

SOCIOLOGY – PAPER-2, UPSC, Civil Services Exam

On domestic violence act

<http://www.epw.in/journal/2017/46/commentary/protection-women-domestic-violence-act-2006-haryana.html>

Women in IT sector

The number of women employees in the \$155-billion IT industry has gone up to 34 per cent, as companies seek to improve their gender diversity ratio, but continue to struggle retaining top management women employees.

IT industry body Nasscom said that almost one-third of the employees in the sector are women — working across different job roles.

According to a report released in its 10th edition of Diversity and Inclusion Summit, Nasscom pointed out that the percentage of women working in the sector has gone up from 28 per cent in the 2016 fiscal to 34 per cent in the 2017 fiscal.

Further, the industry body expects that in 2017 the number of firms that have more than 20 per cent women at senior level will increase to nearly 60 per cent. The Indian IT and BPM sector employs 3.9 million people, according to Nasscom.

Additionally, nearly 51 per cent of firms will have more than 20 per cent of women at C-suite or top management levels. While the industry has been traditionally getting a sizeable people of women employees at entry levels since the last half a dozen years or so, a lot of them do not make it to the top. “We have a lot of women employees who drop out post maternity or lack of support from their family and are working on ways to hold them back,” said Partha DeSarkar, CEO of Bengaluru-based Hinduja Global Solutions. The company employees around 25,000 people.

Nasscom in its report points out that corporations with at least 10 per cent women on company Boards have 2.5–5 per cent higher returns on equity, firms where women are at least 30 per cent of C -suite have 15 per cent higher profitability than others.

Untouchability: Forms and Perspectives

- Although comparable forms of discrimination are found all over the world, untouchability is made unique by the fact that its parent institution – the caste system – is only found in India.
- Definition of Untouchability: Distinct Indian social institution that legitimises and enforces practices of discrimination against people born into particular castes, and legitimises practices which are humiliating, exclusionary and exploitative.
- 3 main dimensions of UT: (SEE) EXCLUSION – EXPLOITATION – SUBORDINATION.
- Although other lower castes also suffer exploitation and subordination, they do not suffer the worst forms of exclusion.
- The examples of exclusion are: Being prohibited from sharing water, prohibition from participation in collective religious practices, etc,
- At the same time, UT might also include forced inclusion -> Being forced to play drums at a religious event or manual scavenging.
- Example of humiliation-subordination are: Forced to taking off headgear, standing with bowed head. Not wearing clean or bright clothes, etc.
- UT is almost always associated with economic exploitation of various kinds – most common include: Imposition of forced, unpaid labour, or the confiscation of property.
- UTs were called by several names in India.
- In 1930s, Gandhiji used the term, Harijan.
- Ex-untouchables and their leaders have coined the term Dalit.
- The Dalit Panthers used the term to assert their identity and demand equality.
- According to Gangadhar Patwane – a dalit writer – Dalit is not a caste. Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution. Dalit believes in humanism. He rejects the existence of god, rebirth, soul, sacred books, faith and heaven because these have made him a slave. He represents the exploited man in the society.
- Gopal Guru: Dalit does not merely express an identity . But also conveys their aspiration and struggle for change and revolution.

Theoretical aspects of UT

1. Racial theories:

- i) Prabhati Mukherjee: UTs were the indigenous people who were conquered and subjugated by the Aryans. – Differentiate between Dasas (acquiesced to the Aryans – politically and culturally) and Dasyus (Did not acquiesce. And were driven out).
- ii) The racial theories have been propounded by Mukherjee, Risley and Dutt.
- iii) These are criticised by others as pseudo-historical and pseudo-psychological.
- iv) Ambedkar rejected the racial theory. He argued that there was no evidence in the Vedas of any invasion of India by the Aryan race and having conquered Dasas and Dasyus. :-> He said there was no racial distinction between Brahmins and others belonging to the same region.
- v) Some Dalit ideologues have used the race theory: Adi-Dravida movement in South India, Mangoo Ram's Adi-Dharma movement in Punjab, and in Uttar Pradesh Adi-Hinduism movement.

2) Religious theories

- i) Jyotiba Phule in his book Gulamgiri argued that Shudras were the sons of the soil and the Brahmins came from outside – And to justify it used religion.
- ii) Phule opposed chaturvarna, idolatry and sacred scriptures.
- iii) Advocated Sarvajanik Satya Dharma – meaning universal religion or truth.
- iv) Ambedkar shared Phule's view. According to him, caste was the core of the Hindu social order. Caste was legitimised and given a divine basis and religious sanction through the Shastras.
- v) Dumont: Opposition of pure and impure underlines hierarchy – which underlines the division of labour – Because pure and impure occupations must be kept separate.
- vi) Consensus view: There is a consensus on values among all social groups irrespective of the group status. Michael Moffatt -> Value system is shared by the UTs who practice UT within themselves. Don't have a separate subculture -> KG disagrees: The lower castes place much less emphasis than do Brahmins on otherworldliness and fate of soul after death'. :-> Others: If there was consensus why were there protests.

vii) Kancha Illaiah: Earliest philosophical challenge to Brahminical ideology came from Shudra thinkers in the Vedic period. The Lokayatas overturned the metaphysical arguments of the Advaita philosophy, countering it with this-worldly, materialist perspective.

viii) Dayanand Saraswati: Founder of Arya Samaj – caste was a political institution, created by the rulers and not a creation of religion. -> Said caste is determined by action and not by birth.

ix) Gandhi believed that Varnashrama of Veda: Is based on absolute equality of status, notwithstanding passages contrary to it in the smriti or elsewhere. :-> He agreed that caste as it exists today is no doubt a travesty of the original fourfold division of society.

x) For Marxists: Untouchability is rooted in the modes of production

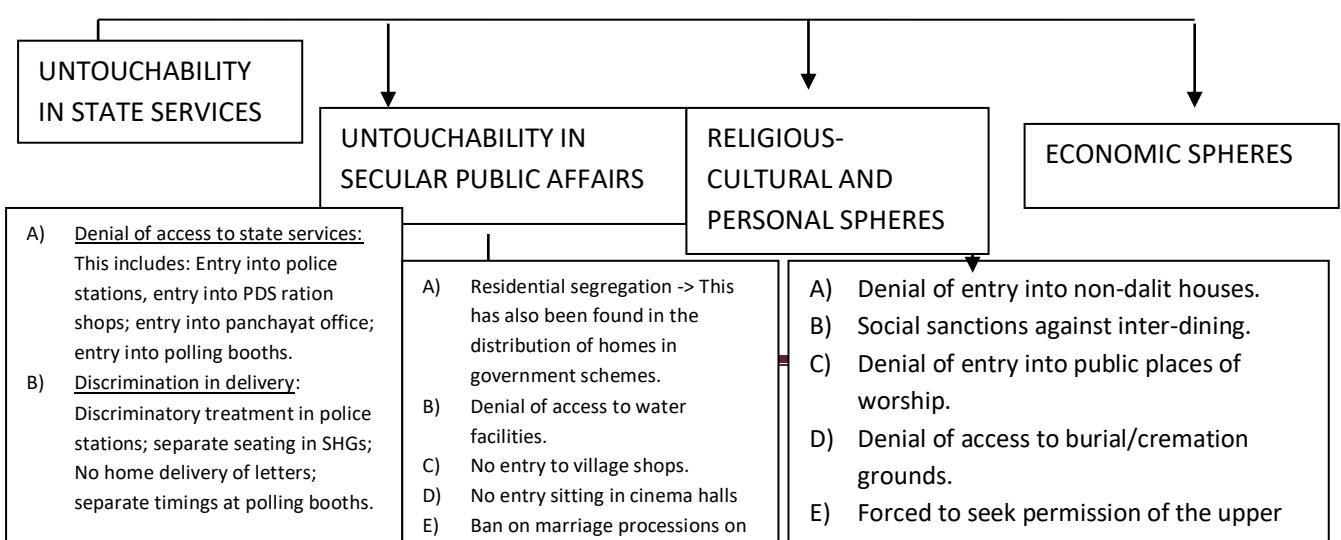
Forms of Untouchability

Depending on the dalit-non-dalit relationship, the form of untouchability changes.

These factors include:

1. Legal prohibitions on UT and perception about whether the law will actually be enforced.
2. How much Dalits resist discrimination.
3. Degree of social legitimacy that particular practices command.
4. Economic and political relations between different social groups.

Because of these factors, a dynamic tension is created between Dalits and non-Dalits. In some areas, practices of UT are being erased, while in other spheres, new forms of UT are being invented.



Challenges to Social Transformation:

Crisis of development: Displacement

- Nothing learnt from history (<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/nothing-learnt-from-history/article19205287.ece>)
- Displacement:->(a) Involves takeover of land + (b) Displacement of people.
 - Why? (i) To extract NRs.(ii) Build industrial parks and infra projects + (iii) Even conservation projects lead to displacement.
 - Those affected include: (i) Displaced population + (ii) Host population + (iii) Those not directly displaced but living near the site of the project + (iv) Project immigrants.
 - D-I-D has : Social, eco, ecological and cultural connotations.
 - The first recorded organised struggle against displacement was in 1921 and continued till 1924 against the Mulshi project near Poona. :-> Majority affected were non-tribals.
 - Recent examples: Narmada, Posco in Odisha, Nano protests in WB, Tehri Dam, etc.
- World Bank: Worldwide 10 mn/year being displaced due to Dams, Urban Development, Infra, etc. But number an underestimate, as ignores those not directly displaced but affected. Major contributors: India and China.
- Taneja and Thakkar: 21-40-mn displaced in India until 2000.
- Human Rights Watch: Around 55 pc of the displaced Tribals.
- Obstacles in R&R: (a) Reluctance of government to implement 'land for land' policy. (b) Insufficient land compensation (c) destruction of local social networks. (d) Often land given is either unfertile or less fertile (e) No compensation for CPRs like forest land, pasture land, river bed, etc.
- Impact of displacement: Michael Cernea ->Impoverishment risk and reconstruction model: (1) Joblessness (2) Landlessness (3) Homelessness (4) Marginalisation -> Downward mobility because of losing economic power (5) Food insecurity (6) Loss of access to common property (7) Increased morbidity and mortality (8) Social disintegration (9) Loss of access to community services = Health, edu services, etc. (10) Violation of women rights.

- Lakshman Mahapatra: Applied Cernea's model in India -> (a) Between 1947-97: 25mn people displaced. (b) Compensation for land in cash has increased landlessness among tribal people (c) Most of the people who were given jobs, left/fired soon afterwards. (d) Higher prevalence of diseases in resettled grps. (e) Children edu suffered.
- Balakrishnan Rajagopal: 5 Human Rights challenges that arise out of D-I-D: (1) Right to development and self-determination. (2) Right to Participation = Affected pop shall participate in formulation, implementation and eval of national & regional dev plants that affect them. (3) Right to life and livelihood. (4) Right of vulnerable grps -> Sarah Aird: Matriarchal tribal societies, but compensation land made in male name. (5) Right to remedy.
- NCW: Impact of D-I-D on Women: (1) Loss of access to common property resources. (2) Lack of sanitation facilities. (3) Loss of livelihoods. (4) Decline of social status -> Because of loss of access to CPR and livelihood of women. (5) Breakdown of family. (6) Additional workload and responsibilities. (7) Falling health. (8) Sense of insecurity (9) Child marriage increases and dowry demand increase because of availability of cash.
- RC Guha: Environment mvts not grounded on scepticism related to dev. But, addressing fundamental qs around Civil Rights, Pol Rights, Eco Rights which are being threatened.
- Steps: (1) Before starting project – Identify rehabilitation sites, near the original site; (2) Common property resources re-enacted; (3) education and skilling facilities; (4) sanitation and health; (5) consent-based approach not consultation.
- Main features of new R&R law
- According to a report -> India, Cambodia and Nigeria had most cases of conflicts caused by climate change and environmental disputes :>Reasons: (a) Thrust on industrialisation (b) Mining of natural resources (c) Shortage of water and related conflicts (d) Lack of data -> So that advance planning can be done.

[The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous people was adopted by General Assembly .It is a step in the right direction as it reflects the commitment of UN member

countries to improve the standard of treatment of Indigenous people. Though it is not legally binding instrument, it helps in assisting them to combat discrimination and marginalization.

The grievances of indigenous people, their current challenges, socio economic, political and cultural aspirations are codified by UNDRIP. This aspires to garner international attention while filling the vacuum due to lack of efforts by national governments.

The rights to culture, identity, language, health, education, their aspirations to pursue their own institutions and development are given impetus through UNDRIP.

Reasons why UNDRIP is of special interest to India:

Inequality in India operates on multiple axes — of gender, class, caste, region, religion and ethnicity. But the worst suffering is of India's tribal people, who suffer a double whammy of both disadvantaged region and ethnicity.

Official data on all indicators of development reveal that India's tribal people are the worst off in terms of income, health, education, nutrition, infrastructure and governance. They have also been unfortunately at the receiving end of the injustices of the development process itself. Around 40 per cent of the 60 million people displaced following development projects in India are tribals.

The most industrialised subdistricts are flanked by the most underdeveloped subdistricts. Invariably these backward subdistricts are overwhelmingly tribal. Clearly, the tribal people have not been included in or given the opportunity to benefit from development.

*While the legislation for the protection of the rights of tribal people are in place, they are regularly flouted as has been highlighted by the **Xaxa Committee report of 2014.***

Instead of ensuring that tribals are not ousted from the land to which they are historically and culturally connected, the state becomes more concerned about fulfilling contractual obligations towards the private investor. For instance, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand have reportedly entered into 121 and 74 such MoUs, respectively, with various private players as of 2014. All this materially alters the role of the state vis-à-vis the tribal people as the state prefers economic expediency at the cost of the rights of tribal people.

For economic development, states invite investments not only from domestic investors but also from foreign players whose interests are not only protected under domestic laws but also under the BITs. The purpose of BITs is to give protection to foreign investors while imposing certain obligations on the host state. For instance, when development project is contested by the tribals, the state may either succumb to pressure and yield to the demand of tribals or the judiciary may cancel the permit orders of investors.

In both cases, foreign investors may drag India to ITA claiming violation of obligations under the BIT. This perceived threat of ITA against the state may compel the latter to refrain from implementing tribal rights in the development project area.

There is a need to protect indigenous tribes because, None of the 80-plus BITs signed by India contains even a single provision on the rights of tribals. Canada, in many of its BITs, has several exceptions to protect the rights of indigenous people. The Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement also incorporates the rights of the Maoris from New Zealand, India should renegotiate its existing BITs, to create a special exception for taking regulatory measures for protecting the rights of tribal people, in which case it should have a textual basis in the BITs to derogate from investment protection obligations under BITs.

Second, the strengthening of BITs must go hand in hand with the implementation of domestic legislations for the protection of the rights of tribals, where the state does not consider tribals as impediments in the development process.

Third, as far as possible, tribal people should be given representation even in investment policymaking.]

Violence against women

- Factors responsible for secondary status of women: (1) Cultural reason: Patriarchy, partrilineality and patrilineal. (2) Physical reason: Repeated pregnancies have physically weakened the women, making them dependent on men.
- Cultural structures of Indian society responsible for atrocities on women: (1) Caste system: Women's sexuality is linked to caste's status -> Women become internally polluted (inter-caste intercourse), while men only externally -> Hence, any infringement leads to violence. Caste: Also explains: honour killing, parading of

women naked, raping of lower caste women. (2) Role restriction: As per religious texts-> Women given: Primarily domestic roles, no major economic role assigned. Hence, considered burden -> Leads to dowry -> Leads to female foeticide and infanticide. (3) Male superiority: Sexually coloured remarks, molestation, eve-teasing, etc., are seen as expression of manhood. Acid is thrown if they don't accept marriage proposal. (4) Dominance of one grp over other: During political, communal and ethnic strifes, sexual violence of women is common.

- Crimes under IPC: Rape, sexual harassment, kidnapping, dowry death, torture (mental and physical). -> in 2015, there were 3.27 lakh crimes against women. (A decline of 4 per cent over previous year)
- Crimes under SLL: Immoral Traffic (prevention) Act, Dowry prohibition Act, Child Marriage Restraint Act, Indecent Representation of Women Act, Commission of Sati (prevention) Act.

Criminal violence	Rape, abduction, murder
Domestic violence	Includes old age based discrimination
Social violence	Refusal of property, forcing sati, dowry harassment, discrimination at work place

- Violence in Natal home: (1) Female foeticide and infanticide: Amniocentesis, ultrasounds -> A case study in 1976-77 in western India: 700 women who sought sex determination= 450 female and 250 males. While all male foeticides were kept, 430/450 were aborted. ->Barbara Miller: Argues female foeticide was practised in 19th century among higher social grp of N India. She relates this to control and distribution of property and dowry. -> Latest field studies show this is being practices in South India too and not restricted to higher castes. ->Birth order also determines: Study by Christian Medical Association of India – Sex-ratio at birth (SRB), 210/1000 when first two girls female; 542 for the second child, if first was girl and 959 if first child was male. -> The study found that educated parents were more prone to committing FF than uneducated. -> Employed mother had a positive impact on SRB.

(2) Abuse of girl child: Sexual aggression (in most cases accused knows victim), beating, and child labour.

(3) Inequality in the household: Definite domestic roles, excessive control on sexuality, early marriage, neglect of their health and nutrition -> Rural health surveys show that women and girls are less nourished and more ill. -> Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) research shows that, in India, men devote 36 minutes a day to unpaid care responsibilities, out of which 36% goes into housework, with the remaining time spent on shopping, care for household members, and travel related to household activities. Out of the six hours women devote to unpaid care activities, time specifically spent on housework is 85 minutes.

- Violence in conjugal home: Vijayendra Rao: In a study of three multi-caste village in Karnataka -> Wife beating was considered legitimate by society and wives themselves. And so are other forms of violence: related to dowry, neglect of household duties, disobedience.
- Flavia Aganis: Domestic Violence common in upper-classes too.
- Consequences: Anveshi – research centre in women studies in HYD- No gender difference in severe mental disorders such as schizophrenia and manic depression. But twice as many women than men suffer from: Anxieties, phobia and OCD. -> Strong co-relation between women's life situation and mental and physical health.
- Steps taken:-> Nirbhaya Fund -> Reformed rape law -> Panic button on mobiles One Stop Centres, She-boxes, Women Helpline, Mahila Police Volunteers, Reservation of women in police force, creating immediate response mechanism through panic buttons in mobiles, public and private transport, surveillance mechanisms in public places

NFHS-3 data of 2005-06 shows that 40 per cent of 'ever-married women' aged 15-49 experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence at the hands of their husband. -> If this is translated into numbers, then it means 9.7 crore women of the total 24 crore ever-married women.

NCRB data says only 1.13 lakh cases were registered under 498-A -> That is a mere 0.1 per cent of the women who faced marital violence.

There were 7,634 dowry deaths in 2015. -> ALMOST A DEATH AN HOUR.

A 2014 study by the United Nations Population Fund found that 60 per cent of the men admitted that they used some form of violence – physical, economic, sexual or emotional – against their wife or partner. :-> Emotional violence had the highest prevalence, with 41 per cent of the men admitting that they had used it at some point.

IMPORTANT PROVISIONS

Section 2(f)

Defines domestic relationship as a relationship between two persons who live or have, at any point of time, lived together in a shared household, when they are related by consanguinity, marriage, or through a relationship in the nature of marriage, adoption or are family members living together as a joint family

Section 2(s)

Defines shared household as a household where the person aggrieved lives or at any stage has lived in a domestic relationship either singly or along with the respondent and includes such a household whether owned or tenanted...irrespective of whether the respondent or the aggrieved person has any right, title or interest in the shared household

Section 3

Defines domestic violence as any act which "harms or injures or endangers the health, safety, life, limb or well-being, whether mental or physical, of the aggrieved person or tends to do so and includes causing physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal and emotional abuse and economic abuse"

Section 11

Requires central/state govt to give publicity to the law and create awareness among law enforcement and judicial officers

Section 17

Right to reside in a shared household

Section 18

A magistrate can issue a protection order which prohibits a respondent from committing domestic violence and other acts. Often called a stop violence order

Section 19

Residence orders restricting the respondent from removing the woman from a shared household can be issued

Section 20

A magistrate can offer monetary reliefs like compensation for loss of earnings or reimbursement of medical expenses owing to domestic violence

Section 21

A magistrate can issue temporary custody orders in favour of the woman

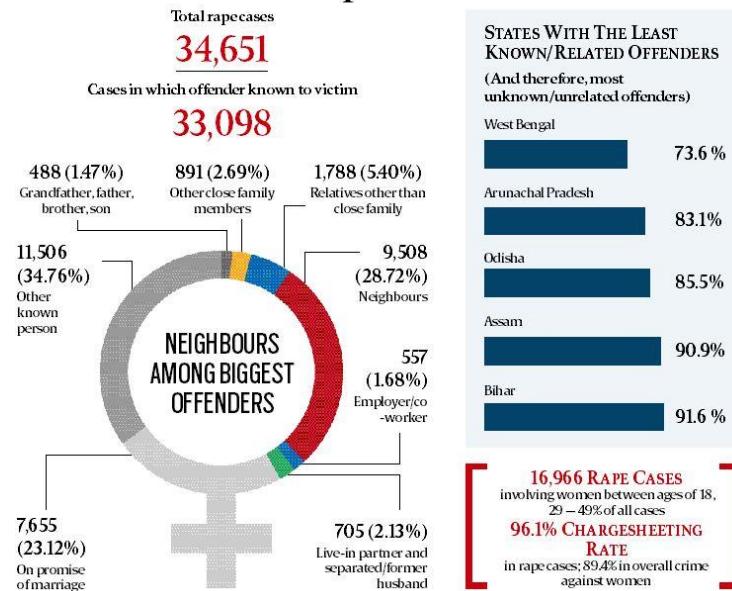
Section 22

A magistrate can issue additional compensation orders

Section 26

Freedom to move any court, including a magistrate/family/criminal court for relief

Offender known to rape victim in over 95% cases



STATES WITH THE WORST RATES, NUMBERS OF INCIDENTS

State	Incidents	Per 1 lakh female population
Delhi	2,199	23.7
Chhattisgarh	1,560	12.2
Madhya Pradesh	4,391	11.9
Odisha	2,251	10.8
Rajasthan	3,644	10.5
Maharashtra	4,144	7.3
UTTAR PRADESH*	3,025	3.0

*Surprisingly low rate suggests widespread non-registration of rape cases

OVERALL CRIME AGAINST WOMEN

Delhi tops rate chart, UP has biggest national share

State	Cases	Per 1 lakh female population	%age contribution to all-India total
1 Delhi	17,104	184.3	52
2 Assam	23,258	148.2	7.1
3 Telangana	15,135	83.1	4.6
4 Odisha	17,144	81.9	5.2
5 Rajasthan	28,165	81.5	8.6
6 Haryana	9,446	75.7	2.9
7 West Bengal	33,218	73.4	10.1
8 Tripura*	1,267	68.2	0.4
9 Madhya Pradesh	24,135	65.5	7.4
10 Chandigarh*	463	64.8	0.1

*Fewer cases, but small populations raise the rate

Women and politics

Stats:

- a) Women participation in LS :-> 12%. (It was 5 per cent in 1951)
- b) Women participation in LA :-> 9%.
- c) Afghanistan has 27% in Parl + Nodic countries: 40%
- d) Avg worldwide: 22%.

➤ Why less participation?

- 1. Deeply entrenched stereotypical norms. :-> Confine women to domestic sphere.
- 2. Caste and class restrictions.
- 3. Patriarchal mind set.
- 4. Lack of experience among women of holding political office.
- Minister of WCD:-> Referred to phenomena of “Panchayatpatis”, “proxification”.
- Gender inequality index:-> 130/155 :-> Only Afghanistan performs better in S Asia
- Three main components:->Reproductive health of women (MMR+ Adolescent birth rate) + Economic status of women (labour force participation of women) + Empowerment (Share of parl seats held + %age of 25-year-plus with secondary education).

Illiteracy and disparities in education

- Literacy rate: 74 per cent (2001: 65 per cent).
- Who is literate: >7 yrs + Can read and write.

- Males vs. Female: Males: 82% literate, female: 65% (the gap was 21.5 %age pts in 2001). Target as per Plan Comm was 10 %age pts and 85 pc overall.
- 1951 -> Total: 18.33, Males: 27 pc and females 8.8 pc. (Therefore, gap has not narrowed down)
- Between 2001 & 2011, more females were added to the pool of literates than males.
- The decadal increase in number of males was 32 pc, while 4pc for women.
- Developed vs. developing states:

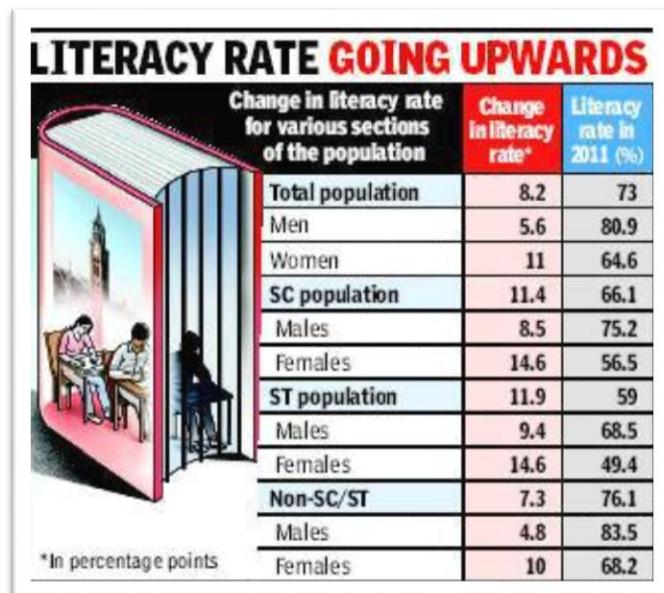
	Males	Females	Overall
<u>India</u>	82	65	74
<u>Non-EAG states</u>	84	71	78
<u>EAG states</u>	78	57.9	68 (20)

- But EAG states catching up: Between 2001 and 2011, 38.8 per cent increase in overall literacy. 5/8 had higher increase. 74 per cent in Bihar and 59 per cent in Jharkhand.
- Inter-state variations: Overall highest: Kerala: 93 per cent, Mizoram (91.5 per cent). Female literacy rate lowest in Rajasthan (52 pc) and Bihar (53 pc).
- Rural vs. Urban:

	<u>2001</u>	<u>2011</u>
<u>India</u>	65	74
<u>Rural</u>	58.7	68.9
<u>Urban</u>	79.9	85

- Religion-based variations: The Christian community has 74.3 per cent literacy, followed by Buddhists (71.8 per cent), Sikhs (67.5 per cent), Hindus (63.6 per cent) and Muslims (57.3 per cent). Muslims - 42.7 per cent - have the highest percentage of illiterates; while Jains, at 86.4 per cent, have the highest percentage of literates. Among Jains, 25.65 pc are graduates or have studied further. Of them, 44.8 per cent are women. The corresponding figure is 8.84 pc for Christians (49.8 pc women), 6.39 pc for Sikhs (49.9 per cent women), 6.17 pc for Buddhists (38.15 pc women), 5.98 for Hindus (37.5 per cent women) and 2.75 per cent for Muslims, of whom 36.65 per cent are women.

➤ SC and ST



➤ Govt interventions: (A) National education mission: This includes: SSA, Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyaan, Teachers Training and Adult Education, and Rashtriya Uchch Shiksha Abhiyaan. (B) Mid-day meal scheme

Highlights of the report:

- Rajasthan has reported the highest incidence of child marriages in the country. 2.5% of marriages of minor girls were reported in Rajasthan.
- Rajasthan is followed by 15 States, including Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Sikkim, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Nagaland, Assam, Maharashtra, Tripura, Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Karnataka.
- Rajasthan also topped in the percentage (4.69%) of boys marrying below the legal age of 21 years. Thirteen other States reported a higher percentage of child marriages among boys when compared with the national average.
- No marriage below 10 years of age was reported across the country.
- Across the country, 12.9% of girls got married in the age of 10-17 years and 43.6% between 18-20 years. However, only 4.9% of boys got married in the 10-17 years age group and 11.2 % in the 18-below 21 age group.
- There is a minor decline of 0.1% in the marriage of minor girls. The decline in rural India, between 2001 and 2011 Census, was marginally higher than in the whole of the country. However, the incidence of child marriage among girls increased substantially in urban India from 1.78% in 2001 to 2.45% in 2011. The absolute number of girls married below legal age was 5.1 million.



West Bengal has been awarded UN Public Service Award for the 'Kanyashree Prakalpa' initiative that sought to reduce the high child marriage rates and low female education rates

in the state. Through the initiative, cash was deposited into the bank account of girls for every year they remained in school and were unmarried. This initiative led to a “drastic reduction in child marriage, increase in female education and female empowerment.”

Also, Odisha Child Marriage Resistance Forum

Ethnic conflicts, communalism, and religious revivalism

Ethnic conflicts:

- What are ethnic groups: Formed on the basis of common culture, common language, sometimes shared religion.
- Bengal: Due to influx of Bengalis.
- Meghalaya: Between Garo and Khasi tribes.
- Manipur: Between Nagas and Kukis :-> Control over power, public institutions, tribal advisory council.
- Maharashtra: Marathis vs non-marathis.
- Hindi: Language riots in TN.

Communalism:

- Communalism is one of the most serious dangers facing Indian society and threatening the unity if the unity of Indian people.
- Communalism is an ideology based on the belief that Indian society is divided into religious communities – whose economic, political, social and cultural interests diverge and are even hostile to each other because of their religious difference.
- Communal violence usually occurs when communal thinking which precedes it reaches a certain level of intensity and the atmosphere is vitiated by the building up of communal fear, suspicion and hatred.
- Includes both minority and majority communalism. Both are equally bad. Minority communalism leads to separatism. Eg: Punjab.
- Reasons:
 - a. Economic: Scarcity of jobs + Rising inequalities.

- b. Because of modernisation – traditional institutions gave way to modern institutions. This created a moral and cultural vacuum which is highly conducive to ideologies based on fear and hate.
- c. Inevitable exhaustion of the idealism generated during the independence movement.
- d. Laxity of the administrative setup – especially the police – dealing with communal violence.
- e. Lack of resistance to the entry of religion in politics -> For ex. : Reversing the Shah Bano judgment.

