

# **PIONEERS OF INDIAN SOCIOLOGY**

**B.A.(Sociology) – Second Year**

**Paper Code : BASO1925**



**PONDICHERRY UNIVERSITY**

(A Central University)

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

R.V. Nagar, Kalapet, Puducherry – 605 014

### ***Advisory Committee***

1. Prof. Gurmeet Singh  
Vice-Chancellor,  
Pondicherry University
2. Prof. Rajeev Jain  
OSD, C&CR,  
Pondicherry University
1. Dr. Arvind Gupta  
Director,  
Directorate of Distance Education  
Pondicherry University

### ***Review Committee***

1. Dr. C. Aruna  
Professor & Head  
Dept. of Sociology  
Pondicherry University
2. Dr V. Umasri  
Asst. Professor, DDE  
Pondicherry University

### ***Course Writer***

Dr. Diptimayee Sahoo  
Asst. Professor  
School of Social Sciences & Humanities,  
Trident Academy of Technology,  
Bhubaneshwar, Odisha

### ***Academic Support Committee***

1. Dr. A. Punitha  
Asst. Professor, DDE  
Pondicherry University
2. Dr V. Umasri  
Asst. Professor, DDE  
Pondicherry University
3. Dr. Sk. Md. Nizamuddin  
Asst. Professor, DDE  
Pondicherry University

### ***Administrative Support Committee***

1. Dr. A. Saravanan  
Deputy Registrar,  
Directorate of Distance Education  
Pondicherry University

### **Copyright**

*This book may not be duplicated in any way without the written consent of the Pondicherry University except in the form of brief excerpts or quotations for the purpose of review.*

*The information contained herein is for the personal use of the DDE students, Pondicherry University and may not be incorporated in any commercial programs, other books, databases or any kind of software without the written consent of the author. Making copies of this book or any portion, for any purpose other than your own is a violation of copyright laws. The author has used their best efforts in preparing this book and believes that the content is reliable and correct to the best of their knowledge.*

---

**Pioneers of Indian Sociology**

---

**Unit I**

Radhakamal Mukerjee: Social Structure of values. Social Ecology.

**Unit II**

D.P.Mukerjee: Cultural Diversities, Modernization. A.R Desai: State and Society.

**Unit III**

G.S.Ghurye: Caste, Rural Urban Community,

**Unit IV**

Iravati Karve : Kinship Map of India.

**Unit V**

M.N.Srinivas: Sanskritization, Secularization, and Dominant Caste, S.C. Dube: Indian Village, Tradition, Modernization and Development.

**Unit VI**

Andre Beteille: Social Stratification, Peasant Society and Folk Culture, M.S.A. Rao: Social Movements in India

## **References:**

**Dube, S.C. 2005.** *Society in India*, New Delhi: National Book Trust.

**Dube, S.C.1995.** *Indian Village*, London:Routledge.

**Dube, S.C. 1958.** *India's Changing Village*, London:Routledge.

**Srinivas, M.N. 1980.** *India: Social Structure*, New Delhi: HindustanPublishing.

**Srinivas, M. N. 1963,** *Social Change in Modern India*, California, Berkeley: California UniversityPress.

**Singh,Yogendra. 1973,** *Modernization of Indian Tradition*, Delhi: ThomsonPress.

**KarveIrawati. 1961.** *Hindu Society: An interpretation.* Poone: DeccanCollege

**GhuryeG.S.1950.***Caste, ClassandOccupation*, Bombay:PopularPrakashan.

**Ghurye G.S. 1945.** *Culture and Society.* Bombay: PopularPrakashan.

**Majumdar, D.N. 1958.** *Races and Culture of India*, Bombay: Asia PublishingHouse.

**Mukerjee, D.P. 1958.** *Diversities*, Delhi: Peoples PublishingHouse.

Ooman,T.K. and R.N.Mukerjee, 1986. *Indian Sociology: Reflections and Introspections*, Bombay: PopularPrakashan.

**Andre Beteille, 1974.** *Essays in Comparative Sociology*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

**Nagla B.K. 2007.** *Indian Sociological Thought*, New Delhi:Rawat

TABLE OF CONTENTS		
UNIT	TITLE	PAGE NO.
1	Lesson 1.1 - Radhakamal Mukherjee	1
2	Lesson 2.1 - Contributions of Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji	23
	Lesson 2.2 - A R Desai	41
3	Lesson 3.1 - G S Ghurye	53
4	Lesson 4.1 - Irawati Karve	71
5	Lesson 5.1 - M. N. Srinivas	91
	Lesson 5.2 - Shyama Charan Dube	115
6	Lesson 6.1 - Andre Beteille, M.S.A. Rao	127



**UNIT - I****Lesson 1.1 - Radhakamal Mukherjee****Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Methodology
- 1.3 Writings
- 1.4 Theory of Society
- 1.5 Concept of Universal Civilisation
  - 1.5.1 Biological Evolution
  - 1.5.2 Univesalisation
  - 1.5.3 Spiritual Dimensions
- 1.6 Economic Transaction and Social Behaviours
- 1.7 Personality, Society and Values
- 1.8 The Community of Communities
- 1.9 Urban Social Problems
- 1.10 Social Ecology
- 1.11 Conclusion
- 1.12 Check Your Progress

**1.1 Introduction**

Mukherjee emphasized the need for collaboration between the social sciences and the physical sciences in his teachings and writings. The traditional caste networks in indigenous banking, handicrafts, and business were largely overlooked in Indian economics, which was modeled after British economics. Market phenomena or monetary economics were regarded as extensions of economic development. The urban-industrial centers were the focus of the Western economic model.

The market model is not very useful in a country like India, where many economic transactions are governed by caste or tribe. He attempted to demonstrate the connection between economic exchange and conventional networks. India's guilds and castes had a non-competitive system in place. The rules for economic exchange were based on normative Hinduism, or, to put it another way, on the Hindu religion's norms, which stressed interdependence between groups. Because of this, economic

values should be looked at in light of social norms in order to understand rural India. Economic exchange has always been guided by religious and ethical constraints. People are compelled to act in ways that are supported by the group when values enter into their day-to-day lives.

Numerous books on social ecology were written by Radhakamal Mukherjee. He saw social ecology as a complicated formulation that brought together various social sciences. An ecological zone was created through the interaction of biological, geological, and geographical factors. Ecology, on the other hand, is influenced by social, economic, or political factors. Through political conquests, numerous ecological regions in India were made available for human settlement and agrarian development. Ecological zones must be viewed as a dynamic process that involves the environment's challenge and the settlement's response, as there is a clear connection between ecology and society. In order to maintain ecological balance, people must not be carved out of a territory and settled there. Social fabric is weakened or destroyed by such an attempt. Mukherjee deviated from the Western social scientists in his works on social ecology. In place of the chaos brought about by rapid industrialization, social ecology was a superior option. India was a storehouse of values because of its long history. Therefore, the planning for the construction of a new India must focus on value-based development rather than on immediate issues.

Radhakamal Mukherjee wrote a lot about the dangers of cutting down trees. The removal of trees reduces the soil's fertility and exposes it to the ferocity of floods. It is impossible to replenish the topsoil that is washed away by floods or excessive rainfall. As a result, India's forests and woods were a benefit to the environment. He also mentioned the danger of monocropping, which involves cultivating a single cash crop at the expense of crop rotation. The fragile ecosystem was harmed as a result of practices like deforestation and monoculture, which led to serious environmental issues. He advocated bringing together the nation, the village, and the town into a single, comprehensive development process. Controlling urban growth at the expense of the village is necessary. Industries should be decentralized and agriculture should be more diverse.

Radhakamal Mukherjee was always interested in how values affect society. He believed that it was arbitrary to separate value from fact. In human interactions, the facts and values cannot be separated from one another. A normatively conditioned or value-based behavior existed even



in the simplest transaction. The behavior of each society is influenced by the culture and values of that society. As a result, he found that the positivist tradition of the West, which sought to separate values and facts, was untenable when studying a society like India. The west felt a pressing need to break free of church theology and allow scientific inquiry. He emphasized two fundamental points: values transcend religion and ethics. Values are also born out of politics, law, and economics. Human needs become social values, which are internalized in the minds of society's members. Stable were older civilizations like China and India. As a result, values developed and were arranged in a field-by-field hierarchy. Values are not the result of individualistic or subjective goals. They are objectively anchored in the social aspirations and desires of humanity. The following are general and objective values: - observable using empirical techniques.

The aim of Radhakamal Mukherjee's general theory of society was to clarify the principles of a global civilization. He meant to include culture when he used the term civilization. He suggested studying human civilization on three interconnected levels: biological evolution, which has aided civilization's rise and development. As active agents, they have the ability to alter the environment.

In psychosocial aspect individuals are many times portrayed inside the system of race, identity or nationhood. People are viewed as captives of small selves or egos with a narrow or ethnocentric perspective. Humans, on the other hand, have the ability to transcend narrow feelings and achieve universalization—identification with a larger collective, such as one's nation or even the universe itself.

He believes that there is a spiritual component to the civilization. Transcendental heights are gradually being reached by humans. By overcoming the limitations of the existential and biogenic levels, they are ascending the spiritual ladder. Myth and religion serve as the impetus or driving force in this art. The spirituality of civilization is highlighted by humankind's search for unity, wholeness, and transcendence. He stated that reducing the glaring disparities in wealth and power between nations was the only way for human progress to occur. It was impossible for humanity to continue its integral evolution as long as poverty and political oppression persisted. The ongoing human awareness of the world's misery sparked the search for universal norms and values.

In 1915, the British arrested him and closed all of his Adult Schools, accusing him of being a terrorist. He taught for nearly 30 years at Lucknow University and Calcutta University following his release. In addition, he held positions as an economic advisor, director of Lucknow University's J.K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relations, and member of various committees established by the Uttar Pradesh and Union governments.

### **Theoretical Formulation**

Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1979) asserts that because human institutions are composed of the individual, society, and values, it is impossible to take into account social facts without taking into account their value component. Instead, "empirical" and "normative" sociology ought to be combined. This way, man's development in a free society is possible through commonality and cooperation rather than conflict and contradiction.

Although rooted in Indian tradition, Radhakamal Mukerjee's sociological perspective was still universal. He saw the possibility of developing a social action theory-based general theory of sociology. This theory would be based on Indian philosophy and tradition in the Indian case.

### **1.2 Methodology**

The "transdisciplinary" approach was to be used for a comprehensive evaluation of social reality in the Indian world context, beginning with the structural-functional approach to determine the interdependence between the economic sphere and the entire socio-historical-cultural order of Indian society. In addition, Mukerjee suggested applying comparative methods to the study of the social sciences in India. He stated, "We should focus on the logical investigation of the race and culture starting points."

Mukerjee began his career in research by conducting field research and conducting bibliographical research in the fields of economic sociology and human ecology. He was motivated to do so by Seal's desire to investigate reality within the specific context of India, by Geddes' desire to reveal its empirical details, and by his foundational training in economics. He never lost his interest in empirical field investigations and guided his students in this direction throughout his life.

But over time, Mukerjee empiricism became multifaceted, centered on the idea that human institutions are made up of the individual, society, and values in an invisible unity. Radhakamal began with a series of micro-level analyses of issues in economic sociology, such as rural economy and land issues (1926, 1927), population issues (1938), and the problems of the Indian working class (1945), after receiving initial training in economics.

In the last part of the 1920s, when the economic crisis of the early 20s had set in, he started various miniature level investigations into the breaking down agrarian arrangements and the states of the lower class in Oudh (1929). Except for Ramkrishna Mukherjee, who conducted a series of studies on agrarian structure in Bengal in the 1940s, this aspect of Indian rural society remained neglected until the 1960s. This study should have set the standard for agrarian studies in India.

A universalist perspective on sociology led Mukherjee to believe that social action theory could serve as the foundation for the creation of a comprehensive theory. He began his research in economic sociology and human ecology by conducting empirical field investigations and bibliographical research with a firm grasp of economic knowledge. Mukherjee initiated some micro-level investigations into the deteriorating agrarian conditions of the peasantry in light of the Great Depression in the late 1920s, but these investigations were neglected until the 1960s. After receiving training in social anthropology, he began researching topics like inter-caste tensions and urbanization. His interest in this field also grew. Additionally, he was involved in philosophical anthropology. He has written a number of books about a variety of topics, including Indian culture and civilization, societal theories, economic and social behavior, communities, and other topics.

In his writings about Indian culture and civilization, he examines the art, architecture, history, and culture of the country, as well as the ways in which they foster harmony and collective development. He is extremely appreciative of the manner in which Indian religions and ethnicities demonstrate tolerance for diversity. Indian influences extended beyond the boundaries of its own territory as a result of the peaceful agency of religion and its emphasis on the ultimate truth. He proposed merging the social and psychological sciences with the physical or natural sciences in order to create a broader theory of society and avoiding the compartmentalization of other social science fields.

According to his proposal, human civilization should be studied at three interconnected levels: biological evolution, which makes it easier for humans to grow and develop; universalization is the capacity of individuals to identify with a larger collective, such as a nation or the entire universe; and a “spiritual dimension” in which people overcome their material and physical limitations to move up the transcendental ladder.

Through his Institutional Theory of Economics, Mukherjee demonstrates how traditional networks have influenced economic exchange in a country like India, causing the majority of transactions to take place within the framework of caste or tribe. The competition-based market model is only marginally applicable in this context. Contrarily, noncompetition and lower levels of self-interest demonstrate that economic endeavors primarily serve the community as a whole. Additionally, the people are compelled to act collectively by religious and ethical constraints that direct economic activities.

Radhakamal describes individual personality in his book *Personality* as an agent acting and making decisions based on values related to self, others, and the universe. However, transcendence is the quality of the human personality that allows it to transcend both itself and these influences. He sees society as the sum of the structures and functions that help people connect to the three dimensions of the environment; ecological, moral, and psychosocial, meeting the fundamental needs of sustaining status and achieving value. Mukherjee also discusses values, which are desires that are accepted by society and are internalized through conditioning and socialization. Men's shared values and goals aid in the development of group social relationships. In a similar vein, institutions are endowed with structured, formal social connections. Groups, on the other hand, are less enduring than institutions. People are promoted to various positions within these organizations based on their abilities and accomplishments.

Mukherjee goes on to explain how western social science argued for metaphysical individualism by isolating man and his desires from his group and institutional context. The vast majority of sharable human values are replaced by competitive and partial principles under atomism and rationalism, creating an artificial divide between empirical sociology, ethics, and metaphysics.

Three presumptions back up this western idea: (a) values combine man's basic impulses and collective living modifies their selfish desires; (b) values are made up of individual and social responses and attitudes that are shared by all through symbolization; and (c) some universal values persist despite the presence of a large number of distinct values.

There are four levels of social integration that reflect these values: (1) Value can be expressed spontaneously against individuals and institutions in the crowd; (2) economic interest groups that are prone to unfavorable conflict and vengeance demonstrate fundamental values; (3) societies exhibit values of equity and justice; and (4) values in general include spontaneous love and social cooperation.

Mukherjee introduces the concept of disvalues, which occur as a result of individual shortcomings and require treatment through social adaptability of individuals and groups. While values integrate man, He asserts that the human person, values, and community are all transcendent unities that increase the likelihood of human evolution. However, depending on the various dimensions, the meaning of community in evolution varies; moral, philosophical, biological, psychological, and metaphysical.

Through communication and communion, a man's history in the modern world extends his cosmos and makes it more relevant to his meanings, values, and possibilities. Mukherjee proposes a strategy to address the issues faced by the working class as a result of industrialization.

Even though the government has taken steps to address the problems that unorganized laborers living in urban slums face, many other issues, like drinking, using drugs, and committing crimes, must still be addressed.

In this sense, Mukherjee's analysis of the working class is relevant even to India's current industrial structure. He is of the opinion that members of society ought to live in harmony with one another, the environment, and other members of society. As a result, he contributed to the study of social ecology, which he defined as the investigation of all facets of the reciprocal relationships that exist between man and his environment.

Mukherjee fought that natural relations among people are generally similar with those among lower living things. Nevertheless, in the event that there emerges an event of individuals, social principles have a critical

work. This is the way human nature is. The relationship between society and the environment cannot be denied. The earth's test and the reactions of the people who establish a settlement are the driving forces behind the development of biological zones.

Mukherjee's ideas about social nature favored local development. He represented harmony between natural well-being and financial growth. Mukherjee also expressed regret for careless urbanization.

He maintained that urban development to the detriment of the natural environment should be kept under wraps. Mechanical progress finds its "security undermined because of the fatigue of coal and oil" and the decreasing supply of minerals and nutrients, which cannot be artificially manufactured, to be the result of its careless use of common resources. Even in today's culture, the significance of environmental characteristics cannot be overstated.

When some social researchers in India were considering the requirement for interdisciplinary research, Radhakamal Mukherjee spearheaded three ways to deal with sociology, including considering financial matters as a specialization, introducing the "institutional methodology," and remembering the usual acknowledgment of the term "sociologies" containing various "disciplines." As can be seen from the above investigation, Radhakamal Mukherjee proposed a transdisciplinary approach to social research.

Mukherjee was not a Marxist, but he clearly thought of finance as managing people's relationships regarding the misuse of common assets and the subsequent production and allocation of material goods and businesses. Mukherjee examined the interconnectedness of human connections throughout the entirety of life and living in the extensive writing he produced regarding this singular circumstance. The "financial" scientists of the time did not find this perspective to be satisfactory; Mukherjee was also unworthy of the modern scholars of human science or any other "discipline" of sociology.

As a result, Mukherjee became a *bratya*—a sociologically insignificant individual. Nevertheless, Mukherjee's observational examinations of various aspects of life conditions were becoming increasingly refreshing in terms of individual merit; However, his support for "institutional arranging" was not immediately acknowledged. Mukherjee proposed the need for a combination of "exact" and "regulating" humanism in his final years. Even today, understudies of human science would consider his

emphasis on the significance of benefits of comprehension and tolerance, the moral duty of the individual to the network, and human obligation regarding the security of biology to be significant.

He practiced philosophical anthropology and advocated for it. He tended to view the individual, society, and values as an apparent trinity from a perspective that was almost meta-theoretical (1931, 1949, 1950, 1956, and 1965). In this sense, Radhakamal was a pioneer in the field of transdisciplinary social science in India.

### 1.3 Writings

Mukerjee wrote approximately 53 books on a variety of topics. The integration of the social sciences is at the core of his writings. He has led the way in numerous fields. In their writings, many of his students and associates reflect this approach.

His significant contributions included the following: (1) constructing an approach to studying society that is not only interdisciplinary but also trans-disciplinary; (2) social ecology and regional sociology; and (3) sociology of values or the social structure of values.

Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, a well-known philosopher, made the following insightful observation regarding his contribution to our understanding of male and female social life: Mukerjee's attempt to base his thinking on Indian mysticism and his belief that human life cannot be studied in its entirety is what interests me.

Humanism or the study of man can't disregard the subject of values. Knowledge from the social sciences can be put to use for the benefit of humanity if we cultivate a sense of values. The greatest goal of Mukerjee is to work for a better social order."

However, earlier writings by Mukerjee showed a preference for metaphysics and "idealism," such as: 1. The 3 Options: The List of the Ways to Transcend—Religion as a Social Norm (1929) Mysticism and Sociology (1931) The Art and Theory of Mysticism (1937).

### 1.4 Theory of Society

Radhakamal Mukerjee emphasized using a multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach to comprehend human life. He wanted to come



up with a broad theory of society. He suggested that physical or natural sciences and social and psychological sciences should be separated in order to accomplish this.

Second, it is important to avoid compartmentalizing the social sciences like psychology, economics, and sociology. The various social sciences ought to constantly interact. To fully comprehend the many dimensions of human personality and its interaction with the natural and social environments, physical and natural sciences must collaborate on ideas.

### **1.5 The Universal Civilization Idea**

The purpose of Mukerjee's general theory of society is to provide an explanation for the values of a global civilization. He interpreted the term "civilization" broadly; Culture is a component. He proposes studying human civilization at three interconnected levels. They are: 1. Biological evolution, universalization, and spiritual dimension. .

#### **1.5.1 Biological Evolution**

The rise and development of civilization has been facilitated by human biological evolution. As active agents, they have the ability to alter the environment. While humans can modify an environment in a variety of ways, animals can only do so by adapting to it. As a biological species, humans are able to work together and overcome competition and conflict (symbiosis).

#### **1.5.2 Universalization**

People are frequently depicted within the framework of race, ethnicity, or nationhood in social psychology. People are viewed as captives of small selves or egos with ethnocentric or parochial attitudes. On the other hand, humans have the ability to transcend their narrow perspectives and achieve universalization—that is, to identify with a larger collective, such as one's nation or even the universe as a whole.

In the process, common values assist in elevating universal values above particularistic values. Ethical relativism, which asserts that values vary from society to society, does not serve today's needs, according to Mukerjee. Ethical universalism, which asserts humanity's unity, is required.



The new point of view sees men and women as independent moral agents who are able to recognize the common threads that bind humanity. They are no longer governed by relativity or division.

### **1.5.3 Spiritual Dimension**

According to Mukerjee, the civilization has a spiritual component. Transcendental heights are gradually being reached by humans. This indicates that they are ascending the spiritual ladder by overcoming the constraints of the biogenic and existential levels, also known as the limitations of their physical and material resources. In this undertaking, workmanship, fantasy and religion give the 'impulsion' or the power to move up.

These cultural aspects can offer a spiritual perspective because the social sciences have historically ignored them. Mukerjee emphasizes the spirituality of civilization in the human quest for unity, wholeness, and transcendence. He praised the Indian and Chinese civilizations for this, which had been stable since the sixth century BC. Their universal myths and values, which encourage spiritual exploration, are the source of their strength.

## **1.6 Social Behavior and Economic Transactions**

A biased or partial view of man's existence and behavior may result from excessive specialization in a single field. Mukerjee demonstrated in his Institutional Theory of Economics that Indian western economics largely ignored the traditional caste system in indigenous banking, handicrafts, and business. It saw financial improvement fundamentally as an expansion of money related financial aspects or market peculiarity. In economics, the market and industrial centers were the primary focus of the western model.

In a nation like India, where countless financial exchanges happen inside the system of position or clan, the market model has just a restricted pertinence. Traditional networks have had an impact on the economic exchange that takes place in the Indian context. India's guilds and castes have operated in a non-competitive manner.

The norms of social or collective living largely influenced the rules of economic exchange. The norms of Indian tradition place a strong

emphasis on interdependence or non-competition between groups. They have emphasized the fulfillment of the community's well-being as the proper objective of human life rather than promoting self-interest.

The monetary qualities in India ought to be perceived concerning normal practices. Economic transactions are not generated by blatant biological or physical drives. Strict or moral limitations have consistently provided a guidance to financial exercises.

People are compelled to act in ways that are supported by the group when values enter into their day-to-day lives. A hungry upper caste Hindu, for instance, would not consume beef; In a similar vein, orthodox Jews and Muslims would not consume pork, unless there was an immediate need for it. As a result, it is incorrect to view economic activity as distinct from social life or collectivity at all times.

### **1.7 Personality, Values, and Society**

Radhakamal describes the personality of an individual in his book *Personality* as an agent who seeks value fulfillment and makes decisions. Man's actions and choices are guided by his beliefs about himself, others, and the universe.

There are, of course, two kinds of influences on an individual man. There are, on the one hand, the influences of the natural world, environment, and biological drives and requirements. Man's psychological impulses add to them. On the other hand, society's or collective pressure is present. Human character is significantly impacted by these two impacts.

However, it is not their decision. The human personality is capable of overcoming both types of pressure. It has the ability to transcend itself. In point of fact, Mukerjee defines personality as "the sum total of the individual's character mode of adjustment at different dimensions: (i) biological, (ii) social, and (iii) cosmic or transcendental ideals.

As a social and biological creature, the human personality interacts with the environment. However, it is more than that. "The psycho-social whole responsive to the cosmic whole" is what it is. Mukerjee states, "personality is essentially transcendence." A person's personality has a social component.

However, in order to establish communion with the universe, he or she may desire isolation from other people. To experience inner freedom, he or she may need to be free from social pressures. The society and its values serve the purpose of facilitating the free-agent development of a personality.

Radhakamal says that society is “the sum of structures and functions through which man orients himself to the three dimensions or levels of his environment :”(a) environmental, (b) psychological-social, and (c) moral. As a result, society “satisfies the fundamental requirements of survival status and value-fulfillment.”

### Values

“Socially approved desires or goals that are internalized through the process of conditioning and socialization” are what we mean when we talk about values. They produce individual preferences, standards, and goals.” Values assist man in aligning his desires and objectives in a predetermined pattern. As a result, man is able to resolve the conflicts or inner tensions caused by powerful biological drives. In addition, with the assistance of appropriate values, he is able to fulfill harmonious social roles and maintain orderly relationships with his fellow men.

Value transcends desires, objectives, ideals, and norms. Goals are social action desires. The ideal is constructed in a hypothetical social setting where competing objectives are at odds with one another. Contradictory or opposing ideals are determined by norms. They suggest a teleological universe order that is beyond human comprehension.

Mukerjee defines social relationships as the attitudes and behaviors of men toward one another based on their shared goals and values. Mukerjee defines groups as “orderly social relations and behaviors of associated persons” that result from the integration and achievement of their shared values and goals. Groups are less durable than institutions. The term “institutions” refers to more structured, formal, and enduring social relationships that serve a person’s common goals and values.

The individual’s capacity and accomplishments in a particular status within the institutional framework are referred to as position. The matrix in which multiple roles become complementary and facilitate the achievement and integration of personality’s goals and values is provided by a society’s institutional network.

