition and modernity. These are the large number of people coming from villages and living in cities.
- Abhijeet Pathak
  - Book 'Indian modernity'
  - Tradition is feeling from within and modernity is a mechanistic experience. Tradition gives happiness in hearts while modernity gives bodily pleasures.
  - The actors playing lead roles in ramayan do not go for purity of mind while people in ramleela actors go for purity of mind and soul.
  - Modernity targeted india middle class due to their numerous numbers and they got reduced to consumerist class. Aspirations are growing but resources are limited.
- Due to modernity bureaucracy has developed without civil culture , aspirations are multiplied but resources are limited , welfare policies are there but diffusion is absent, industrialization is taking place but urbanization has not taken place, media is expanding but journalistic ethics is absent therefore modernity is bringing a series of paradoxes. Therefore we all are beneficiaries as well as victims of modernity .

# Rural and agrarian social structure

## Syllabus

- The idea of indian villages and village studies
- Agrarian social structure- Evolution of land tenure system, Land reforms

## The idea of indian village

- Physical structure of the village is the subject matter of geography.
- Sociology considers a village as a place having a social and culture life of its own.
  - Culture
    - Drama, dance , myths , festivals , deities
    - Durkheim - Village festival is one which brings the people together.
  - Social
    - Social groups are playing different roles. DOL
    - Structure of domination and subordination present .
    - Gender relationship.
    - Family and Kinship - Real and imaginary kinship.
    - Caste and class structures.
- Therefore the village is the heart and soul of indian sociology.
- Village is a place where developmental initiatives of the state become visible. These led to political fragmentation in the village. Example: Benefit to one and not to other.

## Ancient texts

- Mention about janapadas and mahajanapadas in Jataka stories. Distinction made between cities and villages.
- Mention of Gram and Nagar (Pur) in Vedic literature.
- Mention of villages in Ramayana and Mahabharata .
- Kautilya Arthashastra -New villages can be created by raja , In case of calamity new villages can be set up.
  - Land is of three types
    - Vastu-meant for residential purpose
    - Khila-agricultural land
    - Anabadi - No population, barren land
    - Gochar- grazing field
  - Anabadi and Gochar are not taxable.

Villages are as ancient as indian civilization.

## British

- They introduced the concept of a revenue village. The most popular village of a locality is identified as revenue village . It is recognized in official records. Within this revenue village there may be small village hamlets.

#### Known by different Names

- Majra- Punjab
- Kheda- Gujarat
- UP- Gram

#### Approaches to Indian Village

- Colonial Approach
- Gandhian View

#### Colonial approach to Indian villages

Three typical institution present in India that make it different from Europe

- Caste
- Joint family
- Village - Above two are present

#### 1.First Group-Sir Henry Maine ,Charles Metcalfe ,Thomas Munro

- Developed the idea of self sufficiency , self governing nature of indian villages. Villages communities are little republics. Every village is governed by itself.
- Village is driven by its own body of rules. It is a self governing group. Therefore justice is dispensed within the village.
- Jajmani relationships bring self sufficiency to the villages. Whatever they need is present in the village.
- Occupation of the father, property of the family is inherited by children . Society is reproducing itself generation after generation.
- Village communities are least concerned about larger societies. They have limited liabilities to state. Rulers may come and go but they remain unaffected.
- Indian villages never provide space for innovation , individualism and hence they are a closed society. Therefore India society is non dynamic .

#### 2.Second Group-Baden Powell and O.S.S Malley

- Village is a cultural space. Every village is culturally distinctive from others.
- Every village has a presiding deity and many villages are named by their presiding deity.Socio culture life revolves around this culture space.
- Village solidarity and unity is promoted due to culture and not due to reciprocation.

Reasons for isolation are different for both views but the bottom line is the same.

#### Gandhian View on Indian Villages

- Villages are not a traditional space , they are not lacking creativity. They are the manifestation of socialism. 'Village Socialism'
- All FOP are village property. Whatever is produced is meant for consumption and not for market.
- People know the dignity of labour. People are not exploiting the labour of others for profit. Productive resources are equally distributed by everybody.
- People of villages have limited needs. Thus they are greatly happy.
- People of villages go for ethno development- It is made by people for them. Therefore it is sustainable .
- Development with violence would be inculcating further violence .
- Development model was sustainable because they are using local knowledge , expertise and technology.
- It is not enforced isolation, it is preferential isolation of the villages.

#### Nehruvian View

- Village is a problem for India because the elements of development have not reached villages. Indian cannot become modern without villages becoming modern .
- He wanted industries , schools to be opened in the villages . Villages should be connected to cities. Villagers should be given skill and training .
- Modern methods of farming and agriculture should be introduced.

#### Ambedkar- Subaltern View

- He criticized both Gandhi and Nehru's view of villages .
- He rejected the Gandhian view which talks about Village socialism.
- Village is a place where the stinking smell of culture and tradition is present.
- Village is a place where untouchability , slavery and social exclusion is practiced and hence there is no village socialism.
- Village is justifying structural inequality.
- Gandhi's idea of village is not matching to ground reality of villages.
- First there is a need to change the culture then only modernity would be useful - For Nehru.
- If institutions are becoming modern all people would not be getting equal benefits .

#### Karl Marx- Subaltern View

- His work 'Asiatic mode of production ' was written in reference to the colonial view of indian Villages.
- There is no technological innovation , FOP is controlled by everybody.
- No distinction between agriculture and industry. Both produce good for community consumption.
- Market is absent.
- Stagnating economy for centuries.
- British introduced capitalism in India which gave rise to class formation , private property. At least they give a push to Indians villages

How sociologists are addressing the idea of self sufficiency theory of Indian Villages ?

MN Srinivas and AM Shah

- Article "Myth of self sufficiency of village communities".
- Colonial scholars actually never visited Indian villages.
- All functional castes are not necessarily present within the village. No village is functionally self sufficient. Example Barber belonging to one village may be serving many villages.
- Inter village trades of goods and services were very much present.
- Every village has a presiding deity. During the festival of a particular god, people from different villages would come to worship.
- When rulers are giving land to priests, he may give him land somewhere else. Therefore people from one village are tilling land from other villages using labour from nearby land.
- Village Exogamy, mother village exogamy, sister village exogamy.
- Weekly and biweekly markets are also taking place in Indian villages.
- Therefore villages were not socially, economically and religiously self sufficient. British had a myopic and eurocentric view.

Andre Beiteille

- He introduced the concept of 'Social Network' which was not understood by British.
- Most primary form of network is kinship network. Extended kinship networks in different villages.
- British never realized the political network was extended from capital to villages. Majumdars were sent to collect tax.
- People going to pilgrims without a road network, they also travel from different villages.

AR Desai-Relationships between city and villages - Previous chapter

Sociologist on Village patriotism - Village Republics

Srinivas

- He is rejecting the colonial concept of village republic leading to village patriotism.
- Introducing a concept of 'Village Patriotism'. It is not a product of villages operating as a republic.
- He studied a village Rampura. In it there was a village pond located on government land. All people were using it considering it as a common property. When the government tried to take the land, villages usually divided on the basis of caste and kinship are coming together when it is a question of village pride.
- This is called village patriotism. Therefore the village has a life of its own.
- Therefore village patriotism is not because of self sufficiency but it is a temporary phenomenon.

AR Desai

- Land belongs to the village.
- Village patriotism is manifested in terms of people carrying village names because it gives them livelihood.

- It is having a strong economic ground.

### Criticism

FG Bailey

- Village is representing factional politics over land , water , cattle. Therefore it is extremely difficult for the people of village to come together
- Village patriotism is a colonial construct which is far away from empirical reality.

Beedleman

- Functionalists never look into exploitation present in villages . There are present landlords -landless, employer - employees, upper class - lower class.
- Upper class are always landlords and therefore employers. Therefore the village is representing a story of domination and subordination.
- Therefore village patriotism is a myth.

Is the Village Basic unit of India society / Can we study India through the lens of village ?

MN Srinivas

- Yes . Though some villages are not representative of the whole India, the researchers explain the true facts about a village in detail. Sociology is a discipline that studies everything about something.
- Through villages we can collect data and this data is the indicator of how change is taking place in Indian society.

Yogendra Singh

- Village study should be replaced by area study because the changes Indian society is experiencing may not be experienced in the village.
- Bringing change in village society is found to be negligible.
- Impact of education, modernization may not be so visible in villages . If going only for village studies we would draw the conclusion that policy paralysis is taking place in India.
- Therefore one needs to go macro study.

Sociology needs to balance between both the macro and micro sociology rather than rejecting each other.

Louis Dumont

- Village study is not useless but more than useless . For him, a village is just a geographical space. In that geographical space caste groups are living.
- Social relationships in villages are driven by rules of caste driven by Hindu cultural system. Therefore sociology should function on studying Hindu culture , caste system.
- Caste governs the life of people . Therefore go for caste study.

### Village Studies and their significance

- Early sociologists of India were mostly Indologists
- Stages of Indian sociology
  - 1920-1960- Stage of Origin
  - 1960-1990 - Stage of Growth
  - 1990- Maturity
- European sociology evolved as a reaction to modernity while Indian sociology was influenced by nationalist movement and cultural revivalism. Events of that time are having influence on the discipline grown at that point of time .
- It is MN Srinivas who is breaking the ice trained by AR Radcliffe Brown and introduced in Indian sociology field method. He went for diversification of Indian sociology. A large body of data was collected by sociologists in villages on different concepts. From this data different branches of sociology developed. Within a span of 10-15 years Indian sociology grew up from nothing to maturity.
- After 1990 onwards many big things happened in India which could not be studied using field study. Sociologists are addressing bigger problems. Feminist sociology got momentum who scrutinized the data collected by previous generation of sociologists.
- Therefore the significance of village studies is limited to its time and in today's time few people go for field study and more on problem analysis.

### Village studies on caste

- It gave us sufficient knowledge about mobility in caste system
- It gave us knowledge about changing nature of inter caste relations
- Regional variations of caste .
- Interrelationship between caste and land holding.
- Interrelationship between caste and power.
- Rise of dominant caste.

### MN Srinivas

- He conducted study in Rampura Village in Karnataka
- Dominant Caste - Lingayats and Vokkalings who were originally peasants but after getting secular mobilization they have gone for ritual modification.
- Lingayats have prepared their own Jati Puraṇ and consider themselves so pure that they don't drink water from caste Brahmins.
- Therefore caste is a dynamic structure . Caste will be changing if there is a change in secular structure.

### MSA Rao

- He studied Yadavs of Yadavpur.
- Many Yadavs go to Delhi to sell milk and make huge profits. Then they develop an aspiration for mobility. Krishna temple developed in the village and appointed a Brahmin as priest. They give gifts to Brahmin and take commands from Yadavs. Superiority is legitimized by Brahmin.

- Subsequently they are asking brahmin to prepare fictitious genealogy (Yaduvashi Kshatriyas). Now these Yadav would be extending generosity so that people can accept them.
- Therefore caste on the basis of birth can be changed based on the economic status.

#### FG Bailey

- Studied Bisipura Odissa.
- Two major caste
  - Distillers- They started making good money by selling liquor. Also supply tendu leaves for beedi making.
  - Warriors- Big land owners but lands located on the hilly tracks. Productivity from the land is low. (Higher Caste)
- Distillers became prosperous and to improve their status they must own land. Warriors borrowed money from distillers and due to crop failures could not repay. Slowly warriors lost control of a major portion of the land.
- Once economic upliftment took place they equated themselves to warriors.

#### Andre Beteille

- Studied shreepuram in Tamil Nadu .
- Brahmins of the Village are divided into 9 sub-castes. Marriage not possible sub sub caste and fight amongst each other.
- Therefore caste is a very complex institution. It is segmentary in nature.
- Castes go for fission and fusion depending on the situation.

Therefore village studies opened our eyes about the complex nature of caste in Indian society.

#### Village studies and Agriculture/ Class relationships

##### Kathleen Gough (Marxist)

- Studying Kumbapeeti
- Big bourgeoisie are present, they are politically connected.
- Landless labor are present
- Proletariat also present

##### Andre Beiteille

- 3 classes in villages
  - Owner of FOP
  - Controllers- tenants , sharecroppers
  - Users- agricultural laborers
- Absentee landlords , entrepreneurial landlords are also present.
- Traditional landlords are present - Will not sell the land , land is a symbol of status .
- So in India we have multiple types of landlords which Marxist failed to identify.

### Daniel Thurner

- Three types of agrarian classes
  - Maliks
  - Sevaks
  - Majdoors

### Anand Chakraborty

- Studied Purnia Village , Bihar
- Why does polarized class conflict not take place in villages despite agrarian distress , landlessness ?
  - Most of the landowners belonging to specific castes (Bhumihars) also have their army. They have invested money on the education of their children. They are present in every government institution.
  - Landless are dalits , mahadalits or tribes and working as tenants.
  - Every 2-3 years they evict the tenants so that they can't claim the right on land. Hence landless people don't have spine and are voiceless .

### Village studies on Power

#### Anand Chakraborty

- Studied Devisar, Rajasthan
- When PRI was introduced then the dominant caste and dominant family within the dominant caste would try to have control over power. Dominant caste is the one with huge land.
- People from the same family contest subsequent elections and if not from the same family then people from the dominant caste contest.
- It is not traditional authority collapsing and legal rational authority coming into power rather people using illegal means to capture the legal rational positions.

#### FG Bailey

- Within Family and within the caste there are factions in the village. Village is becoming a hotbed of politics.
- Therefore Village unity is not present.

#### Srinivas

- Concept of Dominant caste from last chapter.

### Village studies on jajmani system

- Village self sufficiency is the result of jajmani relationship - Srinivas
- Oscar Louis

- The Jajmani relationship is neutralizing the hierarchical character of caste, ensuring that the higher caste is dependent on the lower caste and vice versa.
- Harold Gould
  - Jajmani relationship is a mild form of slavery because higher caste is exploiting to lower caste in pretext of culture and tradition.

### Village studies and development

- SC Dube-Study of Aihiliabad finds out how CDP has changed the face of the village promoting infrastructural development.
- Scarlett Epistine-Study of irrigation cooperatives of Karnataka
- Satya dev - seeds cooperatives of Haryana
- In these cooperatives they found out they are catering to the needs of rich farmers consolidating their domination leading to rural distress and marginalization of small farmers and marginal farmers

### Village studies and Family

AM Shah, IP Desai , TN Madan in their respective village studies found out family transformation in Indian society . Most of them argue that despite industrialization , urbanization family jointness is still present in India

### Contemporary sociology

- It is addressing to larger sociological questions that looking at India centering around village
- Sociologists have studied Operation flood, SEWA , sardar sarovar movement , crisis of modernity , impact of globalization, women movement emphasizing on macroscopic changes experienced by Indian society.
- Therefore policy studies and their impact on social structure is becoming a major theme of sociological research today.
- Therefore one can conclude by saying that the village study method facilitated Indian sociology to go for scientific approach or objective analysis of social realities.
- Number of village studies were compiled in different books such as
  - Village India by McKIm marriott
  - India's Villages by SC Dube
  - Indian Villages by MN Srinivas
  - Rural Profile by SC Chauhan
- By taking Indian sociology from nowhere to maturity in 2 decades.(1964-1990)

### Land tenure system

- It gives information about how in agrarian society land among the people is distributed. Through the land tenure system we can understand the social structure of society.

- When the Land tenure system is changing then social relations is also changing. Therefore it is just a means to an end.

## Evolution of Land tenure system

### Ancient Period

- Knowledge comes from the inscriptions on copper plates, Kautilya's Arthashastra but authentic databases are very limited.
- There are 3 different view coming out of these three sources
  - King is the owner of all land.
    - It is more of a theoretical construct .
  - Tillers are the owners of the land.
    - Land is a communal property
    - It may be applied to Punjab , Haryana but in Bengal we find hamlets.
    - Hence it is not an all Indian phenomenon.
  - Dual ownership rights of the land.
    - Most acceptable.
    - King is the land owner and is collecting tax because he is protecting the right over land of people against external aggression.
    - Kings have an obligation to the people and he doesn't have the right to evict a farmer out of land.
    - Dharmasutras prohibit the king from evicting the peasant from the land.
    - Since he is collecting tax it is his responsibility to provide infrastructure to agriculture.
- Revenue free land was granted to temples , Vihars and monasteries and other religious and charitable organizations. This land is called **Nivi Dharm Land**. This land grant once given cannot be taken away.
- Land grants were also given to scholars, priestly class. These land grants were also tax free.
- Since the above two didn't till the land on their own they lease the land to farmers and peasants. Therefore there was a kind of landlordism.
- Land was classified as
  - Vastu - Residential Land.
  - Khila- Agriculture land not used by people.
  - Kshetra - Agricultural land.
  - Anabadi - Forest
  - Gochar- Pasture land

### Sultanate Period

- No drastic change was introduced in the land tenure system and dual ownership rights continued.
- Land grants were given to charitable organizations , people working in the army and administration.

- A body of middle men were introduced by the state with the specific role of tax collection. These tax collectors were known as **majumdars**. These majumdars were given the right to collect land tax from a specific land for a specific period of 2-5 years.
- They did not have the right to increase and decrease the land tax. Rate of tax is defined by the state. It was defined on the basis of fertility and productivity.
- Majumdars could not evict a peasant from the land.
- It rationalized the taxation system.
- Most of the majumdars were outsiders. Portuguese were appointed as mujumdars in bengal.

### Mughal Period

- Land tenure system experienced structural transformation.
- Land for the first time became the property of the state but the landlordism of the state is not dialectical to the proprietary right of the farmer.
- In specific case state used to sell land to individual proprietors (Eg anabadi land). For the first time in India private ownership of land of the state was ensured. Then the land owner doesn't have tax liability to the state.
- Three types of tax collectors
  - Zamindars
  - Talukdars
  - Majumdars
- Zamindars and Talukdars were indigenous while majumdars were outsiders.
- These intermediaries didn't have the right to increase the land grants.
- Tax collectors have to pay 70 % to the state and the rest is his private wealth. Tax collectors ensure that maximum tax is collected in minimum time . Hence crop failures, input cost not taken into consideration.
- Mughals divided land into 2 types
  - Mugal Bandi Area- Fertile land, Farmers pay tax area directly to the state
  - Non Mughal Bandi Area- Less Productivity , appointment of intermediaries
- Land donations continued and in addition they introduced **Lakhiraj Land grants** - Given to religious , charitable purposes, monuments , scholars. State religion and people were constituting harmonic union.
- Also during this period Jagir system was introduced
  - It was given to people working for the state in different capacities.
  - It was given for a fixed tenure therefore it was not heritable.
  - It cannot be sold in the market.
  - Jagirdars give these to ryots to till the land.
- State was divided into different areas whose head was parangna Nirik who decided the land tax rates and collected them by intermediary.
- Hence a type of state land lordship was present.
- There were present two kinds of raiyat (peasants and farmers )
  - Khudkasht
    - Own Heritable land , cultivating by paying tax liability to the state , living in own village.

- Payakasth
  - Population expansion - Land is not enough.
  - People travel long distances to find alternate land.
  - This type of land would be taxed low initially.
  - State would issue Kabuliyat , a document stating the ownership of rights to people.
- Sociology - There are some people controlling FOP (intermediary ) and without labour generating income which become private wealth . Essence of exploitation now coming out of land. Therefore class system developed in India due to change in land tenure system

### British Period

- They experimented with all types of old land tenure system till 1793.
- They wanted to maximize the profit from the land .
- Permanent settlement system
  - Land would be put into auction and the highest bidder would be getting the proprietary right of the land.
  - Buyer of the Land could sell, gifted , mortgage the land.
  - If the landlord is defaulting on the payment of money of the bid they could be evicted.
    - Landlord could pay the price instantly.
    - Landlord could pay the installment.
    - Landlord could pay for one crop season and become the owner.
  - Hence land became a private property for the first time. Peasants are losing the proprietary rights of the land and they are reduced to tenants at will.
  - Those who have economic interest in land become owners but those who have emotional connectivity with the land were thrown out.
  - Zamindars divided his land into smaller units and demanded more from the sub feudal lords. A large number of intermediaries made appearances. Tax liability increased.
- British destroyed industries and put more demographic pressure on land. More people are asking for land in the form of tenancy and landlords are asking huge taxes . Natural calamities -> no income . Farmers and peasants have no option left other than to go for commercial agriculture.
- 1890-1947 (AR Desai)
  - Population increased by 38%.
  - Land reclamation (New land available ) increased by 18%.
  - Commercial agriculture increased by 53%.
  - Subsistence agriculture declined by 21%.
- Market was controlled by Britishers. Indian who had money only one option was available to invest i.e land. Hence land comes under controlled specific people. Therefore big landlords made appearance. (Karl Marx Theory). Peasants issue were intensified and took up by the national leaders.

- Land reform system contributed to the transformation of the social structure. Caste rigidity became weak , migration , village self sufficiency , political mobilization was affected.
- Nationalist leaders promised that landlords should give legitimate tenancy rights and should be entitled to 3/4 of produce, and cooperatives would be constituted.Land ceiling act . Hence after Indian independence we went for land reforms system

## Land Reforms and its consequences

### Objectives of Land reforms

- Rational distribution and utilization of land .
- Elimination of intermediaries between state and tillers.
- Optimization of productivity from land.
- Generate rural employment.
- Put an end to rural exploitation
- Gender participation in agriculture.
- Introduction of land ceiling act.
- Promotion of new technology .
- To control and check distress migration.
- To break unholy union between caste and land holding.
- To promote the spirit of socialism in the grassroots.

### Consequences

- PC Joshi
  - Land reform was 100% effective mainly in Jammu and Kashmir , Telangana.
  - Significant Impact -Kerala , Tamil Nadu(Due to self respect movement), West Bengal(Due to Naxalite movement), Orissa, Karnataka.
    - Enterprising farmers made appearance - Semi Capitalism
  - No change- BIMARU - Bihar , Madhya Pradesh , Rajasthan , Uttar Pradesh.
    - Traditional form of landlords are still present- Semi Feudal
  - In the green revolution belt (Punjab , West UP , Haryana) there was no landlordism and hence capitalist agriculture developed.
- Paratha Sarathi and Prasad Rao
  - Uneven impact of land reforms gave rise to growth of new agrarian class structure
    - Big Landowners are the people who were traditional landlords manipulating official records and going for benami transfer of family land , they have retained control over their hereditary land and land is the symbol of their status and prime source of income.Despite land reform system , traditional landlordism is present in India.
    - Rich Farmers -They are a group of people having sizable land under their control who have fabricated their family data and benefited from land reforms system, making economic investment in land, investing profit

from land in non agricultural sector , consolidating their wealth to whom MN Srinivas called the dominant caste.

- Small and marginal farmers-They have control over <5 acres of land. Not the major beneficiary of land reforms. They supplement their family income through wage labour and they live in the margin of poverty.
- Tenant at will -These are landless rural people who are living on wage labor, they constitute around 55-60 % of the rural population who never benefited from land reforms. Therefore land reforms could not contribute for structural transformation of land holding and land use pattern therefore the traditional linkage between land holding and caste is still intact
- The impact of land reforms system manifests growing diversity in Indian agriculture today , in some areas one would notice
  - traditional form of landlordism .
  - The rise of enterprising farmers.
  - Growth of capitalist farmers.
  - Dispersal of small and medium farmers.
  - the presence of absentee landlords
  - Self cultivators
  - Corporate farmers who are marginalizing small and marginal peasants.
- Land reform policy introduced by different state government laid down provisions that
  - Orchards land , horticulture land are outside the purview of land ceiling act . Therefore many big landlords use this law to their advantage to retain land under their own control exaggerating family size , officially spilling family many big landlords retain their control over the land .
- Land reform came in India both from above and below (people movement ).
  - Through state initiative and land grant movement, Naxalite movement , Gramdan movement , Bhoodan movement land reforms were initiated in India.
- Gail Omvedt
  - India has gone for multiple modes of production like pre capitalist mode of production , capitalist mode of production , semi feudal mode of production , subsistence mode of production.
  - She considers that land reforms in India could not have identical impact because
    - Indian peasantry after independence could not go through collective mobilization.
    - When rich and middle farmers developed peasant associations landless , rural poors could not go for unionization.
    - In addition to that state power was directly or indirectly controlled by upper class peasantry. Therefore land reforms act always protected to their class interest
- Reflecting on the failure of land reform in India which was successful in china , Russia Daniel Thurner writes
  - There is a capitalist agricultural growth taking place in socialist India .

# Caste System

## Syllabus

- Perspectives on study of caste system
  - GS Ghurye
  - MN Srinivas
  - Louis Dumont
  - Andre Beiteille
- Features of caste system
- Untouchability- forms and perspective

Caste was a product of Indian culture which is a social , political and economic necessity . Whether one likes caste or not , society of India finds functionality in caste. Caste has not lost its functionality. Caste is persisting assuming new roles. Example - People want to want within sub sub caste.

Intellection , farmers , politicians need caste in different forms depending on needs and environment.

### Colonial Scholars

- Colonial interest in caste is due to its uniqueness and out of curiosity.
- Understanding caste was a political necessity.
- They were more concerned about the origin of caste. As 19th century sociology was greatly living into the evolution of social structures.
- Textual evidence of the origin of caste is only speculative. Therefore we don't have authentic evidence. Hence most of the colonial scholars were using assumption and speculation

### Racial Theory to caste

- Sir Hebert Risley
- Aryans were the people from outside and declared themselves as superior in comparison to indigenous people . They declared themselves as brahmins and kshatriyas.
- Aryans were fair in color while indigenous people were dark.
- This racial discrimination could not sustain for long because of hypergamy. Therefore color distinction got diluted and then caste got defined on the basis of occupation .
- Therefore race gave birth to caste and occupation established it.

### Occupation theory to caste - Nesfield , Dalhalmn

- Caste has nothing to do with race . Aryans themselves are divided into caste because of occupation.

- Three major occupations during Vedic times
  - Priesthood-Pursuit of Knowledge
  - Administration and Governance-Kshatriyas
  - Trade , commerce and profit generation-Bourgeoise
- These people divided and subdivided them but carried their occupational identity with them.
- They advocate that beside these castes there are other caste.They have their own name - occupation neutral caste. There is no specific occupation attached to it. Example: Jat. Change in occupation means change of social position.
- Ghurye also accepts this theory.

#### Ritual Theory to caste - Hocart

- Different groups of people went for the performance of different rituals. On the basis of ritual one follows he gets its caste names.
- If one performs rituals not driven by self interest but for the welfare of others. They become superior to other castes. Brahmins
- Kshatriyas performed rituals associated with war , weapons , and crown.
- Vaishyas performed rituals for the collection of wealth. \*\*Lakshmi puja which was a LT has become a GT that means capitalism has reached to the soul , heart and mind in India \*\*
- Sudhras performed rituals centering around land , products and agriculture.
- Washermen and barbers performed dead rites.

#### Commensality Theory of caste

- Caste is a localized social group originating from a common founder. They worship common ancestors , pursuing the same occupation. They enforce on them rules of exogamy.
- Social commensality gives rise to caste.

#### Concept of Caste

- Derived from Portuguese word 'casta'. They give the name to social groups in India.
- Concept equivalent to caste used by Indians is 'Jati' i.e the group to which one is born into. Therefore birth defines caste.
- When British came to India they failed to understand this system and confused between varna and caste system. Therefore British view of caste is a generalized view.To remove this confusion GS Ghurye spoke on caste.

#### GS Ghurye on caste

- Caste is a product of Values i.e sacrifice , asceticism, knowledge , detachments from power and sexual gratification.
- Those who uphold these values are placed higher in the society and respected.

- Caste is not a static system. It depends on the deeds. Example Vishwamitra abandoned the kingdom and went in pursuit of knowledge and became Maharishi.
- Those who dismiss these values are placed in the lower position.
- People belonging to different castes are sending their children to the same teacher and the teacher gives them knowledge on the basis of receiving capabilities . Therefore the kind of knowledge received can change one caste. Example Sudhra putra Karn.
- 'Charan' was unifying the people of different castes . Therefore caste was not divisive and static.
- People belonging to different castes are tracing their source of origin from common rishis . Therefore lineage , gotra integrates while caste differentiates. Therefore caste should be studied with gotra, charan.

Subsequently Ghurye changed his position in caste after british published a caste census which can be called comparative analysis of caste.

- Book 'Caste and Race in India'.
- He is switching over from indological study to interpretation of secondary data.

He speaks about 6 fundamental features of caste

- **Segmental Division of society**
  - In every village caste is located. The caste present in a particular village are also present in adjoining villages. People belonging to a caste living in different villages are guided by caste councils (Jati Sabha). Caste councils has 3 rules to play
    - It has legislative power. It can make rules pertaining to marriage, food , dress and everyone is supposed to follow.
    - To implement the rules i.e Executive role.
    - Judicial Role - If violation of rules then outcasted.Social boycott.
  - People belonging to a caste used to come together during rituals, festivals and promote unity within a group.
  - Caste groups are constituting mini societies which made India. In addition to caste rule they were also following TRIAD.
  - Integration within (Caste councils) and Integration Between (TRIAD).
  - Each segment is connected to the whole by the common values (TRIAD).
- **Hierarchy**
  - Caste hierarchy is driven by values .
  - It was a dynamic hierarchy. Example Karn, Vishwamitra.
  - In the apex position- Those who hold the exclusive values, less adherence to values less position.
  - But this kind of caste hierarchy is not present today. Upper position and lowest position have become fixed.Intermediaries strata changed.
- **Restrictions on food, drinks and social commensality.**

- Strong connectivity between caste hierarchy and food hierarchy.
- Food is divided into
  - Fruits and Vegetables - Purest of the pure
  - Uncooked Food
  - Food prepared in Ghee
  - Food prepared in water
  - Left overs in rituals , marriages
- Higher is the position of a caste lower number of food items it is receiving from the least number of caste and vice versa.
- Relationship between caste and food in bengal
  - In Bengal two caste were present
    - Brahmins
    - Shudras
  - Shudras are divided into many subtypes
    - Saptshudras - followers of lord chaitanya - Brahmins can accept food prepared in ghee, prasad . Therefore saptshudras equate them to brahmins.
    - Jala Vyavaharya Shudra - Brahmins can only accept water.
    - Jala Avyavaharaya shudhra - Brahmins cannot accept even water.
    - Ati shudras -They are not supposed to come close .
    - Nirvasit Shudras -People living in graveyards.
- \*Reservation policy doesn't look into this type of discrimination as intensity of exploitation are not uniform \*
- In Maharashtra
  - Senars are a group of untouchables , subdivision of domes caste.
  - Senars consider themselves as pure in comparison to other untouchables
  - They have their own deity and do not accept water and food from other untouchables.
  - Therefore even intra-caste relationships were defined by food behavior.
- Civil and religious privileges and discrimination.
  - \*Can use this to justify reservation \* \*This data is 19th century \*
  - Mahars of Maharashtra were not permitted to enter the city of Pune after 2 PM till night because the long shadow would fall on higher caste people and pollute them.
  - During the Peshwa regime, untouchables when they notice a high caste man coming from the opposite direction is supposed to lie down on the ground and cover himself in dust so that smell coming out of him is not polluting.
  - In Gujarat , untouchables are supposed to hang earthen pots into their neck to spit in it otherwise it would fall on the ground.
  - In Gujarat, untouchables are supposed to carry brooms or thorny branches of a tree to remove their footsteps .
  - In Punjab , when an untouchables enters the village he is supposed to be shouting . In the market they are supposed to wear horns of animals as a distinguishing mark.

- In south India , untouchables kept water in a new earthen pot every pot everyday, when brahmins were passing they would put their toe in the water and untouchables would drink it. Women are not supposed to cover the upper part of their body. Men should not wear footwear. Men could not put dhoti below the knee.
- In Rajasthan untouchables could not ride horses in marriages.
- They cannot have access to Vedic texts. They have their priest , washerman , and barber.
- God of the untouchables are inferior in comparison to brahmins.
- They could not draw water from ponds and tanks.
- **Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation**
  - Caste was occupation specific till the entry of Mughals in India . There were also sub-castes who were allowed to take divergent occupations.
  - Kayasth of Bengal became writer in Mughal courts , brahmins of Bengal became accountant in Mughal courts.
  - Drastic change experienced during British periods. Brahmins of Gujarat became accountants to local traders. In south India brahmins went for trade. In Bengal some brahmins evolved as zamindars and poor brahmins started tilling the land.
  - Different censuses commissioners indicated that different caste are going for common occupation
    - In Bengal 14 castes identified as washermen.
    - 12 caste as weavers.
    - 63 caste call them as farmers or agriculturalists
- **Endogamy**
  - Bhumihars in Bihar
    - One sub caste consider themselves equal to brahmins
    - Other who had landholding considers themselves equal to Rajputs
    - Others without land holding consider themselves as agriculturalists.
    - Bhumihars practice sub caste endogamy
  - In Orissa
    - Tuthiya Brahmins - Performing death rituals
    - Karmaniya Brahmins- Performing rituals for higher caste. They will never accept water or food from Tuthiya Brahmins.
    - They do not intermarry . Therefore the subcaste is endogamous.
  - Ideally caste is endogamous , sub caste and sub sub caste endogamy is practiced in India. This is making caste more stronger.
  - Despite this , hypergamy was greatly practiced but hypogamy was rare.
    - Nairs of Kerala girls keep sexual relationships with namboodiri brahmins. Children born belong to Nairs.
  - Endogamous rules which was a sub sub sub caste phenomenon has become sub caste / caste endogamy due to urbanization.

In south India all the non brahmins got homogenized against brahmins. Brahmins enforced their domination on Dravidian people. Therefore structured inequality evolved in the South Indian

society which led to brahminic colonism. Local people became landless. Split of the nation is getting momentum due to the Dravidian movement and Ghurye is worried about it. He advocated that Indian culture is not Aryans , Dravidian or tribal culture but a syncretic culture. As a nationalist he advocated to study caste along with gotra and charan which are integrative. Therefore the Ghurye view is not a static view . Indological - Caste is integrative , Comparative analysis - Caste was divisive. There is contestation in Ghurye as an Indologist on one hand and historical analyst on other hand.

It is called **comparative analysis** of caste because he is using data to study caste in different parts of the country and then developing generalization.

## MN Srinivas on Caste

- He makes a distinction between varna system and caste system.
- His theory of mobility in the caste system. Therefore he considers caste as a stratification system.
- How caste is interlinked with politics. 'Dominant Caste'
- His observation on reservation policies.
- '21st century New Avatar of Caste'- how to study caste from gender, political , social movement perspective.

He looks at India through the lens of caste because he finds out that caste has strong interface with MOP, political structure, access to education , caste is responsible for making india politics competitive , family structure , class , social status are also defined by caste. Therefore he is a caste determinist.

Caste is going through dialectics between political and economic structure. Politics wants caste while economics doesn't . While Ghurye's study was textual, Srinivas ' study is based on field data.

## Varna and Caste

- When outsiders come to study caste people very often express caste in terms of their varna.
- Europeans developed this understanding that caste is a segmentation of varna .
- Caste is implicit in varna.
- Caste is different from varna.
- Varna tells that in India 4 groups are present while caste tells that there are numerous castes present in India.
- Varna hierarchy is a fixed hierarchy but caste hierarchy is a competitive hierarchy.
- Caste is all inclusive and varna is partial.
  - In the varna system untouchables are not placed anywhere.
  - In Vedic literature there is mention of Nishad, Chandals, palyakeshi, Apavarna but not included in the varna system.
  - Therefore caste offers a realistic view and varna offers idealist view.

- Varna tells shudras are homogenous groups but caste tells shudras are not Homogeneous it include 1000s of caste. There are rich, prosperous and also poor and marginalized.
- Varna provides a distorted image about caste. It says brahmins are placed at top and shudras are placed at the bottom. If we look at Karnataka there are 2 caste
  - Vedas- Carpenters
  - Smiths- Iron smiths
  - When Lingayats are becoming brahmins after becoming rich and powerful despite being shudras . Vedas and smiths become ambitious and also proclaiming brahminic status. They assume new names: vedas- vishwakarma brahmins and smiths -Valmiki brahmins to avoid conflict with Lingayats. Lingayats are placing strict restrictions on them and even untouchables are not supposed to accept water from them.
  - In Haryana Jats looked down upon brahmins.
  - Varna does not take these into consideration.
- Kshatriyas identity is a competitive identity.
  - FG Bailey - A Vella becomes padayachi and becomes Mudliyar (Kshatriyas ) when economic power comes in hand.
  - KM Paniker - Since 5th BCE there have been no Kshatriyas.
  - Caste view of Kshatriyas tells how different groups go for Kshatriyasation while the varna tells them they are a homogenous group.
- Varna hierarchy gives importance on ritual factor, caste hierarchy gives importance on both ritual and secular factor.
- He studied Rampura Village
  - The Headman of Rampura was vokkaliga (Shudra) with plenty of land.
  - In the village there was a large temple and Brahmin was appointed as priest and poor.
  - Brahmin wants favor from headmen for his son's education.
  - Inside the temple ritual hierarchy is superior but when brahmin goes to village men head secular hierarchy is superior
  - But varna theory takes only ritual factors into consideration .
- Caste is implicit in varna
  - When vedas and smiths are striving for mobility they keep the dominant caste(Lingayats) as a point of reference. If they call themselves Lingayats there would be problems. Therefore they take the help of varna and call themselves as Brahmins but not Lingayats brahmins. Therefore varna facilitates caste mobility .
- Caste is a localized identity but varna is an all Indian identity. It facilitates communications.
- Therefore varna is ideal while caste is empirical . Therefore study India w.r.t caste.

### Caste Mobility

- caste is a stratification system rather than hierarchical system.
- He is using field data and historical data to look at caste mobility.
- Caste mobility is historic and also it is contemporary.

- How does caste mobility take place ?
  - Migration leads to mobility.
  - It is possible through the Jati campaign - Example Jat mahasabha , publishing literature.
  - Because of King grace
    - Patels in Gujarat were promoted to Kshatriyas from sudhras because of their work.
  - By generosity
    - Helping others, constructing temple - people would pay respect
- Srinivas considers two different hierarchy
  - Ritual Hierarchy - Birth, food, dress
  - Secular Hierarchy - economic , education conditions
- Sanskritisation- Secular caste changing -> preparing new genealogy , pure dress and food -> change in ritual hierarchy.
- He is using case studies
  - In some situations secular mobility is giving rise to ritual mobility
    - Lingayats of Karnataka have first improved their secular position then changed ritual positions.
    - MSA Rao-Yadavs of Yadavpur traced themselves from yaduvanshi (Kshatriyas)
    - Mahisya (Bengal)- When british permitted them to clean forest and convert into agriculture , they assumed a new name and declared themselves as Kshatriyas.
  - In some situations secular mobility ends in itself.
    - Nairs of Kerala got land grants and did not change themselves.
    - Kayasth in Bihar who worked for Mughals also did not change .
    - Marathas never wanted to become brahmins and take pride in Maratha identity.
    - Non brahmins of south India never went for sanskritization and ultimately challenged Brahmins' domination.
    - Caste consciousness became stronger when people only went for secular mobility.
- Caste mobility has given rise to
  - Inter caste conflict.
    - FG Bailey - Distillers and Warriors in Orissa.
    - Karnataka - Lingayats and Valmiki brahmins
    - Up- Jats and Yadavs
  - Intra caste conflict.
    - In south India if Iyers try to become Iyerngars there would be conflict and vice versa .
    - In south India two types of untouchables
      - Periyas
        - Once they put on a turban and flower and this gave rise to conflict.

- Chukliyors
    - They put a turban and flower on them in marriages and rituals.
  - William Wiser studied Karimpur
    - Brahmins are able to retain their domination economically, politically and ritually. Therefore traditional structure prevails.
  - Oscar Lewis studied Rampur (Western UP)
    - Multiple forms of domination have made an appearance in the village.
    - Jats are economically dominant
    - Rajputs are politically dominant
    - Brahmins are ritually dominant.
- Therefore caste is evolving into a type of stratification out of its hierarchical character. Caste keeps changing corresponding to change in India.

### Dominant Caste

- Around 1975 land reforms, PRI, were implemented in different villages. Reflecting on these two dominant castes are making an appearance.
- Intermediary caste groups who were not struggling with the stigma of pollution have immensely benefited from land reforms and income got consolidated, they invested in education of their children, holding different positions in government offices. More money is invested on land as a result they become a rich powerful landed caste. Once they became landed they developed political aspirations constituting political parties, peasants association. These people are giving importance to social and cultural backwardness rather than economic backwardness. They are evolving as a dominant caste, They are striving for secular domination. Example Jats of Haryana, Bhumiyars of Bihar. AJGAR. Therefore the linkage between caste and politics is becoming stronger.
- They are numerous in number. These intermediary caste groups have come together forgetting caste differences and call themselves as socially and educationally backward. They have gone for consolidation. 'Rise of Dominant Caste'.
- They have made appearances in different states. These different castes are going for homogenization in the center. BIMARU states -> AJGAR.