Poverty, deprivation and inequalities

- Economists:

Poverty, Deprivation and Inequalities

- Economist- Calorie and Income
- Sociologist- Access to education, Health care facilities, source of entertainment, quality of life, political participation.
- Amartya Sen- Poverty is a life experience, can't be explained in mechanical economics terms.
- Andre Beteille- Poverty is more contagious than pollution. Poverty breeds poverty. If the father is poor, he can't buy nutritious food, good education for his children, children will end up in low paying jobs, hence poverty continues.
- SC Dubey- Poverty and prosperity are self perpetuating in character. In case of India, most of the poor are born as poor, few of the poor stay as non-poors and none of the rich ever become poor.
- Dada Bhai Naroji- first nationalist who relate poverty to colonial rule- drain of wealth theory.
- AR Desai- None of the poverty alleviation programmes of state is successful in eradicating poverty. Poverty linked to ecology. Rural poor coming to urban environment and after a long period of time spoiling their health and going back to rural environment. Hence poverty is transferred and transmitted rather than getting cured.
- Planning commissions recent poverty line figures-based on Tendulkar committee report- 2400 calories in rural areas and 2100 calories in urban areas- accordingly money to purchase these items. International poverty line 1 dollar in PPP terms. 32Rs in urban and 27 Rs in rural areas.
- Recent reports on poverty figures have to be included- Civil society criticised the poverty line figures.

- Yogendra Singh- poverty perpetuates because of lack of activities by civil society organisations- Rampant among SCs, STs ,elderly persons, physically handicapped, victims of distress migration and single parent family.
- Anand Kumar BookPolitics of poverty Most of the poverty eradication programmes are not to eliminate poverty but to manifest the visibility of government to people. Anti poverty programmes are becoming hotbeds of politics in rural India, dividing people on the basis of caste, creed, religion, political affiliation; therefore politics of poverty ensures poverty stays in India to make India a democracy.

Developmental Displacement:

- Arundhati Roy in book 'Greater common good'- The millions of displaced people in India are nothing but refugees of an unacknowledged war.
- A review by the World Bank notes that an average of 13000 people are displaced by each new large dam constructed currently. By this estimate, the number of people displaced by 3000 + large dams would be over 39 million. That's three times the people displaced during partition of India. The tribals who comprise 8.08% of India's population are estimated to be more than 40% of the displaced population. Dalits constitute 20% of displaced persons (DPs). Most of the remaining are other rural poor.
- Many DPs are subjected to multiple displacement. A chilling case of this trauma is that of the displaced of Singrauli who are part of the over 2 lakh people first displaced by the Rihand dam in 1964. "Tens of thousands" says Smitu Kothari, "who in the absence of any resettlement programs, settled on the banks of reservoir, cultivating the land which is exposed when the reservoir recedes in the summer season. They were subsequently displaced by Thermal Power plants, Coal mines, Railways, Industries and urbanisation and

Rural Agrarian Transformation

Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture

- No agreement among social scientists on characterisation of the existing MoP ->
Some opine it is capitalist, others feudal, while still some more that it is semi-feudal.
-> Depends on geographical diversity – historical reasons – and contemporary state government policies.
- Utsa Patnaik, Daniel Thorner, Gail Omvedt and Asok Rudra : Capitalist mode of agri has arisen in India agriculture.
- If India is to have a of capitalist mode of production, it should have:
 1. Capital investment in agriculture.
 2. Mechanisation of agriculture production.
 3. Development of intensive agriculture.
 4. Production of industrial and commercial crops.
 5. Replacement of small-scale production with large-scale.
 6. Hired or wage labour must be main source of surplus value.

- Asok Rudra: For capitalist MoP: A capitalist farmer must ->
 1. Cultivate land himself rather than lease out.
 2. Use hired labour much more than family labour.
 3. Use farm machines.
 4. Market an important share of produce.
 5. Organise production to yield a high rate of return on his production.
- Dipankar Gupta -> Indian agri is capitalist, but capitalism has not developed uniformly.
- Nirmal Sen Gupta -> Feudal MoP is still predominant in India.
- Nurul Hasan rejects Sengupta and says there is no feudalism in Indian agriculture.
- Amit Bhaduri -> Indian agri is semi-feudal.
- Amit Bhaduri -> Why Indian agri is semi feudal -> Based on survey in Bengal:
 1. Share cropping.
 2. Perpetual indebtedness of small tenants.
 3. Concentration of two modes of exploitation – usury and land ownership in the same eco class.
 4. Lack of accessibility to the market for the small tenants.
- Pradhan Prasad -> Also says MoP is semi-feudal:-> Conducts study in Bihar :-> Distinguishes between semi-proletariat in semi-feudalism and proletariat in capitalism. :-> Unlike in the capitalist economy, where worker is free and can sell his labour-> In semi-feudal set up there is an indissoluble bond between the semi-proletariat and the overlord -> Which is maintained by usury.
- The scholars of semi-feudalism assert that the prevalence of semi-feudal relations is the chief cause of backwardness and exploitation in our agrarian social system. It has become the greatest obstacle in the introduction of advanced technology and development of agriculture.
- Daniel Thorner – coined the expression ‘built in depressor’ – to refer to the tendency of landlords to live off rents and interests – rather than going for productivity raising investment.

A clear picture of any single dominant MoP has yet not appeared on the vast map of Indian agrarian social structure. Depending on the development in agriculture, divergent types of

MoP exist in different parts of the country. The Indian agrarian economy was actually characterised as multi-structural where capitalist and semi-feudal sectors coexist and contend against each other.

Indebtedness and Bonded labour

- Article 23 -> Bans bonded labour and human trafficking.
- NHRC -> Plays an important role in monitoring bonded labour.
- The Bonded Labour System Abolition Act (1976)
- Bonded labour refers to long-term relationship between employee and employer which is cemented through a loan, by custom or by force, which denies the employee various freedoms, including to choose his/her employer, to enter into a fresh contract with the same employer or to negotiate the terms and conditions of his/her conduct.
- The SC: interpreted the word 'forced' to include paying a person less than the min wage.
- NCRL: (a) Instances of agricultural bondage were higher in states and districts characterised by a high percentage of rural labourers, low irrigation and agri productivity, and poor infrastructure. (b) Non agriculture sectors with high incidences of bonded labour: stone quarries, brick kilns, devdasis, bidi workers, carpet weavers, child labour in match and firework.
- A SC appointed committee found in TN: 76 pc of the bonded labourers were SC, STs or MBCs. In almost all the cases, the element of bondage was found to be debt.
- The expert group of NHRC in 2001 -> (A) Bonded labour was present in all states (B) Rampant in agri and non-agri sectors. (C) In non-agri sector: Brick kilns, stone quarries, beedi manufacturing, carpet weaving and construction.
- Typology of bonded labour:
 1. Bonded labour that is vestige of traditional social relations : Caste-based division of labour in which servile castes are expected to perform low status functions.
 2. Bonded labour in agriculture:

3. Bonded labour in rural and urban unorganised and informal sector -> Highest incidences are being reported from here. Within this from quarries and open mines.

4. Child bonded labour

➤ Causes of bonded labour:

1. Caste system -> Binding certain castes to certain occupations and in relations with the dominant caste.
2. Small land holdings -> Low agri income -> Taking debt -> Getting bonded either in an industry through a contractor or to a large farmer.
3. Alienation of tribal land, receding forest cover, takeover of tribal areas by non-tribals.
4. Illiteracy -> Unable to understand the contractual relations and T&C of loans.
5. Financial and labour market monopolies in rural areas -> Same person is the only source of credit and employment. -> Some employers encourage workers to take loan to trap them in the cycle of indebtedness and exploitation.

Migration:

The Census defines a migrant as a person residing in a place other than his/her place of birth (Place of Birth definition) or one who has changed his/her usual place of residence to another place (change in usual place of residence or UPR definition)

- In spite of Davis characterising India as relatively immobile, it is estimated three out of every 10 Indians are internal migrants.
- Significant improvement in road infrastructure and telecommunications, which has also been accompanied by declining real costs of transport and communication. This has led to improved information flows, potentially reducing information asymmetries and isolation for the migrant, and a reduction both in the costs of migration and in the speed at which migrants can move from origin to destination. Improved infrastructure and reduced transport costs have also made daily commuting to work (sometimes over several hundred kilometres) a viable option to migration.

- The pattern of growth under globalization has led to changes in the pattern of demand for workers and consequent changes in labour market structure. First, there has been an overall growth in certain sectors, and this has generated a certain type of demand for workers. Second, the premium which employers place on flexible labour and reducing labour costs appears to them to be higher than the gains that could accrue to them from a dedicated and long-term labour force. There is, as a result, a 'race to the bottom' and an increase in informal employment.

Types of migration

- Permanent migration: Permanent relocation of an individual or household, which we may term permanent migration.
- Temporary migration: If individuals migrate leaving their families and land and property in the area of origin, they may do so with the intention of reverting back to the area of origin. This is more likely to happen if the individuals have precarious jobs in the destination areas or if the cost of permanent relocation is high relative to its benefits.
- Circular migration: If individuals, or groups of individuals, migrate for temporary periods, either moving from place to place or to a fixed destination, such migrants are seasonal or circular migrants.

Profile of migrants

- The National Commission for Rural Labour (NCRL) Report, 1991, suggests that labourers and farmers with little or no land have a high propensity to migrate as seasonal labourers.
- In terms of education, migration rates are high among both the highly educated and the least educated, while there is a preponderance of illiterates among seasonal migrants.
- In the overall migrant population, differences across caste groups are not significant, but ST and SC migrants are more often involved in short-term migration. Further, as many studies have noted, since migration requires a minimum critical amount of resources and networks, people without these resources are less likely to migrate.

Impact of migration on migrants and their families

1. They live in deplorable conditions. There is no provision of safe drinking water or hygienic sanitation. -> Most live in open spaces or makeshift shelters in spite of the Contract Labour Act which stipulates that the contractor or employer should provide suitable accommodation.
2. Their vulnerability to diseases increases because of poor health facilities and nutrition. :-> For women, there is no provision of maternity leave, forcing them to resume work almost immediately after childbirth. :-> No crèche facility exists. + Education of children suffers.
3. In case of male-only migration, the women, elderly and children face material; and psychological insecurity. + In some cases women take advantage of this and improve their economic status but often the patriarchal setup might discourage this. + In certain cases, young girls are forced to take care of their younger siblings foregoing their own avenues of development.
4. In the process of migration not only are families, including children, uprooted from their homes year after year, they also end up disenfranchised.
5. Families lose the benefits of state welfare – they forgo the facilities of the public distribution system in the villages and cannot access the public health system and the immunization drive for young children that take place during the migration season.
6. A large proportion of migrant labour do not have their entitlement papers like caste certificates, election cards, BPL cards, old age pension cards and so on. In the entire process, the lives of children are adversely affected. They are forced to drop out from school or never enrol in one. One has to remember that a child out of school is an important indicator of child labour in the country. Seasonal migrants migrate alone (male only, female only, or child only) or quite often in family units (husband, wife, children). When migration takes place as a family unit, each part of the family unit, excluding infants, contributes to family subsistence in one way or another – in work or as part of the household 'care' economy. For children, the work environment means unusual harshness and deprivations.

Impact on source areas (areas from where they had migrated)

1. Migrant labourers and return migrants are more reluctant to accept adverse employment conditions and low wages.
2. Increase acceptable level of wages in rural areas and may make certain forms of labour relationships less acceptable.

Impact on destination areas

1. Reduces labour costs.
2. Formalisation of labour market.

Evidence of migration:

- 2011: Rural – Urban distribution: 68.84% & 31.16%.
- Level of urbanization increased from 27.81% in 2001 Census to 31.16% in 2011 Census. The proportion of rural population declined from 72.19% to 68.84%.
- In 1951: The proportion of pop living in urban area was 17 per cent.

Central legislations addressing migration:

- The Constitution contains basic provisions relating to the conditions of employment, non-discrimination, right to work, etc: 23(1), 39, 42, 43.
- India is also a member of the ILO and has ratified several ILO conventions.
- Inter-state Migrant Workmen Act -> Minimum Wages Act -> Contract Labour Act -> Equal Remuneration Act. Also those acts which are only for the organised sector workers are: Employees State Insurance Act, 1952; Employee Provident Fund Act, 1952; and Maternity Benefit Act, 1961.
- The implementation of these laws remains faulty.
- No single department looks at migration: The responsibility of welfare of migrants is divided between the Centre and the State. And so between various ministries, but mainly Labour and Social Welfare.
- International migration -> The main objective is to protect the rights of Indian workers abroad.

Migration trend

- Census 2011: 45.36 crore Indians (37 per cent) in India are migrants — now settled in a place different from their previous residence. In 2001, the figure stood at 31.45 crore.
- Most people, 49 per cent, migrate for marriage. Lesser Indians are now relocating for work and employment — 10.2 per cent in 2011, down from 14.4 per cent in 2001.
- Excluding marriage-related migration, internal migration in India is comparatively more employment oriented, male oriented and long distance.

Reasons for migration

1. Marriage-> This is mainly due to the widely prevalent social custom of exogamous marriages. (2)
2. Joining one's parents and/or the earning member of the family is the second most important reason for migration for both male and female migrants in both urban and rural areas.
3. Economic reasons -> For males, migration for economic reasons has been cited as the most important reason for migration.
4. Other reason -> Studies

What should be focus areas:

1. Inclusive urban development: Reduce anti-migrant rhetoric + slums should be replaced (Housing for All) + Better facilities for water (Smart Cities + Atal Rejuvenation Mission)
2. A regional development policy & pro-poor development in backward areas (Rurban mission).
3. Employment and food security, and credit support for vulnerable groups (Jan Dhan + Atal Pension Yojana + other pension schemes).
4. Ensuring basic entitlements and social security.
5. Implementing the RTE for migrants' children.
6. Improving the information base and bargaining strength of migrant workers.
7. Better implementation of labour laws.

National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector recommended:

- First, the NCEUS proposed a comprehensive legislation for informal workers, covering minimum labour standards and issues specific to migrant labour.
- Second, the NCEUS proposed a universal minimum social security package for informal workers

https://www.google.co.in/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwiY0_bI3YnVAhUYR48KHaNMCF0QqOcBCCcwAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.thehindu.com%2Ftodays-paper%2Ftp-opinion%2Fits-not-help-its-work%2Farticle19274069.ece&usg=AFQjCNEtU6rLI0MYejZaM3tb2Ii6A2-0A

Impact of migration

A. Family and kinship

- (1) IP Desai: Traditional joint families are being replaced by functional joint families. -> Kinship relations are being confined to 2-3 generations.
- (2) Ellene Rose: In Bangalore found that people from professional middle-class who had had prolonged urban stay had little spirit for jointness.

Green revolution and social change

The large-scale increase in agricultural production (esp wheat and rice) which took place in a relatively short span of time (between 1965-66 and 70-71) as a result of application of HYV seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and agricultural machinery. Green revolution led to increase in production, but also increase in use of water and fertiliser.

With Green Revolution, the focus shifted from reducing structural inequalities in land ownership to optimising production through modern technology and other supportive measures.

- Consequences of green revolution:
 1. Along with land reforms – led to abolition of intermediaries – made the capitalist transformation of Indian agriculture complete.
 2. Increase in food output.

3. Self-sufficiency in food production.
4. Jajmani system broke down. -> UT reduced.
5. Caste as an economic system collapsed -> This had a negative impact on the artisan class. -> This led to an increase in the number of agriculture workers.
6. Middle castes became powerful.
7. GR did not benefit everyone equally: (ALL THREE WOMEN)
 - a) Francene Frankel : Conducted an all-India study taking five districts as the sample: Ludhiana, Bardhman, Western Godavari, Palakkad and Tanjavur -> Frankel found relationship between green revolution and the size of the farm -> Found that Green Revolution was not scale neutral. →>10 acres: Profitable;<10 acres -> Profits dipped with decrease in farm land.
 - b) Joan Mencher: In her study in TN -> Farmer owners with less than 5 acres of land had no chance of profit.
 - c) Scarlet Ebstein: Studied Mandya district in Karnataka -> A decade after GR ->The trend is towards land alienation. ->Land belonging to small farmers (lower caste also), changed hand with large farmers (upper castes).
8. Inequalities increased post green revolution:
 - Sucha Singh Gill -> A decade after the GR in Punjab->60 per cent of the marginal farmers and 25 per cent of small farmers lost their land to big farmers. -> Because GR favours bigger farmers over smaller farmers:
 - a) High input costs.
 - b) Small farmers can't bargain for a better price by postponing selling their crop like bigger farmers can.
 - Rural Labour Inequality ->A study by govt over 1965-75 -> Found that during this period while the number of rural households increased by 16 per cent, the number of agricultural labourer households increased by 35 per cent. [EXPLAINS PT. 8]
9. Leading to de-peasantisation and proletarisation.
10. Contributes to indebtedness of small farmers. -> Absence of credit facilities -> Leading to debt bondage.
11. Premature mechanisation of agriculture without accompanying industrialisation to absorb the labour.

- Billing and Singh :-> Because of mechanisation -> Massive displacement of labour -> Leading to unemployment + displacement of labour + Distress migration + Urban decay.

11. Led to growth of demand politics. -> Subsidies on MSP and fertilisers and electricity.

12. Fall in women employment in farm -> Because of mechanisation.

13. The share of agriculture labourers increased from 38 pc in 1971 to 46 pc in 2001.

Problems of rural labour

1. Rural labour can be divided into 7 classes:
 - 1) Agricultural labour.
 - 2) Bonded labour.
 - 3) Labourer in forestry.
 - 4) Para-agricultural labour -> Labourers who are employed in activities subsequent to harvesting like preparation for market or storage.
 - 5) Plantation labour.
 - 6) Rural labour in allied activities like dairy farming, raising bees, etc.
 - 7) Self-employed persons.
2. Problems with RL:
 - a) Poverty – They are poorest of the poor in India. :-> The landless suffer from: Unemployment + low and uncertain income + nutritional deficiencies.
 - b) Nature of employment -> Uncertain – employed without any contract – low wages – disguised unemployment.
 - c) Seasonal character of employment – From February to May – extent of unemployment is considerably large.
 - d) Ignorance, illiteracy and heterogeneity (this affects the ability to unity).
 - e) Migration.

1. Evolution of modern industry in India + Idea of development planning and mixed economy

➤ **What is planned development?**

It is planned mobilisation of resources of the country in the direction of goals set by it.

- It is strategic intervention needed to ensure social and economic development in the country.
- In India, the Planning process was guided by the Constitution, Preamble and by the freedom struggle.
- Post-independence, India adopted the mixed economy model .
- <http://www.upscguide.com/content/summary-five-year-plans-india>

<u>1st FYP (1951 - 56)</u>	Based on Harrod-Domar Model :-> Focus on agriculture, price stability, power and transport. :-> Community Development Program launched in 1952
<u>2nd FYP (1956 - 61)</u>	Mahalanobis Plan :-> Focus - rapid industrialization.
<u>3rd FYP (1961 - 66)</u>	Based on the experience of first two plans, agriculture was given top priority. :-> Complete failure in reaching the targets due to unforeseen events - Chinese aggression (1962), Indo-Pak war (1965), severe drought 1965-66.
<u>Three Annual Plans (1966-69) Plan</u> <u>holiday for 3 years.</u>	During these plans a whole new agricultural strategy was implemented. It involving wide-spread distribution of high-yielding varieties of seeds, extensive use of fertilizers, exploitation of irrigation

	potential and soil conservation.
<u>Fourth Plan (1969 - 74)</u>	Main emphasis was on growth rate of agriculture to enable other sectors to move forward :-> Migrations from Bangladesh.
<u>Fifth Plan (1974-79)</u>	It proposed to achieve two main objectives: 'removal of poverty' (Garibi Hatao) and 'attainment of self reliance'
<u>Rolling Plan (1978 - 80)</u>	
<u>Sixth Plan (1980 - 85)</u>	Increase in national income, modernization of technology, ensuring continuous decrease in poverty and unemployment, population control through family planning, etc.
<u>Seventh Plan (1985 - 90)</u>	Rapid growth in food-grains production, increased employment opportunities and productivity within the framework of basic tenants of planning.
<u>Eighth Plan (1992 - 97)</u>	The eighth plan was postponed by two years because of political uncertainty at the Centre Worsening Balance of Payment position and inflation during 1990-91 were the key issues during the launch of the plan. The plan undertook drastic policy measures to combat the bad economic situation and to undertake an annual average growth of 5.6% Some of the main economic outcomes during eighth plan period were rapid economic growth, high growth of

	agriculture and allied sector, and manufacturing sector, growth in exports and imports, improvement in trade and current account deficit.

- At the time independence :-> Extreme poverty, illiteracy, ruined agriculture and industry, structural distortion created by colonisation in the Indian economy and society.
- However, a small industrial class had emerged in India -> Which had grown taking advantage of the two world wars and the Great depression.
- At independence, Indian capitalists captured 75 per cent of the market, and 85 per cent of all deposits in banks. -> In this sense India was different from other colonised countries, where though political independence was achieved, the erstwhile colony's economy continued to be dominated by metropolitan interests.
- There was broad political consensus among Gandhians, Socialists and Capitalist -> Over the direction of economic development -> Develop indigenous industry + ensure fruits of development are shared with all + Introduce land and agrarian reforms.

History of planning

- 1931: Karachi resolution of Congress -> State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping, etc.
- 1938: Under Nehru -> The National Planning Committee was formed.
- 1945: Bombay Plan: Highlighted the need to reduce dependence on foreign capital goods industry -> Recommended that in the development of capital goods industry, the public sector should play a critical role -> As it required huge investment + large gestation period.
- 1955: Congress accepted Socialistic pattern of development as the direction of economic and social development.
- Planning for Nehru had to be consensual not command.

Plans:

1. First plan (1951-56):
 - i) Focus on agriculture development and finishing existing projects.
 - ii) Address refugee problems.
2. Second (1956-61) and third plan (1961-66): Nehru-Mahalanobis plan was put to work. Its components were:
 - i) Rapid development of capital goods industries in the public sector.
 - ii) Import substitution.
 - iii) Promotion of labour-intensive small and cottage industries for the production of consumer goods.
 - iv) Community development programmes + cooperatives.

Evaluation of these three plans:->Overall economy grew at an impressive rate -> During this period, the GNP grew at 4 pc, which was four times of what it grew during the last 50 years of colonial rule. -> Agriculture grew at 3 per cent, but India was insufficient on food and had to depend on imports -Since 1956, India had to rely on food imports from the IS under the PL-480 scheme. -> Import substitution policy, led to development of indigenous industrial development -> In 1950, 90 per cent of needs for domestic industry were imported, by mid-1970s -> India was able to meet 90 per cent of its industrial needs indigenously.-> Focus on 'building temples of modern India' + social infra.

Criticism of the planning strategy

1. Benefitted only a few.
2. Unplanned urbanisation.
3. Land reforms missing.
4. Rural development missing.
5. According tp Y Singh -> Development planning led to emergence of powerful middle classes in both urban and rural India – 'merchant capitalists'.

Key achievements of planning in India

1. We have managed to decisively reverse the trend of falling per capita incomes that had characterised the first 50 years of this century, and have steadily accelerated our

growth rates from an average of 3.5% per year during the 30-year period from 1950 to 1980 to 5.5% during the 1980s to 6.5% during the 1990s and further to 7.6% in the 2000s.

2. Food security is no longer a matter of pressing concern, and the scourge of famines seems to have been decisively eliminated from the country.
3. The incidence of poverty has also been brought down, although not as fast as we would have liked.
4. Social indicators have shown significant improvement from the abysmally low levels that existed at the time of independence.

Criticisms of Indian planning

Within the country, dissatisfaction with planning emanates from two main directions.

First, there is a view that planning is synonymous with statism, and is symptomatic of a desire of the government to intervene excessively in economic matters.

Second, the fact that a number of developing countries have performed better than India by following different growth strategies is laid at the door of planning.

Functions of planning that continue to be valid

1. The principal function of planning, especially in a federal system, is to evolve a shared vision of and commitment to the national objectives and development strategy not only in the government at all levels, but also among all other economic agents. No development strategy can be successful unless each component of the economy works towards a common purpose. This function will always remain valid.
2. Another function of planning which needs to be recognised is that in a dynamically evolving world, conditions change continuously and the development strategy also has to evolve in a consistent and proactive manner. This can only be done through a system which tracks emerging trends both in the international and domestic economies, analyses the opportunities and dangers, and indicates the direction for policy change.
3. Arguably, there are certain functions which the Planning Commission is best equipped to perform. For instance, a body like the Planning Commission is required

in order to address the national objectives of poverty alleviation, population control, employment generation and balanced regional development in a holistic manner.

Leaving these issues to sectoral ministries runs the danger of the inter-linkages and synergies being overlooked. The Planning Commission is also best equipped to evolve a long-term economic strategy for the development of the country.

4. Another area where the Planning Commission is relevant is in coordinating the economic activities of the central and state governments and among the central ministries. There is no other agency that is better equipped to play this role. India is a federal country in which the authority and responsibility for handling various public activities are vested in different tiers of the government by our Constitution. Coherent policymaking, however, requires that some agency ensures that these different and autonomous tiers do not work at cross-purposes. For this it is essential to have an institution which has an economy-wide mandate. This function will become increasingly more important in the future as the process of globalisation continues. Under the Constitution, the authority to enter into international treaties and arrangements vests only in the central government. Thus, there is always the possibility that the developmental responsibilities which are vested in the states may come in conflict with international obligations unless there is a coordinating mechanism which can ensure convergence.

Population size, growth, composition and distribution & Components of population growth: birth, death and migration.

1. Population size: Total population: 1.2 bn.
2. Growth rate: 17.2 pc.
3. Crude birth rate : 21.8 pc : -> (Urban: 17.6; Rural: 23.3)
4. Crude death rate: 7.1 pc
5. Impact of education on fertility: TFR (Literate): 2.1; Illiterate: 3.3. Further, Graduate: 1.6
6. Pop density: 382 (2011), 325 (2001). -> Delhi most dense overall -> Bihar most among states.
7. Rural: 68.8 pc; Urban: 31.2 pc.->Urban population has increased as compared to 2001.

8. Sex ratio: 2011:-> 943, 2001:-> 933. ->Rural areas: Sex ratio has increased from 946 to 949. In urban areas: increase has been of 29 points from 900 to 929.
9. Kerala has the highest sex ratio: 1084.
10. Child sex ratio: 2011:->919, 2001: -> 927 → This is the lowest sex ratio since 1961. Among states, Haryana has the lowest sex ratio of 832.
11. SCs: 16.6 pc; ST: 8.6 pc.
12. Literacy rate: 73 pc (Rural: 67.8 pc, Urban: 84.1 pc). 2001: 64.8 pc.
13. Male literacy rate: 81 pc, Female: 64.6 pc. ->2001: Male: 75, Female: 54. -> The gap has fallen from 21 pp to 16 pp.
14. Workers: Total workers: 481 mn -> Males: 70 pc; Females: 30 pc. -> 81 per cent of female workers are in rural areas.
15. Work Participation Rate: 39.8 pc. In 2001: 39.1 pc. Male WPR:-> Has increased from 51.7 pc to 53.3 pc. While for female, it has decreased from 25.6 pc to 25.1 pc.
16. Workers as per eco activities: 55 pc workers are in agriculture ->This figure was 58 pc in 2001.
17. Increase in agri labourers:During the decade 2001-11, the census results show a fall of about 9 mn in cultivators and an increase of about 38 mn in agricultural labourers.
18. Infant Mortality rate:
19. Maternal Mortality rate:

Population Policy and family planning

At present, India is following National Population Policy, 2000.

- 1952: India launched the world 1st national population program emphasizing family planning ->To reduce birth rates “to stabilize the population at a level which is consistent with the requirement of the national economy”.
- Since then, the family planning program has evolved and the program is currently being repositioned to not only achieve population stabilization but also to promote reproductive health and reduce maternal, infant & child mortality and morbidity.

Evolution of population policy

1. First FYP -> To reduce birth rates “to stabilize the population at a level which is consistent with the requirement of the national economy”.
2. No numerical targets or goals were set in the first and the second FYP. :-> People were expected to go to the clinic and seek family planning services.
3. The third FYP replaced the clinic oriented approach with an extension education approach, which aimed at taking the message of birth control to people, instead of waiting for them to approach the government clinics.
4. Fifth FYP -> Launched the National Population Policy, 1976. -> Efforts were made to improve the organisational structure of the health departments and increase its efficiency in achieving family planning goals.
5. Post-emergency, govt adopted ‘family welfare’ instead of ‘family planning’. -> The focus was now on educating the people and thereby motivating them to adopt family welfare measures. + The age of marriage of boys and girls was raised from 18 to 21.
6. The 6th and 7th FYP -> Set long-term goals. These focussed on reducing the size of family, birth, death, IMR. While short-term goals were to encourage sterilisation, use of intra-uterine devices and other conventional contraceptives.

United Nations: By 2022: Estimated pop of India will be 1,419 (1318 mein ek-ek add) million approximately whereas China’s population will be approximately 1,409 million. ->In spite of the perceptible decline in Total Fertility Rate (TFR) from 3.6 in 1991 to 2.3 in 2013, India is yet to achieve replacement level of 2.1.

Twenty four states/UTs have already achieved replacement level of TFR by 2013, while states like UP and Bihar with large population base still have TFR of 3.1 and 3.4 respectively. The other states like Jharkhand (TFR 2.7), Rajasthan (TFR 2.8), Madhya Pradesh (TFR 2.9), and Chhattisgarh (TFR 2.6) continue to have higher levels of fertility and contribute to the growth of population.

- Factors influencing population growth can be grouped into following 3 categories:
 1. Unmet need of Family Planning: This includes the currently married women, who wish to stop child bearing or wait for next two or more years for the next child birth,

but not using any contraceptive method. Total unmet need of family planning is 21.3% in our country.

2. Age at Marriage and first childbirth: In India 22.1% of the girls get married below the age of 18 years and out of the total deliveries 5.6% are among teenagers i.e. 15-19 years. The situation regarding age of girls at marriage is more alarming in few states like, Bihar (46.2%), Rajasthan (41%), Jharkhand (36%), UP (33%), and MP (29.2%). Delaying the age at marriage and 1st child birth could reduce the impact of Population Momentum on population growth.
3. Spacing between Births: Healthy spacing of 3 years improves the chances of survival of infants and also helps in reducing the impact of population momentum on population growth. SRS 2013 data shows that In India, spacing between two childbirths is less than the recommended period of 3 years in 59.3% of births.

➤ Some positives:

1. The percentage decadal growth rate of the country has declined significantly from 21.5% for the period 1991-2001 to 17.7% during 2001-2011.
2. Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in the country has recorded a steady decline to the current levels of 2.3 (SRS 2013). In 2005: 2.9.
3. Nationwide, the small family norm is widely accepted (the wanted fertility rate for India as a whole is 1.9: NFHS-3) and the general awareness of contraception is almost universal (98% among women and 98.6% among men: NFHS-3).
4. Contraceptive use among married women (aged 15-49 years) was 56.3% in NFHS-3 (an increase of 8.1 percentage points from NFHS-2).