The essential issue for present day cultures is to make and support values which will prompt full turn of events and articulation of human independence from one viewpoint and the consensus of amicability request and fortitude on the other.

Metaphysical individualism was advocated by the Western social sciences:

- i. To begin, it makes the error of isolating man and his atomic desires and preferences from his group and institutional situation as a whole.
- ii. Second, the social sciences' atomism and rationalism have not taken into account the vast subset of human values that are sharable rather than competitive, integral rather than partial, and mark both personality development and social culture improvement.
- iii. Thirdly, empirical sociology, ethics, and metaphysics are artificially separated by the concept of a rational and fragmented individual. Experimental humanistic investigations social design and capability through the technique for innate science and morals concentrates on values. Western social science's dichotomy of the two gives the wrong impression that values cannot be studied objectively.

Mukerjee contends that there is a false distinction between measurable facts and values. The social process can verify and validate values and valuations.

Three hypotheses support it:

- i. First and foremost, values play a significant role in the stable and consistent integration and fulfillment of man's fundamental impulses and desires. It indicates that collective living, in which people give and take from one another, alters selfish desires and interests.
- ii. Second, values encompass individual and social responses and attitudes in a broad sense. Through symbolism, values become shared by all. Commonly held values are summarized or exemplified in symbols. One common symbol that identifies a nation is, for instance, the flag.
- iii. Thirdly, some universal values are observable despite the diversity and divergence of values among various peoples and cultures.

On each of the four levels of social integration, there is a gradation of values:

- (1) There is a brutal, but spontaneous, expression of value among the crowd, such as moral outrage, directed against people and organizations.
- (2) Reciprocity, integrity, consideration, and a level of fairness are examples of fundamental values that can be expressed within the economic interest group. They are susceptible to retaliation and interpersonal conflict.
- (3) Equity and justice are expressed in “society” or “community.”
- (4) In “general,” “spontaneous love” and social co-operation are the primary values. The reconstruction of the world requires these values. In a nutshell, Mukerjee addresses values in a variety of settings.

Disvalues always go along with values. Individual shortcomings and social shortcomings both contribute to disvalue. Individual deviance and institutional deviance (criminal gangs, for example) are examples of the disvalues. Mukerjee emphasizes the treatment of devalued individuals. He would work to reintegrate deviant individuals and groups by focusing on their social adaptability and overall social situation.

The Dynamics of Morals and The Dimensions of Human Values, two of Mukerjee’s works, provide a global perspective on ethics. He is talking about the need for man to get past his own selfishness and become part of a global family. The trend toward moral transcendence almost becomes a natural progression. This is especially true in a world filled with conflict and violence.

### **1.8 The Network of Networks**

In the Human Evolutionary Dimensions, Mukerjee explored the creative, integrating, and harmonizing principles of life, mind, and society in evolution at successive dimensions in A Bio-Philosophical Interpretation, and in both The Philosophy of Personality and The Dimensions of Values: He has emphasized the interpersonal nature of human existence and transcendence in his Unified Theory, as well as the unity, mutual involvement, and fusion of all possibilities and values.

The goal of the book “The Community of Communities” is to use and expand the same modern seminal concept of the open human person in communication for comprehending and appreciating human communion and community. Values, the human person, and the community are all transcendences and unites.

In a process of evolution that is always creative and transcendent, man typically never expands his cosmos and its resources for the purpose of deepening, enriching, and expanding life, values, and community. The concept of “one cosmos, one community” is central to the community philosophy.

Within an overall unity of world science, communication, and civilization, this broadens the prospects for human evolution for both individuals and species. In this context, the philosophy of community refers to an in-depth investigation of the unknowable function that man plays in and with community and the universe, as well as its values and potential. In evolution, the meaning of community varies depending on the following dimensions: 1. Biological 2. Psychological, 3. Moral, 4. Philosophical, and 5. Metaphysical.

On the biological level, the entire species of Homo sapiens constitutes the true community. Human values and culture serve as a compass for the psychozoic phase of evolution. At the psychological level, the true community is based on man’s self-extension and transcendence, or transformation of Homo sapiens into Homo universalis, who dedicates himself to the infinite values and opportunities for self-expression that both he and the community offer.

On a moral level, the foundation of true community is man’s essential communion with his fellow humans of all races and continents. At the philosophical level, true community exemplifies faith in the fundamental principles of inner harmony, organic unity, and existence’s order, wholeness, and unity.

Last but not least, the true community, at the metaphysical level, recognizes and embodies the truth of identity between the self and the Universal Other—also known as the Community of Communities—in all interpersonal relationships and values.

The history of modern man ought to bolster his evolutionary trend by broadening his communication and communion, expanding and

deepening his universe, and making it more pertinent to his meanings, values, and possibilities.

### **1.9 Urban Social Issues:**

Mukerjee proposes a solution to the issues facing the working class. Over the course of several decades, India's industrialization has successfully brought people from a variety of regions and languages together. However, slum life had a negative impact on the living conditions of workers in urban centers like Mumbai, Kanpur, Kolkata, and Chennai. Urban slums were the breeding ground for vices like prostitution, gambling, and crime in the early days of industrialization. Therefore, in order to improve the moral and financial conditions of workers, significant changes needed to be made.

Today, many businesses in the private and public sectors offer social welfare facilities to their employees. In addition, the federal and state governments have passed laws that employers must abide by. However, slums continue to be home to unorganized workers—those who are either temporarily employed or unemployed.

Consumption of illegal drugs and alcohol, crimes, and worsening housing and civic facilities are currently the most common issues in Indian slums. Therefore, Mukerjee's analysis of the working class is applicable to India's current industrial structure.

### **1.10 Social Ecology:**

In order for man to grow up in a harmonious way, he needs to live in harmony with the community and the natural world. Radhakamal Mukerjee has made an unparalleled contribution to the study of "social ecology." As a field of study, social ecology necessitates the collaboration of scientists from a variety of disciplines.

An ecological zone is formed by the interaction of biological, geological, and geographical factors. Social, economic, and political factors also influence environmental conditions. Indeed, the study of all aspects of human-environment relations is known as human or social ecology.

Mukerjee describes human ecology as "a synoptic study of the balance of plant, animal, and human communities, which are systems of



correlated working parts in the organization of the region” in his book *Regional Sociology* (1926). In their conception of ecological relations, American pioneers in ecological studies did not adequately address the factor of culture.

They compared these relationships to those that exist between animals and plants. Mukerjee argued that human ecological relationships are comparable to those of lower organisms. However, when it comes to humans, cultural norms play a crucial role. This fact is highlighted by human ecology.

Social customs, values, and traditions take on a significant role in the formation of an ecological unit like a “region.” Solidarity is possessed by those who share or are similar in their values. The ecological point of view in which man’s constant efforts, aspirations, and ideals blend silently with the forces and processes of the environment. The ever-changing give-and-take relationship between man and the environment is emphasized in social ecology.

The relationship between society and ecology is undeniable. The dynamic process of the environment’s challenge and the response of the people who establish a settlement is what leads to the development of ecological zones. The mechanical carving out of a territory and placing people there is not enough to restore ecological balance.

The social fabric is weakened or destroyed by such an attempt. In India, for instance, when industrial plants, irrigation plants, or irrigation dams are built, the local population is frequently relocated to new settlements. It has a significant impact on how people live in the community. People who live in a region form symbiotic relationships with the region’s ecology or environment. It might not be able to form that kind of relationship with the environment in the new situation.

Regional development was promoted by Mukerjee’s social ecology concepts. He advocated striking a balance between economic expansion and ecological health. In order to achieve economic growth in a region without causing significant harm to its ecology, traditional skills and crafts like weaving and engraving need to be updated. Havoc has been caused by deforestation. Mukerjee warned his people against it long ago. He was a firm supporter of forest preservation and ecological equilibrium preservation.



Mukerjee also complained about mindless urbanization. He supported both the concept of urbanization and the process of it from an ecological perspective. Controlling urban growth at the expense of rural development is necessary. Industries should be decentralized and agriculture should be more diverse.

Mukerjee is concerned about the fact that (i) overgrazing, (ii) reckless destruction of trees and scrubs, and (iii) improper cultivation cause a significant imbalance in the biophysical constitution of the region as a whole. It significantly disrupts nature's cycle.

When vegetation is cut down, a series of negative effects occur, including:

(1) The top soil is being stripped away; (2) the level of the underground water is falling; (3) the amount of rain that falls is decreasing; (4) the drought is getting worse; and (5) the "river," "sheet," or "gully," and wind erosion is getting faster. These have resulted in severe and ongoing agricultural decline.

Industrial civilization's "security is threatened due to the exhaustion of coal and petroleum" and the diminishing supply of minerals and vitamins, which cannot be manufactured synthetically, are the results of its mindless exploitation of natural resources. Even in today's industrial society, ecological values cannot be overstated in importance.

Naturally, there is no need to let your nerves go. Man's outcome in his variation to the geological climate lays on specific ideal qualities, which have their foundations in environmental qualities. However, these principles must "have reached the level of standards of moral behavior."

### **1.11 Conclusions:**

Based on the preceding analysis, Radhakamal Mukerjee advocated a method that reflected the organic dependence between the economic sphere and the entire socio-historical cultural order [see, for example, A General Theory of Society (1956)]. [The Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 1968] As a result, at a time when some social scientists in India were considering the requirement for interdisciplinary research, he proposed a transdisciplinary approach to social research.

Three approaches to social science that Mukerjee pioneered will always be remembered:

1. Thinking of economics as a discipline within social science rather than a specialization
2. introducing the “institutional approach” to planning, which should be considered a part of social science rather than the exclusive domain of economists.
3. In light of the widespread acceptance of the term “social sciences” as encompassing a variety of “disciplines” such as economics, political science, psychology, and sociology, among others, raising the perspective of appraisal of social reality from the uni-disciplinary or interdisciplinary perspective of social scientists to a trans-disciplinary perspective.

Mukerjee began his career as an economist, who at the time established the framework of reference for the “discipline” as the relationship between man and his successful exploitation of natural resources.

The Marxists had raised the issue at the time, but the establishment of economics did not take them seriously. Although Mukerjee was not a Marxist, he was clear that he thought of economics as dealing with human relations in relation to the use of natural resources and the subsequent production and appropriation of material goods and services.

Mukerjee investigated the connection between human relationships and the entirety of life and living in his extensive writing on the subject. However, he considered this to be going beyond the boundaries of the discipline of economics, which he considered to be a specialization within the unitary field of social science. In the “economic” science of the time, the mandarins did not accept this point of view; Mukerjee was also unacceptable to the sociology and other social science “disciplines” at the time. As a result, Mukerjee became a *bratya*—a man who didn’t belong in social science.

However, Mukerjee’s empirical studies on a variety of life conditions (such as the land problem, working class life, town and village life, ecology, and food planning, among others) were increasingly valued for their own merits; that is, regardless of the theoretical basis for Radhakamal’s efforts and accomplishments.

However, his support for “institutional planning” was not as well received. After Gunnar Myrdal framed it in terms of the transfer of “modernizing ideals” from the First (and Second) to the Third World in 1971, social scientists became vocal about institutional planning because we live in a lunar world where light is reflected from the sun rising in the West.

In his final years, Mukerjee believed that a fusion of “empirical” and “normative” sociology was necessary for social engineering to have access to reliable information about human behavior, goals, and values, as well as methods and techniques for analysis and potentially useful tools for social control [e.g., *A Philosophical View of Civilization*, 1963]. The *Unity of Humanity* (1965)].

Even though his final writings were a bit speculative, he stands out among the pioneers of Indian sociology because he clearly laid out his facts, arguments, and ideas about what Indian sociology was at the time and how it should change.

Mukerjee did not give conflict’s role in real-world social life enough weight. He stood up for the cause of harmony among people, nations, regions, groups of people, and the biological environment. Even today, sociology students still place a high value on his emphasis on the significance of values like tolerance and understanding, individual moral responsibility for the community, and human responsibility for protecting the environment.

The fundamental belief of the founders of Indian sociology and social anthropology was that intellectual freedom is necessary for science and knowledge advancement. This explains why, despite their own preferences for particular viewpoints and approaches, their students may be able to significantly contribute to the creation of a new conceptual framework for studying Indian society’s structure and change after 1950.

## 1.12 Check your Progress

1) Fill in the blanks in the following sentences:

- a. Radhakamal Mukerjee was a pioneer in the areas such as social ..... interdisciplinary research and the social structure of values.

- b. He was against the ..... of social sciences.
  - c. In his writings he combined ..... sociology and history.
- 2) Describe in about two lines what is meant by an ecological zone.
  - 3) Among the Indian Sociologists, who has pleaded for an integrated approach to the study for social phenomena?
  - 4) What is 'regional sociology', according to Radhakamal Mukerjee?
  - 5) Discuss in about five lines Radhakamal Mukerjee's opinion about "facts" and "values"

### Answer

- 1) a) ecology  
b) compartmentalization  
c) economics
- 2) An ecocological zone is a result of the combination a certain kind of geological, geographical and biological factors.
- 3) Radha Kamal Mukherjee
- 4) Radhakamal Mukerjee's interest in social ecology led him to the study of regions in India. He called this study regional sociology. According to Mukerjee, if the regions in modern India were developed to the extent that they became self-sufficient then India will benefit as a whole. But if some regions lag behind they will be dominated by the developed regions and this will result in a lop-sided development of India.
- 5) Radhakamal Mukerjee was against the Western trend of separating "facts" from "values" as done by the positivists in sociology. According to him "facts" and "values" are inseparable elements of human interaction and such behaviour as taking or giving food, wearing a dress, etc. are value-based and normatively determined by the society.

### Reference

Indira Gandhi National Open University Course Material. 2003. Sociological Thought (ESO 13), New Delhi: IGNOU.

Mukerjee, Radhakamal 1984. The Culture and Art of India. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers: New Delhi.

## UNIT - II

### Lesson 2.1 - Contributions of Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji

#### Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji (1894-1961)

D.P. Mukerji was born on 5 October 1894 in a middle class Bengali brahmin family with a long tradition of involvement in higher education. Undergraduate degree in science and postgraduate degrees in History and Economics from Calcutta University.



- 1924: Appointed Lecturer in the Department of Economics and Sociology at Lucknow University
- 1938-41 Served as Director of Information under the first Congress-led government of the United Provinces of British India (present day Uttar Pradesh).
- 1947: Served as a Member of the U.P. Labour Enquiry Committee.
- 1949: Appointed Professor (by special order of the Vice Chancellor) at Lucknow University.
- 1953: Appointed Professor of Economics at Aligarh Muslim University
- 1955: Presidential Address to the newly formed Indian Sociological Society
- 1956: Underwent major surgery for throat cancer in Switzerland Died on 5 December 1961.

#### Structure

- 2.1 Learning Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Biographical Sketch
- 2.4 Central Ideas
  - 2.4.1 Role of Tradition in Indian Society
  - 2.4.2 Integrated Development of Personality
  - 2.4.3 D. P. Mukerji's Views on Unity in Diversity
  - 2.4.4 D. P. Mukerji as an Economist
- 2.5 Important Works
- 2.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 2.8 Reference

## 2.1 Learning Objectives

You will be able to do the following after completing this unit:

- describe Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji's contributions;
- frame the personal subtleties of Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji;
- elaborate on some of his central sociological ideas; and
- list a few of his most significant works.

## 2.2 Introduction

Marxist D. P. Mukerji used a dialectical method to look at Indian history. Individualism and collectivism, colonialism and nationalism, tradition and modernity, and colonialism and nationalism all interact dialectically. We'll give you a brief overview of D. P. Mukerji's life here. You'll be able to put his major ideas in their proper context with the help of this. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji was more commonly referred to as "D. P." He was born in Bengal in 1894 to a Brahmin family of middle class. Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra, and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's literary impact was at its height during this time.

During this time, Bengali literature experienced a revival. D. P. Mukerji graduated from Bangabasi College, Bengal, with a degree. He first studied history, which at the time included economics, before earning a degree in economics. He was a Bengali writer who also wrote fiction, but he didn't stay in this field for long. He went beyond the boundaries of any particular field. He may have chosen this career path because sociology is the most comprehensive social science. As a sociologist, he rose to national and international prominence. He began working as a lecturer in Economics and Sociology at Lucknow University in 1922.

## 2.3 Biographical Sketch

D.P. Mukerji was one of the pioneers of Indian sociology, and he was probably the most well-known. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji, more commonly referred to as DP, was one of India's early sociologists. He was born in West Bengal on October 5, 1894, to a Bengali family of middle class origin with a long history of intellectual pursuits.

At Bangabasi College in Calcutta, he got his start in life. He started working as a sociology and economics lecturer at Lucknow University in

1922, which was just starting out. He was in charge of bringing DP to Lucknow and remained there for a considerable amount of time for the department. In 1954, he left his position as professor and department head. He was a Visiting Professor of Sociology at the International Institute of Social Studies in The Hague for a year in 1953. He held the Chair of Economics at the University of Aligarh for the last five years of his active academic career, and he did so with great distinction. He was the Indian Sociological Conference's first president. Additionally, he remained the International Sociological Association's Vice-President.

His contributions as a teacher were the most prominent aspect of his intellectual career. When he speaks rather than writes, he has a much more lasting and significant impact on others. Naturally, the printed page did not provide him with the freedom to explore ideas and elicit an immediate response like the class room, coffee house, or drawing room did. As a result, he was always a co-student and an inquirer. He has such an impact on his students that they still hold him in their minds to this day.

He had a deep desire to comprehend the nature and significance of Indian social reality, which was rooted in Indian tradition. He was also interested in learning how to change it so that the common people's welfare could be improved by adapting the modern forces to Indian tradition. He did not adhere to Marxism as a political ideology but rather as a method of analysis. His dialectical analysis of India's history suggested that modernity and tradition, nationalism and colonialism, individualism and collectivism, and colonialism and nationalism all interact dialectically in modern India.

The perspective of Marxian sociology in India was provided by DP Mukerji. He tolerated western concepts, analytical categories, and ideas. He thought that indigenous sociology and social anthropology were needed, but he didn't want to separate these fields from western social traditions in India. He was one of the few academic social scientists who recognized the significance of Marxism in analyzing the socioeconomic forces in human society. These are some of Mukerji's contributions to various fields:

According to his own words, he was a Marxist. He instinctively combined Marxism and Indian tradition due to his Brahmin family's middle-class upbringing. D. P. Mukerji always believed that, when adapted to the circumstances of Indian history and tradition, the concepts of Karl Marx were applicable in India. As a result, he placed a constant emphasis



on the study of social processes and movements. He was born during the golden age of criticism, and his work accurately reflects this period. He brought critical criteria from as many different fields as possible to each topic. He was capable of approaching every issue from a different perspective. He was a critic of life, music, drama, art, and art criticism. An amalgam of Anglo-Bengalee culture can be observed in him. D. P. Mukerji was a man who appreciated beauty. Even his attire reflected his interest in fashion. He was a fit man who detested even the slightest weight gain. I had the impression that he also detested writing anything unnecessary or irrelevant or padding. His writing was concise, incisive, and sharp. He was an intelligent man who rarely expressed his feelings. He thinks that emotions shouldn't be shown; rather, they should go hand in hand with thinking. He enjoyed teaching and was well-liked by his students. He encouraged students to talk to each other and exchange ideas.

In this manner, he was co-understudy, a co-enquirer who learned constantly. He had such an impact on his students that they still remember him even after he passed away. When the Congress took office in Uttar Pradesh, D. P. Mukerji served as Director of Information for some time. His influence brought an intellectual approach to public relations. Additionally, he contributed to the establishment of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics. He went back to Lucknow University in 1939 after Congress gave up on the war issue at the start of World War II. He was appointed to the U. P. Labor Inquiry Committee in 1947. He was appointed a professor in 1951.

D. P. never felt resentful about this late recognition. In 1953, he was invited to lead the Department of Economics at Aligarh, one year before he retired at Lucknow. He spent five years there. As a visiting sociology professor at the International Institute of Social Studies, he traveled to The Hague. He was a founding member of the Indian Sociological Association and served on its Editorial Board and Managing Committee. He also served as vice president of the International Sociological Association, where the association was represented. In a variety of fields, he wrote several books and articles. After Freedom he watched political developments with extraordinary interest however was not a lawmaker in any sense. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and Jawaharlal Nehru, two national leaders, had an impact on him. Nehru and he used to correspond. He did not have a closed mind as an intellectual. He gave his subject refinement. He was influenced by numerous people, but he remained a scholar who influenced numerous



others until the end. In 1962, he died of throat cancer. However, as was mentioned earlier, he is supported by his students.

## **2.4 Central Ideas**

According to D. P. Mukerji, Marxism was useful for comprehending historical developments, but it did not provide a satisfactory answer to human issues. The rebirth and reinterpretation of India's national culture provided that solution. He was against positivism in the modern social sciences, which reduced people to biological or psychological units. Individuals had become self-seeking agents as a result of Western industrial culture; The West's society had turned ethnocentric. The social pillars of humanity had been uprooted by positivism's emphasis on individuation, or the recognition of the roles and rights of the individual.

### **2.4.1 Role of Tradition in Indian Society**

According to Mukerji, tradition is the foundation of culture. The culture provided the people with their food. They didn't lose sight of their goals or where they were going. However, tradition frequently became ineffective, as in India. Additionally, people idolized and worshipped it, making it a fetish. Because of the people's lack of criticism, cultural stagnation was inevitable. As a result, encouraging individuation is also necessary. Culture can be recreated by the individuals by injecting it with new vitality. The individual is not to be completely or unfree. A healthy personality evolves when there is a balance between individuation and sociability. The individual's connection to society is called sociation. Individual freedom ought to be a creative expression of tradition rather than anarchy.

### **2.4.2 Integrated Development of Personality**

Mukerji did not advocate for the positivist development of personality in Indians. The Western personality made success a fetish. Masses' living conditions had significantly improved as a result of the application of science and technology. One of the most notable achievements of the modern era is humankind's ability to control nature and exploit it for their own ends. However, an integrated development could not be achieved using the Western strategy. A balance between human freedom and technological advancement was necessary for integrated personality

development. A balanced personality had not emerged even in a socialist society like Soviet Russia. The people had been ruled by the state or the political party there. The dialecticism of D. P. Mukerji was based on humanism and transcended purely ethnic or national considerations. People in the West had either become docile or aggressive. There was no humanism in Western progress.

People were liberated from the stifling medieval tradition by the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution, but progress's humanist component was diminished. The optimistic aspects of the West are primarily what feed modern nationalism. It might not be the best model for India. Additionally, India's middle classes were the result of Western influence. They were driven away from their own ancestral culture. They had lost touch with the general public. India could turn into a cutting edge country if the working classes restored their connections with the majority. A genuine development was only then possible. D. P. Mukerji believed that while growth was merely a quantitative accomplishment, development was a qualitative term that meant value-based advancement.

### **Check Your Progress 1**

- 1) **Briefly describe D. P. Mukerji's idea of Sociology.**
- 2) **According to D P Mukerji, what are the pre-requisites for integrated personality?**

### **2.4.3 D. P. Mukerji's Perspectives on Unity in Diversity**

D. P. Mukerji was involved in portraying the relationship between Hindus and Muslims. He discovered spiritual and humanistic unity in the diversity of Indian culture as a result of his search for truth. He was looking at a lot of the topics within the larger context of how Hindus and Muslims interact. It was important to note three areas of interaction.

- i. From the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries A.D., the Hindu subjects in North India were governed by Islamic kings on a political level. Muslim rulers and Hindu rajas were already forming alliances at the same time. As a result, Hindu subjects and Muslim rulers felt a sense of partnership; During the Mughal era, this was even more apparent.
- ii. In terms of economic relations, while the jagirdars (military chiefs) were Muslims under Islamic rule, the majority of the zamindars

were Hindus. Numerous shared interests existed between these two groups. As a result, these two classes joined forces.

- iii. Culturally, such as through the production of literature, music, costumes, and fine arts, Influences were reciprocal. In the north, Bhaktism and Sufism promoted interfaith relationships. Muslims and Hindus, on the other hand, held distinct worldviews. Mukerji made the observation that the Hindu mind thought in cycles: Both the good and the bad came out on top. Hindus held a fatalistic perspective.

In addition, the Hindu worldview originated in a distinct region, the subcontinent. Islam by contrast was a multi-ethnic, global religion. The Islamic approach to nationhood was more pragmatic than the idealistic one taken by Hindus. Freedom was considered a “birthright” by Hindus; It was an opportunity for Muslims. Muslim thought was not fatalistic or cyclical. Therefore, in order to make the most of a political crisis or opportunity, the Muslim perspective favored direct action.

#### **2.4.4 D. P. Mukerji: As an Economist**

D. P. Mukerji was trained as an economist. However, his method of economics was distinct from that of other economists. He saw India's economic development through the lens of its unique historical and cultural context. Social values had an impact on India's economic forces. The lands were not owned by the king or members of the royal court in ancient times. The king only had the authority to enforce financial obligations; That is to say, in exchange for the royal protection, landowners were required to contribute a portion of their harvest as revenue or tax to the treasury. The village councils held the majority of the land's ownership.

The Sangha, or monastic organization, frequently managed vast lands that were granted to them by kings during the heyday of Buddhism. The Sangha owned properties, whereas individual monks (Bhikshus) could not possess or own property. The Sangha taxed one-sixth of the agricultural produce for educational purposes and the pursuit of spiritual and ethical objectives. Even trade and banking in India were managed by kinship and caste networks in pre-modern times, just as village lands were controlled by internally autonomous caste and kin groups. Castes were usually the foundation of the regional trade guilds.