### Criticism on Dominant caste

- Ghanshyam Shah (Marxist)- Dominant caste does not constitute a cluster of caste but they constitute classisation of caste. They are driven by common economic and political interests.
  - Srinivas replied that in the villages each caste is fighting war against each other but at state they join hand with each other and at national level dominant caste of different regions join hands together. There is no class consciousness and identify themselves as socially backward - Varnisation of caste at upper level (Shudras), but at lower level caste identity become important - castisation of caste. This reflects on the dynamic nature of caste

- TK Oomen - Dominant caste theory facilitates us to understand the strong relationship between caste and democracy in India. Caste acts as a power reservoir. Yadavs in UP 18% . Leaders are the power exercisers.
- Politics needs caste as much as caste needs politics.
- Yogesh Atal -Dominant caste is a value concept , we cannot sufficiently understand the dynamics of politics in India. In village level dominant families are present, in local area kinship groups are important , in state level caste is dominant . So dominant castes exist only at state level. At the center they constitute a caste cluster.
- Andre beiteille -If in a given constituency there is a sizable population of dominant caste. All political parties would be choosing candidates from the same caste . Elections would be dividing the caste votes .One has to look beyond caste lines to win elections.

### Srinivas on Reservation Policy

- Caste hierarchy is not a fixed hierarchy because regularly caste mobility is taking place . So no caste in totality forward or backward.
  - Example Brahmin operating as priests in Rampura are landless.
- Therefore caste cannot be the basis of reservation for education and employment.
- The makers of indian constitution targeted only 2 groups of people SC , ST who are subjected to social exclusion , geographical exclusion.
- All kinds of concessions are benefiting rich farmers. Reservation benefits given to OBC because of political reciprocation and not due to social exclusion . Therefore it is driven by greed rather than by needs.

### 20th Century new avatar of caste

- This is an edited book where different issues are addressed by sociologists.
- He realized that caste should not be studied just varna , mobility , politics and reservation only.
- Leela Dube- Caste and Gender
  - Untouchability is also present in the Gender. Example Menstruating women.
  - Girls are also not allowed to inherit the property of their parents.
  - Inequalities present - Girls dropping from schools
  - If discrimination is a criteria for reservation then reservation must come to women first.
  - There are specific rituals open only for men and rituals associated with domestic work are associated with women.
  - Gender inequality is present differently in different castes. caste should be studied with respect to gender.
- Srinivas is reflecting on strengthening of caste politics in the 1990s in UP. For the first time backward class parties (BSP, SP) got the highest number of seats as against congress.
  - When BSP-SP splitted away from each other it was the death of ideological politics.
  - Political opportunism is predominating over ideological politics - New Avatar

## Obituary to caste

- Few years before his death he lived in Bangalore
- People from the different parts of the world are coming to Bangalore and marrying each other without caste restrictions , de-politicized .
- Therefore marriage , food are no longer defined by caste.
- Therefore globalization would push the caste into the graveyard.

Reality - caste is assuming new roles today.

## Louis Dumont

- He was an admirer of the hindu architecture and culture. He goes to study India in temples and speaks to priests and through their narrative he developed an understanding of caste.
- His teacher was Earnest Bougle

## Earnest bougle

1. Caste is holistic in character -Food dress manner speech -caste is your life .It is unique to India .Change in caste is impossible .People going for sanskritisation are not changing their life .They don't belong to the reference caste not to their own caste .caste is permissive institution - Continuous.It is unique to India .
2. DOL present within the caste system is driven by cultural logic rather than being defined by economic greed.
3. Within the caste based DOL there was a present jajmani relationship. Jajmani relations are again defined by cultural values not by economic greed.
4. Caste system was a system of values. Since it is a system of values the core of Hinduism (asceticism , sacrifice ..) were associated with brahmins. Therefore brahmins were a cultural group and they were never a class. Hence they were placed at the top of the hierarchy . The position of other castes is defined by their proximity or distance to Brahmins through values. Therefore caste hierarchy is value hierarchy .
5. Every caste is promoting unity within , going for boundary maintenance , maintaining sufficient distance from other caste.Boundary is maintained through values , food, dress , deity . Therefore caste hierarchy is a fixed hierarchy.

Louis Dumont is largely influenced by French and German intellectual traditions.

- German Intellectual tradition - Hegel - Ideal realism - Behind every reality there is an idea. Idea- Brahmins come from the mouth and shudras from the feet.Idea is borrowed from Hinduism.
- French
  - Anthropologist - Levis Strauss
    - He is a structuralist.

- Within every structure there are present binary opposite (caste - Brahmins , non brahmins , race - Black )

Bougle and Dumont both have a brahmanical view of caste.

Ghurye view is indological and historical view of caste

M N Srinivas view is the field view of caste .

## Louis Dumont

1. Caste is a product of caste roles guided by values assigning asymmetric roles .Values is legitimized both by Brahmins and untouchables -Br ambedkar - Reform is not going to change the caste system .
2. Caste system is driven by binary distinction between pollution and purity .concept of pollution and purity taken from Levi Strauss .Purity is defined by birth hence Culture prescribes your food manner way of life conduct .(Ghurye called this TRIAD ).Purity and pollution are reproductive in character .-This challenged the view of MN Srinivas view of sanskritization and brahmanisation .Dumont - Everybody knows who is born as a Brahmin and who is becoming a Brahmin .
3. "sociologist like mn srinivas ,fg Bailey who glorify caste suffer from socio centric bias "They have over generalized village studies .They want to compare caste to class but it is not as dynamic as class .They want to create a sense of Ethno satisfaction and claim that we are also a mobile society .Class produces stratification and caste produces hierarchy
4. While speaking about caste more Importance to be given to ritual hierarchy .Ritual hierarchy is superior and neutral to secular hierarchy .Brahminic position has never been a product of wealth and power ,it is culture which makes them superior to untouchable.Ex Raja is bowing his head before Brahmins ,when giving money to Brahmin it is because of respect and not charity .When dealing with Brahmins it is the status ,when we are dealing with Kshatriyas it is the power .No amount of wealth and power can equate a raja with Brahmin .Hence secular hierarchy is more dynamic .Ritual hierarchy is fixed .
5. Supremacy of ritual structure over secular structure can best be understood through Jajmani relationships .Jajmani is not a form of DOL guided by individual preference rather it is guided by cultural logic .Before you get your sense a kind of cultural association is given to you and you have to follow it . "Jajmani system is a kind of reciprocation of services guided by culture .It is not driven by rationality " .
6. He was asked a question - What about south india self respect movement - no respect to brahmins .Dumont - When you respect to brahmins you are confirming to the superiority of brahmins but when you challenge it you ask yourself why I am not a brahmin .Rigidity of caste has become more stronger .In order to become superior or equal we should get reservation .

7. caste is a hierarchical system while class is stratification system .Therefore class society is different in caste society .Distinction between those are driven by dialectical values .Values of class - individualism vs caste - collectivism / particularism.Innovation vs stagnation .Independence vs Holism .This worldly ( materialistic ) vs transcendence (other worldly ),open society vs closed society .Therefore homoheirachicus is structurally different from homoequalis.

Q .Do you consider caste as a hierarchical system?

People found out limitations in Dumont theory .Criticism

1. Quigley - Centrality to society of India is not Brahmin .His imagination of Indian society is dominated by brahmins ideology .Whatever he is saying is from historical texts and inputs from Brahmins .Center of Indian society was Raja -Power .He is giving Brahmins livelihood and makes rules .He can make rules and also punish .
2. Berreman- study of untouchables of foothills of Himalayas - garhwal and Kumaon region - Untouchables always put clean clothes ,never smoke ,purely vegetarian largely opposite from Brahmins - non veg,smokers . Dumont view is just a book view not the empirical caste .
3. Jonathan perry - Purity from Dumont perspective is a collective attribute but In actual purity is an individual achievement .Individual purity dominates over collective purity which is missing in dumont theory .Ex - sant tukaram,ramanand who have gathered knowledge and become pure devoted their life for disciples and not by birth .Brahmanical purity is determined not only by birth but also by his conduct .
4. Andre beteille - Dumont view on caste is all about what ideally what caste ought to be and doesn't reflect on what caste is . It is not reflecting on the historical change in caste in the last few centuries .Hence his view is only an ideal view ,book view and brahmanic view .
5. Dipankar Gupta - If jats see the face of Brahmins in the morning they say their day is wasted because they think they are greedy and lazy .
6. Veena Das - In India there are 3 distinctive bodies of people enjoying higher status: Brahmins ,Raja and sadhu . Who's status is higher and lower is context specific .
7. In contemporary time untouchables questioned to the purity of Brahmin - Satya so dhak samaj,Self respect movement .Untouchables says they were slaves to Hindu and conversions was a way to escape from this discrimination .Brahminic view of caste is opposite to Dalit view that is they are disjunctive .Dumont say it is consensus model.
8. Berreman - Caste should not be studied in terms of purity and pollution rather it should be studied in privileges and discrimination ,security and anxiety .Therefore caste hierarchy is not a fixed hierarchy rather than competitive hierarchy .

Louis Dumont theory of caste lead to the polarization of sociologist of India to justify their view of Indian society Dumont and pocock founded a sociological journal "contributions to Indian sociology " in this journal they gave importance to ethno sociology - a sociology for India which will be emphasizing on indian culture to understand the structure of family and kinship ,work and economic life ,structure of religion and democratic politics .This approach of Louis Dumont was

questioned by Marxist ,empiricist ,favourist and collective opposition to Dumont made Dumont more popular and his culture approach as an methodology to study Indian society .However culture approach of Louis Dumont to study Indian sociology is driven by eurocentric bias because he tries to draw a conclusion that hierarchical societies are qualitatively different from stratification societies forgetting the fact hierarchies made strong appearance In stratified system .

## Andre Beteille

He was student of science and did his msc in anthropology .He was Weber sociologist .He got max weber to India .Indian sociology must not be distinguished from world sociology .He is different from srinivas as he never looks India from the lens of caste .One should look at India from multidimensional perspective .He also talks about changing political relationships .He speaks about occupation structure ,education .He is looking at different structure to study India .

### Source

- Book “caste class and power “ to study social stratification in Indian village
- Second book “Caste old and new “ talks about changing the nature of caste in India .
- Third book “backward class and new social order “ talks about caste and politics and also speaks about reservation policy .
- Pollution and poverty
- Debate between Louis demont and Andre beiteille on caste .
- Caste class and power

Went to sripuram village in Tamil Nadu and found out dynamic nature of caste .In this village there are present three major caste

- Brahmins
- Adi Dravidas -untouchables.
- Non Brahmins- cluster of castes

### Brahmins

- Brahmins are segmentary .Two major group of Brahmins
  - Smarthas -ordinary name Iyer
  - Sri Vaishnavas -Iyngers
- Beside them there are temple priest -Bhattacharjee priest of Vishnu temple ,Achakar shiva temple
- IYNGERS never accept water from iyer .Competition between within caste (Brahmins) for domination .Therefore Louis demont study of caste was not empirical .They have different rituals ,deities ,symbols,different dress ,use different terms to explain the same thing.
- Ex Rasam -IYER and sattamadu -IYNGERS

- cleaning ceremony of god IYER - abhishekam and IYNGERS - Thirumaranam. From a distance one can find out the difference. Hence Brahmins are segmented. Beiteille understanding of Brahmins is empirical, realistic, objective while Dumont is myopic idealist holistic.

## Non Brahmins

- Barbers, carpenters, fishermen ... All these people have combined together and developed a common identity during self respect movement and call themselves as non Brahmins. They are not a caste they are a caste clusters. Before self respect movement they used to work in lands of Brahmins. If food is to be given it has to be given outside the house with special utensils. When a non Brahmin is attending marriage of Brahmin he would not be given cooked food but fruits and gifts.
- Caste sustains because every caste is following its own rules of marriage, food, dress code, symbolic practices. Some kind of change is being noticed in intra caste and inter caste relationships.
- After India's independence non Brahmins benefitted from self respect movement and power came to them and they introduced land reform systems as a result their economic and political position improved. When Brahmins saw this they left the village and went for education, administration, industrialism and professions. They took modern employment.

Hence in village we find out multiple form of domination making appearance. Agraham is where Brahmins are living and cherrie is the place where non Brahmins is living. Brahmins don't consider cherrie as a part of their village. Hence they are not united caste is deciding the territory. Hence village solidarity is a myth. (As proposed by srinivas and ar desai).

In contemporary times both are doing good and their children are going to college and live in the same hostel forgetting caste barriers. In vacation they visit each other house. Non Brahmin would be given modern snacks inside the house as these snacks are pollution free. When a Brahmin child is going to non Brahmin he can accept food. Hence next generation children are become more caste tolerant.

Another observation - Within caste class formation has taken place. In non Brahmins most important castes were farmers and peasants. They are not one type.

- Poor farmers are known as kalla
- When he becomes a little rich he calls himself a padayachi.
- When become more prosperous he would call himself Vella
- Then Mudliyas. People give respect to them.

Brahmins and mudliyas economic interest in common. They negotiate with each other and hence they forget caste differences. Hence caste and class become situationally important. Caste is becoming much more dynamic and presence of class within a caste. Rich Brahmins will not marry with poor Brahmins.

Louis Dumont said caste relationships are rigid and was criticized by Andre beiteille .He gave importance to class caste and power .

### Caste old and New

Till the beginning of 20th century there was a strong relationship between caste ,power and class .

Political powerful group was the wealthy group and belonged to a higher caste .Then education and caste neutral occupation was made available to everybody and it become a vehicle for social transformation .It took people away from village and put in different government departments.

Land reforms democratic values ,education and urbanization changed the strong relationship between caste class and power . Ex Mayawati,Ambani ,Engineering gives you class but not power hence IAS .

Andre beiteille considers that social change in Indian society can be examined with reference to the changing location of the people in class ,caste and power structures in time and space .It means till the beginning of the century Indian society was relatively closed ,it has now become extremely open .Therefore india is not purely a caste or class society it is experiencing both Continuity and change .(Same as Weber Idea)

How change happened

- **Changing nature of hierarchy**  
Brahmins and non Brahmins identified differently but now caste neutral occupation everyone same .same food ,cloth. Hierarchical gradation is diminishing .
- **changing vertical relationships between families** .(Jajmani relationships)  
Vertical ties between families are diminishing.  
Example Barber is now not going to everybody's house but now everybody waiting in his shop even Brahmins now waiting in line .
- **changing system of values** Now only meritocratic and individualistic values present

Despite that we find out some kind of relationships are present today also .Most Brahmins are still teachers .Kshatriyas were rulers in the past their children are joining administration, army and politics .Mittal's Gupta they were seths in past now they are still rich now . Most of the class 4 jobs are still taken by lower castes .Hence caste is not defining occupation today but it is influencing your occupation .

### Andre beteille on reservation policy

The other name of reservation is social compensation.Reservation is the redressal to social and culture discrimination .Therefore in a society we have to evaluate degree to discrimination to compensate. We have to have historical evidence .Discrimination against SC is established and hence compensation is adequately provided by constitution.While other backward castes were

deprived from land , education then why to give them reservation .There was reservation in Poland ,America based on discrimination in past .In case of India reservation is extended to OBC on political grounds .Most of the dominant caste is getting reservation benefit .

- **Politics of reservation dominates over sociology of reservation**

- If reservation is a solution to hierarchy then in india there are preset multiple hierarchy - on the basis of sex ,location ,income .Then by that logic reservation must be extended to all of them .
- The makers of Indian constitution introduced reservation for a specific period .If despite reservation people are not coming up .There is problem in implementation of policy .How long you can extend this policy you can never get the results .Continuation of reservation is going to split India on caste lines .
- **Reservation policy is going to make caste stronger** and make constitutional dreams to make India a casteless society difficult .
- When introducing reservation we have to give importance to merit also .**merit and compensation should go hand in hand** .

Academicians can only reflect the problem but making policy is the work of politicians .

Q. Is casteism making caste stronger ?

Q.Is reservation policy making caste consciousness stronger ?

#### **Andre beteille on pollution and poverty**

Michael Mahar edited a book “untouchables in contemporary India” 1976 .A.B contributed one chapter in this book .

At the same time Louis dumont “homohierarchicus” .Louis demont goes on to say indian society is hierarchical society and west is an egalitarian society . India cannot be changed even though law prescribes . **Dialectics between law and values** .To practice equality in India one needs to drive out caste.

Pollution associated with untouchables of India historically have made them landless and thrown out of their social life .Untouchability was a form of social exclusion.He says pollution has been challenged by untouchables several times .

Example: Self respect movement ,smdp movement ,satyashodhak samaj .

**In the past people questioned untouchability by going for conversions** .They have not always accepted it .In today’s context people have become conscious due to series of laws ,commissions and also educated untouchables are conscious about their rights .Political mobilization is taking place .Caste association have come up . Therefore exclusion based on caste is challenged and an attempt is being made for their inclusion . **Untouchables as homogeneous cannot be subject to social exclusion now** .But it is still present in India .

New criteria for social exclusion is poverty .Poverty is cast-less it can trespass into any part of social life .Poverty and voicelessness are strongly connected to each other. Poor man cannot fight with his employer. Poor children in school for mid day meals .

Poverty is more contagious than pollution because poverty breeds poverty - Cyclic poverty . Pollution was something historic and the constitution and law has addressed this problem and now the real problem is poverty. If you address the problem of poverty their myopic relationship with caste may become weak.If problem of poverty is addressed other problems can be addressed .To empower women take away poverty from them .

What was pollution to ancient India and poverty is to modernIndia .If we don't address the problem of poverty now we cannot hold India together .

Q.Why poverty persists ?

- Lack of opportunities.
- Unbalanced growth in different sectors . In New Zealand agriculture is the main backbone .
- Skill development not there ,disguised unemployment.

Q. Do you think distribution of money to people can eradicate poverty ?

- These are ad hoc measures that will not wipe out the problem of poverty .
- Andre beiteille view
- Amartya sen
  - poverty is a complex, multifaceted world that requires a clear analysis in all of its many dimensions which cannot be solved by drawing an imaginary line

### Louis Dumont and Andre beiteille

- Louis Dumont's view of caste is about consensual value .The position of a caste is defined by proximity to the values of Brahmins . This is acceptable by all of society and hence brahmin superiority is also accepted by untouchables and hence they follow the rules . Caste is a system of hierarchy. Parsons also says that if there is value consensus then there is no conflict in the society .Louis Dumont ignores history .If there was always value consensus then there would have not been Buddhism Jainism Bhakti movement sanskritisation. People are always questioning these values . British gave a new type of value which was dialectical to the prevalent value. Caste was never about value consensus. Dumont theory is not based on facts and suffers from eurocentric bias .
- Louis Dumont gave the title homohierachicus but Hierarchy is not only indian specific . In America there is gender hierarchy ,race hierarchy . None of the society is equalitarian. Old hierarchy is replaced by a new form of new competitive hierarchy .Hierarchy is universal historical .Nature of hierarchy keeps changing in time and place .When there is hierarchy it is questioned . Hence it is wrong to say indian society is a fixed hierarchy.

- Caste should not be studied from the perspective of values .it should be studied on the basis of interest based mobilization. If question comes Explain using Louis Dumont and Andre beiteille study of sripuram .Non Brahmins of south India combine together against Brahmins to get political benefits .Srinivas AJGAR view ."caste is not something written in the stone it is something written on the sand" . It keeps changing ."21 century avatar of caste".
- while comparing societies one should not compare hierarchy and equality but ideologies .individualism and collectivism

Dumont talks about Indian what Indian ought to be; he never talks about what India is .

### Social reproduction of caste kinship and occupation

Many sociologists study Indian and speak about this .Brahmin son is Brahmin occupation is fixed . Most people keep their parents' profession as an option that at least they should rise to that level .Occupation is reproduced .

Middle class biggest wealth is social connectivity .Middle class is investing time and money in social connectivity .Ex your father fiends in every city and profession.

Amartya Sen called middle class argumentative Indians .

### Untouchability and it's perspectives

- Untouchability is a cultural practice (achut) legitimized by Brahminic ideology.
- Gandhi called them as harijans - you are as much children of god as others are. They should try to live together .Concept of harijan is a reformative concept.
- The Constitution is calling them as scheduled caste. A body of caste listed in the fifth and sixth schedule of the constitution . Schedule caste is a constitutional identity

But untouchables' names are different, languages are different ,they have suffered throughout history .We are born in this society but got nothing from this society .Hence they called themselves dalits. We are numerous and want political power . Dalits are a homogenic identity . They identify themselves as a class . They are influenced now by Marxian ideology ,civil rights movement . This is a subaltern perspective - how Dalits look at caste . *caste from below* .

Aryan society was divided into two groups

- Aryans- fixed occupation .
- non aryan - freedom to choose any occupation .

These non aryan are mentioned in rig Veda (*chandals*). We don't have any evidence to prove untouchability practiced in Rig Vedic times .But during later Vedic and post Vedic period we find out brahmins domination got institutionalized. Impure as a social category was created to justify the purity of Brahmins . *Manusmriti samhitas* advocated this and certain prohibitions and

taboos were imposed on them. These people were forced to do dead end jobs living on the outskirts of the village they were labeled as untouchables .

Untouchables were people who refused to live by the values of Brahmins .

Sc dube - when Muslims came to India they dominated over great tradition but no change in little tradition - same caste practices . Only one option left to get benefits went for conversion to protect themselves . *conversion is a reaction against the Brahmins domination*

Similarly when British came untouchables who didn't went for conversion to Islam earlier found opportunity in Christianity. They got access to modern employment .

In 19 th century it was felt that to unify India we had to question the caste system .

Dayanand Saraswati started the shuddhi movement for reconversion . Hence Arya samaj gave importance to no deity no sanskritisation rituals no to Brahminic domination ,no discrimination . Hindu consciousness should be united .

## Gandhi

In the national movement Gandhi thought untouchables should be the part of the movement to give it momentum . Hence he made a distinction between caste and varna

- Varna system is driven by virtues and capabilities and caste is driven by heredity . The Varna system talks about the quality of life you live . Everybody can be elevated to the position of Brahmin based on values, merit and deeds . *The Varna system to Gandhi is a dynamic system . Caste is exploitative and hence must go* . Gandhi looks at India from the standpoint of varna .
- Caste is an exploitative construct while varna is a cultural construct .
- Principles of caste must go- people should go for inter caste marriage . Caste who are maintaining distance from each other must come close and thirdly interdinning , caste based occupation must go .
- *For Gandhi caste was a social practice and not an ideology , it can be reformed and stopped* .
- caste has nothing to do with Hinduism . It is only a group of people who have institutionalized caste .
- *My heart bleeds , caste must go , the children of god* articles of Gandhi published in harijan.
- Everyone should do their own work .
- Hindu culture values speak about detachment from materialistic values and go for humanistic life . *Untouchability is a crime against god* .
- *Endogamous marriages , caste occupation and social segregation. If these are eliminated then caste will disappear* . If Brahmins Start marrying untouchables , dine with them .

- Hinduism and caste are different things they are not related .Nowhere Hinduism gives sanction to caste .He was largely influenced by the philosophy of Santana dharma and Hindu way of life .

## Ambedkar

Gandhi has seen caste from upper strata. I have experienced it .

- Dharamshastras says people are born with three qualities: satvik,*rajisvik,tamasik*. Untouchables are not born with any qualities and these qualities are non transferable . *If Brahmins commits a crime it's a lapse Kshatriyas committing is a mistake and if a untouchable commits a crime he is subjected to capital punishment* . Caste is a product of Hinduism . Hinduism is providing ideological support to caste . Caste means varna and both can't be distinguished.Untouchables are not Hindus because they are not born from Hindu gods as said in Rig Veda. Then why should we be called Hindus ? . Untouchables of India are the victims of Hinduism
- People in Indian society are born with fixed attributes. (No amount of Sanskritisation will ever improve the position of untouchables in Indian society (Srinivas)). Hence varna is not an open system . Strong connectivity between practice of untouchability and ideology of Hinduism . I may be born as a Hindu but make sure I don't die as a Hindu -Ambedkar.
- If you are really serious about the inclusion of untouchables, give the responsibility to the state and not to the people because people practicing caste lives in villages and they are guided by values and culture. State should be giving legitimate support to untouchables. Reform is a matter of choice but if law is violated it will lead to punishment .
- He gave more importance to individualism and merit . If a society ignores individual merit and individual right giving importance to heredity that society for generations will be hierarchical. Social reproduction of occupation would take place .
- For making a democratic society we must have social and economic democracy along with political democracy .
- Let the state ensure that at every position there is representation of every caste.
- Jaat paat torak samaj formed by him and he burned the copy of manusmriti .
- He told the untouchables to enter the temples if they consider you a part of Hindu . If they are still resisting then there is no meaning to stay as Hindu .
- Periyar -Those who are speaking religion are fools and those who practice religion are scoundrels. Ambedkar went for conversion to Buddhism and this position of Ambedkar called for rethinking of caste . He says we are oppressed ,marginalized and should call ourselves as bahujans. Hence from untouchables to Dalit identity came into picture .
- Malinowsky book "Myth as a charter of society " - Myth is a story which is not supported by fact but this story become fact over time for the society .Ex cow is our mother , ram ,Krishna . Ambedkar used myth to understand Dalits . He said there were two different Kshatriyas in India suryavanshi Kshatriyas were arya's advisor was vashisth chandravanshi Kshatriyas were indigenous rulers advisor was vishwamitra. These advisors were rivals and they used to instigate their clients to fight war against each

other . One big war happened and in that suryavanshi beat Chandravanshi rulers and sent them away and put all restrictions on them. Hence they made a living with dirty jobs . Those who are untouchables today are the rulers of the past . Therefore untouchables should be coming and unifying together . This myth is to unify untouchables. He equated untouchables in India with blacks in the west and gave it a revolutionary movement .

### Explanation to caste by Dalit sociologist

Dalit sociologist consider that in Indian society there are two parallel cultures present .one is a Brahmin culture and other is Dalits culture . These two cultures were dialectical to each other . Hence don't study indian society from Hindu ,Sanskritisation ,Brahminic perspective .Ghurye studied India from syncretic culture and especially triad emphases on Brahmin culture . Dumont's study of India is Brahminic approach. Sociologists never made an attempt to study from a subaltern perspective .

- Brahminic culture was elitist culture and Dalit was mass culture.
- Brahminic culture was spiritual and other worldly,Dalit culture was materialistic and inner worldly .
- Brahmin culture was transcendent culture and Dalit culture was utilitarian culture.

When Brahmins enforce their culture on others Dalits refuse to accept it . Those who accepted this culture got higher caste; those who refused were called untouchables.Brahminic culture was published in different text but Dalit literature was not available and hence they started sinking . Hence India should be studied from a dialectical value perspective and not from consensual value .

Rise of Dalit consciousness .

Dalits are neither a caste nor a class . They are not a linguistic group nor a religious minority rather they are a submerged humanity and that submerged humanity who has suffered through history have come together asking for their rights. Hence we should resist all kinds of oppression and fight for our rights . They are taking on the different dominant castes in different parts of the country . Dalits literature , movies and plays are playing a huge role to promote Dalit consciousness .Caste is assuming new roles according to the situations .

## Tribal communities in india

### Syllabus

- Definitional problems
- Geographical spread
- Colonial policies on tribes

- Issue of integration and autonomy

8% of indian population are identified as scheduled tribes . Mentioned in the 6th schedule of the constitution. Scheduled tribes is the homogenous identity given to heterogeneous groups by constitution.

## Definitional problems

Virginius xaxa says defining a tribe is a problem . The way we are defining caste we cannot define tribe .

- According to census 2011 there are 436 tribal groups present in India.
- People of India report under anthropological survey of India which conducted study for 10 years ,data was collected about every tribe . They published 15 volumes by anthropologists in 2001. It tells the total number of tribes in India 636 tribes are present in India.

These extra 200 tribes have adopted the caste system and adopted Hindu identity and lost their identity . This is called open lost theory - When tribal groups are losing their identity.

### Homogenetic colonial perspective

Different types of tribes have been living in India since ancient times . British came to India with a eurocentric bias that all people in India were tribes . Herbert risley said there are two types of tribes living in India

- One living in plain areas - marathas, jats, reddy
- Those living in Hills

These tribes follow distinctive language, culture and way of life . To study these tribes asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir William Jones . Published a journal called man and nature in India .

### Dichotomous perspective

For the first time a detailed study was conducted by JH Hutton an anthropological scholar and he for the first time indicated that tribes are different from caste. Hence whole India is not a tribe.

- Entire Tribes go for a given kind of economic activity eg pastoral, hunter gatherer etc . But caste groups go for occupational specialization.
- Tribes practice animism and naturism and in case of caste a structured form of religion is present .
- Tribal society is based on kinship and caste society is based on occupational specialization.
- Tribes are mostly living in forests and caste societies in plains .
- Tribal society is egalitarian while caste society is hierarchical.

- Tribes Have strong sense of pleasure while caste society is driven by duties allocated by culture .
- Tribal society is a homogenized society , caste society is heterogeneous society.

This theory was questioned by SC Roy, NK Bose and Ghurye

Around the 1920s a large number of anthropologists and sociologists published monographs on tribes in India . Tribal monographs are detailed studies about tribes.

- W H R Rivers studied Toda of Nilgiri hills.
- A R Radcliff Brown studied the Andaman Islands .
- S C Roy - Father of Indian anthropology studied a number of tribes .

They found out each tribe follows different types of marriage. Hence tribal is not a homogenous group as supported by facts.

Sociologists study tribes from Hinduisation perspective .

- GS Ghurye called tribes as backward Hindus. In Indian society there is a revolution taking place . All in the case of India first as tribes then they slowly evolved as a caste by coming in contact with people from plains and taking on their Hindu rituals. Once they take modern education they evolve as a class. Tribes -> Caste -> Class. Syncretic culture is taking place in India . Example Ganesh , Shiva they are tribal gods which have been incorporated in Hindu religion. Rivers mountains are also worshipped in Hinduism.
- This thesis of GS Ghurye is also supported by SC Roy - *jana and jatis have been mutually coexisting in India since ancient times.*
- The Bhakti movement is having a major impact on the lives of the tribes- NK Bose. Tana Bhagat, Vishnu Bhagat and Kabir panthi Bhagat movements have influenced the Santhals , Mundas and other tribes of central India . The Vishnu Bhagat movement influenced Mundas to go Hindu culture values . Large number of tribes don't find differences between their culture and Hindu culture. Tribes consider Hinduism their home away from their home.
- *Tribalism always makes contributions to Hindu temples which are yet to be complete.*

All 636 are negotiating differently with Hinduism and hence segmentation has developed . BK Roy Burman gave the following segmentation

- Some tribes are losing their culture , history and language . Hence these tribes developed negative orientation towards Hinduism.
- While there are others who think due to Hinduism they got a better life -positive orientation.
- Some tribes got completely assimilated in Hindu identity and hence lost their identity these tribes are called assimilated Hinduised tribes.
- Some tribes are indifferent to Hinduism . Ex Jarawas, Sentinelese

Tribes from Sanskritisation perspective

- MN Srinivas' concept of sanskritization was used by anthropologists to understand tribes in India .
- LRM Srivastava , D N Majumdar studied the Tharu and khasa tribes of uttrakhand . They went for kshtiyaisation . They call themselves as Tharu Kshatriyas and khasa Kshatriyas.
- Tribal Kshatriyas and caste Kshatriyas came in close contact with each other . They become aristocratic tribes.
- Chenchu tribes have gone for cross cousin marriages by adapting it from south India .
- In bengal two groups
  - *Bauri* give medicines for snake bite become snake bite doctors
  - *Mahali* ritual process for chicken pox .
  - Brahmins coming to their door steps and seek their help and hence they have assumed new names and got entry to caste society
- S C Roy - Raj gonds have gone for kshtriyasations.
- Hira potters Assam ,pentia bhai Odisha ,Gaddi Lohar Rajasthan ,dhokra Lamar Gujarat . They have gone for caste occupation and gone for sudhraisation. They are taking the role of low caste people.
- If the bulk of the regular population go into the caste system then the lower position of the caste system is always kept reserved for entry of tribes. Because the upper caste prefer tribes over untouchables for day to day work because they are not polluting.

There is internal differential in tribes .Ex Munda of Bihar and Jharkhand don't have much common with Munda of bengal . Some Santhals are hinduism and some are Christianized. We can also differentiate between them on the basis of occupation. Therefore identification of tribes is becoming much more difficult.

How sanskritisation gave rise to segmentation in tribal society discussed by SC Dube-

- Gonds were a tribe. The king of gonds along with the extended members of family went for kshtriyasation and called themselves as raj gonds. There are many gonds who have gone for agricultural practices they called themselves as dhul gonds . Others who are still living in tribal society identify themselves as tribes . Dhul gonds become OBC, Raj gonds become rajputs . Tribals become ST .

Problem of sanskritisation

- To what extent caste society is treating them as a part of society? Ex Hira potters have gone for pottery. Pottery made by caste potters is used in rituals but for domestic purposes the pottery used is made by hira potters. Therefore Sanskritisation gave rise to a new caste. They are not treated as equals to their counterparts.

Conclusion

- There are present purest of the pure tribes living in their original habitat ,following their rituals and language .
- There are partially acculturated tribes . Ex dhul gonds ,hira potters ,gaddi lohars . They are partially assimilated. Tribal and caste identity both maintained.
- substantially acculturated tribes - most of their tribal lives have been lost . Ex khasas .

- Fully assimilated tribes . They have become a part of the caste system . Ex bhils,gujjars.

In India we develop a holistic development program for tribes . What may be problems of andamanese may not be the problem of nagas. How tribes look at themselves and how we look at them there is a problem .

### Mode of production perspective

#### Tribe peasant continuum theory

- LP Vidyarthi found out that tribal mode of livelihood is different from caste mode of production Ex they were earlier snake charmers ,bird catchers.But a large number of tribal groups are going for caste occupation they are going for peasantry and slowly tribal occupation is decaying . They are now making a direct or indirect living from land and agriculture and peasantry . Agricultural mode of livelihood is bringing caste and tribe close to each other .
- Surajit sinha : Don't study with reference to caste, study them with association to agriculture occupation. Tribes first take occupation of peasants and then take a name later .
  - Criticized by Fg bailey - Difference between tribal peasants and caste peasants . In caste peasants there is an institutionalized jajmani relationship but tribe man doesn't have jajmani relationships with iron smith for iron plough and other things . Technology used by both of them is different.

#### Note

##### Institutions are

- Guided by rules ,values and customs .
- subjected to continuity.
- people join them to achieve their goals .

Family is a social group while college is an Institution.

Caste economy is institutional while tribal economy is technological.

Hoffman and lister studied Munda village - 80 percent are Munda and they found three agrarian classes have developed

- Landowners
- ryots- Tenants and sharecroppers
- Praja - agriculture labour

Tribes are supposed to be homogenic community land and are supposed to be community property but landowners are making an appearance . Landowners lease their land to ryots and gain profits. Hence class character also developed in tribal villages also.

Hence study tribal societies from the standpoint of mode of production .

### GS material

1989 has been declared as the international year for indigenous population. All civilizations developed at the cost of tribal people . It was an attempt by a different government to offer an apology to these indigenous people. These indigenous people are at the verge of extinction. Accept the historic mistakes and don't keep them in confinement and ensure these tribes are becoming mainstream in social and political life. Debate is whether Indian tribal people are indigenous people .

Andre beiteille - You cannot consider all tribes as indigenous .

Nagas are living from the 1st century BC Mizo-lushai came in 16 th century. In south India dravidians are the indigenous people . Indigenous people of Bihar and Assam are tribes. India is a land of multiple races . Who is indigenous and who is not. All tribes in uniform manner cannot be considered indigenous .

### How do tribes look at themselves ?

Tribes are looking at themselves in different ways driven by different kinds of needs and concerns.

Entire tribes of the north east are coming together against the citizenship amendment bill. Issue based mobilization is taking place.

Tribal land alienation - Non tribal people took the land of tribal people through manipulation. In Jharkhand these non-tribal people are called diku (dacoits ) by tribal people. In India 22 M tribal population have either lost their land , culture due to these development projects.

They call themselves adivasis .

Niyamgiri movement- Tribes consider niyamgiri movement as sacred but mining activity taking place.

Adivasis consciousness is on rise against the encroachment of people and interference in their territory.

Meghalaya - Garo ,Jaintia and khasi. Fighting between themselves . But against common issues they come together .

Like there is fusion and fission in caste it is same as tribes .

## Colonial Tribal policies

British came to India with economic interest. They took forest into their own control and divided forest into three forest

- Reserve forest : Commercially viable resources available. No one is allowed to Enter without permission.
- protected forest : Tribals are living but these tribals are destroying the forest. Eg slash and burn and deforestation. Nowadays it is controlled by the state limitations on forest produce.
- Village forest : In and around the village . People can use it for any purpose

LP Vidyarthi formulated Tribal development Programme during the fourth plan period . He wrote a book about the nature *man spirit complex* . He says that forest to a tribe is not a source of livelihood, it is the center of tribal culture. It is a place where people collect different herbal medicines, construction materials. It has cultural, social, economic and spiritual significance. When the state got control of the forest they destroyed this culture . Women were independent due to these forests. The Mahua tree is used for making alcoholic drinks and women have control of these trees. When forest went away women's dependence on men also increased. Tribes were forced to migrate and go for caste occupation. Forest rules were made so strict that if a tribe man violated the rules he would be put in jail for years. Hence tribals rebel against colonialism. Hence these tribes are labeled as de-notified and criminal tribes . Forest officers can shoot them at sight .

Only crime these people committed is that they are asking for their livelihood.

The Birsa Munda movement , santhal rebellion , and coal insurgency were against colonial tribal policies .

- Colonial policies gave momentum to tribal movements in various parts of the country.
- Britishers expanded railways and roadways to tribal areas because they thought that tribal land possessed rich resources. Hence their isolation was ended. They got exposed to other cultures without any preparation. Slowly they were forced to go for deculturalization.
- MSA Rau - *Unplanned development By colonial rules in tribal pockets made tribal men destitute and tribal women prostitute* . Sexual violence against women by construction workers and people coming in the Tribal areas.

Forest policy introduced by colonial rulers

- When forest was taken away it gave rise to deforestation , acculturation and migration and hence breakdown of historic isolation, women were depending on men and patriarchy made appearance .
- Britishers never had a compact tribal development program because they felt that the expansion of administration to tribal areas was expensive. And gave permission to forest officers to administer and also gave permission to missionaries for welfare programs. On one hand they started welfare activities and on the other side they started conversion. This led to christianization. Right wing Hindu leaders advocate that these missionaries are attacking Hindu tribes. They started the shuddhi movement. Hindu militancy is getting momentum.
- British introduced government of India act which created two kinds of tribal areas
  - Partially excluded area - where 40% of the people are tribes.
  - fully excluded areas - more than 70% are tribes.
  - No one, even the other tribes can be entering for any purpose in these areas without consent of the state. Entire north east and Pockets of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chattisgarh were declared as fully excluded areas. But they selectively gave permission to mercantilist timber merchants, forest contractors and miners for specific economic purposes. Hence the government gave legitimacy to exploitation. Land converted to agriculture land. Tribes don't consider that access

to land requires state certification but these contractors miners are converting the community resource into private property. Before tribes realized this it was too late. Tribes are told to work on land for wages . They never realized that their association with land has changed and they are introduced into a ethnic minority. In Ranchi district 1951 there were 61% tribal population; now it has declined to 18 %.

When Simon commission came to India different groups of nagas got unified together and started speaking in nagami language and made an appeal to Simon commission to separate from India . To control the rebellion in the north east we made AFSPA. Today also Naga national council celebrates Independence Day differently .

Hence colonial tribal policy gave rise to hostility between tribe and non tribe ,gave rise to sub nationalist movements in north east India . In central India the problem was not so acute as hinduisation has taken place. Hence we made sure that north east tribes don't come together. We gave nagas Nagaland Mizo Mizoram to neutralize the divisive spirit. Tribes political aspirations got ratified .

## Tribal identity and problem of integration

Integration has two dimension

- Social and cultural integration
- political and economic integration

In integration you retain your identity and respect oneness . Destroying your identity and importance to oneness is assimilation.

Article 1 India is a union of states.

Therefore the constitution tells us we can always maintain our identity through integration .