➤ Strategies under family planning programme in the country:

<u>Policy level</u>	<u>Service level</u>
Following a target-free approach	More emphasis on spacing methods
Voluntary adoption of family planning	Assuring quality of services

methods.	
Children by choice and not chance	Expanding contraceptives

1. Strengthening community-based distribution of contraceptives by involving ASHAs.
2. Focussed IEC/ BCC efforts for enhancing demand & creating awareness on family planning.
3. Ensuring quality care in Family Planning services by establishing Quality Assurance Committees at state and district levels.
4. Plan for accreditation of more private/ NGO facilities to increase the provider base for family planning services under PPP.
5. Increasing male participation (Data suggests that overwhelming proportion of procedures are tubectomy, very few vasectomy.) -> Cite Chhattisgarh 2014.
6. Emphasis on Spacing methods
7. Capitalise on the opportunity provided by increased institutional deliveries. Appointment of counsellors at high institutional delivery facilities is a key activity. They can guide and educate the women who come for institutional deliveries.

Mission Parivar Vikas: Government has launched “Mission Parivar Vikas” in 145 high focus districts having the highest total fertility rates in the country. These are present in 7 high-focus states which constitute 44 pc of India’s population.

Santusthi strategy

Santushti is a strategy of Jansankhya Sthirata Kosh (JSK) for the highly populated states of India viz Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh & Odisha. Under this strategy, Jansankhya Sthirata Kosh, invites private sector gynaecologists and vasectomy surgeons to conduct sterilization operations in PPP mode.

Prerna strategy

In order to help push up the age of marriage of girls and space the birth of children in the interest of health of young mothers and infants, Jansankhya Sthirata Kosh (National Population Stabilization Fund) has launched PRERNA, a Responsible Parenthood Strategy in seven focus states namely Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Rajasthan.

The strategy recognizes and awards couples who have broken the stereotype of early marriage, early childbirth and repeated child birth and have helped change the mindsets of the community.

Emerging issues: Ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health

Ageing:

- United Nations Population Division: The share of India's population >(+60) is projected to climb from 8 pc in 2010 to 19 pc in 2050. -> Estimated to be three times the present population at around 300 million.
- By mid-century, India's >60 pop is expected to be greater than the total US pop in 2012.
- Why?:
Combined impact of increasing life expectancy and declining fertility. Life expectancy at birth in India climbed from 37 years in 1950 to 65 years in 2011, reflecting declines in infant mortality and survival at older ages in response to public health improvements.
- By 2050, life expectancy at birth is projected to reach 74 years. Fertility rates in India have declined to 2.6 children per women, less than one-half the early 1950s rate of 5.9 children per woman.
- As India's population ages, the nation will face a shrinking pool of working-age people to support the elderly population.
- The aging of India's population will lead to increases in the prevalence of chronic conditions such as diabetes and hypertension. -> Fewer than 17 pc of Indians have health insurance from private or public sources, and about 80 percent of health care spending is paid out-of-pocket.

- Within the older Indian population, women face additional risks: They tend to have poorer health and less access to health care than men of similar backgrounds.
- Census 2011: One in every seven elderly persons in India lives in a household where there is nobody below the age of 60.
- Around 11 pc of older Indians have a pension of any sort -> Financially vulnerable.
- In the future, India's system of family-based support will not be able to withstand the increased numbers of older Indians, "especially given increased female labour force participation, smaller numbers of more mobile children, widening generation gaps, and increasing burdens of costly-to-treat diseases such as diabetes, cancer, and stroke."

Govt initiatives:

- Varishtha Pension Bima Yojana: Minimum pension is paid until death.
- National Council of Senior Citizens: An autonomous council headed by the Minister for Social Justice & Empowerment-> to promote and co-ordinate the concerns of older persons. The Council includes representatives of relevant Central Ministries and the Planning Commission. Five States are represented on the Council by rotation. Adequate representation is given to non-official members representing Non-Government Organisations, Academic bodies, Media and Experts on Ageing issues from different fields.
- Senior citizen savings scheme
- The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007 was enacted to ensure need based maintenance for parents and senior citizens and their welfare.
- Tax cuts in Budget for medical equipment
- The Government has launched the Longitudinal Ageing Study in India (LASI). The Study is the first long-term survey of the elderly population in the country which is aimed at providing comprehensive longitudinal evidence base on health, social and economic wellbeing of the elderly. :->The objectives of LASI are to collect

credible scientific data on burden of disease, mental health, functional health, healthcare and social and economic wellbeing of elderly population.

Sex ratio:

Comparing general sex ratio to child sex ratio (girls per 1000 boys)



Scroll.in

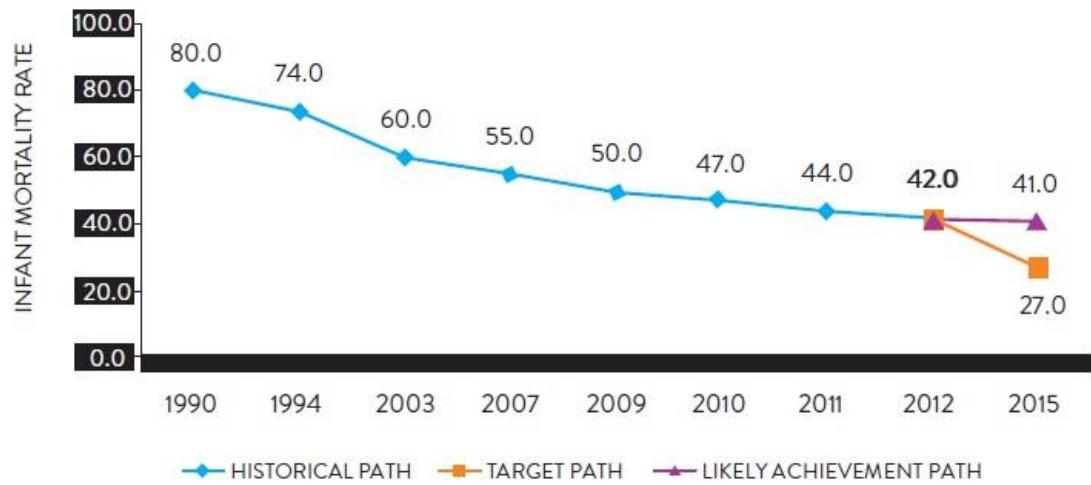
Data: Government of India

Infant mortality rate

- It has shown decline: It was 57 in 2005-06, and now in 2015-16 it had reached 41.
- The improvement in IMR has coincided with an improvement in public health spending, and the rollout of the National Rural Health Mission – focussing on the healthcare needs of the under-served rural areas in 2005.
- Despite leakages, the mission helped set up rural health infrastructure in areas where it was non-existent and helped raised a cadre of community health workers (ASHA workers) who worked as the frontline staff of the mission in improving health outcomes, especially for women and newborns.
- Between 2004 and 2014, healthcare expenditure has increased from 1 per cent of the GDP to 1.4 per cent of GDP – a 40 per cent increase over the decade.
- The National Health Policy plans to increase the health spending to 2.5 per cent of the GDP. This will have a positive impact on the IMR.
- Wide inter-state differences: Kerala has 12, while Assam and MP have 54. UP: 50 (Gorakhpur tragedy).
- Female IMR is higher than Male IMR.
- In 2013, Female IMR was 42, while male IMR was 39.

- Child Mortality Rate: 48/1,000 -> Main reasons: Diahorrea -> Has been reduced significantly over the last 10 years -> Solutions to tackle D related deaths: Clean water + Sanitation.

INDIA INFANT MORTALITY RATE (1990 - 2015)

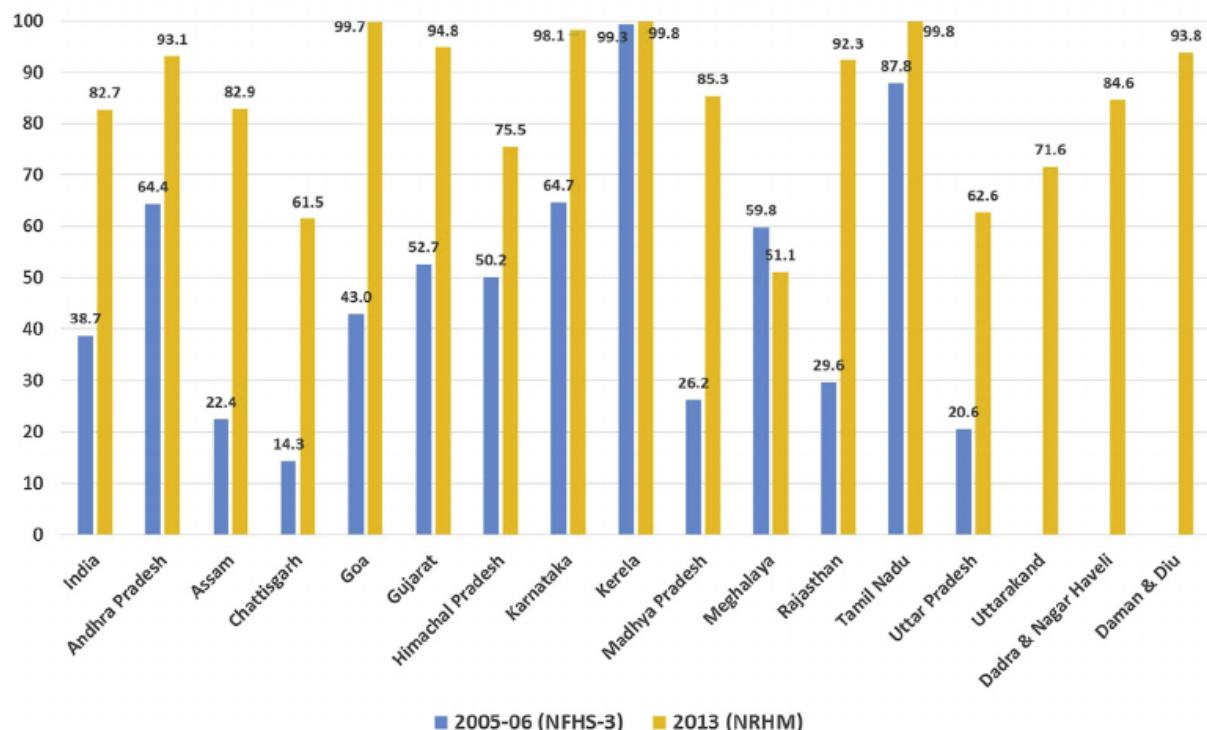


Source: Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India

Figure 4: Decreasing maternal mortality ratio in India over the years



Institutional Deliveries - Progress over the years



Sociological theories related to population:

Malthus and his correction.

1. Libenstein:

He draws a link between population growth and economic development.

He argues that with economic development, population declines. -> Sees population growth in terms of two variables:

1. Cost

2. Utility

Simply put -> When cost of having children increases and their utility decreases, then family planning is adopted.

What are the utility of having a child:

a) Support at old age.

b) Hands at work.

c) Parents experience satisfaction by having children.

What are the costs?

a) Direct cost -> Money spent on raising the child.

b) Indirect cost -> Opportunity cost. For ex. Mothers sacrifice their career to raise child.

As economy develops, utility declines and cost increases. -> The only utility which remains is the satisfaction of having a child. Hence, Family Planning is increasing adopted.

2. CALDWELL: INTERGENERATIONAL WEALTH FLOW.

Fertility depends on which way the wealth flows.

If the wealth flows from parents to children, then fertility is low. -> This is a feature of western societies.

If the wealth flows from children to parents, then fertility is high. -> This is a feature of less developed societies.

3. R C DUMOND: SOCIAL CAPILLARY THEORY

If society values social mobility then fertility is low.

If the society does not value social mobility then fertility rate is high.

- UN's reasons:

- 1) Per-capita income.
- 2) Urbanisation.
- 3) Percentage of workers in agriculture.
- 4) Life expectancy.
- 5) Age at which women are getting married.
- 6) Women's education.
- 7) Exposure to media (films, radio, TV).
- 8) Infant mortality rate.
- 9) Access to medical facilities.

Environment movements

➤ Guha and Gadgil:-> They define environmental movements as, “Organised social activity directed towards (a) Promoting sustainable use of natural resources, (b) halting environmental degradation or (c) bringing about environmental restoration.”

- On the basis of participants, they classify environment movements into: Omnivores, ecosystem people, and ecological refugees.
- Strands in the environment movements: Conservation of nature:(A) Based on aesthetic/recreational/scientific grounds, (B) On the basis of cultural or religious traditions. And(C) On technological perspective: Focussing on efficiency of resource use.
- Ideology based Classification:Within the above mentioned strands, they divide the EMs into:

Crusading Gandhians	Ecological Marxists	Appropriate technologists	Scientific conservationists	Wilderness enthusiasts
Eastern society, unlike	Before social and ecological	Synthesis of small and big,	Concerned with improvement	Concerned with

West, is primarily immaterial. Argue against industrial growth brought by the colonial rule. Cite Hindu scriptures to show traditional reverence for nature and life-forms.	harmony can be achieved :-> An economically just society will have to be created. In their collective action:-> Their aim is to redistribute economic and political power.	eastern and western traditions. Their focus is not on challenging the existing system, but <u>demonstrate</u> <u>socio-techno</u> <u>alternatives</u> to the centralising and environmentally degrading technologies.	efficiency and management of natural resources.	protection of animals, forests, bio diversity, etc.
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Anita Baviskar in her study of NBA finds that on the ground, the ideological positions are compromised and revised with changing circumstances. Hence, no neat ideological divisions exists in reality.

- Anita Baviskar: Post Independence, the model of development has altered the way different communities access natural resources :-> These have generated conflicts:->These conflicts include:(a) Battles between forest department and local communities. (b) War between mechanised trawls and traditional fishing boats (c) Controversy over provisions of Dunkel Draft and right to genetic resources. :-> These protests are not just for greater share of goods :-> But involves different ways of valuing and using nature for profit or for survival. :-> They also involve different worldviews one driven by the desire to dominate and exploit nature and humanity, and the other moved by empathy and respect.

- Harsh Sethi's classification of ESMs:

1. Forest-based: Use of forest resources, forest policy of the state, etc.
2. Land-use: Loss of agricultural land due to industrialisation, overuse of fertilisers degrading land, exploitation of mineral resources.
3. Against big dams
4. Against pollution created by industries
5. Overexploitation of marine resources

➤ Rita Brara's three archetypes of environment movements:

- Chipko movement:-> It was a collective action and struggle to retain control over the use of natural resources critical for subsistence. There are plenty of such protests in pre-Independence and contemporary India.
- In the case of Chipko, there is an appreciation of the fact that women's interest in environment arise from a gendered Division of Labour where they are largely responsible for daily provisioning of fodder, water and fuel.
 - a. Women in the Garhwal region hugged trees to prevent them from felling by a sports-goods contractor licenced by the state. :->Such protest of protecting the trees by hugging was first documented among the Bishnois of Jodhpur.
 - b. Chipko movement has been interpreted from a variety of perspectives: Peasant revolts, eco-feminism, and women's subsistence interests.
 - c. Eco Feminism:->Term coined by Francois D'Eaubonne :-> It draws attention to the subordination of women and nature following the industrial revolution.
 - d. Vandana Shiva:-> Applied the concept of eco-feminism to the Chipko mvt.:->She argued that ascendancy of patriarchy, accompanied by colonisation and western science :-> Undermined the indigenous thought system which envisaged a cosmic balance between feminine and masculine principles. Criticism: (a) What about non-Hindus. (b) Simplistic to infer the status of ordinary women from the status of the deities.

➤ Voluntary bodies and environment

- a. Several environment bodies exist.:->Marxist, Gandhian, and CSE types.

b. Their representatives challenge the North's portrayal of environmental issues and seek to make a case for eco-justice in global forums by drawing attention to the vast majority of Indians who depend on natural resources for their survival :-> Subsistence of the poor + planetary survival: Are their focus areas.

➤ The Narmada anti-dam agitation:->

- a. Takeover of land had been protested several times in the past :-> What made the Narmada agitation different was that environmentalists joined hands with the local activists :-> And mobilised and organised protest against the state. :-> The Narmada was projected as the mother :-> to signify that the bond with the river was non-negotiable :-> And the displaced people were depicted as disadvantaged indigenous people or Adivasis.
- b. Modes of resistance: Fasts, dharnas and marches. Including new methods such as Jal Samarpit (death by drowning). :-> Under pressure from western NGOs :-> World Bank withdrew its funding. :-> This led to a new pattern where protestors allied with similar international protests.

Women's movements

Classification of women's movements:

- Neera Desai defines women's movements as:-> "Organised effort to achieve a common goal of equality & liberation and it presupposes sensitivities to crucial issues affecting the life of women."
- Gail Omvedt: Classifies women's movement into two types:
 - A. Women's equality movements -> Do not challenge the existing economic, political or family structure -> But aim at establishing an equal place for women in it.
 - B. Women's liberation movements: Directly challenge the sexual division of labour.
- Jana Everett:
 - a) Corporate feminism: Claims a larger role in politics for women on the ground that they have a special contribution to make as women.

b) Liberal feminism: Rights of men are equal to women -> Hence, they should have same rights.

➤ Kalpana Shah:

Divides them on how they explain women's unequal position in society:

Moderate or women's rights position	Radical feminism	Socialist feminism

➤ Division on the basis of periods:

Social reform movements during the freedom mvt	Movements from 1947-1975	Movements emerging during and after International Women's decade
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➤ Social reform movements and women

- Social reformers like Rammohan Roy (sati), Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (edu), MG Ranade, etc. -> Raised their voices and demanded better conditions for women. -> This led to the British passing laws and improving the status of women. -> But critics point out that reformers made little effort to mobilise women for participation in public life around issues concerning them. -> Also most social reformers stressed on separation of roles played by male and female in society .
- Political demands were raised by women leaders associated with the Congress -> Women's organisation such as Women's Indian Association and All India Women's Conference came into existence in 1920s to spread education among women. -> According to Kalpana Shah -> the role of AIWC is negative -> As strengthens the traditional role played by woman as a wife, housekeeper and mother.

➤ Freedom struggle and women

- Role of Gandhi
- Subhash Chandra Bose -> Mahila Rashtriya Sangh (Also mention Azad Hind Fauj).

- Govind Kelkar -> Women were mobilised in freedom movement because they were suited to carry out the non-violent struggles.
->Women's role was of 'helpers' than that of comrades.
- Rajani Alexander -> Much of women's involvement in independence movement was centred around home and community. -> Prabhat pheris, providing food & shelter.

➤ Role of religion in liberating women?

Women liberation movement are believed to be inspired by similar movements in West -> But scholars have begun to question this

Liddle and Joshi: Argue that since the nature of domination is different, the movement will be different too. -> They argue that female inferiority had no place in Indian culture, this was introduced in India through cultural imperialism-> Further, they say that although upper-caste women were segregated into domestic spheres in India, this did not mean they were inferior since domestic sphere was crucial to maintain caste purity.

Madhu Kishwar makes a similar argument -> She says within the tradition, negative points can be separated from positive strengths -> And then these positives can be used to combat anti-women ideas.

Gabriele Dietrich -> She criticises women's movements for ignoring culture. -> She says it is easy to point out what is oppressive and destructive in our cultural heritage -> But to avoid shallowness, humanist values of our tradition needs to be highlighted too.

➤ Gandhi's role?

Vina Mazumdar, Devaki Gandhi and others see -> Gandhi as a great liberator.

Madhu Kishwar argues that Gandhi is different from other social reformers of 19th century as he: (a) Does not see women as object of reform, as hapless creatures deserving charity -> Instead, he sees them as active, self-conscious agents of social

change. (b) Gandhi gave moral legitimacy to women's cause -> He created an atmosphere where no one could oppose women's empowerment or their participation in politics.

(c) Sujata Patel -> Argues that Gandhi reaffirmed the argument that women's place is that of mother and wife in the household.

➤ Leadership

- a) In the 19th century-> Males belonging to upper-strata raised women's issues.
- b) From 1920 onwards women began taking initiatives -> But mostly were educated upper-class and upper caste.

➤ Neera Desai and Vibhuti Patel-> Classify women's organisation into following types:

1. Agitation, propaganda, consciousness-raising groups.
2. Grassroots or mass-based org like TUs, agri labour orgs, democratic rights group, tribal orgs, taking up women's issues.
3. Grps concentrating on providing services, shelter, homes to needy women.
4. Professional women's org such as doctors, lawyers, journalists, etc.
5. Women's wings or fronts of the political party.
6. Grps involved in research and documentation on women's issues.

➤ Concerns and challenges:->

- a) Rise of right-wing forces which have mobilised middle-class women in large numbers for creating 'hatred' against others, i.e. women of other communities.
- b) Feminism, both in theory and practice, has not gone beyond the perspective of middle-class.
- c) Raka Ray: Bombay (heterogeneous), Kolkata (homogeneous) -> Because of different 'political fields' in the two states.
- d) Barbara Epstein -> Says Women's movement has become an idea than a movement.
- e) Reacting to immediate crisis rather than building a consensus on agenda for action.
- f) The gap between the educated upper-class and the rural women's concerns.

More general points:

- Dramatic changes have taken place in the legal, political, educational and social status of women since independence. :-> This was not unexpected since the question of women empowerment had been at the heart of the debate during the freedom movement. :-> Work started with the efforts of Ram Mohan Roy.
- Gandhi to Mirdula Sarabhai : "I have brought the Indian women out of the kitchen, it is up to you (the women activists) to see that they don't go back."
- During the national movement, women participated in all streams of the national movement – from Gandhian, to Socialist, to Communist, to revolutionary terrorist.
- Several Acts in the post-independence period have led to substantial improvement in the position of women. These include: Hindu Marriage Act, Hindu Succession Act, Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, and Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act.
- Among the rights most consistently exercised by women, especially rural women, is Right to Vote.
- Women participated in the Tebhaga and the Telangana movements. – But they remained among the cadres and did not emerge to take up leadership roles.
- An important step was taken by the forming of a women's wing of the Textile Labour Association. Eventually it became independent as Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). :-> It was unique as it took up women in the unorganised sector who worked as vendors and hawkers, and organised them into a union.
- A very different kind of mvt emerged in the Shahada tribal area of Dhulia where Bhil tribal women who saw liquor as the main cause of women beating, broke liquor pots and marched to punish in public, men who beat their wives.
- Sunderlal Bahuguna -> Chipko.
- Chhattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh :-> Was set up in 1977 in the tribal belt to protest against the Bhilai steel plant's policy of mechanisation which was seen as being detrimental to women's employment.
- Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan :-> Leading role to secure justice for the victims of the chemical gas leak in the Union Carbide Factory.
- Manushi :-> A journal which has documented, analysed the women's mvt.

- Some cases which the women orgs pursued: Mathura rape case (involved custodial rape -> led to reform of the rape law) + Shah Bano case (but lacked unity) + Roop Kanwar case (a young women was forced to commit sati in Rajasthan) +
- Women groups like Saheli in Delhi felt it was important not only to focus on women's problems but also on their joys, and encouraged women to express themselves through music dance and art.
- In Hyderabad :-> Anveshi was set up as a platform for theoretical studies of women.
- In Delhi:-> CWDS.

Campaigns successfully led by women's movements:

1. The agitation in the Mathura case led to significant changes in the Evidence Act, the CrPC and the IPC. :-> Including the introduction of a category of custodial rape.
2. Following the Nirbhaya case -> Strengthening of the rape law; removal of physical test to ascertain rape; stalking an offence; etc.
3. 'Brides are Not for Burning' :-> This campaign attracted media attention on the torture of young brides for dowry. :-> The Criminal Law Amendment passed in the wake of the agitation, encompassed for the first time, a definition of cruelty which included not just physical but mental cruelty + Introduction of 498-A.
4. Amniocentesis and sex-selection
5. Against population policies which lay more emphasis on targeting female than males.
6. Against political violence taking the shape of violence against women with the intention of 'teaching a lesson'.
7. Stronger anti-sati law following burning to death of Roop Kanwar.
8. Successes in ensuring increased literacy of women + Passing of the 73rd and 74th amendment.

The three waves of feminism

1. The first wave (1830's – early 1900's): Women's fight for equal contract and property rights
Often taken for granted, women in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, realized that they must first gain political power (including the right to vote) to bring about

change was how to fuel the fire. The first wave is seen to have ended with the passing of the 19th amendment which gave women the right to vote by the US Constitution.

2. The second wave (1960's-1980's): Broadening the debate

Coming off the heels of World War II, the second wave of feminism focused on the workplace, sexuality, family and reproductive rights. During a time when the United States was already trying to restructure itself, it was perceived that women had met their equality goals with the exception of the failure of the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (which has still yet to be passed).

In 1963, writer and feminist Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique, a nonfiction book in which she contested the post-World War II belief that it was women's destiny to marry and bear children. Friedan's book was a best-seller and began to raise the consciousness of many women who agreed that homemaking in the suburbs sapped them of their individualism and left them unsatisfied.

3. The third wave (1990's – present): The “micropolitics” of gender equality

Today and unlike the former movements, the term 'feminist' is received less critically by the female population due to the varying feminist outlooks. There are the ego-cultural feminists, the radicals, the liberal/reforms, the electoral, academic, eco-feminists...

Dalit movement

- Dalit means "The Oppressed"
- They occupy the lowest place in the Hindu caste system and are placed outside the Chaturvarna.
- They constitute 16% of the population.
- They are predominantly involved in labour, & traditional occupations such as flaying, scavenging.
- Main issue for Dalit Mvts both in pre and post-colonial periods has been: Untouchability.
- The other issues relate to: conditions of agriculture labourers, harassment of women + reservation in government jobs.

- Recent protests have centred around: Beef, extension of reservation to private sector, and lack of fair access to the state, especially police.
- Patankar and Omvedt have classified DMs into:-> (a) Caste-based mvts (b) Class-based mvts
- Ghanshyam Shah's classification:
 - A. Reformative movements -> Tries to reform the caste system to solve the problem of untouchability. -> Further divided into:
 - (a) Bhakti movements-> Worshipping through devotion and personal communication -> All Bhaktas are considered equal before the God ->Further, divided into two types: Saguna (believe in form of God: Vishnu or Shiva, relating to Vaishnavism or Shaivism – This tradition believes in equality among all castes but supports caste-based social order) and Nirguna (formless, universal God – Challenged Brahminical authority) -> Ravidas and Kabir are major proponents of Nirguna tradition -> Nirguna bhakti form of worship became popular in 20th century among Dalits as a form of salvation and worship.
 - (b) Neo-Vedantik movements ->Attempted to remove UT, by taking the SCs within the fold of the caste system :>According to them untouchability was not an essential part of Hinduism or of caste system -> Dayanand Saraswati says caste system was a 'political institution' created by the ruler, hence not a religious distinction-> Deed not birth should determine caste, Saraswati advocated ->Arya Samaj started various educational and welfare programmes for SCs -> But Satish Kumar Sharma says -> Arya Samaj was against the political movements of the UTs. He says Arya Samaj was against any move by the UTs to mobilise and integrate themselves.

Other mvts include: Satyasodhak Samaj in Maharashtra, Adi-Hindu movement in UP, Adi-Dharma movement in Punjab, Satnami community in Chhattisgarh. :>The Adi-Dharma mvt said the UTs constituted a distinct quam (a distinct religious community) , similar to Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. :> And this quam existed since time immemorial.

(c) Sanskritisation movements -> Improve their economic condition – either by abandoning or continuing their traditional occupation, and launch struggles for higher status by adopting Sanskritic norms and rituals. -> Eg: Ezhavas of Kerala (formed SNDP), Nadars of Tamil Nadu. Ezhavas demanded temples be opened to them, they also built their own temples with Brahmin Gods, and economically empowered their community.

B. Alternative movements-> Try to create an alternate socio-culture structure by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power.

(a) Conversion movement->

- In early 1930s, Ambedkar concluded that the only way of improving the status of UTs was to renounce the Hindu religion. -> In early 1950s, he found Buddhism as the most appropriate. -> "You have nothing to lose, except your religion". Why Buddhism?:-> Indigenous + anti-caste + anti-Brahmin.
- Wilkinson and Thomas-> Found conversion had not made any significant change in the social and economic life of the SCs. But they did become more 'militant' as a result of conversion -> Importantly, the movement for conversion to Buddhism has spread Dalit consciousness irrespective of whether Dalits became Buddhists or not.

(b) Secular movements. -> Relate to economic issues of Dalits.

- Ambedkar's Mahatma satyagraha in 1920s :> He saw the possibility of advancement of untouchables through the use of political means to achieve social and economic equality -> Organised Independent Labour Party -> On secular lines, for protecting the interests of the labouring classes and SCs, but ILP was dominated by Mahars. -> In 1954: Ambedkar formed the Scheduled Castes Federation -> To focus on the interests of the SCs only: Primarily, reservation in jobs and political positions. -> In 1956: The SCF was converted into Republican Party -> By including in its base SCs, STs & OBCs.

- Earlier, in 1930s, the Dalits – under Ambedkar – had launched a movement to demand separate electorates.
- Dalit Panthers movement ->They condemn and discard the dominant culture -> And attempt to build an alternative socio-cultural identity for the oppressed cultures. -> They organise demonstrations against injustices to SCs -> But a lot of their activities is limited to propagating their ideas by publishing original literature such as poems, stories and plays. -> But this literature was not read widely by Dalit masses themselves in the 1970s but became popular in 1990s. :->Sharmila Rege : Notes that the Panther movement ignored womenissues. :-> According to Gopal Guru :-> They borrow the intellectual bit from Ambedkar, while their form is inspired by Kabir & Bhakti, particularly Warkari tradition.
- Land grab movements were also launched in the late 1960s ->Some of these organisations were Rural Community Development Association, TN and Harijan Labourers' Association. These movements were inspired by Brazilian leader Paulo Freire's approach in developing consciousness among the workers which will motivate them to take action themselves.
- Kashi Ram and his BSP-> Launched a political party to capture power to uplift and empower the dalits.

Dalit identity ->Assertion of Dalit identity has become a central issue of Dalit movement ->Statues of Ambedkar are found in many localities. :-> This has helped them create a pan-India bahujan 'imagined' community.-> Importantly, Ambedkar is projected as not belonging to any sub-caste of Dalits.

Eleanor Zelliot :->On Ambedkar's strategy :->Ambedkar planned his programmes to bring the UTs from a state of 'dehumanisation' and 'slavery' into one of equality through the use of modern methods based on education and the exercise of legal and political rights... At the same time, he sought to awaken in the UTs and awareness of their debased condition and common interests that would promote the unity needed for the development of effective

organisations and mass action. For such reasons, Ambedkar advocated a separatist policy accentuating caste distinctions as an initial stage in creating a society in which identities would be unimportant.

Owen Lynch:-> Found that the Jatav's Agra related to Ambedkar more than to a non-untouchable like Gandhi.

Participants in movement ->

Some scholars believe that participants in the leadership of SMs come from jatis of dalits who gave improved their economic conditions. Eg: Mahars of Maha, Jatavs or chamars of UP, Vankars of Gujarat, etc. -> According to Eleanor Zelliot one of the reasons for the emergence of Mahars was their release from their traditional service in village society. And the gap between the elite and the masses was narrow.