Castes also controlled commercial banking. On the West Coast, there were important Hindu families that lent money and had a lot of influence, especially under Mughal rule. Merchants were not treated like parasites by Mukerji; On the other hand, he thought of them as the ones who built trade routes between cities and the countryside. However, as they broke free of their previous cultural restrictions, they began exploiting during colonial rule. The Indian merchant princes frequently traveled to other nations to exhibit their goods; as a result, they not only connected India to the outside world through trade but also through the spread of culture. The Indian economy under British rule underwent numerous transformations.

The British introduced the urban-industrial economy, which eliminated not only the older institutional networks but also the traditional classes. A new social adaptation was required as a result. The educated middle classes of India's urban centers became the center of society under the new system. However, Western ways of life and thinking ruled these middle classes. If the middle classes of India reached out to the masses and formed an active partnership with them in nation-building, the country's future would be secure.

### **Cultural Diversities**

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji, more commonly referred to as D.P., was one of India's early sociologists. He was born in West Bengal, but he spent his entire life working in Lucknow. He attended Calcutta University and earned degrees in history and economics. He was a Marxist, but he preferred to refer to himself as a Marxologist, or a Marxist social scientist.

He used the dialectical materialism of Marx to examine Indian society. He argued that India's modernity and tradition, British colonialism and nationalism, individualism and collectivism, or sangha, are dialectical. His dialectics theory was based on liberal humanism.

In all of his works, he argued that Indian society can only be understood through its traditions. Dialectical relations exist between traditions and modernization brought to India by the British. D.P. argued that we will need to define traditions from this dialectics point of view.

Some cultural contradictions, adaptations, and even instances of conflict emerged as a result of the encounter between tradition and

modernization. Yogendra Singh writes about the results of the encounter between tradition and modernity:

The systematic concern with the dialectical analysis of Indian social processes can be found in the writings of D.P. Mukerji. He focuses primarily on the encounter between western tradition and western culture, which, on the one hand, led to the emergence of a new middle class and unleashed numerous forces of cultural contradiction. He asserts that the emergence of these forces initiates a dialectical process of conflict and synthesis, which must be accelerated by utilizing the class structure of Indian society's conserved energies.

As a result, the meeting of modernity and tradition results in two outcomes: (1) Confrontation and (2) Consolidation.

According to D.P., the interaction of tradition and modernity is the cause of Indian society. This dialectics aids our investigation of Indian society. D.P.'s idea of custom showed up without precedent for the year 1942 when his book *Present day Indian Culture*: Published was a sociological study. In the context of Indian culture, he describes tradition as follows:

Indian culture is a social and historical process that has produced a number of general attitudes. It is made up of a few common traditions. Buddhism, Islam, and western commerce and culture have had the greatest impact on their development. Indian culture became what it is today because of the assimilation and conflict of such diverse forces. It is neither Hindu nor Islamic, nor is it a copy of the western way of living and thinking, nor is it just an Asiatic product.

### **Composition of tradition**

Indian customs are the product of various historical events. They actually construct Indian culture's structure. These traditions are associated with a number of ideologies, including Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, tribalism, and western modernity. As a result, these traditions have been built through the synthesis process.

In this regard, it would be incorrect to assume that Hindu traditions are the only ones in India. In fact, they combine the customs of a number of the country's ethnic groups. T.N. Madan's interpretation of how the principles of various religious ideologies shaped Indian traditions is as follows:

In this verifiable cycle, union had been the predominant getting sorted out rule of the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Muslim who had together formed a perspective in which, as per D.P., 'the reality of being was of enduring importance'.

Charaivati, or "keep moving forward," was one of the Upanishads that he cherished the most. This indicated that there had developed a preoccupation with the subordination of the "little self to" and, ultimately, its dissolution in the "supreme reality" and an indifference to the sensual and the transitory.

D.P. attempted to classify Indian traditions into three categories, namely, secondary, primary, and tertiary. The primary practices have always been fundamental and true to Indian society. When Muslims arrived in the country, secondary traditions were given second place.

In addition, Hindus and Muslims had not yet fully integrated their traditions at all social levels when the British arrived. They were more or less in agreement when it came to the use and appropriation of natural resources, but less so when it came to religious and aesthetic traditions. However, differences remained prominent in conceptual thought's tertiary traditions.

### **Sources of Tradition:**

Certainly, any discussion of India's modernization and traditions must include traditions. However, D.P. has not disclosed the traditions' contents. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and western culture are the primary sources of traditions; however, D.P. does not specify which traditions, such as those of Hinduism or Islam, make up the broader Indian tradition. T.N. Madan has pointed out his weakness in this regard, stating that D.P. believes the general makeup of Indian tradition could be a synthesis of Vedanta, western liberation, and Marxism. But what about combining Buddhism and Islam? D.P. does not offer a similar synthesis of any of the major traditions. The following are T.N.

### **Madan's remarks regarding D.P.'s failure**

The development and articulation of his concept of the content of tradition would be an equally significant and challenging endeavor. He establishes the relevance of tradition to modernity at the principle level, which I believe is convincing, but he does not specify its empirical content

other than in terms of general categories. One unsettling impression was that he focused more on institution and general knowledge than on a thorough study of the texts. He, at least for himself, ruled out a confrontation with tradition through fieldwork in the manner of the anthropologist.

Although Indian sociologists have discussed tradition extensively, little effort has been made to determine its origins and content. And when we talk about D.P. Mukerji, this goes very well. Let's look at some other sociologists who have written about tradition as well.

### **D.P. Mukerji's Perspectives on Tradition and Change**

D.P. Mukerji turned to sociology because he was dissatisfied with Indian history and economics. He was very sure that India's social system was the most important thing that made it unique, so it was important for every social science to be rooted in this context. The social aspect was the most important aspect of the Indian context: India's history, politics, and economy were less developed than those of the West; The social dimensions, on the other hand, were "over-developed." "My conviction grew that India had had society, and very little else," D.P. wrote. She actually consumed too much of it. I realized that her history, economics, and even philosophy had always focused on social groups and, at best, socialized people. Mukherji, 1955:2) Because society is so important in India, it became the first responsibility of an Indian sociologist to study and understand the country's social customs. This study of tradition included sensitivity to change as well as a focus on the past, according to D.P. As a result, tradition was a living thing that connected to the past while also adapting to the present and changing over time. "...it is not sufficient for the Indian sociologist to be a sociologist," he wrote. He must first be an Indian, which means he must learn about Indian folkways, mores, and customs in order to comprehend his social system and what lies beneath and above it. He held the view that sociologists should learn and be familiar with both "high" and "low" languages and cultures, including local dialects in addition to Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic. D.P. argued that Indian society and culture do not promote individualism in the way that the West does. The typical Indian person rarely deviates from his or her sociocultural group pattern, which sets his or her pattern of desires more or less rigidly.

Consequently, the Indian social framework is essentially situated towards gathering, group, or position activity, not 'voluntaristic' individual activity. The appearance of "voluntarism" ought to be an intriguing topic



of study for the Indian sociologist, despite the fact that it was beginning to influence the urban middle classes. D.P. pointed out that tradition's original meaning is to transmit. Its equivalents in Sanskrit are either parampara, which means succession; or aitihiya, which derives from the same ancestor as history or itihas. Because of this, traditions have a strong connection to the past and are perpetuated by telling and recalling stories and myths over and over again. However, despite the fact that this connection to the past does not rule out change, it does point to a process of adapting to it. In every society, there are always internal and external sources of change. In Western societies, the economy is the most frequently cited internal source of change; however, this source has not been as effective in India.

D.P. believed that in the Indian context, where new class relations had not yet emerged very sharply, class conflict had been "smoothed and covered by caste traditions." He came to the conclusion that providing an account of the internal, non-economic causes of change would be one of the first tasks for a dynamic Indian sociology. D.P. was of the opinion that Indian traditions recognized three principles of change: anubhava, smriti, and shruti. The last of these, personal experience, or anubhava, is the revolutionary principle.

Personal experience, on the other hand, quickly evolved into collective experience in the Indian context. This indicated that generalised anubhava, also known as the collective experience of groups, was the most crucial change principle in Indian society. The high traditions were centered on smriti and sruti, but the collective experiences of groups and sects, like the bhakti movement, sometimes challenged them. D.P. emphasized that this was the case not only for Hindu culture in India but also for Muslim culture. The Sufis, who have played a significant role in bringing about change in Indian Islam, have emphasized love and experience rather than holy texts. As a result, D.P. believes that the Indian context does not place an emphasis on discursive reason (buddhi-vichar) as the primary driver of change; As agents of change, anubhava and prem (experience and love) have historically performed better.

In the Indian context, conflict and rebellion typically arise from collective experiences. However, tradition's resilience ensures that conflict-induced change does not break the tradition. As a result, we experience recurrent cycles in which popular uprisings challenge the dominant orthodoxy and transform it, only to be reabsorbed into the transformed



tradition. A caste society, where the formation of classes and class consciousness has been hindered, is typical for this process of change—rebellion contained within the confines of an overarching tradition. D.P. criticized all instances of irrational borrowing from western intellectual traditions, including development planning, because of his views on tradition and change.

Just as modernity was necessary but not to be blindly adopted, tradition was neither to be worshipped nor ignored. D.P. was both an admiring critic of modernity, which he acknowledged had shaped his own intellectual perspective, and a proud but critical inheritor of tradition.

### Activity 1:

Discuss about the concept of a “living tradition.”

As indicated by D.P. Mukerji, this is a practice which keeps up with joins with the past by holding something from it, and simultaneously integrates new things. As a result, a living tradition incorporates both traditional and contemporary components. If you try to find out from different generations of people in your neighborhood or family about what has changed and what has remained the same about particular practices, you can get a better and more concrete sense of what this means. The following is a list of possible topics: You could also experiment with other topics of your choosing. Games played by kids your age (boys or girls) How a popular festival is celebrated, what women and men typically wear, and other topics of your choosing. For each of these, you need to find out: What aspects have not changed since, as far back as you are aware of or are able to determine? What changes have occurred? What remained the same about the practice or event ten years ago? ii) Twenty years ago; iii) a decade ago; iv) more than sixty years ago.

Examine your analysis with the entire class.

By ‘living practice’, D.P. Mukerji implies that the practices were shaped in the past as well as continued to change with the present and developed over the long run. It is able to keep fundamental elements from the past. Because an Indian sociologist should first understand his or her own social system, he insisted that Indian sociologists be rooted in this tradition.

He used the dialectical materialism of Marx to examine Indian society. He argued that India's modernity and tradition, British colonialism and nationalism, individualism and collectivism, or sangha, are dialectical. His dialectics theory was based on liberal humanism.

### **The rise of India's middle class**

The British arrived with a completely foreign economic system that relied on money and mechanical production. They destroyed the self-sufficient rural economy, traditional panchayat, indigenous merchant capital, and trade and commerce. They introduced a new land settlement based on private property and profit, created physical and occupational mobility in a society that had been relatively static before, and forced Indians into an English-only educational system. The category of absentee landlords, the main British strength in rural India, was created by the new land-revenue system. These landlords remained unaffected by villagers' responsibilities and agricultural productivity. In a similar vein, education in English produced a class that did not support the colonial masters and was socially and psychologically dissimilar to the majority of Indians who did not speak English. The new middle class consisted of the landlords and the literati, who were completely removed from the language and culture of the people. [...] ( 2010 Chakrabarti: 237-238).

## **2.4 Important Works**

Some of the important sociological works of D. P. Mukerji are:

- a) Basic Concepts in Sociology (1932)
- b) Personality and the Social Sciences (1924)
- c) Modern Indian Culture (1942)
- d) Problems of Indian Youths (1946)
- e) Diversities (1958) Out of these books, Modern Indian Culture (1942) and Diversities (1958) are his best known works.

His versatility can be seen from his other contributions too, such as, his books,

Tagore: A Study (1943) b) On Indian History (1943) c) Introduction to Indian Music (1943)

## Check Your Progress 2

- 1) In what way was Mukerji's approach to economics different from that of other economists?
- 2) Give the names of the two of D. P. Mukerji's major works in sociology

## 2.5 Let Us Sum Up

The D P Mukerji biographical details were the topic of this unit. We have talked about some of his most important ideas in sociology. Numerous sociologists have referred to his concepts regarding the significance of tradition in Indian society, integrated personality development, and unity in diversity. In conclusion, we have listed a few of the three thinkers' most significant works.

## 2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

### Check Your Progress

- 1) D. P. Mukerji was keenly interested in social processes taking place in a rapidly changing society like India. He was a Professor of sociology at Lucknow University which he had joined in 1922. He was trained in both economics and history and he combined sociology with economics and history. He called himself a Marxologist due to his belief that Marx's ideas were very relevant when adapted to Indian history and civilisation.
- 2) According to D. P. Mukerji, for an integrated development of personality there was need for a balance between technological development and human freedom.

### Check Your Progress

- 1) Mukerji's approach to economics was distinct from that of other economists. He viewed the economic development in India in terms of historical and cultural specificities
- 2) Two of his important works are:
  - a) Modern Indian Culture (1942)
  - b) Diversities (1958)

**Personality**

DP once jokingly stated that he presented the “purusha” thesis. The “purusha” isn’t cut off from society or anyone else. He is also free from the influence of the group. As an active agent, the purusha builds relationships with other people and fulfills duties. According to his argument, the “purusha” improves as a result of his interactions with other people and thus ranks higher among human groups. He acknowledges that Indian social life is comparable to that of bees and beavers and that Indians are almost rigid. However, “the beauty of it” is that most of us do not feel confined. He is constantly emptying his purse as a result of being exposed to advertisements, press chains, and chain stores. On the other hand, the average Indian’s low aspirational level, which is moderated by group norms, results in greater poise in life.

**Traditions**

According to D.P. Mukerji, the word “to transmit” comes from the Latin word “tradere.” Tradition can be translated into Sanskrit as either parampara, which means succession, or aitibya, which shares the same root as itihasa, which means history.

Customs should have a source. Scriptures, statements of stages (aplavakya), or fictional heroes with or without names are all possibilities. The majority of people acknowledge the historicity of traditions, regardless of their origin. They are praised, remembered, and quoted. Truth be told, their age-long progression guarantees social attachment and social fortitude.

**The nature and method of Sociology**

DP and his method were to train an economist. However, he was aware of the limitations of other economists’ methods. They were interested in learning and using sophisticated methods as well as abstract generalizations based on the western model.

**Marxism and Indian situations**

The situation in India and Marxism DP had a lot of faith in Marxism, but he had doubts about how well Marxists could analyze Indian social issues. He provided three justifications:

- (1) The Marxists would consider class conflict to be the basis for all analysis. However, the caste traditions have covered class conflict in our society for a long time, and the new class relations have not yet emerged clearly.
- (2) A lot of them don't know much about India's socioeconomic history.
- (3) The mechanism by which economic pressures operate differs from mechanical force moving a solid object. Traditions are extremely resistant.

### **The role of the new middle class**

Under the new system, the educated middle class in India's urban centers became the center of society. They are unaware of the Indian custom. Thus, India's modernization must be its westernization, according to Marx as well as many others since his time, including intellectuals of various viewpoints.

### **Modernization**

Self-consciousness is the modernization form. Nationalism, democracy, the use of science and technology to harness nature, social and economic development planning, and the cultivation of rationality are all mentioned in DP's writings from the 1950s. The social and technical engineer is the typical modern man (1958: 39-40).

### **Music**

DP's Introduction to Music (1945) can be compared to Max Weber's Rational Social Foundations of Music. DP's work is still the only one of its kind today. It demonstrates that Indian music is simply an arrangement of sounds; Being Indian, it is unquestionably rooted in Indian history. In both instances, during times of crisis, classical music drew on people's music for new life, elaborated their leisure, and imposed sophisticated music on it. Making Indian history D.P. disagreed significantly not only with Marx's assessment of the positive consequences of the British Rule but also with his negative assessment of pre-British traditions, despite closely following Marx in his conception of history and characterization of British rule as uprooting.

### His Writings

D.P. Mukerji was a versatile scholar who wrote. *Diversities*, his 19th book, was published in 1958; nine in English and ten in Bengali. Among his early works are; *Personality and the Social Sciences* (1924) and *Basic Concepts in Sociology* (1932). The following are additional publications: *Problems of Indian Youth* (1942), *Modern Indian Culture* (revised and expanded edition published in 1948), and *Views and Counterviews*. His best-known works are *Modern Indian Culture* (1942) and *Diversities* (1958). His veracity is evident in his other works, such as *Tagore: A Study of Indian History*, 1943; *Introduction to Music* (1945) and *A Study in Method* (1943). In addition, as a novelist, essayist, and literary critic, he holds a special place in Bengali literature.

### Conclusion

One of the Indian sociology's founding fathers was Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji. He had genuinely lengthy custom of scholarly pursuits. DP saw intellectualism in two different ways. In the first place, finding the sources and possibilities of social reality in the lingo of custom and advancement, and, second fostering a coordinated character through quest for information. The first principle derived from Marx was to pay attention to specifics within a larger framework of understanding. In an important essay on the Marxist method of historical interpretation, D.P. Mukerji made this methodological point. He adopted Marxism in a variety of ways, from placing an emphasis on the economic aspect of cultural production to elevating practice to the status of a test of theory.

### 2.7 REFERENCES

**Chakrabarti, Dalia. 2010.** 'D P Mukerji and the Middle Class in India', *Sociological Bulletin*, 59, 2:235-255.

**Indira Gandhi National Open University Course Material. 2003.** *New Delhi: IGNOU. Mukerji, D. P. 1986. Diversities.* Bombay: Popular Parkashan.

## Lesson 2.2 - A R Desai

### Akshay Ramanlal Desai (1915-1994)

A. R. Desai was born in 1915. Early education in Baroda, then in Surat and Bombay.

1934-39: Member of Communist Party of India; involved with Trotskyite groups.

1946: Ph.D. submitted at Bombay under the supervision of G.S. Ghurye.

1948: Desai's Ph.D. dissertation is published as the book: *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*.

1951: Joins the faculty of the Department of Sociology at Bombay University

1953-1981: Member of Revolutionary Socialist Party.

1961: *Rural Transition in India* is published.

1967: Appointed Professor and Head of Department.

1975: *State and Society in India: Essays in Dissent* is published.

1976: Retired from Department of Sociology.

1979: *Peasant Struggles in India* is published.

1986: *Agrarian Struggles in India after Independence* is published.  
Died on 12 November 1994.

### Structure

2.2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2.2 Biographical Sketch

2.2.3 Central Ideas

2.2.4.1 Indian Nationalism

2.2.4.2 Role of the State in Capitalist Transformation in India

2.2.4.3 Path of Development

2.2.4.4 Understanding Indian Society from Marxian Approach

2.2.5 Important Works

2.2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.2.7 References

2.2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

### 2.2.1 Learning Objectives

You should be able to:

- outline A R Desai's biographical details after going through this unit;
- describe A R Desai's contribution to Indian sociology;
- talk about his main points; and
- list a few of his most significant works.

### 2.2.2 Biographical Sketch

On April 16, 2015, Akshay Ramanlal Desai was born in Nadiad, Gujarat. In the 1920s and 1930s, his father, Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, worked as a civil servant in the princely state of Baroda. In the 1930s, he was a well-known litterateur who inspired young people. His sensitive mind was deeply influenced by his travels with this father across the state of Baroda. In addition to serving as an officer of the state of Baroda, Ramanlal Desai was a well-known author who wrote numerous novels about the lives of peasants, inspiring young people to work toward social change. The exploitation of peasants as a result of excessive rent, a vehement critique of colonialism, and the role that citizens played in the creation of a new India were all themes that recurred frequently in his writings. In addition, he had a strong admiration for Gandhi and a preference for Fabian socialism.

All of these influences were absorbed by the young Akshay Desai. He learned from his father how to pay attention to the world around you and try to change it by getting involved. This was to remain with him till his end. His father also introduced him to a variety of literary and musical giants during his childhood. His family was extremely sensitive to social oppression, which contributed to his profound political consciousness. He married Neera Desai, a pioneer in the development of Women's Studies in India, in 1947. Their son, Mihir Desai, works as a prominent human rights attorney in Mumbai. In 1946, he began his career as a lecturer at Siddharth College in Bombay. In 1951, he joined the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay, where he went on to become Professor and Head of the Department in 1969. In 1976, he left the Department.

In the Indian Council of Social Science Research, A.R.Desai served as a Senior Fellow from 1973 to 1975 and a National Fellow from 1981 to 1985, respectively. He was President of the Gujarat Sociological Society



from 1988 to 1990 and the Indian Sociological Society from 1980 to 1981. He was the only Indian sociologist who was involved in politics and was a member of various non-mainstream left political parties at various times, even though he was briefly a member of the Communist Party of India in his early years in the 1930s.

Since his early undergraduate years, he was a staunch Marxist, and he remained so until his death in 1994. When he was a student in the undergraduate level, he was drawn to radical politics. Additionally, the 1930s saw the emergence of a left-leaning alternative to mainstream nationalism represented by the Congress. There were ideological disagreements between the more left-leaning sections of the Congress and the more right-leaning ones. However, the Congress was being challenged by the left-leaning alternative, which was distinct from the Congress. Gujarat was where the kisan movement began in the 1930s. Baroda was a significant center for radical and left politics, including Communist Party activists.

Akshay Desai is said to have been suspended from his Baroda college for his activities. In order to continue his studies and activities, he relocated to Surat and then Bombay. Both the burgeoning communist movement and trade union activism had their nerve centers in Bombay. The fact that there were numerous currents of political activity throughout this period, both nationally and locally in Gujarat, is interesting. The various ideological and political currents fought to exert influence over the anti-colonial movement. Workers in Bombay's textile mills, Calcutta's jute mills, and mines were engaged in a struggle against inhumane exploitation, long hours, and low pay.

Both the workers' struggle and the nationalist movement were dominated by the trade union movement. Additionally, this was during the Great Depression. Major industries were impacted by the industrial recession that followed, further fueling labor militancy. During this time, the labor movement's communist leadership and presence grew. People's groups grew in number, including trade unions, Kisan Sabhas, student federations, women's groups, cultural and literary forums, and trade unions. All of these groups had a strong anti-colonial consciousness. At various times, various political parties and forces, including the Congress, socialists, and communists, collaborated in all of these various venues.

Given the diverse and sometimes even opposing points of view, working together in various organizations was, of course, not easy. Despite divergent strands of separatism, the national movement's inclusiveness is a remarkable trait. However, at the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, the country was under the ominous shadow of partition, which was soon to become a terrible and terrifying reality, accompanied by mutual slaughter in Punjab and Bengal. For any sensitive youth, these were trying times. In 1934, Desai joined the Communist Party and became involved in the communist movement. However, he left the Communist Party after just five years because he found the party's bureaucratic structure to be oppressive. More importantly, he opposed the Party's shift in support for British war efforts in India when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1939. In 1939, he resigned from the party. Throughout Desai's entire teaching career, he continued to conduct research and engage in activism, resulting in numerous publications in English and Gujarati.

### **2.2.3 Central Ideas**

As you can see from the previous section, Desai participated in radical politics and later joined leftist and Marxist organizations that were active in the nationalist movement in Surat and Mumbai, where he later pursued higher education. So, it should come as no surprise that his main ideas were about Indian nationalism, the role of the state in social and political change, development, and the Marxist perspective on Indian society. Let's talk about each of his ideas in the sections that come after.

#### **2.2.3.1 Indian Nationalism**

Nationalism served as the frame and setting for the social sciences' emergence in India. His social inquiries were sparked by the questions and issues he was asked about Indian society, the Indian people, and the struggles they were going through, all of which he was a part of. When evaluating his life work, this is the most crucial fact to keep in mind. His work was largely based on the historical materialism method. Social Background of Indian Nationalism is the title of the book that was made out of his doctoral dissertation. He later published a second book, Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism. The first, originally his doctoral dissertation, was published in 1946 and has been revised multiple times.

This was written at the height of the anti-colonial movement and has a broad historical scope. It captures the many contradictions that A R Desai's country was going through, including the imminent partition. Desai examinations the different powers at work at that point and the progressions achieved by frontier strategies in the essential design of Indian culture. He sees nationalism as a historical category that emerged at a specific time in history as a modern phenomenon. When the Indian people were political subjects of the British Empire, it developed in India as a result of a combination of objective and subjective factors. Indian nationalism began in earnest at the beginning of the 19th century, but it didn't really take root until the latter part of the century.

The nation that was created was not uniform; It was made up of various classes that emerged during colonial rule. Indian society under British colonial rule underwent profound structural changes that led to a new path of development known as capitalist development. These changes affected almost every aspect of Indian social life, including modern means of transportation and communication, capitalist property relations in land, the establishment of a centralized state, the introduction of western education, new forms of administration, and even limited forms of provincial self-rule. Although it did so to serve its own interests—namely, the colonial exploitation of India—it toppled the older order and unleashed numerous dynamic new forces that revolutionized Indian society.

Desai investigates the contradictory aspect of colonialism. Marx had argued that capitalism would fundamentally alter the caste system-characterized productive forces of Indian society; Marx's own ideas, on the other hand, changed in this regard. Desai, on the other hand, made it abundantly clear that colonial rule did not contribute to the revolution because it destroyed the very institutions that were able to facilitate the expansion of capitalism, namely the factories of the pre-capitalist era. Desai was also interested in bringing attention to the unique caste system of Indian pre-capitalist society.

He emphasizes the “self-sufficient” village community's lack of private land ownership, which was a crucial part of the agrarian system in pre-British India. He discusses the social effects of agricultural transformation, decline in town handicrafts, and destruction of village artisan industries. According to him (Desai 1976:92), “It was the village artisan industries that constituted the industrial pillar of the economic

autarchy of the village, the other being the self-sufficient village agriculture.” Indian nationalism emerged as a result of the conflict with British colonial-imperialist rule caused by the new social forces and classes.