States on the basis of linguistic ,tribal ethnicity ,administrative convenience ,popular demands . India always goes for integration retaining their identity.

What is identity ?

Kashmiriyat is the identity of the people living in Kashmir . Primarily the way others recognize, locate you.

Indians live with multiple forms of identity. One is the identity we give to ourselves and the other which other people give to us.

Identity is created and identity is given . We keep changing our identity driven by necessity and requirements .

Tribal identity is created, dismantled, recreated for different reasons at different points of time .

- When tribes were not exposed to other culture - Identity from kinship .sub tribal identity
- Identity on the basis of ethnicity.

They use identity to distinguish themselves from other tribes . When tribes come in conflict with other tribes they forget their intra tribal differences got diluted-Kingdom consolidation.

- Adoption to different cultures -when these tribes are getting exposure to different cultures their socio culture identity got changed .  
Ex three types of gonds - raj ,dhul and tribal gonds.

Tribes of Lakshadweep . Most of the tribes of Lakshadweep have gone for Islamic acculturation . On the basis of adaptation to different religions their identity changed .

- Political identity . On the basis of political aspiration . Ex bodoland demanding statehood.
- Reactionary identity created today against policy of state for urbanization ,deforestation.

### Integration

- Indian social cultural unity is a product of respect for diversity. Every tribe retains its identity and strongly feels to be part of India then we call this socio-cultural integration . But if tribes consider that they have nothing to do with India and their dance music art has nothing to do with indian society then there is a challenge to socio-cultural integration of India . Socio culture integration should be understood how tribes link with non tribes and non tribes attaching them with tribes .
- Cross culture exchange must take place . Students coming to national universities ,popularization of their crafts ,festivals and culture . Indian bureaucracy is a strong integrator . But we should not be prejudiced against the difficulties faced by the north east . Integration cannot be promoted through coercion.
- integration can only be formulated through trust . Give people space to work in different institutions.
- Contact with tribals and non-tribals was cut by colonial rulers through partial and fully excluded areas . After indian independence, attempts were made to integrate so that tribal rebellion could be controlled . Pandit Nehru introduced tribal Panchsheel.
- Tribal panchsheel policy
  - *Tribal development should be taking place in India respecting the genius and expertise of tribal communities* . Respecting their culture ,history. Train them in their own expertise . Example promoting football and local craft .
  - *Tribal traditional rights on land and forest must be respected.* We have not followed this and tribes were pushed further. only gave them minor forest produce .
  - *Tribes always love self administration.* Train more tribal youth to take responsibility for administration.
  - *Don't introduce so many developmental programs in tribal areas which they can't carry forward* . This will result in confusion . But we have introduced hundreds of programs.
  - *Tribal development programs must not be evaluated in terms of how much money is spent and net outcome but it should be studied with reference to how many human characters you have evolved* . That is how many tribes are becoming nationalist and abandoning militantism .

We have not followed this policy and hence tribal militantism is on rise .

Some of the developmental initiatives taken by the state of India for tribal development with an attempt to promote integration of tribes with the mainstream society .

- Verrier Elwin advised Nehru a policy which is known as **Temporal isolationist policy** . He introduced tribal development blocks in the line of community development programs. 10000 population in a given territory out of which 60% should be a tribe constituting a block should be isolated. **Introducing in tribal areas such economic activities in which tribes have expertise**. Experts should be coming from outside to give them training. State should offer them a market linkage. Tribes should be encouraged to use banking facilities. But never permit outsiders to enter tribal areas. Once they are ready and well off then we should be introducing them to the mainstream community. A special administrative cadre was created called north east frontier services. This cadre was only restricted to people of the north east. Critique to this policy was GS Ghurye. After the 4th five year plan this policy was abandoned.
- Center would be appointing an officer not less than the rank of deputy secretary in every state. **The President is overall in charge of tribal development in the country** . Governors are in charge in the state. Any state where the tribal population is more than 15% a special ministry would be there for tribal development. In the north east district autonomous council there are 75% who are elected by the people.
- Hence in district autonomous councils a bottom up approach is followed where it is not present that state decides developmental plans for tribes hence in those cases policies may not match with the needs of the tribes.
- **During the 4 plan period approach changed from isolationist approach to integrative approach**. This was introduced by LP Vidyarthi who was the chairperson of national commission for tribal area development. He indicated that we should be going for diversified tribal welfare program. Major highlights
  - Within a plan period we should be allocating sufficient resources for sub plans- for emergency and contingency reserves for tribes . Special fund for reallocation of tribes.
  - **Tribal development program will be a three tier policy Macro ,meso and micro policy as needs of tribes are different.**
  - Macro program - For all tribes all over India . Ex Reservation , skill development centers.
  - Meso program - for those tribes who have suffered due to development projects . Only economic compensation is not sufficient. Their habitat is lost. Identity them and make a census and give them alternative habitat,skill and livelihood. Otherwise these tribes would become militant.
  - Micro program - This is for the people who are in the face of extinction like jaravas,little andamanese. They are suffering from diseases when they are coming in contact with outsiders.
- **From the 8th plan onwards focus of developmental policy shifted to households**. Introduce as many tribal policies as possible. More money is spent on tribal welfare but no upliftment is taking place . Most of the tribal programs are not able to achieve desirable results because the responsibility of the state for tribal development is limited to economic benefit only . Anthropological survey of India in its report of 2001 indicates
  - **Intensity of tribal poverty is double that of non-tribals.**
  - Infant mortality rate is highest in tribes . 96 out of 1000.

- 67% of tribal women are suffering from anemia .
- Their localized study largely reflects on the failure of developmental programs on the life of tribes in India. In Ranchi district in the year 1961 69% of tribes were agriculturist meaning they were small and marginal farmers having control over 5 and 2 acres of land respectively. Their number is reduced to 19% during 2001 indicating landlessness, poverty, marginalization ,exploitation have become the essence of tribes' exposure to industrialization and urbanization.
- In the year 1961 12% of the tribes were laborers; now this number has increased to 83%. This indicates pauperization of tribes.

Large number of tribes those who are the victims of state sponsored developmental initiatives suffering from detribalisation , depeasantization homelessness , de culturstion ,morbidity ,forced migration instead of integrating themselves with larger economy are questioning to state and its policies intensifying naxalite movement in central India , in case north east demographic composition of tribes is being altered in border area of Assam,Manipur ,Tripura ,Mizoram for which different tribal organisation coming forward and striving for the protection of their ethnic identities. Naga national council is highlighting the use of coercion by Indian state towards the tribal society north east and intensifying the sub nationalist movement. Tribes of north east in totality are demanding for the repealing of armed forces special forces act . In conclusion it can be advocated that tribes integration to larger Indian economy and society is standing on a sticky premise for the reason that both colonial and post colonial policies have not changed greatly the life living fortune and the destiny of tribes of India. Therefore xaxa concludes by saying that tribes of india should be considered as sub citizens , unless there problem are addressed they cannot be considered as effective parter to democratic process in India.

## Social classes in india

### Syllabus

- Agrarian class structure
- Industrial class structure
- Middle class structure

### Agrarian class structure

Need to look into the following factors before defining .

- Mode of production is land. Agrarian class structure needs to be defined in terms of who controls land but land all over the country doesn't have some kind of fertility . There is

irrigated and non irrigated land in the country. Hence on the basis of who controls what quality of land we cannot define agrarian class structure.

- Another dimension is how much profit is made on land. How much of that money is reinvested on land expanding his consolidation and control ,technology on land?
- Need to look into involvement of humans in agriculture as against technology. Whether there are jajmani relationships between laborers and land owners.
- The size of land holding and how it is affected by changing demography.
- How has land reforms impacted the land holdings in the country?
- Green revolution having an impact on agrarian class structure. Big landlords making appearances.
- Globalization has given rise to corporate farming. Big farmers taking land from small farmers as they don't have access to technology. Net production small farming is getting sold for a lower price. Corporate farmers use land for maximum profit . *Therefore subsistence farming has greatly declined.*

Hence agrarian class is changing because of the changing nature of land holding patterns ,productivity in land ,changing history of india . Hence multiple factors need to be taken into account while defining agrarian class structure . ***Write this at the beginning of every question.***

#### Before British rule

Prior to British rule in India , Indian agriculture was a system of *peasant mode of production*

- Peasants are the owners of small pieces of hereditary land.
- peasants used their family labour.
- They used indigenous technology.
- Production for sustenance.
- If there is excess surplus then it is exchanged with kinship ties and not meant for the market.

Hence it has given rise to a society of equals. *Egalitarian economy and a classless agrarian society .*

#### British rule

Classless agrarian society was converted into a class society in British rule .

#### Zamindari system

- They become owners of the land. Land becomes a mercantile property . Could sell and transfer the land .
- They leased the land for maximum benefit and hence sub , sub sub zamindars made an appearance .
- Reduced the share of tenants and never improved agriculture.
- *Exploitative agrarian classes developed during this period .*
- These peasants and farmers went for distress migration.

#### Ryotwari system

- Moneylenders become the proprietors of the land. They evolved as ryots.
- Original ryots become the worker on the land.
- Big landowners made appearances with capitalist interest.

#### Mahalwari area

- Elderly members of the village who were responsible for land allocation retain a huge amount of land.
- Hence capitalist nature developed .

Hence elements of capitalization were seeded in all the three systems.

#### After India's independence

Emphasis that land should be given to tenants - Land reforms.

Impact of land reform was different in different parts.

Successful land reform - Jammu Kashmir ,Telangana, Kerala, Tamil Nadu ,West Bengal ,Orissa

Traditional landlords disappeared.

- Enterprising farmers are making an appearance. They have access to land well within the ceiling limit . They are using modern technology Reducing their dependency on labour, and going for targeted production. Taking loans from banks .
- Small and marginal farmers with 2-3 acres are making an appearance . They are also optimizing labour and capital and trying to optimize their profit .
- In these states poverty is declining . Profit is invested in education. Family income increasing and mobility taking place.

#### Partially effective land reforms - Maharashtra, gujarat , other pockets of south India

- Vidharbha is different from rest of the parts of Maharashtra.
- In coastal Andhra farmers with 100 acres of land present and going for horticulture and investing in other parts of the economy.
- Regional variations as land reforms were effective in some areas while ineffective in other areas.
- Agrarian class structure becomes more complex . Feudalism, capitalism are both present

#### Land reforms ineffective - BIMARU states

- Feudal agriculture
- Big landlords are present in disguise . They have appointed managers called munim to look at land management. Traditional forms of exploitation are present .

#### Green revolution belt

Some people got control of fertile land ,the size of land holding is more they evolved into capitalist agriculture class. They made technological investment in agriculture . They are multiplying their family income and reinvesting in land.

- Small farmers and medium farmers- Those who are not able to expand their land holding. Small farmers also using advanced seeds are also making profits.
- Hence in the green revolution belt employment is generated.

- Market is established , poverty is wiped out. People are not poor, they won't work as agricultural workers hence migrant workers are coming to these areas.
- Capitalists are making appearances , the middle class is making appearances . Migrant laborers are holding lower strata .

How are sociologists looking into agrarian class structure ?

Daniel Thorner (Economist) studied 200 villages in 1970-1972 after land reforms were implemented in most of the states in India . He look agrarian structure from three perspective

- Who has ownership right over land?
- Who is using labour in land ?
- Who is receiving what kinds of Returns from land ?

He finds found 3 groups

- People who have ownership rights over land .
  - They do not put their labour in the process of production
  - They are maliks .
  - They make profit from land.
  - They usually belong to the upper caste.
  - They diversify the profit in different sectors of the economy. Hence they are enterprising. Invest the profit in the education of their children.
    - Gentlemen farmers - government officers coming back to the village after retirement . Have complete knowledge of banks and made cooperatives. Through cooperatives they get agricultural inputs . They go for commercial production.They become leaders.
  - They live in a concrete house.
- People who don't have ownership rights of the land but right to control the land
  - They are using their part labour. Eg out of 8 hours they may put 2-3 hours .
  - Their entire family is not involved in agriculture.
  - They are getting returns from land but the return is not high enough that they can reinvest it .
  - They are kisans.
  - They are the artisans , small land holders making a living out of agriculture .
  - Agriculture gives them Sustenance.
- People who are using land for their livelihood.
  - They are using their full labour.
  - They get wages from land.
  - They get work only during harvest.
  - They are mazdoors.
  - Sc, adivasis and Muslims landless people.
  - Most of them living in poverty suffer from malnutrition and live in huts .

It concludes that there is a capitalist agricultural development taking place in socialist India . Hence socialism has failed in India.

Food for work program - Work and get food. It was easier for the government to implement because by 1972 Indian had become sufficient in grains due to the green revolution.

MGNREGA

Amma ka kitchen

#### Andre beiteille on agrarian class structure

Criticizing Daniel thorne - He offers a homogenetic view about owners i.e they belong to upper caste, making profits from land. But in India different types of owners are present.

- If we have 20 acres of land and in between small pieces of land is owned by someone else. Big owner would try that small owner lease the land to the big farmer. **Landlord-Small landowner and Tenant - Big land owner.** This type of landlordism present in Haryana has not been understood by him.
- **Enterprising landowners** are very calculative and have a profit motive.
- There are also **absentee landlords** -Live in urban centers, go to village once in a year.
- **Self cultivating land owners**- Supervise their land on their own and use labour.
- **Cultural land owners**- Brahmins but cannot go for self cultivation hence he has to lease land to others.

Similarly controllers.

- Only controller- Working only as manager , munim ji .
- Owners and controllers
- Tenant controller
- Tenant owner controller.

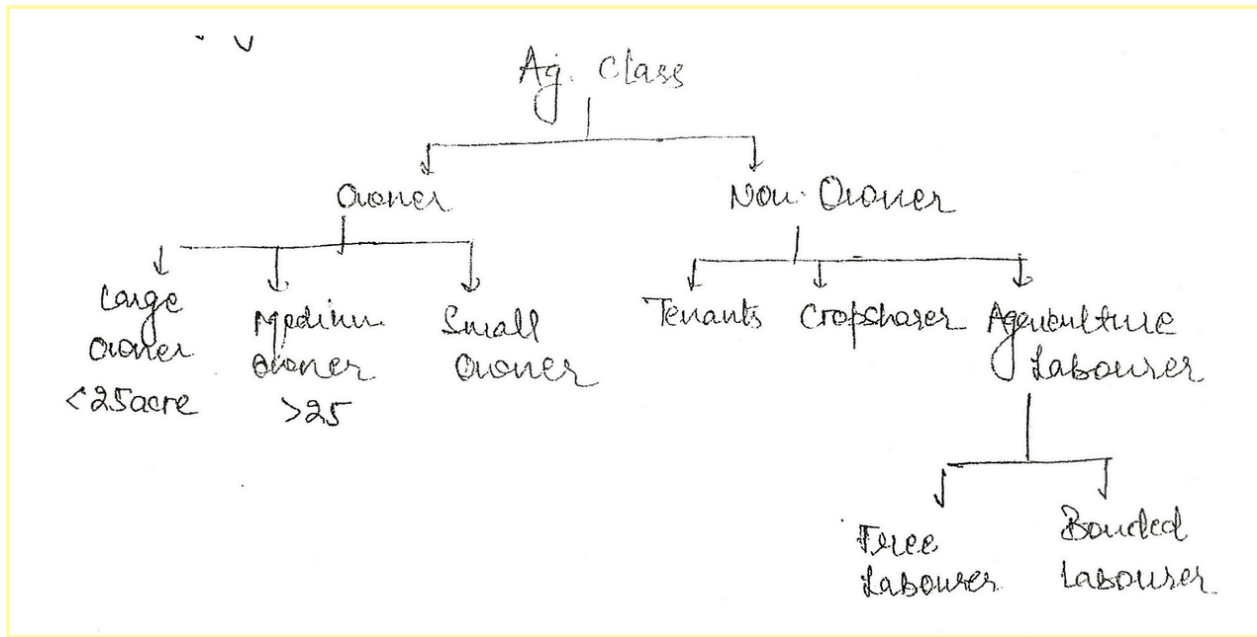
Users

- Migrant labour
- bonded labour
- Exchange labour

Hence Daniel Thorner failed to understand the complex agrarian class structure . Hence Andre beiteille is using the ideal type (Weber) to understand the agrarian class structure.

#### K.L Sharma

Following the footsteps of Andre beteille he developed an ideal type



### Marxist Approach

Kathleen Gough

In India agriculture that there are present

- **Big bourgeoisie**
  - more than 50 acres of land in wet areas
  - more than 100 acres of land in dry areas.
  - Make capital investment in agriculture and profit invested in other sectors .
  - Evolving big in urban areas and also having land in rural areas.
  - Go for horticulture plants.
- **Medium bourgeoisie**
  - They don't have urban outreach.
  - Village is controlled by them .
  - 40-50 acres of land.
  - They are above petty bourgeois
- **Semi proletariats**
  - 5-7 acres of land
  - No other form of livelihood. Dependent on agriculture.
- **Pure proletariat.**
  - Tenants, landless laborers, crop sharers

### Leninist Perspective

Marxist theory was contradicted by another Marxist sociologist **Utsa Patnaik**

Study Indian agriculture from a Leninist perspective .

Lenin found out in Russia there were 3 types of farmers

- KULAK-Rich farmers
- STREDNIK-Middle farmers
- BEDNIK- small farmers

She applies this to Indian agriculture. She says agriculture is not a capitalist form of agriculture but a pre capitalist form of agriculture. You cannot have bourgeoisie and proletariat.

She identifies agrarian classes in 5 types

- Big farmers
- Rich farmers
- Middle farmers
- Small marginalized farmers
- Landless farmers

She says if you look at the green revolution belt.

- Capitalists make capital investment and never put in their labour. But in the green revolution belt he is putting his labour on land in India. He gets a kind of satisfaction by putting in his labour . Hence the spirit of capitalism is missing here.
- The profit making from land and agriculture is not entirely going back for capital investment. It is also made for social and other needs.

D.N Dhanagare in his book *farmers movement in India* considers that one cannot develop an uniform agrarian class structure in green revolution belt for following reasons (*Can use this is GS*)

- Demography has affected land holding patterns.
- Input cost on agriculture has been constantly increasing and output is declining giving rise to agrarian distress .
- The Green revolution has only led to specific productions like wheat and rice rather than going for diversification.
- Ground water is depleted because of overuse.
- Insects are developing resistance to pesticides affecting to the volume of production

Therefore agrarian class structure cannot be explained in view of the growing problem of Indian agriculture .

Big and rich farmers have money and connectivity with markets and wholesalers.

He enters into contract with small farmers who don't have knowledge of MSP and below MSP he sells his product to rich farmers. Wholesale people sell to people at thrice the price. Hence a whole chain of intermediaries is present. Political benefits don't allow the state to take action.

Lindsberg advocates that agrarian class structure cannot be understood without explaining the network of relationship between rural rich and urban wholesalers. In a chained manner small and marginal farmers are exploited by bourgeoisie operating in the countryside with their counterparts located in the urban space contributing for periodic agrarian distress. This distress is becoming a routine phenomenon because their exploitative strategies are not controlled by the state. Therefore state ,urban capitalist and petty bourgeoisie in the countryside are developing an unholy union leading to persistence of agrarian poverty in India.

Jan Breman

In his study of globalization and agrarian distress in indian considers that the study of agrarian class structure is becoming irrelevant in post globalized india. Big landowners in collaboration

with corporate farmers are leasing in lands of small and marginal farmers going for commercial agriculture . As a result subsistence farming is declining, food prices are increasing , agriculture products are flooding to India from outside adding to the vulnerability of India farmers. Decline of organic farming ,presence of high degree of pesticides component in fruits and vegetables produced by indian farmers is contributing to the decline in the export of indian fruits and vegetables. As a result **all classes of farmers are becoming the victims of globalization in different proportions**. Therefore agrarian sociology should shift its interest from the study of agrarian class structure to the study of agrarian distress in india.

#### Note

Farmers conducting a rally to highlight their problem. They show their strength to politicians. This organized protest is functional for them. But blocking roads is dysfunctional for the public. Taxpayer money is used to appease the farmers and once they get such benefits they demand more. We should invest more in skill development , modern technology. Functional for one group and dysfunction to other groups and hence Merton theory can be applied here .

- Engineers joining civil services is both functional and dysfunctional. Think and think .

Irrespective of the size of land holding we find agrarian distress everywhere . Agriculture is no longer a profitable activity. Essential commodities act most of the food coming under it . Hence globalization is not having an impact on it . Need to change the basic nature of agriculture . No centralized mechanism available in India to test the quality of soil. Lack of resources with agricultural institutes. Because of segmentation of land and declining productivity the prosperous farmers are now asking for reservation today. We must be looking into agrarian distress and see whether the scheme's benefits are reaching the farmers. There is also politicization of farmers' issues.

**It is not important how many classes are present in agrarian society it is now important to study the reasons of distress, why are peasants committing suicide.**

GS question -What are the factors causing agrarian distress? What are the reasons for failure for schemes ? Take ideas from sociology.

## Middle Class

It is the category of people who are placed between the entrepreneurial upper class and the working class . Middle class does not constitute a homogeneous group for the reason

- small traders can be a part of it.
- managers are a part of it.
- professionals are part of it .

In India we also have rural middle class people who have invested in education and hold large lands . Tribes also contribute to the middle class , Muslims and dalits also contribute to the middle class . There is also a gender view of the middle class .

Dalit with no land and resources due to hard work he can join middle class therefore his concerns for joining a middle class is different from a child from middle class joining middle class is different (Class reproduction). Dalit and tribes who are first generation educated , their experience of joining middle class. They would be more conscious about their community joining the middle class.

All people belonging to the middle class, their social background are not similar , their aspirations are not similar .

When women are joining the middle class , the challenges she faces are different from men. She is happy about the fact that she is in a position which was dominated by men. Through education women joining mc is empowered. Once she is going for marriage she has to establish a balance between home and work while a man is focusing on work.

#### Middle class

- middle upper - they are close to upper class. They are primarily think tanks ,opinion makers. Receive benefits from the upper class.
- middle middle- Aspirational. They detach themselves from the middle lower and are always ready for change. This position is always ready to move.
- middle lower - clerical staffs, school teacher

Three views on the middle class looking at different sections of the middle class.

When looking at middle class in totality we can find out

- *Middle class is an educated class.* It carries the capacity to generate public opinion. They can criticize the government policies.
- *Middle class can develop into a pressure group.*
- *Middle class is a consumerist class.* They always want quality employment generation - more money. Once these opportunities are created they train themselves and their children. Prime part of life spent in school colleges.
  - Being consumerist they spend money on recreational activity. Ex vacations, eat out.
- *Middle class is an exhibitionist class.* Show off.
- *Middle class is concerned about speaking in elitistic language.* Ex will prefer broken English over hindi.
  - Beyond the limit money is spent on marriages.
- *Middle class talks about their sacrifice to their children.*
- *Middle class considers itself as the custodian of its culture.*
- *Middle class is always engaged in self congratulatory mode.*

Middle class is a product of modernization of society . Large number of service classes make an appearance. *Size and strength of the middle class depends on the intensity of modernization.*

#### Weberian concept

Concept of middle class is original to max weber. Proliferation of middle strata. Lower class are experimenting with upward mobility and joining the middle class, new opportunities , and the

upper class losing its fortune. Hence polarized class conflict is not taking place in capitalism due to the proliferation of the middle class.

This theory was supported by Ralph Dahendroff- Middle class is not getting into the position of upper class but it is putting a check and balance on activity of upper class. Within the middle class different groups are present and each section has nothing to do with other sub groups. Hence true class consciousness cannot develop. They are putting a break on the lower class for going into collective mobilization.

Frank Parkin- Middle class stays away from working class and maintains distance from Lower class .

### Marx and Marxist

More capitalism becomes stronger, the more capitalist will be generating surplus. If the entire surplus is accumulated by capitalist the revolution is inevitable. To delay the revolution if they share this surplus with somebody. Managers driving the whole company. But when these managers realize they will join the proletariat. Hence the middle class is capitalist making for the furtherance of their interest.

### Critical theory

Habermas

Middle class is a product of industrialization and colonization. Britishers were able to take risks for sea voyages to make money. When they are coming back major parts of them are given to the state. State was using that money for expansion and that expansionist role of the state was questioned by mercantilists. These mercantilists evolved as middle class. Hence initially the middle class was traders ,merchants and bourgeoisie who questioned the state. After that the nature of the middle class changed- Middle class occupied by writers ,teachers and journalists. Hence middle class control over mass media and once mass media is controlled by the middle class the state tries to offset it so that through media it can dominate the masses . Critical theory advocates that the nature of the middle class keeps changing.

### Anthony Giddens

Establish balance between Marxian and Weber theory

- Upper class control over capital -productive resources and technology
- Middle class control over skill ,knowledge
- Lower class control over labour.

### Indian Middle class

Middle class in India has changed its potential character driven by change experienced by the social structure of Indian society.

Middle class developed in the west developed as a product of modernization but the middle class in India developed due to colonization. Therefore the constitution and nature of Indian middle class is different.

### British period

- When British came to India, class was political-rulers and praja and social- Brahmins were present . Class didn't have an economic angle in India .Therefore, **the concept of middle class in India is a colonial construct.** They wanted to create a body of people who would be intermediaries between external rulers and internal citizens.Introduced them to western education but not the technological and scientific knowledge was not taught.
- Thinking in British way, they introduced reforms in India. Their mind was colonized by western ideology. **They believed India can only develop through westernization.** They used indian minds to bring out reforms . This is the Renaissance of indian society.
- Subsequently they spread education and indian became lawyers , administrative staff and workers in colonial rule. Middle class is not opposed to colonial rule. But their main concern was racial discrimination in British administration . They came to be known as moderates and adopted methods of litigation and appeals.
- The size of indian middle class expanded. Along with the expansion of the middle class indian bourgeoisie also expanded.
- Middle class is realizing that their economic interest is affected by colonial policies. Hence non cooperation. They realized that if British left India they would be holding a higher position.
- ***Indian middle class was the product of colonization and also the middle class led to decolonization.***
- Dialectics in indian middle class - tradition vs modernity.

### Post colonial India 1950-1990

- Industry ,bureaucracy was expanded . More importance on expansion of education .
- Large opportunities available to people to join white collar jobs.**Size and structure of the middle class got expanded .**
- Large chunk of the rural population migrated to urban centers. Traditional values like food rules ,caste got changed.
- **Caste is becoming weak due to class consciousness.**
- Middle class to protect their interest are forming unions, pressure groups. They are developing a bargaining relationship with the state.
- They started controlling the space between state and people called civil society challenging the politics.
- Middle class are also living in villages who want to gain power(Mulayam,lalu). **Rural middle class developed political aspirations while the urban middle class went for economic aspirations.**
- **After getting power, a sense of relative deprivation developed in the rural middle class in comparison to urban middle class as they want access to government jobs and hence they want reservation.**
- People belonging to the urban middle class also supported the rural middle class for reservation based on their caste. Hence the **middle class becomes fragmented due to caste.**
- **Andre beiteille -Middle class of India is highly fragmented and each fragment of middle class is fighting with another fragment which is not conducive or development in India .**

After 1990-New Middle class

- New indian middle class emerged . They go for PIL .
- They are sensitive about the environment, social issues and gender .
- They are de ritualized .
- Goal oriented.
- Risk takers.
- Go getters.
- cosmopolitan in attitude.
- contributing for massive human capital.
- 400 M in numbers - New India ,young India .
- Innovators
- Literacy for them is associated with technology.
- They want to make a just society.
- TK Oomen -New IMC is the torch bearer of society .
- Amartya sen -Argumentative Indians.

## Industrial class structure

Classes present in industry and classes present within industrial society. Distinction between both.

- Classes present in industrial society
  - Entrepreneurs.-They make investment in factors of production.
  - Different levels of managers .
  - Workers- skill ,semi skilled and unskilled.

Class is highly diversified in today's time.

Pre colonial industry ,colonial industry ,independent Indian industry and post globalization industry are all different. Hence class structure keeps evolving.

How have industries developed in the west ?

- Renaissance-> science ->Technological advancement.
- Technology used for mass production.
- Entrepreneurs took risks and went for voyages.
- Secured marketplace(colonies) beyond domestic market.
- Organize a powerful army to protect economic interest.
- States become stronger against people who are opposing.
- Initially traders were entrepreneurs.
- Expansions took place -> Entrepreneurs cannot take care of themselves
- Phase 1-Entrepreneurs become traders.
- Phase 2- Dislinkage between entrepreneurs and traders.
- Phase 3-Growth of managerial class and workers got divided.
- When Marx was studying industry unskilled workers were dominant.

- With the rise of skilled workers they got bargaining power.

## Indian Industry

### Pre colonial

- Handicrafts and cottage industry, artisans and blacksmiths.
- It is not a family centric industry.
- They share a jajmani relationship.
- Mercantilism was absent.
- Enterprise was a kind of vocation attached to caste and not due to the spirit of profit.
- Indians were never ever anti entrepreneurial the way max weber has said.
- But our entrepreneurship was defined by our culture driven by a spirit of reciprocation, collectivism, and limited needs.
- Had British been following indian model of enterprise sustainable development would have been promoted today.
- Enterprise was present but hierarchy was absent.

### Colonial Phase

- British created a market in India.
- Never wanted industries to develop in India due to competition.
- cottage industries died out.
- Machine made goods from the west flooded the market -availability ,affordability and accessibility.
- The culture of enterprise driven by indian values died out.
- Deindustrialization put demographic pressure on agriculture.
- Trade developed in India - Hence traders came into picture but entrepreneurs were not able to develop. Lack of entrepreneurship can be seen in India today also.
- Sindhis ,Parsis and many others become traders.
- Some of indian traders developed collaboration with Britishers. Jute, sugar ,rubber industry developed in India .These industries would give Britishers better dividend in India .
- British went for mining activities and railway constructions.
- Hence few families in India could go for industrialization due to proximity in india.
- Three classes developed
  - Entrepreneurship become Britishers and few family centric
  - Traders-Trading become caste centric.
  - Peasants become laborers.
- British never developed education suitable to industries. Philosophy and other literature was not taught.

### Post colonial phase

After India's independence, the industry became the focus of attention of the state.

Due to economic recession in capitalist economy and rise of Russia India went for mixed economy

- Nehru started IIT for scientific manpower to run these industries. Scientific research CSIR.
- Three class in public industries
  - Entrepreneur-State
  - Managers,supervisors appointed by the state based on merit.
  - Laborers are also appointed by the state.
- Private Industries
  - Entrepreneur- Families
  - Top level Managers recruitment based on kinship ties with other managers appointed by merit.
  - Laborers.
- Bhowmick
  - Top level managers of the state run industries are the politicians who are getting rehabilitation or bureaucrats. Under them work the specialist.
  - When people having no expertise in the industries are heading the industries then the expertise people feel demotivated to innovate.
  - Managerial class was never motivated in state run industries.
  - Managers working for the industries were sidelined and those who were using them for political work got promoted.
  - Companies started incurring losses.
  - But Laborers were unionized and trade unions came into prominence demanding job security , higher wages but no commitment to work.
  - These trade unions are in high numbers and political parties gave concessions to them.
  - Politicization of the work force took place in a very huge way.
  - Most of the industries controlled by the state become bankrupt.
  - The purpose for which we waited for industries was not fulfilled by 1990.
  - There is a huge difference between top level managers in state run industries and top level managers in private run industries. Hence they were not constituting the same class.
  - In private sector worker getting extra money for extra work and hence their wealth multiplied and in state run industries heavy losses occurred
  - Industrial class sector varied from public to private sector.

#### After Globalization

After globalization India went for privatization of enterprises and encouraged FDI and will supply them with cheap labour.

- Service sector got momentum.
- Different kinds of entrepreneurs appeared.
- People using their knowledge and taking risks become multi billionaires.
- People went for specialized training.
- Managerial character is also changing.
- Top 5 families of India control 28% of the wealth of the nation. 1% of the super rich control 58% of the resources .

- Informal sector is expanding in a big way.
  - Petty bourgeoisie
    - Subcontractors to big bourgeoisie.
  - Proletariat
    - Large numbers.
    - Newspaper wala, delivery boy.
    - Don't have job security
  - Lumpenproletariat
    - Demotivated workforce.
- Therefore India doesn't have a clearly defined structure.
- Indian Entrepreneurs
  - Indian entrepreneurs put their energy in technology but they are reluctant to put full energy in technology. Optimum utilization of resources. They will not change technology unless fully utilized. Ex don't change tyres until fully torn.
  - Business contact is based on kinship.
  - More interested in cash receipts. Hence always parallel economy because this is a behavioral problem.

## System of kinship in india

### Syllabus

- Lineage and descent in india
- Types of kinship system
- Family and marriage in india
- Household dimension to family
- Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour

Kinship refers to a relationship based on blood which is called consanguinity or based on marriage known as affinity.

In India kinship is having variety in usage . Not only human beings are related to kinship names but planets , other persons are also used . People are extremely unlikely to develop relationships. We use kinship terms . Rituals are also used to develop kinship relations, for example rakshabandhan . Hence we cannot go by above definition in India.

Distant kinship relations are converted into near kinship relations. Example staying with a long distance uncle to study. Studying kinship in India is more difficult than studying in western society.

In India 3 type of kinship

- Real kinship - driven by consanguinity and affinity
- Putative Kinship
  - It may not be real but in everyday life they make meaningful contributions to life .
  - Relationship is strong

- Father's friend is more than his own brother to him.
- Sometimes it can also be ritual kinship. Example Rakhi
- It is a functional kinship - help each other , emotional connectivity
- Only ancestral property cannot be inherited
- Fictive kinship
  - It is only a kind of concept to get benefits . It has no social sanctity .
  - Example Grocery shops - 'Bhaiya ,Uncle'

There are two types of kinship terms-Terminology used to identify kin members. These have very much significance in India. It has emotional social values attached to it. Relationships are attached to these kinships. Two types of terms.

- Classificatory terms
  - It is one where a series of relatives are clubbed together and identified in a given term.
  - They are present in western societies.
  - All are uncles
- Descriptive terms
  - For one person you are using single term
  - It represents traditional society
  - Father older brother tau while younger brother chacha

When we are using classificatory terminology, that is the influence of modernity. Example Uncle aunty for chacha chachi.

Kinship relations can also be defined on the basis of adoption. Kinship gives importance on social relationships .Karn biological mother was Kunti but identified as sudhra putra. Consanguinity , affinity and in some cases adoption define the kinship.

Why is kinship studied in sociology ?

- Before being born into the world the first identity comes out of kinship.
- Smallest unit of kinship is the nuclear family.
- It gives name ,power ,wealth , social status .
- Hence attachment to kinship groups is non comparable.
- On the basis of kinship we go for inclusion or exclusion.
- It is defining our responsibility and obligations.
- Sociology studies social relationships and kinship provides the first social relationship.
- Kinship bonds provides for tension management -Parsons
- Property inheritance

Is kinship relevant to modern times ?

- Girls asking the questions why property inheritance is not given to them.
- Kinship is influencing politics in India.
- Kinship defines inheritance.
- In modern society social position is defined on the basis of merit while in India we are still identified on the basis of caste.

# Lineage and descent and types of kinships

Ego- From whose standpoint we define kinship relationships.

Descent group involves a large number of people but the lineage group is having a specific range. Lineage group is property inheriting group.

F->FF->FFF lineage. F->FF->FFB Descent

In today's time the concept of lineage and descent is used interchangeably.

Functions of descent / Lineage group

- It gives an identity.
- Offers residence
- Giving rituals duty
- Knowledge about customs
- Defining position and authority
- right to inherit property
- social status

What is kinship to simple society that is land to feudalism and that is industry to modern society.

However India is a combination of both. To study Indian society kinship plays an important role.

- Khap Panchayats- People consider people living in a khap(Group of villages) to be related to each other through kinship . Therefore marriage amongst them is not possible.If marrying within caste then honor killings .
- Marriages in kinship groups are not possible
- Kinship plays an important role in politics in India.

People belonging to different generation same sex and sharing common blood relations constitute a lineage group.

Types of descent (descent and lineage is used interchangeably)- because people cannot remember the whole group.

## Unilineal descent Group

It means one lineage .

- Types
  - Patrilineal (Agnatic)- Men belonging to different generations sharing the same blood .
    - Founder is man
    - Property is inherited from man to man
    - Man status is higher
    - Gives importance to marriage .
    - No sexual freedom to women.
    - With the rise in private property this system has become more prominent.

- Matrilineal (Utarine)-Women belonging to different generations sharing the same blood .
  - Founder is women
  - Property is inherited women to women
  - Women status is higher
  - Doesn't give importance to marriage - Have sexual relationship with a man of their choice .
  - Sexual freedom to women .
  - Every civilization started with matrilineal because a mother is capable enough to produce subsistence for itself.
  - Example Hopi indian tribes in America. When a girl becomes 16 and boy 18 then they are thrown out of the mother house. The girl would be entering the forest and making a small house in the forest. Boys would be living with different women but women would not be settling down permanently with a man. Fatherhood cannot be established. She has rights for her children. Foundation to matrilineal society is sexual freedom to women but once property comes into prominence women would be domesticated.
  - Kunti was given more freedom to procreate .

How does the matrilineal system become patrilineal ?

Nairs of Kerala were warriors in British force. They spend a major part of their life in battle ground. Hence they do not marry. In their absence the girls before attaining puberty would be marrying to the boy of the same caste to confirm the endogamous character of caste. The marriage would be dissolved the same day. This is a kind of ritual marriage that takes place during childhood. When they are grown up boys go to battle ground and girls are allowed to have sexual relationships with namboodari Brahmins. From out of this union children are born. When brothers are coming from war they find out sisters are blessed with children . Every evening these warriors go to Nairs women and have sexual relations with them. Hence nobody knows who is the father of the child.

Once the brother comes back he becomes the manager brother of the family and slowly takes the responsibility of property and children. The job which was earlier done by women in the past. Hence in matrilineal society patrilineal kins are making an appearance. Hence the Hopi family was purely matrilineal .

Society in which patrilineal system are present

- Extreme forms present in china. girls are not given names but numbers . In china society it is believed once a girl is married she doesn't have any right to father property.
- After becoming a widow she is the responsibility of husband 's family.
- In Kathiawar Gujarat we found out if the husband is dead the woman is supposed to marry the brother of the husband. Hence marriage is a relation between two lineages. This is called levirate.

Matrilineal system -Garo & khasi society

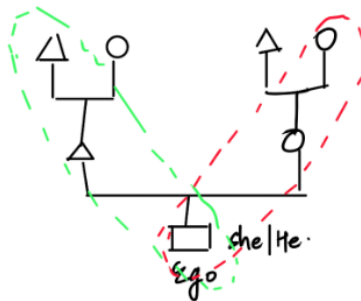
- Youngest daughter is inheriting property from mother.

- Husband is always an outsider and not a part of important decisions of the family.
- What is the status of man in khasi and garo society, it is the status of women in Indian society.

### Non Unilineal descent group

Status name authority wealth is not from a single source. They are divided into

- Double descent system
  - It is a product of gender equality reflected by equitable distribution of property power and social status irrespective of sex on the basis of seniority the eldest child is moving out and younger siblings are staying in as a result if a man is going out living with his wife children born to the couple are inheriting **movable wealth from father and immovable wealth from mother**. Therefore this system is a double descent system.
  - Tribe in Africa named **yako in Nigeria studied by AR radcliff brown**. Eldest child irrespective of its sex would be going out of parents family. He would carry along with him all movable property of the house (Cattle , utensils , weapons). The person staying back would be getting right over land and immovable property. The Older child would be searching for a spouse in the younger girl who has settled with immovable property. Both groups are important. Hence this is a double descent group.



- Cognatic descent system
  - Studied by good enough
  - Present in Gilbert islanders and pacific.
  - The biggest problem of islander community is that land space is limited. All people must make a living out of this land. People may be fighting war for land . How to keep land intact with society ? A system of kinship is developed in such a way.
  - They are divided into different groups . Every group is related to other groups through kinship ties. If land is taken over then he is violating the rights of other men who are related through kinship ties. **Hence selfish needs are taken care of by kinship bonds** .Everybody would be acquiring that amount of land which is required for subsistence. No permanent ownership to anyone.
  - What revolution cannot do as suggested by Marx that kinship can do in a small island. Therefore kinship is the heart and soul of small society.
  - It is called cognetic because everybody is related to each other through kinship.

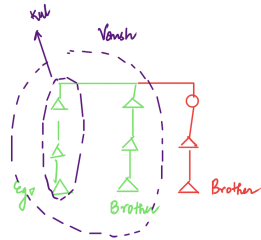
## Stages of evolution

Matrilineal->Cognatic->Double descent system ->Patrilineal

Patrilineal descent has become universal because of men's control over power and wealth .