Conclusion:

- a) Dalit movements are dominated by their middle-class raising issues related to identity and reservations in jobs and political positions.
- b) Even though there is widespread anger against the practice of UT -> this has not resulted in a sustained movement.
- c) But their struggles have brought Dalits to the mainstream of politics.
- d) However, some scholars believe Dalits have been reduced to pressure group within mainstream politics, their revolutionary edge is getting blunted.
- e) Gail Omvedt:-> Notes that in the 'post-ambedkar dalit movement' :-> Was ironically only that in the end – a movement of dalits, challenging some of the deepest aspects of oppression and exploitation, but failing to show the way for transformation.

Features of contemporary Dalit Movement

1. Spontaneous (Una) + Non-violent + Using social media to network and communicate.
2. Resist political affiliation.
3. Local participation
4. No celebrity or leader.

5. Several groups coming together: TUs, Dalit Sangharsh Samitis, youth groups, and individuals.
6. Women can be seen marching with men.
7. Ambedkar is displaced as the singular leader.

Backward Class movements

- ✓ Refers to movements in various part of the country which attacked the caste system, particularly Brahmin domination.
- ✓ The main participants in these movements came from the middle castes.
- ✓ More a feature of Southern and Western India -> Less in Northern India.
- ✓ According to some sociologists this was because Southern and Western India had cumulative inequality, while North India had dispersed inequality. -> Also practice of UT was less prevalent in North India than in West and South. -> Because Brahmins were more educated, they controlled most of the jobs.
- ✓ The Aryan theory was used to oppose the caste system – Adi Dravida Movements, Adi Andhra Movements, Adi Punjabi Movements, etc. -> Ramaswamy Naicker: Declared the Brahmins as Aryans and the lower-castes as Dravidians.
- ✓ MSA Rao divides the Backward Class movements into four types:

<u>Upper Non-Brahmin castes</u> (Includes: Reddies, Kammas, Periyar' self-respect movement). -> These movements also known as non-Brahmin movements against Brahmins. -> The leaders of	<u>Cleavages within the non-Brahmin castes.</u> (Includes: Ahirs and Kurmins in Bihar, Kolis in Gujarat, etc)	<u>Movements by the depressed classes or untouchables</u> against upper and other backward castes.	<u>Tribal movements</u>

<p>these movements attacked caste and condemned them as tools for Brahmin oppression.</p> <p>-> These movements were present less in N India because the Brahmins were relatively backward in terms of education and employment opportunities.</p>			
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- ✓ Gail Omvedt: Says the BC in Maharashtra contained both an elite-based conservative trend and a more genuine mass-based radicalism. While the conservative goals have been achieved, it has not attained the radical goals.
- ✓ Issues:
 - With changes in the agrarian economy + Emergence of market economy + Liberal education -> A few backward classes improved their economic conditions. And aspired for a rise in the caste hierarchy.
 - In 19th century:->As a first step -> They followed Sanskritisation.
 - In the 20th century :>Upper-caste non-Brahmins of TN did not follow this path for attaining higher status in the caste system. Instead challenged the higher status of the Brahmins. -> They began to believe that they were the creators of the Tamil culture, while the Brahmins represented the northern Sanskrit culture.
 - Post-independence, have used political process to their advantage.
- ✓ Satyashodhak Samaj:->Jyotiba Phule:

- Criticised the British rule but didn't oppose them. Between the two found the Brahmins as the greater enemy.
- Coined the term 'Bahujan Samaj' to refer to Shudras and Ati-Shudras.
- Favoured rural development over rapid industrialisation.
- Said both the peasant and the untouchable constituted the oppressed group.
- Criticised the land-revenue policies of the British government.
- He suggested that building canals, small and big dams, interbreeding of sheep and goats, sponsoring agricultural exhibitions, and reducing the salary of government servants.
- Rejected Shastras, instead advocated Vidya: Secular, scientific learning.
- Advocated and supported women education.
- Sarvajanik Satya Dharma: New religion he founded.

✓ Backward movements in Tamil Nadu:

- Inspired by the Aryan theory of race.
- Adopted an anti-Brahmin character. -> Because of reasons cited earlier.
- 1916: South India Liberal Association was set up -> Published its manifesto 'Non Brahmin'. -> Demanded: Reservation in government jobs proportionate to their population. -> This suited the British as (a) Domination of Brahmins – gave them unity against the British. (b) Brahmins also dominated the Congress. -> Hence, the formation of the South Indian Liberal Association was encouraged by the British. -> Later the SILA was changed to Justice Party.
- EV Ramaswamy Naicker -> Participated in the Vaikom Satyagraha which was launched for the reopening of the temples. -> But later got disillusioned with the Congress as he found that the Congress was slow on social emancipation of the lower castes. ->NO GOD, NO RELIGION, NO CONGRESS, NO GANDHI, NO BRAHMIN. -> Became an atheist.
- EVR launched SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT -> His agenda was larger than the Justice Party whose main objective was to ensure reservation. -> Took up the issue of UT and attacked Brahminism. -> Used Race Theory and said TN belonged to Dravidians. :-> Interpreted Ramayana as depicting conflict between Aryans and Dravidians.

- Organised SELF-RESPECT MARRIAGES.
- Advocated increase in the age of marriage, right of women to divorce, equal rights for women, abortion, etc.
- But did not realise the economic basis of caste. Hence, his movement appealed more to rich backward Hindus than the poor in the rural areas.
- In the 1940s, Justice Party and Self-respect movement merged to form Dravida Kazhagam. -> EVR became 'Periyar'.
- Annadurai who wanted to participate in elections formed DMK. -> Increasingly became a political party leaving social-reform behind. -> Later again slipped.

Peasant and farmer movements

- Barrington Moore:-> Says the Indian peasant is 'docile' and 'passive'.:-> He questions the revolutionary potential of the Indian peasantry. He says while landed upper classes and peasants played a leading role in revolutions in France and Britain – leading to emergence of capitalism, peasant rebellions in pre-modern India were 'relatively rare and completely ineffective'. And attributes it to the Indian caste system and the village structure, which discouraged such revolts.
- Eric Strokes :-> Also finds very few peasant revolts in India.
- Kathleen Gough, A R Desai, DN Dhanagare and Ranajit Guha disagree with Moore that Indian peasants were 'docile' and 'passive'. :->They say historians have ignored a large number of peasant rebellions before and during the British rule.
- Kathleen Gough has counted 77 revolts and said peasants revolt had occurred in every state of present day India. She adds that even the 1857 rebellion cannot be viewed in isolation, as a large number of peasants participated in this revolt and were motivated by their distress. :-> Further, Gough does not agree with Moore that caste discouraged peasant revolts. She notes that a number of movements were led by lower-caste Hindus.
- Ranajit Guha:-> For the first 3/4th of British rule :-> There were several revolts.:-> Counts 117 until the end of the 19th century.
- Dhanagare:-> Moore mere reiterates certain stereotypes about Indian peasants and society.
- Available literature indicates that peasant movements were common in both pre and post-Independence period.

- Interestingly, some areas were more prone. For instance, Gough shows that Pabna, Rangpur in Bangladesh, and Santhal region :-> Repeatedly had revolts. Similarly, tribal areas of Andhra and Kerala. :->Andre Beteille says agrarian revolts are more common in rice-growing areas :-> Because these areas have plenty of agri labour & land is unequally divided.

Classification

- A R Desai:-> He calls class struggles in the colonial period, 'peasant struggles', and those of the post-independence era 'agrarian struggles'. --> The phase agrarian struggles is meant to convey that it involves not only peasants but others as well. --> He divides the movement into: pre-independence (within this into British territory, zamindari under princely rule and tribal zones) and post-independence ((a) Movements launched by agrarian poor (b) Movements launched by rich and middle farmers)
- Kathleen Gough: Five types of peasant revolts

<u>Restorative rebellions to drive out the Brits and restore earlier rulers and social relations.</u>	<u>Religious mvts for the liberation of a region under a new form of govr</u>	<u>Social banditry</u>	<u>Terrorist vengeance with the idea of meting out collective justice</u>	<u>Mass insurrections for the redress of particular grievances.</u>
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- KP Kannan:

<u>Protest based on caste or religious identity but essentially a response generated by the emerging capitalist model of production and hence directed against social and</u>	<u>Movements arising from category 1, but which reject caste and religious identities and appeal for 'brotherhood' of man.</u>	<u>Nationalist movement culminating in radical political consciousness, resulting in class consciousness and class-based movements.</u>
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cultural practices.		
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Reasons for emergence of revolts

- 1) RELIGION:-> Moplah, Wahabi and Faraidi uprisings: The British interpreted them as communal riots, rather than as conflicts of economic interest between tenants and landlords. Scholars disagree over this. But it is accepted that the fundamental reasons were economic, but religion played an important role too.
- 2) ECONOMIC:->It is argued that the peasants revolted when their economic interests were threatened. -> These were: (a) Deterioration of their economic condition due to price rise, famine, etc. (b) Structural changes, which cause an increase in the exploitation of peasants, consequently deterioration of their condition. (c) Rising aspirations of peasants to improve their condition.

Ex.: (i) 1857; Maratha uprising :-> cotton prices falling after the end of the American Civil war. (ii) Kheda satyagraha because of deterioration of farmers during the WW1.(iii) Oudh peasant struggles over refusal to do begar. (iv) Post-independence, Naxalite and Telangana mvt.

Hennigham has expressed his reservations -> He says if this was the case than modern India should have seen much more peasant revolts than it did. -> He argues that only economic reasons can't motivate people to revolt. NG Ranga and Swami Shajanand have also noted the absence of protests during famine.

- 3) Post-independence-> Land reforms and equitable distribution of land -> In post-independence India, share-croppers, tenants, and agricultural labourers, exerted their right over the land which they cultivated. -> Distribution of land was the central issue in Telangana movement, Tebhaga movement, Naxalbari movement, Bhoodan movement, etc.
- 4) Demand for minimum wages and other rights-> Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha – struggled for minimum wages and land rights; Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan – for minimum wages, land rights and employment for rural poor.
- 5) Dhanagare –Argues that commercial agriculture was not accompanied by any large-scale 'modernisation of agriculture' , i.e., did not end the feudal-agrarian relationship-> Consequently, middle men and rich peasants flourished (because of usury, exploitation

and tyranny) while the poor peasant suffered. → The lag between development of market relations and capitalist mode of production seems to be conducive for peasant mobilisation.

6) Since the green revolution, the peasant movements have undergone change.

:-> Farmers organisations such as BKU, Shetkari Sangathan in Maharashtra, Khedut Samaj in Gujarat, TN and Punjab, :-> They have demanded 'remunerative prices' for their produce, subsidies and waivers of electricity, water charges, etc. :-> They have raised the slogan 'Bharat against India'.

-> Bharat is the indigenous name representing the peasant communities, while India is the western name, representing urban centres with industrial production.

-> They asserted for a change in the development paradigm from industrial to agricultural development. But this is a romantic view as the such a rural-urban divide does not exist, esp. since the Green Revolution. -> In many areas, the rich peasants have invested their surplus in urban centres and industries.

7) Gail Omvedt :-> Treats contemporary farmers' movement as 'new' and non-class movements -> She argues that it has representation from poor to rich peasants and also associated with small professionals and shopkeepers + from very low shudra castes to dominant castes to even upper castes.

8) Hamza Alavi :-> On the basis of his analysis of Russian and Chinese revolution. And Tebhaga and Telangana movement led by the Communist Party of India ->Middle peasants have more capacity to protest than the other class of peasants. The poor peasants are the least likely to protest because of their dependence on landlords or rich peasants. -> Argues that Tebhaga and Telangana mvts were initially middle-peasant mvts, share croppers were drawn at a later stage.

9) Dhanagare disagrees with Alavi :->He says the middle peasant has less class solidarity than other classes. :->Shows that in both Tebhaga and Telangana – the poor peasants were active.

Conclusion

- Peasants in the Indian subcontinent were and are not docile.
- Caste and religion do not blunt their militancy. Though they are double-edged weapons.

c) Peasants have often themselves mobilised protests. -> The initiative for the struggle has not always come from the outside. -> This has been illustrated by Ranajit Guha

Main peasant farmer movements

- Peasant movements and uprising after 1857
- Colonial economic policies, new land revenue system, colonial administrative and judicial system, ruin of the handicrafts leading to the overcrowding of land -> Transformed the agrarian structure and impoverished the peasantry.
- 1. Indigo revolt (1859-60)
 - ✓ The peasants were forced to grow indigo. And they were not even paid the market value for their produce.
 - ✓ Initially the planters protested through peaceful means -> Then went on a rent strike -> And gradually learnt to use the legal machinery to enforce their rights.
 - ✓ Complete unity among the ryots + Hindus-Muslims + Intelligentsia of Bengal support: Din Bandhu Mitra's Neel Darpan + Missionaries also supported.
 - ✓ The government's response was restrained and not harsh.
- 2. Pabna revolt (1870s-80s)
 - ✓ Reason for unrest: Zamindars' enhancing rent beyond legal limits + Preventing tenants from acquiring occupancy rights.
 - ✓ An agrarian league was formed -> It organised rent strikes + took zamindars to courts.
 - ✓ No violence against the zamindars. + Hindu-Muslim unity.
 - ✓ Eventually the British passed the Bengal Tenancy Act.
- 3. Deccan revolts in Pune and Ahmednagar in 1875
 - ✓ In Ryotwari area.
 - ✓ Due to growing tension between peasants and moneylenders – most of whom were outsiders – Marwaris or Gujaratis.
 - ✓ End of American civil war brought a crash in cotton prices. + Simultaneously, government raised the land revenue.
 - ✓ Government passed Deccan Agriculturalists' Relief Act, 1879.
- 4. Other revolts: Mappila outbreak in Malabar :-> VB Phadke organised Ramosi Peasant Force :->Kuka Revolt of Punjab led by Baba Ram Singh.

Common features of these movements:

- ✓ Peasants fought directly for their cause.
- ✓ Solidarity existed across religious and class lines.
- ✓ Used the state machinery.
- ✓ Their demands centred wholly around economic issues.
- ✓ Did not make colonisation their target.
- ✓ Limited territorial reach.
- ✓ Once the objectives were achieved-> the movement dissolved.
- ✓ Did not threaten British supremacy.
- ✓ Major weakness: (a) They lacked an understanding of colonialism (b) Their struggle occurred within the framework of the old societal order. (c) Lacked a positive conception of an alternative society.

➤ Peasant movements and nationalism in the 1920s

5. Kisan Sabhas

- ✓ The UP Kisan Sabha was formed in 1918 by Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narain Dwivedi, with the support of Madan Mohan Malviya. -> One of the protests it was involved in one was the Nai-Dhobi band (a form of social boycott).
- ✓ The Oudh Kisan Sabha :-> It emerged because of difference between the methods of protest: Non-cooperation (OKS) and constitutional means (UKS). :-> Jawaharlal Nehru was associated with it. :->It asked its members to not till bedakhli land and not to offer hari and begar. And solve their differences through panchayat.
- ✓ A remarkable feature of the Kisan Sabhas movement was that kisans belonging to the high as well as low castes were to be found in its ranks.
- ✓ Post-1921, these movements became violent and got involved in looting of bazaars, houses, granaries and clashes with police.

6. Eka movement

- ✓ In the northern part of Avadh.
- ✓ Main grievance was that the rent extracted was higher than the recorded rent.

- ✓ Meeting were marked by a religious ritual.
- ✓ Vows: (1) Would only pay the recorded rent but pay it on time. (2) Would not do forced labour. (3) Abide by panchayat decisions.
- ✓ Later turned violent and was suppressed.

7. Mappila revolt- 1921

- ✓ Grievances: High rent, lack of security of tenure, other oppressive practices of landlords.
- ✓ Impetus: (1) The Malabar District Congress supported the tenant cause (which hitherto it hadn't) (2) Khilafat Movement was going on.
- ✓ Though there were some Hindu leaders, the social base of the movement was among the Mappila tenants (Muslims).
- ✓ Unpopular Landlords (Hindus), police stations, courts and British planters were attacked. Lenient landlords and poor Hindus were not attacked.
- ✓ British violently suppressed the movement.

8. Bardoli Satyagraha

- ✓ Protest against increased land rent. -> Initially adopted Constitutional means. When that did not work out then they contacted Patel.
- ✓ Refused payments until an independent panel was not appointed.
- ✓ Women actively participated (Mithuben Petit, Maniben Patel, etc).
- ✓ Those who showed signs of weakness were brought into line by threats of social boycott
- ✓ Government servants were socially boycotted.
- ✓ KM Munshi and Lalji Naranji resigned from BLC – Sardar's strategy of not abandoning Constitutional methods completely.
- ✓ Eventually, the increase of rent was substantially reduced.

Peasant movements in 1930s and 40s

9. All India Kisan Sabha

- ✓ Swami Sahajanand was elected as the President, And NG Ranga as its GS.
- ✓ The first session of the AIKS was held in 1936 in Lucknow. And a Kisan Manifesto was brought out, edited by Indulal Yagnik. -> This manifesto had an influence on the 1937 Faizpur session of the Congress.

- ✓ The demands included: Reduction in rents and land revenue, a moratorium on debts, security of tenure for tenants, etc.

10. Tebhaga struggle in Bengal

- ✓ In 1946, the share-croppers of Bengal said they would not pay 1/2 of share of their crop to the jotedars (middlemen) but 1/3rd.
- ✓ And that before the crops are divided they would be stored in their godowns.
- ✓ Similar recommendations had also been made by the Flout Commission.
- ✓ The movement became a clash between the jotedars and the bargadars, with the latter insisting that they will store the grains at their place.
- ✓ The Muslim League government of Suharwady brought an Act which legitimised the demands of the jotedars.

11. Telangana Peasant Struggle

- ✓ The peasants in Telangana – Telugu speaking part of the erstwhile Hyderabad state – suffered extreme oppression from the Deshmukhs and the Jagirdars – some of whom used to own thousands of acres of land.
- ✓ After the British lifted the ban on CPI during the Quit India Movement, they began to organise the peasants against the forced grain levy imposed by the government + forced labour extracted by the landlords.
- ✓ When the Nizam of Hyderabad initially showed resistance to join India, the people in the state started a movement or untegration undetr the leadership of the state congress. :-> The Communists participated in this anti-Nizam and Pro-integration struggle.
- ✓ The communists organised peasants into gram sabhas and formed guerrilla bands or dalams for attacking Razakaar camps and protecting villages.
- ✓ They put ceiling on landlord land and redistributed the land, also distributed forest land to the farmers.
- ✓ Later, in September 1948, the Indian Army entered Hyderabad and the Nizam signed the accession papers.
- ✓ However, the communists refused to disband their guerrilla bands and said they were going to fight a liberation war with the pro-imperialist, bourgeois-land Nehru government. :-> The Dalams were told to attack the Indian army just as they had attacked the razakars.

- ✓ Eventually, the guerrillas were flushed out by the Indian Army, but only after substantial loss of life.
- ✓ The government responded to the issue raised by the movement and passed laws to implement land reforms: Tenancy reforms + Ceiling limits + Abolition of Intermediaries.

12. Patiala Muzara Movement

- ✓ Muzara are tenants. :-> Patiala was the largest princely state in Punjab.
- ✓ Here, Biswedars (the local term for landlords) who only had revenue-collecting rights – due to their growing influence – succeeded in claiming proprietary status over around 800 villages, reducing the peasants there to the status of tenants-at-will.
- ✓ From 1939, a powerful movement emerged which resulted in an open confrontation between the Muzaras and Biswedars.
- ✓ An armed group was formed to resist the use of force by the landlords.
- ✓ Eventually, Parliament passed an Act which led to land reforms.

13. Naxalbari

- ✓ 1967-> The non-Congress CPM government came to power. -> It decided to expedite the implementation of the land reforms. And expedite the process of process of land distribution. But once in government the CPM government found that the process of land redistribution was time consuming. But the expectations of the people had already been raised.
- ✓ The Naxalbari area of Darjeeling had been organising sharecroppers and tea-estate labour. -> These sharecroppers worked for the jotedar (landlord) under the adhiar system. -> Under this system, the jotedar provided ploughs, bullocks and seeds and got a share of the crop. :-> The tea-estate labour also worked as labour on the tea-estate owner's paddy land, which was shown as part of the tea-estate to escape the land ceiling law.
- ✓ Charu Mazumdar – inspired by Mao Zedong's ideology – did not believe that land reforms was possible through peaceful/legal methods. -> He argued that land had to be forcefully seized and defended through violent methods. His other comrades were Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal.

- ✓ They led peasants and seized lands and burnt land records. In some cases, landlords were also killed.
- ✓ Eventually the state repressed.

14. Srikakulam, AP

15. New Farmers' Movement

- ✓ Emerged in the 1980s with the road and rail roko agitation launched in Nasik by Sharad Joshi's Shetkari Sangathan. :-> Their demand: Higher price for sugarcane and onions.
- ✓ Joshi articulated his ideology in terms of Us vs. Them:-> Bharat vs. India.
- ✓ Other movement was launched by Mahinder Singh Tikait's BKU -> Demanded reduction in electricity prices.
- ✓ Another Rajya Ryothu Sangha in Karnataka.
- ✓ Method struggle: Stopping traffic on highways, preventing officials/politicians from entering village, gheraoing government buildings, etc.
- ✓ Demands: Refused to pay electricity charges, interest on loans, irrigation charges, de-grabbed confiscated land.
- ✓ Their main argument was that government maintained agricultural prices at an artificially low-level in order to provide cheap food and raw material to urban areas. :-> So, farmers are exploited by urban interests and are victims of internal colonisation. :->
- ✓ They are not supposed to pay for electricity, water, loans, etc -> Since they have already paid for them by underselling their produce.
- ✓ But though these movements said they represented all farmers – large, small and landless agriculture labourers – In reality, except SS no other organisation went beyond the interests of the landowning peasants.
- ✓ These movements showed scant concern for landless poor or rural women.
- ✓ These movements are referred to as 'new' - the suggestion being that they are part of the worldwide trend of 'new' non-class movements which have emerged outside the formal political party structure. Scholars disagree whether the term should be applied to these farmer movements, as they were not in essence (with possible exception being SS) as non-class. Also, though initially these movements

were not linked to any political party, they eventually got co-opted in the political process.

- ✓ A major weakness of these movements was that instead of focussing on redressal – it began to pit peasants and villagers against town dwellers.

Tribal movements

- STs constitute around 8 per cent of India's population.
- Tribes can be divided into two categories: (A) Frontier tribes (N-E states. All of them, except Assam, are locked between India and its neighbours) and (B) Non-frontier tribes.
- The non-frontier tribes are the majority, around 89 per cent of India's total tribal population, while the frontier tribes form around 11 per cent of India's tribal population.
- Social scientists have largely followed government's categorisation of who is a tribe -> Article 366 (25)says STs are those who have been deemed as so under Article 342 of the Constitution.
- Isolation, backwardness and cultural distinctiveness -> Though undefined in legal and sociological terms have guided the state in inclusion of a community in the ST list.
- One school of thought treats tribals as peasants. -> Therefore scholars like Ranajit Guha, Kathleen Gough, and IP Desai have treated tribal movements as peasant movements. -> Peasant leaders such as Ranga and Sahajanand Saraswati described tribals as aboriginal kisans.
- KS Singh disagrees with this view. He advocates treating tribal movements as distinct from peasant movements. -> His argument is that because tribals are geographically isolated and have their own distinct culture, their political mobilisation and leadership pattern will differ from that of peasant movements. K S Singh points out:
 1. Less socio-economic differentiations among within tribes than those seen among caste Hindu peasants.
 2. They have stronger community consciousness.
 3. While peasant movements were purely agrarian, tribal movements were both agrarian and forest based.

4. Tribal revolts were directed against zamindars, moneylenders and petty government officials not because they exploited them but because they were aliens.

- John MacDougall shows in his studies of tribal movements in Bihar that the nature of tribal movements vary depending on how peasantisation of the tribal society has taken place.
- L K Mahapatra's classification of tribes: Unlike other scholars, Mahapatra does not refer to the political movements.

<u>Reactionary:</u> Launched to bring back the 'good old days'.	<u>Conservative:</u> Tries to maintain the status quo	<u>Revisionary or revolutionary:</u> For 'improvement' or 'purification' of the culture.
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- Surajit Singh's classification

Ethnic rebellion	Reform movements	Political autonomy movements with Indian union	Secessionist movements	Agrarian unrest
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- K S Singh's classification

Cultural movements	Sanskritisation movements	Political autonomy movements with Indian union	Secessionist movements	Agrarian unrest
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In conclusion, various movements described by scholars can be classified as follows:

Ethnic movements	Agrarian and forest rights mvt	Environment mvt	Involuntary displacement	Political mvt
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			and rehabilitation mvt	
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Issues which gave rise to tribal movements:

1. Revolt by the tribes when the British came in contact with them. The British annexed their kingdom and extended British administration to the region. -> Various 'millenarian movements' were launched which promised that they would drive out the outsider. -> Eg: Birsa Munda movement in Chhota Nagpur plateau -> Aimed at driving out the 'dikus' and recovering the lost kingdom which had enough to eat and no famine.
2. Some tribes had apprehension that after independence they would lose their identity. And the majority Hindu culture will be imposed on them. -> Therefore, demanded a separate state outside of the Indian Union. Eg: Naga movement, Khasi movement based on their apprehension that the Assamese threatened their culture.
3. Sanskritisation or Bhagwat movements to assert their status as caste Hindus.
4. Economic issues: Land alienation + entry of outsiders + mining + zamindari system replacing their traditional land tenure systems. For example, the Kol insurrection of 1831-32 was born out of frustration and anger – frustration with the new system of government and laws. And anger at the people who either enforced them or took undue advantage of them.
5. Land alienation, land grabbing, usury, forced labour, and minimum wages continued to be main issues of tribal movements on the eve of independence and thereafter. Eg: Tribals of telangana fought against the landlords and the forced labour which they imposed. Also, Naxalite movement. + The main participants in the Shahada and Bhoomi Sena movements in the 1970s in Maharastra and Gujarat were the tribals.
6. The Saora's of Andhra Pradesh revolted against the forest department.
7. Kharwars of Bihar launched a satyagraha movement in the 1930s demanding their customary rights to extract timber and collect forest produce for consumption. -> The problem persisted and they again launched an agitation in the 1950s.
8. Tribals of Garhwal launched a movement against forest contractors in the 1970s.

9. Dangs of Gujarat during the 80s and 90s against the Forest Act and the Forest Department which deprived them of land and the right to collect forest products. + Almost demanded a separate district within the erstwhile Bombay state.
10. Several tribal groups have demanded more and more welfare programmes including reservation of jobs in government offices. But there has been no mobilisation of tribals on a large scale. These issues attain prominence during the elections.
11. Demand for autonomous states or districts where they can manage their own affairs.
Eg: Jharkhand, Nagaland, Mizoram -> N K Bose characterised these movements as the growth of 'sub-nationalism' among the tribals on the basis of their religion and language. -> Roy Burman on the other hand calls it 'infra nationalism'. A phase of expansion from the primitive state of 'tribalism' towards 'nationalism'. At this phase of infra-nationalism agglomerates of tribes are in search of identity at a higher level of integration than tribalism.
12. According to Fernandes and Paranjpe -> 213 lakh persons were displaced between 1950 and 1990 for development projects. -> Out of these, 85 per cent were tribals. -> Tribals often protest against forced displacement. Ex: NBA where large number of tribals were displaced.
13. Adivasi mine workers joined hands with non-adivasi workers in mines and industries for justice. Ex: Shankar Guha Niyogi formed the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha

K S Singh- Divides tribal movements in three phases:

1795-1860	1860-1920	1920-1947
Coincided with the rise and expansion of the British rule.	Intensive phase of colonialism: Merchants entered tribal areas and affected their relationship with land and forest.	Launched separatist movements + Participated in the agrarian and nationalist movements.

Some more points

1. Organisation and Leadership:

- a) It is wrong to assume that tribal movements are always spontaneous. :-> Studies have shown that Santhal (Sido and Kanhu), Munda (Birsa Munda was the leader) and Kol movements had planning. :-> Also, Naga and Mizo movements had planning. :-> Jharkhand movement adopted the traditional social institutions operating at the village, inter-village and community level.
- b) KS Singh -> First-phase (1765-1860) :-> Emerged from the upper crust of the tribal society. :-> In the second phase, the leadership came from the lower rung. :-> Ex: Sido and Kanhu were landless, and Birsa Munda was a sharecropper.
- c) Many studies :-> Post-independence :-> Leadership has come from educated tribals :-> Considerable communication gap of ideas and interests exists between the tribal elite and masses.
- d) The leadership of Telangana, Naxalbari, Shahada was provided by non-tribals.
- e) Communist Political parties have also led some tribal movements, but some like Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha are non-party.

2. Surajit Sinha: The intensity of tribal solidarity/separatist movement will depend on:

- a) Degree of Isolation of tribal population with peasant population.
- b) A certain level of numerical strength + Economy.
- c) Location near an international border.
- d) A certain level of literacy and education to provide elite leadership.

LOUIS DUMONT (IHP)

->Explains caste from a structural perspective, using classical Hindu texts.

-> 'Homo Hierarchicus: The CS & its implications.'

-> IHP= Views CS as an ideology, whose essence is hierarchy, based on notions of P& P.

-> He says: Modern society of the West was 'Homo Equalis', concerned with maintaining equality of status, hence it was a class society – where mobility was possible.

-> Whereas, the Indian society was concerned with social differences & inequalities, hence, mobility wasn't possible.

->Hinduism believes in mutual opposition of pure and impure. This leads to separation of society into

ANDRE BETTEILLE

->Approach is reflexive & diffusive.

Never looks into CS as structural org.

-> His observations on caste are mostly related to q's like stratification, social change, democratic politics, development planning, etc.

->Stays true to the Weberian thought that CS must be studied as a historical and empirical reality in India, rather than institution good or bad for society (This is an example of VN).

->In 'Caste, class and power' ->says village society was stratified along three dimensions:

- a. Status: Determined by caste.
- b. Class: Related to eco returns.
- c. Power: Access to power.

->Dynamic nature of caste: [HIERARCHY WITHIN HIERARCHY]

In his study of Sripuram village he found that not only was the caste system hierarchical, but within the

groups on the basis of caste endogamy, restrictions on eating together, physical contact. – This leads to development of hierarchy as one caste closes itself to other which it considers impure.

-> Relations not only of separation but also of interdependence – the local caste absorb the pollution of the upper-caste, and enable them to maintain purity.

->Relationship b/w status and power–In West: Status and power went together.

But not in India. Here, status and power had a divergent relationship. Those who were most powerful politically and economically, need not have the highest status. Eg:

Brahmins vs

Rajputs/Marathas.

-> In India, Status was superior to power. Hence, status encompassed power.

CS there was hierarchy.

The Brahmins of Sripuram are divided into two types: Smarthas and Sri Vaishnams. These are then further subdivided. ->There are strict rigid differences between the sub-castes -> He argues that this kind of segmentry nature of caste was enabling the CS to take on newer challenges. Hence, caste cannot be replaced with class. [He is saying this probably because by getting divided they can't have unity which is required for class to emerge.]