It is remarkable that Indian nationalism emerged in the midst of enormous social and religio-cultural diversity, powerful institutions, and subcontinental dimensions of vastness and complexity. Various intellectual, political, economic, social, religious, and cultural movements emerged during the encounter between Indian society and British colonial rule. “various complex movements which created a new, exciting, interesting, heroic and unique history for Indian people” were the results of these efforts by various strata and classes to alter the situation created by British rule, either to assimilate or challenge its varied effects (Desai 1976: viii).

The final phase of Indian nationalism, which began in 1918 under Gandhi’s leadership and included a number of distinct phases, was crucial to the nationalist movement. This period was described by areas of strength for a base and many classes and gatherings were dynamic members in the public development, despite the fact that segments of Indian business people had stretched out help to the Indian Public Congress from the 1920s onwards. With independence, they grew in power over the national movement at an ever-increasing rate.

Rarely does a thorough analysis of the many facets of colonial exploitation under British rule occur. The question of caste, also known as “the steel frame of Hinduism,” the various social reform movements against caste, the question of political representation, and the issue of nationalities and minorities are all addressed in this way. At the same time, new social forces, new social classes, the role of education, and the destruction of the old social order based on agriculture and handicrafts are also addressed. It is remarkable that the book addresses all of the important questions that were being debated intellectually or politically at the time. For instance, in Desai 1976, the possibility of capitalist development in pre-colonial Indian society is seriously debated, and the question of whether India could have pursued a capitalist path is examined.

Desai evaluates the development path and summarizes the significant characteristics of the postindependence trajectory in *Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism* (1960). He emphasizes the uneven nature of capitalist development as well as a bourgeoisie (capitalist class) with roots in feudalism and semi-feudalism. Indian bourgeoisie was unable

to accomplish the goals of a bourgeois democratic revolution—namely, the end of feudalism, the organization of the national economy, and a general democratization of society—because of its feudal social origins and composition.

Furthermore, the state device acquired at freedom was very nearly a copy of the provincial state contraption since freedom was not a veritable freedom but rather an exchange of force in which the Indian Public Congress, vigorously impacted by business and entrepreneur interests, assumed a main part. Desai knew exactly which path he wanted to take: it was average industrialization versus communist industrialization. According to Desai (1960), he argues that a distinct distinction between the two is necessary because it would result in qualitatively distinct social, institutional, ideological, and cultural patterns and, consequently, the kind of social structural pattern. Desai's intellectual and political engagement was centered on colonialism and nationalism as concepts and areas of action during the pre-Independence era, while the post-Independence era focused on the state's character and A R Desai's development path.

### **Check Your Progress**

- 1) In two sentences outline Desai's approach to the understanding of nationalism in India.
- 2) What was the difference in Desai's intellectual and political engagement in pre-Independent period and post-Independent period in India?

### **2.2.3.2 The Role of the State in Capitalist Transformation in India**

In examining the post-Independence period, the State and its crucial role in social and political transformation, particularly rural transformation, and the question of the development path are two concepts that recur frequently. The State initiates a capitalist transformation process after independence, contrary to the expectations of the nationalist movement. His work throughout remained centered on the historical method. His earlier work, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, in which he developed the Marxian historical method, and his later work, in which he focused on the class character of the state, the nature of the classes that make up society, and their relationship to the state, share some similarities.

Importantly, he links the path of development that followed independence to the nationalist movement's trajectory, the dominance and influence of the capitalist class on the movement, and the choices that were made during the movement. Desai compiled a comprehensive collection of articles and reports in the edited volumes *Rural Sociology in India* (1969) and *Peasant Struggles in India* (1979), which chart the shifts in rural society over many decades. He has provided a critical analysis of the peasantry's role in the volume on *Peasant Struggles in India* in an article titled "Unconventional Anthropology of the 'Traditional' Peasantry," highlighting Eric Wolf's historically significant *Peasant Wars in the Twenty-First Century*. Desai has woven all of the material across centuries and regions in a remarkable introduction to highlight the major socioeconomic policies and processes initiated by the State, particularly their impact on the peasantry.

The State focused on rural society's transformation for the first three decades after independence. Desai looks at the State's policies, which primarily aim to change the agrarian structure from pre-capitalist to capitalist relationships. Conscious State intervention has altered relationships and agrarian society. The goal of agrarian policy was to create a class of agricultural capitalists, wealthy farmers, and middle-class peasant owners who were directly connected to the state in place of Zamindari, absentee intermediaries and parasitic landlordism. Through "development" programs and land laws, this was accomplished, resulting in a division of the peasantry that saw the rise of a class of agricultural capitalists, wealthy peasants, and a pauperized, hungry, and landless rural proletariat simultaneously.

### **2.2.3.3 The Path of Development**

Desai's primary concern, which recurs throughout his writings, is the path of development. He connects this question to a number of issues that the nation faced after becoming independent. His primary criticism has been directed at both the proponents of the "modernization syndrome," also known as development along a capitalist path, and academics and social scientists, who view this as "a desirable value premise." Two of the volumes: *State and Society in India* (1975) and *The Development Path of India: His writings on the development path and nature of India's social transformation can be found in A Marxist Approach* (1984).



He critically examines the assumptions that underlie the modernization thesis that was posited by the academic establishment and shaped the content of the curriculum in the expanding educational apparatus in the volume *State and Society in India*. The well-known “tradition-modernity” thesis was an important part of the modernization thesis that was popular among mainstream academics. It effectively disguised the State’s capitalist development path. These kinds of intellectual pursuits benefited capitalist development and received financial support from the state.

This contributed to the production of valuable data that was utilized in the formulation of concrete policy measures. Additionally, it contributed to the development and consolidation of an educated group to run administration, services, and other professions. In addition, it served as an ideological tool for socializing the younger generation in a particular way (Desai, 1984: viii) The capitalist transformation of India and the state’s role as a catalyst in this process are the primary subjects of his research. The bourgeois democratic tasks would be completed, and a socialist stage would follow, due to the relationship between the capitalist class and the State, the shaping of various institutions, such as the legal framework and administrative apparatus for facilitating capitalist development, the major policy initiatives, the public sector, and planning as a major instrument.

This would necessitate opposing social alliances, with the first envisioning a partnership with segments of a “progressive national bourgeoisie.” In addition, he harshly criticizes the “peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism” theory. Desai says that the crucial question is: In a backward country with a majority of peasants, what should the nature of the revolution be during the imperialist phase of capitalism, particularly following the October revolution? He made it clear that the bourgeoisie in a country like India was too weak to move the economy and society from colonial underdevelopment to even bourgeois development. As a result, in order to complete the bourgeois democratic tasks, a socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class and in alliance with a portion of the marginalized rural proletariat is required. When he was looking at the processes in India after independence, one of his primary concerns was the way the Indian state was developing. The state that emerged in India after independence was a capitalist state that was developing along a capitalist path, and Indian society was being shaped along capitalist lines.



In order to comprehend the processes at work and their impact on the Indian people, sociologists and other social scientists must therefore address the question of the path of development and analyze the class character of the Indian state. In order to attempt to comprehend the processes at work in Indian society, class and the state serve as the primary concepts. He found the Marxist approach to be most pertinent in his endeavor to comprehend Indian society and the social, economic, and political processes in post-independence India, as well as their impact on the Indian populace.

### **Check Your Progress 2**

- 1) Why did Desai leave the Communist Party?
- 2) List the main factors that facilitate capitalist development in India.

#### **2.2.3.4 Using a Marxist Approach to Understand Indian Society**

Desai's primary goal was to use the Marxist method to investigate the various contradictions that exist in Indian society with the intention of transforming the society. Contradictions include not only conflicts or tensions, but also systemic and structural conflicts that shape society's fundamental structure, such as those between the working class and the bourgeoisie or the peasantry and landlordism. In his view, the Marxist method was not only important and necessary for comprehending Indian society, but it was also a fundamental component of the field of sociology and social anthropology.

In 1980, he gave the Presidential Address on the Relevance of the Marxist Approach to the Study of Indian Society to the Indian Sociological Conference in Meerut (Desai, 1984:1-19). There are numerous points made in this discussion. Desai features the significant improvements since the 1950s which should be observed, one of which being the gigantic extension of advanced education. He talks about the phenomenal growth of higher education institutions like universities and colleges, with the social sciences becoming more important: On the national scene, social science knowledge generators and transmitters operate on a large scale. There are a lot of trained people in the fields of sociology and social anthropology. According to Desai (1984:3), he describes the institutional framework for sociology training and research as a massive knowledge factory producing large quantities of micro surveys and micro field reports.

The entire address is addressed to his professional colleagues, expressing, in part, the serious reservations held by social scientists and, in part, engaging the field in a discussion about the research's social significance. The following are some important issues that were brought up:

- (i) The colonial framework that constrains sociological research's vision and saps its creativity. Overall, sociological research operates within a dependency framework, borrowing concepts and methods from "high prestige centres of learning" in the United States and the United Kingdom. The perspective has been distorted and the development of Indian sociology has been stifled as a result of this uncritical acceptance of exogenous models without assessing their relevance to Indian society and conditions.
- (ii) The unwillingness to draw from both indology and history is related to the hardening of disciplinary boundaries, which results in a segmented perspective.
- (iii) The significant inquiry of the worth free position and an alleged impartiality while at the same time tolerating carelessly the qualities took on by the strategy creators; The broader question of the ethical dimension of sociology, which has evolved into "a discipline without human meaning purpose," is related to this.
- (iv) Social scientific analyses are essentially ahistoric, static, and synchronic in their approach, pursuing a structural-functional, equilibrium model, despite the fact that Indian society is undergoing significant social change.
- (v) Sociology is unable to make a meaningful contribution to the difficulties of development because it does not address the crucial issues facing Indian society. The fact that the majority of the issues were articulated by the most prominent social anthropologists and sociologists is significant.

#### **2.2.4 Important Works**

Some of A R Desai's important works are:

- (i) Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism (1960)

- (ii) Rural Sociology in India (1969)
- (iii) State and Society in India: Essays in Dissent (1975)
- (iv) India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach (1984)

### 2.2.5 Let Us Sum Up

In this unit, we learned about A R Desai's personal life. We discovered that nationalism, development, peasantry, and social and political transformation were at the heart of his thinking. His ideas and method for comprehending Indian society were clearly influenced by Gandhi and Marx. Lastly, we may conclude that A R Desai was an activist involved in labor union activities in addition to being a sociologist.

### 2.2.6 References

1. **Beteille, A. 2009.** *Sociology and Ideology*, Sociological Bulletin, 58, 2, May/August 2009.
2. **Desai, A. R. 1960.** *Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
3. **Desai, A. R. 1976.** *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
4. **Desai, A.R. (ed) 1979** *Peasant Struggles in India*. Oxford University Press.
5. **Desai, A. R. 1984.** *India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
6. **Deshpande, S. 2007.** 'Fashioning a Post-Colonial Discipline' in *Anthropology in the East: Founders of Sociology and Anthropology in the East*, edited by Patricia Uberoi, Nandini Sundar and Satish Deshpande, New Delhi: Permanent Black.
7. **Jhaveri, Mansukhlal 1978.** *A History of Gujarati Literature*. Sahitya Akademi.

## UNIT - III

## Lesson 3.1 - G S Ghurye

**Govind Sadashiv Ghurye (1893-1983)**

G. S. Ghurye was born on 12 December 1893 in Malvan, a town in the Konkan coastal region of western India. His family owned a trading business which had once been prosperous, but was in decline.



- 1913: Joined Elphinstone College in Bombay with Sanskrit Honours for the B.A. degree which he completed in 1916. Received the M.A. degree in Sanskrit and English from the same college in 1918.
  - 1919: Selected for a scholarship by the University of Bombay for training abroad in sociology. Initially went to the London School of Economics to study with L.T. Hobhouse, a prominent sociologist of the time. Later went to Cambridge to study with W.H.R. Rivers, and was deeply influenced by his diffusionist perspective.
  - 1923: Ph.D. submitted under A.C. Haddon after River's sudden death in 1922. Returned to Bombay in May. *Caste and Race in India*, the manuscript based on the doctoral dissertation, was accepted for publication in a major book series at Cambridge.
  - 1924: After brief stay in Calcutta, was appointed *Reader* and *Head* of the Department of Sociology at Bombay University in June. He remained as *Head* of the Department at Bombay University for the next 35 years.
  - 1936: Ph.D. Programme was launched at the Bombay Department; the first Ph.D. in Sociology at an Indian university was awarded to G.R. Pradhan under Ghurye's supervision. The M.A. course was revised and made a full-fledged 8-course programme in 1945.
  - 1951: Ghurye established the Indian Sociological Society and became its founding President. The journal of the Indian Sociological Society, *Sociological Bulletin* was launched in 1952.
  - 1959: Ghurye retired from the University, but continued to be active in academic life, particularly in terms of publication — 17 of his 30 books were written after retirement.
- G.S. Ghurye died in 1983, at the age of 90.

**Structure**

- 3.1 Learning Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
  - 3.2.1 Caste and Kinship in India
  - 3.2.2 New Roles of Caste in India
  - 3.2.3 Study of Tribes in India
  - 3.2.4 Rural-Urbanization in India
  - 3.2.5 Religious Beliefs and Practices in India
  - 3.2.6 Role of Sadhus in Indian Tradition

- 3.2.7 Indian Art and Architecture
- 3.2.8 Hindu-Muslim Relationships
- 3.3 Important Works
- 3.4 Let us Sum Up
- 3.5 References
- 3.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

### 3.1 Learning Objectives

You will be able to do the following after completing this unit:

- describe Govind Sadashiv Ghurye's contribution to Indian sociology;
- provide an overview of Govind Sadashiv Ghurye's life story;
- explain some of his main ideas about caste, rural and urban communities, and how they helped sociology in India; and
- list a few of his most significant works.

### 3.2 Introduction

Professor G. S. Ghurye, who lived from 1893 to 1983, is rightfully regarded as an authority on Indian sociology. Ghurye succeeded Sir Patric Geddes as Head of Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay in 1924 after returning from Cambridge, where he had written his doctoral dissertation under W.H.R. Rivers and later A.C. Haddon. Ghurye was an ethnographer of tribes and castes, but he also wrote a lot about other things. Ghurye emphasized integration in his writings. Before entering the field of sociology, Ghurye was educated as a Sanskritist. His later work on Vedic India was an example of his interest in Sanskrit literature.

Until his retirement in 1959, he maintained his position as department head. He became the first Emeritus Professor at the University of Bombay after retiring.

Ghurye has made a significant and varied contribution to the growth of sociology and anthropology in India. Ghurye was a prolific author who published 32 books and scores of papers on a variety of subjects, including marriage and kinship, urbanization, ascetic practices, tribal life, demography, architecture, and literature. By establishing the Indian Sociological Society and its journal, Sociological Bulletin, Ghurye played

a significant role in the professionalization of sociology. He also helped a lot of talented students by encouraging and training them, which helped push the boundaries of the country's sociological and anthropological research. With his own voluminous result and through the explores of his capable understudies Ghurye left on an aggressive task of outlining the ethnographic scene of India.

In India, G.S. Ghurye is credited with starting institutionalized sociology. For thirty-five years, he oversaw Bombay University's first postgraduate teaching department of sociology in India. He guided many researchers, many of whom went on to hold important positions in their fields. In addition, he established the Indian Sociological Society and its publication, Sociological Bulletin. In addition to being prolific, his academic writings covered a very broad range of topics. Ghurye was successful in promoting sociology as an increasingly Indian field at a time when there was very little institutional and financial support for university research.

Two of the features were first successfully implemented by Ghurye's Bombay University department, and his successors enthusiastically endorsed them. These included the active integration of research and teaching at the same institution and the synthesis of social anthropology and sociology into a single field. Perhaps his works on race and caste are his most well-known works.

Ghurye also wrote extensively on a variety of other subjects, such as tribes; marriage, family, and kinship; civilization, culture, and the historical significance of cities; religion; and the sociology of integration and conflict. Ghurye was probably influenced by diffusionism, Orientalist scholarship on Hindu religion and thought, nationalism, and the cultural aspects of Hindu identity, among other intellectual and contextual concerns. "Tribal" or "aboriginal" cultures were one of Ghurye's primary focus areas. In point of fact, his writings on this topic, particularly his debate with Verrier Elwin, were the first to make him known to people outside of sociology and academia.

There was a lot of discussion about the place of tribal societies in India and how the state should deal with them in the 1930s and 1940s. A lot of British administrators and anthropologists were particularly interested in the Indian tribes because they thought they were primitive people with a unique culture that was different from mainstream Hinduism. In

addition, they held the belief that coming into contact with Hindu society and culture would result in the exploitation and cultural degradation of the innocent tribal people. As a result, they believed that the state had a responsibility to safeguard the tribes and assist them in maintaining their culture and way of life in the face of constant pressure to integrate into mainstream Hinduism. However, nationalist Indians were just as fervent about their belief in India's unity and the necessity of modernizing Indian culture and society. They were of the opinion that efforts to preserve tribal culture were erroneous and only served to keep tribals in a primitive state as "museums" of their culture. They believed that tribes needed to develop as well as many aspects of Hinduism that they thought were outdated and required reform.

Ghurye, who insisted on referring to the Indian tribes as "backward Hindus" rather than distinct cultural groups, rose to prominence as the most well-known proponent of the nationalist viewpoint. He referred to point by point proof from a wide assortment of ancestral societies to show that they had been engaged with steady communications with Hinduism over a significant stretch. As a result, they were simply further behind the rest of the Indian communities in the same assimilation process. This particular argument, namely that Indian tribes were rarely isolated primitive communities of the kind described in classical anthropological writings, was not really contested. The evaluation of the impact of mainstream culture was the difference. The "protectionists" were of the opinion that the assimilation of the tribals would lead to their severe exploitation and the loss of their cultural identity. Ghurye and the nationalists, on the other hand, argued that these negative effects were shared by all backward and oppressed sections of Indian society and were not unique to tribal cultures. On the way to development, these were the inevitable challenges.

### Activity 1

We appear to be engaged in similar discussions still today.

Discuss the various perspectives on the issue from a contemporary point of view.

For instance, numerous tribal movements assert their unique cultural and political identity; in fact, the states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh were established as a result of these movements.



The disproportionate burden that tribal communities have been required to bear for the sake of development projects like factories, big dams, and mines is another major point of contention.

How many conflicts of this kind do you know about? Find out what the problems are with these disagreements. What do you and your colleagues feel ought to be finished about these issues?

### **Ghurye on Caste and Race**

His doctoral dissertation at Cambridge, which was later published as *Caste and Race in India* (1932), was the foundation for G.S. Ghurye's academic reputation. Because it addressed the major issues affecting Indian anthropology at the time, Ghurye's work gained attention. Ghurye provides a thorough critique of the then-prevailing theories regarding the connection between race and caste in this book. The main proponent of the dominant view was British colonial official Herbert Risley, who was very interested in anthropology. This view held that individuals can be partitioned into unmistakable and separate races based on their actual attributes like the perimeter of the skull, the length of the nose, or the volume (size) of the head or the piece of the skull where the cerebrum is found. Because caste strictly forbids intermarriage between different groups, Risley and others thought that India was a unique "laboratory" for studying the evolution of racial types.

Risley argued that because different caste groups seemed to belong to different racial groups, caste must have originated in race. The lower castes appeared to belong to non-Aryan aboriginal, Mongoloid, or other racial groups, while the higher castes generally resembled Indo-Aryan traits. Based on the differences between the groups in terms of average measurements like nose length, cranium size, etc., Risley and others proposed that the lower castes were India's first indigenous people. They had been subjugated by Aryan people who had arrived in India from other places and settled there.

Ghurye did not disagree with Risley's basic argument, but he thought it was only partially true. He emphasized the drawback of relying solely on averages without taking into account the range of a particular measurement's distribution across a given community. Ghurye was of the opinion that Risley's assertion that the lower castes were non-Aryans while the upper castes were Aryans was generally true only for northern India.

In other parts of India, there were not many significant or systematic differences in anthropometric measurements between groups. This suggested that different racial groups had been mixing together for a very long time in most of India, with the exception of the Indo-Gangetic plain. As a result, “racial purity” was maintained because intermarrying was only allowed in “Hindustan proper” (north India). Endogamy, or marrying only within a particular caste group, may have been introduced into groups that were already racially diverse in the rest of the country. The racial theory of caste is no longer held in high regard today, but it was still held in high regard in the first half of the 20th century. Historians have divergent views regarding the Aryans and their arrival on the subcontinent. However, Ghurye’s writings attracted attention due to the fact that these were among the discipline’s concerns at the time.

The definition of Ghurye contributed to the systematicization of the study of caste. His conceptual definition was based on what was written in classical texts. Many of these caste characteristics were changing in practice, but they all still exist in some way. Over the following several decades, ethnographic fieldwork contributed to the production of useful accounts of caste in independent India. In India, sociology was equated with the two major departments at Bombay and Lucknow between the 1920s and 1950s. Both began as combined sociology and economics departments. While G.S. Ghurye was in charge of the Bombay department at the time, the famous “trinity” of Radhakamal Mukerjee, D.P. Mukerji, and D.N. Majumdar was in charge of the Lucknow department. D.P. Mukerji was perhaps the most well-liked of the three, despite the fact that they were all well-known and respected by many. In fact, D.P. Mukerji, or D.P., as he was more commonly known, was one of the most influential sociologists of his generation, not only in academia but also in intellectual and public life. G.S. Ghurye’s contributions to Indian sociology primarily focused on ethnography of castes and tribes, rural-urbanization, religious phenomena, social tensions, and Indian art. His influence and popularity came less from these areas. Let’s talk about his ideas in the next section.

### **3.2.1 Caste and Kinship in India**

At the beginning of the 1930s, G.S. Ghurye wrote a book called *Caste and Race in India*, which is still a crucial reference on Indian castes. He looked at the caste system from historical, comparative, and integrative angles in this work.

## Ghurye's Notion of Caste

Ghurye describes caste as a social grouping that is unique to Indian civilization and stands out from the rest of the world's social groups. Caste is a grouping in Hindu society that has varying degrees of respectability and social interaction.

The caste system's six characteristics were brought to light by Ghurye:

- 1) The division of society into segments: The caste system is made up of diverse groups, each with its own unique way of life, and membership is based on birth rather than selection. Castes are a small, complete social world in and of themselves, distinct from one another but still a part of the larger society.
- 2) Structure: The hierarchy of groups is one of the main features of caste society. This suggests that the Brahmin is at the top of the social hierarchy and that there is a clear hierarchy of castes.
- 3) Restrictions on eating and having sexual relations: There are very specific rules about what kind of food or drink a person can eat or drink and from what caste. Brahmins and other castes did not accept food or water from other castes that were lower than themselves in the social scale, whereas lower castes have no qualms about accepting cooked food from any higher caste. Ghurye additionally specifies about the hypothesis of contamination conveyed by certain standings to individuals from the higher ones.
- 4) The various sections' civil and religious limitations and rights: Ghurye noted that the segregation of individual castes or a group of castes in a village was one of the most obvious indicators of civil privileges and disabilities in India. In terms of rules regarding ceremonial purity and untouchability, Southern India stands out as the most stringent. Certain castes were unable to access certain parts of a town or village in Southern India. Lower castes were even required to build certain kinds of houses and use certain building materials.
- 5) There is not enough freedom to choose a career: The careers have been determined by genetics. The castes were generally prohibited from changing their traditional occupations. Every member of a caste maintains their position of supremacy and secrecy at work,

barring members of other castes from participating. Brahmins and other members of the upper caste have the option to study religious texts, whereas other classes are unable to do so. jobs of a lower nature, such as cleaning bathrooms, washing clothes, scavenging, and so on. have been kept in the category of being untouchable. Food, drink, and social interaction were some of the areas in which all castes were subject to restrictions.

- 6) Marriage restrictions: Endogamy is the guiding principle for caste groups. This indicates that marriage occurs within caste groups. It is strongly against the law to marry outside the caste group.

He later conducted research comparing kinship in Indo-European cultures. Ghurye stressed two points in his research on caste and kinship:

- a) India's kinship and caste systems shared similarities with those of other nations; b) moreover, in India, kinship and caste served as an integrative framework.

The development of Indian culture depended on the mix of different racial or ethnic gatherings through these organizations.

The gotra and charana were family classes of Indo-European dialects which arranged the position and status of individuals. The names of ancient sages gave rise to these categories. The real or eponymous founders of the gotra and charana were these wise men. In India, ancestry is not always linked to blood; The lineages frequently derive from spiritual descent from ancient sages. The guru-shishya relationship, which is also based on spiritual descent, might be noticed outside of the kinship; The disciple is proud to have a master as his ancestor. In a similar vein, people were placed in a ranked order according to purity standards—pollution—by caste and sub-caste.

Endogamy and commensality were actually integrative instruments that organized castes into a totality or collectivity, separating them from one another. This integration was guided conceptually and ritually by the Hindu religion. Through their interpretation of the Dharmashastras, which were compendiums of sacred codes, the Brahmins in India played a crucial role in legitimizing the caste ranks and orders.

### **Assimilation of Scheduled Castes**

According to Ghurye, the Hindu theory of caste portrayed the term "Scheduled caste" as the fifth order in the four-fold society.

Oomen points out that despite the fact that the Indian caste system is the social phenomenon that receives the most attention, Scheduled Castes' experience with untouchability was and still is the most abominable in human history, outstripping slavery and racism. According to Ghurye, the concept of untouchability and the caste system were both influenced by religious or occupational purity ideals.