## Lineage and descent in India

- Gotra
- Vansh
  - vansh is larger
  - It is an extended lineage .



- Kula
  - Kul is smaller
  - Raghukul of Ram, Raghu king->Aja->Dashrath->Ram patrilineage group
  - Lineage group is called kula .
  - Kula Vadhu
- Parivar
  - Social life starts here.
  - It gives us identity.
  - What is your position in the family?
  - Behavior manifestation towards others.
  - When society was pre modern, a wider kinship network was present when society is modern the entire kinship is becoming a nucleated family. Example of Tau

Kula and vansha together constitute the descent .

We are not a society which is individual centric, we are connected to other families through kinship ties. Because of this connectivity our kinship obligations are much more broader . Kinship and descent are not just giving identity but also assigning roles and obligations. Kinship is displaced in the public space 'Gujjar'. Kinship is used and abused for different purposes. Biggest asset of Priyanka Gandhi is Indira Gandhi .

Our kinship defines who are our marriageable category and who are not (Khap panchayats).Khap people are our brothers.

The Constitution of India tells us we are an individual while culture tells us we are a part of a kinship group. Hence people in India are confused about their identity.Hence India is unique.

2 lakh children in America are brought up by same sex couples. In their society family would be consisting children adopted by same sex parents. Single parent family are making appearance. Unless and until opposite sex marriage happen lineage and descent not happen. Hence they have stopped this system. Marriage and childbirth kula vansha are not important there.

Q. Family is an institution exploiting women in different forms and culture is giving it legitimacy ?  
Kula Vadhu -> duty bound

### Sapinda Exogamy

Shrad- Giving food to the dead ancestors on the date of their death.

A man should offer shrad upto 5 generations from father side and 3 generation from mother side. And hence we are not supposed to marry within the descendants of the sapind. Therefore indian kinship is different from western model of kinship. Sapinda talks about marriages should be restricted. Indian kinship is different from the declining nature of kinship in the west.

Indian kinship starts with parivar then kula then vansha then sapinda.

### Gotra

Gotra is a form of imagination. We assume we are born to somebody. It translates to clan . Kula is one where origin is established when origin is not established but assumed it is gotra. Example ram is suryavanshi.

Caste -> Vansha -> Kul -> Parivar -> Individual . Hence we deal with multiple identities.

### Regional Variations in Kinships.

India is land of unity in diversity. Despite differences it is Indian consciousness that is holding us together, territorial integrity is holding us together , constitution is holding us together.

Diversity can also be studied with reference to different kinds of kinship system practice by people in India.

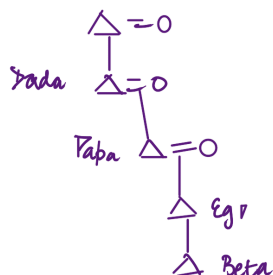
### Irawati Karwe

Factors taken into considerations while studying

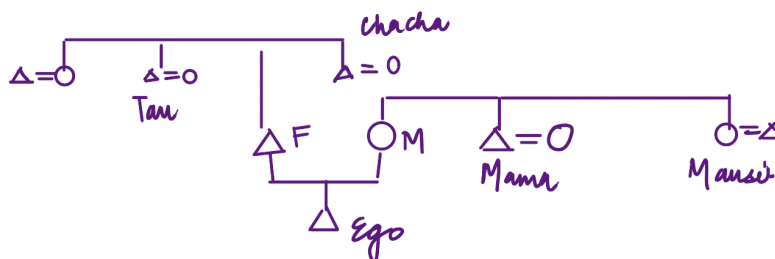
- Kinship terminology
- Rules of marriages and forms of divorce .
- Patterns of inheritance.
- Status of women

She divides India into 4 kinship zones such as

- North Indian kinship
  - Sindhis , Punjabis , Pahadis , Brijvasi , People of UP , Haryana , Bihar
  - Primary Kinship terms- Till three generations one degree kinship terms are used (Beta , Papa, Dada)



- 
- All people belonging to one generation are addressed in distinctive terms. Terms used for matrilineal kin cannot be used for matrilineal kins. Terminological merging does not take place in North Indian kinship



- 
- In North Indian kinship girls are not a part of patrilineal or matrilineal kin group . The Kinship role starts only after marriage. A woman as a mother, wife and daughter in law is more important. Custom - Fathers property comes to son. Law may be different .
- We follow different rules of marriage
  - Sapinda exogamy
  - Gotra exogamy
  - Lineage exogamy
  - Territorial exogamy -(Father , mother village , the place where girl is already given cant take girl from that village .)
  - Caste endogamy.
  - Hence people have to travel long distances to search for a mate.North indian kinship is uniform bringing different kin groups together. Kinship is a source of unity in diversity .
- South Indian Kinship
  - South Indian states
  - One centralized system is present but there are fringe groups present which practice different types of kinship hence it is not uniform.
  - Toda and Tyan practice polyandry -Many brothers marrying common wife. Father cannot be easily established. Bow and arrow ceremony is organized. The elder brother is taking the responsibility of the child. They marry a common wife so that property is not divided among them.
  - Nyers of Kerala practice matrilineal system.
  - Most of the South Indian do follow a patrilineal system of kinship.
  - In south India society people are permitted to go cross cousin marriage and uncle niece marriage. Children of same sex siblings are parallel relations while children of opposite sex siblings are cross cousins. Example {Mother Brother daughter or father sister daughter}.

- mother brother and father sister husband common are potential father in law and hence both are called mama. Father's brother is equivalent to mother's sister's husband. Hence mother and father side relatives are addressed in the same way .Patrilineal kin are merging with matrilineal kin's.
- A woman's younger brother can marry her daughter. Then my sister became my mother in law.
- Eldest brother is addressed as Anna and father is also addressed as Anna . Father is equivalent to brother. It means social responsibility. Similarly, the youngest sister is equivalent to a daughter. Youngest brother is also equivalent to son . This provides solidarity in the family .
- Caste endogamy and gotra exogamy .
- Hence south India is different from north India kinship.
- Status of women is high; they enjoy high freedom .
- Central Indian Kinship
  - Kathiwada ,Gujarat ,Rajasthan , Maharashtra , Madhya Pradesh , Orissa
  - Mixture of north India and South Indian kinship
  - Kathiawar
    - Kathi, Garasia and Kundi are a tribe , they go for cross cousin marriage following South Indian kinship.
    - Baniya,Kumbi,Brahmins follow North Indian kinship.
    - Hence upper caste follow North Indian kinship while lower class follow South Indian kinship
  - Rajputs
    - No caste considerations to marry.
    - Two hostile kings to put an end to the dispute may go for exchange of women . Marriage is buying peace.
    - When they marry within the caste they give more importance to the mother caste .
    - They also practice hypergamy.
  - Rajasthan
    - Auspicious date of marriage fall once in 3,5,7,9 years hence people cannot wait that is why child marriage is more frequent .
    - Higher caste are going for north indian kinship while lower caste for South Indian kinship.
    - Jats are following the footsteps of rajputs and go for hypergamy.
  - Maharashtra
    - In certain parts people are going for cross cousin marriages but preference is given to maternal cross cousins .
    - Marathas are divided into 96 debaks (clans) ; they are further subdivided into panchkula , sapthkul ,navkuls. One is not supposed to marry within the five or 7 lineage groups immediately connected to them but at the same time they can go for cross cousin marriages , village marriages
  - Orissa
    - Brahmins , warriors
      - Coastal People follow North Indian kinship
      - Western Orissa people follow South Indian kinship
- Eastern Indian Kinship
  - Tribal areas of Orissa , Bengal ,Jharkhand and entire tribes of north east and Assam.
  - It's a mixed bag with no uniform Laws of marriage or divorce.
  - Orissa

- banda tribe -preference is given to elder women to marry younger women. More preference is given to women who have children . Sexual purity is not important to this society (Brahminic society). Marriage is a form of convenience. Tribal society is more gender equal than contemporary India
- Mundari speaking tribes(Konds, Santhas ) - Youth Dormitory -young boys and girls meet here and have sexual relationships which may not result in marriage . Tribal society is more modern . What we call modern is tradition for them. If a girl is becoming pregnant then the boy has to give compensation . Divorce is very common
- \*When we are displacing tribes from their place by development de placement it is affecting to their land livelihood along with their social reproduction\*
- Naga Society -Marriage by capture . Boy lifts the girl and runs away. He is questioning the kinship group of the girl and the war takes place between kin groups. Marriage leads to death on both sides.
- Khasi Garo society-Property inherited by youngest daughter. Matrilocal residence .

## Family and marriage in india

Family Gives identity , social stability , emotional intelligence , role play. Man is born as an animal but that instinctive character is controlled by socialization through family. The kind of society we live in is defined by the values imbibed by the family . Example 14 years children bringing guns in school in America .Family is the cornerstone of the society ,

### Sociological theories of family

#### Malinowski

He divided families into two type

- Corporate family
  - Many families connected to each other
  - Feudal society
- Elementary family
  - Husband wife and children
  - Modern society

#### Radcliff brown

Types of family

- Family of orientation
  - Family from which you get social cultural economic and political orientation.(constraints)
- Family of procreation
  - Family that comes out of your marriage .

Salesburay-Family carry different forms which can be explained on the basis of different criteria

On the basis of lineage

- Patrilineal
- Matrilineal
- Bilineal
- Multilineal

On the basis of marriage

- Monogamous
- Polygamous

On the basis of residence

- Patrilocal
- Matrilocal

Lawrence Stone

Three types of families

- Open Lineage family
  - It is one where a husband and a wife live in common residence with children but husband responsibility to child and spouse is less important than lineage. Because family is not a production or political unit. Example when tribe fights entire tribe fights not just family. Social responsibility is more important than family.
- Restricted Patriarchal family
  - In feudal society
  - Sexuality of women is restricted and their roles is assigned (domesticated)
  - Head of the family is the eldest member.
  - Status of women is low. Reproduction is more important.
- Restricted conjugal family
  - Today family
  - Suspicion on each other
  - Outside the purview of marriage one cannot go for a relationship.

Family is complex in character. Therefore we cannot explain it in one term.

Extended family and extended relationships ?

Extended family is the family connected to mother and father side relations for different purposes . They regularly visit.

Is family that important today ?

- Parenting roles given to others.- Babysitting
- Delayed child birth.
- Independence would be lost with children
- They are considering children as a liability.
- Government is chasing women to bear child
- This is seen in western societies

- Different forms of families are making appearances.
- Social transformation can be best understood in the transformation of kinship, family and marriage .

Corporate family and the nuclear family are guided by different ideologies .

- Corporate families are driven by collectivism.
- With disintegration of ideology, family structure won't sustain.
- Nuclear family is driven by individualism. People want private space for themselves.
- Example- When coming to the hostel one person from a corporate family and nuclear family may not share values with each other. Distinction between us vs others.

Sociologists are looking at families from different theoretical perspectives. There is a debate one group is looking at families prior to 1990 when feminist theories have not evolved . After 1990 our perspective of family has changed . It can be divided into three major groups.

### Functionalist

G.P Murdock

- He is collecting data from 250 societies starting from hunting gathering to the most advanced society pertaining to nature and form of society. Family is universal in character
- He finds out despite structural variations in family in every society there exists a family which consists of adult man and adult woman who may or may not be having sexual relationships.
- If there are no children who are not born there is adoption .
- Family has a kind of economic pool (money, wealth). Over this pool both have rights and children also have rights.
- Family is the primary unit of socialization.
- Family regulates sexual behaviors of its members.

Malinowski

- Human needs are of 2 types. First need of man is basic need or basic needs -food, sex and shelter. These three needs are gratified by family. Once these are gratified other needs called derivative needs develop such as knowledge , power, religion , law. To gratify secondary needs institutions are developed .
- Family is the cornerstone of every human society.
- Universally functional.

Emile Durkheim{Where there is Durkheim is there is conscience collective }

- Family is a mini social world. It has 2 kinds of role
  - It is sharing the conscience collective transmitting from the society and corresponding to the socialization of children.Example conscience collective of modern society is achievement oriented.
  - It's a space where people belonging to different generations are meeting one another. Values of one generation are transmitted to others . (Social coherence)
  - Family is streamlining nature and form of division of labour.

- Teaching respect for customs , values and rules. If violated punishment would be given.

#### Talcott Parsons

- More concerned about family in American society.
- Family is stabilizing adult personality.
  - Rules ,customs and values. Person is trained by family to follow them.
  - Neutralizes anxiety tensions.Negotiating with different spheres of social life.

Different scholars are reflecting on different functions of the family

- WHR Reverse
  - Family germinates psychic seeds of sociability in individuals.
  - Note-If family neutralizes the psychological tensions then the family is integrative while if it cannot be solved by family then friends.
- Economic function
  - Family gives economic stability to its members.
  - Empower them educationally and skill imparting to enter the market.
  - Hence family is contributing to division of labour.
  - Schools,industries sustain because the family is providing for the demands of the school and industries.
- Religious function
  - Religious values imparted by family
  - Injecting culture , value and religiosity.

#### Conflict theorist

- David Copper
  - Book 'Death of family'
  - Family has alienated a person from himself.
  - Family is full of artificial love. It is happy when a person does what family wants him to do .
  - Family enforce controls which start at the time of birth and go on till death.
  - Note- In India physical adulthood is not matching with social adulthood unlike in western society
  - Hence death of family is good for the liberation of man. Family is an obstacle to freedom of man .
- Fedrick Engles
  - Book 'Marriage family private property and state'
  - Family is a product of growth of private property and state.
  - During the beginning of human civilization nobody was dependent on others.
  - Promiscuity was present. Social sanction was not attached to it.
  - Subsequently tribes started fighting wars against each other and the winner dominated. State is coming into prominence.
  - King is marrying number of women and hence polygamy was practiced.
  - Commodification of women is taking place

- Monogamy or polyandry is practiced by common people .
- During industrialization for transfer of wealth and legitimate children all forms of restrictions were put on the women. Culture is giving legitimacy to it .

### Phenomenologist

- Edmund Leach
  - Anthropologist who studied society in simple society .
  - He found out that simple societies and complex societies families have common structure.
  - Book 'Run Away Families'
  - Major Problem of Family- Family creates role models. People try to create role models for their father or mother. Viewing yourself from the lens of others. Developing self.
  - Family is operating like a short circuit. Family is evolving in a situation when there is great demand from children. If expectation and achievement are not met then anxiety , conflict.
  - Family is becoming a source of concern and anxiety turmoil.
  - Example bad grades in exams, field hunting in tribal society.
- David Laing
  - Family is nothing but a body of roles and status , expectations from others.
  - Hence it has no structure.
  - If expectations not matching achievement then tensions.
  - Example Father is expected to send money to children while children are expected to score good grades.
  - When there is imbalance between roles actually played and roles expected to be played it gives rise to tension.
  - Family is operating like a group of gangsters, one is protecting people from the violence of others. Example: Fight with mother, go to father and vice versa.

### Impact of industry on family structure

General perception -With the advent of industrialization would lead to decline of joint families and advent of nuclear families .

### Talcott Parson -Fit Theory

- Nuclear families and industrial society complement each other.
- People are migrating from traditional habitats and placed in new localities and people present there are unknown to them and cannot be connected to their extended families who are located far off places.
- Hence geographical isolation leads to social isolation.
- Hence the nuclear family is a child of modernization and industrialization .
- Industrial families demand both men and women to be skilled and supply man labor. Since both are working it is difficult to expand the size of family. Hence industry favors small families.

- In industrial society women's health is more important and hence regular pregnancy would be affecting their health.
- Variety of goods and services present in the market and to have the best in the market we need to have paying capacity -> saving becomes important -> Limit the size of family.

#### Advantage of nuclear family

- Protected childhood
- Quality health
- Quality education
- Emotional security

#### Boshe

- Nuclear family is expensive therefore it is not expandable .
- Expensive education and healthcare...
- The advantage of nuclear family
  - Prolonged childhood
  - Physical and verbal punishment are slowly disappearing and replaced by counseling.
  - Parents are children focussed .Example: Women quitting jobs to nurture children.

Therefore industrial society and nuclear families are comparable to each other .

#### These theory are not supported by many sociologist

##### Young and Willmond

- In their study of family and industrial society they found out when industrialization started in Britain people from the same village came to urban centers in search of work. These families though living in an uncleared household didn't constitute the nuclear family. Example If somebody falls sick or loses a job - People help each other. Hence economic and social connectivity is there.
- Extended family is becoming very important. It is also found in the upper class. Because if living in an extended family all can participate in the family business. Example: Putting income together and expanding the business.
- Those who prefer nuclear families are the middle class.

##### William Goode

- Book 'World revolution and family transformation '
- Impact of industry on family is not uniform .
- Example In South Africa a child is getting advice from the extended members of his family for business , education , economic support .Same happens in India.
- Industrialization has come but the nuclear family is not developing .
- In Japan industrialization has made linkage with corporate families stronger. All the business discussion happens at the dining table .

- Philippines - When young boys and girls went for work in the urban center. When these young people had children they gave the children to old people in villages. Hence schools developed in villages, hospitals also developed, road connectivity and villages also got modernized.
- In India Family went for a cyclic development joint->nuclear->joint->nuclear... . Neither joint nor nuclear.
- In Iran women are taken away from the workforce after industrialization.

## Family in India

Academic interest in the Indian family study is attributed to colonial scholars. The early colonial scholars were interested to study family in India to find out similarities between Indians and European culture.

### Sir Henry Menine

His approach is known as **oriental approach approach**. He found out

- Joint family system present in India is similar to the family system present in early Roman and Greek society. In both the families the eldest male is the head of the family and his authority is defined by *custom and norms*. (Max Weber called this patriarchalism and patrimonialism).
- Both places 3 to 4 generations live together.
- Family property is used by everybody. But once the head dies there are coparcenary rights extended to sons of the male head.
- Joint family is driven by the ideology of trusteeship. Head of the family is the manager of the trust.
- oriental approach-Family is driven by cooperation. Familiarism over individualism. When individualism becomes important then the nuclear family makes an appearance.
- In the case of west familiarism was replaced by individualism and due to modernity in India the same thing is happening.

### Indologist

- GS Ghurye
  - Family is a product of Hindu indian culture. Family is not driven by utilitarian goals.
  - Hindu culture encourages its members to live in a culture where rituals are performed, children serve the parents (putradhan) and responsibilities are assigned.
  - Family is not chosen by individuals, it is given by culture.
  - Joint family is culture prescription to fulfill the culture responsibility.
  - Study family in terms of culture and not structure.
- KM Kapadia (student of ghurye)
  - 'Marriage and family in india'
  - Definition-
    - Joint family is a social group consisting of kin members belonging to 3 or more generation who are holding property in common(**economic unit**)
    - Living under common roof- **Residential unit**
    - Accepting to the authority of the eldest male member- Patriarchal domination.
    - Participating in common rituals

- Members are emotionally integrated to each other (psychological unit)
  - Consists a kinship group engaged in reciprocal relationships prescribed by social norms .
- Therefore it is a multifunctional institution prescribed by culture. It is not an isolated unit wrt to culture. If a family changes, culture also changes.
- Irawati Karwe
  - Patrilineal joint family is not an all indian norm.
  - Nairs of Kerala matrilineal joint family are present.
  - In almost all the tribes of India, a joint family system is not present .
  - Joint family in north India is a product of Brahmins domination.
  - Multigenerational joint families are not located everywhere.
  - Therefore we cant generalize joint families in India .

Around the 1970s new sociologists appeared in India under MN Srinivas. They take interest in the study of family in India .Three major approaches to family study are developing which reject the classical approach using field data.

#### Marxist approach

- IP Desai
  - Study of family transformation in mohua (gujrat)
  - 60% of the family are minimally joint .
  - 20% -Moderately joint
  - 10%- maximally joint
  - Rest- absolutely joint
  - Degree of joint-ness is defined on the basis of residential character. Property ownership, emotional , political .
  - In a minimally joint family people may be living together , not agree with each other , conflict in the family.
  - Reason - Joint family has lost its functionality . Capitalism and joint family are dialectical to each other. Joint family is stronger in feudal society where land holdings are important to strengthen the domination.
  - It is not the culture but the mode of production which is affecting the family.
- AR Desai
  - From the colonial time when capitalism was started in India then the nuclear family started making an appearance.

#### Modernization approach

Yogendra singh and SC dube

- Family transformation in India is neither a product of culture change nor economic change rather it is a product of change in social structure.
- Traditional India is converted into modern India.
- Job opportunities in urban areas, caste neutral occupation, fixed income which agriculture cannot guarantee.
- Urban life is expensive and therefore the family is non expandable .
- Structural compatibility between modern society and the nuclear family.

- Women -education & skill - No time for children
- More children - No quality education - Liability
- Independence to spouse and children.

### Structure functional approach

- Criticizes both Marxist and modernization theory because they give universal explanations.
- Gail Omvett-There can be
  - functionally joint family-Man going out of family to earn money
  - structurally joint family -common residence but different kitchens
  - Structurally functionally joint family .
- KL Sharma and TK Omen
  - In India two types of family
    - Corporate family - Large , medium or small
    - Fissioned family - Nuclear with dependents , Nuclear without dependent.
- Hence The above debate is not acceptable .
- TM Shah
  - People from Gadwal and Kumaon region come to Delhi for employment. Only elderly living in the villages . Remittances is send to them .
  - Similarly people from Bihar and UP send money . This speaks about economic jointness.
- AM Shah-social jointness
  - Large people have settled in urban cities but when marriage all are coming together.
- MN Srinivas
  - North Indian marriage invitation card - name of grandfather mentioned so that people can identify. (Political jointness)
  - Despite eco-political freedom people are paying respect whenever required.
  - Indian families can never ever become nuclear families if one or the other form of jointness is present . Hence indian family is neither joint nor nuclear but mixed.
  - In India there is a cyclical movement joint-> nuclear-> joint .... (AM Shah)
  - Impact of urbanization and industrialization on families is not that strong as spelled out by modernists and marxists.
  - Nuclear families in a pure sense is not possible in India.

### Contemporary approach to family (1990s onwards)

- More importance on household patterns.
- Family is a place where people are emotionally connected to each other , roles, duties and obligations towards each other defined by norms and values . Household is a residential unit . Parivaar vs Ghar.
- AM Shah
  - 'Household dimension to family in India '
  - Indian families should not be studied from a joint nuclear perspective.
  - Family is a domestic cycle and it gets disturbed due to death, divorce and migrations etc .Example Husband dies wife lives alone.
  - Is the same status given to everybody in the household ? Example divorced sister coming back living with the brother.
- Pauline Kolanda
  - Study family in the context of household .

- There can be a single person household.
- Sub nuclear household family.(Person dead or migrated deserted)
- Supplementary subnuclear household family.(Example husband dead wife brother living in the household)
- Lineal household joint family
- Supplementary lineal household joint family .
- Refer to diagrams if necessary
- Any relationship that is not linear , that is not sibling , that is not husband wife relationship is a collateral relationship.

### Feminist Perspective

Family is the product of marriage which is itself a product of patriarchy.  
Both are putting women at a position of disadvantage  
Source of enslavement of women.

Q Do you think households and families are going together in today's time in India ?

## Patriarchy , entitlements and sexual division of labour

Patriarchy is a form of ideology that indicates that men are always superior to women. This ideology is contagious as it starts from one institution and spreads to other institutions.  
Example Head priest of temple is not women , temple forbidden to women

Dimensions

Religious structure

Political structure - Women cannot go for manipulative politics .

Educational structure-Home science for women - Hardly men are found. Now software element in engineering , HR in management for women. Women not opting for IPS.

Family

DOL in every sphere is driven by patriarchy which is universal while DOL based on control or lack of production is context specific.

Ann Oakley

Productive capability of men and women are universally similar but every society culture allocates a kind of role to men which is different from women. Higher preference to men roles to justify men are more capable .

- African aborigines- Men and women both go for hunting and gathering but over a period of time most of the women went for gathering and men for hunting. Hence roles become fixed.A good hunter is awarded while a gatherer is not recognized.
- Australian society
  - Both men and women can go hunting and fishing.
  - Since they live near seashore fishing became a man's job and only they can perform rituals (Malinowsky).
- Peasant society
  - Both men and women can till the land, equal expertise in every field.

- Men imposed certain taboos- Women cannot touch the plough.
  - Pollution due to the menstrual cycle.
- Feudal society
  - Man controls land and he is the producer.
  - Women look after men and reproduce children.
  - Private wealth-> domestication of women.
- Modern Industrial society
  - DOL of labour driven by merit ,gender inequality should be wiped out.
  - But actually with advancement of industrial society
    - Housewife's character became prominent.
    - Talented women not going for employment .
    - Marriage -> economic dependence on men.
    - Women income is considered supplementary income rather than primary income.
  - Men consider women as their competitors. Monopoly on occupation should remain. Most of the trade unions are dominated by men.
  - Hence women goes for those jobs which are extension of their household roles - Pink color occupations (Flight attendants ,nurses , teachers)

David lamb

- He considers in socialist Russia the lower ranking positions in the army are extended to women but most positions in official ranks are dominated by men therefore **socialistic societies glorify the idea of equality but systematically practice gender inequality in occupational structure and in the sphere of entitlements.**
- Israel is best known for recruiting women in armed force but higher ranks in the army who mostly takes decisions are men. Therefore **starting from primitive communism to socialism everywhere one can find out dialectics of sex.** Therefore sexual class is universal and economic class is context specific. Therefore class conflict should be a conflict between men and women in search of equality, respect for merit rather than being centering around control or lack of control over force of production.

Uma Chakraborty

Consider that in the context of India gender education, gender socialization , gender occupation put women into a state of disadvantage against men.

Other sociologist in India

Patriarchy exists in India in different forms like brahminic patriarchy , Hindu patriarchy , Muslim and Dalit patriarchy. However a Dalit women is a victim of caste patriarchy , class patriarchy , gender patriarchy therefore subjected to multiples forms of deprivations. Therefore social , political , economic and cultural entitlements of women in India are driven by values of patriarchy.

Three kinds of feminists reflect on patriarchy in different ways.

- **Liberal feminists considers that patriarchy gives private space to women glorifying their roles as mother, caregiver it is placing men in public sphere as power builder**
- **Socialist and Marxist feminist considers that domestic labor of the women is not recognized or paid for . Wage of women is put into low scale as against men. Nuclear family is a requirement of industrial capitalism therefore it sustains and justifies sexual division of labor.**

- Radical feminist considers that marriage pregnancy child birth mensuration put women into disadvantage for which men dominate over women body , decision making giving rise to the universal presence of patriarchy .

Some dimensions

Law influenced by patriarchy- Child custody given to women.

Culture influenced by patriarchy- Rakhi to brothers, women carrying marital symbols

## Marriage

Conventional definition- Legitimate sexual union between man and women or a group of men and group of women to reproduce children for the continuity of family and lineage.

This may or may not present empirical reality.

Why marriage ?

- Social necessity . Marriage-> Family
- Culture prescription . Without marriage no rituals
- Legitimacy to sexual relationships. Legitimate children -> right to inheritance.
- Emotional compatibility - Parsons -Tension management
- Economics of marriage - Suitable partner .

When above basic needs are fulfilled by other institutions then marriage will become unimportant.

- Age of marriage constantly increasing-> More freedom to women
- People in US-> Sexual experience by age of 14 -> unwanted pregnancy.
- Exposure to culture from other sources than just from socialization(family and marriage).  
Contestation between cultures.
- Marriage is a confinement.

Nature form and pattern of marriage is defined by social needs. Hence we cannot say one form is good and other is bad. Marriage was universal but forms were different once upon a time.

On the basis of the number of mates.

- Monogamous Marriage
- Polygamous Marriage-Group of men marrying group of women
  - Polygyny-One men many women.
    - Sororal Polygyny -One man - Many sister
    - Non sororal polygyny
  - Polyandry- Many men and one woman.
    - Phaternal/ Adalphic polyandry- Brother -one women
    - Non Adalphic

On the basis of remarriage

- Levirate - Marriage to dead husband brother.
- Sororate- Marrying dead wife sister.

On the basis of duration of marriage

- Sacramental marriage- Marriage is not dissolvable
- Contractual marriage - marriage is based on convenience , choice.

On the basis of age of marriage

- Child marriage
- Adult marriage

On the basis of exchange at marriage

- Bride price
- Groom price -Dowry

Marriage is no longer universal in today's society.

Marriage in tribal society

- Mesai tribe in Africa
  - A barren woman is given permission to get out of wedlock.
  - She is not barren due to her own choice and should not be punished.
  - Such women(lady husbands) are supposed to marry another woman.
  - Lady husband gives gift to another men to pregnant her wife,
  - Dignity of women is respected.
  - Other modern society has allowed same sex marriages .
- Nuer society -Africa
  - People marry with spirit.
  - No king no chief -stateless society.
  - A Society is divided into kinship groups. Come together in times of conflict .
  - Only male fight wars. When male dies the brother invokes the ghost of the elder brother in himself and offspring is produced which is supposed to be the offspring of the ghost.
  - This kind of marriage strengthens the kinship group with male members.
- Bantu tribe -Africa
  - Cattle are given in exchange for a wife. Man then marries the cattle and passes to others. Therefore cattle are married many times. Children belong to where the cattle are from.
  - Women have complete control over brother children therefore it is a matrilineal society.

With advancement in society feudal society -> more wives -Polygamous form of marriage.

In industrial society -Monogamous marriage

- Complement each other.
- Value of individualism.
- Industrial society gives importance to freedom to select mates according to compatibility.
- Both the parents focus their attention on the child.
- utilitarian needs.

Contemporary trends

## Issue of Divorce

### Two perspective

- End of the world.-Conventional theories
  - Talcott parsons - Divorce is affecting the family-> Working population affected . No tension management .
- New creation.-Liberation from bondage.
  - Anthony Giddens
    - Most people in Britain go for serial monogamy.
    - Idea of monogamy no longer stands valid.

### Popone

- 35% of the people in Sweden live alone .
- Focus and attention on work , professionalism . Family is a hindrance to this.
- Whatever family gives them people get that from companions.
- At a later age when they have huge wealth they can adopt a child.
- 25% of people live in relationships with their partners.->freedom.
- In total 60% of the people do not marry.
- In USA
  - survey of 3000 people belonging to different classes.
  - 1 out of every 20 marriages consider that marriage is a paradise.
  - 5/20 -> Marriage is negotiable - adjustment
  - Rest -> marriage is hell. Economic stress, kills freedom , sacrifice
  - Romantic relationships slowly lose their character.
  - Comparisons of spouse -> jealousy

### Same sex Families.

- Spain ,USA , Canada.
- In Canada 31% same sex relationships.
- in USA 4 lakh children with same sex family.

### Elderly women with young boys and vice versa.

Virginity is sold in the market. Virginity is a patriarchal construct. Men want it to justify their muscularity. Using technology to fix the membrane who already had sexual relationships. Women sold to elderly men who demand them.

### Dial a partner

- Different portals in America provide these services.
- People register their sexual preference.
- Suitable match is found.
- 60% of American men do not want to marry American women because they are arrogant and demanding.-> Inter racial relationships. These women are subjected to different kinds of violence , unnatural sex.

Therefore new families are making an appearance , fit theory of Talcott parsons doesn't fit in today's time.

# Household

Family is a social group where members are related to each other in relation to blood marriage adoption and the members are inheriting property whereas household is a place where people are living together and may not be related to each other.

Single person living alone- single person household  
Companions living together  
Two widow living together  
Hostels

Migration , occupation , breakdown of marriages leads to households. Therefore marriage is declining and households are rising.

Kinship is replaced by friendship and marriage is replaced by household.

Important points on decline of marriage.

- Marriage is considered sacrament-Divine of religion -> decline of marriage
- Western societies , Scandinavian societies.
- Social security provided by the state.
- Communist societies - No private children - sexual freedom.

In india

- The social security system is fragile.
- Religion and people are inseparable
- Marriage is a type of conscience collective.
- People feel relative deprivation if they dont marry.
- People make adjustment ,child focussed -> forgetting differences

## Hindu Marriage

Three purposes of hindu marriage. It is a social fact in India unlike west.

- Dharma
  - Most importance
  - Rituals for ancestors (Putra dharma) with wife.
  - Ardhangini
  - Yagyas not without marriage
- Praja
  - Procreation is essential.
  - Birth of desired child (Male) is important.-Lineage group
- Rati
  - Least importance.
  - Sexual gratification.
  - Many restrictions are placed on indian couples based on sex.

It is a form of suppressed sexual behavior in indian society.

## Rituals in marriage

Selection of mates

- Not a matter of choice for individuals.
- Jati, Kula gotra ,khandan and character are important.
- Guna and physical beauty is important for girls.
- Charitra for boys.
- Mutual visit-> extended kin members -> reciprocation .
- Date is decided.
- Betrothal ceremony (Engagement) -> Taken vow in the name of god.

#### Initiation ceremony

- 33 gods are evoked to attain the marriage.
- Dead ancestors are evoked
- Relatives are invited.

#### Laja Homa

- Prayers for prosperity , frequendity (No of children born to women )
- Girls are blessed with more preference to male children.

#### Panigrahan

- Hand of girl in hand of boy with rice flowers ....
- tied together for 7 births

#### Sindurdan

#### Saptapadi

- Seven rounds of fire.

#### Farewell

#### Types of Hindu Marriage

- Brahma Vivah
  - Marriage b/w two people who are a perfect match to each other.
  - In terms of character , lineage , guna....
  - Most people consider their marriage
- Deva Vivah
  - A learned man (Brahmin) working as a priest to a particular family is chosen as a bride groom for the daughter of his client.
- Arsh
  - Reflects on the pastoral character of aryaans.
  - Boy gives a pair of cattles to the bride's family -> appeals to marry.
- Prajapatya
  - Prajapati is the god responsible for uniting men and women.
  - Gift is given to the girl's father by the boy's father.
- Gandhar
  - Importance of physical beauty-> Love at first sight.

- Must get sanctity from family.
- Asura
  - Boy gives lots of gifts to the girl's father.
  - Girl consent is not important.
  - May not be a perfect match.
- Rakshyas
  - Kidnap and fight against the girl's family.
- Pisach
  - Intoxicating a girl and forceable sexual relations.
  - Girl left with no option to Marry.

Hindu marriage has gone through the process of secularization due to industrialization , urbanization , women empowerment.

Hindu marriage act diluted the sacramental character of marriage-> Any adult man can marry any adult woman -> personal choice.

Separation is accepted now on different grounds. It is not the end of the world but the new beginning.

### Muslim Society

It is more democratic as against hindu marriage.

Nikah ceremony

- Boy made an offer to marry.
- Mehar money is fixed-> Money to be given at divorce.
- Girl consent is required.

Kinds of marriage

- Regular marriage
  - Known as sahi marriage.
- Irregular Marriage
  - Fasid
    - Temporary irregular.
    - Witness is not present at the time of marriage.
    - It can be converted into regular
  - Batil
    - Marrying to incest category.
    - Marriage to number of sister, son' wife....
    - It cannot be converted into regular.

Types of divorce

- Talaq e ahasan
  - Saying talaq talaq talaq and not keeping sexual relations for 3 months.
- Talaq e hasan
- Talaq e Bidat

Muslim marriage dissolution act 1936

- Giving women the right to divorce the husband if a man

- is not loyal
- suffering for chronic disease
- no mental stability
- in prison for 7 years.

## Vision of social change in India

### Syllabus

- Idea of development planning and mixed economy
- Constitution, law and social change
- Education and social change

### Idea of development planning and mixed economy

Social change is having 2 different dimensions

- Undirected social change
  - Change that is not planned.
  - Protest, movement ,revolutions.
- Directed social change
  - Change through planned measures.
  - When India got independence literacy was 11% now 74. It is a product of education policy. National policy on education 2020.
  - We were a food deficit country now food surplus-Agrarian policy, Green revolution.
  - Planning is instrument of
    - social change ,
    - social welfare
    - social justice and equity.
  - Planning is a form of intervention through which old society is transformed into new society .
  - It addresses the needs ,aspirations and expectations of the people.
  - Planning is intermediary between state and citizens.
  - Planning is having an impact on every sphere of life be it economic ,social or political.
  - Planning has an impact on social life that is called sociology of planning .
  - Therefore man and plan in India is the subject matter of sociology in India .It studies the impact of plan on social life , social group.
  - Q- Sociological analysis of planning .

Deficit budgeting is good budgeting while surplus budgeting is bad.

*Public policy and planning of the state reflects on the ideology of the state.*

Public policy is connected with

- Growth

- Discontent- Ex tribal
- Hierarchy
- Environment
- .....

Hence public policy is not isolated to social life.

Impact of public policy , outcome of public policy give rise to **social fact**. Example -Migration, tribal distress ,farmer distress. Demonetization contributed to job losses. Everything present in society is a reflection of public policy and hence public policy is the subject matter of sociology.

*Man and plan in India* -DP mukherjee.

### R.R Titmus

Three kinds of public policies in different parts of the world.

- Residual Public policy
  - State is not committed to the well being of marginalized sections of the society.
  - Growth on the basis of capacity and ability.
  - Welfare activities are left to the NGOs.
  - State only provides opportunity without any discrimination. If unsuccessful cannot blame the state.
  - If an NGO is not available or people in a terrible situation may spend some money but it would not be so attractive , people themselves refuse it.
  - France ,Germany ,Italy,Britain.
  - More importance to growth and little to marginalized sections.
- Achievement oriented public policy
  - Purely American model.
  - Nothing is available free of cost.
  - Role of a state is that of a facilitator. Encourage people to go for enterprise.
  - Entrepreneurial base increases and employment opportunities increase.
  - Liberal economic policy.
  - It is central to globalization.
  - This is a capitalist model of public policy.
  - More importance to growth .
- Redistributing Public policy.
  - Industries controlled by the state and people working for the state.
  - Whatever produced is redistributed among people.
  - More importance to welfare.

In Scandinavian countries we find out growth and welfare are balancing each other hence their policy is *integrative public policy*.

In India we first went for a redistributive model then achievement oriented model and now a mixed form of model.

Poverty is not a product of policy failure. We are going for different kinds of policies because of the changing character of poverty.

### Alvin Gouldner

Two kinds of public policy

- Engineering method of public policy.

- It is one where resources in the hand of the state are identified and then distributed in different sectors to the economy.
- Mitigation of the problem.
  - Most of the planning is based on this method.
  - Example Tax collection is evaluated beforehand and plans made.
- Clinical method of public policy
  - Once a problem occurs then action is taken .
  - Example after crime against women- Then install CCTV.
- India is more into this method.

A progressive state always opt for engineering methods.

### Vision of change in India

- Traditional Indian society was based on hierarchy transformation to equality.
- Transform autocratic society to democratic society.
- Theocratic society to secular society .
- Selective justice to inclusive justice.
- Guided by collectivism to a society driven by individualism.
- Ascription to merit.

Quest for modernity and departure from tradition was vision of social change in India. This vision is spelled out in the constitution of India.

Modi Vision 'New India' -Effective management of resource and manpower is needed.

Planning is necessary to transform vision into reality.

Why planning ? Judicial use of resources and manpower.

Plan becomes essential not only in socialistic country but also in country where resources are limited and areas to spend is unlimited. Hence Planning was a necessity to independent India and not due to its socialistic commitment.

The National Planning committee was formulated in 1938. Nehru became president.

- Bombay plan -8 big industrialist gave capitalist vision of planning
- MN Roy -Socialist planning.
- Sriman Narayan -gandhian planning.

Nehru combined all three and gave rise to a mixed economy.

All nationalist in India in one form or the other were socialist. It is because of this tilt communist movement could not sustain in India the way it happened in china.

### Gandhian Method of development.

- He gives importance to total development. Development should be community centric .
- Localised model of development- In a given area people expertise in one kind of activity. People have complete knowledge about the local environment,resources.
  - Local labour.
  - Local technology.

- Local expertise.
- Localized consumption.
- No dependency on the market.
- No need for imports.- Economy is stabilizing. Money not going out.
- Environmental sustainability would be maintained. Localized technology is used and hence exploitation of nature is limited. Nature and development would be balancing out to each other.
- Wealth made use of violence needs further protection of violence. It is humanistic development as
  - Everyone is using their labour to generate production and labour is not exploited.
  - Non Violent method of production. Exploit nature to the extent that it can generate itself.
- Hence he was never in favor of centralized planning .
- He gave importance to the cooperative model of development.
- He believed through these methods social hierarchy would go.
- This is known as Gandhian socialism .