->Argues that caste and class are engaged in a cross-cutting relationship

-> Points out that Samarthas are divided further into three classes: upper, middle and lower. He says that on the basis of these class differences, social distance is always maintained.

->He rejects the argument that only caste has been the source of social exclusion. He points out that alongwith caste, poverty is also a form of social exclusion. Therefore, it

Criticism: ->(a) Doesn't correspond to the actual reality of caste.

(b) Status and power are not independent. Ex.: Raj Gonds -> There integration into the CS. (c) LD represents Brahminical perspective of caste.

(d) Doesn't recognise role of individuals

(e) Or SMs.

cannot be accepted that social strat in India is driven by caste and social inequality in West by class (rejects Dumont)

->Changing nature of caste in India -> Doesn't agree with Y Singh's theory of complete modernity in India or MNS' caste as a foundation to understand social change. Argues that -> in traditional Indian, social structure was driven by 3 distinctive features:

A. A system of hierarchical relations (Caste System)

B. Vertical ties btw indivs and family (Jajmani system)

C. Hierarchical gradation of values (Hindu value sys)

Change in modern India:

A. Caste hierarchy has weakened because of modern edu, transport, reservation, etc.

B. Jajmani replaced by market economy.

C. Egalitarian, rational, modern value system has replaced Hindu value system.

+

Shift from cumulative inequality to dispersed inequality (Reservations,

abolition of princely states,
zamindari abolition, opening of jobs)
-> Hence, traditional linkage btw
caste and class has weakened.

->Beteille as a critic of LD
-> Points out that status derived
from birth (as in CS) is also present in
the western society – eg: queen and
nobility. AB says LD refuses to accept
that hierarchy exists in Western
societies too.

->Status is also accomplished by
person's work, not just by birth. For
eg: Chaitanya, Guru Nanak.

->Ignores the historical challenges to
Brahminic order and evolution of
caste system.

-> Ignores empirical data +
dynamism of Indian society

-> Hierarchy exists in many forms,
but LD argues that only caste leads
to hierarchy. AB says medieval
Europe had extreme hierarchy. It
took time to travel from Hierarchy to
stratification. AB says LD doesn't
recognise this, nor gives Indian
society time to evolve.

->AB on reservation : -> Against it as

(a) Kills merit (b) gives rise to pathological forms of DOL (c) Increases caste consciousness. (d) leading to vertical division of society (e) Killing the spirit of Constitution as was meant for 10 years.

->AB on politics and caste(a)In

America, social forces like class, ethnicity, race, colour, etc, influence voting behaviour -> In India, therefore, voting behaviour is influenced by caste. (b) But along with caste other factors also influence voting behaviour – personal friendship, religious affinity, past performance, etc. (c) Rise of primordial identities (caste, religion, etc), is because of (i) Reaction to oppression (ii) Method of self-assertion (iii) Maintenance of status-quo.

<u>G S Ghurye</u>	<u>MNS</u>
<p><u>:->Origin of caste</u>-> Aryans were racially different from indigenous population and tried to maintain their distinctiveness/superiority by practising endogamy, rituals, etc.</p>	<p><u>:->Book view vs. Field view</u></p> <p>MNS ->Says that book view (Ghurye teacher) explains the <u>ideal characteristics</u> of social life :-> Whereas, field view (His teacher RCB)explains the <u>empirical view</u> of social reality.</p>
<p><u>:-> Racial purity</u> had been maintained by preventing inter-caste marriage.</p>	<p><u>:-> He endorses field view over book view</u>. :-> Releases Indian Socio from the bondage of Indology</p>
<p><u>:->Identified features of caste as</u></p> <p><u>1. Segmental division of society</u>: A closed type of stratification where membership of each segment is fixed at birth.</p> <p><u>2. Hierarchy</u>: Though hierarchy varies across India, the prestige of the Brahmin caste according to Ghurye, is the cornerstone of the whole caste edifice.</p> <p><u>3. Restrictions on feeding & social intercourse</u>: Rules regarding what kind of food can be accepted from which caste. But says in Hindustan</p>	<p><u>:-> His understanding of caste can be divided into 4 parts:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Inter-linkage btw varna and caste. 2) Understanding the Social structure of caste & caste mobility 3) Inter-linkage between caste and political structure. 4) Secularisation of caste in Contemporary India. <p><u>A. Inter-linkage btw varna and caste</u></p> <p><u>:-> Before MNS, caste was explained from a racial viewpoint or a varna perspective</u> :-> He says there is lack of clarity in the Rig Vedas over no of varna (earlier RV says 2: Aryans and Dasyus/</p>

<p>proper (which is place of origin of caste), the idea of pollution and UT is less severely followed. Much rigid in South and Western India.</p>	<p>Satopatha Brahman says three: Brahman, Kshatriya and vis)/ Purusukta says 4 (B,K, Vaishyas, and Sudras), whether varna means occupation or colour, or both..</p>
<p>4. Civil and religious disabilities: Separate caste-based housing, restrictions on access to public places (like drawing water).</p>	<p>:-> MNS says that varna was a “literary imagination” of the intellectuals during the Vedic period whose intention was to classify the Indian society.</p>
<p>4. Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation: Priest vs. scavenger.</p>	<p>:->Varna provides a distorted image of Indian society. Hence, a sociologist must free himself from the varna ideology to understand dynamic nature of Indian society.</p>
<p>5. Restrictions on marriage: Caste endogamy. Ghurye regards caste endogamy as the “<u>ESSENCE OF THE CASTE SYSTEM</u>”.</p>	<p>:-> Many westerners: Marx, Weber, Bougle, Risley: Have analysed Indian society from the varna perspective. They say in their writings that varna is unchangeable.</p>
<p>:-> Ghurye correctly predicted that Indian castes, which had fostered voluntary associations for furthering educational and reformist aims (such as Nadards, Reddys, Kayasthas, etc) -> Will give rise to political consciousness based on caste.</p>	<p>:->Varna provides a textual view of caste not the reality.</p>
<p>:>Criticism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. AB -> Refutes the racial origin of caste. 2. Rajni Kothari -> Highlighted 	<p>1. Varna facilitates caste mobility - > A common man aspiring for mobility in order to avoid rejection uses varna as a frame of reference.</p> <p>2. Coz there are so many castes -> Varna helps contextualise these castes.</p>

the positive role played by rise of caste consciousness.

3. Criticised for Brahminical leanings.

3. Regional inter-connections between various caste groups is possible because of varna frame of reference.

:-> Varna and caste have some of functional interrelationship but this does not mean that varna is caste or vice-versa.

:-> MNS says varna gives an impression that Sudras, Kshatriyas and Brahmins cannot change their identity
:-> But cites ex of Reddies, Kamas, Bhumiaris and Lingayats.

:-> Many communities have captured power -> improved their eco status -> through sanskritisation have successfully achieved Kshatriya status. Eg: Raj gonds, chauhans, etc.

:-> Occasionally can go wrong -> Smiths (TN)

:-> He says one must study India from a caste perspective and not a varna perspective. As varna provides an ideological frame of reference to understand the complex and dynamic nature of caste in India.

Structure of caste

MNS being a SF says caste

operates in two compartments: (a)

Ritual structure (b) Secular structure.

:->Ritual structure: Position of caste is driven by pollution and purity. The P&P can be measured in relation to: Deity worship, language spoken, food habits, nature of confinement during childbirth, deaths, etc. :-> The secular structure: Position of caste is decided on the basis of access to power, wealth, education.

:-> Previously, caste grp were ranked on the basis of ritual criteria – But now, secular criteria is used.

:->Mckinn Marriott ->Krishnagarhi village -> 9 annas from secular, 7 from ritual sphere.

:-> Other studies: MSA Rao -> Yadavs of UP, AM Shah -> Kunbi of Gujarat, SC Dube -> David Pocock, Patidars of Gujarat. -> Raj Gonds of C-India.

These lower castes have improved their access to wealth and power, and have successfully gone for Sanskritisation.

:-> Ritual mobility not possible without secular mobility -> Where

it has taken place, downward mobility has resulted. (eg: Smiths of TN)

:->Consequences of caste mobility

:-> (a) Oscar Lewis ->In Rampur village found that caste mobility has led ineq within caste. (b)

Adrian Mayer ->Multiple forms of dominance are emerging: In Ramkheri finds – Brahmins are ritually dominant, Rajputs politically dominant, and jats are economically dominant. (c) William Wiser -> Karimpur -> Traditional forms of Brahminical dominance continue in both ritual and secular sphere. ->Therefore, impact of mobility of CS varies from place to place.

:->Contradicts LD :-> Says P&P are not caste specific :->There are two types of pollution: Individual pollution (universal) and Corporate pollution (caste specific):-> MNS says that LD gives an impression that pollution is permanent. But MNS disagrees and says that pollution exists in degrees and it can be wiped out through sanskririsation, self-discipline,

purification of conduct ->
Indicating dynamic nature of caste
in India. Hence needs to be studied
from an empirical perspective.

:> MNS says Caste is not a holy
cow as perceived by LD, nor is it
varna as perceived by Indologists :-
> Caste addresses to varieties of
needs of man in India. Therefore, it
is dynamic.

:>MNS on caste and politics
:> Lower castes and middle castes
have benefitted immensely from:
(a) Land reforms system (b)
Decentralised pol system. :>
These castes have identified
themselves as OBCs. :> And have
dominated in the pol sphere of
Indian democracy. :-

>Dominant caste:-> Its rise
signifies importance of secular
criteria of caste against ritual
criteria. :> To qualify as one, a
caste must:

PANEER
(1) Massive numerical strength. (2)
Have a lower ritual position but
the stigma of pollution should not

be attached. (3) Should have the capacity to articulate caste consciousness and organise protests. (4) Have a moderate economic standing. (5) Have exposure to modern education and employment opportunities. (6) Control over agricultural land. (7) Should be able to articulate its political interests.

:-> Eg: Marathas, Reddies, Jats,

Rajputs, etc.

And these castes are coming together to claim political power -

>This shows that caste is not only a source of division. :-> The rise of dominant castes signifies ascendance of secular criteria over ritual criteria.

:-> MNS says caste operates as caste in microstructure. But in macrostructure -> Different castes combine together. Therefore, castisation of caste in lower strata and varnaisation of caste in the upper strata -> This explains the dynamic nature of caste. This explains concepts like AJGAR, BUMARY, vote bank politics.

:->Ghanshyam Shah -> Says

dominant caste is class

mobilisation and not caste

mobilisation.

:->Yogesh Atal ->Concept of

dominant caste carries different

meanings in different context ->In

village, family domination is

present; in local area, local caste

dominates; at state-level, different

dominant caste exists; at national-

level, different dominant castes

from different states exist :->

Therefore, he says DC is a dynamic

concept not clearly understood by

MNS.

:->MNS on Reservation:

compensation against historic

wrongs. :->Reservation of OBCs:-

>Explains how politics of

reservation superimposes itself

over sociology of reservation as

reservation was meant to correct

historical wrongs and hence should

be limited to SCs and STs.

Secularisation of caste

Marxist sociology (AR Desai)	Structural Functionalism (MNS)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This approach emphasises on Modes of Production, Dialectic Materialism, Economic Determinism and Class Struggle to study Indian society. ○ <u>Notable sociologists</u>: A R Desai, D P Mukherjee [Called himself Marxologist because he used Marxism as a method of social analysis than a political ideology] and DD Kosambi. They provide an alternative vision to study Indian society which is different from Indological approach of Ghurye & S-F approach of MNS. ○ They consider that the present empirical reality is a reflection of the historical roots. Hence, they consider that societies do not evolve overnight but through a <u>regular process of dialectics</u>. Therefore, the evolution of Indian society should be studied from an economic perspective and not from an ideological or culturological perspective. ○ Desai contradicts the indigenisation thesis that people's behaviour is culture bound. He says that every culture has greed for wealth and quest for domination and power. Therefore, he considers that the history of India should 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Structural-functionalism is a theoretical approach in which societies are <u>conceptualised as social systems</u>. ○ The social systems comprise of structures which perform functions for the maintenance of the system. :-> This approach was developed by MNS in India. ○ Inspired by: AR Radcliffe Brown and EE Evans Pritchard. :-> MNS' work is based on field study in Coorg and Rampura village. ○ Others: SC Dube's study of Indian village, Andre Beteille's study of Caste, Class and Power in a Tanjore village, TN Madan: Family, Marriage & Kinship in India. ○ Prefers field-view or book-view. ○ SF is the most popular and most coherent approach developed after independence. It has been used to study caste structure, village structure, kinship structure, etc. ○ MNS says that it is difficult to study Indian society as a whole as empirical data for the whole of India is not sufficiently available :-> Instead, field study/village study could be introduced to understand the social structure of

be interpreted from an economic perspective to understand birth, growth and rise of the Indian society.

- A particular notable achievement of Desai is that he cross fertilised history and sociology.
- What does Desai say to cite his support for the Marxist school:
 1. It gives central importance to property to analyse society.
 2. Helps in understanding the industrial relations, not merely as management labour relations, but as capital-labour relations, and the state siding with the capitalist path of development.
 3. The Constitution evolved is bourgeoisie constitution and the leadership is representing capitalist class and is reshaping the economy and society on capitalist path.
 4. State also protects Capitalist interests.
- Importantly, Desai points out that ideology is an outcome of the dialectics in the economic sphere of society - >Explains Aryan Invasion as an attempt to destroy the primitive modes of production + caste-based stratification and its justification by religious texts (Vedas) as ideology which justified this economic domination.

caste, kinship, power and politics, etc, at the microstructure.

- MNS admits that the conditions present in the microstructure (village studies) of the village may not be representative of the conditions present in the macrostructure.
- MNS is his works such as: The 20th century Avatar of Caste, Social Change in Modern India, Some reflections on dowry, etc., uses microscopic data and reflexive sociological understanding to interlink micro-data with macroscopic Indian society. :-> This approach of MNS has been criticised by Yogendra Singh who considers that ideological bias and sociological myopism are reflected in the sociology of MNS.
- MNS says the social structure of caste can be understood in relation to the ritual dimension of caste and secular dimension of caste.
- The ritual aspect of caste is defined by food, manner, speech, dress, symbols, etc. Whereas the secular aspect of caste is defined in terms of access to education, wealth and power.
- MNS argues that different caste groups strive for mobility in the secular structure and use this secular mobility to

- In the case of Buddhism and Jainism he says these mvt's did not lead to emergence of an egalitarian society rather they glorified the DC values and subsequently these religions were patronised by the ruling class.
- He makes a comparison between slavery in the West and in India :> He says lower caste people were debarred from holding control over production, denied right to freedom of movement, and subject to enslavement.
- He says feudalism of India differed from feudalism of Europe :> As the Indian feudalism came from above, while the European feudalism came from below. :> The feudal lords of India were chiefs or kings controlling a large tract of agricultural land.
- Before the advent of the British, feudalism existed in India. British introduced capitalist mode of production in India. Colonisation introduced railways, roadways, machine-made goods flooded Indian market breaking down indigenous cottage industry.
- The rise of the British in the economic and political sphere had a dialectical relation with the eco and pol interests of local rulers, representing feudalism--> Argues that the 1857 revolt was a

- enhance their ritual position. :> Some castes directly strive to enhance their ritual position and as a result face resistance from the society.
- He finds caste a dynamic institution. And adds that backward class movements, contemporary reservation policies have contributed to add new components of dynamism in the caste system. :> He concludes that caste is not replaced by class in India, rather the conflict and negotiation between the two are represented in the Indian social structure.
- He contracts the British view that Indian village are little republics which are self-sufficient. And hence enjoy political & economic autonomy. :> Using data he showed that people living in villages use services, skills and products from different parts of the country. Therefore, functional integration between village and the larger society is a fact ignored by most British sociologists.
- Says Indian identity does not come only from religion (as was alleged by LD) but from 3 sources: Caste, village, Kinship & family.
- He divides social change into two types: Endogenous – Sanskritisation; and Exogenous: Westernisation.

contest between expansionist capitalism and declining feudalism.

- Argues that national movement was a class movement and not a mass movement. -> Many former feudal lords got into industry, trade, to generate profit -> They launched the freedom movement to maximise their profit->Critical of Gandhi and Nehru as they adopted policies not to wipe out class inequalities but preferred to glorify nationalism in minds of the people to seek their support ->Therefore, it led to the transfer of power from external colonisers to internal colonisers. -> As a result, democracy as an institution evolved in India without the democratic participation of masses.
- Refer to SBIN for more on ARD.
- Desai's works include:
 - 1.) An analysis of the social background of Indian nationalism. 2.) Analysis of the community development programmes for the economic development of villages. 3.) Urban slums and their demographic problem. 4.) His study of peasant movements.
 - These are based on the Marxist method of Historical Dialectic Materialism.
- Desai notes that the present contradiction in India's social

○ Criticism:

- > Ignores cultural/historical dimensions.
- > Overlook hidden contradictions and present a more consensual view of the social structure.
- 1.) Maitrye Choudhary :-> The acceleration of change under the influence of LPG, feminist movements cannot be studied b MNS' models.
- 2.) Gail Omvedt:-> MNS' sociology is a reflection of Brahminical ideology than value-neutral sociology.
- 3.) Anand Chakrovarthy :-> MNS' socio is silent on caste, fractional politics and different kinds of political manipulations persisting in both macro and micro spheres of Indian society.
- But in spite of these limitations, MNS is the 1st sociologist to bring Indian sociology out of the shadow of historicism and culturalism. :-> He gives a new direction to Indian sociology both in terms of methodology and theory. His methods were further used by Andre Beteille, F G Bailey, Martin Oran and S Epistine.
- Prefers Jati over Varna

transformation comes from the growing nexus among capitalist bourgeoisie, rural petty-bourgeoisie and the state apparatus, all drawn from the similar social roots.

- In conclusion, it can be advocated that Desai makes an attempt to understand poverty, illiteracy, backwardness as a product of economic history driven by conscious ideological construct. -> Therefore, to him Indian freedom, development policies are an attempt by the government to ensure that class consciousness does not emerge and polarisation of society does not occur.
- Criticism: (a) AB: Exaggeration of eco history to fit into Marxist perspective -> AB cites the example of peasant movements in pre and post independence India to illustrate how democracy has given power to people to protest. (b) Gail Omvedt: Marxist view develops a polarised view where DC stands opposite to subordinates. But in reality: subordination and inequality were not equally received, varied based on caste. -> The worst victims of political and economic aggression in Indian history were the dalits and they are not treated differently from others in Marxist sociology. (c) Y Singh: Marxian theory

does not look into alternatives of social change. It is always sceptical of government policies, diff forms of popular mobilisation, etc.

- Conclusion: Desai's vision of India is an alternate paradigm that indicates how India as an object should be studied from a multi-dimensional perspective, contributing to the growth and development of society in India.

➤ Other Marxist approach:

Indology

- It's a systematic study of Indian society through texts, concepts & theories of Indian civilisation.
- The Indologists argue that Indian society is unique.
- And, therefore, European theories and concepts cannot be used to explain Indian society.
- They primarily rely on book view. (But Ghurye also supplemented it with empirical evidence).
- It gives more importance to culture than to empirical data.
- Use comparative and historical method to study Indian society based on the following sources:
- The sources of Indological studies are: Classical texts (both religious and non-religious (Arthashastra, Indica, etc), manuscripts and archaeological artefacts.
- As an independent discipline, Indology is much older than sociology in India. As Indology was already well established, therefore when sociology was developing in India, it was naturally influenced by Indology.
- Beginning of Indology can be traced to the study of Indian civilisation by British civil servants.

- The main scholars of the Indology stream: Louis Dumont, Iravati Karve, G S Ghurye, RK Majumdar and KM Kapadia.
- Indology is divided into two streams: Indology/Indic studies and Oriental Studies. :-> While Indology provides a sympathetic account of Indian society, Orientalism provides a rather unsympathetic and negative account. Orientalism had developed to serve British interests.
- All sociologists who were influenced by Indology were also influenced by other approaches: For instance, in GS Ghurye's writing there is an influence of diffusionist approach too.
- Different schools within Indology include: BK Sarkar's being influenced by Asiatic Society, while GS Ghurye being influenced by Bhandarkar Institute, Pune.
- Ghurye is often proclaimed as the father of Indian sociology. His writings include: Castes, tribes, kinships, culture & civilisation, religious institutions, and social tensions. (SIX)
- Main thrust of his writings: He argues that Indian society – through its long historical process of growth - presents a picture of vast mosaic of culture, held together by religion, values and norms of Hinduism. Ghurye, as a sociologist, feels it is imperative to discover this unifying and synthesising process. :-> An analysis of the process of cultural unity in India through the ages constitutes the major thrust of Ghurye's writings.
- Identifies the features of caste system [SMORFH]: (1) Hierarchy, (2) Civil and religious disabilities, (3) Marriage restrictions, (4) Restrictions on occupation, (5) Restriction on feeding and social intercourse, and (6) Segmental division of society.
- Briefly:
 1. Largely due to Brahminical endeavour that cultural unity of India has been built. All the major institutions of India originated from the Brahmins and gradually they were accepted by other sections of community. Ghurye calls it a process of acculturation and it was a one-way process.
 2. Religious & linguistic minorities are the most potential source of danger to Indian unity.
 3. Considers Tribals as Backward Hindus. -> Says tribes have been 'Hindunized' after a long period of contact with Hindus as they gave up liquor drinking, received education and improved their agriculture :-> Says it is futile to search for a separate identity for tribals because they are nothing but 'backward' caste Hindus. -> This was

due to their imperfect integration with the Hindu society:-> Advocates assimilation + pick up developed language of neighbouring community.

Disagreed with Elwin. :-> While Elwin advocated isolation, Ghurye advocated assimilation. :-> Said secessionist trends among some tribal groups in North-east India should be checked as they posed their danger to India's unity.

4. The protective discrimination policy among the STs has failed and the benefits have been accrued by a few top castes among themselves.
5. Backward classes :-> Benefits were meant for a particular period of time -> Instead of realising the goal of a casteless society, India is moving towards the dangerous rocks of 'plural society'.

- Ghurye's writing have further influenced: PN Prabhu (Hindu social organisation), KM Kapadia (Marriage and family in India), and Iravati Karve (Regional variations in Kinships).
- Criticism:(1) MNS criticised it for ignoring the ground reality.
(2) Has been criticised as promoting Brahminical view of caste.
(3) Tendency to exaggerate the virtues or the weaknesses of Indian culture.
(4) AM Shah: What Durkheim to French sociology, Ghurye has been to Indian sociology.
(5) MNS: In spite of methodological limitations, GSG was the 1st sociologist who wrote on themes such as politics to religion to caste to kinship.
(6) SC Dube: Considers him as reflective of the time. When comprehensive methods of socio research had not developed in the West and the socio was closer to history. Which gets reflected in Guhrye's history.
(7) Ignores the political use of caste.
(8) Equate India with Hindu.

Social background of Indian Nationalism

- The rise of the national sentiment in India (i.e. nationalism) is closely bound with the growth of a unified economy in the country.
- This unified economy developed as a result of the destruction of former pre-capitalist forms of production prevailing in India.
- And substitution in its place of a modern capitalist economy.
- Features of pre-British economy:

1. Self-sufficient villages
2. Economic independence from the outside world of the village economy.
3. Absence of market economy.
4. Largely rural economy. -> The urban centres were: Political towns, religious towns and commercial towns.
5. The industrial and mercantile classes of the towns were not strong as they could not enter villages as the latter were self-sufficient . Hence, these classes were dependent on the nobility. -> Unlike Europe, they could not economically conquer the countryside and mobilise the support of the rural population against Indian feudalism and seize power. Thus, evolution of Indian economy was inhibited and spontaneous emergence of a capitalist order was rendered impossible.
6. Because of lack of outside interaction → Technologically backward.
 - Because of these reasons, a national consciousness did not arise among the people. Since the growth of this consciousness presupposes – unified and common political and economic life. -> The feeling of Indianness, if at all present, was due to religious and ideological unity not politico-economic unity.
 - Another reason was that the state did not exercise any fundamental influence on the social, ideological, economic and even administrative life of the village group. -> Whoever ruled, the self-sufficient village economy, their social and legal processes continued as before.
 - British conquest of India:
 - Before the advent of British, India had been conquered many times. But these conquests had led to changes in political regimes only. The basic economic structure of India, self-sufficient villages did not change. This survival was also due to the fact that none of the invaders represented a new mode of production, higher than the feudal model on which Indian economy was based. But the British conquest of India was different as it was a modern nation which had abolished feudalism in its own country and had created in its place a modern bourgeoisie society.
 - Therefore, the history of British domination of India is the history of progressive transformation of the feudal economy of pre-British India into a capitalist economy.

- It is bound up with the decay and even extinction of old land relations, and artisan and handicraft industries, and with the emergence of new land relations and modern industries. As a result, old classes disappeared and new classes appeared.
- Transformation of Indian agriculture under British rule:
 - ✓ Created private property in land. Ceded the traditional right of the village community over the village land. :-> Land began to be bought and sold.
 - ✓ The land revenue policy created different types of owners: Landlords in PS and individuals in Ryotwari.
 - ✓ Power of panchayat ceded because of rise of courts.
 - ✓ Commercialise agriculture :-> He began to produce for the market. :-> Cash crops began to be grown.
 - ✓ Village was slowly transformed from a self-sufficient community into an administrative unit of the centralised state and a part of the world economy.
- Social consequences of commercialisation of agriculture:
 1. Emergence of national agriculture -> It was no more isolated.
 2. Growth of subdivision and fragmentation of land.
 3. Growth of poverty.
 4. Growth of rural indebtedness.
 5. Transfer of land from cultivating to non-cultivating owners.
 6. Rise of serfdom.
 7. Agrarian inequality.
 8. Rise of parasitic land-owning class.
 9. The handicrafts were ruined and modern industry did not develop -> Led to overcrowding in agriculture.
- Decline of village handicraft and its consequences:
 - ✓ As traditional states declined -> Handicrafts lost buyers.
 - ✓ Economic policies of British encouraged British imports and discouraged Indian exports (which used to be Indian handicrafts).
 - ✓ The two pillars of village self-sufficiency: Agriculture and handicrafts were transformed. And gradually village became less and less self-sufficient. And more dependent on outside products.
- Development of Indian industries and its significance:

- ✓ Unified the national economy.
- ✓ Led to emergence of cities.
- ✓ Development of two classes: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat -> Who played crucial role in the freedom movement.
- Modern means of transport and the rise of Indian nationalism:
 - ✓ Before the British, because of the absence of modern means of transport – mass exchange among the common people for economic, social and cultural purposes was not possible. Hence, they developed only local village or caste consciousness. And a national consciousness or outlook could not develop.
 - ✓ Because of modern transport (like railways), the British penetrated the remotest villages of India. This enabled the British to create in India, a single political-administrative system.
 - ✓ Railway proved effective dissolvent of orthodox social habits – regarding food, physical contact, etc. It made people move and intermix. And destroyed the former social isolation.
 - ✓ Enabled galvanising people for pol movement + distribution of modern literature.
- The role of modern education in the development of modern education:
 - ✓ English and modern education played a progressive role but it is incorrect to conclude that Indian nationalism was the child of this education. :-> Indian nationalism was the result of new material conditions created by the British rule.
It was the outcome of the conflict of interests – the interests of Britain to keep India politically and economically subjected to her and the interests of Indian people for a free political, economic and cultural evolution of India society, unhindered by British rule.
 - ✓ Indian nationalism crystallised as a national movement in the latter half of the 19th century. :-> At that time, an educated class grew in the country and with the rise of Indian industries – the Indian bourgeoisie came into existence. They demanded: Indianisation of public services, protection for Indian industries, fiscal autonomy, etc. :-> ARD says this conflict of interest is the cause of the rise of Indian national movement. :-> He argues that even if the Indian bourgeoisie had been taught in Sanskrit, then too because of this conflict the national movement would have arisen in the country.

- ✓ Different classes had their specific grievances against Britain. The industrialists demanded freedom for unobstructed industrialisation of India and protection for Indian industries. The educated classes wanted Indianisation of services as the British had kept the higher posts for themselves. The agriculturalists demanded reduction of land tax. The workers demanded better condition of work. The nation as a whole demanded: Freedom of association, press, elected legislatures, etc. :-> ARD says it was out of these contradictions of interests of Britain and India that Indian nationalism grew.
- ✓ The role of modern education was that it gave the movement a democratic form and aim. It helped build a rationalist outlook. That after Independence, monarchy would not be established.

Social reforms

- Rammohun Roy
 - ✓
- Emancipation of women
 - ✓ The condition of the lower-caste women was better than the upper-caste women.
 - ✓ Purdah + restrictions on employment.
 - ✓ Widows could not remarry + Sati.
 - ✓ Property rights were not there.
 - ✓ The movement for liberation of women got a stimulus with the rise of the national movement in the 20th century. :-> They participated in the Home Rule movement and the Partition of Bengal.
 - ✓ Women became ministers and parliamentary secretaries in the 1937 election.
 - ✓ All India Women Conference was formed in 1927.
 - ✓ Post-independence: Article 14; 15; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; DPSP: Equal pay for equal work.
- Struggle against Caste
 - ✓ Mahatma Gandhi:-> 1932
 - Founded the All India Harijan Sangh. -> His campaign for 'root and branch removal of untouchability' was based on the grounds of humanism & reason. :->

He argued that there was no sanction for UT in the Hindu shashtras. :-> But even if shashtras approved of UT then too it should be ignored for it would then be going against human dignity. :-> Truth – Gandhiji said – could not be confined within the covers of a book.

- ✓ Jyotiba Phule :-> Second half of the 19th century

Regarded modern education as the most important weapon for the liberation of the lower castes. :-> Led a lifelong struggle against upper-caste domination.

- ✓ B R Ambedkar:->Organised All India Scheduled Castes Federation.
- ✓ Sri Narayan Guru :-> Led lifelong struggle against caste system in Kerala.
- ✓ Temple entry movements in 1924 (KP Kesava Menon) and 1931 (K Kelappan)
- ✓ The Constitution :-> Abolishes untouchability :-> It forbids any restrictions on the use of tanks, wells and bathing ghats, etc. :-> DPSC says “state shall strive to promote the welfare of people by securing a social order in which justice, social economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.”

Constitution, law and social change

- Law as an instrument of social change, implies India has an interventionist state. :> Why? Because state through law & state action can intervene in social life.
- In social change:-> Law can play direct or indirect role (RTE:-> Then education causes change).
- In India's history, except for Ashoka's reign, there was no case of an interventionist state. :> State's role was limited to collection of taxes. :> Laws of caste and village guided social life.
- Yogendra Singh: Features of traditional law were:
 - a) Based on religion.
 - b) Law was not equally applied -> Varied with caste.
 - c) Judicial process involved community participation.
 - d) Law was paternalistic.
 - e) Law was flexible.
 - f) The focus was on compromise.
- The laws in traditional India :> Did not act as an instrument of social change.
- British were the 1st to use law as an agent of social change. :> Cornwallis introduced a modern judicial system :> Macaulay prepared the IPC. :> Brits introduced legislations which led to abolition of sati (1829), allowing remarriage of widows (1856), increasing the age of marriage (Age of consent act, 1891 – Prohibited marriage below 12 years), inter-religious marriage, etc. :> A legal bureaucracy and a legal system was introduced in India by the Brits.
- As in India, the state was being used to modernise the society :> Post-independence, the reliance on law became indispensable. :> Also, an overwhelming number of MPs and Constituent Assembly members were lawyers.
- How law leads to social change?
 - a) Re-defines the existing normative order and creates the possibility for newer forms of social institution to emerge. Eg: abolition of untouchability.
 - b) Institutionalises and internalises the new pattern of behaviour. For ex, law gives right to lower castes to protest if they are being discriminated.