Ghurye is a reference to the Namashshudras of West Bengal, who had a very low social status and accounted for 320,000 people in the 1951 census. He believed that Hindu society should incorporate untouchable classes. Ghurye advocated four steps for the transformation of the status of untouchables through assimilation:

- In the first place, eliminating person's handicap that hampers a superior and cleaner residing;
- Second, making it possible for these classes to develop a moral and cleaner way of life;
- Thirdly, to meet people from other sections and have more open social interactions with them; and
- Fourthly, to weaken and eradicate the caste system's exclusive spirit. Ghurye wanted to accomplish this revolutionary task by establishing a central administrative body and provincial and local communities to settle conflicts between ritually pure and impure castes.

In addition, to make it easier for the untouchable classes to integrate into Hindu society, he suggested giving them access to cutting-edge technology, training, and employment opportunities. Because it tends to maintain the birth-based distinction, he did not believe that reserved reservations were required. He was also against reservation because it would spark caste patriotism and cause conflict between castes.

### **3.2.2 New Roles of Caste in India**

Ghurye's work on caste contained some interesting speculations that have been proven to be correct. He reposed great faith in the "noble" Indian Constitution that promised equality to all, including untouchables. First, he noted that the Indian castes had encouraged voluntary association in support of reformist and educational causes. Caste associations were established by, among others, the Nadars, Reddys, and Kammas of South India, the Saraswat Brahmins of Maharashtra, the Vaisyas, and Kayasthas of North India.

Ghurye assumed that they would develop a caste-based political consciousness in the future. Caste associations in post-independence India have been very vocal about seeking political concessions for their members. Political analyst Rajni Kothari conducted in-depth research on caste associations in the latter decades of the 20th century. Kothari, in contrast to Ghurye, recognized the positive roles played by these caste associations, such as participating in welfare activities and other activities. Ghurye claims that they have primarily helped to articulate the political aspirations of the people within a democratic framework. Second, Ghurye mentioned the various agitations of the underprivileged for improved privileges. The Indian society's integrity appeared to be being compromised by these conflicts. As a result, each caste was competing or fighting for a larger share of the nation's wealth, and the caste system was becoming "pluralist.". As a result, Ghurye claimed that the competition for privileges was harming society's unity.

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Name the British anthropologist who influenced G.S. Ghurye very much. Use about one line.
- 2) What was the approach of Ghurye in studying caste in Indian society?

### 3.2.3 Study of Indian Tribes

Ghurye's works on Indian tribes were both general and specific. He covered the social, administrative, and historical aspects of Indian tribes in his general work on scheduled tribes. Additionally, he wrote about particular tribes, like the Kolis of Maharashtra. According to Ghurye, the Indian tribes resembled "backward Hindus." Their inability to fully integrate into Hindu society was the root cause of their backwardness. Gonds, Bhils, Santhals, and others who reside in India's central south are an illustration of it. "While some of these tribes are properly integrated in the Hindu society, very large sections, in fact the majority of them are rather loosely integrated," Ghurye wrote in 1963.

Given the circumstances, the only accurate description of these individuals is that they belong to the classes of Hindu society that are not fully integrated. Ghurye thought it was a good thing that Hindu values and norms were incorporated into tribal life. The tribes gradually adopted certain Hindu values and ways of life as a result of increasing



contact with Hindu social groups and came to be considered a part of Hindu caste society. Under Hindu influence, the tribes stopped drinking G S Ghurye liquor, received education, and improved their agriculture. Hindu charitable organizations like Ramakrishna Mission and Arya Samaj were helpful in this regard. Ghurye documented secessionist trends in later works on northeastern tribes. He believed that the country's political unity would be damaged unless these were controlled.

### **The process of Rural-urbanization**

Ghurye was always interested in the idea of rural urbanization, which combines the benefits of urban life with the greenery of nature. As a result, he explains that the transition from rural to urban India was not simply a result of industrial expansion. Until relatively recently, India's urbanization process began in the rural areas themselves. He used Sanskrit texts and documents to show how the need for markets in the rural hinterlands led to the growth of urban centers. In order to develop agriculture, more and more markets were required to exchange surplus foodgrains.

As a result, a portion of a large village began functioning as a market in many rural areas. A township emerged as a result, which in turn produced administrative, judicial, and other establishments. The demands for silk clothing, jewelry, metal artifacts, weapons, and other items arose from feudal patronage, which supported the urban centers of the past. Cities like Banaras, Kanchipuram, Jaipur, Moradabad, and so on grew as a result. In a nutshell, one could say that the indigenous origins of urbanism are reflected in Ghurye's approach to "ruralurbanization."

The development of metropolitan areas during colonial times altered Indian life. The major manufacturing centers replaced the agricultural goods and handicrafts markets in the towns and cities. These centers became a market for industrial goods and utilized rural areas for the production of raw materials. As a result, the village economy came to be dominated by the metropolitan economy.

As a result, in contrast to the previous pattern, urbanization began to penetrate the rural hinterland. A major city or metropolis also served as the cultural capital of the region it surrounded. Ghurye sees the large city as a cradle of innovation that ultimately benefits cultural development thanks to its large complexes of higher education, research, the judiciary, health services, and entertainment and print media.



The city plays a role in cultural integration and serves as a focal point and radiation center for the age's most important principles. This work can be done well by any large city or metropolis that has an organic connection to the lives of the people in its region. Ghurye asserts that an urban planner must address the following issues: (1) a sufficient supply of drinking water; (2) human congestion; (3) traffic congestion; (4) regulation of public vehicles; (5) a lack of railway transportation in cities like Mumbai; (6) tree erosion; (7) sound pollution; (8) indiscriminate tree felling; and (9) the plight of pedestrians.

Ghurye investigated a village in the Pune district of Maharashtra to emphasize the social structure's continuity. A British officer had looked into this village, which was called Lonik, in 1819. He talked about its general layout, economic infrastructure, caste system, market activities, and political and religious attitudes. In 1957, Ghurye conducted a second survey of the village, which revealed no significant demographic, economic, or social differences. In addition, he discovered that the layout of the village followed a prehistoric pattern. Additionally, he noted that the social structure of the village was not particularly close-knit; Its social fabric had frayed threads. Despite this, the village had continued to function as a unit.

Activity 1: Carefully read the paragraphs in sub-section 4.4.2 about G.S. Ghurye's main ideas about India's rural-urban divide. Discuss with two elders the kinds of changes that their city, town, or village has undergone since the colonial era. Ask them about the changes in the village's layout, such as where the market is, where the residential areas are, and how it has been planned. Write a note of about one page about "Rural-Urban growth in My City, Town, or Village." If you can, compare your note to those of other university students.

### **Assimilation of Scheduled Tribes**

Ghurye wanted Scheduled Tribes to be assimilated into Hindu society and politics in the same way that he wanted Scheduled Castes to be merged. He believed that interacting with Hindus would elevate the status of the Central Indian tribes, so he desired their integration through Hinduization. In contrast, he desired the political integration of the North-East tribes through the Indian state's administrative procedures. Ghurye didn't advocate Hinduisation of North-east clans on account of the huge presence of Christianity among the Nagas, Mizos and Khasis and

furthermore because of the way that a portion of these segments of clans had embraced Hinduism and Buddhism.

### **3.2.4 Indian Rural-urbanization**

Ghurye was interested in the urbanization of rural areas. He believed that India's urbanization was not simply a result of industrial expansion. Up until the 1980s, India's urbanization process began in the rural areas themselves. Ghurye used Sanskrit texts and documents to show how the need for markets in the rural hinterland led to the growth of urban centers. To put it another way, more and more markets were required to exchange food grain surpluses as agriculture grew. As a result, a portion of a large village was turned into a market in many rural areas; This, in turn, resulted in the establishment of administrative, judicial, and other institutions in a township. We might add here that feudal patronage was also the foundation of urban centers. Varanasi, Kanchipuram, Jaipur, Moradabad, and other cities grew as a result of royal court demand for metal artifacts, weapons, silk, and jewelry. In conclusion, the indigenous origin of urbanism was demonstrated by Ghurye's approach to "rural-urbanization." Indian urban life was altered when colonial times saw the rise of metropolitan areas. Handicrafts and agricultural produce no longer went to the towns and cities; But they became the major manufacturing centers, turning the rural hinterland into a market for industrial goods and a place to produce raw materials. As a result, the village economy was dominated by the metropolis. In contrast to the pattern that existed in the past, urbanization has begun to penetrate the rural hinterland.

### **3.2.5 Religious Beliefs and Practices in India**

Religion is fundamental to man. Man becomes conscious of some power beyond his comprehension almost at the dawn of civilization. This field has drawn the attention of sociologists like Weber (*The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, 1930) and Durkheim (*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 1915). Ghurye made original contributions to the study of Indian religious beliefs and practices. He wrote three books on this in the period between 1950 and 1965. He argued that the religious consciousness in ancient India, Egypt and Babylonia was centered around the temples. There were also similarities between Indian and Egyptian patterns of worship and temple architecture. In his work on the role of Gods in Indian religion, Ghurye traced the rise of major deities such as Shiva, Vishnu and Durga to the need

to integrate local or sub-regional beliefs into a macro-level system of worship. The diverse ethnic groups in India were integrated into a religious complex around these deities. Political or public patronage was often the basis for the spread of popular cults in India. The Ganesha festival in Maharashtra and Durga festival in Bengal gained popularity due to the efforts of nationalists such as B.G. Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. Even in the beginning of the twenty first century, these festivals have retained some political overtones.

Ghurye thinks that religion is at the centre of the total cultural heritage of man. He gives the five foundations of culture as mentioned earlier in the description of culture and civilization, out of which 'religious consciousness' is most important. It moulds and directs the behaviour of man in society. Ghurye made original contribution to the study of Indian religious beliefs and practices. He wrote six books to bring out the role of religion in society. These are: *Indian Sadhus* (1953), *Gods and Men* (1962), *Religious Consciousness* (1965), *Indian Accumulation* (1977), *Vedic India* (1979), and *The Legacy of Ramayana* (1979).

All these works reflect Ghurye's interest related to the sociology of religion. For example, in *Gods and Men*, Ghurye discusses the nature of the Hindu ideas of Godhead and the relations, if any, between the climate of an age and the type of Godhead favoured. In *Religious Consciousness*, Ghurye analyses the three oldest human civilizations, viz., the Mesopotamian, the Egyptian and the Hindu, in their various aspects of mythological beliefs, speculation, cosmology, life after death, view of Godhead, temple architecture, etc. And, in the *Indian Sadhus*, Ghurye considers the genesis, development and organization of asceticism in Hindu religion and the role ascetics have played in the maintenance of Hindu society.

### **3.2.6 Role of Sadhus in Indian Tradition**

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

have distinctive traditions. The monastic organisation in India was a product of Buddhism and Jainism. Shankara introduced it into Hinduism.

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

### **3.2.7 Indian Art and Architecture**

Ghurye was also keenly interested in Indian art. According to him, the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist artistic monuments shared common elements. By contrast, Hindu and Muslim monuments were grounded in diverse value systems. The Indian temples were indigenous in inspiration. The Veda, epics and Purana provided them with popular themes. But Muslim art was Persian or Arabic and had no roots in this soil. He did not agree with the view that the Muslim monuments in India represented a synthesis. The Hindu elements remain decorative in Muslim buildings. By contrast, the Rajput architecture retained its commitment to Hindu ideals, in spite of political control of Rajasthan by Muslim rulers. Ghurye traced the costumes in India from the ancient to the present time. He drew upon Hindu, Buddhist and Jain artistic works (architecture and sculpture) to illustrate the variations in costume over the ages.

### **3.2.8 Hindu-Muslim Relationships**

Ghurye's works often discussed Hindu-Muslim relationships. He regarded Hindus and Muslims as separate groups, with little possibility of mutual give and take. The pro-Hindu stance of Ghurye was based on the conflicts engendered by nearly seven centuries of Islamic rule in India. The forced con-

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

### 3.3 Important Works

Some of the important works of Ghurye in sociology are:

- i. Indian Sadhus (1953)
- ii. Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture (1961)
- iii. Gods and Men (1962)
- iv. Anatomy of a Rururban Community (1962)
- v. Scheduled Tribes (1963)
- vi. Caste and Race in India (1969, Fifth Edition)

Some of his other works which show us the range of his interests are:

- Bharatnatyam and its Costume (1958)
- Cities and civilisation (1962)
- Indian costume (1962, Second Edition)

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Describe the opinion of G. S. Ghurye on the tribes in India.
- 2) Describe Ghurye's approach to the study of urban growth in India

### 3.4 Let Us Sum Up

In this unit, you learnt about the biographical details of G S Ghurye. We describes some of his major ideas in the field of sociology. We discussed his ideas concerning caste and kinship, new roles of caste in India, tribes, process of rural-urbanization in India, religious beliefs and practices in India, role of sadhus in Indian tradition, Indian art and architecture, and Hindu-Muslim relationships.

### 3.5 Reference

**Ghurye, G.S. (1991).** *Features of the Caste System in Dipankar Gupta (ed) Social Stratification*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

**Mukherjee, R. (1979).** *Sociology of Indian Sociology*. Allied Publisher.

**Nagla, B.K. (2008).** *Indian Sociological Thought*. Rawat Publication, Delhi.  
Indira Gandhi National Open University Course Material. 2003. Sociological Thought (ESO-13), New Delhi; IGNOU.

### 3.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

#### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The British anthropologist, who influenced G.S. Ghurye deeply, was Dr. W.H.R. Rivers.
- 2) Ghurye studied the historical, comparative and integrative aspects of caste system in India. His approach was ethnographic, using historical, Indological and statistical data.

#### Check Your Progress 2

1. Name two major works of G. S. Ghurye.
2. Name three characteristic features of caste system as put forth by Ghurye.
3. What is Segmental Division of Society?
4. What do you mean by endogamous group?

DDE, Pondicherry University



## UNIT-IV

### Lesson 4.1 - Irawati Karve

#### Structure

- 4.1 Biography of Irawati Karve and his contribution towards Sociology
- 4.2 Education and Career
- 4.3 Karve State
- 4.4 Kinship Organisation in India
  - 4.4.1 kinship in North India
  - 4.4.2 kinship in Central India
  - 4.4.3 kinship in South India
  - 4.4.4 kinship in Eastern India
- 4.5 Conclusion
- 4.6 Check Your Progress
- 4.7 Answer
- 4.8 Reference

#### 4.1 Biography of Irawati Karve and His Contribution Towards Sociology!

Irawati Karve was a writer, anthropologist, educationist, and sociologist from Maharashtra, India. She was born on December 15, 1905, in Myingyan, Burma, to engineer G.H. Karmarkar. She passed away on August 11, 1970. She was given the name Irawati in honor of the great and revered Irrawaddy river in Burma. She was raised in Pune. She was Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve's daughter-in-law. Dinkar, her husband, was a teacher who also served as the principal of Fergusson College. Anand, the son of Dinkar and Irawati, runs the non-profit organization Arti in Pune. Gauri Deshpande, their youngest daughter, was a well-known Marathi poet and short story writer. Jai Nimbkar, their eldest daughter, lives in Phaltan and also writes novels and short stories. Jai's little girl, Nandini Nimbkar, is a recognized alumna of College of Florida, USA. Since 1991, Anand's daughter, Priyadarshini Karve, has worked to develop biomass energy technologies and spread them to rural areas.

## 4.2 Career and Education:

Irawati completed her education in 1922 and graduated from Huzurpaga, Pune. In 1926, she graduated from Fergusson College with a Bachelor of Arts (Honors) degree in philosophy and a Sociology major. She tied the knot with Dr. Dinkar Dhondo Karve, the son of Maharshi Karve, in the same year. She researched and wrote two essays, "Folklore of Parshuram" and "Chitpavan Brahman," under the direction of senior social scientist Dr. G.S. Ghurye.

She graduated from Mumbai University in 1928 with a Master of Arts degree in sociology before going on to further her education in Germany. She completed her doctoral dissertation on the normal asymmetry of the human skull and bones from 1928 to 1930 at the University of Berlin, Germany, under the direction of Eugene Fischer. For her explores in human sciences, Berlin College presented on her the D. Phil. degree in 1930.

Up until the time she retired, Karve headed the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pune (University of Pune). She was in charge of the Anthropology Division at the 1947 National Science Congress, which was held in New Delhi. She also served for a time as the head of the Sociology Department at Pune University.

She continued as SNDT College Vice Chancellor for some time after that. In the years 1951-52, she worked on the first draft of her book on kinship organization in India after receiving an invitation from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in England.

She was also invited by the American Rockefeller Foundation's Humanities Division. She was able to go to the United States thanks to Chadbourne Gilpatric, and she traveled from New York to San Francisco to meet colleagues and talk anthropology with them.

Irawati was a strong believer who thought for herself and was independent. She was a researcher by nature who preferred to work on her own. She developed her personality through a variety of mediums, including her work as a diligent professor, researcher, author, and speaker. She was a knowledgeable individual who shared her knowledge.

Her enthusiasm for travel, research, and education was unparalleled. She is known for being the first woman to drive a Pune two-

wheeler in 1952. She had very modernist ideas about women's liberation. She said, "Ladies, while fighting with men for rights, why fight for only equal rights?" to the women who were fighting for women's liberation. Never stop fighting for more rights. India's Kinship Organization:

As was stated at the outset, Karve had written the book's first draft while she was in England between 1951 and 1952 at the invitation of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. While there, she had the chance to talk to Louis Haimendorf and Dumont about a variety of topics. She gave the first draft a thorough overhaul upon her return to produce the book.

She had talked with Drs. John and Ruth, who were in Poona at the time, for a long time by this point. Personal inquiry and readings in Sanskrit, Pali, Ardhamagadhi, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, and Maithili are added to the study of kinship. Together with her colleague, Professor C.R. Sankaran, Karve attempted to read Tamil.

The seminal work on Indian family structure, Kinship Organization in India, first appeared in 1953.

Karve has introduced the material on Indian family relationship separating the country into four unique social zones as per the marriage rehearses continued in each, i.e.,

- (1) the northern,
- (2) the focal,
- (3) the southern, and
- (4) the eastern.

Understanding any Indian cultural phenomenon necessitates a thorough understanding of three things.

Language structure, the caste system, and family structure are some examples. Together, these three factors give meaning to and provide the foundation for all other aspects of Indian culture. Each of these three factors is intimately connected to the other two.

### **(I) configuration of the linguistic regions:**

A language area is a region where multiple languages from the same family are spoken. For instance, the Sanskrit or Indo-European language area is made up of zones (1) and (2); zone (4) includes the scattered area

where Austric or Mundari languages are spoken, while zone (3) includes the Dravidian language area.

Different linguistic regions are further subdivided into each of these language areas. One language and its dialects are spoken in each of these areas. The linguistic regions share a certain degree of cultural, personality, and kinship structure homogeneity. Communication is made simple, marital connections are limited, and kinship is mostly restricted within the language region by the common language.

Such a region is characterized by common literature and folk songs. The linguistic pattern is followed by the kinship organization, but in some ways, language and the kinship pattern do not go together. As a result, even though the Maharashtra region speaks Sanskrit, its kinship structure is heavily influenced by that of its southern neighbor, the Dravidian south.

## **(II) The caste system:**

The caste system is the second thing you need to know if you want to understand any part of the culture of any group of people in India. The design of the standing framework has been all around portrayed by numerous Indian and unfamiliar anthro-pologists and sociologists. However, in order to comprehend the many aspects of kinship organization that Karve describes, it is necessary to keep in mind some significant characteristics of caste.

A caste is an endogamous group that is restricted to a single linguistic region, with very few exceptions (Karve, 1968). Caste members are related to one another through marriage or blood ties because of endogamy and distribution over a specific area. As a result, caste can be thought of as an extended family (Karve, 1958-59).

The various terms for caste in Indian literature, both old and new, are jati, jata, and kulum. There are names for many castes with similar status and responsibilities, some of which may be shared. So, the common name for the castes who work as goldsmiths is Sonar, which means “worker in gold.”

For instance, there are different castes that work in gold in Maharashtra: Ahir Sonar, Lad Sonar, Daivadnya Sonar, and so forth. Each of them is completely endogamous and resides in Maharashtra, a slightly distinct region from the others, under hereditary rule. A caste therefore

possesses endogamy, distribution over a specific region, and a hereditary occupation. Additionally, castes are ranked in a predetermined order.

### **(III) Family structure:**

The family, specifically the joint family, is the third crucial element in Indian culture. The joint family has existed in India for as long as there are records. Indeed, even around 1000 B.C., at the hour of the Mahabharata war, the joint family existed pretty much as it exists today.

4.2 According to Karve, A group of people known as a “joint family” typically shares a home, eats meals prepared in the same kitchen, owns property together, attends family services together, and is related to one another in some specific way as “kindred.”

The joint family consists of a particular type of kin and has a seat, or locus. According to Karve’s book, a joint family is made up of three or four generations of male relatives who are related to a male ego. These relatives include the ego’s grandfather and his brothers, father and his brothers, brothers and cousins, sons and nephews, and wives of these male relatives in addition to the ego’s own unmarried sisters and daughters.

Karve used the traditional formula of three or four generations, but she didn’t include the generation of the common ancestor, the great grandfather, in the number of generations, and she didn’t even mention men who were not married. This indicates that the formula for the joint family’s genealogical depth is deeper than the traditional formula.

She makes comments about the general nature of life in a joint family, as well as almost all of the functional characteristics that are typically mentioned in the most in-depth description of a joint family household. She goes on to say that every joint family has a locus, or ancestral seat, that some members may leave for an indefinite amount of time.

In addition, the term “karve” refers to ten to twelve houses, each of which houses a single family, all of which acknowledge common descent and are capable of demonstrating relationship through a single line, or “lineage.” She refers to a wide range of kinship groups, including clans and lineages, as “family.”

She says that the two kinds of joint families split up into smaller joint families with a man, his wife, and children or a man, his children, and a couple of younger brothers. Joint families of both types would be

counted as two-generation units using her method, whereas others would count them as three-generation units.

Therefore, the linguistic region, caste, and family are the three most significant components of any group's culture in India. This also applies to India's so-called primitive tribes. For thousands of years, these tribes have coexisted with the other groups. The Vedas say that the Dasyus (forest dwellers) and the conquered Aryans could not have been very different in terms of their cultural level. Both were polytheistic and illiterate.

As the following examples will demonstrate, these three entities—language, caste, and family—largely constitute the current cultural issues facing India:

1. There is a tendency to standardize and reduce differences. Rather than a federation of many linguistic states, some people would much rather have unitary states with a single language.
2. All caste-based privileges and discrimination have been legalized in the new Indian state.
3. The Indian Constitution mandates the development of a common civil code for all citizens. Several laws have been passed so far, but they only apply to Hindus and not to other people. The act goes against the beliefs that the state is secular and is responsible for governing a multicultural, multireligious society.
4. A state has the right to influence the lives of its citizens. The integration of the Indian subcontinent into a nation is a significant cultural undertaking; however, the need for uniformity frequently leads to the destruction of much that, from an ethical and cultural standpoint, can be allowed to remain. According to Karve (1961), uniformity is not a cultural but rather an administrative requirement.

Over the course of the past ten years, the Indian Parliament has demonstrated a propensity to legislate with the stated intention of uniformizing ancient custom. As a result, the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 mandates monogamy, which is against Hinduism and is detested by many people of both sexes; The Succession Act of 1956 also goes against tradition by unnaturally denying the mother and children of a concubine any rights to the father's estate.

It would appear that a number of Indian lawmakers would like to prohibit cross-cousin marriages in order to align marriage laws in southern and northern India. However, uniformity and unity are not the same

thing, and sociologists like Karve should be consulted before sacrificing the former in order to achieve the latter (Hutton, 1965).

If we say that our society is multicultural, we need to acknowledge that we are also a society with a lot of different values and ways of life, and we shouldn't destroy them in the name of building a nation. One tyranny leads to uniformity, and if uniformity is our goal, we will lose our first cultural value. 16).

Karve has gone over the kinship terminologies of each of the three language areas in this book. The book could have been divided into three sections that dealt with each of these topics separately, and doing so might have seemed more logical.

1) Sanskrit or Indo-European, 2) Dravidian, and 3) Mundari kinship organization.

Karve, on the other hand, presented the kinship structure in the order of the northern, central, southern, and eastern zones.

This method was chosen intentionally to emphasize the spatial pattern and interrelationship of the linguistic divisions and kinship organization. She has only attempted to connect this configuration with another cultural phenomenon, the kinship organization, given that the geographical distribution of various language families in India is well-known.

1. There are two parts to the northern zone's kinship structure description. The first section is devoted to ancient Sanskrit records and includes a brief note that adds kinship terms from Buddhist Pali and Jain Ardhamagadhi literature.

The meanings of the contemporary Sanskrit terms for kinship are briefly explained using these terms. Kinship terms in the northern languages—Punjabi, Sindhi, Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, Assamese, and Pahadi—are given and briefly explained in the second section, which is devoted to a description of a generalized model for the entirety of northern India.

2. Central India, including Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Gujarat, and Maharashtra, is included in the central zone. The majority of people in this region speak Sanskrit, but there are also many Dravidian and Mundari-speaking tribes. Despite being based on the northern pattern, the central zone's kinship structure has



some very significant differences that can be best described as the result of cultural contact with the other two zones, particularly the southern zone of the Dravidian language area.

3. There are two parts to the description of the southern zone. The first section tries to explain the Dravidian system as a whole and how it differs from northern systems. A brief explanation of the kinship system and terms for the Dravidian language regions are provided in the second section.

The author believes that Indian cultural anthropology will benefit greatly from her interpretation of the southern system. The various castes and tribes, as well as the kinship organization in each region of this language area, are presented as adaptations brought about by cultural contact.