### Nehru Method of development

- Gandhi was an idealist and Nehru was a pragmatist.
- 1st FYP was carrying the blueprint of Gandhi.
- Agriculture cannot generate that kind of revenue to address the needs of people.
- High growth in limited time cannot be generated to sustainable development.
- Robust industrial development is required. Exports will increase and spend that wealth on other sectors of the economy.
- Then he thought that industries and agriculture can go hand in hand and for this he laid emphasis on dams. Dams are temples of Modern India. Irrigation, electricity.
- His model of development was macroeconomic management while Gandhi was microeconomic development.
- trickle down effect.
- Nehru was fabian socialist. Fabian socialism- do not destroy capitalism to promote socialism rather go for progressive taxation system. Do not let the entire wealth accumulate in the health of the rich. Socialism would be coming through evolution rather than revolution .
- He called his model a socialized industry. Bring core industries to the control of state. Wealth generated by them is the capital wealth of the state and the state can use that money for other sectors of the economy than total development could take place.

### Planning in Independent india

- Nehru-Mahalanobis Model
  - Economic growth
    - Big Industries->skilled manpower->Technical Institutions.
    - Agriculture - Agriculture Institutes developed.
    - Cottage industries.
    - Small Stage industries.
  - Modernization in every field- ICMR,ICSR,AIIMS opened
  - Social Justice
    - Social Welfare
    - Protection against violence
  - Social Inclusion

- Access to everything to everybody.
- Self sufficiency
- Problems-
  - Overemphasis on Industries, agriculture left out
  - Private industries could not grow.
  - Indian exports left uncompetitive.
  - Growth is not affecting the poor and hence not all inclusive
- During 4-8th FYP-**Welfare Model**
  - Industries remain with the state but politicization of managerial positions.
  - Command politics got converted into demand politics.
  - Nationalization of bank
  - Abolition of privy purses.
  - Concentration of power .
  - Food security ensured by the green revolution.
  - To create a larger base emphasis is given on people welfare.
  - Hence this culture started giving subsidies to the poor.
  - Without any growth industries are politicized.
  - Loss in industries borrowing money is borrowed from abroad.
  - Balance of Payment crises.
  - It becomes a compulsion to go for LPG.
- **Manmohan Model**
  - State and market are two separate things.
  - State should only be a facilitator.
  - Indian economy connected to the global economy.
  - License raj was abolished and everybody was given a chance to enter the market.
  - Service sector expanded as a result economic growth got momentum.
  - Economic growth is happening but social inclusion is not happening.
    - Hence Bharat Nirman.
    - Inclusive Growth.
- **Current Approach**
  - Government is not the job provider.
  - Private players are more dependent on automation.
  - Jobs are shrinking and semi-skilled workers are also unemployed.
  - Concentration of wealth in the upper strata .
  - Lower strata being massive asking for compensation.

Visionaries make plans for the future and people with no long term vision break the backbone of the economy.

**Planning has never failed India but India has failed planning** .Hence planning is necessary for the judicious use of resources and addressing the needs of the people.

## Constitution and Social Change

- The Constitution created a space for the growth of modern institutions.
- Separation and balance of power.
- India should be evolving into an egalitarian society.
- Protection of the rights of citizens.

- Presence for secularism.
- Talks about vision of modern India.
- Social Justice.

### Democracy

To strengthen democracy, the constitution has empowered the EC to monitor political parties and elections.

Makes people of India eligible to cast votes.

Guaranteeing freedom to individual citizens.

### Political Parties

- Political parties are created out of ideology but in India they are also constituted on the basis of identity and interest.
- Defections are largest in India. It is the biggest challenge to democracy.
- Post electoral alliances weaken democracy.
- Political horse trading.
- No internal democracy present in political parties in India.

### Political Behaviors

- Those who are criticizing politics are not interested in bringing a reform in politics -Amartya sen.
- People have birth right to criticize politics but reluctant to join,
- Our political behavior is largely driven by caste. Region and language.

### Press-4th pillar of democracy

- They are divided on the basis of political lines.
- News is converted into views and consuming these views we make truth out of it .

Therefore the constitutional vision of democracy is so different from the experience of democracy due to above mentioned factors.

The way we are celebrating democracy in today's time was not celebrated in the same way in any point of time of human history.

Plato-Best form of governance is socialism.

Marx favors socialism.

Power elite theory-Iron Law of oligarchy.

Critical Theory-In the name of public welfare the custodian of state is capturing power.

John Stuart Mill- Introduce democracy in society where people are ready.

Democracy in Africa and Pakistan was short-lived.

Democracy, a borrowed ideology of west Indianised itself in India context.

In democracy we have ruling and opposition -> dialectics of Ideas through discussions and deliberations.This is the beauty of democracy.

Till the time of Nehru there was consensual democracy present in India. Reciprocation of Ideas. Pandit Nehru and Patel.

India may be the largest democracy in the world but democratic spirit , democratic aspirations may not be present in all sections of the society. It has become like a ritual which happens after 5 years. The Constitution has the vision of making India democratic but political parties formed on the basis of interest and other divisions .  
Voting behavior driven by primordial identity .

Participation in democracy- there are a large number of people who do not participate in democracy because of dis interest because the political system has been hijacked by the people who want only gratification of their or their group needs.

Anti defection law is introduced but rules are manipulated. Politics of manipulation are predominating over the politics of consensus.

## Equality

Biggest ethos of the constitution is the promotion of equality.

- Equality is a challenge to hierarchy.
  - Caste based society was hierarchical. The Constitution has a vision of egalitarian society.
  - Meritocracy and individualism will determine the position.
  - Despite our constitution talking out equality but in India we find our social reproduction of class and occupation-Andre Beiteille.
    - Reproduction of occupation is higher in most cases and mobility is low .
    - If mobility is taking place it is only in the next strata.
    - Old hierarchy(caste) is weakening and assuming new roles(Caste based political parties).
    - Therefore constitutional vision and reality is going in parallel direction.
  - Hence hierarchy is not replaced by equality.
  - Homohierachicus is not replaced by homoequalis.
- Equality of opportunity.
  - Government and state can guarantee the equality of opportunity.
    - Free education , uniform, food ,health for all .
    - opportunities are given to everybody to participate.
  - Governments can make institutions accessible ,available and affordable but ultimately it is the people who decide whether they want to utilize them.
    - Eg People not developing secular attitudes.Not sending girl to school
    - Their culture ,gender identity and mindset is an obstruction.
  - Hence equality of participation is absent though equality of opportunity is available to all.
  - Amartya sen-Hierarchical system is not transformed into an equality society due to absence of equality of participation.
  - When few women are topping ias we say that this is equality forgetting millions who don't have basic amenities also.
  - Andre Beteille- Ideology of equality and persistence of inequalities is the ethos of modern India.
- Equality of participation.
  - Explained above.

## Secularism

***It is a kind of value when nourished by people it gives rise to the growth of tolerant, pluralistic society.***

Western concept of secularism is different from Indian concept. Man cannot be detached from religion because religion in India is holistic in character.

Secular values should be inculcated in the mind from both public and private space.

History of India is witness to dialectics of religion yet India is secular. India is a secular state but it may not be a secular society but nowadays India is becoming more of a secular society and politics more religious.

Indian secularism is going through various process and nowhere we are close to pluralistic society. Data - Different studies show rise of communal conflicts. Where social compatibility is low their communal conflict is high and vice versa.

The Constitutional vision of secularism is not yet realized.

*Destiny of democracy is determined by its people.*

## Freedom

Spelled out in F.R

- Speech
- articulation
- movement ....

Hindu Marriage act -Young men can marry young women voluntarily. But khap panchayats if married out of caste.No freedom to decide your dress.

It is not practical in India. Speaking in Hindi in Tamil Nadu.

In a society where the base of freedom is weak there could not be equality and no secularism.

***There is a paradox between the vision of the constitution in India and empirical reality.***

India is passing in dialectics about vision of India and what India is.

# Law and social change

## Sociology of law

- Emile Durkheim
  - Doesn't Made distinction between custom and law.Both are products of conscience collective .Custom is the product of conscience collective in traditional society and law is the conscience collective in modern society.
  - Higher is the population, more people are unknown to each other and higher is the dependency on each other.
  - Invisible hand is holding people together. Traffic law, Marriage law.
  - Law is the voluntaristic reaction of the people (Conformist) To the violation of the violator. Hence promoting people's faith in collective conscience.
  - It is promoting positive solidarity among people.
  - Hence it has a serious social function.
- Max Weber
  - Make a distinction between customs and law.

- Modern society is bureaucratic society - Legal rational authority.
- Supremacy of law in modern society.
- Law bound society will give benefits to every person.
- Law is rational ,beneficial.
- Parsons
  - Function of law is to integrate different subsystems together.
  - Law may be getting inputs from customs or may be questioning the customs.
- Marx
  - Law is made by the rich to control the proletariat .
- Feminist
  - Law is patriarchal.

### Law in India

- Ancient Hindu India
  - Law meant customs. Originated from ancient texts.
  - Law was elitist and partial.
  - Law was traditional (customs).
  - Law was confined to multiple hierarchies.
  - Parson- Law was hierarchical because society was hierarchical to confirm values.
  - Source was manusmriti.
- Muslim Rulers
  - Never introduced any law which is uniform apart from taxation.
  - Different laws for Hindu and Muslims.
  - Structure of law never changed and never became universal.
  - Strong connectivity between law and religion.
- British Period
  - Warren Hastings dual government introduced company law which is different from king law and introduced uniform criminal law.
  - Introduction of uniform criminal code is an attempt to convert a hierarchical society into a society which is driven by equality of law.
  - Subsequently they distinguished between civil law and criminal law. Special courts were set up and the judiciary came into prominence.
  - Abolition of sati , widow remarriage act .
- After Independence
  - Three dimension of law
    - Law is protective.
    - Law is prohibitive
    - Law has promotional orientation
  - Law is the catalyst of social change.
  - When old law which refuses to bring change people come to street to make old law redundant and law has no choice than to change in law.
  - Law can bring change in society and society can bring change in law. Hence they are in reciprocation with each other.
  - Series of laws introduced to promote social transformation in India keeping in mind the three dimensions of law.
  - Some Laws.
    - Hindu Marriage act
    - Abolition of dowry act.
    - Prenatal diagnosis technique act.

- Evidence act
  - Gender sensitive budgeting
  - Domestic violence act
- Law is operating as a catalyst for social change to convert a patriarchal. society into gender equal society .
- Law in economic sphere
  - Cooperative act
  - Land reforms act
  - Land savings act
  - Equal pay for equal work
  - Minimum wages act
- Law for children
  - Abolition of child labour
  - child rights act
  - child right to education
  - Immunization acts.
- So that child can contribute to the economy in future
- Sc/St acts
  - Atrocities prevention act
  - forest rights act
- Attempt to promote social inclusion .
- Environment
  - Wild life protection act.
  - Swacch Bharat act.
  - Ecological literacy programs .
- Revolutionary acts
  - Public interest litigation
  - Rights to information
  - NALSA act
  - Lok adalats
- Law is going for vertical and horizontal expansion .
- Most of the people in India do not have legal literacy. At great tradition there is law and at little tradition there is custom and hence dialectics between both.
- Law is influencing to public sphere institution but in private sphere it is still not prevalent Example in Rajasthan child marriage is still a norm. Less importance given to girl education.
- Andre Beiteille - law is uniform but implication of law varies from one area to another area . Example: In upper and middle class people are conscious of law while in lower class it is still not prevalent .
- Randheer singh- Law is mostly made by the custodian of the state it is so designed that it will benefit the capitalist and victims are the mass.
- Hence law and social change are going in different directions in the country.

## Education and social change

Nature of education defines the nature of society. Education offers a foundation to social change. Education makes society breaks society and remakes society

Ancient Indian society

- Holistic knowledge about life . Ethical education. Humanistic character .
- Thousands of communities living with each other without war just for pursuit of knowledge.
- Theocratic , transcendental .
- Good governance was prevalent.
- Different great centers of learning developed . Taxila and nalanda.The content of education was theological,metaphysical and humanistic .

#### Britishers

- The essence of education changed.
- The values of education changed.
- Inculcated values of individualism, this worldly value
- Changes in values
  - Materialistic value in the mind of people which could benefit British .
  - Capitalist orientation. Everybody should be searching for profit . Dan dharma daya should go .Exploitation is justified .
  - Administrative orientation
    - To some extent , the administration needs educated Indians .
  - Consolidate their political domination.
    - People Appreciating the values of Britishers .
- Britishers introduced education for urban elites of India .- Top heavy approach
- It is not meant for the masses . Urban middle class should transfer the education below.
- Charles dispatch talked about mass education but this was never implemented.
- Through indian middle class they introduced a series of reforms and British rules were legitimized.
- Subsequently Indian middle class started demanding for justice and equality.Hence if there was no education then there would have been no reform and no indian middle class.
- Hence education acted as the catalyst of social change.
- Mass education would have led to mass revolts and movements against British. hence they deliberately never introduced mass education in India but little did the British know that class education would later lead to protest.
- AR Desai - Indian national movement was not a mass movement it was a class movement . Upper class wanted control of industries and the middle class wanted control of government jobs and hence they came together .
- In British universities more importance was given on scientific and innovation but in India university emphasis was given on understanding English writing English and western thinkers were largely introduced. Indians got disconnected from indian philosophy.
- When a large number of indian middle class could not get employment they went for national movement.
- Gandhi - We should be going for complete education -education that influences mind(thought), heart(Feelings) and body. Tolerance ,non violence ,moralism ,ethics ,humanistic values . If a person carries these values he would never exploit any other person. Education should be giving knowledge that we must understand the dignity of labour.

In theocratic society people would be ready to sacrifice their life for religion. We can see this in the terrorist ideology .

Absence of education gives rise to closure of mind and closure of mind facilitates leaders to conquer the mind of the masses and stay in power indefinitely.

Most important factor is the mass education which can only be catalyst for social change

## After Independence

- Importance given to mass education and implemented bottom up approach.
- Different kinds of inequalities present in India caste, ethnicity , gender ,rural urban difference can be minimized only by spreading mass education.
- It may not abolish inequality, it will minimize inequality gap. Heredity and current position of class structure would not replicate each other.
- To promote that mass education
  - Kothari commission
    - Universalization of primary education.
    - Basic education should be extended to everybody.
    - The way Japan, China and France are going for basic education .
  - JP Naik -First education secretary
    - Spread of education through public private partnership.
    - State should develop a public policy that any individual ,trust and community can start school.
    - If the school is successful for 8 years then the state would give a grant.
    - If 12 years old, the government can convert it into a fully aided school.
    - Large people participated in this movement as people had surplus land.
    - But this movement failed as the devotion towards education was missing at lower levels which were controlled by the landed people .
  - Rajiv Gandhi -National Education Policy 1988
    - Survey 1986-Despite the expansion in school education is missing its goals
      - Class gap
      - Gender gap
      - Unemployment is on rise .
      - Hence education is losing its purpose .
    - Three points
      - Universalization of primary education
      - Vocational secondary education
      - No Job based on certificate but on expertise.
- States can make education accessible, affordable and available to people but if parents are not sending their children to school then it is of no use .Why girls not going to school ?
- Address the problems and encourage people involving NGOs and local communities.
  - It is because of this mobilization our literacy has reached 74%
- Education and. Markets are connected to each other.
- Higher education is shifting its paradigm from liberal arts education to scientific and technological education.
- One is not an engineer because he wants to pursue engineering, one is an engineer because of market job availability.
- E Learning is getting momentum .
- Education is going through revolution
- How has education become the catalyst of social change today ?
  - Education has inculcated new types of values.
    - Patriarchal values are questioned.Known for their performance and not for gender caste .
  - Education is instrumental for economic development.
    - Expansion of the middle class.
    - Middle class is a right conscious-> inclusive society .
  - Education has promoted social inclusion
    - Sc, St , women poor

- educated indian women know what are their rights -me too.
  - SC and ST refused to accept the discrimination.
- Manifest role of education is employment and latent role is consciousness.
- Education in colleges and schools gives political training through student unions and councils to articulate the interest of the student community.

## Rural and agrarian transformation in india

### Syllabus

- Programmes of rural development, community development program, cooperative, poverty alleviation schemes
- Green revolution and social change
- Changing mode of production in indian agriculture
- Problem of rural labour, bondage and migration

Gandhi-India lives in villages . Census of India 2011-68% of people are living in villages  
 Urbanization has entered into villages. Villages today will not be fitting in Durkheim theory of mechanical solidarity or gemeinschaft because within villages class structure has developed .  
 Village is no longer a place where harmony, integrity is present; society has become highly hierarchical.

### Community development Program

- Introduced during the first five year plan period.
- Inspired by the success of Gandhi **Sewa Gram** initiatives.
  - People living in a given geographical area will be having different kinds of specialization. Therefore people of that area will be using labour and expertise to make that area self sufficient. All People living in the area would be understanding the dignity of labour. Hence everybody must engage in some form or the other activity. Hygiene ,communication should be available. Therefore people are not dependent on outsiders. Time to time can take help from experts from outside providing valuable inputs. Good environment communitarian approach. Sense of integration would develop in them .This is his concept of total development which he implemented sewa grams.
- Albert Mayer- While visiting in villages in India he found out major problems were
  - Diseases.
  - Conservative nature of villages.
  - Lack of skills.
- He thought that the specialized knowledge of others can be used to solve these problems.He introduced two pilot projects.
  - One in gorakhpur and other in Etawah.
  - He invited doctors to find out what kind of diseases people are affected by. It was found out people are mostly affected by water borne diseases due to lack of safe drinking water ,absence of toilets. He addressed these problems and within 2 years there was decline in these diseases.

- He called experts from different fields to educate people and constituted village communities and gave knowledge to people about agriculture, construction, irrigation .
  - These two projects were highly successful .
  - Same happening today with MP adopting villages.
- Nilokheri- Large number of people migrated in this region from pakistan. Survey was conducted about their expertise and in few years they become most productive area due to this community programs
- **Shantiniketan by Ravindranath Tagore** - Children made to work together to provide them food. It was a successful community development program.

Looking into the success of these initiatives and how development is coming from grassroots respecting the Gandhian ideology we initiated the community development program on 2nd oct 1952 as a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi.

Development coming from within would be much more effective as it studies people's adaptive capacity .

- Participative approach to development
- Inclusive approach to development.

Community Development areas (CDA) was introduced.

- Each community development area would have 300 villages.
- One CAD would be divided into 10 units or blocks.
- Each block has 30 villages with an approximately population of 5000.
- Each block would be further divided into 10 cluster units. One unit would have 3 villages.
- For every 3 cluster units a *gram sevak* would be appointed. He would be the intermediary between people and Block development officer (BDO).
- BDO would get input from gram sevak and would also receive feedback from people. Inputs about local expertise he would be preparing a blueprint of community development program in his block.

As an experiment we introduced 553 CDA covering 56% of Indian villages.

Community Development program in 3 stages

- National Extension stage (1 year)
  - BDO should be accessing the local needs of the people. What kind of projects can be introduced in the block.
  - For this he would be inviting experts from outside.
    - Agriculture extension officer-What kind of crop would suit the soil.
    - Soil Scientist
    - Training to local people.
  - Infrastructural development is given importance
    - Roads
    - Schools
    - Public Health centers.
- Program Implementation stage (2 year)
  - All the proposals would be implemented .
  - Central assistance of 4lakh for each community development program.
  - People would themselves become self reliant and people would carry the further work hence inclusion and sustainability.
- Post Implementation stage (1 Year)

- Charles Tyler finds out the biggest achievement of this program was people belonging to different castes came together and put their labour for infrastructure development. Local labour meant more attachment by the people.
- SC Dube
  - Developmental initiatives are spelled and planned out by block development officers. BDO has to allocate resources to those who are supplying building materials and resources. Corruption in BDO and contractors. These government officers and state officials are in coordination. Projects were implemented only on paper. Power structure in rural India has become stronger.
  - People didn't forget caste. Rich farmers benefitted more than small and marginal farmers. Rural powerful and rich supervised the other instead of working with others.
  - It didn't lead to economic inclusion as the lowest strata were landless and it only benefitted upper caste
- David Mandelbaum
  - Basic objective was
    - Development by the people
    - Sustainable
  - But in actuality all the development initiatives were taken by people outside the village . Seed was not suitable to particular areas and hence crop failure and people lost confidence in CDP.

V K R V Rao(Founder of Eco dep DU advisor to Nehru)

- It is the wastage of national wealth stop it as soon as possible
- It is not contributing to economic growth

Hence rural development should be initiated by the people and not by the officer. Therefore Panchayati raj institutions gave responsibility to gram sabhas and panchayats

#### Relevance today

- No longer block is the unit village is becoming a unit of development.
  - MPLADS can be utilized in villages. District collectors utilize these funds. Work completion certificate is given by gram panchayats then only contractors would be paid.
  - Gram Sabha is deciding about the area where development is required and it is forwarded to gram panchayat and then forwarded to block development officers and they would be forwarding it to district rural development authority. DRDA would collect funds from various schemes like PM Gram Sadak yojana and money would be sanctioned.
  - Sachin Tendulkar adopting a village.
  - Social Audits.
  - NGOs
- Hence village development is taking place in a multi directional way.

Hence failure of community development was an eye opener . New schemes are achieving the vision of APJ Kalam PURA.

Now

# Cooperatives

- United we stand divided we fall is the essence of cooperatives. It is driven by the principle of cooperation, mutual self help ,sustainable cooperation.
- It is a democratic institution because nobody compels you to be a part of it .It has voluntary participation.
- It gives strength to the marginalized people in the society.
- Cooperatives stand between the public and private sector. It is a new sector of economy.
- It is helping people from the adversities of globalization. Example Interstate cotton cooperatives which otherwise be exploited by the capitalist .
- Some cooperatives created the market chain and went for diversity-AMUL
- Lijjat Papad.
- When cooperatives connected to market
  - Financial inclusion.
  - Not adversary affected by the market.
- Cooperatives could also lead to class mobility.
- What cooperatives are producing are also produced by multinational and private companies then cooperatives have to venture into those areas where competition is less to get market access. Like agricultural cooperatives.
- Concerns
  - Most of the cooperatives are hijacked by the rich and powerful.
  - Serving as a ladder for political aspirations.
  - Stiff competition from global companies which can sell at lower prices.
- Way forward
  - depoliticise cooperatives
  - diversification of cooperatives
  - new dimensions to cooperatives.

## Before Independence

The Cooperative Act was introduced In 1904.

- A group of people carrying common interests constitute the cooperative .
- Driven by the principle of mutual self help.
- Guided by rules of law of the country.
- Office bearers of the cooperative are democratically elected.
- It is democratic institution because one can enter and exit anytime voluntarily.
- Small farmers producing a product are pushed away from the market but in cooperation they participate in the market.Helps to sail in adversities of expansionist capitalism.
- It gives employment and financial support.
- Articulate the voices of margined.
- Driven by Gandhian and socialist ideas.

Introduced by British for the gratification of their needs . Cooperatives have grown in size ,expanded in number of members and evolved in indian context.

- British introduced **agricultural cooperatives** in 1904 because land was segmented due to feudalism.Irrigation facilities could not be extended infrastructure could not be extended to these small lands. Natural calamities also led to crop failure. Farmers were not in a position to pay the tax therefore the economic interest of the Britishers were affected. It gave permission to small farmers to go for land pools. It gives advantage of labour. It was not for

the welfare of the farmer but for the economic interest of landlords ,colonial governments and also benefited the farmers who were suffering.

- Problems
  - Different landlords allocate land to different tenants in the same area.
  - Different sizes of land ,same size of labour but returns were different. It benefitted big landlords.
- In 1912 amended this cooperative act introduced a new kind of cooperative due to new problems -**Rural credit cooperative** .
  - It is an arrangement where every member would be contributing seed capital. From a particular family there can be many seed capital.
  - This money can be given to its members as loans at interest lower than that of moneylenders.
  - Small loans so that recovery is easier.
  - As a result farmers dependency on the moneylenders would become less.

### After Independence

Period of cooperative revolution in India 1950-1970

- Cooperatives had both horizontal and vertical expansion reaching to every sector of India's economy.
- Rural outreach became almost 100%.
- Consumer Cooperatives
  - It is one where a cooperative is an organisation which has a large member base. It is procuring ,packaging and distributing consumer goods at a very competitive price. No intermediary present.
  - Consumer goods are directly procured from producers.
  - Example Kendriya Bhandar for government employees.
- Agricultural cooperatives
  - Farmers coming together and selling their product at a competitive price in the market.
  - Example Poultry farms and horticulture are run by cooperatives.
  - Rubber cultivation, cotton cooperatives.
  - Seeds and fertilizer cooperatives.
  - Irrigation cooperatives in Karnataka.
  - Farmers getting bigger value of their produce.
- Finance cooperatives
  - Credit cooperatives and cooperatives bank.
  - When credit cooperatives base increases it starts lending to industries.
  - PMC
- Cooperatives running Industry
  - Handlooms cooperatives.
  - Pharmaceutical cooperatives.
  - Housing cooperatives.
  - Schools and hospitals run by cooperatives.

Hence cooperatives in India are today not concentrated in the rural sector but it has diversified itself . In the year 1990 government of India instituted a special task group to look into the future of cooperatives in India.It suggested that

- People should be encouraged to constitute *integrated cooperatives*.
  - Production+Procurement+Marketing+Distribution +Processing
  - Profit would be multiplied.
  - Strengthening agriculture base .
- Cooperatives should be kept away from the reach of politicians and rural rich.

#### Daniel Thurner 1970-1974

- He came to India to study the impact of cooperatives on india.How they are addressing inclusion ,poverty and distress.
- He visited 500 different types of the best of the best cooperatives in different parts of the country.
- Observations
  - Most of these best of the best cooperatives are run by government officers who after their retirement have come back to village.They have complete knowledge about government benefits and schemes.They involve all the members of their village and surrounding village in the cooperatives. They and people close to them are the officer bearers of the cooperatives. They give half subsidized products To its members and the rest of the products are sold in black market.
    - Hence capitalism has become rooted in the villages of India. He called the *Gentleman farmers* called *Bullock cart capitalist*.In the name of farmers they are accumulating wealth.
  - sehkari vs sarkari(Cooperatives vs government officials)
    - Cooperatives were constituted so that people's dependency on the state would be declining.
    - When a person is in need of money and since he cannot give collateral to bank and money lender charges high interest .He will be going to cooperatives .The office bearers of the cooperatives will give loan on the condition that he should become the member of the cooperatives . They charge membership fees which are deducted from his loan amount. If not paid then his property would be taken.They give loans to people in distress and use coercion to extract loans from them . Hence sehkari is becoming worse than a sarkari.
  - All in one
    - In every village there is a dominant family who monitors every developmental initiative and they make sure that it benefits them. Example In panchayat series street lite in front of pradhan house.Most cooperatives are controlled by these dominant families .
  - Money lenders are the one who objected to cooperatives initially and later they seized these cooperatives and became members of the cooperatives and became the treasurers of the credit cooperatives. They charge higher interest rates on cooperatives money.

But some cooperatives were successful like

#### AMUL .Studied by shanti george

- Idea was first proposed by tribhuvandas patel
- Verghese Kurien was the father of white revolution.
- He introduced better breeds , health care for cattle and improved their milk capacity .

- He encouraged farmers to procure their milk together.
- He collected money from the public and started a storage facility in Gujarat.
- He got seed capital once again and then started a processing unit also.
- He then went for direct marketing so that no middle men were involved.
- Farmers and mostly women were the most benefited and that had the ire that impacted on women's health, child education.
- Hence operation flood was highly successful

#### IFFCO(Indian farmers fertilizer cooperatives)

#### SEWA(Self employed women association) studied by Susan Wadley

- Women were taking ration on credit from the ration shops and selling the food items to the middleman and other hawkers hence their profit was marginal.
- Sahaj (NGO) mobilized money and formed the women association ,took help from municipal cooperation to find a permanent place where they can sell their products directly .
- Middle men were removed and the women's profit increased.
- They went for diversification of their products.
- Employment to 1.3 M women

#### Kerala Fishermen cooperatives studied by Jan breman

- In1976 the government of Kerala gave permission for mechanized fishing in the Kerala coast. Fish would be exported .
- Within a span of 6 months it was found out that entire fish species are getting depleted and affecting the life and livelihood of traditional fishermen in Kerala.
- They formed an association which was organized by the Kerala Catholic Church supported by NGOs and it became a big movement and the government was forced to ban mechanized fishing.
- Every fisherman would bring his catch to the cooperatives.cooperatives segregated fishes in different types -suitable for local market, suitable for export. Storage facilities using traditional methods .
- Every fisherman increased by 200%

Hence all cooperative movements have not failed . NGOs and other organisations are facilitating cooperatives and bringing a silent revolution taking place in the country. Knowledgeable people coming to the rescue of the poor. Hence instead of revolution we are going for inclusion .

#### Self help Group

- Most of the women suffering from poverty constitute a group.
- Employability of the women who are illiterate and semi-skilled .
- They do the work what they know example Aachar,agarbatti
- The same domestic job is fetching them money and hence a sense of financial indecency is in them .
- Major problem-Jean Dreze
  - Studying self help groups in India finds out that the major problem of these groups is the absence of capital.
  - Since the members come from poor families they don't have the capital base to expand their production base.

- Therefore he suggested that micro credit facilities should be extended to self help groups so that they can be achieving their targets
- He suggested that qualitative self help groups should be developed in India rather than their quantitative expansion.
- Market linkage if established for the products of self help groups than that can promote economic inclusion.

Reflecting on cooperatives movement in India Dreze advocates that the major problem of the cooperatives include

- Use of cooperatives as a measure to accomplish political goals.
- Non inclusion of the members in the decision making process of the cooperatives due to poverty, illiteracy, gender and caste distinctions .
- Lack of supervisions of the government about the working of cooperatives
- The registration of cooperatives should be reviewed at a specific time interval to understand whether cooperatives are accomplishing their goals or they are experiencing goal displacement .

## Green revolution

Revolution means complete break down or transformation of the system  
Revolution is of two types

- Revolution through violence
- Revolution through non violence

When we initiated the green revolution it was a nonviolent form of revolution. But when we see today its effect on ecology it has converted into a violent form of revolution.

Green revolution was introduced in India at a time when India was suffering from food deficit. It was introduced in India in 1967 as an experiment.

Robert Gound an American agro economist produced a new variety of wheat which was highly productive and introduced into Mexico,  
Another type of wheat introduced by Japanese which was semi drought prone

Norman Borung was a Mexican agriculture scientist . He introduced hybrid technology. He invented a new type of wheat from a hybrid of Mexican and Japanese wheat and a new kind of wheat called wonder wheat. It can be cultivated 3 times in a year. The volume of production would be increased from 200-300 times. To generate this wheat a large space of land is required and sufficient water supply. Water logging is required so that less oxygen supply reaches the plant so that the plant could not grow tall and fall. Need regular use of pesticide and herbicides and use of fertilizer.

No place in India where these facilities are available except mahalwari areas.

It required mechanized equipment to accelerate production. Hence capital investment is high and technology is used. Cannot go for the same crop for more than 4 years because pests would become resistant and hence need to regularly change seeds.

Within a span of 10 years we find out man which was a land of food deficit now is a food basket. Hence agrarian distress because of supply demand.

New technologies are introduced. These technologies are made by different capitalists. Hence the green revolution is a capitalist agenda. Rural capitalist and urban capitalist are developing a form of reciprocation between each other which is supported by the state of India. It is also supported by the intellectual class who are researching and finding new technology. Capitalism is expansionist in nature and hence every field of agriculture is going for capitalism. Hence commercialization of agriculture took place.

Green revolution is not only concentrated in Punjab, Haryana and western UP. Afterwards it reached coastal Andhra, Tamil Nadu. Those whose land acreage is high benefit from the Green revolution because they can invest in technology. Hence in the countryside capitalist and semi capitalist people are raised. More the number of these capitalists, the more is the demand for better quality seeds, diversification of agriculture. Agriculture research institutes are inventing new kinds of seeds and giving inputs to farmers from time to time. Farmers considered that these experts could never go wrong. Agriculture scientists are suggesting to go for particular seeds to cater to the needs of multinational companies. So Global capitalist through direct or indirect control are reaching the rural capitalist. State is also formulating agricultural policies.

So this kind of unholy union between them is responsible for agrarian distress.

The Green revolution has led to a law of diminishing return hence all that was looking green at that time was not actually green.

### Economic Impacts

- Green revolution contributed to the rise of big farmers who maximally benefited from it as against small farmers leading to consolidation of agrarian class structure.
  - In feudal Agriculture a tenant or a crop sharer was using traditional technology, family labour and also affected by famine flood, landlords didn't have enough wealth to invest in other sectors. But when the green revolution was introduced big lands were advantageous.
- Bhalla and Chadha
  - Studying 250 villages in Punjab found out that 6.9% of the households have control over 30 acres of land.
  - 36% of households have 2.6 acres of land. Hence holding size is different by 11 times.
  - Per capita production from the acreage of land between these two classes was 50-60 times.
  - Hence Big farmers can spend bigger market linkage and technology while small farmers cannot.
  - Impact of the green revolution was not the same in the different groups.
- Bagchi and Athreya
  - GR has given way to expansion of structural differences between dry areas and irrigated areas.
  - dry areas are converted into poverty zones and irrigated areas are converted into prosperity zones.

- Dry areas natural calamities are affecting agriculture but in irrigated areas there is intensification of agriculture prosperity.
- Hence two types of India are developing . In poor zones people want government intervention to address poverty while in prosperity zones people want subsidies on inputs.
- One is asking for livelihood while the other India wants to multiply their income.
- Within economic India there is feudalism in one area and capitalism in another.
- For a society to develop it must go for diversification but in India we focused on one sector because that particular sector was doing good at that time. Example first industries then agriculture. Law of diminishing returns.
- Initial stage of the green revolution generated massive employment for the people in agriculture and other related sectors. Because of demographic pressure on land it went for segmentation and also because of urbanization. Small Farmers in green revolution belt are suggesting disguised employment took place.
- Big farmers-Once the farmers are affluent they don't want to do menial jobs and hence migration from up Bihar to Haryana and Bihar . They preferred to hire these labour which is cheap and didn't invest in technology .Labour exploitation is high.
- Condition of Migrant labour in green revolution belt
  - Dhanagrah-Studied Migrant labour
    - Migrant labour who are coming to the green revolution belt are exposed to technology which is new to them and there is absence of knowledge to operate them. While operating these machines they meet with fatal accidents and they are not compensated.
    - Hundreds of workers were dying due to poisonous gases while repairing motors in wells.
    - Between 1971 and 1975 only in 2 districts of Haryana 500 migrant laborers met with accidents lost their limbs and they were not compensated.
    - Vulnerable people are subjected to further vulnerability because of their exposure to green revolution
  - Surrender Jodhkar -JNU Professor
    - The Green revolution has encouraged migrants to migrate to prosperity zones. Every landlord tries to have adequate labour so that activity is not affected throughout the whole agriculture season.
    - To ensure labour they give a small piece of land which is not fertile to agriculture labour to till the land and share the profit. Most of these migrant laborers didn't have land in their own village. When land is given he is going to get attached to the land . They bring their families and their families also provide their labour . Hence a new form of bondage labour is happening .
  - Pranab Bardhan
    - There is no direct connectivity between the green revolution and elimination of poverty.
    - Poverty estimation of 2011 that 9% of poor are present in Punjab has not been eroded. It is persisting because agriculture has reached the stage of diminishing returns.
    - Because of globalization indian farmers' market base is shrinking ,input cost is increasing . As a result the rate of poverty is increasing in the green revolution belt.
    - Large number of youths are unemployed because agriculture cannot accommodate them and there are no other available opportunities . Hence this population is taking drugs and other pathological elements.
- Some positives

- Hanumantha Rao committee on agriculture in 1976
  - The green revolution has generated employment for roughly around 10 million people in India.
  - It has reduced rural poverty by 60%.
  - Different categories of farmers -small,medium and large are benefitted from GR.
  - GR has spread to different pockets of the country giving rise to diversification of agriculture.
  - Recommends that GR should be going for a second phase so that every pocket of the country is beneficial.
  - It is because the GR Hindu rate of growth theory has failed in India.
- TK Oommen
  - The biggest advantage of GR is that the migrant laborers have got more bargaining power.
  - They are organized and they know rules of law.
  - They come from the same place and have strong bonds with each other.

### Sociology of GR

- It changed the glamour of democratic politics in India .Srinivas-People who benefitted from GR developed political aspirations.
- Peasants in the green revolution belt become more organized.
  - Karnataka Riya ryot association .
  - Bhartiya Kisan Sabha.
  - They are mass numbers who exert pressure on the government.
- Dhanagare -
  - All concessions meant for the entire peasantry are accumulated by rich farmers. Benefits are not reaching lower strata.Within peasantry we found class structure has become stronger.Hence evils of capitalism appearing in green revolution belt.
- Dipankar Gupta-
  - Politicization of peasants. Economy and polity have become connected .
- Laxmi Menon -
  - Green revolution and gender .In subsistence mode of production both men and women are working in land and over production both have equal rights. GR brought use of technology in agriculture.Technology is leading to the unemployment of the women and once family income is increasing domestication of women is taking place . Their productive role is now transformed into a reproductive role. Women are considered as liability to the family .To prevent the birth of daughter people are using modern technology as they can afford the pre natal sex determination test. Sex ratio is declining in the green revolution belt.
- Vandana shiva (Eco feminist)
  - Women's freedom is protected so long as nature is protected . What men are to culture, women are to nature.
  - Nature is tolerant so is a woman .Nature and women are reproductive.
  - If nature is not altered women are not dependent on men.
  - The other name of GR is the 'commercial monoculture' Same type of crops many times throughout the year.
  - Commercial monoculture destroys eco diversity .Loss of diversity brings in uniformity -> Growth of uniformity kills sustainability.

- Depletion of groundwater ,salination of soil ,use of pesticides and fertilizer.

The Green revolution is the vehicle of modernity.

Ashok Thapar -Because of GR market has reached villages,pucca houses are making appearance ,cooking gas is available ,modern clothes ,spirit of consumerism is getting a momentum

Consumerism is the behavior in which people want to consume everything whatever comes to their mind. Income is limited but desire is more. People sell their land and invest in enterprises to gain more money and if failed they may become criminals.

Mismatch between desires and money. Increase in the crime in the green revolution belt is due to declining income and rising aspiration hence people become frustrated and hence people indulge in crime , domestic violence , drug addiction .

Questions would come like domestic violence and GR?

## Changing Mode of Production in Indian Agriculture

Capitalism is a kind of system where we go for commodity production for profit and reinvest that profit to make profit .

In feudalism land is a source of power,symbol of status ,connecting kinship bonds. Land has a social dimension . Karl Marx -Exploitation is less than capitalism .

Daniel Thurner studied the changing mode of production in India agriculture.

- In different parts of the country there are farmers with 50 or more acres of land.People having this kind of holding are investing money in education. Family economic base is becoming stronger. Family is using part of this dividend in procuring new land hence land in size is constantly increasing. They are investing in technology. They are buying the lands of small and marginal farmers and land consolidation of big farmers is increasing. The landless people are converted into agricultural laborers. They are working in the lands of rich farmers. Hence rich farmers are not going for tenancy but doing self cultivation.Small farmers are settling for any wage given to them. They are evolving as voiceless . Pauperization of the masses is taking place. This one can be called the failure of socialism ,land reforms in the countryside. Failure of socialism in the countryside has led to the red revolution (Naxalite). Hence in India capitalistic agriculture has developed in different parts of India.

This theory was questioned by Paresh chaudhary

- Capitalism gives importance to commodity production.
- Capitalism develops if
  - If everything grown on the land is for market.
  - Capitalism is based on commodification of labour.Either you are dependent on technology or paid labour .
- In India we find out small farmers are dependent on limited technology or using family labour or exchange labour . Hence we cannot say that commodification of labour and extensive use of technology.

- All that is produced from the land is not meant for market, it is also meant for domestic and ritual .
- Hence capitalist tendency may have developed but we cannot say that complete capitalism has developed in India .

Ashok Rudra also contradicts to Daniel Thurner

- In India part capitalism has developed but not fully capitalistic agriculture.
- When talking about capitalism
  - What is the size of land holding of a farmer?
  - Dependency of people on family land .
  - What is the percentage of land one is going for self cultivation as against tenancy?
  - Investment made in infrastructure and technology.
  - How much of profit is reinvested in agriculture? Principal of capitalism  
Money->Commodity->Money
  - How much profit is used for diversification .
- NSSO Data
  - 30 % of India agriculturalists are somehow close to capitalist orientation
- Indian agriculture is not going for complete capitalism but partial capitalism.