- Law can have direct or indirect effect -> For example, ban on polygamy is a direct effect, making education compulsory in an indirect effect.
- Includes: Article 17 which abolishes untouchability, Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976; RTE; posco, Sixth schedule; FRA, etc.
- Constitution
 - a) Traditional Indian society was based on holism :-> Now, egalitarianism.
 - b) Attacks discrimination on gender.
 - c) Establishes liberal democracy and secular state:-> Universal adult franchise :-> Capitalist transformation of agriculturse :-> protect SC/STs/OBCs.
- Provision in Constitution for women -> Articles 14, 15, 15(3), 39 [equal pay for equal work], 42 [just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief], 51-A [renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women].
- Provision in the Constitution for children: Articles 15(3), 24 [Prohibits employment of children below 14 in any factory/mine or hazardous occupation]; 45 [Free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years].
- Provision for SCs, STs and OBCs -> Reservations in Parliament and state legislature + Fifth and Sixth schedule.
- Provision for minorities:-> Article 29 and 30 recognises the rights of the minorities to conserve their language, script or culture. And establish educational institutions + Protection from land acquisition laws. :-> 350-A: Provides for instruction in mother tongue at the primary stage of education. :-> 350-B: Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards for linguistic minorities.
- But great disparity between law and reality:->(a) Law is usually ahead of reality :->(b) Poor implementation :->(c) Institutionalisation of new norms but no internalisation :->(d) Judicial activism.
- Few terms:
 1. State -> GET -> State is a community of persons occupying a definite territory, independent of external control, and having an organised government. -> State is also regarded as a social institution which has monopoly over the use of force.
 2. Government-> Government and state are not the same -> Government is a collection of people who at any given time occupy the position of authority within the state. -> Thus, governments come and go, but state remains.

Education and social change

- The traditional system of education in India, discouraged social change.
- It was: Esoteric, its content was religious, and education was a means of preserving social hierarchy.
- Describe British strategy of spreading education in India.
- Describe how education contributes to Social change.
 - (a) Education threw up an educated middle class which led the national movement and played an important role in the development of a national consciousness
 - (b) Education plays an important role in economic modernisation
 - (c) Redefines reference group and encourages upward mobility [BG Tilak in a study in AP found that those workers who had 8 years of schooling were earning two times more than those with no schooling].
 - (d) Leads to greater equality
 - (e) Impact on fertility
 - (f) Leads to greater gender equality
 - (g) Leads to higher aspirations for consumption :> Provides the demands stimulus to the economy.
 - (h) Provides ability to trade.
 - (i) Enables people to enter organised sector.
- Why education has not led to social change in India? (a) Urban bias (b) BIMARU region lags behind. (c) Initially, more focus on higher edu than primary education. (d) Low spending (Ramamurthy committee had recommended 6 per cent). (e) Jean Dreze: Probe report – Main reason lack of infrastructure.
- Critique of education as an agent of social change:
 - a) K Ahmad :>Although formal education can play a vital role in 'ideational' change through transformation of knowledge, attitudes and values of the people, its effectiveness in bringing about structural changes in society is extremely limited.
 - b) A.R. Desai:->Has questioned the validity of education as an instrument of social change. His contention is that after independence, education has not been purposively geared to obtain the desired changes. He has criticized the policies and funding and financing of education to attain the goals of social mobility and

equality... Unless the prevailing distribution of power is broken and there is a tilt in the policies towards the poor, it will be difficult to find resources for the necessary transformation.

- c) Yogendra Singh :-> Conducted a study into the implications of attitudes and values of teachers in Rajasthan University to modernization. This study measured the levels of aspirations, commitment, morale and authoritarianism among university teachers with a view to understanding how the role structures and value systems of teachers affect their role as agents of modernization. He found significant relationships between the two and thus held that teacher's values influence the modernization of students.
- d) NCERT :-> Some empirical studies have been conducted in India on the relationship between education and modernization. One such study was conducted by the NCERT in Delhi covering eight states. These studies described the extent to which the attitudes, aspirations and outlook of school and college students and teachers in the country have 'modernized'. Modernization in these studies was measured in terms of an adaptation of a scale developed by Alex Inkles. The results pointed out low effect of education on modernization. Students continue to be traditional in matters of family life, etc.

Idea of development planning and mixed economy :-> Bipan Chandra

Reasons behind adopting mixed economy:

1. India already had indigenous industry which controlled 75 per cent of the market at the time of independence. Dalmias, Tatas, Birlas, Singhaniyas, etc.
2. Agreement among all leaders that growth was to be equitable and inclusive.
3. No compromise on liberty and democracy.

History of planning process

1. As early as 19th century, in the economic thinking of early nationalists such MG Ranade and Dadabhai Naoroji, the state was assigned a critical role in the economic development.

2. 1931 -> Karachi resolution of Congress -> State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.
3. 1938 -> National Planning Committee formed under Jawaharlal Nehru.
4. 1945 -> Bombay Plan -> In the development of capital goods industry and other basic and heavy industries, which required huge finances and had a long time lag for returns, the public sector should play a crucial role.
5. The first plan was focussed on meeting the immediate needs of the economy because of partition, etc.
6. It was during the second plan, that the Nehru-Mahalanobis plan was put into practice. -> Import substitution + Growing industries in backward areas + Promoting labour-intensive small and cottage industries for production of consumer goods. [State supervision of development along planned lines, dividing activity between the public and private sectors, preventing rise of concentration and monopoly, etc, all this required setting up of an elaborate and complicated systems of controls and industrial licensing which was done through the Industries Development and Regulation Act. + Balance of Payment crisis and acute shortage of forex in 56-57, beginning of the SFP, led to the imposition of stringent import and foreign exchange controls.]

Achievements:

1. Growth rates four times the pre-independence level was achieved during the first two plans.
2. Savings and investment rates increased.
3. Agricultural self-reliance was achieved.
4. Import-substitution reduced India's dependence on foreign goods.
5. PSU captured the 'commanding heights' of the economy.
6. S&T got a boost – especially CSIR, AERC, ISRO.

Planned economy era created the physical and human infrastructure which was a precondition for independent modern development.

Long-term constraints and need for reforms

1. Import-substitution model led to inefficiency and technological backwardness in Indian industry.
2. MRTP Act went against the principle of economies of scale. Was against innovation.
3. Reserving certain areas for SSI meant excluding these areas from the adv of scale and larger resources of R&D activities.
4. PSUs became major source of inefficiency.
5. The govt started taking up 'sick' companies which should have been closed.
6. India failed to respond adequately to the new opportunities being thrown des[ite the availability of the East Asian experience.
7. Populist policies.

Social classes in India

Agrarian class structure

- Traditionally, Indian society was seen as a hierarchy of castes than class.
- But, following land reforms, green revolution -> The contractual caste-based economic relations have given way to contractual relations. -> Because of the capitalist transformation of rural economy. As a result, class differences have emerged in rural India.
- Why identifying agrarian classes is difficult in India? Coz of varying land quality -> The conventional Marxist definition cannot be used.
- Agrarian class structures identified by scholars:
 - I. Daniel Thorner
 - Identified three criteria: (1) Income earned from land (rents; fruits of own cultivation; wages). (2) Nature of rights held in India (Proprietor, tenancy, share-cropping, or no rights). (3) Extent of fieldwork performed (Absentee landlords, family, work done for others)
 - Thorner identified three classes in rural India:
 - (1) Maalik -> Those who perform supervisory roles -> Totally rely on hired labour.
 - (2) Kissan -> Neither hire labour nor hire themselves -> Work on land with family.
 - (3) Mazdoor -> Major part of the income comes from hiring themselves up. -> They may own land, which may not be enough.
 - II. Utsa Patnaik -> Slightly modified Thorner's criteria. -> She said should take the ratio of hired labour to family labour as the basis of identification. -> She classified as:
 - (1) Landlord :-> Don't contribute family labour -> Rely on hired labour and mechanisation -> Wealthiest and most upper-class.
 - (2) Rich peasants :-> Mainly rely on hired labour -> At harvest time, also contribute family labour.
 - (3) Middle peasants :-> Primarily rely on family labour -> At harvest time, can take hired labour.

(4) Small peasants :->Own land which they cultivate with family labour ->Own landholding insufficient to sustain ->Do sell their labour to supplement income.

(5) Agricultural labour :->Live only by selling their labour -> Don't own any land.

Criticism of Utsa Patnaik's model:

(1) Upper castes consider agricultural work as demeaning.

(2) Djurfeldt and Lindberg:->UP's model considers only land ownership is considered as capital. They say there are more kinds of capital which leads to exploitation. :->Commercial exploitation: By Arthiyas. And Usurious Capital

III. Rudolph and Rudolph :->Divides the rural population in four agricultural classes:

(1) Large landholders

(2) Bullock capitalists: Those who are self-employed and have holdings large enough to support a pair of bullocks and make use of inputs associated with the green revolution during the 1960s and 1970s.

(3) Small landholders

(4) Agricultural labourers

Changes taking place in the rural power structure

1.

Middleclasses in India

- Frenchman Bernier said Medieval India had no middle class.
- If by 'middle strata' is meant a section whose standards of living was between the rich and the poor, then such sections were large in Mughal India. :-> It included: Small mansabdaars, petty shopkeepers and craftsmen. It also included the class of professionals – Hakims, leading musicians and artists, historians, scholars and theologians. And a large administrative staff which ran the Mughal empire.
- The 'middle strata' did not form a class. The interests of different sections being different. They were also drawn from various groups and castes.

- Middle-class is a feature of modern society :-> It first occurred in Europe and is a product of capitalist transformation of society.
- According to BB Mishra:

“Middle classes formed a composite intermediate layer consisting of a wide-range of occupational interests, bound together by a common style of living and behaviour pattern. They stood for certain values which they expressed in their social and political conduct. They showed respect for the individual and had a secular world view. Ideologically, middle class stood for intellectual freedom, social mobility, liberal individualism and political democracy(MILD). The members of these middle-class tried to impress these values upon the entire societies in which they lived.”
- Why middle-class was absent prior to British rule?
 1. No respect for private property in Mughal empire.
 2. Merchant guilds existed – but had no military and pol power as in Europe.
 3. No formal training for artisans.
 4. Manufacturing job was looked down upon.
- Only after the British rule did the MC start to emerge. Prior to it, there existed: Landed aristocracy, wealthy merchants, artisans and merchants.
- Conditions introduced by the British which led to the emergence of middle-class
 1. Mild and constitutional character of government – based on rule of law.
 2. Security of private property.
 3. Modern education.
 4. Peace existed -> Absence of major wars + Political stability.
 5. Economy on the principle of liaise faire.
 6. Social reform.
- How did it the MC develop?
 1. Initially, there developed a class of agents and intermediaries :-> They worked for the Europeans. These included the Shroffs (Dealt in forex), Paikars (middlemen who supplied goods), and Dalals (Middlemen who worked for commission).
 2. As the trade increased, this class became the junior ally of the British. And gradually emerged into a commercial middle-class.
 3. Spread of modern education, led to emergence of educated middle class.

4. Consequently, professional education spread. -> Professional MC emerged.
5. Revenue laws of the British also enabled the emergence of a class consciousness: Two distinct classes emerged – Tenants and Landlords.

- Composition of the new MC:
 1. Merchants and proprietors of modern firms.
 2. Managers and supervisors in manufacturing and services industry.
 3. Civil servants.
 4. Professionals – Doctors, lawyers, Journalists, Engineers, etc.
 5. Holders of middle-grade proprietary tenure in land.
 6. Shopkeepers who are well to do.
- MC though small, laid the foundation for a modern India :>They formed a national consensus and laid the foundation of modern India, as members of the CA. :>The entire process of modernisation in India has been initiated and presided over by the new middle-class which emerged after the British rule. :> The policies adopted post-independence, has further led to the expansion of the middleclass.
- Land reforms and green revolution :> Led to massive expansion of middle-class in rural India.
- NCAER:->300 MN MIDDLE CLASS IN India. Other estimates put it at 20-25 per cent. This has expanded after 1991 economic reforms.
- Consequences of emergence of Middle Class?
 1. Shift towards secularisation of life goals.
 2. Development of a consumerist ethos.
 3. Stabilisation of democracy in India.
 4. Demand politics for concessions.
 5. Popularity and growth of new religions such as cults, sects, etc. They address to middleclass insecurities.

✓ Dipankar Gupta says Indian middle class represents “mistaken modernity”, as it is confined to consumerist modernity and does not play its role in modernising society.

Industrial class structure

- I. Big industrialists, merchants, etc.
- II. Large middle-class:

1. Upper MC: Senior executives and bureaucrats.
2. Middle MC: Managers and professionals.
3. Lower MC: Large body of petty bourgeoisie and white-collar workers.

III. Working Class:

1. Employed in modern organised sector: They get family wage -> Enough to sustain family. -> Consists of skilled workers.
2. Workers in traditional industry like jute -> Have permanent income but do not earn enough.
3. Informal sector -> Majority ->Semi/unskilled. ->Lack permanent employment ->Not unionised. ->Growing because of outsourcing ->Consists of majority of the urban poor.

System of kinship in India

Family and marriage in India

Family

- What is family?
 - ✓ Refers to the group comprising of parents and children.
 - ✓ They usually share a common residence.
 - ✓ Members have a reciprocal rights and duties towards each other.
 - ✓ Family is also an agent of socialisation.
- Types of family:
 - ✓ Nuclear and joint family systems have to be viewed as a continuum :> These are related to the development cycle :> The structure of family changes over a time period in terms of size, composition, role and status, the family and societal norms and sanctions. :> There is rarely a family in India, which remains perpetually nuclear in composition.
 - ✓ Pauline Kolenda:> Types of nuclear families:
 1. Nuclear family = Couple + with/without children.
 2. Supplemented NF = NF + One relative of the parents.
 3. Sub-nuclear NF = Widow/widower + children.
 4. Supplemented sub-nuclear NF = Sub-nuclear + relative
 5. Single parent household.

[Kolenda draws a relationship between practise of divorce and family type. Where divorce was allowed like Kallar's of TN there majority N, while like Rajputs, majority J.]

- Hindu joint family
 - ✓ MS Gore: Man + Wife + Adult sons + their wives and children + younger children of the couple. This is the ideal definition. :> In this, the oldest male is the head of the family. :>Age and sex: Main ordering principle of the family hierarchy. :>Nature of contact and communication - vary on the basis of age/sex. (relation between mother-in-law vs. daughter-in-law vs. son-in-law) :> Less importance is

given to conjugal relationship over filial and fraternal relations. :-> According to Gore, a joint family is not simply a collection of nuclear families.

✓ What constitutes jointness? :-> 4Cs :-> Commensality: Cook and eat from same kitchen. :-> Common residence:-> Coparcenary: Joint ownership of property :-> Cooperation and sentiment: IP Desai and KM Kapadia stress on functionality of jointness – Family members identify themselves as members of a common family and participate in rituals and ceremonies together, render help when needed.

✓ What constitutes a joint family?

(a) On the basis of relationship between members: Wither lineal, or collateral, or both. :-> Pauline Kolenda: distinguished them as:

- (1) Collateral joint family: Two married brothers.
- (2) Supplemented CJF: CJF + Divorced/widowed member (usually M/F).
- (3) Lineal JF: Parents + Couple (99/15).
- (4) Supplemented LJF: LJF + windowed/divorced relative
- (5) Lineal CJF: Lineal + Collateral
- (6) Supplemented Lineal-Collateral JF

(b) On the basis number of generations: Commonly seen as three generations.

(c) Sharing of common property:-> FG Bailey and TN Madan -> See members of JF as those who are coparceners and their dependents. Limitation: Leaves out those who do not own property.

- Pauline Kolenda – after comparing 76 studies which studied joint families – concludes that:
 1. Joint family more characteristic of higher twice-born castes and less among the economically poor and untouchables.
 2. There are regional variations: Gangetic plain has higher incidence of JF than Central India
- The joint family should be seen as a part of a long cycle.
- Inapplicability of joint family living: Cohn studies Chamars of Senapur, who are landless labourers. And analyses why they discourage JFs: (a) Demographic factor: Because of low life expectancy there is much less chance of three generations

existing at the same time. (b) Economic factor: Since land is not there – all members have to work. In this case, old people are seen as liability. (c) Role of women: Required to take paid employment. (d) Mobility: Shifting from one place to another in search for work.

Structural characteristics of JF:

1. Characterised by patrilineal descent.
2. Has generational depth of three.
3. Consanguine bonds are valued more than conjugal bonds.
4. Encourage early marriage.
5. Filial bonds are strong.
6. Sibling bonds valued -> Older sibling: A figure of authority. Usually more feared than loved.
7. Brother-sister relationship characterised by tenderness.
8. Division of labour on gender.
9. Encourage collective-orientation than self-orientation.
10. Segregated roles based on gender.

Functional characteristics of JF:

1. In agrarian society: A unit of production and consumption.
2. Provide social security to the young, widows and ageing parents.
3. Basic unit of participation in political life.
4. Unit for cultural activities.
5. Educational role -> Picking up educational skills.

Changes in family:

I. Factors leading to changes in the joint family

- 1) Economic factors: Monetisation (introduction of cash) ->The earlier Jajmani system ended. The British threw open government services. ->new employment opportunities emerged->Moved away from traditional home/occupation -> Post-independence, this process has accelerated. -> Now both men and women work.

- 2) Educational factors: Modern education -> Began to question Hindu customs relating to child marriage and denial of rights of education to women. -> This led to changes.
- 3) Legal factors: Legislations related to employment, education, marriage and property have affected family system in many ways. Ex.: Laws relating to child marriage, Hindu Succession Act, Hindu Marriage Act.
- 4) Urbanisation: Shift from agricultural to non-agricultural jobs + Shift from rural to urban areas
- 5) Other factors: Heightened ambitions – increased occupational mobility –growing sense of individuality, etc.

II. Factors leading to reinforcement of joint family

- 1) KM Kapadia: Family which have migrated to towns still maintain their bonds with the joint family in village or towns. -> This is evident from the presence of these relatives at the time of death or celebration like the birth of a child. -> Also family in the city has to give shelter and sustenance to all subsequent immigrants from the rural family.
- 2) The argument that the joint family is dysfunctional to industrialisation has been challenged by those who point out that successful industrial establishments in the country are managed by joint families. Eg: Tatas, Birlas. :->Milton Singer points out that joint family contributes to be the norm among industrial entrepreneurs, despite changes in their material conditions of living.
- 3) Kolenda observes that industrialisation serves to strengthen the joint family because an economic base has been provided to support the joint family. And more hands are available to work at the family enterprise.

Emerging patterns of family living

- 1) The traditional functions of the family are being taken up by specialised agencies.
- 2) Both the couple increasingly go out to work.
- 3) In some families, parents may live with the children.
- 4) Old people making economic adjustments to plan for their old life.
- 5) Girls are willing to support their family. In some cases, widowed parents are staying with the daughter's family.
- 6) Within the same city, parents and children may live separately.

Studies:

1. MS Gore: Aggarwal's of Delhi :> Though lived in nuclear households but maintained ties with the extended families.
2. Milton Singer: Study of Business Houses.
3. MSA Rao: Money order addressed to the family than to the wife.
4. Mensefee Singh: Among Slum dwellers. Found similar to Gore, i.e., maintained ties.
5. Ellene Rose: In Bangalore found that people from professional middle-class who had had prolonged urban stay had little spirit for jointness.

Marriage

It is defined as a social arrangement through which individuals or groups acquire certain special rights over each other. :> Also referred to as social recognition of sexual relations

:>These rights are both kinship rights and domestic rights. :>(A)Kinship rights are: (1) Sexual rights :>Right to seek sexual gratification. (2) Right to bear or beget children. And (B) Domestic rights:->Right to seek cooperation for management of household.

1. Nature of marital bond.
2. Rules of marriage: Endogamy and exogamy.
3. Exchange at Marriage.
4. Number of spouses.
5. Age at marriage.
6. Norms regarding pre-marital conduct.

Compare these among Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Tribals

○ Hindus:

Marriage is regarded as a duty.

Hindu texts point out three main aims of marriage: (a) Dharma (duty) (b) Praja (progeny) (c) Rati (sensual pleasure). -> Hence, they consider marriage as important from both

individual and social point of view. -> Marriage enables the man/women to enter the householders role. Otherwise, they are regarded as incomplete.

- Muslims: Regards it as an essential obligation. -> Which must be fulfilled by every Muslim.
- Christianity: Consider it as crucial to life.
- Very few Indians do not get married.
- But goals of marriage are changing.
- Age of marriage:
 - ✓ Women: In 2001, it was 18.3. In 2011: 19.3
 - ✓ Men: In 2011, it was 23.3. In 2001: it was 22.6.
 - ✓ Women in urban areas marry two years later than women in rural areas.
 - ✓ But still 33 per cent of women get married at 18 years or less. (Census 2011)
 - ✓ Women-led households: 13% in 2011. And 10% in 2001.
 - ✓ Teen pregnancy is nine times higher among illiterate women than among those who have finished studies.
 - ✓ In states where literacy rate is high, age of marriage is higher.
 - ✓ According to a report “Early and Child Marriage in India”: the following factors are responsible for child marriage in India: (1) Family income, (2) Location (rural or urban). (3) Community (4) Caste (5) Education.
- Forms of marriage:Monogamy: Established in law by Hindu Marriage Act -> Even earlier, polygyny was limited to kings, chieftains, village headmen; or certain occupational groups like agriculturalists and artisans – Here it prevailed because they got more hands to work. -> Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rammohun Roy, Dayanand Sarasvati worked for its removal.
- Polygyny -> Allowed in Islam -> Can keep four wives. -> In practise, rarely followed. Limited to the rich and the powerful. -> Some sections of tribal population also follow.
- Polyandry->Todas of the Nilgiri of TN, Khasa tribe near Dehradun. Reasons: -> Prevent division of property within a family. -> Preserve the unity and solidarity of the siblings. -> Need for more than one husband in a society where men are away on commercial or military journey.
- Patterns of spouse selection->(a) Caste/Religion Endogamy (including hypergamy)-> In addition, in South India, certain matches are preferred. -> These are applicable in non-

Hindu groups as well -> Syeds will marry within. -> Muslims allow both cross/parallel cousin marriage (lay stress on maintaining blood purity + property remains within + less conflict with mother-in-law). (b) Exogamy: Village exogamy in North India; Gotra (it is a category within the jati) exogamy: the four-gotra rule: Mother, father, nani, dadi.; Sapinda: Those who share the same pind (body) -> Seven generations on the father's side and five generations on the mother's side. [The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, does not permit marriage within five generations on the father's side and three on the mother's side. But permits cross-cousin marriage where it is customary.]

- (c) Arranged marriages -> parents' approval: When marriage is fixed by parents or elders it is called an arranged marriage. :-> This is in contrast to marriage by self-choice. :-> In some cases, both can occur.

Why arrange marriages persist:

- ✓ Existence of rules of endogamy which limits marriage alliance.
- ✓ The rules of exogamy.
- ✓ Prescriptive & proscriptive rules regarding parallel and cross cousin.
- ✓ Rules relating to preferred marriages : In South India & among Mus.

- Recent trends:

- ✓ Inter-caste marriages are recognised by law and are taking place on more occasions. But still form a small %age of the overall marriages.
- ✓ Caste endogamy widely prevalent.
- ✓ Among the urban educated -> Arranged marriage with the consent of the boy and the girl is the increasing trend.

- Marriage rites:

- ✓ Hindus:
 - For Hindus, marriage is a sacrament. Means it cannot be dissolved, since it is a sacrament for life.
 - Rituals stress male primacy and superiority. -> Reflects the mood of transfer from the father's side to the husband side.
 - There are variations. For instance, among the Nayars the pre-marriage rituals are more elaborate than the marriage rituals.

- Sikhs and Jains have marriage rituals which are similar to those of Hindus. (Unlike Hindus, Sikhs do not have a particular season or period for marriage).
- ✓ Muslims:
 - Marriage is not a sacrament but contract.
 - Contract called Nikahnama + Mehr.
 - Zarina Bhatty
- ✓ Christians:
 - Stresses that marriage is between individuals and not between families.
 - Roman Catholics don't marry Syrian Christians.
- ✓ Customary marriage: No elaborate ceremony. For ex. Among certain groups in Himalayas, putting a ring in the bride's nose is a customary form of marriage. :->
- ✓ Bride price
 - This is followed among certain middle and lower rung castes.
 - Payment is either in cash or kind, or both. Seen in Uraon tribe of Chhattisgarh and Bhumiars of Orissa.
 - Under the local influence of high castes, some groups have given up the practice of bride price in favour of dowry.
 - In the idea of the bride price is the implicit idea of loss of productive labour.
- ✓ Divorce and widow remarriage
 - Divorce:
 - Though in theory, Hindu marriage is regarded as sacred and a sacrament, among the non-dwija castes – divorce is customarily allowed.
 - Special Marriage Act -> Provides the ground for divorce to all women who choose to get married under this Act.
 - The Hindu Marriage Act -> Provides for divorce to both Hindu men and women.
 - Some of the grounds for divorce are: (a) Impotency (b) Lunacy (c) Disappearance for seven years. (d) Contagious disease. (e) Rape (f) Homosexuality (g) Bestiality, etc.
 - But public attitude to divorce is not yet very liberal.

- Muslims: Among Muslims, marriage is a contract and divorce is allowed. But unequal divorce.
- Widow remarriage
 - In many castes of Hinduism, widow remarriage is allowed. It was only in the higher castes that it was prohibited.
 - Widow remarriage is permitted among the Ahirs (also practice levirate), Muslims, Christians. Among Jains -> It is decided on the basis of the local issue.
 - Widower everywhere has generally a right to remarry.

➤ Some of the other features:

- Syrian Christians: Ceremony of tying the thread around the neck – A Hindu relic.
- Muslim Bhats: Consult Pandit for an auspicious day. They first celebrate the marriage in a Hindu way and then in a Muslim way.

Types of kinship systems in India:

- ✓ Kinship system refers to set of people recognised as relatives either by marriage or blood.
- ✓ Hence, KINSHIP = CONSANGUINES (blood relations) + AFFINES (marriage).
- ✓ Two main approaches to studying kinship systems of India: Indological approach and Descent approach.
- ✓ Karve, Ghurye and K M Kapadia have made use of the Indological approach.
- ✓ They have analysed the kinship systems in India from a socio-historical perspective.
- ✓ Anthropological approach: Analysed kinship from descent approach or alliance approach.
- ✓ Descent approach :-> When groups are recognised or defined on the basis of shared descent it is referred to as descent groups.

The six main types of descent groups are: Matrilineal, Patrilineal, Cognate (or bilateral), double (or bi-lineal), Parallel, and Cross.

In India, patri-lineal and matrilineal descent groups are more common. Of the two, matrilineal is less common than patrilineal.

This approach has been followed by T N Madan, Oscar Lewis, A C Mayer, among others.

Lineal vs. collateral: Lineal relatives are those who belong to the same ancestral stock in a direct line of descent. Opposed to the lineal relatives are collaterals who belong to the same ancestral stock but not in a direct line of descent.

- ✓ Alliance approach:-> When the sociologist pays special attention to the pattern and the rules which apply to marriage, then he is said to be following the alliance approach. :-> The main proponent of this approach is Louis Dumont. :-> He increased the understanding of kinship systems of India by showing the opposition between consanguine and affine as reflected in the Dravidian kinship terminology. :-> The alliance approach has also helped sociologists to discuss and explain the distinction between bribe-takers and bribe-givers.

For explaining the kinship systems found in India, Iravati Karve identified four cultural zones: The Northern, Southern, Central and Eastern. [This is also an example of comparative study]. He uses language spoken as the criteria for classification.

North-Indian system	South-Indian system
<p>Geographical area: This zone lies btw Himalayas and the Vindhya range. Languages, includes Bengali, Assamese & Sindhi. Indo-European languages.</p>	<p>Geographical area: Includes the four southern states Speakers of Dravidian languages.</p>
<p>Kinship groups: Zone of Extensive kinship.(Why? Settled agriculture developed late + Constant migration from the North -> Leading to frequent conflicts.) Largely based on (A) <u>Patrilineage</u>:-> Show <u>cooperation and conflict</u>. Cooperation: In ritual and economic activities. Also increases because live near to each other in the</p>	<p>Kinship groups: Zone of Intensive kinship. (Agriculture developed early. Land acquired an intrinsic value. Kinship developed to protect this intrinsic value.) Consists of patrilineage (also patrilocal) + affines (through marriage). The nature of interaction between a patrilineage and its affines is cordial and</p>

<p>village. :-> TN Madan shows how in Kashmiri village – how rivalry among the brothers leads to partition of the property. :-> <u>Transfer of status and property</u> also occurs down the male line.</p> <p>(B) <u>Clan</u>: A larger exogamous category (larger than lineage) is referred to as clan. The common ancestor of a lineage is known, whereas the common ancestor of a clan is a mythical figure. :-> Also referred to as Gotra. :-><u>The members of lineage live in close proximity and therefore have greater occasions for cooperation or conflict.</u></p> <p><u>Common interests or actions do not characterise the relationships among clan members because they are usually scattered over a larger territory.</u> But these relationships become important in the context of marriage.</p> <p>(C) <u>Caste and sub-caste</u>:-> Castes are endogamous :-> Members of sub-castes operate as kinsmen. Sub-caste includes uterine kin and affinal kin. :-> They expected to provide help. Even though they do not belong to same lineage or clan. [AR Radcliffe Brown refers to mother's brother as 'complementary filiation'].</p> <p>(D) <u>Fictive kin</u>:-> In tribal societies and in villages, unrelated individuals usually behave like brothers.</p>	<p>friendly. -> In the North there is a clear separation between kin related by marriage and those related by descent.</p>
<p>Kinship terminology</p>	<p>Kinship terminology</p>

<p>(1) Kinship terminology is <u>descriptive and clear</u>. :-> Specific terms exist even for the most distant relative.</p> <p>(2) Not classificatory.</p> <p>(3) Distinction between parallel and cross cousins exists but to emphasise patrilineal decent.</p> <p>(4) Relationships also refer to the social behaviour expected of them. For ex.: Bhabhi-devar relationship, & Women and husband's father/brother.</p>	<p>Main features of the terminology as per Louis Dumont is that: (1) It distinguishes between parallel and cross-cousin marriages. (2) It is classificatory. (i.e. between one can marry/not marry) (3) Cross-cousins are never brothers/sisters.</p>
<p>Marriage Rules</p> <p><u>Negative rules of marriage</u>:->Rules exist for whom not to marry.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clan exogamy. 2. Four clan rule: Father's gotra, mother's gotra, father's mother's gotra, mother's mother's gotra. :-> Prohibits marriage between two people who share any two of their eight gotras. 3. Village exogamy. 4. Marriage within sub-caste. 5. Arranged from lower to higher category -> Hierarchical relationship exists between bribe-giver and bribe-taker. -> hypergamy. 6. No cross-cousin marriage. 	<p>Marriage Rules</p> <p>[A] <u>Positive rules of marriage</u> :-> Preference for certain kinds of marriage. There are <u>three types of marriages</u> preferred: (1) Man & elder sister's daughter. (2) Man with his father's sister's daughter. (3) Man and his mother's brother's daughter.</p> <p>[B] <u>Preference for marriage</u> within a small kin group. This group is just outside one's immediate family.</p> <p>[C] <u>Village exogamy is not practised</u>. :-> Agnates and affine can be found living in the same village.</p> <p>[D] No deep diff b/w wife-giver and taker.</p> <p>[E] Mate-selection based on reciprocal exchange.</p>
<p>Ceremonial exchange of gifts among kins</p> <p><u>Unidirectional</u></p>	<p>Ceremonial exchange of gifts among kins</p> <p>Even though the bride-giver pay more than the bride-taker, even then there is an element of reciprocity. Unlike, NI, where it's</p>

	unidirectional.
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Central zone

- Zone of transition between North and Southern zone. Both the influences exist here.
- The literary form is influenced by Sanskrit while the colloquial form is influenced by Dravidian.
- Brahmin and Kshatriya follow North's practices while lower castes follow South's.