4. In the second revised edition (1965), a new chapter on inheritance and succession in the northern and southern zones has been added. The concluding chapter identifies some significant research issues resulting from the current investigation. Three brand-new appendices were added to the third revised edition in 1968 to reflect the author's most recent research in the field.

The book's studies result in additional anthropological issues. Karve and her colleagues are looking into some of these, but the field is so vast that more people interested in the same issues are always good, so some of these are listed as follows:

1. How does the caste system affect and strengthen the kinship structure, and how do these two systems conform to certain patterns that are found in large geographical areas that are called linguistic regions? In addition, no two families in a caste act exactly the same way, and no linguistic region has the same kinship pattern, relationship behavior, or kinship pattern.
2. The nature of a social structure or the entire cultural fabric of a society may determine the rigidity or elasticity of a social structure. In Maharashtra, for instance, some castes adhere to the northern model of kinship behavior when it comes to marriage, while the majority of castes permit a man to wed the daughter of his mother's brother.
3. The Brahmanic law books do not permit divorce, and neither do the priests. With the assistance of Brahmin savants, the English

codified Hindu law, which also denied divorce recognition. As a result, divorce is approved by Indian courts. Kinship and caste organization are profoundly affected when people refuse to accept divorce.

4. In the majority of Indian regions, the family is an autonomous unit that is semi-independent of other similar units and has its own gods, customs, and economic structure. The caste, on the other hand, is a closed, autonomous unit that has limited interactions with other similar units and has some control over how families behave.
5. Social and financial stability were provided by the joint family. The town where individuals burned through for their entire lives was likewise a definitive help of the multitude of inhabitants. The joint family and village community have become less bonded as a result of the rise of industrial cities and new employment opportunities.

In this book, the kinship structure is presented in various cultural zones with various marriage styles. Marriage rules are rules about mating that must affect how a family or caste is genetically made. Karve observed that the rules for marriage in the north stipulated that brides should come from families that were not related by blood; To put it another way, it is best not to give a daughter to a family that brings a girl as a bride, and it is also best not to bring more than one bride from the same family in a single generation. An important contribution to Indian anthropology is her analysis of the southern marriage pattern, which is based on the chronological division of kin into older and younger kin rather than generations.

In the new edition, Karve devotes an entire chapter to a comprehensive overview of property, succession, and inheritance. She describes the distinctions between the Dayabbaga system that is followed in Bengal and Bihar and the Mitakshara system that is followed in the rest of Hindu India. She also addresses the matrilineal Kerala system.

She has succeeded in highlighting the stark contrast between the northern Indian social system, which was developed by a patrilineal and patrilocal society, probably associated primarily with a pastoral economy, and relies on external alliances and the incorporation of outsiders for strength; and that of the south, whose strength comes from the internal consolidation of kinship groups that are closely related and were most likely once dependent on agriculture.

She concludes that the development of reciprocal kinship terms and the responsibilities associated with them does not occur as a result of the association of exogamous moieties. Instead, the ongoing exchange of daughters between two or more families may result in the formation of a kinship unit that is closely knit. It could be a characteristic of the author that she tends to emphasize less obvious social unit formation processes.

She has made a similar point in other writings about caste, drawing attention to what Hutton (1965) may refer to as the inductive method of group formation in contrast to the deductive method. In the study of Indian social organization, neither can be ignored, but Karve's work's objectivity and her lack of dogmatism add weight to her conclusions (Hutton, 1965).

Karve hasn't come up with a theory, but she thinks that the data she gives can test the theories of other researchers, like Levi Strauss. In the end, the issue that is of the utmost significance is comprehending that the whole, which is comprised of the entire fabric of social institutions, traditions, and mental habits that is referred to as a culture and is the foundation of the diverse personalities that one meets and is.

A study of a single social structure necessitates references to the entire culture without conducting a comprehensive analysis. This means that every study is incomplete and will always be incomplete.

#### **4.3 Kinship Structure in India:**

Every person has relationships with the people in their immediate environment. This is the fundamental structure that governs all human societies. Because it organizes individuals and groups, it is referred to as the kinship system. Radcliffe Brown valued the study of the kinship system as a component of rights and obligations and viewed kinship as a component of the social structure (1964). The investigation of Nuer of southern Sudan done by Evans not entirely settled on connection gatherings. primarily focused on the male line's descent from the ancestor.

A significant part of every kinship system is a cultural system. In this world, there is no particular pattern for kinship systems. It typically varies from culture to culture.

In India, kinship exists both within and outside of families. The initial intrafamily relationships between husband and wife, mother and daughter, brother and sister, and father and son are all examples of

primary relatives. The term “family of procreation” refers to the same nuclear family that includes all of these individuals. There are secondary and tertiary relatives outside of family. Murdock presents relatives from the primary “8” and secondary “33.” Primary relatives are present in each of the secondary relatives.

In general, we have “clan exogamy” and “caste endogamy” in India. There are cases that belong to distinct clans with distinct lineages. A lineage member’s common ancestor is a person everyone knows, but the clan’s common ancestor is a supernatural being. Every one of the individuals from a tribe are dispersed over various regions and for that reason they don’t find normal interest among one another.

Clans provide a foundation for corporate functions, the resolution of marriage qualification within a particular standing, and love on the basis of the group. It is generally held that kinship is both an essential component of social organization and a factor in property inheritance division. There is a reason that prevents the lineage from remaining united and causes disagreements among its members. The competition between siblings or contention among father and child all are been noticed.

In order to arrive at a conclusion regarding the regional pattern of social behavior in society, Iravati Karve conducts a comparative analysis of the four cultural zones. Local patterns may vary from region to region. Due to the hierarchy and the division and separation of castes, there are different kinds of caste. In the area of kinship, Karve oversees every step of the adaptation and acculturation process. She used ethnic sources, folk literature, observations, and Sanskrit texts to look at 3000 years of history.

#### **4.4 Karve’s Investigation of Indian Kinship Organization:**

In order to identify something resembling a regional pattern of social behavior, Iravati Karve (1953) conducts a comparative analysis of four cultural zones. There may be various local patterns in a region. Due to caste-based isolation and separation and hierarchy, there are variations among castes. In the context of kinship, Karve examines the process of acculturation and accommodation. She has adopted a 3,000-year historical perspective based on ethnographic sources, observations, folk literature, and Sanskrit texts.

The following considerations are taken into account in Karve's comparative study:

1. Indian language kinship terms lists, 2. Their attitudes and actions in relation to their linguistic contexts, 4. Descent and inheritance rules patterns of family and marriage, and difference between the Dravidian south and the north in Sanskrit.

Karve lays out the structure of the linguistic regions, the establishment of caste, and family structure as the most important foundations for comprehending kinship patterns in India. She keeps the linguistic, caste, and family organization in mind when she divides the entire country into northern, central, southern, and eastern zones.

Although language and kinship do not always go hand in hand, the organization of kinship is roughly linguistic. Maharashtra, for instance, has a Dravidian influence, and the Dravidian kinship system was influenced by the Sanskrit-speaking neighbors to the north.

Despite these variations, there are two recurring themes:

It is against the law to marry outside of a caste or tribe, and it is also against the law to marry between siblings and parents.

#### **4.4.1 North Indian kinship:**

In north India, there are terms for affinal relationships and blood relations. There are primary terms for three generations of immediate relatives, and one generation's terms cannot be exchanged for another generation's terms. From the primary terms, all other terms are derived.

Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi (and Pahari), Bihari, Bengali, Asami, and Nepali communities make up the northern region. Caste endogamy, clan exogamy, and incest taboos regarding sexual relations among primary kin are strictly adhered to in these regions.

All marriage alliances are based on the sasan rule, which states that a person must not marry within his patri-family or with sapindra kin. In the traditional Brahmanic sense, gotras are exogamous units. A caste may also be divided into endogamous or exogamous gotras, as well as gotras that do not appear to have any role in the rules governing marriage. Village exogamy exists. Thus, in north India, there are at least four fundamental

characteristics of kinship: (1) Territoriality; (2) genealogy; (3) taboos regarding incest; and (4) local exogamy.

Endogamy is typically constrained by caste status considerations. Marriage prohibitions typically prohibit marriage across a broad geographic and kinship divide. In marriage alliances, similar prohibitions and local exogamy are strictly adhered to.

In north India, Brahmanas and other upper castes generally adhere to the four-gotra (sasan) rule, which states that one should avoid the gotras of one's father, mother, grandmother, and maternal grandmother. However, the gotras of father and mother are avoided by some intermediate castes and the majority of lower castes.

#### **4.4.2 Kinship in Central India:**

Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh (now Chhattisgarh), Gujarat and Kathiawad, Maharashtra, and Orissa are the linguistic regions that make up the central zone. These regions speak Rajasthani, Hindi, Gujarati and Kathiawadi, Marathi, and Oriya. Because they are all Sanskrit languages, they are all native to the northern hemisphere. However, this region contains pockets of Dravidian languages. The eastern zone has an effect as well. In comparison to other residents of the region, tribal people face a situation that is distinctively their own. The following aspects of the central region should be taken into consideration:

1. Cross-cousin marriages are common but uncommon in the north zone. Parallel cousins and cross-cousins are siblings of the same sex. Cross-cousins are siblings of the opposite sex.
2. Exogamous clans, like the north zone, divide many castes.
3. Exogamous clans are arranged in a hypergamous hierarchy in some castes.

In any case, these highlights are generally not tracked down all around the zone. Jats, for instance, practice village and two-gotra exogamy in Rajasthan; Banias follow the four-gotra system; Additionally, Rajputs have hypergamous clans, and marriage alliances take feudal status into account.

Rajputs do not belong to a single caste. They place a significant emphasis on purity and aristocratic descent. Being a hero and a ruler has been a significant factor. Sword marriages, or symbolic marriages, were

quite common. The status of the mother on either side influences marriage alliances as well.

In Kathiawad and Gujarat, peculiar local practices and northern practices coexist. Cross-cousin marriages are permitted in some castes once a year, once every four, five, nine, or twelve years, and in others only once every year. There is a rush to perform marriages when the marriage year is announced from village to village. Even today, "Nantra," or levirate, is a practice. Brahmanas, Baniyas, Kunbis, and the higher artisan castes organize their kinship in a manner similar to that of the northern region, though some practices from the southern region are also observed.

Marriages between Kathi, Ahir, Ghadava Charan, and Garasia cousins are fairly common. Both cross-cousin marriages are permitted by the tribes of Kolis, Dheds, and Bhils. As a result, most of Rajasthan and Gujarat follow the northern pattern. The terminology is derived from Sanskrit, and some kinship terms come from central Asia.

Karve makes the observation that Maharashtra is a region where Dravidian southern traits and Sanskrit northern traits almost meet, with the former perhaps having a slight advantage. Gujarati, Rajasthani, Himachali, and Hindi are some of the spoken languages in the north. Mundari is the language of the local tribes. The Sanskritic languages and the Dravidian languages are mixed together. The structure of kinship in Maharashtra differs slightly from that of the northern and southern zones.

Together, the Marathas and Kunbis make up about 40% of the population; Although Marathas are supposed to be of higher status, a wealthy Kunbi can attain Maratha status. Kshatriyas are the names of the two groups. A dominant clan has been the Maratha-Kunbi complex. In a village, a Maratha still serves as headman or patil.

There are exogamous clans of kunbis. Levirate is practiced by some; Others view cross-cousin relationships as taboo; However, some states permit such unions. In the center of Maharashtra, clan exogamy and hypergamy are prevalent. Cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriages are both common in the southern Maharashtra region. The Marathas' and Rajputs' clan structures are somewhat comparable.

The Marathas, for instance, also assert a mythological heritage comparable to that of the Rajputs. They also have names that are similar to Rajputs'. However, the symbol associated with the clan, not the clan name, determines the exogamy rule. The name of the symbol is devaka. Two



people with the same devaka cannot get married. The devaka and clans both have a big impact on marriage. In alliances based on hypergamy, clan status is crucial.

There are up to 96 clans in the Marathas. There are concentric circles of status and mobility among these. There is no unity in ethnicity. The panchkula, a group of five clans, are followed by the “seven clans,” which are all hypergamous divisions. Bilateral kinship is not stigmatized like the north zone. Marriages between parallel cousins are prohibited. Marriages between paternal relatives are also frowned upon. A man’s marriage with his maternal cross-cousin is typically preferred. It is possible for sisters to wed the same man. Brothers usually don’t get married to two sisters. The northern Kunbis engage in the practice of levirate. However, there are no exchange marriages.

The tribal people of Orissa, including the Gonds, Oraons, and Konds, have kinship systems that are comparable to those of the Dravidian-speaking people. Mundari is spoken by the Munda, Hondo, and some Saora. With slightly different names, the Oriya-speaking people have the same caste system as those in the northern regions.

Brahmanas in Orissa appear to be outsiders from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Karans (Kayasthas) and Aranyaka Brahmanas forbid cross-cousin marriages. Cousin marriages are permitted in some agricultural castes, but not in others. The lower classes have junior levirate.

#### **4.4.3 Kinship In South India:**

Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala are the five regions in the southern zone, as are the regions with a mix of languages and people. The family structure and kinship system are extremely varied in the southern region. The patrilineal and patrilocal systems are the most prevalent here. On the other hand, there are matrilineal and matrilineal systems in some areas that share characteristics with both types of kinship organization. Polygamy is permitted in some castes, while polyandry is not. As in the northern zone, patrilineal and patrilocal joint families predominate in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and among some Malabar castes.

The term “tharawad” refers to the matrilineal and matrilineal families of the Nayars, Tiyans, and a few Moplas in the Malabar region and the Bants in Kanara district. It includes a woman, her siblings, as well as her own and her sister’s children. The tharawad is free of affinities. Some

consanguines (male children) are not allowed. A tharawad does not have a husband-wife or father-children relationship.

The caste endogamy and clan exogamy system is similar to the northern system in the southern zone. In Karnataka, it is referred to as “Bedagu,” “Bedaga,” or “Bali.” It is referred to as “Keri” by the Kotas of Nilgiris, “Kilai” by the Kottai Vellals, “Gotta” by the Koyas, and “Gunpu” by the Kurubas. It is referred to as “Illom” by the Malayalis and “Inti-peru” by some Telugu people. It is referred to as “Veli” in Travancore. The term “Gotra” is also used frequently. Silver, gold, an axe, an elephant, a snake, jasmine, a stone, and other symbols are commonly associated with clans.

Village exogamy is commonplace in the northern zone. However, there are intermarried clans in the same village in the southern zone. Village exogamy is not observed by gonds. The exogamy, illom, or veli principle is the only principle. Exogamous clans are formed within a given caste, similar to the northern castes. Marriages between clans do not apply to all clans. There are smaller groups of endogamous families that give and receive daughters in marriage within an endogamous caste.

In contrast to the northern part of India, the southern region has distinctive characteristics. In the southern zone, preferential marriages with the daughter of the elder sister, the daughter of the father, and the daughter of the mother’s brother are especially common. Maintaining the “clan’s” unity and solidarity as well as upholding the principle of return (exchange) of daughters from the same generation are the primary goals of such a preferential marriage system.

However, marrying a levirate, younger sister’s daughter, or mother’s sister’s daughter is prohibited. Marriages between maternal uncles and nieces and cross-cousin marriages produce double relationships. A cousin is also a wife, and when they marry, they are more like wives than cousins.

When comparing the northern and southern kinship systems of India, we can note that the southern system does not distinguish between the family of marriage and the family of birth, whereas the northern system does. In contrast to the south, many terms do not clearly distinguish between affinal and blood relatives. In the north, terms for blood relatives and affinal ones are clear.

In the north, for instance, Phupha-Phuphi is used for the husband and sister of the father, and Mama-Mami is used for the brother and wife

of the mother. In the south, however, Attai is used for both Phuphi and Mami. Phupha and Mama are both referred to as Mama. The “extended family of marriage” and the “extended family of birth” exist in the north. In the south, there is no such distinction. In the south, there are no special terms for affinal relatives. In the south, the same relatives appear in two generations.

As a result, the arrangement of kin in various genera distinguishes northern and southern kinship systems in terms of marriage and birth-to-child relationships. In southern terminology, there does not appear to be any definite classification of kin based on generation. In the south, relatives are arranged according to how old or young they are compared to the ego (self), without taking into account generation.

In Dravidian languages, there are no words for brothers and sisters. On the other hand, there are terms for “younger” and “older” siblings. The terms “father and older brother” (Anna, Ayya), “mother and older sister,” “younger brother and son” (Pirkal), and “younger sister and daughter” (Pinnawal) are all used interchangeably. These terms mean decency to the elderly folks and not to the genuine blood connections. The ego serves as the standard, and the individuals who are older or younger than the ego are ranked according to their age.

In the southern kinship system, age, not generation, is the most important factor. Marriage is not allowed within the exogamous family group known as Balli, Begadu, or Kilai. Daughter exchange is preferred, and marriage among close relatives is also preferred. The marriage rules are: A man must wed a member of his or her own clan, and a girl must wed a member of the group younger than herself and older than her parents.

The girl’s mother’s younger brother and older cross-cousins are preferred. An individual can wed any of his more youthful female cross-cousins and furthermore a little girl of any of his senior sisters. As a result, this reciprocity is referred to in terms of kinship and reciprocal relationships.

The following points about the southern kinship system are emphasized by Louis Dumont: The principle of immediate communication, A strategy for strengthening social bonds, a group of relatives grouped together in a small area, There isn’t much of a difference between marriage-related and blood-related kin, and More prominent opportunity for ladies in the public eye.

#### 4.4.4 Kinship in the Eastern India:

In contrast to other zones, the eastern zone is not compact or geographically contiguous. Mundari and Monkhmer languages are also spoken alongside northern languages. Korku, Annamese, Saka, Semang, and Khasi are the main groups. Mon, Khmer, and Chain are the other languages. A number of Austro-Asiatic tribes live in the region.

All Mundari speakers come from patrilineal and patrilocal families. Cross-cousin marriage is a common practice among the Santhal and Ho. However, they are unable to marry their daughters until either the mother's brother or sister is still alive. Cross-cousin marriage is uncommon due to this condition. According to Elwin's account, the Bondo people, for instance, do not prohibit cross-cousin marriage; however, there is no evidence of cross-cousin marriage among them.

#### 4.5 Conclusion:

Born in Burma, Irawati Karve attended school in Pune and died in 1970. A Graduate degree in humanism from Mumbai in 1928 and a doctoral certification in humanities from Berlin in 1930 denoted the beginning of a long and recognized vocation of spearheading research. Karve was a world-renowned researcher who was also a great author and a great example of women's liberation. She was known for teaching people how to be socially responsible and for leading the sociological, cultural, and physical anthropological disciplines.

In this day and age of specialization, very few of us can claim Karve's combination of social and physical anthropology knowledge. In addition, she was able to write diachronically about Indian kinship thanks to her familiarity with Pali and Sanskrit literature. She even went to the trouble of learning to read Tamil so that she could see the light that early literature can shed on South Indian systems.

She had an enviable readership because she wrote in English and Marathi about academic subjects as well as topics of general interest. Whether she does so via her *Hindu Society: An English translation*, a scholarly treatise, or *Yuganta: Her study of the Mahabharata's characters and society in Marathi*, *The End of an Epoch*, provides ample evidence of her intellect's breadth and depth.

However, on a global scale, she is best known for her research into various social institutions in India and for her 1953 book *Kinship Organization in India*, which made significant progress in our understanding of Indian society's structure. A reprint is long overdue because it has not been replaced by any other general comparative treatment of Hindu kinship in India as a whole.

#### 4.6 Check Your Progress:

- 1) In which areas were research interests of Irawati Karve concentrated?
- 2) What was the topic of the Ph D thesis of Irawati Karve?
- 3) Name the kinship patterns mentioned in Karve's book *Kinship Organization in India*.
- 4) Outline the way caste influences kinship organization with reference to the view of Irawati Karve.

#### 4.7 Answer

- 1) Chief research interests of Irawati Karve were concentrated on the following aspects: racial composition of the Indian population; kinship organization in India; origin of caste; and sociological study of the rural and urban communities.
- 2) Irawati Karve's Ph D thesis on *The Chitpavan Brahmins* was based on physical anthropological studies (eye colour measurements) as well as an Indological discussion of caste origins drawn from Puranas and Mahabharata and other mythologies.
- 3) Kinship patterns identified by Karve in the book, *Kinship Organization in India* are:
  - a) Indo-European or Sanskritic organisation in the Northern zone;
  - b) Dravidian kinship in the southern zone;
  - c) A central zone of mixed patterns (e.g. found in Maharashtra); and d) Mundari kinship systems in the east.
- 4) Karve observed that kinship organization is influenced and strengthened by the caste system and both these conform to certain patterns found in different linguistic regions.

#### 4.8 Reference:

**Barbosa, Thiago Pinto 2021.** *The Contradictions of Irawati Karve: A Conversation*. <https://migrantknowledge.org/2021/11/09/contradictionsof-irawati> -

**karve/ Karve, Irawati. 1953.** *Kinship Organization in India*. Deccan College Monograph Series 11, Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate And Research Institute.

**Karve, Irawati. 1961.** *Hindu Society: An Interpretation*. Poona: Deccan College.

**Karve, Irawati. 1968.** *Maharashtra: Land and its People*. Directorate of Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Maharashtra State.

**Karve, Irawati. 1969.** *Yuganta: The End of an Epoch*. Poona: Deshmukh Prakashan.

**UNIT - V****Lesson 5.1 - M. N. Srinivas****Structure**

- 5.1.1 Biographical Sketch
- 5.1.2 Introduction
- 5.1.3 Major Contribution
- 5.1.4 Structural and Functional Analysis
- 5.1.5 Works of Srinivas on Brahminisation, Sanskritization, Westernization and Secularization.
- 5.1.6 Study of Village
- 5.1.7 Conclusion
- 5.1.8 Criticism Srinivas Faced
- 5.1.9 Check Your Progress
- 5.1.10 Answer
- 5.1.11 Reference

**5.1.1 Biographical Sketch**

Indian sociologist Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas was born in 1916 and died in 1999. His research on caste and caste systems, social stratification, and Sanskritization in southern India is largely responsible for his fame. Srinivas made a significant and singular contribution to Indian public life as well as the fields of sociology and social anthropology. His originality as a social scientist was based on his ability to experiment with the disciplinary foundations of social anthropology and sociology while also breaking free from the rigid mold that area studies, which were primarily oriented toward universities in North America, had formed after the Second World War.

It very well might be essential to bring up that it was the conjuncture between Sanskritic grant and the essential worries of the Western coalition in the outcome of WWII which had to a great extent molded South Asian region concentrates on in the US. The British colonial administration recognized the Brahmins or Pandits as significant translators of Hindu



laws and practices during the colonial era. The curious juxtaposition of Sanskrit studies with contemporary issues in the majority of South Asian departments in the United States and elsewhere was caused by colonial assumptions about an unchanged Indian society. Indian sociology was strongly held to exist at the intersection of indology and sociology.

Srinivas' research sought to challenge the dominant model for comprehending Indian society and ushered in newer intellectual frameworks for comprehending Hindu society in the process. His opinions regarding the significance of caste in Indian elections are well-known. For Srinivas, this represented the dynamic changes that were taking place as democracy spread and electoral politics became a resource in the local world of village society, despite the fact that some have interpreted this as attesting to the enduring structural principles of social stratification in Indian society.

His ideas about justice, equality, and eradicating poverty were rooted in his experiences on the ground, so he was not inclined to construct utopian structures. One of the most moving aspects of his writing was his honesty in the face of demands that his sociology take into account the radical new goals. Srinivas attempted to capture the fluid and dynamic nature of caste as a social institution by employing terms like "sanskritisation," "dominant caste," and "vertical (inter-caste) and horizontal (intra-caste) solidarities."

Srinivas strongly advocated fieldwork-based ethnographic research as part of his methodological practice, but his definition of fieldwork was tied to the idea of locally bounded sites. As a result, some of his best papers, like one on a joint family dispute and one on dominant caste, were largely inspired by his direct participation in rural life in south India as a participant observer. He wrote a number of papers about new technologies, gender issues, national integration, and other topics. Why he didn't think about the methodological implications of writing about these issues that go beyond the village and its institutions is really surprising. Numerous researchers who have investigated caste in India have modeled their research after his method and findings.

### **5.1.2 Introduction**

MN Srinivas is regarded as an indological researcher with a structural-functional approach who works in the field. Both Bronislaw Malinowski's and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's fieldwork had a significant

impact on him. He was able to conduct his first fieldwork among the Coorgs in South India because of this interest. *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* was published in 1952 as a result of this. G. S. Ghurye, with whom he frequently disagreed, was his trainer. Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas is the full name of M.N. Srinivas. He was born in Mysore in 1916 and passed away in Bangalore in 1999. He was one of the best sociologists of India. As a Brahmin, he was. His research is well-known in the fields of caste and its various classifications, Sanskritization, and numerous other caste-related topics. He studied sociology at the University of Bombay, where he also earned his doctorate. Srinivas continued his education by attending Oxford University in the late 1940s. Srinivas's perspective was distinct from that of other sociologists because he did not want to rely on a textbook written in the West when studying the people of his own country. He played a significant role there and began generating concepts for sociology. He participated himself, beginning with fieldwork and observation. He conducted extensive fieldwork on Coorgs sometime between 1940 and 1942. He goes on to discuss the cohesion and interaction among the various Coorg castes. He dealt with Brahmins, Kaniyas, Bannas, and Panikas as castes. He also talks about how many independent castes can be found in villages.