Utsa Patnaik-We are largely non capitalist economy

PC Joshi

- Indian agriculture till 1990 was feudal mode of agriculture. In 80% of the states in India land reforms have been successfully implemented. 56% of the traditional landlords still have control of their agriculture land and these landlords they give their lands in terms of lease not following the tenancy laws of the state. 3/4 of the produce comes to the landlords. Hence tenancy is just for sustenance.
- Landlords go for tenancy and no action is taken . Unholy union between state landlords and police.
- Strong nexus between caste and land holding.
- Technology used is primitive.
- Within the framework of feudal agriculture some people are going for commercial agriculture.
- To break this feudal system one needs to break the nexus between caste and land holdings, change factors of production etc.
- Economic base is influencing the superstructure as the state is also being influenced by these landlords.

Amit Bhidhori

- Indian agriculture is part feudal agriculture because the landlord is not giving his entire landholding for tenancy . He is using his most fertile land for self cultivation. He will be using that land for commercial purposes. His total character is not feudalistic .
- In feudalism tenants are loyal or hereditary to landlords while in India these tenants are keep changing {Act-If tenant is holding land for more than 8 years the land belongs to him then}.In feudalism there is a persistence of bonded labour but in India after independence bonded labour is shrinking.

Gail Omvedt

- Cannot explain indian agriculture as part capitalism or part feudal because agrarian history of different regions are different . Impact of land reforms have been different ,the intensity of commercial farming is also different . Taking all these variables into consideration one can develop a generalization but it cannot be perfect.
  - Semi Feudal region
    - Land is segmented.
    - Land reform is effectively implemented.
    - This region is a backward region , nobody has got surplus capital to invest in technology therefore they are using traditional technology .
    - Return from agriculture is meant for sustenance.
    - No Commercialization and no capitalism.
    - No feudal lord but also feudal mode of production present hence semi feudal.
    - Orissa , Assam ,Himachal pradesh.
  - Semi Feudal Semi capitalistic agricultural zone
    - Maharashtra , Gujarat ,pockets of Rajasthan .
  - Low intensity capitalism
    - Best quality of products consumed by themselves and remaining transported outside.
  - High Intensity feudalism
    - Bihar Rajasthan Uttar Pradesh.
  - High intensity capitalism
    - Punjab Haryana western Uttar pradesh

#### How is there a changing mode of agriculture in India ?

After land reforms and land ceiling act the areas where land reforms were successful there is a growth of enterprising farmers owning land within land ceiling. Hence competitive poverty or wealth developed.Why is my wealth less than him ? . Hence partial capitalism developed.

Most of the south India except coastal andhra

In rain deficit areas people take a part of their land in which they can provide irrigation. Hence capitalism in one part and feudalism in the remaining .

In some areas with small land holdings only feudalism .

Punjab Haryana western up - Full capitalist tendency has developed but demographic pressure on land and productivity is declined.

Connect all the above points to different viewpoints.

Topology was different ,impact of land reforms are different and hence mode of production are different.

#### After Globalization

- Agriculture products brought under essential commodities act. The State controls the prices but software products are decided by market forces.
- No food processing centers , no storage facilities .When people have produce they are forced to sell to middlemen.
- State spending on agriculture declined.

- Agriculture productivity is declining despite an increase in input costs.
- In today's time part capitalism part feudalism is useless as all farmers are in distress. Hence we are witnessing distress in every part of the country.
- Flooding of agriculture products in India from abroad.

All types of landholdings and all types of farmers are facing distress.

These distress farmers are asking for implementation of swaminathan committee report talking about MSP to be defined on the basis of input cost. We have to look into the economic inclusion of farmers. It is because of this farmers are dependent on the state and hence the state tries to lure them before every election. This is called institutionalization of poverty i.e using poverty as a base.

## Poverty alleviation programs /Rural poverty

When India got independence about 80% of people were suffering from poverty. People were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture; other means of livelihood were not available.

Persistence of poverty in India by Nationalist

- One group of nationalist advocates that India is poor because British are rich. They took raw materials and never impart skill development. Converted India into an import market. Drain of wealth Theory by Dadabhai Naroji. Western theory indicates that India is poor because people are not rational in culture, this worldly -Weber.
- Gandhiji
  - redefined poverty he gave importance to poor living. Poor living is a choice While poverty is a product of exploitation.
    - Simple living and higher thinking.
    - Driven by principles of ethics and values.
    - Modesty and simplicity is a kind of fortune.
    - You can make money but the money you are making should not be spent on exhibition.
    - Simple living gives a feel that you are part of the masses while Luxury excludes you from the masses.
    - Poor living culture destroys hierarchy in society.
    - Poverty can be eliminated if non poor are concerned about the poor.
    - This is different from nehruvian concept of poverty
- Nehru
  - Poverty is there is because
    - People are unskilled and uneducated.
    - Make people literate then induce skill
    - Trickle down effect.
    - Poverty cannot be eliminated only through agriculture emphasis on big industries education and skill.
  - Poverty is a biggest challenge to India and the state has to play a role in eliminating poverty.

Economist calculate poverty by

- Calorie poverty

- Income poverty

Basic amenities are not taken into considerations. This is myopic definition of poverty . People are born not just to eat, they eat to live . Therefore, life is more important.

Amartya Sen defined poverty in terms of access to health ,education and quality life. It is talking about quality of life . You can guarantee these facilities to people not by introducing poverty alleviation measures (like giving money). Only capacity building can eliminate poverty. Because of fear and uncertainty this capacity is not being realized.

To eliminate poverty, the tendulkar committee -37% of the people are living below the poverty line . Focus should be on food security.

Now there is competition between political parties to feed the poor . Deepankar Gupta -sympathy becomes competition between political parties .

#### Poverty Alleviation measures after indian independence

- Trickle down Program (1 FYP-3FYP)
  - We cannot have immediate reforms in agriculture and hence create industries and skills development which can benefit agriculture and eliminate poverty . Money getting from industries can be used for the development of agriculture. It was not successful
- Focussed approach (4FYP-1988)
  - Tribal area development program.
    - Schools ,colleges and training to connect them to the market .
  - Hill area development program.
    - Introduced in those plain states where some areas are hills . Example Orissa ,MP.
    - Water conservation , horticulture ,local expertise
  - Drought prone area development program
    - Water conservation
    - ensure drought is having minimum impact on life of people
    - Afforestation
  - Command area development program
    - A particular area which is water deficit will be provided irrigation .
    - Link canals
    - Water harvesting
  - Different social categories
    - Poorest of the poor- Annapurna program
    - Rural labour employment -Rural employment guarantee program
    - Small Marginal farmers- Financial assistance was given.
    - Food for work program
    - Elderly -Old age pension was introduced
  - During this period poverty became an integrative factor.
  - Andre beteille - Poverty is more contagious than pollution
- Integrative approach to poverty alleviation
  - Employment sector
    - Jwahr rozgar yojna.
    - Swarn Jayanti Swa rozgar yojana -> MGNREGA
    - Skill development
    - Self help groups

- Skill development centers
- Micro credit facilities to start the enterprise .
- MUDRA
- PMFBY
- Crop insurance
- Pradhan mantri sishai yojna
- Infrastructure and service sector
  - Rural electrification program
  - Pradhan mantri gram Sadak yojana
  - Ujjwala yojna
  - Solar energy in villages .
  - Ayushman Bharat .
  - Annapurna scheme
- Education
  - Mid day meals
- Women
  - Janani suraksha yojna
  - Balika samriddhi yojna
  - Swadhar
- Mahila suraksha Koch -> Nirbhaya fund

In today time NGO is playing a crucial role. They are the eyes and ears of the people about the policies of the government and their effective implementation. They use their expertise and knowledge and give inputs to administration. Therefore they establish coordination between state administration and people . They are also responsible for bringing rural leadership. They are training people how they should be making demands on the state.

C.S.D.S (Center for the study of developing society)

- 2014 conducted a study about how rural development programs are promoting social inclusion.
- 76% of the people prefer to go for agriculture either due to family compulsion or due to non-availability of other employment opportunities.
- If another opportunity is available to them they quit agriculture.
- They are practicing agriculture only because of compulsion but in Australia and New Zealand farming is a form of vocation in those countries and people are interested in those jobs.
- Unless people voluntarily come into agriculture and increase the prospects of agriculture only then it would be contributing to GDP.
- 86% of the farmers never knew about Fasal bima yojna .
- Those who knew about it, 80% of them didn't go for it .
- Soil cards are unknown to 90% of the farmers .
- Kisan call center is used by only 2% of the farmers. 60 % of the farmers don't have any knowledge .
- Most of the state sponsored benefits of rural development are benefitted by rich farmers who are politically connected .

Structure of rural poor

- Workers
  - Agriculture

- Horticulture
- Dairy and poultry
- Construction workers.
- Tenants and crop sharers
  - Landless or small farmers. Out of 83% of the rural poor 61% are nearly landless (<1) acres of land, 22% of the people are purely landless. Hence they are at the mercy of others.
- Scavengers artisans toddy tappers and loaders and unloaders
  - They are skill less, vulnerable and voiceless
  - Sub citizens of the country.
  - Largely dependent upon rice @ 2 rs kg and all programs

## Bondage

Bondage is a sociological issue but bonded labour is discourse of economics.

### Economics

When somebody is coerced to use his productive labour for others at a price which is determined by others, terms and conditions are determined by them. For other economic gain he is put in a bondage. He cannot question and challenge it. This is called bonded labour.

Bonded labour is present in those areas where there is wide poverty, mode of production out of control, no opportunity to go for other employment, no skill for other employment.

Such kind of conditions was created in India during British time. In plantation areas and mining areas. Faulty colonial policies and exploitation of forest offer base for bonded labour.

- Bonded labour don't have bargaining power.
- No social and economic freedom.
- No right to change employment
- Highly unorganized.
- Victims of social vulnerability- Example SC/ST
- Do not have other skills or financial support to go for other work.
- It is a form of institutionalized slavery

### Sociology

When society changes the nature of bonded labour also changes. Bondage is not only an economic phenomenon it is a social cultural phenomenon. It is a specific dimension to bondage present in society.

- Aryans came to India and defeated indigenous people and imposed their culture on them. This is a cultural bondage.
- Brahminic colonialism was questioned by the self respect movement and satya sodhak samaj. Caste as a form of bondage. Upper caste is putting lower caste in bondage. Lower castes who do not adapt to the culture of the upper caste are ostracized.
- Political bondage - colonial rulers imposed several restrictions on Indians. Reaction to political bondage gave rise to nationalism.
- Marriage is also a form of bondage. Mangalsutra is a symbol of bondage. As a reaction to this bondage feminist movement has developed.

- Globalization is making the poor nations bondage to rich nations. Rich nations are making poor nations to be trapped in their internal problem. They produce what we consume and cannot produce ourselves. Example - Rafael, India pakistan fighting but beneficiary is someone else. Rich nations are becoming richer and poor nations are becoming poorer . This is a form of new bondage . This is the new form of colonialism.
- We the people of India are bondage to several primordial institutions. Different institutions are created to justify the bondage. We the people of India which the constitution takes about is not the reality. Example Mandir yahi banega. This bondage is manifested in social reproduction of caste religion and ethnicity. Inter religious conflicts , inter caste conflicts etc. Our bondage and loyalty is to caste ,religion, kinship etc. When someone is driven by bondage one cannot cherish equality because it is the bondage which differentiates us from others.

Hence according to sociology bondage is present everywhere ideology is a bondage ,knowledge is a bondage ,state is also putting us in a state of bondage. Freedom is book view while bondage is real life experience

### Bonded Labour

Most of the workers of the 3rd world countries who are going to first world countries are not getting jobs according to their skill but they are doing degraded jobs due to availability and better pay in comparison to their own country . Eg educated people running taxis in canada.

In indian context we find out National labour institute and Gandhi peace foundation conducted a study in 1990 and found out

- 2.6 M bonded laborers are present in India and most of the time these bonded laborers are invisible because they are mostly working in agriculture and plantation.
- 90% of bonded laborers in the agriculture sector.
- It is difficult to identify bonded labour because there are present different kinds of bonded labour.
- People join the bonded laborers because of different reasons
  - Debt Bondage
    - Took money but failed to pay back , no other option present .
    - Greatly present during colonial time.
  - Loyalty bondage
    - You buy loyalty from somebody. Example: Did the marriage of the maid daughter now she is trustworthy.
  - Kinship Bondage
    - In kinship some people would be doing good while others struggling. Example People coming from kinship and giving them clothes and food for their services.
  - Distress Bondage
    - Example- When the husband dies the widow has to go out to work.
    - Natural calamities may also give rise to bondage.
  - Migration Bondage
    - When people coming from rural areas accept anything available to them. No bargaining power or support system.

Therefore it is very difficult to calculate the bonded laborers present in India. Bonded labor is having manifest and latent presence. Manifest presence is small but latent is huge which cannot be quantified.

Bonded labor are present in different parts of the country

- Ashok Lahiri
  - Studied bonded labor in case of West Bengal. It is called the Barmasia system.
  - Most of the bonded laborers are migrant labour from nepal or santhal or Munda tribes.
  - Bonded labor exists in disguise-> One cannot call it bonded labor.
  - Most of the landlords find it difficult to get labor in peak periods of harvest and they want to have a secured labor force.
  - In baramsia they identify labor coming from far off villages .
  - The contract is an oral contract. Some advance is given to the worker and yearly wage is fixed. Employer would give a place to stay , food and clothes.
  - Labor is available 24x7. Therefore optimum utilization is taking place.
  - Labor takes more advances from the landlord and could not pay back at the end of the year and contract is renewed and he is said to become part of the family .
  - Hence surveyors cannot identify them
- Surender Jodhkar
  - Speaks about attached labor in Haryana which is also a form of bonded labor.
  - Landowner gives a piece of non fertile land to them and is told to bring his family to stay with him and all of them provide labor. Entire family is bonded.
- Sandhya Srinivasan
  - A large number of Tamil Nadu population settled in Sri Lanka were deported to India. They didn't carry anything with them . A concentration camp was created for them in kodaikanal. Therefore a large number of these people were picked up by plantation owners ,construction contractors and agriculturalists .
  - Since they don't have any home to go to and any political patronage. Since they lived with their employer for a lifetime .
  - Bonded labor is a result of international policies.

These bonded laborers don't have social ,economic freedom but they are citizens of India .They are present in the mining sector , bangle industries and brick kiln industries .

In 1976 the bonded labor abolition act was introduced. An interdepartmental committee was constituted for the identification release and rehabilitation of bonded labor  
Ministry of finance, labor ,women and child ,rural development .

- Identification of bonded labor.
- Release and rehabilitation of bonded labor.
- Rehabilitation centers were created for them
- Alternative sources of livelihood for them
- Some NGO- Bandhua Mukti Morcha , Sahyog working for elimination of bonded labor

Why people practice bonded labor as against free labor

- Cheap
- Easily availability
- Law cannot identify them
- Loyal

If in a society bonded labor is present, human rights and child rights are violated, the spirit of democracy is unfounded . To make India a true democracy and a just society it must be abolished

Q Bondage and democracy mutually coexist in India . Give suitable examples to support .

## Social movements in modern india

### Syllabus

- Peasants and farmers movements
- Women' movements
- Backward classes and dalit movement
- Environment movement
- Ethnicity and identity movement

What is movement ?

Social change is having two different dimension

- Directed change That is coming through public policy
- Undirected change -change is not planned
  - This change is initiated by the people because they are not happy with the existential conditions of the society.
  - No planning

Social movement is an initiative by the people to change the unwanted conditions in the society to make a society which can fulfill their needs and aspirations.

Social movement is not possible in totalitarian society e.g. Tiananmen Square was suppressed .

In colonial times any movement was suppressed. Social movement is possible only in a democratic free society where people are given a choice to raise their voice.

### Conditions for Social movement

- It is possible where social structure is conducive.(structural conduciveness)
  - Eg When the political system is weak, society is fragmented ,subaltern groups are vocal.
  - Mee too movement - Law is protecting women , media was supporting
- Participatory factors.
  - It will not be successful if a large number of people do not participate .
  - Eg tilak anti colonial movement was unsuccessful.
  - In India civil society movement is a weak movement.
  - Nationalist movement, self respect movement were successful due to mass participation.
- Ideology
  - It will be binding people together.
- Leadership
- Resource mobilization
  - Tan(Physical presence) man(Mental presence ) dhan(economic resource) are required.

- Organisation
  - Nationalist movement -INC

Note

\*Civil society is an imaginary space where conscious citizens are putting checks on the powers and actions of the state. Quality of democracy is defined by the character of civil society\*

### Different stages of social movement

- Initiation stage
  - Identification of problem
  - Public campaign-Publication of literature , Public speeches
- Crystallization stage
  - resource mobilization
  - Development of organization
  - Leadership coming into picture.
- Maturity Stage
  - Ideology will be coming into prominence.
  - Different course of action -protest ,Jail bhara, demonstration
  - Leaders appear in media to give their viewpoint (Public campaign)
  - Achievement of the goal
- Decline Stage
  - It may be converted into a political party or become history.
  - Dalit movement -> Bahujan samaj party
  - Self respect movement->DMK

## Backward class and Dalit Movement

MSA Rao-

- One backward class movement is brahmin vs others (Self respect movement)
- second type is Brahmins vs backward class (satyashodhak samaj)
- Untouchables going for sanskritisation to proclaim equality with Brahmins (SNDP)
- Backward class vs forward class (Yadav Movement)

Their structural and ideologies are different hence we cannot say they are same.

### Self Respect Movement

Social structure of Tamil Nadu .There are 3 major caste clusters are present

- Brahmins
  - Iyers
  - Iyengars
- Non Brahmins
  - different agriculture and artisans class
- Adi dravidas (Untouchables)

- Different segments present.

Caste was a consensual model accepted to all. Land belonged to Brahmins and they had access to education and access to political power . Caste one was power one was class one -Andre Beiteille

In 1896 Grosell and Cladwell Conducted a research on the origin of race in India . They found out

- The most ancient settlers of India are dravidians.
- It was the Dravidians Who had established the Indus Valley civilization.
- Languages belonging to dravidian school (Tamil telegu) are the most ancient languages of India.
- Dravidians language is more ancient in comparison to Sanskrit.
- Dravidians didn't have caste practices.It was an egalitarian culture.

After this educated South Indians asking the questions about superiority of Sanskrit languages and Brahmins.Brahmins have contributed to caste system in the minds of non Brahmins dividing them into basis of caste and occupation and ruled on them. Conscious non Brahmins formed the South Indian liberation front whose leader was Dr Natesan. It published a monthly journal called justice editor T M Nair. It published articles about how caste is external to south India and not to perform rituals and go modern education occupation. They advocated that supremacy was not due to birth, they injected these ideas in the minds of non brahmin, when non brahmin were divided on the basis of caste Brahmins were clever they went for modern education . Hence huge inequality between Brahmins and non Brahmins.

Brahmins also published a journal called varnaasharam and advocated that Brahmins are the carrier of culture and they are symbols of unity . They introduce moralistic ethical and humanistic values which are very important for peaceful coexistence. Therefore Brahmins presence in south India was responsible for making India. Hence dialectics of ideas forms the foundation of anti anti-brahmin movement in south India.

It is because of self respect movement Dravidian culture got momentum.Untouchables Muslim Christians and non Brahmins should come together against brahmin dominant. Did not participate in the nationalist movement because one kind of colonialism would replace another colonialism. Hence there was a call for Dravidistan. This is a contra culture movement and not an anti national movement taking place through culture revivalism.

Adidraida Mahajan sabha started by members of South Indian liberation front initially. It was an association of traders and wealthy people. They found out Brahmins are dominant because of their education and presence in every sphere. They promoted non Brahmins to go for modern education , trading and other modern occupation.Consider relations with Brahmins not as hierarchical but as a competitive relationships.It became South Indian liberation front.

- In 1916 South Indian liberation front contested in provincial assembly elections and won 70 %of the seats.For the first time in the political history backward class won the elections. They introduced a reservation policy with support of the colonial government for the non Brahmins in the various institutions in Tamil Nadu . Reservation offered ground for political and social mobilization of the backward class. Identity based social mobilization.

- In 1920 E v ramaswamy naicker (Periyar) was a leader in congress, he belonged to the upper caste. He joined the non cooperation movement and mobilized people in Tamil Nadu . With an intention to make backward movement weak. He was successful to a great extent till 1924. To neutralize the Dravidian movement and bring people in nationalist movement congress must support the reservation. But the center leadership of congress Gandhi and Nehru rejected his proposal. Sc also considered this type of ethnic and territorial reservation as invalid. In protest he left congress in 1925 and initiated a movement called self respect movement. This is a revolutionary movement while the justice movement by the South Indian liberation front was a reformist movement.
- Periyar gave importance to equality of religions and people should not be divided on the basis of religion and force that should be binding people together is culture. Religion divides while culture unites. Tribes , dalits , Christians , non Brahmins are dravidians and all of them should reunite together. He gave a call for unity to all dravidians speaking in different languages. He wanted cultural homogeneity among the people.caste in case of south India is not indigenous . It is because of colonization of aryaans over dravidians.
- He suggested following things
  - Sanskrit should not be taught in any schools.It needs to be replaced by the local languages.
  - Brahminic concepts of swarg and nark , food purity ,rituals should be outrightly rejected.
  - No society can grow unless and until gender equality is established in the society .
    - Child marriage should be stopped.
    - Women should be encouraged to join administration and enterprise. Hence Periyar was great feminist .
    - Every family should make sure that they are educating their girls.
  - Land reforms must be introduced and implemented in true spirit.
  - Slavery should be abolished in every form.
- He said caste is not isolated from Hinduism because Hinduism gives ideological support to the caste. If you want a caste based system to go then we should abandon Hinduism.
- Self respect movement contributed to the modernization of Tamil Nadu which later converted into separatist movement.
  - Periyar and Ambedkar were not a part of the national movement because of apprehensions that Brahmins would replace Britishers .
  - Periyar constituted a party called DMK. It was a movement started by Periyar with an objective of creating dravidistan. Congress made appeal to him to drop the idea but he was not listening. He had a good friend in C rajagopalachari who neutralized him time to time . Annadurai was consulted by congress and then state of Tamil Nadu was carved out and secessionist movement died out.

#### Satya sodhak Samaj founded by Jyotiba Phule

- Jyotiba Phule was born in the family of a gardener.
- Studied in Scottish missionary school.
- Influenced by writings of Thomas Paine and John locke .
- Andrew lang and Max muller
  - Developed a theory about India called aryan theory.
  - The most ancient religion ever known to mankind is aryan Hinduism. Original settlers were aryaans.

- Most ancient Aryans of India are the people who came from Mediterranean area and settled down in western India. Secondary Aryans settled in Ganga plain .  
Mediterranean race are the original Aryans.
- Phule wrote that the most ancient ruler of India was Mahabali hence the name Maharashtra. During his rule the land was prosperous. Caste system was not present people were allowed to take any occupation , merit , equality .After his death his successors were not that powerful and then Aryans from north India invaded these western Indian kingdoms and took the indigenous people into their control. Then Brahmins introduced their cultural values to the people. Poverty in case west India is a product of North Indian colonization. In western India most of the people were identified as untouchables. Caste became very rigid . To challenge this Brahminic colonialism we have only one option -forgetting the caste identity come together and develop a new identity called Marathi. \*Ethnic mobilization eroding caste \*
- Br Ambedkar was his greatest follower.
- Under the leadership of Jyotiba Phule, all the backward classes got united together. He was opposed to the national movement , Arya samaj movement because these are Brahminic movements and glorify Brahminic values though they may reject Brahmin caste.
- Many rulers of western India were Marathas . Ruler of Kolhapur established Kshatriyas Vedic school to give education to the lower class. Inter caste marriage act ,inter caste dining act introduced by ruler of Baroda and Kolhapur. Upliftment of the lower caste got momentum in the patronage of these rulers. Hence Maratha is a constellation of caste.
- More you are talking about changing the nature of caste, the more you are substantiating caste .

Because of the self respect movement and Satya Shodhak Samaj rejected Sanskritization and went for secularization. More caste is becoming weaker, the more caste is becoming stronger because homogenization of caste is taking place . Earlier Barber Gardner knew the new identity of Maratha .

### Yadav Movement

- Yadavs carry different names in different pockets of the country.
  - Ahir
  - Kurmi
  - Gaur
  - Gawala
- Started in Maharashtra .
  - Govil association 1902 by Sahi Maharaj. Yadavs are the original settlers of India . In Maharashtra they are called Govils they have kingdoms in different parts of the country. They are superior to Marathas. Hence they stood against Maratha identity .
- In Haryana one part Jats are prominent in other part Yadavs are prominent.
  - Both were largely influenced by the Arya samaj movement-don't believe in Brahmins superiority , no rituals etc . Both of them fought wars together against British.
  - Raja of Rewari promoted the unity between the two and even promoted marriages between them.
  - But the effect of the green revolution was different, mostly Jats benefited from it.
- Bihar
  - Yadav are 12%
  - Karpuri Thakur was a disciple of Ram Manohar Lohia who was always talking about the upliftment of the lower class .In Bihar a movement started and they dropped the surname. In Bihar Bhooriyars and Rajputs were landlords and Yadavs were tenants.

- Many yadavs benefitted from the policy of karpoori thakur who introduced reservation to yadav and land benefits.
  - Lalu yadav was the disciple of karpoori thakur and was instrumental in bringing Mandal Commission.
- Uttar Pradesh
  - 1990s there was decline of Congress coalition politics was getting a momentum - BSP spokesperson of the dalits and SP was representative of the Muslims and backward caste.

The Yadav movement in UP and Bihar was grounded on democratic political mobilization. So far these states are ruled by Brahmins the interest of the backward caste would always be neglected. Yadav movement is driven by Sanskritisation tendency in Haryana and product of competitive identity in Maharashtra. Hence it is not an organized movement like the Self Respect Movement and Satya Sodhak Samaj.

### SNDP

- Narayan Guru initiated this movement in Kerala. He was a Gandhian.
- Like Gandhi he believed that untouchability is not defined by one's birth but it is a product of polluting occupations attached to the people, unhygienic living conditions of the people, dirty clothes, absence of literacy and hence people maintain distance. If one changes this untouchability would disappear.
- He told the untouchables to leave the dead end jobs. He opened the schools to give the education of the children and subsequently got modern employment.
- He constructed Temples and appointed untouchables as priests in the temples.
- Gandhi ji regularly visited the temples and schools in Kerala.
- Hence education spread through all sections of the society in Kerala.

Backward class movement in India was diversified in terms of its appeal and outcomes. It gave voice to the voiceless people. They challenged the hierarchical structure of caste supported by Hindu ideology. These movements engineered the values of democracy, equality, social inclusion, human freedom for which the hierarchical nature of caste became weak and social justice became important for modern Indian society. Therefore the backward class movement challenged traditional social structure and developed a strong grounding for making a new Indian society.

## Dalit movements

Dalits are not a caste nor are they a class. They are a body of submerged humanity who are now coming together. These people are untouchables thrown out of society. Self Respect Movement and Satya Sodhak Samaj wanted untouchables to be part of the movement. SRM includes untouchables as Dravidians. SSS - all are a part of Maratha identity. Dr. Ambedkar distinguished dalits from the other caste as the problem of dalits cannot be equated with the problem of other castes. If you want social inclusion then we have to protect the people who were socially, economically exploited. Harijan identity is a reformative identity while dalits identity is a self-created identity which is revolutionary in nature.

Dalits don't have a caste, religion and language. They practice different religions and speak different languages. They don't live in specific areas but isolation from mainstream society doing dead end jobs. Social discrimination is common to them. Social justice must be given to them for social inclusion of dalits.

There is no leader of Dalit movement it is a consciousness. It is spread through Dalit literature ,street plays and movies nowadays. It is starting in universities and panchayats. Dalits are becoming Sarpanch but discrimination is still there. Hence it is an ideological movement.

Brahminic culture - other worldly spiritual ,moralism

Dalit culture -Materialistic and this worldly

Dalits are refusing to accept the consensual model and they are going for a disjunctive model. Dalit movement is giving rise to self assertion of Dalit community .

## Peasants and farmer movement

They are strengthening interdisciplinary approaches in the field of social science. For example, economics and sociology both study these movements.

### Peasants Movement

Peasants are owners of small land , production for subsistence , using traditional technology and exploited by landlords. They are also tenants ,crop sharers .

They are asking for

- No eviction from land by landlords.
- Their share of produce to be more than the landlord .
- Better irrigation
- End to exploitation from moneylenders

### Farmers Movement

Adversities from the markets should be challenged. Seeds and fertilizers are becoming high . Market value of agriculture produce is declining and hence dis balance between input and output hence they are in distress.They are asking for the end to this distress , diversification of agriculture so that a competitive price can be made available . When the economy is growing agriculture should also be growing . They are asking for different types of support from the state like subsidies.

When talking about the peasant movement it would mean colonial period while farmers movement started in 1970 after commercialization of agriculture. Second state of the Farmer movement is Getting momentum after globalization.

AR Desai

- Distinction between peasants and farmers movement based on time.
- Until 1980 farmers' movement had not come up in a big way and he called them new farmers' movements .Because in his time the movements which we are seeing today were not there .
- All pre-independence agrarian movements are peasant movements .
- All post-independence movements are farmers' movements.

Gail omvedtt

- India is practicing different modes of agrarian production
  - backward feudal area.
  - Largely feudal area
  - low capitalism zones
  - Largely capitalism Zones

- Where land is feudal-> movement is peasants movements.
  - against the oppressive landlord
- When agriculture is capitalist then movement is farmer movement.
  - If the market is adverse to their interest they go for protest And ask for benefits from state like subsidies,MSP.
- Hence in the case of India it is extremely difficult to distinguish between two as no area is fully feudal or fully capitalist in India.
- Hence because of this reason we could not have an all India agriculture movement like in China and Russia.

In the case of Russian and China, they got leadership from Mao and Lenin and people with all types of the landholding got together and subsequently land was taken from landlords and the state took control of it and socialism. The peasants of India did not develop class character because our peasants were divided on the basis of caste kinship ethnicity. A tribal peasants has nothing to do with other peasants. A Hindu tenant is as much exploited as much as Muslim tenants would not come together against the landlord. They are not driven by class consciousness. Karl Marx-to make a movement successful class consciousness is required (class for itself). One kind of landlordism is replaced by another kind of landlordism hence landlords are not disappearing from India . Hence indian peasants movement is not a homogenized movement .

When peasants are challenging the landlords they make a distinction between good and bad landlords. Good landlords are those who are not evicting tenants and crop sharers out of the land , they are sympathetic to the problem , they give support in times of distress. Bad landlords are mostly absentee landlords who collect tax through intermediary and take help of police to evict the tenants. They want to engage in war against bad landlords. Hence many movements took place in India but landlordism never disappeared . So indian peasant movement is a fractured movement and not an organized polarized class consciousness movement rather It is a fragmented interest based identity driven by caste religion and interest based ideology.

Q Why is the peasant movement not a homogenized movement in India ?

Q. Do peasants represent a class in India ?

Who are these peasants ?

Some people think peasants are class while others think it is not .

- Peasants constitute a class.
  - In colonial land tenure policy masses in India became landless and forced them into tenancy or crop sharers or agriculture laborers. They could not go against the landlords because of their dependency on the landlords. Though they constitute a class, they could not be polarized because of the highest form of dependency on landlords because deindustrialization has taken place.
  - When the middle class came into picture they took up the issue of these peasants.
  - Bardoli ,champaran ,and kheda movements were initiated by the well- landed class.
  - They are a class that doesn't have power to ask for their rights and justice , appropriate economic benefit.
- Not a class
  - Ranjit Guha
    - Peasants are a subaltern group (Oppressed, suppressed and marginalized)
    - Along with them artisans, tribes and mining and construction workers are also victims of colonial exploitation. All of them have the same problems. Hence peasants are part of this group.

- These groups could not come together and hence revolution could not take place.
- Anand Chakraborty
  - Peasants constitute an under class.
    - Outside the class they are working to survive.
    - For them a landlord hardly makes a difference they will go to another landlord because they have to survive.
  - They are pushed outside the class structure.

Hence in India an organized peasant movement could not develop in India . Social structure of India is different from other countries. Hence our social movement is different from other countries' social movements.

Periyar also talked about the peasants' rights within his backward class movement. Hence we found these movements often overlapped.

### Cathleen Gough

Despite the problems (whether peasants are class or not , whether the peasants movement is polarized or not) peasants movements can be classified into different types.

- Restorative Movement
  - When British came to India, they defeated the indigenous rulers and took away the land because they had advanced weapons and no unity between the rulers.
  - These indigenous rulers who lost the land had an expectation that one day one ruler would come who would defeat the British and their land would be returned.(Millenarian Movement).
  - Most of these rulers went into hiding in the forest and changed their appearance.
  - People mistake them as sanyasi and attack British as and when they get a chance.
  - This was called the sanyasi Vidroh , Pagalpanthi movement.
  - These movements intended that old glory would be restored.
- Ethnic oriented movement
  - Santhal rebellion
  - Kol insurgency
  - Konth insurgency
    - Pabana Movement -Bangladesh -Landlords were Hindus while tenants were Muslims.
- Social Banditry movement
  - Taking up arms and looting landowners.
  - Land grab movement
  - Telangana Movement 1920-1934
- Terrorist vengeance
  - Arm training , sophisticated weapons ,organized army.
  - This is organized.
  - Take land from landlords.
  - Naxalite movement.
- Mass movement
  - Kisan sabha movement

## Peasants movements

- Before 1857
  - Sanyasi vidroh , Pagalpanthi movement.
  - Tribal rebellion -kol insurgency.
  - scattered
  - Were suppressed by violence by the state.
- 1900-1930
  - Kheda movement
    - Well to do farmers came together and refused to pay the tax to the imperial rulers. Tax rates should not be increased.
  - Champaran movement
    - It was a movement against non indian landlords (Majumdars). They lease landlords to sub landlords.
    - Indian farmers mobilized themselves against European landlords who were demanding more taxes.
  - Bardoli movement-Gujarat
    - Affluent landlords were forced to pay more tax to British and hence had to collect more taxes from peasants.
  - Deccan revolt
    - Rich and well to do farmers questioning the exploitative policies of British.
  - They all are initiated by big farmers there demands were
    - Natural calamities should be taken into account.
    - Fixed land rent should be there.
    - Eviction should not be there.
    - Abolition of braggery.
  - Moplah Movement-Kerala
    - initiated by Muslim farmers who were exploited by Hindu landlords -Nairs and namboodari Brahmins.
  - Eka Movement
    - Farmers were united together.
    - Took all the land mortgage documents into fire.
    - Gandhiji stopped this violence by going in fast.
  - Tebhaga movement
    - Influenced by communist leaders.
    - It was a violent movement
  - Telangana movement

When these localized movements got integrated it gave rise to the Kisan sabha movement . They got support from congress leaders.Hence Kisan sabha movement gave a foundation to national movement

## Kisan sabha movement

- Congress gave direction to its members that in every village Kisan sabha should be constituted. Members of KS should be looking into land related issues.
- KS was entrusted with the responsibility of using common land resources for the people who are landless.
- Ks would be making appeals to landlords to not evict peasants, give them the shares of produce for their subsistence and to money lenders to not demand excessive interest.
- It is through KSM congress that they could reach the masses.

- Peasants ,tenants sharecroppers participated along with the zamindars or landlords who were sympathetic to these issues.
- AR Desai - Peasants movements was initiated by indian middle class and evolved into leaders and subsequently peasants joined the movement.
- Voice of one class (peasants) Is spoken by the middle class.
- Cons
  - When the middle class is in power the peasants are forgotten hence old colonialism is replaced by new. After India got independence, landless remained landless. Institutionalized form of landlordism is replaced by non institutionalized form of landlordism after Independence.
- Consequences
  - People went for demonstrations and protests and congress got huge support.
  - British started thinking it was not beneficial for them .
  - Class movement got converted into mass movement.

### Telangana Movement

- Nizam area.
- This state has 3 linguistic division
  - Marathi speaking
  - Kannada speaking
  - Telugu speaking area.
- Two kind of land holding
  - Jagirdari system
    - 20% of the land
    - Given to officials, army, intellectuals ,religious institutions.(Jagirdars)They lease out these lands.
    - Jagirdars are well connected to the state.
    - People who get these land on lease are deshmuakh ,pramukh, talukdars.
      - These people give land to tenants and sharecroppers and charge from huge returns.
    - The farmers could hardly get returns from land and got money from money lenders and got converted into bondage lenders.
    - If people defaulted on rent payment then peasants would be beaten and probably killed by *doras*.
    - When people organized themselves then Nizam men razakars would come and torture the people to pay their rent.
  - Ryotwari system-80% of land
    - Small ryot- self cultivation pays directly to the state.
    - Big ryots -> moneylenders who have given loans to local farmers and after defaulting they are forced to give their land and converted into bonded labor.
    - These big ryots lease their lands to sikimdars who are further leasing the land to sub sikimdars. --> No intermediaries are making an appearance.
    - Hence farmers are living in poverty hardly anything for subsistence.poverty was binding people together.
  - Some educated people largely influenced by nationalist movement of congress went for a cultural organisation known as *andhra mahasabha* after it was renamed as *Telugu sahitya sabha* To promote Telugu speaking community and inject the spirit of nationalism in them.

- There was a large number of absentee landlords having control over huge lands. This land is given in lease to local farmers who are forced to pay huge rent.
- Under the banner of sahitya sabha the people who are exploited should assemble together and appeal to landlords who are sympathetic to the needs of the poor—> not to evict them from land , give them some financial support to fight the bad landlord. (Remember good landlords and bad landlords ).
- Hence a sangam committee was formed in every village to train the people to fight against the doras. This movement was successful because Many landlords felt that if bad landlords were wiped out they would get more land and for this they helped the farmers.
- Doras were targeted by these sangam committees. Nizam could not send razaks because at that nationalist movement was at its peak.
- The people who were supporters of congress subsequently got input from communist party and became more violent and used arms to scare the bad landlords.
- Hence in this movement we see landlords were divided. When this movement became violent congress intertwined and after independence the first state was created known as Andhra Pradesh.

### Naxalite Movement

- In 1967 coalition party came to power in West Bengal defeating congress . CPI+CPI(M)+ Bengal congress.
- When communist party came into power they declared that they were going to redistribute the land and enforce a land reforms system. All excess land would go to the state and then it would be distributed. But nothing happened.
- Charu majumdar criticized the communist government and he organized a mass mobilization from naxalbari village and gathered 20000 and went for demonstration. They give the deadline to the communist party otherwise law would be taken into the land . Government didn't take it seriously.
- Retired officers from British army were called to give the arms training and then they directly attacked the landlord. Red squad army was created . Forced the landlords to return the land and all mortgages using violence and militancy. They developed a network system which would alert them when police are coming.
- Slowly more and more people joined the movement because they could easily get land and an arms squad was created and attacked the police stations for capturing the weapons and taking training from them.
- State government wanted to bring factions within the naxalite. They gave land grants to the people . People who got land from the state lost interest in the naxalite movement. Slowly the Naxalite number came down.
- Many absentee landlords having business gave their land to state and now state has more land to distribute.
- Kannu sanyal and jangal santhal we're greatest supporters of charu majumdar. They were manipulated by the state government and drifted . Now naxalite formed 3 groups
  - Charu majumdar group
  - Jangal santhal group
    - Mobilized tribes in Jharkhand
    - speakers about rights of forest areas tribes.
  - Kannu sanyal group

- The Naxalite movement slowly died out in plain areas of West Bengal and spread to forest areas of Bihar West Bengal .
- Looking at the success of this movement, naxalites were formed in Tamil Nadu , andhra.
- Today 50 groups of naxalites are operating in different areas of the country. Hence they are not a single group now.
- Has the naxalite movement failed in India ? (Find out )
  - To initiate a revolutionary movement it must have ideology and leadership.
  - Bengal has always been a hotbed of renaissance. Huge landlords were present in Bengal who were absentee landlords .
  - The Naxalite movement weakened around 1980.
  - Why did the naxalite movement fail ?
    - Fighting between leaders of naxalite groups who want to become more politically active.
    - Leaders of the naxalite movement did not fight for the landless rather they fought for political power and interest and visibility.
    - Previously they were fighting against landlords, later they were fighting against the state. Naxalite was the creation of communist party but they were becoming more powerful than them and hence the state came down heavily on them.
    - A militant movement would sustain only if people are regularly recruited and prepared to sacrifice their life. Landless who got land from the state left the movement.
    - Once CPI(M) came to power it developed interest in power and appeasing various parties. They went heavily against naxalism forgetting their ideological symmetry with them .
- However popular perceptions about naxalites - violent and anti state ,anti growth anti democracy. This is questioned by various sociologists.
- Prakash singh wrote a book "Naxalite movement in India "
  - He calls this a humanistic movement .
  - How many and where is less important than why naxalism .
  - Many areas are present where states have not reached in 6 decades -> very less development . People are living in these areas like animals in these areas.
  - Naxalites enter these areas and using their labour they build infrastructure , giving them knowledge and support to tribes. Hence tribes are accepting their model of development.
    - State is engaging violence against these tribes by destroying their forest and hence they are forced to carry arms .
  - What naxalites need is not police action , to bring them into mainstream trust building must be there. If you kill one naxalite 5 more will join . Hence roots of the problem must be killed rather than the child of the problem.
- Jan breman
  - Most of these naxalites are poor ,landless with limited needs. They are asking for a place to live at peace.
  - And the state has broken down their peace and they are the victims of the agenda of development.
  - People have developed disbelief in the state because they have lost their culture and everything.
  - And hence we should go for trust building with them

The mistake the British made we are repeating the same mistake . More coercion is used, more new members would be joining.