Eastern zone

- Dialects belonging to two linguistic families: Mon Khymer and Mundari.
- Mon Khymer -> N-E Tribal areas; while Mundari for CN Tribal areas.
- Most of the tribes are patrilineal, except Garo and Khasi.
- Some tribes practice polygamy.
- Youth dormitory.:> After puberty, males and females live.
- Practice of bride price can be found.

Matrilineal descent system

- They are found in Garo and Khasi tribes. In parts of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.
- Children trace relationship through mother. :> Different from Matriarchal. In a matriarchal system, women also hold power.
- In a matrilineal system, descent is traced through the women but power normally does not lie in their hands.
- Social control and power of decision-making regarding land and other property is held by men.
- Thus, in a matrilineal system, children adopt the status of their mother.
- Birth of a male child is not a special occasion.

Household dimension of family

- A domestic group whose members share common residence and cooperation at the domestic level. [Family is a kin group].

- According to AM Shah:-> Out of the various dimensions of family -> Household dimension is the most crucial. :-> Shah says household is the site for play of some of the deepest emotions and sentiments in human life.
- While earlier the joint household was the characteristic of the upper-caste, increasingly it has also become a characteristic of the lower castes. Why? (a) Increase in life expectancy (b) Formation and accumulation of household assets due to economic development (c) Sanskritisation of social life and of custom of marriage. (d) Use of household for upward social and economic mobility. -> This is endogamous change.
- On the other hand, exogamous change is occurring among the professional class -> Where they are adopting nuclear family and individualism, both of which are thought to have diffused from the West. -> Nuclear household might also come into existence because of demographic accidents. – Death, disagreement, etc.
- The latest data said the country's average family size in 2011 was 4.45 members, down from 4.67 a decade earlier, a drop of 5.3%.
- Between 2001 and 2011, the percentage of nuclear families as a percentage of all families declined slightly, from 70.34% to 70.11%. :-> the share of nuclear families has declined by 1.84 percentage points in urban areas, but grown by 0.22 percentage points in rural areas. TV Sekher puts it down to pressures of urban infrastructure and urban jobs + Rural migration.
- The number of one-member households – a proxy for people living alone. Between 2001 and 2011, this number has grown from 6.8 million to 9.04 million. That's an increase of 33%, which is greater than the rate of population growth (28.2%) or the increase in the number of nuclear families during this period (27.4%).

Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour.

- Patriarchy's literal meaning:-> 'Rule of father'. :-> Means: Exercise of power of men over women.
- Patriarchy is closely connected with Division of Labour in Society.

- It involves women being subject to compulsory domesticity + being denied control over productive resources + becoming dependent on men = This gives rise to gender inequality. [CD²= GENDER INEQUALITY]
- Ann Oakley:

Gender-> Socially and culturally constructed roles that men and women play in society.

Oakley rejects that behaviour of men and women in society is based on sex, but says it is culturally and socially determined.

The result of SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR is that

- Although women constitute half of the humanity, their role in public life, especially politics, is minimal in most societies.
- Earlier, only men were allowed to participate in public affairs, vote and contest for public offices.
- Gradually the gender issue was raised in politics. Women in different parts of the world organized and agitated for equal rights. There were agitations in different countries for the extension of voting rights to women.
- These agitations demanded enhancing the political and legal status of women and improving their educational and career opportunities.
- More radical women's movements aimed at equality in personal and family life as well. These movements are called FEMINIST movements.
- Political expression of gender division and political mobilization on this question helped to improve women's role in public life.
- We now find women working as scientists, doctors, engineers, lawyers, managers and college and university teachers which were earlier not considered suitable for women.

Entitlement

Socially sanctioned right to have or do something.

Entitlements on the basis of gender:

1. Entitlement over household.
2. Entitlement over food -> Bina Majumdar's study showed influence of patriarchy on food.

3. Entitlement over oneself -> Tulsi Patel in study in Rajasthan concluded that a women became mother-in-laws by the age of 35.
4. Entitlement over sexuality -> Women sexuality is greatly controlled, while men is free.
5. Entitlement over work -> Gender based discrimination is common.
6. Entitlement over power in family and society -> Men take most decisions.

- Entitlement over power in the family and society : Decisions taken in a family are also influenced by patriarchal values. In less important decisions women are concerned. Important decisions are taken by elders in the family in consultation with other male members. Women don't have the power to control over her body. The number of children to produce, the name of the child, property belonging to family, her public affairs are all controlled by family.
- In our country, women still lag much behind men despite some improvement since Independence. Ours is still a male-dominated, **PATRIACHAL** society. Women face disadvantage, discrimination and oppression in various ways.
- The literacy rate among women is only 54 per cent compared with 76 per cent among men. Similarly, a smaller proportion of girls students go for higher studies. When we look at school results, girls perform as well as boys, if not better in some places. But they dropout because parents prefer to spend their resources for their boys education rather than spending equally on their sons and daughters.
- No wonder the proportion of women among the highly paid and valued jobs is still very small. On an average an Indian woman works one hour more than an average man every day. Yet much of her work is not paid and therefore often not valued.
- The Equal Wages Act provides that equal wages should be paid to equal work. However in almost all areas of work, from sports and cinema, to factories and fields, women are paid less than men, even when boy do exactly the same work.
- In many parts of India parents prefer to have sons and find ways to have the girls child aborted before she is born. Such sex-selective abortion led to a decline in child sex ratio (number of girls children per thousand boys) in the country to merely 927.
- There are reports of various kinds of harassment, exploitation and violence against women. Urban areas have become particularly unsafe for women. They are not safe even within their own home from beating, harassment and other forms of domestic violence.

Tribal Communities in India

➤ Geographical spread :-> Spread all over India :-> Their greatest concentration is in MP, Chhattishgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, NE India, WB, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. :-> Except in NE, they constitute minorities in their home states. :-> Except in the NE, the tribal and the non-tribal had interacted culturally, socially, economically and politically for centuries.

➤ Issues of integration and autonomy

Article 46:-> State should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the tribal people and should protect them from social injustices and all forms of exploitation.

Governors in states with tribal population have been empowered to modify

Central/state laws to protect tribal rights.

Reservation to STs

Tribal Advisory Council in all states containing tribal areas to advise on matters concerning the welfare of the tribals.

Sixth Schedule :-> Especially for NE states + Provides for district and regional councils.

National Commission for ST has been established.

Nehru's approach

1. The tribals should develop on the lines of their own genius – there should be no imposition or compulsion from outside.
2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected and no outsider should be allowed to take possession of tribal land.
3. Tribal language should be encouraged and supported.
4. Administrators should be chosen from the tribals themselves. As few as possible outsiders should be introduced as administrators in tribal areas.
5. No over-administration of tribal areas.

In spite of the Constitutional safeguards and the efforts of governments :->The tribals' progress has been very slow :-> They continue to be poor, indebted, landless and unemployed. :-> The problem often lies in the weak execution of well-intentioned measures.:-> TAC has not functioned effectively. :->A major handicap tribals suffer is denial of justice often because of their unfamiliarity with the law and the legal system. :-> Within

the tribal society, class differences and class structure has emerged with the class at the top reaping most of the benefits 'tribal elite' :->

Agrarian social structure -> Evolution of land tenure system and land reforms

- Colonialism had devastating effect on Indian agriculture. :->Colonialism shattered the basis of traditional Indian agriculture, without transforming it into modern agriculture. :-> Commercialisation of agriculture in colonial India facilitated the extraction of surplus from the peasantry and the transfer of this surplus from India to Britain. :-> Ruining the farmers further.
- Features that emerged in Indian agriculture under colonialism:
 1. Colonial state made a very high tax demand on agriculturists. (This was especially the case in Ryotwari area, which comprised 40 per cent of the total area. Here the land revenue rates were periodically enhanced pushing them up to the maximum limit the economy or polity could bear.
 2. Under colonialism, Indian agriculture experienced the growth of landlordism and rack renting on a very wide scale. In the zamindari areas, absentee landlordism and subinfeudation was rampant :->On the eve of independence, roughly 60-70 per cent of the total cultivable land in British India was owned by a landlords. :->Landlessness was rampant :-> According to one estimate, 75 per cent of the rural population was landless, consisting of landless tenants and agricultural labour. Because giving out land on rent was more profitable, it was favoured over large scale capitalist agriculture.
 3. Because of the heavy demands on the cultivator made by the colonial state and the dominant sections in the rural society :->Extreme peasant indebtedness prevailed.
 4. Bonded labour or debt bondage became a common feature.
 5. Other features: Fragmented landholdings; Usurious capital (An RBI survey in 1954 found that 93 per cent of credit needs of agriculturists were supplied privately; 3%: Government; and 3%: Cooperative societies); low yields ; dependence on imports for food grains – the value of food imports was nearly half of the total capital investment in the 1st FYP (1951-56).
- The process of land reform after independence occurred in two phases:
First phase: This started soon after independence and continued till the 1960s. It focussed on: (FOUR STEPS)
 1. Abolition of intermediaries – Zamindars, jagirdars, etc.

2. Tenancy reforms involving providing security of tenure to the tenants, decrease in rents and conferment of ownership rights to tenants.
3. Ceiling on the size of ownership.
4. Cooperativisation and community development programmes.

The Second phase: This began around mid-or-late 1960s and saw the gradual ushering in of green revolution and technological reforms.

The two phases were complimentary to each other.

- The Constitutional amendment 1 and 4 were aimed at land reforms.
- A major difficulty in implementing the LRs was the absence of adequate land records. :> Nevertheless, certainly by the end of 1950s the process of land reforms involving abolition of intermediaries was complete. :> This meant that around 20 million erstwhile tenants became landowners. :> Acc to one estimate, the area under tenancy declined from 42 per cent in 1950-51 to around 20-25% by early 1960s.
- Weaknesses in Zamindari Abolition :> There were weaknesses in the manner in which the proposals were implemented. :> In UP, for instance, zamindars were permitted to retain land that was under their 'personal cultivation'. But what constituted 'personal cultivation' was loosely defined. Further, in other states no limit was placed on the amount of land which can be held under personal cultivation. As a result, zamindars evicted tenants on large scale and began cultivation themselves. + In addition, they resisted the implementation of the laws by repeatedly challenging them in courts and delaying them in legislatures.
- Tenancy reforms:> It had three main objectives: (a) To guarantee security of tenure to tenants who had cultivated a piece of land continuously for fixed number of years (b) To seek reduction of rents paid by tenants to a 'fair' level (c) The tenant gains the right to acquire the ownership of lands he cultivated. :>But here the government had to balance the rights of the small landowner and the tenant. :> This feature was misused by large landowners (Noted by PS Appu – Who headed the Planning Commission Task Force on Agrarian Relations).:>By converting their large farms into smaller small farms by registering them in the name of family members. :> The delay in implementing these legislations was used by the landlords to protect their property. :> What contributed

most to insecurity of tenants was the fact that most tenancies were oral and informal. :-

> There were some active state governments too. For instance, the West Bengal government launched 'Operation Barga' in 77 – to register sharecroppers and give them their right. - But eventually failed: Against small landholders (1:3 ratio) + More than one sharecropper who demanded right.

➤ Ceiling abolition:

- JC Kumarappa – Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee – recommended that the ceiling be three times the size of economic holding.
- But there was considerable opposition – even within the Congress Party, which was in favour of ceiling under Nehru.
- Weaknesses in the land ceiling legislation :->(1) The ceiling was kept too high. For ex. In AP, it varied from 27-312 hectare. (2) In most states, ceiling was imposed on individuals than family members – allowing the landowners to escape. (3) Large number of exceptions: Tea, coffee, rubber plantations etc. (4) It took long time to implement the ceiling laws – as a result the excess land was either sold or transferred to relatives/ benami.
- Very poor implementation :->By the end of 1970 – only 0.3% of the total cultivated area of India was declared surplus. Only in J&K was the limit properly implemented.
- Later based on the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee – Changes were made in the laws: Family as the unit, exceptions reduced, ceiling limit reduced. :->But still there was still wide variations in state-wise implementation. For instance, WB which had less than 3% of the cultivated area in India, contributed about a quarter of the total land declared surplus.

➤ Bhoodan movement

- An attempt at bringing about land reform through a movement and not simply through government legislation.
- Gandhian Vinoba Bhave drew on Gandhian techniques such as constructive work and trusteeship to launch this movement in the 1950s. :-> Launched padayatra :-> The target was to get 50 million acres – which was 1/6th of the 300-mn acre of cultivable land in India. :->On an average every landholder gives 1/6th of his land.

- Vinoba received the first donation of land in Pochampalli in Telangana in 1951. :-> In the initial years, the movement received considerable success.
- Later the movement lost its momentum + A substantial part of the land gifted was unfit for cultivation or under litigation.
- 1955:-> Gramdan was launched. :-> Taking off the Gandhian notion that all land belonged to 'Gopal' or God. :-> The movement declared that land was owned collectively or equally, as it did not belong to any one individual. :-> The movement started in Orissa and was most successful here.
- By the 1960s, the Bhoojan/Gramdan movements lost their initial promise.

Cooperatives

- Seen as middle-ground between Capitalist development and Nationalisation of Production.
- Advantages:
 1. Mass employment.
 2. Increase in farmer income.
 3. Reducing migration.
- G S Baviskar: Estimates India has over 5-lakh cooperatives.
- Wide spectrum of national leaders – Gandhi, Nehru, Socialists and Communists – agreed that cooperativisation would lead to major improvement in Indian agriculture. And would benefit the poor.
- However, there was no general consensus about how to go about it. Like China? Or Gandhian?
- Kumarappa recommended that the state should exercise its powers to promote cooperatives.
- Delegations were even sent to China to study there model + the 1st and 2nd Plan advocated cooperatives as a way of improving agriculture.
- Nagpur Resolution of the Congress in 1959:-> Reiterated the need to promote cooperatives. But this also led to fear that the private property would be under threat as was done in the Soviet and Chinese model. -> Later, Nehru clarified in Parliament that no such thing would happen.

- As collectivisation was seen as a Chinese idea (though it originated in England in the 19th century and India had in 1904 passed the Indian Cooperative Societies Act) – the invasion of Tibet by China led to the project receiving a setback.
- Now, the government began to move away from farm collectives to service collectives.
- Daniel Thorner and Wolf Ladejinsky: Reported on the weaknesses of the cooperatives.
They found two types of farming cooperatives:
 1. First, were those which had been formed to evade land ceilings. -> In these cooperatives, rich farmers took on a number of agricultural labourers or ex-tenants as bogus members. Because forming cooperatives helped them evade the land-ceiling laws. -> They also availed off the subsidies which the state offered.
 2. Second, were the state-sponsored cooperative farms in the form of pilot projects, where generally poor, previously uncultivated land was made available to the landless, Harijans, displaced people, etc [There is a related question in 2014]. -> The land quality was poor, proper irrigation facilities were missing + lot of wasteful expenditure as the government was paying for its running.
- Weaknesses of service cooperatives:
 1. The leadership of the cooperative was in the hands of the leading families of the villages. -> They cornered the benefits for themselves. -> Cheap credit was used by them for non-agricultural businesses.
 2. Instead of promoting people's participation it became bureaucratised. -> This bureaucracy was generally unsympathetic towards the people.
 3. Poor banking structure -> Many people did not payback -> This was especially true of the rich and the powerful borrowers. -> Populist measures such as waiving off these loans further dented the credibility of these institutions.
- Reasons behind AMUL's success: 'ANAND PATTERN'
 1. Democratic mode of functioning. -> Members (Most of them small or landless farmers) were involved in the policy making and decision-making process.
 2. Diversification of activities: Butter, baby food, cheese.
 3. Introducing modern technology.
 4. Participative: AI for cattle + Better feed for cattle + Seeds for better fodder + IRMA for professional managers.
 5. Routine change of office-holders.

- Factors affecting success and failure of cooperatives: BS BAVISKAR AND DONALD

ATTWOOD:

1. Role of state -> Less interference the better. -> Punjab vs. Gujarat.
2. Success where extremes of inequality absent -> UP and Bihar
3. Cooperatives success in perishable commodities : Sugarcane and Milk Vs. Cotton.

Modernisation of Indian Tradition(Attribute to Y Singh)

- Indian tradition, prior to modernisation, was based on the four main principles. These were: Holism (Implied a relationship between individual and group in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights -> Community had precedence over the individual), Hierarchy (Caste, occupational life cycles: ashrams, and moral duties: dharma), Continuity (Karma, transmigration of soul, and a cyclical view of change), and Transcendence (legitimisation of traditional values could not be challenged on the basis of rationality derived from non-sacred or profane). :-> These four principles were interlocked with other elements of the Indian social structure.
- Until India's contact with the West through colonisation :-> India's social structure and traditions remained impervious to major elements of modernity. :-> India's encounters with Islam had only reinforced the tradition as Islam itself was traditional.
- As compared to Hindu view :-> Islam had no place for hierarchy; messianic-historical vs. Continuity; Monotheistic vs. transcendence; and in Hindu, holism meant subordination to group, in Islam it had theocratic implications. :-> Yet, despite these dissimilarities, there took place a synthesis between both – Which reinforced the traditional character of Indian society.

How?

- Islam in its Persian transformation had imbibed some elements of hierarchical stratification + Because of conversions of Hindus, Islam developed its own pattern of caste hierarchy + In political structure, too, the feudal monarchical system followed by the Muslim rulers was not very different from that followed by traditional Hindu rulers + Hindu princes held important posts in Mughal empire :-> As a result, there took place a high degree of syncretism between the two systems without any major breakdowns.

Social change in traditional India:

- In traditional India, there were continual instances of social change without implying modernisation. :->These changes were from one traditional structure to another.
- Buddhism and Jainism emerged as protest movements against the Hindu caste system. :-> Interestingly however they eventually led to formation of caste-like groups:->Overall

their impact was limited. :->Their influence was felt more in the political and economic structure.

- Other orthogenetic movements were: Sikhism in North India, Bhakti movement in North and South India, Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj, Gandhian movement.
- Apart from the Bhakti movement in North and South India – which projected egalitarian values and led to synthesis between Hindu and Muslim traditions – all other movements were either break-away processes to establish parallel great tradition or reiterated the established great tradition of Hinduism. :->None of them had a meaningful impact on the political system, the stratification system or the caste order against which it protested.
- Heterogenetic source :-> Islamic Rule.
- Y Singh argues that a stronger motivation behind Islamic conversion, might have been that of the felt structural deprivations (in terms of new economic opportunities, security, and power)than cultural deprivations. :-> The lower caste might have felt the psychological appeal of belonging to the ruling class :-> As caste hierarchy survived among the converted.
- Two important forms of social change which have been active in the Little Tradition have been – Sanskritisation and Islamisation.

SANSKRITISATION

- Term coined by MNS. -> To describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of Indian society. :-> He had observed this in his study of Coorgs in Mysore.
- Sanskritisation took place in two different forms: (A) Historical context (B) Cultural context.
- Historical context: This took place as a result of the lower castes being awarded the status of upper caste because of certain acts of valour, or rise in economic or military power. :-> In most cases of this nature, the dominant castes often gave their nod. In the second form, some lower caste groups begin to emulate the customs and styles of the upper-caste, and give up some of their own low-caste customs. Such as: Meat eating, liquor drinking, animal sacrifice, etc.:-> A major difference from the historical

context (apart from this being a localised affair) is the absence of consensus. Often resistance might be there. :-> This form of Sanskritisation is slow.

- MNS initially used the term 'Brahminism'. But later discarded it because he found it to be too narrow. As in some cases, the lower castes looked up to non-Brahmins such as Kshatriyas, Banias, etc.
- [The Vedic Hindus: Sacrificed animals, drank Soma, ate beef, magico-relialism as religion. These practices have been discontinued. But elements of the caste system has been retained.]
- Prerequisites for Sanskritisation:
 1. Change in the self-image of caste group -> Leading to development of higher caste aspiration.
 2. Improvement in the social and economic status.
 3. Other forms of mobility in the caste system are closed. And the only option left is emulating the upper castes.
 4. Absence of social and psychological pressures among the aspiring castes to identify upper caste status as a negative reference group.
 5. Absence of organised opposition from the upper castes.
- Sanskritisation might not be the result of the lower castes adopting the values of the upper castes, but instead a pragmatic way available to them for status mobility in a closed system of social stratification.
- Hence, Sanskritisation may often disguise the seedbeds of effective modernisation. :-> It is akin to modernisation in so far as the motive forces to challenge deprivations imposed by the Great Traditions are stronger. :-> After independence, with the lower and backward classes having gained political and legal rights to fight their deprivations, formation of politically-oriented caste association is the practice and not Sanskritisation.
- As per Y Singh, S denotes changes in the cultural and not structural aspect of society. While Owen Lynch says it even affects changes in the structural aspect of society (by using reference group theory).
- Harold Gould: The motivational force behind Sanskritisation is not cultural imitation. But an expression of challenge and revolt against the socio-economic deprivations. -> When the impact of external forces like political democratisation, land reforms and other social

reforms break this monopoly of the upper castes, the cultural camouflage of Sanskritisation is thrown away in favour of an open conflict with the privileged classes.

- Criticism: (1) Often the meaning of what Sanskritisation stands for is not clear. Different sociologists have defined it differently -> MNS himself says it is perhaps a 'bundle of concepts' than a single concept. (2) Can't be used to analyse non-Sanskrit societies. (3) Ignores McKim Marriott's observations... (4) Sanskrit influence has not been universal to all parts of the country. In North India, Islamic tradition provided a basis of cultural imitation.
- [Triabalisat: Phenomena where the upper castes imitate tribals.]

What were the forms of structural changes in India society?

Microstructure: Limited to a localised area. :-> Macrostructure: Pan-India.:-> There was autonomy between the two. This also explains why changes and upheavals in the macro-level could seldom generate repercussions in the microstructure. :-> Hence, the continuity of traditional norms, despite encroachment by alien sources.

ISLAMIZATION

- Islamic influence did not lead to modernisation.
- Its political system and judicial system were feudal and hierarchical :-> And did not fully recognise the principles of equality and equity in political and civil rights.
- The structural prerequisites for islamization were similar:
 1. Redefinition of self-image.
 2. Frustration over closure of existing system of stratification and anticipation that conversion will lead to social change.
- Converts to Islam, but retained their culture :-> Let to the development of a Little Tradition of Islam. :-> The lower caste converts began to strive for the status of Ashrafs.
- There has now emerged a new awakening among the Muslims to level-off the differences of their Little traditions, by encouraging purist conformity with the Great Tradition. Ex. Tabligh movement. :-> The process of vertical mobility to new caste status by Islamization is now being replaced by emphasis on horizontal solidarity of the Muslim community.

Process of modernisation

- Started with the establishment of the British rule.
- Also heterogenetic.
- Initially, the contact with the British led to the emergence of a modernising sub-culture or Little Tradition of Westernisation. :-> Emerged during the 17th century in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. :-> Where small number of interpreters, traders, middlemen, were socialised to Western ways.
- Subsequently, sects such as Brahmo Samaj emerged which emphasised western learning and cultural norms.
- With these movements + Strengthening of the British rule :-> Led to the emergence of a modernising Great Tradition.
- Its components were: (1) A universalistic legal system. (2) Expansion of Western education. (3) Urbanisation and industrialisation. (4) Spread of modern means of communication and transport (5) Social reform.
- Structural modernisation also took place :-> Modern bureaucracy, judiciary, army, new class of business elite, political elite emerged.
- These modernisation structures had a uniform character throughout the country. :-> Their development led to articulation of nationalist aspirations in the country :-> Which was a major step in the growth of modernisation.
- However, the growth of modernisation was selective and segmental. :-> The process was not integrated with the microstructure of Indian society, such as caste, family and village communities. :-> Here the British were apprehensive to interfere, following the experience of the 1857 revolt.
- Freedom movement ushered in a new political culture of modernisation. :-> Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi (one foot in tradition) at the peak of Westernisation process in India signifies the orthogenetic response of Indian tradition to the new challenges of social change.
- Post-Independence:-> The discontinuity between Little and Great Tradition, and between micro and macrostructure has been done away with.

- Introduction of adult suffrage + federal parliamentary democracy + legal reforms in Hindu marriage +CDPs + Land reforms + Elective village panchayats :> These have all led to modernisation of India.

Sources of threat to modernisation of India:

1. Democratisation without spread of civic culture (education).
2. Rise in media participation + aspiration without proportionate increase in resources.
3. Verbalisation of welfare ideology without delivery.
4. Over-urbanisation without industrialisation.
5. Modernisation without meaningful change in stratification system.

- Gunnar Myrdal:>Asian Drama :> Reverse in Asia than what happened in Europe :> Democracy preceded strong and independent state :> Because of 'soft state' policy pursued by India after independence, the in-egalitarian structure of society continued to grow :>As leadership did not attack the root of the problem.

Conclusion:> As the process of modernisation becomes all encompassing, it also generates inter-structural tensions and conflicts between traditions. :> Future course of modernisation will depend on how these tensions are resolved as modernisation gathers momentum.

Sanskritisation and Westernisation

MNS defines Westernisation as the “changes brought about in the Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule.”

:> Establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture, etc, are all by-product of Westernisation.

As per MNS, the increase in Westernisation does not retard the process of Sanskritisation. Both go on simultaneously. And to some extent, increase in westernisation accelerates the process of Sanskritisation. . For instance, the postal facilities, railway facilities, buses, etc, which are fruits of Westernisation render more organised religious pilgrimages, meetings, caste solidarities, etc, than they were possible in the past.

Like Sanskritisation, Westernisation can only analyse cultural changes and have no scope for systematic explanation of changes in the social structure.

MNS prefers the term Westernisation to Modernisation. Because he argues Modernisation presupposes rationality of goals. He says rationality can only be predicted of the means and not of the ends.

MNS also uses the term secularisation. :-> It is part of the process of westernisation and it emerged after independence as a national ideology. + Also by westernisation he primarily means the impact of British on Indian society.

But the term Westernisation too is not without complications. Srinivas equates Westernisation with the British impact on India but this too narrow since after independence the impact of Russian and American versions of modernisation in India has been considerable.

Moreover for many new elites in India as in other parts of Asia, the term Westernisation as a pejorative connotation because its association with former colonial domination of these countries by the west. It is therefore more value-loaded than the term modernisation.

Little and Great Tradition

- The use of concepts of little and great tradition to analyse social change was used by Robert Redfield in his studies of Mexican communities.
- Influenced by this :-> Milton Singer and McKim Marriott applied it to India.
- Argues that civilisation or structure of tradition (which includes both social & cultural structure) grows in two stages:
 - (A) Through Orthogenetic or indigenous evolution.
 - (B) Through Heterogenetic encounters, i.e., contacts with other cultures or civilisations.
- The social structure of these civilisations operates at two levels:
 - (A) At the level of folk or unlettered peasants. -> The culture processes here constitute the 'Little Tradition'.
 - (B) At the level of elite or 'reflected few'. -> The cultural processes here constitute the 'Great Tradition'.

There is, however, constant interaction between the two.

- Changes in the cultural system can occur either through the interaction between the two traditions in the orthogenetic or in the heterogenetic process of individual growth.
- In this approach it is assumed that all civilisations start from a primary or orthogenetic level of cultural organisation and later diversified, either through orthogenetic or heterogenetic changes.
- The pattern of change is generally from orthogenetic to heterogenetic. :-> The direction of change is from folk or peasant to urban cultural structure.
- In the final stage, it results into a global, universalised pattern of culture.

Milton Singer:

1. India's 'Great tradition' was continuous with its 'Little Tradition' because India had a indigenous civilisation which had been fashioned out from its pre-existing folk or regional culture.
2. This cultural continuity was a product and cause of a common cultural consciousness shared by most Indians and expressed in mental outlook and ethos.
3. This common cultural consciousness has been formed because of sacred books, sacred objects, Brahmins, etc.
4. That in a primary civilisation like India's – cultural continuity with the past is so great that even accepting 'modernising' and 'progress' ideologies does not result in linear form of social and cultural change – But may result in traditionalising modern innovations.
5. Singer says that while modernising influences are changing the Indian society and culture, they have not destroyed its basic structure and pattern-> That is, the Indian structure is so flexible and rich that many Indians have accepted many modern innovations without loss of their Indianness.

McKim Marriott: Kishan Garhi in North India-> Finds constant interaction between the Little and the Great tradition.

1. Universalisation: Elements of Little Tradition – indigenous customs, deities and rites – circulate upwards to the level of the Great Tradition and are accepted.

2. Parochialisation: Some elements of the Great Tradition circulate downwards to become organic part of the Little Tradition and lose much of their original form in the process.

Universalisation is similar to Sankritisation. On the other hand, Parochialism refers to an inverted form of Sanskritisation. This MNS had not mentioned.

Advantages of LT and GT:

1. Comparative studies of cultures can be done which is not possible in the case of Sanskritisation and Westernisation.
2. Broader in coverage as it takes into account heterogenetic and orthogenetic sources of change.

Weakness: Suffers from culturological bias. -> Neglects structural aspects of change.

Multiple Traditions

- Some sociologists argue that India is too complex to be explained either through Sanskritisation and Westernisation, or through Little or Great Tradition.
- Advocates include SC Dube.
- Dube offers a six-fold classification of traditions in India each of which is to be studied in rural as well as urban contexts to evaluate change. These are: Classical tradition, emergent national tradition, regional tradition, local tradition, western tradition, and local subcultural traditions of social groups.