### 5.1.3 M. N. Srinivas and his contributions to Indian anthropology:

- The concept of Sanskritization: In 1962, MN Srinivas proposed Sanskritization—originally known as Brahminization—as a method of social and caste mobility. The Indian caste system has traditionally been regarded as a close social stratification. The term “Brahminization” was first used in research carried out in the Mysore region by M.N. Srinivas. imitation of the Brahmin lifestyle by other castes to advance in a hierarchy. He then changed it to Sanskritization because, rather than Brahmins, the lower castes adopt the local dominant caste's lifestyle in order to rise in the hierarchy. He defined westernization as the process of elevating one's social status through western culture and modern education in 1966.
- Concept of Brahminization: During the course of his Ph.D. research among them, he was the first to introduce the concept of “Brahminization” as a method of caste mobility. Srinivas thought that Sanskritization, which he coined in 1962, was more inclusive than Brahminization.

- Differentiation between Varna and Jati: He made a distinction between Varna's and Jati's ideas. Many people thought that Varna and Jati were the same thing. However, M.N. Srinivas demonstrated in his works how distinct they are from one another in terms of their respective relevance, areas of work, and classifications.
- Concept of dominant caste and its role in Indian villages: Understanding Indian rural life requires an understanding of the dominant caste concept. Understanding the hierarchical structure, dispute resolution, and caste mobility in rural settings are all made easier by this.

In 1966, he coined the term "Westernization."

- In 1959, with the assistance of Vice-Chancellor V.K.R.V. Rao, he established the Department of Sociology at Delhi University.
- He identified the two types of status that exist in such societies, which he referred to as secular and ritual statuses. The idea of a "dominant caste" was found to be very helpful in accommodating the two types of status.

#### **Famous Works of MN Srinivas**

- Marriage and Family in Mysore (1942)
- Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India (1952)
- Caste in Modern India in 1962,
- Social Change in Modern India in 1966
- India's Villages in 1955.
- The Remembered Village (1976)
- Indian Society through Personal Writings (1998)
- Village, Caste, Gender, and Method (1998)
- Social Change in Modern India
- The Dominant Caste and Other Essays (ed.)
- Dimensions of Social Change in India

#### **Dimensions of Social Change in India**

We would briefly discuss a few subjects that Srinivas placed a high priority on:

1. Social changes are part of society's evolution, but when we talk about

Indian society, some social changes have become very popular. Examples of social shifts include terms like “Sanskritization,” “Westernization,” and “Secularization,” among others.

2. In Hinduism, “Sanskritization” refers to the process by which a low caste Hindu individual or group attempts to acquire the beliefs, practices, and values of a higher caste Hindu. Westernization in India when Western culture takes precedence over Indian culture. Indian individuals getting the way of life of West is supposed to be the course of Westernization.
3. Secularization in India is a cycle wherein all the religion existing in India will be treated as equivalent and impartial. Srinivas emphasized these social shifts among other things.
4. Perspective on caste, religion, and its effects: He emphasized numerous religious and village-related topics. how religion shapes Indian society in significant ways. As a result, religion has a caste system, which further divides these castes. He then talks about how different caste groups are affected differently by these castes. Each caste is regarded and treated in accordance with its social rank. He goes on to discuss how caste differences bring out additional differences among people, such as differences in occupation, a social hierarchy, the distinction between the pure and impure, and caste panchayats and assemblies.
5. Caste dominance: Srinivas says that a caste is said to be dominant if it has three main powers: numerical strength, political power, and economic power.

He now proposes a brand-new concept of dominant caste that does not address the social hierarchy of castes. It only considers whether a person is of low or high caste and possesses numerical strength, political power, and economic power. When Srinivas talks about the village of Rampura in Mysore, we can see this. He saw evidence there that there were different castes with different positions. Brahmins, peasants, and untouchables made up this group. But because many peasants had land, were numerically stronger, and held political power, peasants here were more powerful and dominant than Brahmins. As a result, Srinivas argued that despite their traditionally lower status, their political and economic power established them as the village’s dominant caste.

#### 5.1.4 Structural-Functional Analysis

M.N. Srinivas introduced structural-functional analysis to the field of social anthropology and sociology in India. The structural-functional perspective can also be understood as a “contextual” or “field view” view of social phenomena because it relies more on the field work tradition for understanding the social reality.

1. Indian sociologist Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas (1916–1999) is widely regarded for his research on caste and caste systems, social stratification, and Sanskritization in southern India. Srinivas’ commitment to the disciplines of humanism and social humanities and to public life in India was remarkable. His originality as a social scientist was based, in part, on his ability to break free of the rigid mold that area studies, which were primarily centered on universities in North America, had formed following the end of the Second World War. On the other hand, he was able to experiment with the disciplinary foundations of social anthropology and sociology.

It may be important to note that South Asian area studies in the United States were largely shaped by the intersection of Sanskrit scholarship and Western bloc strategic concerns following the Second World War. The British colonial administration recognized the Brahmins or Pandits as significant translators of Hindu laws and practices during the colonial era. The curious juxtaposition of Sanskrit studies with contemporary issues in the majority of South Asian departments in the United States and elsewhere was caused by colonial assumptions about an unchanged Indian society. Indian sociology was strongly held to exist at the intersection of indology and sociology.

3. Srinivas’ research sought to challenge the dominant model for comprehending Indian society and introduce new intellectual frameworks for comprehending Hindu society in the process. His opinions regarding the significance of caste in Indian elections are well-known. For Srinivas, this represented the dynamic changes that were taking place as democracy spread and electoral politics became a resource in the local world of village society, despite the fact that some have interpreted this as attesting to the enduring structural principles of social stratification in Indian society.

4. One of the most moving aspects of his writing was his integrity in the face of demands that his sociology take into account the new and radical aspirations. His ideas about justice, equality, and the eradication of poverty were rooted in his experiences on the ground. Srinivas attempted to convey the fluid and dynamic nature of caste as a social institution by employing terms like “sanskritization,” “dominant caste,” and “vertical (inter-caste) and horizontal” solidarities.
5. Srinivas strongly advocated fieldwork-based ethnographic research as part of his methodological practice, but his definition of fieldwork was tied to the idea of locally bounded sites. Because India is a huge country. Where million of individuals with various personalities, interests are residing and experienced series of changes because of exogenous and endogenous elements. Therefore, one cannot present an absolute view of India. As a result, some of his best papers, like one on a joint family dispute and one on dominant caste, were largely inspired by his direct participation in rural life in south India as a participant observer. He wrote a number of papers about new technologies, gender issues, national integration, and other topics. Why he didn't think about the methodological implications of writing about these issues that go beyond the village and its institutions is really surprising. Numerous researchers who have investigated caste in India have modeled their research after his method and findings.
6. Srinivas is a prominent figure among India's first-generation sociologists. He is a member of the G.S. Ghurye, R.K. Mukherjee, N.K. Bose, and D.P. Mukerji galaxies. Srinivas started the practice of applying macro-sociological generalizations to micro-anthropological insights and of giving anthropological studies of small communities a sociological perspective. Srinivas wanted to gain a better understanding of his people by observing them firsthand, conducting research in the field, and gaining firsthand experience, rather than relying on indigenous sacred texts or textbooks written in the West. Between 1940 and 1942, he conducted extensive fieldwork among the Coorgs. In his research, he explains how Coorgians, particularly Brahmins (priests), Kaniyas (astrologers and magicians), Bannas (low castes), and Panikas (bannas) think about functional unity. He also describes the interdependence of the various castes in a village in the context of Rampura's research.

7. In his research on religion and caste, Srinivas emphasized both the structural and functional aspects of the caste system and its dynamics in rural settings. To comprehend the realities and dynamics of intercaste relationships, he suggested conceptual tools such as “dominant caste,” “sanskritization – westernization,” and “secularization.” Srinivas presents the findings of a number of studies on the structure and change in village society. The concept of dominant caste has been used in the study of power relations at the village level. Srinivas has composed expresses during the 1940s on Tamil and Telgu society tunes.

Srinivas explains two fundamental ideas for comprehending our society:

1. View from a bookish point of view: The primary components that are referred to as the “bases” of Indian society are religion, Varna, caste, family, village, and geographical structure. Books or sacred texts provide the knowledge about such elements. Srinivas refers to it as a bookish or book view. Srinivas rejected the book view, which is also known as indology, and emphasized the field view.
1. According to the book view of the caste system, Brahmins hold a higher social status than untouchables, who are at the bottom of the social ladder. Mobility and communicability are severely restricted. More importantly, the book’s perspective is presented as irrefutable.
2. Field work (field view): Fieldwork, in Srinivas’ opinion, is the best way to learn about the various parts of Indian society. This he calls field view. Consequently, to comprehend our society, he prefers empirical research. Instead of developing grand theories, Srinivas pursued small regional studies. Understanding the nativity of rural Indian society requires extensive fieldwork in this context.
3. Srinivas is of the opinion that a view from the field, especially in the context of the caste system, brings out the lived reality of the people and demonstrates how scriptural texts can be applied to real-world situations. Social mobility becomes crucial in this context.

Srinivas also realized that sociology required a mathematical and statistical focus. This point is emphasized by his self-analysis. Scholars rarely engage in the above-mentioned secondary level of analysis for compelling ideological and practical reasons. The practical considerations are easy to see. Perhaps, more so in the past than in the present, many



brilliant and diligent scholars have turned to “humanistic” fields like sociology because they are afraid of math.

### **5.1.5 Works of Srinivas on Brahminization, Sanskritisation, Westernization and Secularization**

Srinivas has composed on numerous parts of Indian culture and culture. He studied Indian society as a “totality,” a study that would integrate “the various groups in its interrelationship, whether tribes, peasants or various cults and sects” (Patel). He was influenced by Radcliffe-Brown’s notion of structure, who was his teacher at Oxford. He is best known for his work on religion, village communities, caste, and social change. His writings are the result of extensive fieldwork in South India, specifically the Coorgs and Rampura (Shah).

- I. Change in society: Brahminization, Sanskritisation, Westernization and Secularization
- II. Society and Religion
- III. Study of Village
- IV. Views on Caste
- V. Dominant Caste:

### **Social Change**

Indian sociologists continue to be particularly concerned about “social change” as a theme. This holds true not only for the period prior to independence but also for the period following independence. Srinivas attempted to construct a macro-level analysis by utilizing a large number of micro-level findings regarding the processes of “sanskritization,” “westernization,” and “secularization.” Interestingly, Srinivas returned to his village as a micro-empirical setting after nearly a quarter of a century, highlighting the nature of social change over time in a diachronic frame.

### **Society and Religion**

1. The work “Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India” by Srinivas inspired him to develop the idea of “Brahminization” to represent the process by which lower-caste Hindus imitate the ways of life and rituals of Brahmins. Through extensive and careful field

research, the idea was used as an explanation to explain changes in the ritual practices and ways of life of the lower castes. However, Srinivas introduced the concept of Sanskritisation because his own field data and those of many others indicated limitations of using only the Brahminic model as a frame of reference. The idea of Brahminization also had implicit possibilities for further abstraction. Afterward, sanskritisation, as an idea, consequently, supplanted Brahminization at a more theoretical level.

2. Srinivas was able to accomplish this by systematically utilizing both the terms sanskritization and westernization to describe the processes of social change in India and expanding the meaning of the term sanskritization. Even though this conceptual framework focuses primarily on the processes of cultural imitation, it also incorporates the structural idea of privilege and power inequality and hierarchy because imitation is always carried out by castes or groups with lower social and economic status. We observe a pattern of being economically and socially marginalized.
3. In his book "Social Change in Modern India," Srinivas provides a methodical explanation of the two ideas. In it, he defines "sanskritisation" as the process by which a "low" caste, tribe, or other group takes over the customs, rituals, beliefs, and way of life of a "high," including a "twice-born" (dwija) caste. Typically, the sanskritization of a group improves its position in the local caste hierarchy. The changes in cultural styles, customs, and ritual practices are the primary focus of the study of social change through concepts of sanskritization and westernization as well as the levels of traditions.

#### **Sanskritisation:**

1. Prof. M.N. Srinivas introduced the term "Sanskritization" into Indian sociology. The process of collectively attempting to adopt upper caste beliefs and practices as a first step toward higher status is referred to by this term. As a result, this points to a process of cultural mobility in India's traditional social system.
2. The Sanskritization of: The phenomenon of Sanskritization is not new. It denotes the process by which lower castes attempt to raise their social status by imitating the lifestyles of upper castes. This has been a significant cultural change in Indian history, and it has

occurred in every region of the Indian subcontinent.

3. Sanskritization's definition is: M.N. Srinivas provided the definition of Sanskritisation in his 1971 publication "Social Change in Modern India." "a process by which a low caste, tribe, or other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, twice born caste," is the definition of this term.

An examination of the Sanskritization process:

1. Sanskritization is the process of moving up in life. A caste is attempting to rise in the caste hierarchy over time rather than all at once during this process. It would take some time, perhaps a generation or two.'
2. The mobility that is a part of the Sanskritization process only results in "positional changes" for specific castes or sections of castes, not necessarily a "structural change." This indicates that while individual castes may rise or fall, the overall structure remains unchanged.
3. Caste mobility is referred to as group mobility in the sanskritization process. Caste mobility must be a group mobility in order to mitigate the threat posed by other castes and ensure that mobile caste members do not face difficulties in finding a spouse.
4. Sanskritization was pursued by the castes, who felt that their claim to a higher position was not fully effective despite their relatively low racial status and higher political and economic power.
5. Sanskritization does not necessitate improved economic conditions, nor does economic growth necessarily precede Sanskritization. However, a caste or tribe may initially gain political power, which may result in economic growth and Sanskritization.
6. Sanskritization cannot therefore occur without secular mobility.
7. Sanskritization is not always restricted to Hindu castes; it can also be found in tribal communities. Sanskritization has affected the Bhils of Western India, the Gonds and Oraons of Middle India, and the Pahadiyas of the Himalayas. Now, these tribal communities are asserting that they are Hindu.
8. As a result, it refers to Tribe-Caste Continuous. Therefore, it is not necessary to discuss the Brahmanical model of mobility; rather, it

discusses the Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra models of mobility.

9. Sanskritization functions as a “reference group.” This is how a caste group tries to align its practices, values, attitudes, and “life styles” with those of another superior or dominant group in order to gain some recognition of its own.
10. In every location, the process of Sanskritization is not the same.

#### **Impact of Sanskritization as a force for Modernization:**

1. People’s mental horizons and vision changed as a result of modern education, Western literature, and philosophy. They welcomed rationality and other positive aspects of liberal and humanitarian ideas and made good use of them.
2. Upnishads, a speculative interpretation of the Vedas or Mythology, were used to spark human imagination, and Vedas was developed through intellectual reflection and empirical observation.
3. The sole focus of reformist groups and organizations was on the economy and society. They wanted to establish a social order based on Vedic practices and teachings. They criticized the nonsense of rituals and superstitions that some self-centered individuals created to entangle the poor and ignorant masses. They emphasized rational and scientific interpretation of the Vedas.
4. The gap between the secular and ritual rankings was reduced or eliminated as a result. It also contributed to the empowerment of the weak. The lower caste group that succeeded in gaining secular power also tried to use the services of Brahmins, especially when they were performing rituals, worshiping God, and making offerings.

#### **Is there sankritization among tribals?**

1. The issue at hand is whether Hinduization and sanskritization are the same thing. Naturally, there is a connection between the two, but in the context of tribes, it may be more appropriate to refer to the process as Hinduization rather than sanskritization. This is because the tribes don’t care about getting ahead in the hierarchy. Obviously, the Hindu faith and practices cannot be understood

outside of the caste system. As a result, being Hindu always entails belonging to a caste. However, tribes are given a caste status that is known as “laws caste status.” If this is the case, then where exactly does the social mobility process for tribes take place? What benefits do tribes receive from this procedure? They have neither claimed to be of higher status. Hardiman, a Dalit sociologist, is of the opinion that outsiders impose this status on tribes. In point of fact, even after Hinduization, most tribes remain outside of Hindu society’s hierarchical structure.

2. In the case of tribes, the issue with the idea of Sanskritization does not end there. In point of fact, the reference group also presents a problem. The literature does not make it abundantly clear which caste groups or tribes, with the exception of those with royal or chiefly lineage, were followed in each region. The royal/chiefly lineage has married rajputs because they followed their example. As a result, whereas the upper echelons of tribal society became part of Hindu society, the subjects continued to live outside of Hindu society, though it’s possible that they underwent a process of Hinduization. They had not been concerned with moving up the hierarchy’s ladder. Given this, it may not be their primary concern. In light of this, it might be more appropriate to talk about Hinduization rather than sanskritization when discussing Indian tribes. Additionally, if any tribes consider certain castes superior. They are Jajirdans, thinkadars, lambadars, and so on, not because of their caste status.
3. They might wonder why tribes have Hinduized themselves, even though they have no higher status. Do they wish to become a part of the larger society? This is no longer the case, though it may have been the case in the past. Today, acculturation into the dominant community’s ideas, values, and practices is more about being like the dominant community than it is about joining that society or assuming a caste status.

#### **Sanskritization-related criticisms:**

1. J.F. Stall says that Srinivas and other anthropologists use the Sanskritizationas, which is a complicated idea or a group of ideas. Due to the extremely complicated relationship between the term and Sanskrit, the term itself appears to be misleading

2. Yogendra Singh asserts that because it ignores non-sanskritic traditions, sanskritization fails to account for numerous aspects of India's cultural change in the past and present.
3. because it ignores non-Sanskrit traditions like Buddhism, Islamization, and the Bhakti movement. Therefore, it is more of a cultural model than a social model. Sanskrit influence has not been widespread throughout the nation. The Islamic tradition served as a foundation for cultural imitating in the majority of northern India, particularly in Punjab.
5. We encounter a number of paradoxes when attempting to interpret Sanskritisation-based changes in the field of social mobility. Dr. says that Political and economic factors typically favor Sanskritization in Srinivas. However, this portrays a different picture than the "policy of reservation," a political constitutional attempt to elevate the status of lower caste and class individuals. The reservation policy must theoretically be in favor of Sanskritization. However, paradoxically, it contradicts it.

#### **Westernisation:**

1. The frantic efforts of missionaries to convert as many Indians as possible to Christianity and the arrival of the East India Company in India, initially to trade and later to increase its political power, marked the beginning of the Westernization of India's caste system. By 1858, the East India Company had established "British Imperial Rule" in India.
2. Indian society and culture underwent profound and long-lasting transformations during British rule. New knowledge, beliefs, and values were brought to the United Kingdom by the British. These are now the primary means of social mobility for both individuals and groups. M.N. Srinivas coined the term "Westernisation" in this context, primarily to describe the changes in Indian society and culture brought about by Western contact through British rule.
3. Westernization is defined as: M.N. Srinivas says that the term "Westernization" refers to "the changes brought about in the Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, and the term subsumes changes occurring at different levels—technology, institutions, ideology, and values."

4. What Westernization Means: Westernization is a simpler concept than Sanskritization. It describes the impact of Western contact, particularly British rule, on Indian society and culture. M.N. Srinivas utilized the expression “Westernization” to portray the progressions that a non-western nation had gone through because of delayed contact with the western one. According to Srinivas, it conveys “certain value preferences,” which in turn encompasses a number of values, including “humanitarianism.” Humanitarianism conveys an active concern for the welfare of all people, regardless of caste, economic status, religion, age, or sex. Westernization encompasses not only the creation of new institutions but also fundamental alterations to existing ones. For instance, India had schools long before the British arrived, but these weren’t like the British schools. Law courts, the army, and other institutions were also affected in a similar way. However, the increase in Westernization does not halt the process of Sanskritization. Both continue at the same time, and somewhat expansion in Westernization speeds up the course of Sanskritisation. For instance, organized religious pilgrimages, meetings, caste solidarity, and other events are made possible by the postal facilities, railways, buses, and media produced by newspapers that are the results of the influence of the West on India. conceivable in comparison to the past.
5. People are categorized by M.N. Srinivas according to their manifest behavior and value orientation. According to him, there is a category of people who are both internally and externally sanskritized—those whose value structure and behavior are sanskritized. There is also a category of people who are internally sanskritized—those whose value base is white and externally westernized—those who imitate the west in their fashion and behavior. Third class where both inner too as outside sanskritisation can be found So this arrangement of Srinivas assists with understanding the difficult exercise of individuals among custom and current characters. As a result, it balances continuity with change.

### **Impact of Westernization**

1. Westernization’s impact paved the way for the acquisition of knowledge.
2. After the Renaissance movement of the Middle Ages, modern



education opened the doors of knowledge. It had broadened the psychological skylines of Indian scholarly people.

3. Education for all: In the second half of the nineteenth century, the British government in India made it possible for all segments of Indian society, regardless of caste or religion, to receive an education. However, only a select few members of the general public were able to take advantage of the benefits that come with a formal education in the modern era. Only a small portion of society had access to education.
4. The rigidity and harshness of many social customs and practices that were prevalent at the time for the weaker sections of the society—such as untouchability and inhuman treatment of women, Sati, polygamy, child marriage, and so on—had been highlighted by modern education. prevalent back then.
5. Attracted the attention of social reformers: Modern education has drawn the attention of intellectuals and social reformers to the real problems caused by ignorance, the absurdity of rituals and superstitions created by selfish people to entangle the poor and ignorant masses, and the evils that result from ignorance. They suggested solutions for the country's social, political, and economic problems. They took on the responsibility of creating a modern, open, pluralistic, culturally diverse, prosperous, and powerful India from a society that was divided, poor, superstitious, weak, indifferent, backward, and focused on itself. Slavery and Sati were abolished as a result of these efforts. The use of female infanticide has significantly decreased.
6. Realization of the value of liberty and liberty—it provided intellectual tools for national leaders to use in their fight against the oppressive British Raj. Indians recognized the significance of freedom and liberty. They were exposed to the ideas of Locke, Mill Rousseau, Voltaire, Spencer, and Burke, among others. They were aware of the causes and effects of the American, French, and English revolutions.

#### **Westernization-related criticisms:**

Sanskritization and Westernization focus primarily on analyzing social change in terms of “cultural” rather than “structural” terms. This indicated that these terms can only be applied in a limited way.

1. The caste-based social change process in India is the sole focus of Srinivasa's model. Other societies will not benefit from it. Even though Srinivas asserted that Westernization is "ethically neutral," this is not actually the case. Srinivas has praised the Western model, but it contradicts itself. Facts about Western life, such as racial prejudice, color segregation, and the exploitative nature of the Western economy, can be mentioned. Humanitarian ideals and a rational outlook on life are at odds with these facts.
2. Additionally, it is noted that the Western model that Srinivas has praised is contradictory in its own right. Values that Srinivas refers to are sometimes misrepresented by the western model.
3. Daniel Learner has criticized Srinivas' use of Westernization in the following ways:
  - The label is too local, and the model may not be from a Western nation; however Russia
  - The rise of an elite class with an ambivalent attitude toward the West is one consequence of prolonged contact. However, this is not always the case. Lerner makes reference to the appeal of Communism in non-western nations in this context.
  - Westernization in one region or level of conduct doesn't result in Westernisation in one more related region or level
  - While there is sure normal components in Westernization, yet each address a specific variation of a typical culture and tremendous contrast exists between one nation and another.

**The distinction between Westernization and Sanskritization:**

1. The process of Sanskritization promoted a spiritual outlook; while the process of Westernization promoted a secular outlook
2. Westernization, on the other hand, is a process of upward mobility through development, whereas Sanskritization is a process of imitation.
3. Westernization implies mobility outside of the caste system, whereas Sanskritization implies mobility within the caste system.
4. While Westernization encouraged meat consumption and alcohol consumption, Sanskritization implies imitating higher castes, particularly those born twice. Sanskritization places a taboo on

both. Westernization, on the other hand, implies imitating the dominant community. Due to the powerful external forces of globalization, the westernization process is now more common than the sankrtisation process.

#### **5.1.6 Study of Village:**

The village is the third aspect of Srinivas' study of traditions, following religion and caste. Srinivas's mentor Radcliffe-Brown in gave him the initial idea to study India's villages. He came up with the term "dominant cast" after conducting research in the village of Rampur in Mysore. The Remembered Village is where the study was kept; Srinivas only spends some time here to talk about the social and economic changes that have taken place in Rampura. He explains that the development of technology played a significant role in the lives of the Rampura people shortly after their independence. Naturally, cultural, political, and economic shifts were accompanied by technological shifts.

1. Srinivas' primary objective has been to comprehend Indian society. Furthermore, he views Indian society as essentially caste-based.
2. He has researched Indian village, caste, religion, and family. Srinivas's search for the identity of traditions leads him to conclude that caste, village, and religion are the sources of Indian traditions.
3. In terms of ideology, he supported the status quo: Let the Dalits continue to exist while allowing the high castes to enjoy dominance over subordinates. He believes that the Indian social structure is comparable to that of Hindutva, cultural nationalism, for example. Even though Srinivas writes about economic and technological advancement, he also calls for a change in family, religion, and caste throughout his works.
4. Even as he investigates these subjects, he sidetracks less affluent segments of society. For him, they are like "untouchables."
5. Srinivas has spoken extensively about the caste society's social problems; He calls for the caste system to be changed and talks about westernization and modernization as possible examples of change. However, Brahminical Hinduism or traditionalism is his perspective on change.

He defines Indian customs as those that are reflected in caste and village. His customs are not in any way secular but rather Hinduized customs. In a straightforward manner, Srinivas opposes secularism and supports Hindu customs. In a 1993 short article in the Times of India, he wrote a critique of Indian secularism. He says that secularism is lacking because he thinks that India needs a new philosophy to solve its cultural and spiritual problems and that philosophy cannot be secular humanism. It must have a firm belief in God as creator and defender. Srinivas' to Hindutva philosophy of social patriotism. Doshi makes a comment about India's traditions at this point, saying that because the constitution has rejected caste, any tradition that comes from the caste system cannot be a nation's tradition.