### Difference between Maoist and naxalite ?

- Naxalite in 1968 they considered their ideological mentor is Mao. Mao ideology holds Naxalite together.
- Naxalism addresses the question of the right to land while Maoism wants to capture state power.
- Naxalism- land to landless while Maoism -anybody who is representing the state is their target because the state has taken away our resources and made us poor.
- Maoist are more organized than Naxalite because Naxalite are localized groups and Maoist are present in different pockets of the country
- Maoist have hierarchy and get ideological support from outside. Capture state power using violence is their ideology .
- If the government is extending the road network to tribal areas they are making roads so that police can reach them easily - Maoist . Hence they interpret all the initiatives of the state from a coercive perspective .
- Maoist get lots of funds from abroad and their network is very strong. They have their organized army .
- They are best at guerilla warfare and have complete knowledge about forest.
- They regularly recruit people by reaching out to their minds.
- Therefore voluntarily join these groups and the state is in difficulty that it cannot wage war against its own people .
- Maoist movement is an all India movement , it is forest based .
- Hence internal insurgency is a biggest challenge to the sovereignty of India.

### Farmers Movement and New farmer movement

Farmers movement was a movement initiated by farmers of India benefiting from GR during the 1970s. These organized farmers wanted more and more benefits and pressurized the state.

In today's new farmers movement because farmers are talking about sustainability and not just loan waivers. This is possible only when we change our agrarian policy. Give space to farmers to export agricultural produce. The people who are joining have different acres of land and hence it is not a class movement. Women are also a part of this movement. They speak about environmental issues and how commercial agriculture is destroying sustainability.

When moving from peasants movement to farmers movements to new farmers movement we are not only talking about the changing nature of agriculture but the changing nature of citizenry in India. There is competition between political parties to reach out to farmers because the strength of the farmers is their numbers.

### Farmer movement

#### Bhartiya Kisan Union

- In 1980 Bhaktiya Kisan union came into power to integrate wheat producers of Punjab Haryana and Uttar Pradesh .This was the frontal organization of rich farmers. Middle farmer joined this organization later . Leader was Chaudhary Charan Singh. Their demands were.
  - Their basic demand was loans of the farmers to be completely waived off.

- Different kinds of subsidies should be given to bring down the cost of production so that profit can be increased.
- Farming implements should be available to the farmers at a concessional rate.
- Whatever the farmers produce the state should be buying from the farmers → **Guaranteed purchased.** Price of the goods should be determined on the evaluation of the input cost.
- Essential agricultural goods like seeds and fertilizers should be directly available to them in cooperatives at subsidized rates.
- Large demonstrations happened in New Delhi .
- **They constituted a political party and came to power and empathized with peasants.**

#### Riya ryot association in Karnataka and Farmers association of Tamil Nadu

- They are also an organisation of rich farmers.
- Established bargaining relationships with the states.
- Class gap in Indian agriculture became extensive due to these movements.
- **Dhanagare- Bourgeoisie are evolving in the countryside taking ransom from the state. We are evolving in a non-state system because the state is becoming powerless.**
- Hence economic domination giving rise to political domination leading to marginalization of the masses.

#### Sethkari sangathan

- **Leader was sharad Joshi**
- In 1987 an integrated farmers movement.
- **It Laid foundation to new farmers movement**
- Farmers producing a given kind of crops in different states if they constitute a cooperative known as inter state cooperative and pull their produce together and sell their produce to cooperatives they will be having higher returns.
- Hence they are incurring losses because they are not unionized.
- **This organization would bring all kinds of farmers together.**
- It is questioning the fiscal deficit of the state- Because of the perception that the state is giving a large chunk of wealth in agriculture. But the state is not giving the support because farmers are not given market value of their produce.
  - Essential commodities act.
- Intermediaries should be thrown out .
- He says rural economy has passed through 4 stages of development
- **Riverine civilization**
  - On the banks of the river where fertile land was available and people started tiling this land.
  - Prosperity and well being was present .
  - No class character present.
- **Peasants and Village based economy**
  - When population increased people started living in plain areas constituting villages .
  - They specialized in different kinds of activities.
  - Agriculture was the prime mode of livelihood .
  - They started goods and services with each other.
  - No exploitation.
- **Centralized state system**
  - Land belongs to the state and people are supposed to give tax to the state or rent to designated people.
  - These people have no responsibility towards land.

- Excess wealth collected with the state, they started wars and weapons .
- This became an exploitative stage.
- After 1980 - We cannot call this as capitalist / Feudal / Centralized state control system
  - Different people have different quantities of land .
  - Different categories of farmers are making capital investment in land irrespective of their land size.
  - Every farmer is using his enterprise and technology.
    - Sowing that which will fetch better value.
  - These farmers are taking risks.
  - Hence Indian agriculture is not capitalist or feudal, it is going for an entrepreneur model.
  - State is their enemy because of land ceiling act , essential commodities act , special economic zones for agriculture.
  - They want training and better quality of seeds and imposition on imports.
- They are asking globalization for who ?

### New Farmers Movement

- It is trying to protect farmers from the adverse impact of globalization.
  - Multinational companies are producing seeds, pesticides and fungicides, they are pumped into indian market. Many times they are not suitable to indian soil and hence productivity is declining leading to distress. They have flooded the indian market and it becomes nobody's responsibility if they incur loss.
  - Government subsidies on agriculture are shrinking after globalization.
  - Farmers were pushed into the open market without any knowledge and people did not go for crop diversity which can be sold in the global market.
  - Specific sectors got patronage from the state. Tax holiday was given to the IT sector and hence they started exporting.
  - The Agricultural research institute did not tell farmers which crops to grow; they are not connected to each other as they are in Australia and New Zealand.
- Hence they need
  - Interstate multipurpose cooperatives.
  - Agriculture should be evolving into a joint stock company.
  - It should be creating a market link among its members like AMUL.
  - Government should not be spelling minimum support price but should be based on (Taking input cost into consideration).
  - Goods should be directly sold to retailers by farmers.
  - For this they would be going for non violent methods of protest.
    - Stop running buses.
    - Padyatra.
    - Jal samadhi.
  - All types of farmers are participating in it
    - women
    - children
    - tribal farmers

Gail Omvedt

- The New farmers movement is a non political , non state ,all inclusive social movement.

- It speaks about child's rights , women rights , economic justice , little or no state influence on markets , environmental protection and inclusive growth. Therefore this movement is a new farmer movement .

Jan Breman

- Advocates that the new farmers movement is not a capitalist farmers movement rather that the state of India to please its support base who largely constitute the urban middle class is keeping the price of agricultural goods low. Therefore farmers are converted into satellites contributing for the gratification of the needs of their metropolis counterparts living in urban space.
- Therefore the new farmers movement rejects the rural urban divide, Bharat India divide and satellite metropolis relationships between the masses and elites . Therefore the new farmers movement is a totalitarian movement asking for an equitable economic order and social democracy.

## Women Movement

### Difference between women and feminist movement ?

- Feminist movement is a revolutionary movement that considers all problems are cause by men.
- Women movement is an issue based on the egalitarian movement.
  - Right to education.
  - Violence against women.
- Motherhood is considered enslavement in some countries but in India it is a celebration.

### Women movement evolved in west in three different stage (3 waves of feminism)

- First wave 1900-1930
  - Subject
    - Women franchise rights-> they were the last to get the voting rights
    - Right to education.
    - Right to employment.
    - Equality between men and women.
- Second wave 1930-1970
  - Importance of women's productive role rather than reproductive role.
  - Productive role is compromised due to reproductive role.
  - The conditions of the labor in the industry should be compared to the women in family.—>Family is as exploitative as industry.
- Third stage (Revolutionary) 1970-1990
  - Subjugation of women is a product of sexuality.
  - Every society gives importance to heterosexuality.
  - Monogamy is a form of sexual enslavement of women.
  - After marriage she is put in a sexual slavery.
  - Say no to marriage , childbirth , heterosexuality.
  - Sexuality is a matter of preference.

In India feminism started with the social reforms movement.

- First stage

- In the 19th century it was men who spoke about women. First group of feminist in India are men. Raja ram Mohan Roy , Ishwar Chandra
- social justice to women.
- Second stage
  - Women franchise rights.
  - Sarla Devi , sarojini Naidu , Madam bhikaji kama.
- Third stage
  - Mahatma Gandhi spearheaded the women movement in India .
  - He constituted an army of women k/a stree Wahini (women brigade ) To provide logistic support to freedom fighters.
  - The outer ring of the demonstrators was composed of the women so that police could not beat the men.
  - But they were sidelined after independence .
  - Ashish Nandi -Gandhian method of protest was a feminist mode of protest. Gandhi knew the power of women.

Women movement is a part of other movements. We cannot sedate them. In all tribal rebellions women participated. Environment movement-(chipko,narmada bachao) women played a significant role. Because their self sufficiency and economic condition are worst affected. Most of the environment movement women issues are raised and participation is huge.

Feminization of agriculture

- Men are going out and as a matter of compulsion women are forced into agriculture.
- Women are becoming entrepreneurs.In operation flood major initiatives are taken by women.

Hence we cannot separate women's issues from the new farmers' movement.Very difficult to distinguish women's movement from other movements.

Beena majumdar

Women movement in India cannot be separated from other social movements. Hence it is an integrated movement.

When India got independence, the government took the responsibility of gender equality because a nation cannot develop if 50% of its population is excluded from the mainstream economy, political representation. From 1947-1970 the state introduced different kinds of policy to promote gender equality. Prior to independence nationalist leaders and reformers were talking about women issues. Hence the women movement is not headed by women.

- 1947-1970
  - State took the responsibility to promote gender equality.
  - Hindu marriage act
    - Women got the right to divorce
    - 18 years to be marriage age.
    - Any adult woman can marry any other man irrespective of caste religion. Hence marriage becomes a matter of choice hence customs are replaced by law.
  - Equal wage for equal work
  - common citizenship is extended to both men and women

- To facilitate state brought women college and school.
- Women right to inheritance
  - Girls should have rights over others' earned property.
- In 1972 national commission on women was constituted and published a report in 1974 Called 'status of women in india'
  - After 2.5 decades of independence gender gap is present in every sphere in India.
  - Literacy and health are huge gaps, Hence overall inclusion of women has not taken place.
- Revolutionary phase -People centric approach
  - To minimize this gender equality state introduced gender sensitive policies from 1980-1990
    - Special forms are created to cater to the needs of women in distress.
    - Reservation for women in PRI.
    - Special legislation for protection of women from institutionalized violence. domestic violence ,custodial rape, communal riots,how technology is contributing to women violence.
- After 1990
  - Amitabh Kundh finds out migration patterns. Of women in india
    - 2008-2018 more single women are going for migration either for education or for employment. Earlier it was because of marriage.
    - When they are coming to other areas their safety network is broken. Huge distance between place of location and place of work.
    - Safety of women is becoming a major concern.
  - More and more women are coming forward and complaining about the violence and sexual offenses.
  - Women safety at home and outside is given importance now .
  - Impact of media on women security
    - Tv is generating opportunities for women
  - Also women are becoming much more conscious about physical health. →Gym,beauty parlors etc
  - Media is promoting the culture of violence and consumerism.
  - It is promoting crime against women and needs to regulate it .

## Major issues taken by women movements

### Dowry

- It is a form of dakshina culturally. Kanya is meant for dan. It is an institutionalized form of dakshina given after marriage to make marriage complete . It is never demanded but voluntaristic and according to the paying capacity.
- It is no longer defined by one's choice ,paying capacity,or goodwill.
- Utsa Patnaik and beena majumdar -Economics of dowry
  - More economy is growing, the more the intensity of dowry is growing.
  - Marriage is converted in the form of crude display of wealth.
- With consumerism and capitalism dowry is now demanded before the negotiation of marriage. This is a form of mercantilist transaction.
- Parents are giving dowry
  - So that daughter is living happily after marriage.

- Once there is dowry there is further demand for dowry. It is driven by greed.
- Beena majumdar- Dowry is a form of arrangement where one gets profit without investment. Man is not marrying a woman, he is marrying money.
- Dowry is an insult to women. People are not respecting women from the start . She is becoming victims to different kinds of violence so that more money can be demanded .
- Dowry violence was very intensive during 1970-1980
- Srinivas-Dowry is a form of modern sati.
- Hence amendment in Dowry abolition act 1982. Demanding and giving dowry is an offense.
- But people now are receiving and giving gifts. Nobody admits they have given dowry until the police case.
- many women organisation came forward
  - Mahila mukti morcha
  - Naree utpidan sangharsh Samiti
  - Nari chetna sangh.
- They indicated that police are refusing to launch an FIR.
- Hence it was made compulsory for the police to launch an FIR and in a time bound basis action should be taken against the offender.
- Many times dowry related violence are not reported because they consider it as an internal matter, only when women is committing suicide they it is coming to police. Hence different helpline numbers are issued by NGO and police to help women in need.

## Sexual violence

- Intensified in 1980-1990.
- In 1988 a 16 year old girl in a train had some fight with her parents and came to Delhi . 6 police people raped her till she lost her senses. After recovering she gave testimony against the police. It became a national issue and the government was forced to take action. Civil society came forward and legislation was introduced.
- In many parts of the country in villages people in uniform are engaged in crime against women . This is called power crime.
- Changes in legislation
  - Evidence Act - Victim women should not be called to court again and again to prevent mental torture.
  - After sunset a woman can't be arrested and women in trail should be accompanied by a women officer.
    - Nirbhaya case
  - In many parts of the country it is alleged that people in uniform take advantage of powerless women.
  - Women organizations initiated movement against these type of rape violence .
- Technology and violence against women
  - Hormonal injections are given to women, birth control pills used by women for population control.
  - Men sterilization in India is 3% and 97% women. Because of the notion that if man goes for sterilization it is affecting his manhood.
  - In 1985 ultrasound machines to identify the status of the fetus were introduced in AIIMS. By 1987 this machine was found in every village of the green revolution belt in the country. This gave rise to female feticide.
  - Termination of pregnancy affects the woman's body most. Economy of the family is ensured at the cost of women's health.

- Feminist organisation protested and the law was made.
- Fundamentalism as a form of violence
  - Fundamentalist
    - They believe they are the true followers.
    - Other thoughts are not acceptable.
    - Absolute commitment to ideology
    - Political fundamentalist-Taliban, Nazi
    - Literal interpretation of text.
    - Challenge to state power.
    - If state fails to take action against them then people started believing them
  - In India different kinds of fundamentalist
    - Hindu fundamentalist look at women
      - Women should be pativrata.-> committed to man throughout the life, enslaved to man and bear child and sacrifice freedom.
      - Husband is god.
      - Sexual purity and monogamy.
      - Kul Vadhu- A person is not just marrying the person but women are having responsibility for the entire lineage group. Sewa for the whole family and food at last . Working morning to evening and not complaining. It is a kind of gender exploitation.
      - Izzat ->Any kind of misadventure by them is bringing disgrace to the family while the boy is exempted.
      - No freedom to choose their dress. It is due to this dress violence crime against women.
      - Stopping women from Valentine's Day.
    - Islamic fundamentalism
      - Polygamy and easy divorce.
      - Right to inheritance not extended to women
      - Strict sexual control on women.
    - Brahmanic fundamentalism may be different from Islamic fundamentals but in both women are suppressed.
- Communal conflict and women
  - It is a conflict between two hostile religious communities.
  - Communalism is anti social ,human ,development and always . In this conflict both communities lose and the nation is the biggest loser.
  - Men fight war and die, women are then pushed to vulnerability, children become orphans. It is a kind of violence against women.
- Marital rape
  - Marriage is a legitimate form of prostitution.
  - Marriage gives man certification to have sexual relations.

Nowadays we find out every woman subject to modern society has been subjected to violence in one form or the other intensity may be different. Violence and women are becoming synonymous to each other.

If violence takes place in a public place it becomes the responsibility of the state but the violence within the family are unreported .

Mental abuse is more grave than physical abuse which cannot be repaired. In urban centers, crime against women is slowly increasing.

Why has crime intensified in the urban center ?

- Because they are expanding horizontally and vertically.
- Population rising and low police ratio.
- Surveillance is low.

It is because of the press that these issues are coming up, the police are also becoming more gender sensitive, and civil society is also playing an important role. Pornographic literature, tv series depicting violence against women should be banned. Women organizations have been instrumental in highlighting these issues.

### Types of women movement

Kumkum shangri -Divides women movement into 4 types such as

- Integrative
- Liberal
- socialist
- radical

Gail Omvedt

- Liberal-Initiated by nationalist ,reformist ,state
- Right oriented movement -Initiated by women organisation

Feminist of India are divided into 3 different group and most of them are liberal and socialist. They speak about women's right to work, education, political participation, social security, respect for women work, economic benefits for household activities advocating that economic empowerment of women is key to their social empowerment. In contemporary context the mee too movement is giving a new dimension to women movement in India. Middle class women educated working in the field of media and entertainment are revealing violence against them at different points of time in their career using social media generating public opinion in their favor. It implies that sexual violence is no longer is considered by women as a private thing. Once expressed in the public domain it will question the morality and the ethical standard of women. Therefore mee too movement is a revolutionary form of self assertion of women who refuse to accept the objectification of their bodies and their helplessness and that explains the new direction to women movement in contemporary India. Women appearing in advertisement cinema and television serials display part of their bodies as a professional requirement which cannot be questioned by the people carrying fundamentalist minds. The recent movie of Kangana Ranaut indicates that she is shooting for a scene as demanded by the character going for nudity which she rejects to accept as unethical therefore progressive women considers that they are born to a democracy which guarantees freedom for women and they should not be succumbing to any kind of pressure in the name of culture and tradition.

## Environment movement

It is not an India specific movement. Norway parliament -Anything that is coming to market at the cost of natural resources should be banned.Nations of the world are coming together to protect the environment.It is a big movement because

- It protects the culture.

- It opposes unplanned civilization.
- Big debate between what should be a protected culture of unplanned civilization.

It is questioning technology and science. All sections of the society are engaged in protecting the environment. It is having national local and international appeal.

These movement is people movement and hence called new social movement

New social movement vs social movement

- Old movement speaks about only a particular category of people while the new social movement is integrative .
- New social movements are issue based rather than class based.
- New social movement is a mass movement.

Behind consumerism there is destruction of nature. If everybody becomes consumerist then we will demand more and hence more nature is destroyed.

Gandhi -there should be limit to needs, unlimited needs leads to destruction.

W.W Ruston wrote a book 'Stages to economic growth ' non communist manifesto which says America model is opposite to Russia .It has become foundation to development all over the world.

5 stages of development

- Primitive stage
  - People living close to nature.
  - No access to technology.
  - Subsistence
  - Nature and culture symbiotic relationships
- Pre take off stage
  - Some people come from outside telling indigenous people how to exploit natural resources.
  - Few people within the country influenced by outsiders would go for trade.
  - Class of people develop -mercantilist ,traders etc.
  - Primitive character of society is wiped off.
- Take off stage
  - Tax base expanding
  - exports increased
  - More number of people employed
  - Diversification of industry
  - More economic stability
- Drive towards maturity
  - Specializing in a specific product
  - Making monopoly in different domain
  - Making every sector specialized.
- Mass consumption
  - More exploitation of natural resources.

First world countries were the first to exploit nature and 3rd world countries are following their footsteps. Environment can give life to man while man is destroying it using science and technology That environment is altered making the life of man miserable. Therefore Ruston model of development in case of India was followed by nehru because he believed that what western

countries achieved in centuries we would achieve in years- Dams are temple of India. But the ecological loss in dams is much more significant today.

We always measure development in economic terms and not in social and cultural terms. More a country is registering growth more is its impact on the environment . Hence many humanists are coming forward to vouch for sustainable development.

Sustainable development is one which respects people's culture and their social life. But in the name of growth, if culture is wiped out, people are displaced or the environment is lost we cannot say that growth is sustainable.

## Challenges of social transformation

### Syllabus

- Crisis of development: displacement, environmental problems and sustainability.
- Poverty, deprivation and inequalities
- Violence against women
- Caste conflicts
- Ethnic conflicts, communalism, religious revivalism
- Illiteracy and disparities in education

### Religious revivalism

Religion is a form of personal belief for others it is a habitual practice and for others it is a source of salvation and for few people it is past time , purifies heart and soul and to extremely few people it is an obstacle to modernity and to a handful it is the opium of the masses.

People need religion for different reasons. What may be the purpose of religion may not be for others. It depends on need.

Auguste comte- Evolutionary theory -> No place for religion in modern scientific theory.

Supported by EB Taylor

- Lower culture
- Middle culture
- Upper culture

Also supported by max weber -> old religion will be replaced by secular religion -> Protestant and ethics.

Magic -> religion -> science

But in modern society religion is making an appearance.

In western societies the state is providing everything but emotional support is absent -> people go for counseling.

Religious revivalism is not uniform throughout the world; it is based on the needs of the people .  
Cults and sects making appearance

#### Bainbridge

- 60% of the church visitors in America belong to the 16-30 age group. Because they have seen money with their parents but not peace of mind.
- Serial monogamy -> No time for children .
- Science can give material comfort but it cannot give companionship and peace of mind.
- Hence these youngsters are coming regularly to these churches.

#### Islamic Society

##### Dobbler

- Religion gives us a sense of diversity.
- Western societies were the first group of societies to go for secularization, modernization , democracy and consider their culture as most progressive and people having faith in religion as backward.
- Religion is influencing every sphere of life in Islamic societies.
- Values of western societies are imposed on these societies to become modern. People become more religious because they think that their culture is in danger.
- People who realize that the West is diluting their culture they become radicals which we found in the Middle East.

#### Africa

Tribal communities of Africa were practicing their religion in the past but due to colonial rule they have adopted different religions. Same for tribes in the north east. Imbibing new religion and its practices and going to church regularly out of curiosity.

#### Asian countries

Religious conflicts are gaining momentum. Religion gives identity , political mobilization and benefits (reservation) and hence a spike in revivalist movement.

#### Communist countries

They destroyed religion and promoted nationalism using guns and power. After a point of time people challenged the role of the state. Dissolution of the USSR. Tibetans coming to India.

#### Why religious revivalism ?

- More people are born to parents who are religious while less children are to non religious people. Hence religious people are multiplying fast.
- In 3rd world countries- huge distinction b/w rich and poor. Poor man has no option due to less economic resources to fulfill his demands as the state is not responsible for him.
- Riggs -prismatic society -> It is one where one community exhibits differences from other communities in terms of dress, food, social congregation. Example Gurdwaras attacked in Canada, Hijab in France society. One is becoming suspicious of others. Others are becoming more religious. Religious places are targeted to make the presence felt.
- politicization of religion- Islamic republic of Pakistan , Hindurashtra, Israel religion and state are inseparable.
- Socialization is the most important factor which makes one religious or secular. Youth becoming radicals due to childhood experience.

## Religious revivalism in India

### KM Panniker-Three stages

- Religious revivalism in ancient india
  - Never a land of one religion, one people and one society. People carrying different faiths were coexisting in the land. Cannot call anybody as originals and migrants.
  - GS Ghurye- Hindu culture is not one culture.
  - Aryans carried vedas and caste system with them.
  - First Vedic period - Brahminic domination into prominence. They become custodians. Non Brahmins felt suffocated.
  - During 5th BCE secularization of hindu religion took place - Buddhism and Jainism.
  - Brahmins losing significance - Brahmins become more orthodox(religious revivalism).
  - When a religion is attacked it bounces back in a very strong way-> casteism becoming stronger, brahmin superiority, ...
- Medieval india
  - Islam-> conversion took place -> challenge to religion
  - Revivalism is getting momentum-> Birth of Sikhism, Shivaji , glorification of culture.
- Colonial period
  - Tried to induce modernity in indian society in the form of socio religious reforms. Selective modernity - abolition of sati, widow remarriage.
  - Public sphere was denied to Indians and was open to British. Indian middle class didn't have any say. They consolidated themselves in the name of religion-> identity-> religious consciousness. Bharat Mata is the new religious consciousness. My god is in distress due to British. This concept put Marathas bengals .... together. Hence it was a political necessity to bring people together.
  - This created suspicion in Muslims-> Growth of Muslim League-> Partition of India.
  - Mahatma Gandhi-> Moderate path to religious revivalism and not radicalism. Man cannot live without religion; it is a moral guide to man. Gave importance to core values on Hinduism -> tolerance, mutual coexistence. Large people of India relate to this liberal form of religion as against radicalism.
  - Nehru-> separation of religion in India. The Constitution is also responsible for religious revivalism . Freedom of religion.
  - Officers appointed to manage the money of temples . Tirupati balaji trust.
- Contemporary times
  - Political parties formulated in the name of religion but also recognized by the election commission. Electorate support base is their religion.
  - Religious polarization of voters taking place.
  - Destroying the pluralistic character in Indian society.
  - Intolerance rising.
  - Victims of modernity are going for religious revivalism. People with lots of money - politicians and film stars -> going to religious places before election and film release.
  - Cult leaders becoming popular.
  - No religious revivalism is possible if there are no supporters.

# Communalism

From the word 'commune' which refers to a body of people who are emotionally connected to each other and they share a strong sense of belongingness and smaller in number. Hence commune is not a negative concept. There can be caste , ethnic and religious communities.

Communalism has a wider connotation in western societies. It is a value neutral ideology but only in the context of India we consider communalism is driven by religious ideology which are opposite to each other.

Communalism being an ideology we can have different communities without ideology but when imbibing that ideology which stands opposite to other ideology leads to communal conflict.

Identity- I am Odia and you are Bengali

Ideology - Bengali dominated over odia for so long.

There can be communal identity without communal ideology , When identity is associated with ideology then exclusions and inclusion starts. Hence where there is community presents there may not be conflict.

Randhir singh

- 'Many facets of communalism'
- Communities are not only different. Social, economic and political interest of one community is different from other communities.
- One community creates a roadblock for achieving the goals of another -> conflict.
- Communal conflict is the dialects of secular interest of different communities. So long as secular goals are similar there will be no communal conflict.
- Communal conflict is different from class conflict.
  - Class conflict is functional to society-voice to voiceless , homogenization ,equality while communal conflict is anti social , anti human, anti development , anti democracy , anti inclusive and anti welfare. Most importantly communal conflict stands in the way of class conflict.
  - communal conflict happens in society where people are not class conscious. Illiterate and false consciousness.
- Distinction between minority communalism and majority communalism
  - Minority communalism is more dangerous because in majority community people may have different opinion and contradictions.- History
  - Context today is different: majoritarian communalism is leading to suffocation of minorities. Within the majority the voice of dissent is silenced.

Amartya sen (Neo modernist approach)

- When higher eco. Growth in the country-> money is used for expansion of education , development of skill-> employability ->quality life ->HDI becomes high-> communal tension would be gone.
- Hence where HDI is high ,communal conflict would be low. So improve HDI.
- But in Indian states -Gujarat , Maharashtra have better HDI than UP but communal violence takes place. This is due to social awareness and quality of life.
- France and Netherlands - High HDI but communal violence taking place.

Charles Taylor

- Multidimensional approach to communal conflict.

- Race, ethnicity , religion ... can result in communal conflict.
- Religious communalism is a one type of communal conflict but not the only form of communal conflict.
- In India there would be vested interest groups who trigger the communal conflict. Interest based conflicts are given communal color. Example Hindu traders v/s Muslim traders.
- Ordinary people fight the communal conflict but it serves the vested interest. Cause may not be religious it may be economic ,political , social interest.

Anti Modern approach(Post modern) -TN Madan and Ashish Nandi, Sudhir kakkar

TN Madan

- Religion in Hinduism is not limited to visiting temples, performing rituals but it is something inbuilt and natural. Food , dress, manner, speech and reaction are driven by culture and religious values. Therefore a secular person is also religious in India.
- Symbolic theory of religion- Religion is a product of Nomo (Norms) everyday behavior.

Ashish Nandi and SK

- Communal conflict is a product of expansion of urbanization , industrialization and modernization in India. It is a reaction to aggressive modernity.
- One community going for modernity while other questioning modernity then communal conflict arises between the two.
- More communal conflict in cities , urban centers.
- Communal conflict gives a kind of psychological arrogance to one group. Ex- burning houses of one community.

Communalism is giving rise to a form of political articulation.

Ashutosh Vesh-He divides India into 3 zones

- Highly communal prone area - Gorakhpur , Mirzapur , Muzaffarnagar
- Moderately communal prone area - Lucknow , Mumbai
- Least communal prone area -Calicut

The area where social compatibility is low , income gap is high , level of literacy is low there communal conflict would be more intensive. People who live in different areas do not talk and have different occupations.

Causes

**Economics of communalism**-Poverty , unemployment , joblessness in one community. Blames other communities for their condition.

**Polarization of occupations**- One occupation for one community

**Psychological factors** - Negative stereotypes about other communities.

**Political factors**- Political parties on the basis of religion provide fertile ground.

# Poverty

Poverty is essential for the distinction between nations. It provides opportunities for us. It is instrumental for protest and mobilization in the country. Therefore we cannot understand a society without poverty.

Holistic understanding of poverty

- What is poverty ?
- Why is there poverty ?
- Who is poor ? What is their contribution to total poverty ?

Poverty is defined by world financial organizations.

World Bank- Income factor,

- Family >3.9 \$ in western country
- Family >1.9 \$ in 3rd world countries.

In India total poor - 23% BPL

Amartya sen and John Scott

Income and calorie poverty is a highly mechanistic definition of poverty. Man instead of money should be in the center. Access to education , human freedom , health , freedom of expression. That is poverty is a human experience which is pushing them into deprivation.

## Theories to poverty

Marx and Marxist

Marx

- There are poor because there are rich.
- Rich control over FOP allocates work, determine wages.
- Private Wealth -> Capital.
- Rich become richer , the poor more poorer.
- State policy catering to capitalist needs.
- Poverty alleviation programs are a check to keep on proletarian revolution.
- Solution - Redistribution of productive resources, FOP controlled by state cooperatives.

Marxists

- Andre Gunden Frank - 'Dependency theory' - 'Development of underdevelopment'
  - 3rd world countries are suffering from poverty not because of the fact people are unwilling to work or they are suffering from a technological deficit.
  - They are suffering because most of them are subjected to colonization. Most of them are converted into satellites- supplying raw materials and importing finished goods.
  - First world countries never give their technology to 3rd world countries.
  - Rich countries are getting richer.
  - They provide incentives in the form of money to develop but the nations get caught in a cycle of debt.
  - Poverty breeds poverty.

- Oil producing countries came together and challenged the exploitative character. China became independent.
- World system theory
  - World is evolving into an economic system.
  - No nation in the world is economically self-sufficient.
  - Different nations with different structures are becoming part of this system. Autocratic China and democratic US.
  - Core , semi periphery and periphery. This global system is putting people in a state of conflict. Core nation (US) is trying to resist others and oppress.China (Semi periphery).
  - China-> Pakistan a new form of colonization.
- Ken Coats
  - Poverty is a requirement of capitalists.
  - Poverty is more expensive therefore poor people are subjected to multiple forms of deprivations. Therefore it's a myth that poverty can be eradicated.
  - Example - People living on low wages - unhygienic conditions , less education to children , health affected -> more expenses.Poverty breeds poverty. These factors are not taken into consideration.
  - Poverty is subjected to continuity.
  - Poverty is not escapable as long as capitalism is present.

#### Liberal theorists

- Poverty persists in 3rd world countries because of multiple factors
  - Population explosion- More mouths to feed, women. Kept out of work.
  - Absence of skill and technology
  - 3rd world countries are selling raw materials rather than finished goods.
  - Political instability
  - Bureaucratic hinderance
  - Large Illiterate population dependent on agriculture.

#### Functionalists

##### Herbert Genz

- Poverty supplies cheap labour.
- Essential for NGO, philanthropist.
- Central to politics, state policy.
- Policing system- Arrest the poor.
- Films , books , research.

#### Postmodern Theorists

- Poverty is defined differently with the passage of time.
- In the 18th century - Non believers in religion/culture subjected to exclusion.
- In 19 century - Industry -> Money became the indicator of poverty.
- Now poverty is defined on the basis of knowledge. Example lack of technological knowledge , ethics , humanism etc.

## Poverty in India

- Group of people advocate that persistence of poverty in India is due to colonial rule. DadaBhai Naoroji, AR Desai. Industries of India collapsed, export of raw material and import of finished goods, Permanent settlement system.
- Nandani Gupta
  - It is Gandhiji who symbolized poverty to address to the masses. He dressed, took food and lived like the poor. Poverty became a symbol of political movement. He introduced the concept of SEWA and from that philanthropist people got momentum.
  - Money never measured poverty in India but the quality of life and character. (Gandhian concept)
  - Nehru gave more importance to economic poverty. Indian cannot grow unless poverty is eliminated. → Education and skill development
  - Indira Gandhi → No political support. Targeting the poor and giving them benefits which are not sustainable → Garibi Hatao → borrowing money from international organizations. Persistence of poverty is due to dependence of the poor on the state to create a support base for political parties.
  - After globalization → redefining the poor. Create conditions for employability for the poor.
  - 'From rag to riches'.
  - Quick enterprises are developing. Example whole economy of IIT Kanpur - Nankari
  - Market chain developed.
  - Poor are no longer people dependent on the state; the only thing needed is direction. Example: SHG, startup, Mudra.
  - Contribution of the informal sector has reduced poverty in India.
- Economic poverty
  - India is divided into different zones
    - Least poverty zones - Andhra, Delhi, Goa, Punjab, H.P,
    - Lower poverty moderate zone - Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, T.N, Haryana, Uttarakhand, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Telangana, J&K
    - Moderate poverty zones - Karnataka, Chandigarh, Mizoram, W.B
    - Highest poverty zones - where poverty is high there population is high. Chhattisgarh > Jharkhand > Bihar > Orissa > Assam > U.P > Arunachal Pradesh also MP
- Utsa Patnaik
  - 'Republic of hunger' - Strong correlation between gender and poverty.
  - Feminization of poverty.
    - Domestication of women
    - Pink color occupation
- Sukhdev Thorat
  - Caste and poverty
  - Poverty among SC is 2x in comparison to forward caste.
  - Rejected to the idea of Dalit capitalism - still suffering from landlessness.
- Xaxa
  - Tribal and poverty
  - Displacement from habitat → migration
  - Lack of education, absence of skill, health hazards.
  - Higher mortality and morbidity rate.
- Dhanagare

- Umbrella policy (same) policy for poverty alleviation is responsible for persistence of poverty . Example: Mgnrega , Food for work.
- DP Mukherjee
  - People who are making policies for poverty alleviation don't have sufficient knowledge about why poverty exists.
  - Public policy and poverty are moving in parallel directions.
  - Regional disparity in development is leading to prosperity in one zone and poverty in others.

How nations in world are alleviating poverty

- Societal approach
  - Malthus , Adam smith .If economics changes society would be changed.
  - Contradicted by many - Society has many parts and economy is only one part. Change in one part may bring instability in other parts. First change the society - ethos , culture .. like china . Then change the economics . French Revolution
- Entrepreneurial approach
  - No capacity of the state to eliminate poverty. It is simply a facilitator.
  - Every individual must develop an entrepreneurial culture.
- Human development approach
  - Amartya sen
  - Equality , no discrimination ,accessibility.
  - Strong civil society , free press can facilitate it.
- Critical approach
  - State always targets the poor.
  - Poor should make more and more demands on the poor.
  - Ultimately money collected from one group is distributed to the poor.

## Development displacement and rehabilitation

Use whatever is studied in environmental movements.

Development as an idea is specific to western society. In the 19th century western countries exploited natural resources using technology to produce material goods and commodities and sold this in poor nations and generated huge wealth and reinvested this wealth. Employment for scientific researchers , transporters and traders. Therefore these countries are called developed countries. Western development of models is becoming indicator in 3rd developed countries. By the time these countries are going for industrialization, the market is already captured , climate change is at its peak.

Developmental model of 1st world countries was considered as growth (Increase in public health...) till the 1990s. This was followed by the Nehru Mahalanobis model. Result was a large number of people were subjected to displacement, health and hygiene was affected.

There are different dimensions of development. Major dimension is economic development.

Economic development

- Agriculture
  - Crop diversification
  - Market linkage

- Example of New Zealand
- Expansion of industry
  - Optimal use of human capital.
  - Social and ecological cost minimized.
  - It gives way to urbanization.
- Urbanization
  - First cultural cities were developed in India. People came to connect their cultures.
  - Then learning centers developed.
  - Then the same pattern of cultural cities continued in medieval India.
  - Early traders were very much committed to the quality of their produce rather than expansion.
  - British introduced a culture of non responsibility of produce, de industrialization
  - British came and the urban center came up without industrialization unlike the west.
  - Planned cities for British officers and unplanned for Indians. People living in slums.
  - Now Smart cities - offering quality life for everybody

150 yrs of British rule destroyed our economic background. Major problem after independence was survival rather than development.

#### Post independence India

Nehru believed that industries should be under state control. Socialistic policy was adopted. State is deciding on industries.

Expansion of railways, mineral exploration.

Bombay plan + MN Roy plan

People had enormous faith in the state. No questioning.

#### Dipankar Gupta

- 'From people to citizens'
- Democracy would sustain only if in democracy there are conscious citizens.
- In Nehru and Indira India there were no citizens but people but now they have become citizens.
- Example Narmada Bachao Andolan, environmental movement.
- When party system got fragmented. Party in power got questioned by the opposition, Competitive politics gained momentum.
- Citizens are motivated by the NGO, civil society or political parties.
- Till now people in India are not converted into citizens. Citizens are those who are aware of their rights, mandate given to the state.
- Developmental initiatives are run by the state and benefit only a few and ignore the masses which are yet to be converted into citizens.

Crime, drugs and alcohol abuse in the countryside is the product of unplanned development in the country.

Small farmers, women and tribals are the biggest victims of development initiatives. Cost of displacement is not taken into account.

AB OTA- World bank president

- Development gives rise to land alienation->landlessness ->joblessness -> poverty->forced migration -> disintegration/disappearance.Hence monetary compensation is not a solution because of this whole chain.
- Development gives rise to loss of sustainability->growth of dependency-> vulnerability.
- Development leads to deculturation (de tribalisation de peasantisation) leading to loss of identity. Hence existence is in danger.

#### Civil society demands

- Before initiating a program do a socio cultural environmental assessment.
- Proper rehabilitation program which is sustainable .
- Give skills and jobs to the people.

#### Development Displacement and Rehabilitation

#### Sir Article

## Atrocities against Women

Most victim of child labour are girls.

Atrocity literally meaning violence is associated with women from historical to contemporary period. This atrocity speaks about gender violence institutionalized in indian society.

#### Hindu Dharma Sastha - Manusmritis

Women are equivalent to shudras and hence also subjected to social exclusion.

Rituals are banned for women. Menstrual blood is considered impure.

The primary duty of a woman is to look after family. Husband treated as god. This is a kind of silent atrocity against women by culture and women accept that as a way of life.

#### Muslim society

Opinion of the girl during marriage does not actually offer her a choice . Mehar money is so low that women have to compromise for marriage. 80% of the women after separation do not get mehar.

Self control for women - Face veil , right to education , cannot leave without male person .

#### Catholics

In Catholics divorce is an act of sin , termination of pregnancy is unacceptable. Therefore once a woman is married she is obliged to stand by the family.

#### Tribal society

Work + look after children + do household chores + continuous pregnancy +Physical violence.