Approaches to study modernisation:

- Can be grouped under two categories: Structural and evolutionary.
- Structural approach :-> Checks for the presence of certain variables :-> These are: social mobilisation, growth of communication, media exposure, democratic institutions, technological and economic resources of the country, etc. :-> If these variables are present in the social system, then modernisation is supposed to follow.
- Evolutionary approach:->Treats modernisation as an evolutionary stage in the human history. :-> Can be S-F or Dialectical. :->Dialectical treats breakdown of established political, economic and other structures of society as necessary and inevitable moving

towards modernisation. :->Modernisation is gauged on the basis of changes in the stratification system, system of property ownership, and ownership of productive resources in the economy.

SF approach:->Treats modernisation as a stage in evolution :->According to TP -> Modernisation follows a succession of EUs. :-> The sequence of evolution is set up 4 pre-requisite universals : LSR-T:->Communication with language, Social organisation based on kinship, Religion and technology. :-> On these universals like: Stratification, bureaucracy, money and market complex, democratic associations, etc., rise. :-> As per Parsons, structural breakdown in modernisation occurs due to cultural or historical factors the sequence of evolution is reversed, or, universals become far too rigid and offer more than normal resistance to further evolution. :-> For ex. India- Bureaucracy has developed but poor growth in spheres of communication, kinship, tech, social stratification, money market complex, etc.

Dialectical Approach

- Yogendra Singh says that in India, Marxist approach did influence some scholars but as a whole failed to develop a scientific tradition of thinking and research.
- He says this might be because Indian sociology was more influenced by British sociology and social anthropology with its functional orientation exercised on its methodology and scope.
- Among the early studies based on the dialectical approach, includes:
 - a) DD Kosambi's interpretation of Indian history from a class viewpoint in the 'chronological order of successive developments in the means and relations of production'.
 - b) DP Mukherji's evolutionary formulation of the stages of social development in India, guided by economic institutions.
 - c) Studies of caste based on economic interpretation.
 - d) Other prominent Marxist scholars are: SA Dange (India from Primitive Communism to Slavery) and AR Desai's (Social Background of Indian Nationalism).
- DP Mukherjee: Focuses on the encounters of the Indian tradition with the West. This on the one side unleashed many forces of cultural contradictions and on the other side

gave rise to a new middle-class. The rise of these forces, according to him, generates a dialectical process of conflict and synthesis.

- AR Desai: Nationalism is the product of material conditions created by British colonialism and it (nationalism) did not exist in pre-British India. :-> The British rule simultaneously led to economic disintegration as well as economic reforms which released new social consciousness and class structure from which nationalism followed. As per Desai, different classes generated specific grievances against the British rule. :-> The industrialists desired freedom for unobstructed industrialisation of India and protection of native industries. :-> The educated classes demanded Indianisation of services. :-> Agriculturalists demanded reduction of land tax. :-> Workers demanded better conditions of work and wages. :-> The nation as a whole demanded freedom of association and press, assembly, elected legislatures, and finally complete independence.
- Limitation: Lack of empirical data. The studies are often historiographic which can be easily challenged. :-> Despite this limitation, they provide useful hypothesis which can be further tested.

Cognitive Historical Approach

- Has been postulated by Louis Dumont.
- He conceives Indian society as systems of cognitive structures.
- The focus in the study of social change in India – as per Dumont – should be on how the Indian mind reacts to the Western culture.
- And how does the cognitive system of Indian tradition react under the impact of the cognitive elements of Western culture such as Individualism, freedom, democracy, etc. Does it accept it or rejects it?
- The contrast between the Indian and the Western cognitive system lies in the fact that while the Western system is Individualistic, the Indian system is Holistic. -> This contrast also poses the nature of tension between tradition versus modernity in India.
- In the traditional social structure of India, the principle of holism was maintained by the hierarchical organisation of castes based on the concept of moral order or dharma. :-> From this followed the ideas of social inequality, purity and pollution, and priest-king alliance to enforce social order through Charismatic Authority.

- So, is Indian tradition impervious to modernisation? No, says Dumont. Why?
 1. Because the ideas of holism and hierarchy were dominant even in pre-modern Western tradition.
 2. Second, because the traditional Indian social system did recognise the legitimacy of social and cultural innovation through the institutionalised role of Renouncer or Sanyasi. :-> Who was authorised to re-interpret tradition and thereby change it.
- Dumont's primary focus is to observe change by looking at changes in the 'ideological structures' of a society.
- Advantages: (1) Allows comparative study of cultural themes. (2) Limited in scope.
- Disadvantages: How do you study the impact of Islamic culture on Indian society.

Dipankar Gupta: India's mistaken modernity:

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

He says, Contemporary is not necessarily modern:

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

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

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

Only consumerism is not modernity:

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

Traditionalism is often defined as modernity:

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

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

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

Western Impact on India

1. The encounter between the cultural traditions of Hinduism and Islam was essentially of two traditional world views. :-> The value system of hierarchy and holism were predominant in both traditions.
2. The contact with the West was a contract between a pre-modern and a modernising cultural system.
3. The first contact was with the Portuguese in the 15th and the 16th centuries. In orientation, their impact was proselytizing and predatory, and brought with them pre-modern values and religious prejudices. They were followed by the Dutch and the French. The Dutch were mainly interested in commerce while the French had a political goal but their impact was marginal. Only the British had a dominant influence. -> Therefore, the western impact on the Indian culture has been primarily of the British.
- 4.

Idea of Indian Village and Village studies

Village studies

VS during the 1950s and 1960s were major areas of study -> Because apart from being a demographic and structural reality (70%), Indian village is also an important ideological category. -> The village has been seen as a place where one can see or observe 'real India'.

AB says Indian village was not merely a place where people lived, it had a design in which were reflected the basic values of Indian civilisation.

Idea of Indian village includes: Colonial Idea, nationalist idea, and post-colonial studies which led to emergence of different ideas.

Colonial view: Initial writers were: Metcalfe and James Mill :-> Metcalfe described the Indian village as 'little republics' having nearly everything within themselves, almost independent

of foreign relations. :-> Though not all colonial administrators agreed with Metcalfe's view it became the most popular view.

Nationalist view:-> It was initially inspired by the view of the colonial administrators. :-> Gandhi: Was careful not to glorify the decaying villages of British India – he nevertheless celebrated the so-called simplicity and authenticity of the village life, an image derived from the colonial representation of Indian village. -> The decadence of the Indian village was seen as a result of the colonial rule and therefore village reconstruction was along with political independence, an important process for recovery of the lost self.

Nehru did not agree with Gandhi. :-> Gandhi "We can realise truth and non-violence only in the simplicity of the village life".

Panditji, "I do not understand why a village should necessarily embody truth and non-violence. A village, normally speaking, is backward intellectually and culturally and no progress can be made from a backward environment. Narrow minded people are much more likely to be untruthful and violent. "

Post-colonial view:-> It has continued to treat village as the basic unit of Indian society :-> Their studies led to village studies. :-> They distinguished book view and field view, and established a separate discipline in sociology.

Method used to study :-> Participant observant was the most common method. Scholars: Oscar Lewis, D N Majumdar, S C Dube, etc.

While the economist relied more on quantitative methodologies, the work of anthropologist and sociologist was more qualitative.

General features of the village:

1. Unlike the tribal communities, Indian village had a considerable degree of diversity -> Both internal and external diversity. -> There were different types of villages in different parts of the country. And within the same region, villages varied.
2. Stereotype image of Indian village as self-sufficient was contested. -> Beteille said that as far as living memory went there was no reason to believe that Indian village was fully self-

sufficient in the economic sphere -> MNS said Indian village was 'always part of a wider entity'.

3. Unity' of the village was highlighted by most anthropologists.

While villages had horizontal ties, it was the vertical ties that governed much of the life of an average person in the village (eg: Jajmani relations).

4. Village provided a source of identity to its residents. -> MNS said insult to one's village was to be treated as insult to one's family.

5. Dube argued that though Indian villages varied greatly – they had a number of common features [Remember Lagaan]: (a) Represented a kind of solidarity, which was different from that of a kin, caste and class. (b) Different castes and communities were integrated in its economic, social and ritual pattern of ties through mutual and reciprocal obligations. (c) People of the group faced the outside world as an organised, compact whole.

Social structure of village:

A. Caste system:->In the village, the society is divided into five castes-> Occupation depends on it. :-> The popular impression derived from the idea of varna that arranged groups in an order with Brahmins at the top and Harijans at the bottom was right only partly. :-> The empirical studies pointed out that (as per MNS) 'Only the two opposite ends of the hierarchy were relatively fixed, in the middle, there was considerable room for debate regarding mutual position.'

Caste not the only factor which determined social status. :-> In his study at Shamirpet, Dube identified six factors that contributed towards the status differentiation.

B. Land and class:-> Some sociologists have highlighted overlap between caste and land -> Others have underlined the primacy of land over all other factors in determining social hierarchy in the village. -> Oscar Lewis comparing Brahmin village with Jat village showed that while landowners were generally of higher caste in Indian villages, it is their position as landowners, rather than caste membership per se, which gives them status and power.

C. Gender differences:-> Village Studies were not completely 'gender blind'. -> After caste, gender was the most factor which governed division of labour. -> Men had near control over women's sexuality, whom she interacted with, etc.

Adrian Mayer reported from his study in Central India that the village well provided with the place for all non-Harijan women to gossip. But even here they were not allowed to spend as much time as they wanted.

Men also had complete over women's sexuality. While men could play around, women couldn't.

The various views on the Indian village can be divided as:

1. Autonomous self :-> Hendry Maine, Charles Metcalf :-> Cradle to grave :-> Autonomous :-> No deep linkages with the outside world. :-> Metcalfe: Little republics – last when nothing else lasts.
2. Unity and reciprocity image:->
 - a. Perfect unity :-> Indian villages do not contain any conflict.
Wiser: Reciprocal relationships existed in the villages.
:->MNS: Individuals in his village had a sense of identification with their village and an insult to one village had to be avenged like an insult to one's wife or one's family.
:-> Every village projects an all-India image. :->SCD: Shaminpet village :-> Also S-F :-> Villages varied greatly in internal structure and organisation, in their life-ways and thought ways they had similarities all over India. These have been cited above.
Finds Hindus and Muslims living parallel to each other. :-> Muslims participated in Hindu ceremonies. :-> But says this is not representative of other Indian villages.
 - b. Unity as well as cleavage:-> Hibert and AB.
Hibert:-> Within the village there is integration as well as cleavage. :-> There is solidarity as well as conflict. :-> Ex. Kammas Vs. Reddies. (But have integration within). Hence, caste unites and divides.
AB:-> Sreepuram, Tanjore. :-> Sreepuram constitutes a whole in a physical sense, but not in the social sense.
3. Reject unity-reciprocity hypothesis:-> Oscar Lewis and FG Bailey. :-> Reject Wiser's argument that there is no coercion in the jajmani system :->Lewis and Bailey say the

jajmani relationship is structured by dominant class/caste. It works because coercive sanctions are in the hands of the dominant caste:-> Lower castes do not protest because of fear of force.

4. Conclusion:-> (1) These studies helped in contesting the dominant stereotypes of the Indian village made popular by the colonial administrators. -> They showed how Indian villages were not 'isolated communities'. -> They showed that Indian economy had been well integrated into the broader economy and society even before the colonial rule. (2) Offered an alternative to the dominant 'book view' of India constructed by Indologists and orientalists from the Hindu scriptures. -> Showed caste over varna -> Showed caste system was not completely closed. (3) It was through VS that concepts like sanskritisation, dominant castes, segmental structures, harmonic and disharmonic systems emerged.
5. Current view:->1950s and 1960s – Growth of village studies – MNS, SCD, Mckimm Marriott, DN Majumdar, etc. – Reasons: (1) Economic development was not possible without understanding the structure and culture of village society – Economic studies did not provide a comprehensive picture of village life – (2) Indian society was changing very fast, anthropologists needed to record details of traditional social order before it was too late. (MNS at max 10 years) - (3) Social Anthropology going through a crisis of its own as their subject matter – the tribes were disappearing. (4) The focus of the policy makers was on revival of agriculture.

How village studies are carried out:->Field work – mostly on the participant observation method. :-> majority: S-F :-> Oscar Lewis : Marxist

Dominant themes: Caste structure – class structure and distribution of land –kinship groups and structures – gender relations – religious practices.

Concepts developed through VS:-> Sanskritisation – Dominant class - Cumulative and dispersed stratification – Harmonious and disharmonious systems.

Criticism :-> (1) P.O :-> Elite bias :-> Because primarily observed the upper caste. (2) MNS and AB were not allowed to visit lower castes. :-> Exception: Juan Mencher – Also took into perspective the subaltern view. (3) Y Singh: VS too microscopic to understand macro (4)

Feminists: Ignore the gender angle. (5) Tended to be conservative and ignore sources of conflict and change – seen as influence of anthropology.

Today, the interest in VS has gone down. :->Dipankar Gupta:-> Says village is shrinking as a sociological reality, though it still exists as space. Nowhere does one find the level of "hopeless disenchantment" as one finds in rural India. In urban slum, there is squalor, filth, but there is hope. -> Rural institutions are fading away -> Joint family is disappearing, rural caste hierarchy is losing its tenacity.

Field View Vs. Book View. Vs. Field work (statistics)

Field View scores over BV because BV is partial as (i) Based on texts written in ancient times. (ii) Partial because the texts were written by upper-caste Hindus. (iii) FV provides a grassroots picture. -> More scientific methods of observation are employed.

Land tenure system

- Tenure system identifies the nature of relationship which exists between the owner of the land and the cultivator.
- Private property and peasant proprietorship existed even in the vedic period.
- The three main types of land tenures:
 1. Ryotwari system: Independent single tenure.
 2. Mahalwari system: Joint village tenure.
 3. Zamindari system: Landlord tenure :-> 10/11 government and 1/11 zamindar :-> Zamindar became the functionless parasite class, interested in getting the maximum rent from the tenants. -> Led to absentee landlordism.
- Feudalism versus semi-feudalism debate

Features of caste system -> Look at Ghurye

- Caste :-> Portuguese term 'casta'. -> Literally means colour
- In sociological literature -> Caste refers to the traditional system of hierarchical division of labour in Indian society.

- Vedic literature -> Rig Veda – Talks of Varna to refer to colour. :-> Arya varna is seen as White; while Krsha Varna is seen as Dark. The dark colour also referred to as ‘dasas’.
- Within the Aryans, the community was divided into: Brahman (poetry for Gods), Rajanya (governance) and Vis (Animal husbandry and cultivation – were common people). :-> Until now, these three were based on individual competence and not on the basis of birth.
- A later addition in the Rig Veda – Purusukta – Refers to four divisions – Mouth, Arms, Thies (Vaishyas) and Feet (Sudra). -> It has been argued by some that this was a later addition as it reflects a society which is based on settled agriculture. :-> The meaning of varna also changed from colour to occupational :-> Brahmin: Priest; Kshatriya: Governance and Warfare; Vaishyas: Cultivation and trade; Sudras: Served them all.
- The reason for shift from colour to occupation: (i) Complexity of DoL increased as society developed. (ii) Intermarriage (some say because A were short of women) (iii) Migration from C Asia of more fair men was continuing. :-> Now the basis of hierarchy became access to rituals which was strongly regulated.
- As political system developed :-> Janas (tribal organisations) transformed into Janapadas (settled villages). :-> Each community was given land and a part of the produce was given as taxes. :-> Later these janapadas grew into kingdoms.
- Acc to Dipankar Gupta: Institution of private property in land did not exist. And all the land was controlled and owned by the king. It was assigned to different hereditary endogamous groups in return for taxes.
- The artisan communities which had developed, migrated to the towns:-> And worked for merchants, called Shrenis. The head of Shreni was called Shreni Shresth.
- After the Mauryan empire -> The centralised administrative structure broke down and various regional administrators declared independence. :-> Various centres of political power emerged. :-> The new political leaders began making land grants to attract loyalty :-> As a result, feudalism of society began. :-> The community of artisans who were independent during the Mauryan period became dependent on villages where land grants were made. -> They migrated to villages :-> As a result, single-caste villages changed to multi-caste villages -> Therefore, with feudalism, jatis developed.

Problems of religious minority in India:

- Who is a religious minority?

A religious community which is numerically inferior and experiences a sense of deprivation and persecution because of its lack of numerical strength is known as a religious minority. :-> Which is why Parsis are often not regarded as a minority.

- This feeling is known as minority consciousness.

Communities	Population	Literacy rate	Sex ratio
Hindu	79.8	63.6	939
Muslims	14.2	57	951
Christians	2.3	74.34	1023
Sikhs	1.7	67.51	903 (but has improved)
Buddhists	0.7	71.83	965
Jains	0.4	86	940

- What are the problems of the minorities?

Firstly, this is a creation of modern times -> Pre-1857, there was no such thing as minority consciousness -> Initially fought for jobs then for political power. -> Eventually led to the partition of India.

1. Muslims

- ✓ 14.2% population. Increased from 13.4%. But decadal increase is declining.
- ✓ Muslims have the highest number of illiterates — nearly 43% of population (Jains have the least). Why? (a) Majority are Hindu converts from lower castes, who were disadvantaged section of the society (b) As they were replaced by British as rulers, they initially rejected the English education.
- ✓ The National Education Policy of the government has stressed the need to increase literacy rate among the Muslims.
- ✓ Fear of communal violence.
- ✓ Low representation in civil services and police.
- ✓ Higher representation in prisons + under trials + Lowest representation in Parl since 1947.

- Economically weak -> Because upper-class migrated + artisans left. -> Because of modern industry, artisans have become more poor.
- Lack of spread of modern education -> Highlighted by Sachar Committee. -> Another fallout has been that because of the lack of spread of modern education, they see modernisation/ westernisation as a threat to their identity.
- Javed Alam studied rickshaw pullers in Hyderabad and found: (a) All were Muslims. (b) All were trained artisans under the Nizam rule. Post-independence -> Less value for their skills.
- Kerala and Karnataka has reservation for entire Muslim population.
- Rise of cultural nationalism -> This is giving rise to communal violence.

2. Sikhs

- ✓ Have least sex and child sex ratio among all religious communities.
- Benefitted from green revolution -> But benefits of GR uneven -> Produced undesirable social consequences + land alienation -> Rise of extremism and separatist movement.
- Francine Frankel -> Tanjore, Pallakad, Godawari, and Ludhiana -> Greater than 10 profitable -> 5-10: just manage -> Below 2.5: Can't survive.
- Sucha Singh Gill -> Between 71-81 -> 60% marginal farmers lost their land.
- Premature mechanisation -> Leading to shrinking labour demand + But industry has not developed because of lack of incentives.

3. Parsis: Low fertility rate. -> Declining population.

4. Christians:

- They have been living in India since 100 AD.
- Around 70 per cent of the Christians pop is Dalit Christian. -> They face political, economic and educational backwardness.
- Dalit Christians do not access to reservation as the Indian Constitution does not provide for reservation on the basis of religion.

Major recommendations of the Sachar Committee:

1. Set up an equal opportunity commission to look into minority grievances.

2. Provide legal mechanism to address complaints of minorities in matters of employment, housing, schooling, and obtaining bank loans.
3. Establish a delimitation procedure so that constituencies with high minority pop are not reserved for SCs.
4. Creation of a National Data Bank where relevant data about different socio-religious communities could be stored to facilitate any study and subsequent action.
5. Institutionalise the process of evaluating content of textbooks.
6. Encourage UGC to link allocations to college to college diversity.
7. Designate Arzals as MBCs. And Ajlaf as OBC. [Ahraf are the upper castes]
8. Recognise degrees from madras for government services.
9. Provide for nomination of minority members in local bodies.

Government schemes to promote education among minority

1. Nai Manzil -> Bridge course.
2. Padho Pardesh -> For overseas.
3. Taleem-e-Balingah -> Teachers are trained.
4. Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya -> Seats are reserved for minorities.

Skill development schemes for minorities:-> USTAAD – NAI ROSHNI – HUNAR SE ROZGAAR – HIMAYAT.

Urbanisation in India

- The pattern of urban growth in India has been shaped by two factors:
 - a) Colonial rule.
 - b) Strategy of development post-independence.
- In 1901 -> India had a urban population of around 11 per cent. In 1951-> 17 per cent. :->At present, around 32 per cent of India is urban.
- Urban economy contributes about 60% of India's GDP.
- Steps taken by government: SCM, AMRUT, H for A, MoU with Singapore.
- Private city concept: Seems to be developing in India. Thus implies that cities grow in a manner that those cities which already are in an advantageous position continue to grow bigger – suppressing smaller neighbouring cities.

This can be seen in the fact that the metros and other main urban cities (the class 1 and class 2 cities) have an overwhelming share of the urban population.

Why urbanisation is important?

- A). Cities are engines of social and economic development.
- B). Cities generate jobs + Generate wealth through economies of scale.
- C). National economic growth and poverty-reduction efforts will be determined by productivity of cities and towns.

According to the report of the High Powered Committee appointed by M/o UD :->\$39-bn is required over the next 20 years to improve urban areas.

1. Overlapping of institutions. :-> working at cross purposes.
2. India only G-20 country which doesn't have a mayor.
3. Institutional reforms needed
4. Ad-hoc development should be given up for area-based development and project formulation after detailed analysis.

Reforms needed in ULBs

- The Constitution has left the degree of decentralisation of financial powers to LBs for the states to decide. :-> However, few states have done genuine decentralisation.
- States have had a poor record in appointing Finance Commission.
- Local bodies do not have independent financial resources. There is no specific list of taxes assigned to them in the Constitution and they have to depend on the state government.

Child Labour

- Refers to the condition where children are forced to lead adult life and often have to forego opportunities for their physical and psychological development.
- 23.8 mn child labours in India.

- According to estimates the maximum number of child labours (around 80 per cent) are employed in the agricultural sector as cultivators and agricultural labourers. The remaining work in industries.
- The common industries where child labour is common include: Aligarh's lock industry + Mirzapur's carpet weaving industry + Jaipur and Surat's gem and stone cutting industry + Sivakashi's cracker industry.
- Amendment: Amends the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986:-> Bans child labour up to 14 years of age. :-> And regulates employment between 15-18 years.
- A provision of the law allows child labour below the age of 14 in family enterprises, agriculture, house-based work, and artisanship.
- Govt initiatives to curb CL includes: RTE Act + Since 1988, government implementing the National Child Labour Project: Children rescued between 9-14 years are enrolled in the NCLP Special Training Centres. Where they are provided bridge education, vocation training, etc. And then formalised into formal education. :-> Those in the 5-8 years: Are put in the formal schooling system.
- States such as Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, UP and Madhya Pradesh -> Contribute maximum to child labour.

Why child labour continues?

1. Poverty.
2. Debt bondage.
3. Lack of rural employment.
4. Education not leading to immediate and enough jobs.
5. Skilling missing (we can link this to tapping into the indigenous skills and then adapt them to the modern technology).
6. Poor implementation of the existing law.

Why industries prefer child labour?

1. Low pay.
2. Nimble fingers.
3. Docile.
4. Fast learners.

Informal sector

- The concept of informal sector was used by Hart for Ghana to refer to economic activities outside the organised sector. These people were carrying out clandestine activities to survive.
- ILO -> Says there is a kind of labour-market dualism in the 3rd world countries where only a part of the labour is able to access regular, skilled work. The majority of the workers work in conditions where there is lack of fixed income, decent conditions of work and job security with social security benefits.
- The informal economy is characterized by less job security, lower incomes, an absence of access to a range of social benefits and fewer possibilities to participate in formal education and training programmes – in short, the absence of key ingredients of decent work opportunities.
- In particular, large informal economies prevent countries from developing a sizeable, diversified export base, as the capacity of companies to grow is constrained.
- OECD says an increase in the incidence of informality by 10 percentage points is equivalent to reduction in export diversification of 10 per cent.
- Informal employment makes it difficult for workers to acquire formal generic skills that can be used productively in a variety of occupations.
- Around 93 per cent of the labour works is in the informal sector.
- Ajit Ghosh studied the informal sector and found that 54% were self-employed, while 33 per cent were in casual-wage employment, while another 11 per cent in regular-wage employment.
- Only 4 per cent of women work in the formal sector. While only 10 per cent of the males work in the formal sector.
- It was expected that post-economic liberalisation, the trend of informalisation will decrease. But on the contrary the speed of informalisation has increased. :-> In 1991, 91 per cent of the workers were in the informal sector.
- Trade Unions have failed to unionise the informal sector workers.
- Jean Breman

He says informal sector covers the whole gamut of economic activities, characterised by, small-scale industries, low-capital investment, inferior technology, low productivity, minimum formal training, easy entry, and lack of protection and support from the state.

The sectors in the informal economy include:

Construction workers, rag pickers, newspaper boys, rag pickers, parking attendants, market-stall holders, etc.

Berman divides the informal sector into following classes:

1. Upper-most class

- Petty bourgeoisie, small traders, owners of mini workshops, labour contractors, etc.
- Consists of people from the middleclass and middle-castes.
- They often earn more than the members of the formal sector.
- Taken pride in being autonomous.

2. Sub-proletariat

- Artisans, homeworkers, vendors, etc.
- Berman refers to this class as a “colourful collection of semi-skilled and unskilled workers”.
- They have no job security. They can be hired and fired on will.
- Some of them stay in the city temporarily. And some of them stay in the city permanently. Those who are permanent residents are able to invest in the education and health of their family members.

3. Paupers

- No fixed accommodation.
- Lack control over means of production.
- Do not have the stamina or the health to earn a livelihood.

Some other points:

And when economies are opening up, the informal economy often acts as an adjustment buffer for workers who lose their jobs, further depressing decent working standards in a manner that would not occur if alternative employment opportunities were available in the formal economy. In a nutshell, informal sector firms lack the capacity to generate sufficient profits to reward innovation and risk-taking – two essential ingredients for long-term

economic success. Estimates suggest that countries analysed in this OECD study lose up to 2 percentage points of average economic growth due to their informal labour markets.

Negative impact of globalisation on informal economy:

1. New sources of economic shocks enter the economy.
2. Less ability to raise fiscal resources.

Slums and deprivation in urban areas

- The term slum is used to describe informal settlements within cities which have inadequate housing and miserable living conditions.
- The census defines slums as 'residential areas where dwellings are unfit for human habitation' because they are dilapidated, cramped, poorly ventilated, unclean, or any other reason which are detrimental to safety and health of the residents.
- Slums is not a new phenomena. They have been part of most cities which have accompanied urbanisation and industrialisation.
- Main reasons for slums coming up:
 - (A) Rapid and non-inclusive pattern of urbanisation.
 - (B) Increasing rural migration to urban areas.
 - (C) Unaffordable urban housing.
- Between 2001 and 2011, India's urban population increased from 28 to 31 per cent. Also, the total number of million-plus cities increased from 35 to 53 -> They also account for 43 per cent of India's total urban population.
- Characteristics of slums:
 1. Houses which lack sanitation, drinking water access, health and educational facilities.
 2. Overcrowding and concession.
 3. Often houses are built on government land.
 4. Higher incidences of deviant behaviour: Crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug, beggary, etc.
 5. Functionally integrated into the city, but poorly integrated into the social life of the city.

6. MSA Rao: Slums are not areas of cultural poverty. Rather they are centres of cultural prosperity, as the residents of the slums glorify, practice and promote their culture.
7. MS Gore: Slums and urban growth are complementary to each other :-> They provide workers for the construction of urban areas.
8. AR Desai: Slums are a conscious creation of political and economically dominant class. :-> Industrialists (Economically DC) want slums for procurement of cheap labour on a continuous basis. + Politically DC want slum to win elections
9. Y Singh:-> Urbanisation without industrialisation :-> Threats to modernity.
10. Trilok Singh:-> Slums put a lot of pressure on the urban infrastructure and people in slums experience a sense of relative and absolute deprivation :-> Therefore in search of quick money they get into drug peddling and other deviant acts.

Slums

- Definition:

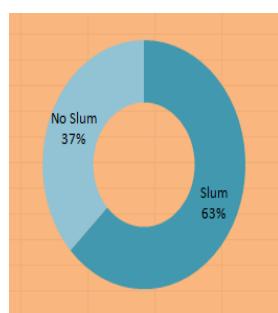
A Slum, for the purpose of Census, has been defined as

Residential areas where dwellings are unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of street, lack of ventilation, light, or sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors which are detrimental to the safety and health.

- Slums can be notified, recognized or identified.

- Census 2011 results:

1. India has around 4,000 statutory towns; out of these around 63 per cent have slums.



2. 17 per cent of the households in urban India are slums.
3. 38 per cent of all slums are in the 46 million-plus cities.
4. 64 per cent of the urban population had mobile phones.

- Creation of slums – as per the National Institute of Urban Affairs – has been due to:
 1. Migration to cities -> Explain (Uneven growth + Decline in agriculture).
 2. Unaffordable housing.
 3. Rapid and non-inclusive pattern of urbanization.

Characteristics of Slums:

- Poorly designed housing on unauthorised land.
- Over-crowding and congestion.
- Lack of public utilities and facilities, such as, drainage, sanitation, water taps, electric light, health centres, common latrines and public parks, etc
- high incidence of deviant behaviour such as crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug use, beggary, illegitimacy, illicit distilling of liquor, gambling and other social evils
- It does not mean that all those residing in slums are necessarily associated with such deviant behaviour. -slums- socially and physically provide greater opportunity for such deviant behaviour.
- Though the slum-dwellers are functionally integrated to the city life. These areas are looked down upon and considered inferior. Such a reaction from - slums into social isolation, detached
- People living in slums are not always poor and marginalised. Looking at the growing cost of urban land, some of the traders and land mafias encroach over the land in slums and rent

- it out. They wait till the land gets authorised, which usually happens just before the election. Therefore slum operates as a big source of profit for them.
- People living in particular slum largely come from one area - they address each other in primary kinship terms and follow traditional form of rituals. Thus slums - evolving - mini cultural Centre.
- Slums have a culture of their own, which Marshall Clinard has termed as 'a way of life'.
- MSA Rao advocate that slums are not the centres of cultural poverty rather they are centres of cultural prosperity. People living in slums glorify, practice and promote their culture.
- MS Gore conceded that slums and urban growth are complementary to each other because for the construction of roads, buildings migrant workers come from different pockets of the country. They offer their service at a cheaper rate to the mainstream occupation. He further said that slum provides emotional comfort to people and therefore slum is the lifeline of urbanity, it's the sweet spot on the beautiful face of urban India.
- Marxist sociologists point out that urban centres develop out of the sweat and blood of poor people for which they do not get any benefit. They further consider that most of the people living in slums are accused of crime, drug paddling and other kinds of criminal activities. Slums are used as a source of cheap labour by the urban upper and middle class and therefore growth of slum is talking about exploitation between haves and have-nots in modern society.