#### Three kinds of atrocities

- Social atrocity
  - Atrocities present in the society
  - Female foeticide, female infanticide , dowry , child marriage , child labour
- Domestic atrocity
  - Mental torture , physical torture , denial of basic rights , insult and injury
- Criminal violence
  - Above also , rapes , murder,

## Types of violence

### Latent violence

- Not recognized as violence but having a huge impact.
- Self Inflicted violence- Violence against oneself. Not eating because husband has not come, eating at last
- Health - Women in India taking food that contains 1000 calories less than man. 60 % of women in rural and 40 % in urban are anemic. 32% of the women suffering from gynae disorders after the first child birth. Girl child is less breastfeed in comparison to a boy. Women spending on health is 60 % less in comparison to a man
  - Sandhya Srinivasan- If a woman is cooking food using biomass as fuel for 3 hours the smoke she is inhaling is equivalent to 20 cigarettes.
- Work
  - Utsa Patnaik - Condition of women is better than cattle's because they have to work for 24x7 throughout the year
  - Veena majumdar- Men keep women away from productive labour. Kept away from technology. cannot use a tractor.
- Education
  - Literacy rate men -82% and women -65
  - 60% of boys attend 5-12 class as against 20 % women till 5-10
  - Malvika karlekar - Girls are not sent to school
    - culture doesn't allow them
    - distance b/w school and house.
    - adequate number of women teacher not there
    - inadequate infrastructure
    - inadequate transport
  - Higher would be the demand for dowry.

### Manifest Violence

- Rape , domestic violence , gang rapes, kidnapping is the manifestation of the person who considers himself more powerful physically , economically and socially than women.
- Veena Das
  - Given a chance a man would not hesitate to go for sexual aggression over the dead body of women.
  - It is the struggle for power and the worst victims are women. Example Hatharas rape case.
  - Here we must ask the question of gender equality , human rights. Rape has multiple dimensions.
  - Rape should be studied in terms of economic , political and social power.
    - Social power - Caste based rapes.
  - Hence sociology of rape is different from criminology of rape
- Renuka singh
  - Men try to control women's bodies in both legitimate and illegitimate ways.
  - Legitimate - Marriage and illegitimate - Rape
  - Marriage is nothing but a form of legitimate prostitution.
- Minoki chaudhary
  - Rape is a symbolic act through which man is reminding women of her perpetual inferiority.
  - Rape is not taking place in. Public sphere but also in private sphere (Family).
  - Most of the private sphere rapes are not reported.
    - Image of family.

- Self dignity.
- After a span of 30-40 yrs me too movement . Women are speaking out.

Latent violence is due to structure in the society and when this is institutionalized manifest violence keeps appearing.

## Illiteracy and disparity in education

Difference between literacy and education .

- Education gives knowledge and literacy help to read, write and speak in a given language .

World avg of literacy -90.02 %

India -74.04%

India male - 81.24

India female -65.46

Gender gap 16.66 %

37 % of the illiterates of the world are living in India.

Out of 135 countries India ranking is 123 as per the existence of female illiterates.

60 lakh children are out of school (invisible children)

50 % illiterates of India are coming from Hindi speaking states.

70% of the SC and 90 % of ST girls dont complete their 10th standard .

Access to higher education

- higher caste 9.01%
- BC-7.09%
- Muslims -3.47%
- Dalits 1.76%
- Adivasis -1.14%

GS Ghurye - In ancient indian society the right to knowledge was universal. Formal school was not present but education given by senior generation to upcoming generation. Education about skills, character and values and ethics. Skill from family , values and character from religion. Gurukul ashram gave different education according to social position. Hence in ancient India literacy and education was different.

Muslims Rulers- Religious and theological was introduced to followers of Islam. Madrasas has come up. Education was still culture focussed. More focus on character building than creation.

British- Introduce education which satisfies british needs. It was not creative , scientific. These educated middle classes gave legitimacy to british rule.

DP mukherjee - Indian middle class was instrumental for consolidation of british rule and also decolonization.

After independence -Education should be used as a vehicle for social transformation, Knowledge about the past, basic values about the society (Preamble, FR). Modern education is challenging to the hierarchical character of Indian society. Ethos of education is to bring egalitarian society. A passport to enter into the job market.

Some policies

- Government control over higher education (IIT) and PPP in school education. Different councils of research were set up and standardization of education.
- Accessibility, affordability of education - JNU. So that everyone can afford it.
- New education policy 1988
- RTE a fundamental right
- Private university after globalization
- New education policy 2020

After 73 of Indian independence do you consider education has been able to dismantle the structure of society ?

Use above data .

High dropout rate

No applicability of education.

Literacy rate in India varies

Gender disparity -16.66 %

Malvika Karlekar as discussed above.

Steps to minimize this gap.

Beti bachao beti padhao ... But still gap persists because of

- Caste dimension to gender.
- Class dimension to gender.

Therefore affordability , accessibility are not important but the various hierarchical characters present in India.

### Tribals and education

Special schools for tribal children and schools were close to tribal areas by government

Books , stationery and dresses were given to children but still it was found out 60 % of the children don't come to school . Those who come 80 % drop out at class 5

### Reasons

- The Contents of the curriculum do not match with their day to day life. Alienation .
- Teachers in tribal school are non tribals and speak in a different language.-Linguistic poverty.
- They don't connect education to their future roles.
- Poverty in family -> need for labour of child.
- Gestation period of education is too big (15 yrs) still not any job.
- Development displacement- Sustenance becomes more important.

But in states where the tribal population is high there are high literacy rates. Eg north east because here education was introduced by missionaries and monasteries and not the state .

### Kennedy institute of HR

- Dalit children in school carry their own water bottles because they cannot drink water from public places .
- Sits separately
- Education deprivation is considered as cultural lag. He is Dalit would not be able to study.
- This becomes alienation for them and they drop out.

- Parents forced them to go to school. Hence alienation from home also.

Zoya Hassan

Why Muslims go for religious education?

- Muslims thought that through English British wanted to destroy their culture.
- After independence, the curriculum is pro Hindu culture and the text becomes alienated to them. Muslim cultural values not present in books.
- Muslims prefer to send girls to school where the teacher is female.

Sachar Committee

- Literacy rate of Muslims is higher than Hindus in the states of Gujarat and Andhra.
- Literacy rate of Muslims is low in those states which are backward.

In the last 70 years different kinds of education were introduced in the country. In rural areas mostly government schools. Infrastructure facility is poor, teacher pupil ratio is high, medium of communication is vernacular. These children do not have a future vision. As and when they get a chance of employment they drop out. Education deprivation leads to deprivation in the field of employment leading to perpetuation of poverty. Aspirations are low.

In urban areas different kinds of schools are there. Different schools of middle class, upper middle class, and upper class. Linguistic deprivations, students not able to reproduce, not able to represent themselves in comparison to children studying in different schools.

Hence Privileged are seen in important positions and the underprivileged are asking for reservation, joining political parties. Hence so many dimensions to the literacy gap.

## Caste conflict and Ethnic conflict

Two groups of people come against each other due to ideological differences, interests, secular attainments (education, wealth).

Conflict is endemic to social change. Foundation to social change.

Through this conflict -

- unacceptable system -> acceptable system
- articulate your interests

It can be legitimate and illegitimate. Legitimacy is allowed in democracy and illegitimate conflict leads to punishment.

Caste is a hierarchical system prescribed by culture. If all agree to this system then there would be consensus and it would become a harmonic model. There would not be any conflict.

When the privilege of one caste is questioned by another then there would be caste conflict. It started during 5th BCE when Kshatriyas questioned the authority of Brahmins. Rise of Buddhism and Jainism are the primary manifestations of caste conflict. Bhakti movement with the arrival of Muslims rulers and Brahmanic superiority was questioned by lower castes.

British knew that the biggest challenge to their rule was Brahmins and Kshatriyas and hence their patronage to intermediary caste and many of them became landowners, traders. Srinivas - call this Secular mobility. Then went for sanskritisation.

Use material from the caste chapter.

Caste which was a fixed hierarchy became a dynamic hierarchy.

Ethnic conflict

A group of people living in one area, same language, same history, same culture develops an unity separated from others to constitute ethnic identity.

Conflict based on the above criteria constitutes ethnic conflict.

Linguistic ethnicity

- Demand for classical language states.
- States based on language
- Official recognition
- Hindi not to be enforced on different states.
- Assam -Bengal conflict.

## Some important topics

### Civil society

The concept of CS is carrying two different kinds of meaning

- CS is a transitional political stage standing b/w primitive society and modern state.
- CS is primarily an association of the people mostly belonging to the middle class who keep a check and balance on the state.

John Locke

In primitive society every individual is empowered, complete freedom is extended to the man, can punish others and protect themselves. Hence complete chaos in primitive society.

Then rulers came who made rules and some kind of discipline appeared in the society. Following rules people started accumulating wealth, trade and commerce. Hence this is called civil society.

In civil society rulers and aristocrats made huge benefits and hence the need for modern society.

Hegel

Society is evolving in 3 stage

Primitive society - Universal reflexivity

Civil society - Universal egoism (gratification of self economic needs)

State - March of god on earth

Tocqueville

First person to talk about changing the nature of civil society as discussed above.

Military stage - Those who have power rule.

Democracy - Activities of the state are monitored by private people . It is an imaginary stage where people are political conscious, deliberating and debating are called civil society.

CS is not present in military society. It is only present in democracy. We are moving away from military aristocratic society to democratic society.

In democracy politics operates at 2 levels

- Centralized state
- Atomized individuals- Making demands on the state and asserting their rights.

Concept of the CS came up during the 19th century the way we understand it today. Private people independent of the state went for scientific innovation , entrepreneurship and traders. Markets become open and elastic. DOL is decided by oneself rather than king.

Adam Smith- Rational individual derived by rational thinking enters the market.

When state policy is favoring few people , discriminatory and against the people . Then the people criticize the government. These people are outside the state, literate , politically conscious. Participate in a public state and generate public opinion.

Questioning the state is the role of civic people i.e intellectuals , conscious people .. They should be democratizing democracy. The Constitution cannot make a democracy , it needs to have a watchdog present which is civil society.

There would not be civil society in communist states as states would make an attempt to suppress the civic consciousness. Example of Hongkong protests.

## Habermas

Key architect of the concept of civil society.

People of modern society operates in 2 different spheres

- Private sphere - operates through love , trust , compete freedom
  - Family , kinship
- Public sphere
  - Never operate as an individual. Example Student is not an individual.
  - University , market , law , industry

In the public sphere private individuals participate not according to their own terms and conditions. These public spheres must fulfill the aspiration of private individuals. When the interest of PI is not addressed by PuS. In 19th century Europe these private individuals formed groups and went for mobilizations.

Civil society is creating a sphere in between private and public sphere making the system progressive , participative.

In the 19th century CS was controlled by elites and it became a space for bourgeoisie demanding concessions from the state.

CS should be made open to everybody. More CS is becoming open, more issues of the masses are addressed and democracy is strengthened. Therefore 19th C. CS is different from 20th and 21st century. 20 - diversified sections and 21 - multiple sections of the society

## Gramsci

A group of people come to power driven by a specific kind of ideology. Once power is captured they try to put their ideology in the civil society. Therefore CS is becoming a place for contestation of ideologies. Hence it becomes a kind of hegemonic domination. Counter hegemony should dismantle the hegemony . Example in Tiananmen Square, China's counter hegemony was not strong.

Civil society in India

It originated during India's independence.

Basic objective - Decolonization of India

After decolonization this civil society became the state and made it a point that any CS should not tell them what they did to british. Those who were to constitute the CS became part of the state.

Middle class is also dependent on the state for employment generation. Policy is never criticized and only outcome is criticized.

Those who didn't go to school didn't understand the policy of the state. State communicates with them directly - Garibi hatao , 6k for farmers.

India civil society is a weak and fragmented civil society which appears from time to time . Example: Anna Andolan. Self centered people belonging to different communities constitute CS.

Therefore Indian democracy cannot be compared to that of the west. Therefore state hegemonist control is becoming stronger.

## Industrialization and urbanisation in modern india

### Syllabus

- Evolution of modern industry in india
- Growth of urban settlements in india
- Working class: structure, growth, class mobilization
- Informal sector, child labour
- Slums and deprivation in urban areas

### Evolution of modern industry in india

Modernization theory -Industrialization is a sign of higher level of development and all societies are at different stages of modernization, but they all are heading in the same path.

Louis wirth- Industrialization and urbanization imply not just changes in the production system, technological innovations , density of settlement but also change in way of life

- 1850-1890

- Cotton and jute industry . It rose on the grave of domestic industry
- Products were exported and surplus drained out of the country
- Led to overcrowding of agriculture and impoverishment of peasantry
- 1890-1915
  - Heavy industries like cement, iron and steel
  - Industries setup by indigenious industrialist like Tatas
  - Working class movement in formative stage
- 1915-1947
  - Wars brought promotion of industries as well as misery to workers
  - ILO was established in 1919. Trade union movements gained momentum
  - Communisit movement also got momentum
- 1947-1991
  - State sponsored heavy industries for self reliance and import substitution
- Post liberalization period
  - Consumer goods industry saw huge expansion
  - Service sector grew
  - Labor policies have been liberalised and power of trade unions curtailed

Industrialisation in India has not led to decline in agriculture employment, instead service sector employment has increased. Employment intensive manufacturing phase was skipped in india

#### Consequences of market economy

- Surplus was now meant for market and not for self consumption
- Changes in the cropping pattern - more commercial production - wheat rice
- Jajmani system became extinct
- Rural to urban migration increased
- Introduced scientific temperament in indian agriculture
- Promoted consumerism
- High division of labor, broke caste hierarchy and promoted social mobility
- Role of family and kinship weakened in economic placement
- Higher aspiration among individuals leading to higher anomie
- Joint family which was supposed to disappear has reappeared

#### Consequences of globalization

- Stiff competition to indian products
- Outsourcing of everything to informal sector - less permanent employment
- Difficult for trade unions to organize themselves in smaller firms
- Only consumer industries have been globalized , technology transfer is not happening.
- Displacement of tribes
- World dependency theory

## Growth of urban settlements in india

Urbanization implies a cultural and socio psychological process whereby people acquire material and non material culture, including behavior patterns forms of organization and the ideas that originated or are distinctive of the city

Urban area acc to census 2011

- Population >5000
- Density>400 persons per sq km
- 75% of the population engaged in non agricultural activities
- 31 % of the indian population lives in cities

India has simultaneously witnessed under urbanisation ( as majority of population lives in cities) and over urbanisation ( as cities are crowded)

Robert redfield and milton singer classifies process of urbanisation in

- Primary urbanization - It helps in spreading the value of great tradition
- Secondary urbanization - It leads to overshadowing the values of little tradition

Impacts of urbanisation

- Relationships become impersonal, formal and goal oriented.
- People move from agriculture to other sectors, High DOL
- Breakdown of the functioning of traditional institutions
- Traditional forms may continue to exist but their functions undergo major changes .  
Example - Family in india
  - Pauline Kolenda -Fusion of sub caste and caste for political gains
- Migration and diffusion of culture
- Women is forced to perform dual roles- social and professional
- KM Kapadia and AM shah- No relation between urbanisation and separate nuclear households.
- Ghurye , Gore and Kapoor- Caste is very much alive in urban areas.
- MSA Rao-In india there has been a traditional urbanisation in which the institution of caste, joint family and religion have not faded away in favour of class, nuclear family and secularisation.

Problems of urbanisation

- Over urbanisation - huge population that cities fails to ensure decent way of life
- Pollution and environment decay
- Socio economic challenges
  - Inadequate housing and problems of slums
  - Inadequate transportation
  - Informalisation of workforce
  - Inadequate health and sanitation
  - Census 2011- 30% of indian population is deprived of safe drinking water facility
- Social consequences

- Partial isolation
- Competition and conflict
- Increasing rate of divorce in marriages
- Migration to cities leaves villages with no leadership

## Working class in india - Structure, growth and mobilization

A group which shares similar economic situation which distinguishes itself from others like property owners, managers and employers

Workers mobilization means organization of workers for their upliftment and welfare.

Without a factory there can be no working class but only working people. In India till the middle of the 19th century there were working people and not a working class.

### Growth of working class

- Formative phase
  - Destruction of traditional economy
  - AR Desai- Millions of artisans, craftsman , spinner , weavers from the town and villages had no alternative but to crowd to agriculture leading to deadly pressure on land
  - First generation of factory workers came from the dispossessed sections of the village
  - In mines mostly tribes were employed
  - Working class in europe also came from villages but in case of india only a small portion of people could become part of working class as opportunities were limited
- Working class emergence
  - Worker activity guided by philanthropic organisation.
  - It is also known as the voluntaristic phase and the early strikes and mobilization happened.
  - By 1890 strikes become frequent
  - Workers were attracted by the national leaders in the freedom movement
  - Some organisation were founded by the beginning of world war- Bombay mills hand association
- Consolidation of working class and beginning of trade union movement
  - October revolution and formation of ILO
  - Formation of AITUC in 1920 , Gandhi in ahmedabad formed textile labor association
  - 1926-1929- Indian communist movement got a momentum
  - Indian trade union act 1926
  - World economic crises 1926 - mass retrenchment , workers of all kinds were hit
- Post world war 2 phase
  - Emergence of the working class as a highly organised and class conscious and uncompromising force against colonialism.

- Industrial disputes act 1947, Labour relations bill and trade union bill - state became the arbitrator between trade unions and employers
- During 1960 - large scale retrenchment and exploitation again. Women workers increased due to low wages .Frustration building up for the non fulfillment of the post independence expectations .
- Formation of apolitical organisations - SEWA, Working women forum not affiliated to any party
- Post liberalisation
  - Trade union and workers organisations considered threat to investment
  - Organised working class formed a very small portion of the working class.
  - Rise of capital and technology based market has made labour a commodity
  - Service sector worker are disinterested in trade union activities
  - Nature of disputes and demands are changing - Job protection and satisfaction in work over wages
  - Contract workers , labour bills 2020

## Informal sector

It is that part of the economy which is not covered by the formal regulations, statutes and rules. Sometimes it is also referred to as the unorganized sector. In India the informal sector is not used in official statistics while organized and unorganized is used.

In 1972-23% of the workforce was in casual labor

In 2016-Over 93% of the workforce whether in agriculture , industry or services is informally employed.

Contribution to GDP is over 50%

- Personal relationships determine many aspects of the work. They do not have well defined rules and regulations like formal organizations
- No social security
- No organization or trade union
- They are not registered as workers under the law- excluded from benefit like maternity benefit act, worker compensation act
- Government scheme - NPS, Old age pension scheme
- Organization like SEWA- providing social security by formation of cooperatives

## Child labour

ILO- Child labour includes children permanently leading an adult life. Working long hours with low wages under conditions which are detrimental to the physical and mental health sometimes separated from family.

Factors which contribute to its existence in india

- Small children pledged to moneylenders - Bonded labor

- Neglect of girls education -> early employment as domestic workers.
- Large family size
- Child specific occupations - bangle industry, carpet weaving
- Poor social security in parents occupation
- Poor legislative framework
- More prevalent in certain areas and in vulnerable sections - SC/ST.
- Lack of education , corruption
- $\frac{2}{3}$  of them work in agriculture as per ILO
- Neera Burra- Middle class actively promotes child labour in search of cheap domestic help .
- Utsa Patnaik- Economics of child labour is biggest cause of its existence.
- Immediate ban on child labour should be supported by adequate resources otherwise these children may fall prey to child prostitution and undernourishment.
- UN convention on the rights of child has been signed by India, Article 24

## Slums and deprivation in urban areas

### Reasons for rise of slum

- Demographic pressure
- Incapacity of the cities to accommodate people
- Inaccessible urban land market

Lewis Mumford and Friedrich engels - Rise of industrial cities and factory system leads to slums  
Planning commission - 23% of the people living in urban areas are slum dwellers.

Oscar lewis(Culture of poverty thesis) - People are poor in slums not because they lack resources but because they acquire a poverty perpetuating value system. That is cultural values play a role in fighting poverty.

Domination theory- Disadvantaged position of the slum dwellers is forced on them by the dominant sections of the society for their own self interest.Leftover and rejected occupations are taken by these people

### Characteristics of slum

- Poor housing and building material
- High population density
  - William whyte - Street corner society -Overcrowding is the main characteristics of slums
- Lack of public amenities
- Slums have a culture of their own which marshall clinard has termed as way of life.  
Oscar lewis - culture of poverty
- High deviant behavior
- Subjected to neglect and apathy of the larger population - Gita Dewan verma

- Victor D'Souza and Ghanshyam Shah- SC has higher representation among them
- AR Desai and Devadas Pillai- Rise of slums is failure of the welfare state
- Functionalist - Slums provides low cost living and labor for rich

## Politics and society

### Syllabus

- Nation, democracy and citizenship
- Political parties, pressure groups, social and political elite
- Regionalism and decentralization of power
- secularization

### Nation

- T K oommen- Idea of nation is understood in different ways in india
  - Ancient civilization with well defined geography and predominant hindu culture.
  - Fusion of culture: Islam and hinduism
  - Nation as a political entity (reaction to colonial rule)
  - Religion as the sole basis of nation
  - Constitutional nation
  - Nation of many languages
  - Synthesis of the great tradition and little tradition
- Amartya sen- Nationalism in India often goes with religious revivalism as nationalist identity is often hijacked by the majority group.
- Andre Beteille - Overemphasis on single identity can be problematic as it can never be all inclusive.

### Citizenship

It speaks about relationship b/w individual and the state to which he is born to or adopted.

A citizen enjoys certain rights and has duties towards the state.

If the rights of the citizen are violated but he doesn't have the means to seek justice ,don't have support and knowledge.

Theoretical right of citizens is different from practical experience.

Dimensions

Women

Differential sexuality

Lower caste

Hence it is not just a form of constitutional proclamation it is an experience.

A large chunk of citizens are not citizens

- Some citizens who are extremely dependent on the state do not question the rule of state.
- Some citizens want security , mobility and visibility. Example: democrats , bureaucracy. They also compromise with their citizenship rights.

In 3rd world countries citizenship was imposed on the people without change in the social structure and leads to sub-citizenship , crises of citizenship.

Idea of citizenship has evolved from ancient Roman and Greek society. Citizenship has evolved. In ancient society city states were present which were walled. Traders, military persons and intellectuals lived in these city states. The commoners didn't have citizenship rights. Limited citizenship was present in city states in ancient Roman and Greek society.

Plato- Those should get the citizenship rights who deserve and handle it. It is a form of responsibility. He favors limited citizenship based on merit.

Aristotle- Citizenship rights should be restricted to economically affluent people. Poor man if given it would use it for the gratification of his needs. Poor men should become wealthy first and then earn citizenship. Slaves should not be given b/a they are committed to masters and coming from other countries. Children should not be given because the mind is not mature. Women should not be given b/a they are unable to fight war and emotional and cannot take rational decisions.

People in Europe got citizenship in a phased manner

Machiavelli- Italian political thinker

Give freedom to people to participate in decisions , private wealth , and join the workforce. Busy in performing their roles they won't challenge the power of the states. Hence restrictive citizenship will lead to Italy becoming stronger. Restrictive citizenship -> monitor and regulate the activities of the citizens.

The French Revolution and American war of independence redefined the concept of citizenship.

Citizenship should be extended to everyone.

Citizenship rights and democracy are complementary to each other. In totalitarian states and communist societies the state is important and not the citizens.

Rousseau

Citizenship is something that is establishing a strong relationship b/w individual and society-> Rule and law in the modern society which is good for him and others. Private possession is now converted into legitimate wealth. One's rights can't trans pass against the rights of others. Chaotic society is converted into stable and harmonic society.

Different sections of the society in Europe got citizenship rights by making them aware , capable and independent.

CW Mills

Citizenship is an effective element of democracy.

John Stuart mills

People should be given citizenship when they are ready for it. People have to earn it.

Dimensions

Economic citizenship - Economic well off

Social citizenship - Social conditions must be same for all

## Political citizenship

TH Marshall

Citizenship is having 3 different dimensions

- Civic/Civil citizenship
  - All FR
- Political citizenship
  - Right to political debates and discussions
  - Right to form new political parties.
  - Join civil rights
  - Franchise rights
- Social citizenship
  - Living with dignity
  - Not subjected to exploitation , discrimination.
  - RTE, right to social justice

## Sequence Social-> civil -> Political

Marx

Citizenship is a bourgeois concept. No one is talking about economic citizenship. All the citizens are working for corporations and the state makes laws making capitalist in mind. Citizenship is a false belief injected in the minds of the people to prevent them from going for class consciousness.

Critical Theory

Rights of the citizens can be restricted by the rights of the states. Hence rights of the state overrides. It leads to false hope. State is trying to inject the ideology of the state into the minds of people by luring them citizenship.

Postmodern theory

Noam Chomsky

Government defines who are citizens. Example cards issued by the government. Individuals are reduced to numbers and all data stored with the government. Foundation to citizenship is freedom but the state has encroached into that freedom. Therefore citizenship is dead because human freedom is curtailed.

Citizenship is not providing same benefits to all

Women

LGBTQ

Poor

Ethnic and linguistic minority

People who are marginalized are asking for citizenship rights. The class structure is redefined. Class is now based on sexuality , ethnicity ..

Citizenship in India

Traditional Indian cities were hierarchical and hence the concept of citizenship doesn't fit in. The idea evolved in India during the national movement . During the national movement decolonization was considered more important than changing the social structure.

In India we find de-politicized citizenry and thus dynastic politics, caste politics take place in India.

Middle class mostly stay away from local politics and many of them don't cast a vote. Hence only poor people and illiterate votes. They are never a threat to politicians .

Ram Chandra Guha

If illiterate people living in the countryside are given citizenship then they would be negotiating their citizenship with the state for exchange of basic necessities.

Mira Chandralok

Citizenship is transacted in the context of India to get the support of the masses. It is manifested in terms of the manifestos of the political parties. Our society is fragmented and thus democracy is also fragmented. Interest based politics is happening .

Mahatma Gandhi

Citizenship is not a political right. It is offering a platform to serve the nation and fulfill your responsibility towards society. It gives us a morally correct path.

Ambedkar

Without challenging hierarchy if citizenship is given then Super citizenship , intermediate citizenship would be there but never common citizens. Socially deprived sections of the society should get the protection of the state , social justice.

## Political parties

Functions of political parties

- Make the working of parliamentary democracy possible
- Formulate public policies after coming to power
- Make the common man politically conscious
- Large national parties provides stability to the country
- Recruit leaders from the masses

Indian pressure groups operate at different levels than the western counterparts and are also vulnerable to parochialism.

## Social and political elite

Social elites are those who hold positions of prestige, power or influence due to their social status in society. Status may be due to their virtue of caste, birth.

Political elites hold their position due to their power to influence.

In rural areas- well to do peasantry, ritually superior community, dominant castes and trading class.

In urban areas-Professional service class.

# Regionalism and decentralization of power

Regionalism is a challenge to nationalism in India is a myopic perception of regionalism. We consider regionalism would lead to Balkanization of India.

Regionalism is history specific. Hence regionalism all over the world cannot be studied through the same canvas.

People living in a given territory , speak in a language , practice culture and share common history voluntarily constitute a group.

Indian was a land of multiple regional political entities and never ever one country. British got these territorial nationalities into a common group through a common administrative and legal framework and gave them a name India.

Idea of India was not cultural, it was administrative , political. British did coercive integration. Hence regionalism is always present in India as it is a product of our history and culture.

People of India were very much proud of their regional identity. Different territorial rulers were negotiated with the British. British never accepted anybody as an indian representative.

During nationalist movement, leaders made sure that these rulers would be given autonomy within India after independence as people of the territory respected their ruler. Hence many of these rulers supported the national movement .

After independence members of the constituent assembly were dominated by the congress. They thought that if autonomy was given these regional groups would split apart.

A.1 India is a union of the state.

Then a state reorganization commission was set up. Different methods including violence were used to integrate the state and India evolved as a quasi federal state instead of full federal state.

Hence regionalism is becoming a reaction to regional aspirations.

Why regionalism ?

- The Constitution gave more power to centers.
- It is the product of decline of centralized party system- Congress earlier comprised members from all over India. It was a system. After Nehru's death the party splitted away and regional parties made appearances.
- When Indira Gandhi came to power people who were part of the party could not grow in the party.
- Green revolution -> peasantry constitute their own party -> Charan singh.
- Until 1990 states were created only on the basis of regional identity. After that it was on the basis of administrative convenience and popular demand.

Contemporary time

- Over development giving rise to regionalism. Example Punjab
- Under development give rise to regionalism Example Vidharbha in Maha
- Ethnicity gives rise to regionalism. Example Bodo autonomous region , Gurkha autonomous region.
- Insider / outsider distinction is a manifestation of regionalism. Example Assam, Shivsena drive out South Indian from maha

- Conflict over natural resources. Example Kaveri water disputes.
- Trifurcation of State . Example Based on religion Kashmir , Leh and Jammu

#### Different view on regionalism

- Regionalism is divisive, anti national , contributing to the split of the nation. Challenge to national unity. All nationalist leaders shared this view.
- Where there is regionalism there growth is affected, development is affected , suspicion is developed. It is forcing the state to go for coercion. HS Das
- Rajni Kothari- Regionalism is contributing to inclusive democracy. Regional parties play an important role in coalition parties.

Regionalism is neither good nor bad, it is history specific. Regionalism is decentralizing while nationalism is centralizing.

Harihar bhattacharyya- Regionalism in India is rooted in the culture, language ,tribes and religion. It is fueled by the sense of regional deprivation.

Harrison- regionalism is precursor to nationalism. Regional identity will grow into nationalistic aspiration. Ex- Khalistani movement

Dipankar gupta- regionalism may not always be anti people and anti nation but when it borders with chauvinism and interest of the region are branded as diametrically opposite to interest of other regions. Often scarce resources like water and employment act as a catalyst.

#### Iqbal narain- Types of regionalism in india

- Supra state regionalism
  - It is issue specific. Ex Dravida movement
- Inter state regionalism
  - It is coterminous with state boundaries. Ex cauvery water dispute
- Intra state regionalism
  - Regional community is against the state in which they are situated. Ex khalistani

Functional- It aims to strengthen roots of federal structure and is a device to promote and preserve the local culture, language

Dysfunctional- It has a fissioning tendency and can lead to disintegration of the political system and can provoke people against each other. It promotes parochialism.

## Decentralization

Democracy came from the top and could not reach the bottom. In India there are passive citizens and not conscious citizens.

Balwant rai Mehta committee report .

PRI was hijacked by the dominant caste and in most of the states elections were not constituted regularly. It was not inclusive , participative.

Then Ashok Mehta committee - 73 and 74 const amendments.

Objective - to reach the grassroots.

People would be contesting elections with affiliation to a political party. Political socialization got momentum. They got to know the ideology of different political parties.

It is establishing a relationship b/w micro to macro politics.

Reservation for women and sc ,st - Inclusive

- Gandhi- true realization of swaraj
- They became important after the failure of community development program and recommendation of balwant rai mehta committee
- Vora and Palshikar- PRIs have changed the nature of indian politics from politics of ideology to politics of representation.

#### Issues

- Voting is guided by factors like caste, religion, kinship
- Caste/Gotra and khap panchayat often subvert the working of these institutions
- Dominated by dominant caste.
- Concept of pati pradhan
- TK Oommen
  - Gram sabha has been historically present in south india. Therefore PRI have been successful
  - In north india caste, kinship plays an important role
- Gail Omvedt
  - Dalit rise in power through compulsory reservation is seen as unacceptable to dominant caste.

## Secularization

Bryan R Wilson - Secularization is a process by which various social institutions gradually become distinct from one another and increasingly free from the matrix of religion that has earlier formed, inspired and dominated their operation.

- Rajiv Bhargava- Indian secularism is not strict separation between religion and politics but explained in terms of principled distance between religion and politics
- Srinivas
  - Secularization as a process has been subsumed in westernization which is a much broader term
  - *Secularization implies that what was previously regarded as religious is ceasing to be such, and it also implies a process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of society, political, legal and moral becoming increasingly discrete in relation to others.*
- Marxist- It is a process of disappearance of religion altogether

- Nehru- It does not mean a society where religion is discouraged, it means a society where freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion.
- Indian secularism is not a result of tussle between state and church as in case of Europe, but conceptualised as an antidote to twin evils of communalism and fundamentalism .
- Andre Beiteille - People in India are bound more by their culture than by the constitution. Hence religion and state cannot be separated
- Ashis Nandy-Secularization and modernization in india can lead to revival of traditional forces in india

## Population dynamics

### Syllabus

- Population size, growth, composition and distribution
- Components of population growth- birth, death and migration
- Population policy and family planning
- Emerging issues- ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health

### Population size, growth, composition and distribution

#### Census 2011-

- 125 crore population of India with growth rate of 1.9% annually.
- Urban population growth rate is higher than rural population
- First time since independence that decadal growth rate is less than 20 %
- Relation between growth and literacy
  - Bihar - 25% and Kerala -5%
- Sex ratio -940
- Hindus- 80%, Muslims-14%
- 75% literate population

#### Determinants of population growth

- Demographic factors - Birth rate, mortality rate
- Economic factors- Lower is the economic status of the family, greater the number of children
- Education status- Less education family are less informed about family planning
- Social Values- Desirability of male child leads to high birth rates
- Natural calamities - Plague, influenza and Covid , 1911-1921 - negative growth
- Increase in net migration
- Age of marriage - Lower the age of marriage more is the birth rate
- Cultural factors -Religion prohibiting the use of contraceptives
- Diseases - Like AIDS causing havoc in African countries
- Increased in food production and distribution

- Infrastructure - Movement of goods from surplus to deficit areas.
- Sanitation

#### Consequence of unchecked population growth

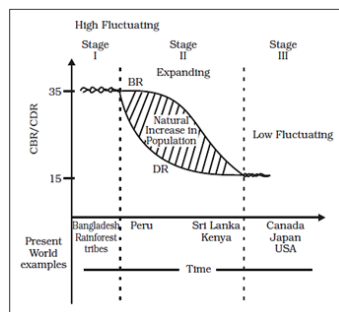
- Malthusian hypothesis -Human population tends to grow at a faster rate than the rate at which the means of human subsistence can grow . Use of preventive checks- Like postponing marriages or practicing celibacy. Positive checks- famines, diseases and pandemics.
- Difficulty in policy making and implementation
- It leads to poverty
- Environmental damage
- Unemployment
- Decreasing savings and capital formation
- Fragmentation of land holdings

## Components of population growth

### Crude birth

It is number of live births per thousand population

- Demographic transition theory
  - High fluctuating stage- Both birth and death rate are high , population growth is uncertain and not much
  - Early expanding- Death rates fell but fertility remains high leading to high population growth
  - Late expanding - Birth rate also falls and the population growth slows
  - Both the death rate and birth rate are under control and the population is stabilized.



- Birth rate in india - Still at 19% as compared to 9% death rate - 2011 census

## Fertility rate

is the number of life births per thousand women in the child bearing age group (15-49). Fertility rate in India - 2.2 per woman. Factors for high fertility

- High fertility is supported by all major religions
- Universalisation of marriage
- Age of marriage
- Social norms and values - Women who do not bear children is looked down by society
- Preference for sons
- Poor family sees large family as conducive for economic production
- Joint family may provide the basic needs of all the children
- Lack of awareness about family planning

Implications for high fertility rate

- Loss of productive years of life in child bearing. It creates economic disparity between men and women.
- Excessive child bearing takes toll on the health of women
- Neglected children - child labour , crimes
- Girl child not sent to school to help the mother
- Poor education of children- Poor employment opportunities

## Mortality or death rate

- Crude death rate- Death occurring in an year / total mid year population \*1000
  - It has been declining since 1921. Currently 7.3 deaths per thousand population
- Life expectancy at birth
  - Improved from 20 years in 1911 to 68 years today
- Infant mortality rate
  - High - 32 per thousand live births
- Maternal mortality rate
  - 130 per 1 lakh population.

## Migration

Permanent or semi permanent change of residence

Migrants are classified into following streams

- Rural to rural - Dominated by females due to predominant patrilocal marriages
- Rural to urban migration- Dominated by females
- Urban to urban
- Urban to rural migration
- International migration - UNDESA- 16 million indian diaspora

- Chain migration -Migrants have tendency to move to those places where they have contacts and where the previous migrants serve as a link for new migrants and thus chained is formed

#### Factors promoting migration

- Push factors
  - Poverty
  - Persecution
  - Famine
- Pull factors
  - Opportunity
  - Freedom
  - Education

Ashish Nandi- In case of India there are other factors which are termed as push back factors. As unemployment and marginal employment in cities increases, it acts as a deterrent for the rural population to find a place in urban areas and pushes them back.

RC Chanda- Some seek more religious freedom which is offered in a cosmopolitan environment of city

NSS Data- 28% of the indian population migrates every year and the predominant share is of those who migrate for employment.

#### Consequences of migration

- Migration from a labor surplus region helps to increase average productivity of labor in that region.
- Financial remittances strengthen the economy
- They expose the little tradition of the village to the great tradition of the urban areas
- Negatively affects the emigrating area and positively affects the immigrating area. Ex- Brain drain of indians
- It results in unbalanced sex ratio, decline in coitation frequency and hence fertility decreases.
- Migration especially of adult males leaves women and children vulnerable.
- Migrants are themselves vulnerable to poor social security, poor access to facilities like health, education and other civic amenities.
- Migration also changes the political patterns. Voting population changes
- It produces composite cultures
- It leads to more ethnic and cultural diversity. This can create friction as well
- Psychological impacts of migration- Excessive male migration kerala leaves female population behind which often suffers from hysteria, neurosis

## Population policy and family planning

India was the first country to have a population policy in 1952.

Population planning in india

- First plan envisaged control on birth rates and it emphasized natural devices for family planning.
- In the second plan voluntary sterilization was introduced in 1956 or clinical approach
- Clinical approach was replaced by extensive education approach during 3 plan
  - Increasing marriage age
  - Education of women
- Fifth 5 year plan - Introduced basic change in population policy by integrating family planning services with welfare schemes
- Family planning suffered a setback during the emergency. National Population policy was officially announced in 1976 and was further modified and re-announced in 1977. Voluntary family planning was introduced
- National Population policy 2000
  - Reduce IMR to 30
  - Reduce MMR- 100
  - Prevent communicable and other diseases like AIDS
  - Achieve 100% birth and death certification, compulsory registration of marriage and pregnancy
  - Stable population by 2045- Pushed back to 2065
  - Freezing of Lok sabha seats to 543 till 2026
  - Medium term objective- To bring total fertility to replacement level by 2010
- Ayushman Bharat
- Janani Suraksha Yojana- institutional delivery by providing cash assistance
- ICDS - Both child and mother
- Universal immunization program

## Emerging issues

### Ageing

- With biological ageing social ageing is also accompanied and the norms, values and roles associated also changes.
- Census 2011- More than 100 Million people above 60 in India. 75% of them live in villages
- Disengagement theory(Functionalist)- Disengagement of elderly people from their roles also helps in freeing those roles for others
- Age stratification theory- Social structure affects individual and wider strata of older people.
- Political economy theory-` Political economy defines the roles which are to be given to the aged.
- Role theory- A man performs various roles during his lifetime. Brahmacharya, grishtha and vanaprastha.

Treatment to aged people depends on the cultural and value system of the society

- In Japan, China older people are revered and looked upon as storehouse of knowledge
- Societies like UK and US dismiss them as unproductive

Dependency ratio is the measure comparing the portion of population which is composed of dependents i.e elderly people who are too old to work and children who are too young to work and other sections of the population who are unable to work with the portion that is in working age group (15-60). For India- 48%

In traditional societies productive resources were under the control of elders and they can work as long as they want while in modern society youngsters tend to become economically independent of the elders

Women are especially vulnerable in old age as they have less education, little or no economic assets due to patriarchy

Problems faced by aged

- Physical problems- Health related issues
- Psychological problems- Change in cognitive capacity
- Emotional problem- Isolation, loss of status, loss of spouse
- Material problems- Loss of income, lack of social security
- Ageism- A discriminatory and stereotypical behaviour
- Generation Gap

## Sex Ratio

- Census 2011- 940
- Child sex ration has declined from 927 to 914 in 2011.

Factors responsible for poor sex ratio

- Female feticide due to religious, cultural beliefs
- Neglect of babies
- Violence against women - dowry deaths, honour killing, sexual violence
- Migration
- Lower sex ratios are found in the most prosperous regions - Haryana and Punjab

Consequences of low sex ratio

- Demographic distortion leading to unhealthy social mix
- Imported brides and human trafficking
- Increased incidence of sexual violence
- Increased instances of polygamy
- Increase dowry and other social evils

Steps by government

- PCPNDT Act 2003 makes sex determination illegal
- Beti Bachao Beti Padhao

## Child and infant mortality