Srinivas focused on studying important aspects of Hindu society and culture, and his research also looked at how Hindus and non-Hindus interact with one another. There were not many non-Hindus in the area he studied. He hoped that non-Hindu Indian society and culture would be studied by other sociologists, as this would prevent the development of an Indian sociology that was truly representative of India's diversity and complexity and was therefore comprehensive and authentic. In this context, Joshi saw Srinivas as an Indian sociologist studying Hindu religion and its social institutions in a specific area through intensive fieldwork at the ground level, not a Hindu sociologist. Srinivas never defined himself as a Hindu sociologist.

### **Views on Caste:**

Srinivas has made it his life's work to comprehend Indian society. However, the criticism he receives is as follows:

1. Although he discusses technological and economic advancements, his research diverts attention away from less fortunate members of society.
2. Religious minorities have been marginalized and alienated as a result of his efforts to promote sanskritization.
3. He defines Indian customs as those that are reflected in caste and village. His customs are not in any way secular but rather Hinduized customs.
4. He became more enmeshed in the Hindutva ideology of cultural

nationalism as a result of his construction of sanskritization and dominant caste. One could say that his understanding was more elitist or that he only presents the viewpoint of the upper caste.

M.N.Srinivas coined the terms “sanskritisation” and “westernization” to describe the indigenous concepts of social change that were prevalent among sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s. He thought that these two processes were “limited processes in modern India, and it is impossible to understand one without referring to the other.” While working on his doctoral dissertation at Oxford under the guidance of Radcliffe-Brown and Evens Pritchard, Srinivas had developed the idea of sanskritisation. In the end, he formulated the idea as the process by which a “low caste people, tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently “twice-born caste.”

1. Mukherjee now asserts that these ideas cannot be considered original because they serve as a summary of certain characteristics that are readily apparent in society.
2. The terms “Aryanization” and “Brahminization” were used by the proto-sociologists Lyall and Risley to describe what Srinivas referred to as “sanskritization” in the current sociology jargon. Srinivas, who does not deny the antecedents of his concept, asserts that sanskritisation may be a more precise expression of the process in question.
3. The pioneers, such as Coomaraswamy and D.P. Mukerji, were also aware of the two processes and paid particular attention to them in the context of their respective value preferences, theoretical formulations, and research orientations.
4. According to Yogendra Singh’s observation regarding sanskritization, the two processes each have two levels of meaning: “historic-specific” and “contextual-specific.”

#### **5.1.7 Conclusion:**

Despite the criticisms mentioned above, Srinivas stands out among India’s first-generation sociologists. His emphasis on ‘field view’ over the ‘book view’ is a wonderful move toward grasping the truth of Indian culture. This is consistent with nativity sociology. His fieldwork with the Coorgs illustrates the intricate connection between ritual and

social order in Coorgs society and his structural-functional approach. It also discusses the process of integrating non-Hindu communities into the Hindu social order and the crucial concepts of purity and pollution. This is a reference to the term “sanskritization,” which he used to describe the process of introducing Sanskrit values to India’s most remote regions.

#### **5.1.8 Criticisms that Srinivas Received:**

During his promotion of the idea of Sanskritization, he has been criticized by many for allegedly excluding religious minorities from his research at times. We can see that he focused on Hinduism-centered Indian traditions, such as caste and village, in his studies. This demonstrates that he did not use a secular concept. He concentrated more on the upper caste, or elite, groups.

M.N. Srinivas introduced numerous concepts of social change, including sanskritization and westernization. It is not possible to examine these two processes separately. To fully comprehend both concepts, one must study them. When he was still studying at Oxford, he introduced the idea of sanskritization, and in 1956, he introduced the idea of westernization. In this essay, he discusses how Indian culture has been influenced by western culture and how it is gradually losing ground to western culture. According to Mukherjee, the ideas Srinivas presented were not entirely original because they might have the same idea as Aryanization or Brahminization by Lyall and Risley.

M.N. Srinivas placed a significant emphasis on fieldwork rather than completely relying on academic literature. In India, he was well-known among first-generation sociologists. He effortlessly discusses all of the intricate roles in Indian society. He offers his perspective on caste, religion, traditional villages, and how they affect Indian society.

#### **5.1.9 Check Your Progress:**

- 1) Outline Srinivas’s critique of Radcliffe-Brown’s structural-functional approach.
- 2) Explain Srinivas’s justification of studying one’s own society by Indian anthropologists and sociologists.
- 3) Explain Joshi’s critique of The Remembered Village study

- 4) List the fundamental elements of nation-building outlined by Srinivas.

#### 5.1.10 Answer

1. Srinivas's critiqued Radcliffe-structural-functionalism Brown's approach mainly on following points: ignoring historical evidence in the functioning of civilization; (ii) comparing social laws to scientific laws. was pointless. Srinivas began to recognize the need of historical data in societal functioning and the futility of the underlying principles of structural-functionalism.
2. According to Srinivas, an Indian anthropologist who studies the 'self-in-the-other' is studying someone who is the other as well as someone with whom s(he) has cultural forms, beliefs, and values on one level. The nature and extent social and cultural variation in India. Differences in language, dialect, religion, sect, caste, class, and ethnicity challenge Indian anthropologists at every turn, so they can locate "the other" in an adjacent hamlet, tribe, or backward slum.
3. According to Joshi, The Remembered Village suffers from a failure to provide appropriate place to people's economic organization. The broader propensity to disregard economic activities covers up a comprehensive understanding of caste in India.
4. Srinivas lists the following elements of nation-building in India:
  - (i) protective discrimination for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other Backward Classes,
  - (ii) democracy;
  - (iii) political education and decentralization in the political, administration and industry areas;
  - (iv) policy of pluralism in matters of religion, language, and culture;
  - (v) subnationalism, and
  - (vi) secularism.



### 5.1.11 Reference:

**Baines, A. 1912.** *Ethnography*. Strassburg: TrubnerVarlag.

**Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1951.** *Social Anthropology*. London: Cohen and West.

**Fuller, Chris. 1999.** 'An Interview with M.N. Srinivas', *Anthropology Today*, 15, 5.

**Joshi, P.C. 1996.** 'The Remembered Village: Insights into an Agrarian Civilization'. in A.M. Shah, B.S. Baviskar, and E.A. Ramaswamy (eds.), *Social Structure and Change, Vol. Theory and Method-An Evaluation of the Work of M.N. Srinivas*. New Delhi: Sage.

**Khare, R.S. 1996.** 'Social Description and Social Change: From Function to Critical Cultural Significations.' In A. M. Shah, B.S. Baviskar, and E.A. Ramaswamy (Eds.), *Social Structure and Change, Vol 1. Theory and Method – An Evaluation of the Work of M.N. Srinivas..* New Delhi: Sage.

**Mathur, Nita. 2020.** 'The Remembered Anthropologist:Engaging with the Insights of M. N. Srinivas' *Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India*, 69(2) 224–240

**Shah, A.M. 1996.** 'M.N. Srinivas: The Man and his Work'. in A.M. Shah, B.S. Baviskar, and E.A. Ramaswamy (eds.), *Social Structure and Change, Vol. 1. Theory and Method-An Evaluation of the Work of M.N. Srinivas*. New Delhi: Sage.

**Srinivas, M.N. 1961.** 'Changing Attitudes in India Today', *Yojana, Special Number, 1 October: 25-28*. Srinivas, M.N. 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley, CA: University California Press. Srinivas, M.N. 1968. 'Mobility in Caste System'. In Milton Singer and Bernard Cohn (Eds.), *Structure and Change in Indian Society*. Chicogo: University of Chicago Press.

DDE, Pondicherry University

---

## Lesson 5.2 - Shyama Charan Dube

---

(25th July 1922 – 4th February 1996)

### Structure

- 5.2.1 Learning Objectives
- 5.2.2 Biographical Sketch
- 5.2.3 Introduction
- 5.2.4 Central Ideas
  - 5.2.4.1 Indian Village
  - 5.2.4.2 Community Development Programme(CDP)
  - 5.2.4.3 Indian Society
  - 5.2.4.4 Society : Continuity and Change
  - 5.2.4.5 Caste Ranking
  - 5.2.4.6 Dominant Caste and Village Leadership
  - 5.2.4.7 Youth Culture
  - 5.2.4.8 Tradition
  - 5.2.4.9 Modernization and development
- 5.2.5 Important Works
- 5.2.6 Conclusion
- 5.2.7 Check Your Progress
- 5.2.8 Reference

### 5.2.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- describe the contributions of Shyama Charan Dube
- outline the biographical details of S.C.Dube
- explain some his central ideas in sociology; and
- list some of his important works.

### **5.2.2 Biographical Sketch:**

S C Dube is a well known anthropologist and sociologist in India. S C Dube was born in 25th July 1922 in Narsinghpur in Madhya Pradesh. Dube took his Master's Degree from Nagpur University in Political Science. He conducted a research on a tribe known as kamar (shifting cultivators) in Madhya Pradesh. He started his professional career as lecturer in Hislop College Nagpur Maharashtra. He later joined the department of political science in Lucknow University. From 1972-1977, Dube served as Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced study in Shimla. In 1975 he became the President of Indian Sociological Society. Later, he became the Vice Chancellor at Jammu University from 1978-1980. From 1980- 1983 he was a National Fellow at the Indian Council of Social Science Research. He became Deputy Director of the Anthropological Survey of India in Nagpur.

### **5.2.3 Introduction**

S C Dube has applied positive deductive method to get insight into Indian Social reality and advocate an interdisciplinary orientation. He focused on the changing nature and ideas of Indian Village. He viewed Indian Village as changing, evolving rather than static and changeless. He has contributed significantly towards the study of internal village structure and organisation, their ethos, worldview, life-way, and way of thinking, etc. He regarded Indian Villages as semi-autonomous rather than independent and completely autonomous. He viewed that it is difficult to say any one village as representative of rural India as a whole, it cannot be representative in its cultural area. For him, village is just one unit in wider social system and is a part of an organised political society.

### **5.2.4 Central Ideas**

#### **5.2.4.1 Indian Village:**

As Indian society is a mixture of different cultures. So he suggested that in order to have complete and holistic understanding of Indian Society, we need to have a more comprehensive frame of reference to study the complex culture of India. His work, Indian Village (1955) is the first full length account of village social structure where he deals with total study of Shamirpet which is in the region of Telengana of Andhra Pradesh.

Dube's structural functional approach to understand Indian society is clearly manifested in his work on Indian Village. He has portrayed the social structure and social institution of rural India in a very coherent way. In his book, he has given comprehensive description of life in an Indian Village, his key argument was that to have an accurate and holistic understanding of Indian Village, it is necessary to examine and analyse the different unit which comprise a village and through which the village community is organised. To acquire an integrated understanding of the village and its different socio economic dimension, he collected the field data from various perspectives which includes historical, geographical, political and sociological perspectives. His writings on Indian Village also served as a model of descriptive and explanatory account of many other macro settings.

Before writing Indian Village, he has conducted extensive fieldwork at village Shamirpet, which is located 25 miles away from Hyderabad. He has focused on four important aspects of rural India: the social structure, the economic structure, the ritual structure, the web of family ties and the level of living. By studying social structure, he has identified six factors that contributed towards the status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet: religion and caste, land ownership, wealth, position in government service and village organization, age, and distinctive personality traits. Along with that he has also emphasises on the phenomenon like caste, inter-caste and inter-village organisation. He has thrown light on the manner in which the caste panchayat of the lower or menial castes worked as union to secure their employment and strengthen their bargaining power.

The book deals with the following Features:

1. The setting, which includes the description of the village, the people, housing pattern, the neighbourhood etc.
2. Social structure, which includes:(a) Caste, inter-caste and inter-village organization, the Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct groups, Internal organization of the village(the socio-religious organization and administrative organization of government)
3. The main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village are traditionally specified. For example,

cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. Poultry is pursued by all sections of the village population except the Brahmins and the Komatis. Hunting, fishing, collection of fruits, medical herbs, roots, tubers and barks are the other pursuits. Villagers are also engaged in other non-agricultural occupations, which include the potter, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the barber, the washer man, and the menial servant etc.

4. Ritual structure includes folklore, myths, religious teaching of saints/poets and contacts with persons having knowledge of scriptures and popular religious books, animism, polytheism, and even monotheism also, beliefs, ghosts, demons, witches and magic. Dube describes: "The complex of these diverse factors constitutes the picture of the supernatural world.."
5. The web of family ties reflects the structure of the family. The patrilineal and patrilocal nuclear or joint family unit is the main aspect of the rural India. Dube also describes interpersonal relations within the family.
6. Regarding standard of living, Dube categorizes people on the basis of their perception into four levels, which are recognized by people as (i) rich, (ii) well-to-do, (iii) average, and (iv) poor. It was based on various aspects of living like household possession, clothing, ornament etc.

His study has also helped to reveal the fact that in India, not even a single village is autonomous and independent; a village is always one unit in a wider social system. According to Dube, caste is a real structure that directs social relationships in an Indian village.

#### **5.2.4.2 Community development programme (CDP):**

Dube in his book *India's Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development* (1958) explains the impact of CDPs on Indian villages. He strongly emphasized the importance of humanelements in community development. He evaluated the changes and problems emerged from these programmes. He also worked on Red tapism in Indian bureaucracy. Dube's interest in rural studies grew steadily, largely because of the acceptance of the Community Development Programme (CDP) by the Government of India. This brought a shift from 'structure' to 'change' in India's villages .

#### 5.2.4.3 Indian Society:

Dube's another important work is Indian Society (1990) where he deals with various important social elements like diversity and unity, varna and jati, family and kinship, patterns of urbanisation including the gender relations in Indian society. This book provides a better understanding of Indian society. However, he has viewed that Indian society is old and extremely complex. Dube also discusses how difficult it is to identify the earliest inhabitants of India. It is important to mention here that very often students get confused with the classification of varna and jati. However, Dube has written extensively on caste and varna in his book Indian Society where he has clarified that in the Hindu social system, varna is only a reference category that serves as a classificatory device. It is not a functioning unit of social structure and only refers broadly to the ascribed status of jatis. In it, there are several jatis which are clustered together on the basis of similar ascribed ritual status. He has also discussed about the great diversity in the forms and functions of the family in Indian society. Dube has maintained that as an institution, family has been very strong in the village society. Family is considered as a group working with harmony, cohesion and cooperation. He has looked into the gender differences. In the Telangana village, Dube observed that women were isolated from the activities of public sphere and the husband was considered to be an authoritative figure whose will should be respected and obeyed by his wife and children.

#### 5.2.4.4 Society: Continuity and Change:

The reason for change must be sought in a multiplicity of factors. So far state compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about little social and cultural change in the village community. The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community.

There were several organizational changes too. In the organization of the family, the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions.

Traditionally, the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. At present, the government officials residing within the village discretely



pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable judgment in certain cases in which for some reason they happen to be interested. In place of their traditional occupations, people have started accepting other vocations.

The family has been under some stress and bonds of kinship are no longer as strong and cohesive as they used to be. However, what is often described as the 'joint family' was never the norm in Indian society: it was confined to some jatis in villages and small towns. Even among them, complete two-or-three-generation extended families were rare.

But it is among these jatis that one finds a trend towards nuclearization of the family. Several factors account for the erosion of the family and kinship networks – modern education, new occupations, geographical mobility, impact of mass media, and so forth. Greater freedom of choice in marriage also makes living in large joint households non-viable. However, in important rituals and ceremonies, the extended family and kin groups demonstrate their solidarity and stand together.

Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational works, as well as of several other items of western technology, such as buses, railways, razors and electric torches introduced in the comparatively recent times which reflect their efficiency and utility. Communications too have now imported.

The influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities.

Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends:

- (1) The regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture area;
- (2) The national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the community of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalists and partly conscious innovations; and
- (3) Adoption of traits and elements from western technology and

culture. Traditional social institutions and culture, traditions and life-ways are idealized: they originated long ago when man first appeared on the earth and the salvation of people lies in their faithful observation of these divinely ordained ways. The focus is local and regional, confined to family, kin, caste and some neighbouring village.

The fundamental drive in the thought and activities of the group seems to be towards the goal of the adjustment of the individual to the universe. In interpersonal as well as inter- and intra-group relations, the people tend to view everything as hierarchically structured. The fundamental concepts of the rights and equality of men mean little to these people, whose visions are thus bounded by their own observation of the world.

#### **5.2.4.5 Caste Ranking:**

Besides books on Indian village, Dube has also written a few papers on the village studies among whom mention may be made of one "Thinking of Castes in Telangana Village" published in the book, Rural Profiles of India edited by late Professor D.N. Majumdar (1955). To Dube, the fundamental principle of caste ranking is a concept of ritual purity and pollution.

The caste ranking in Shamirpet is also determined by traditions and myths since caste is based on an ascribed system of status. Dube establishes that the occupations allowed based on the daily practices such as rituals, hierarchy of food eaten, observance of rules connected with life cycle rituals etc. determined ranks. He puts great emphasis that the main criterion used for caste ranking in village is ritual and not economic.

#### **5.2.4.6 Dominant Caste and Village Leadership:**

In his paper entitled, 'Dominant Caste and Village Leadership' presented at a seminar on Trends of Change in Village India, organized by Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development, Mussoorie, in 1961, Dube adds to the concepts and methods of study of pattern of rural leadership in India. He finds the political power concentrated in few individuals rather than diffused in caste.

In each village, there are some dominant individuals, who have decisive say in political participation of the members of a village. They

play a significant role in settling disputes, guiding the youth force for maintaining unity in the village, and organizing the village for common celebration of festivals. Their roles can also be observed at the time of elections of Gram Panchayat, MLA and MP.

#### **5.2.4.7 Youth Culture:**

In his paper on, “The Restive Students: Strands and Themes in Contemporary Youth Culture” (1972), Dube objects to term Indian students or contemporary youth as an ‘undifferentiated mass’. In the light of the differences in their background, orientation and outlook, he identifies four sub-cultures of the contemporary youth.

These are:

1. The Indian counterpart of the Hippies
2. The models coming from the Westernized and alienated families
3. Youths of the medium to low privileged status of society
4. The largest group consists of first generation of literates and those whose parents have not had the benefits of higher education

#### **5.2.4.8 Dube’s view on Tradition:**

Tradition is basically a series of attitudes, languages, music, art, scholarship and so on been developing since ages past. Tradition is the totality of values and beliefs, experience, knowledge and wisdom of the previous generations which is transmitted to the succeeding generations.

S.C. Dube has given a six-fold classification of traditions in India. The classification of traditions is:

- Classical traditions,
- Emergent national traditions,
- Regional traditions,
- Local traditions,
- Western traditions, and
- Local sub-cultural traditions of social groups.

#### 5.2.4.9 Modernization and Development:

Development is something to which we all aspire, and the ideas about the best means of achieving our own aspirations and needs are potentially as old as human civilisation. Development is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It is a complex and continuous process. It is an independent phenomenon not depending on growth. It is universal in nature but not uniform, i.e., each society goes through a pattern of development but those patterns all vary according to time and geography.

Similar to growth and development, modernization is a transformation process. Modernization can be defined as a process including the acceptance of modern lifestyles and beliefs. Historically, modernization took place when the agrarian economy shifted to the industrial economy. As a result, there was also a shift in the economy, societal values, beliefs, and standards as well.

S.C Dubey; “Modernization is a process that explains the change from traditional or semiconventional stage to any desired forms of technology and the nature, values, motivations and social normative rules of the social structure attached to them.” In *Contemporary India and Its Modernization* (1974), Dube has explained diverse subjects like bureaucracy, leadership, education, planning, and secularism. It is important to mention here that in *Contemporary India and Modernization*, Dube discusses about the obstacles of modernisation. He has identified several apparatuses for constructing a satisfactory national framework for modernisation. These are as follows:

1. The cohesive bonds of society must be strengthened. This can be done by encouraging consciously planned inter-regional and inter-ethnic interdependence, by secularizing political and economic participation, and by working for increasing acceptance of the legitimacy of the established authority.
2. Social restraint and social discipline are important. These depend partly on the credibility of the established authority and partly on the latter's capacity to deal effectively with economic trends of different types. Everyone from highest to lowest must be subjected equally to the 38 norms of restraint and discipline. Differential application of these norms causes distrust and often leads to an ambivalent attitude to authority.

3. The need for expertise, both in policy making and implementation, cannot be overemphasized. The administrative structures should be visualized as a series of independent and interpenetrating but specialized and differentiated roles. These considerations apply equally to the political sector.
4. The reward system should be structured that it encourages excellence of performance and curbs inefficiency and corruption. The cannons of public morality should be applied with equal rigor to politicians, to bureaucrats and in fact everyone else.

Dube in his book “Modernization and Development: A search for Alternative Paradigm” (1988), has divided the growth and diversification or specification of the concept of development into four phases.

First Phase: Development is primarily defined as economic development and economists focused their attention exclusively on economic growth.

Second Phase: The relationship between economic development and social change was more keenly realized and its consequences emphasized. Economic development and technological change was hindered by institutional factors. Thus, modification in the institutional framework of society and alternatives in the attitudes and values were to be contemplated to facilitate and accelerate the process of economic development. This revolution gave birth to modernization paradigm.

Third Phase: It was a reactive and responsive phase. It was born out of a strong reaction in the inadequate paradigm of development and modernization and responded positively to more successful praxis of development.

Fourth Phase: We are now in the Phase of reflection. It is necessary to comprehend both world orders and the national orders. The two must be modified in order for human social survival to be ensured.

The development and modernization has been uppermost in the work of Dube for the last two decades. It began prominently with the publication of his collection of articles titled Contemporary India and its Modernization (1973) and Explanation and Management of Change (1971) and Culminated in Modernization and Development(1988). S. C. Dube has always advocated for a dynamic social science responsive to the

contemporary challenges. His Social Science in Changing Society is an important contribution in this field.

### 5.2.5 Important Works:

Dube has contributed towards a wide range of themes like tribe, modernisation, community development, management of change and tradition apart from his major focus on village India. The various scholarly writings of Dube include:

1. The Kamar, Indian Village (1955)
2. India's Changing Village (1958)
3. Institution Building for Community Development (1968)
4. Contemporary India and Its Modernization (1974)
5. Tribal Heritage of India (1977)
6. Understanding Society (1977)
7. Modernization and Development (1988)
8. Tradition and Development (1990)
9. Understanding Change (1990) 10. Indian Society (1990)

Apart from books on Indian villages Dube has written some papers on the village studies. These are accordingly:

- i) Thinking of Caste in Telangana Village
- ii) Dominant Caste and Village Leadership
- iii) The Restive Students: Strands and Themes in Contemporary Youth Culture

### 5.2.6 Conclusion

S.C Dube is an eminent sociologist in India who have adopted structural-functionalist approach to study Indian Society. He has explored many unknown facts about Indian society by conducting field study in different villages. Dube has emphasized on the role of various social structures like social, economic and political in shaping the village. Further, the elements of various social structures are interlinked at the individual level as well as the higher order to bring about solidarity and consensus among the villagers. He has also thrown light on the interrelationship among the various elements of social structure. Attempt has also been made to examine the factors which are responsible for bringing change to the village Shamirpet.

### 5.2.7 Check Your Progress

- 1) Briefly examine the structural functional approach given by S.C.Dube for Studying Indian Village?
- 2) Discuss S.C.Dube views on Social Structure of Indian Shamirpet Village and main factors for social change in that village?

### Fill in the Blanks

- 1) ..... approach applied by S.C.Dube in his study of village.
- 2) ..... is the prominent village near Hyderabad studied by Dube.
- 3) ..... work of Dube described about the how village can be seen in diversifies framework.

### Answer

- 1) Structural Functional
- 2) Shamirpet
- 3) Indian Village

### 5.2.8 Reference:

1. **Dube, S.C. (1990).** *Indian Society.* National Book Trust, New Delhi.
2. Dube. S. C. (1958) *India's Changing Villages,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
3. **Nagla, B.K. (2008)** *Indian Sociological Thought.* Rawat Publication, Delhi.
4. **Abraham, M.F. (2006)** *Modern Sociological Theory: An Introduction.* Oxford Publication, New Delhi



**UNIT - VI****Lesson 6.1 - Andre Beteille, M.S.A. Rao****Structure**

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Definition, Concepts and types of Social Movement
- 6.3 Definition of Social Movement
- 6.4 Types of Social Movement
- 6.5 Social Movements in India: Elements and Approaches
- 6.6 Two approaches are used in the analysis of social movements
- 6.7 Marxist
- 6.8 Neo- Marxist
- 6.9 Functions of Social Movement
- 6.10 Reference
- 6.11 Check Your Progress

**6.1 Introduction**

Social movements have played an important role in human history. They throw light on the dynamic aspect of the human society and also of human behaviour. Members of society are not always content to be the passive playthings of social forces. On the contrary, they attempt to influence the course of human events by collective action. It does not mean, all social movements become successful in achieving their objectives. Social movements represent a powerful instrument of social change. Some movements have brought about social changes - some minor, some far-reaching. These social movements may last for years or even decades.

Social movements are comparatively well structured. Their members are not scattered, unorganised individuals but rather people consciously acting together in accordance with a shared belief system or ideology. The ideology provides a criticism of existing social conditions, a concept of the movement's purpose, a programme for action and a justification for the same. Some social movements become so organised and structured that they cease to be social movements and instead become formal organisations.

Why do the social movement's breakout? Why do people join these various types of movements? These two are pertinent questions for which several explanations could be offered. It could however, be said that "Social movements arise because social conditions create dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements. People join specific social movements for an almost infinite variety of reasons - including idealism, altruism, compassion and practical considerations as well as neurotic frustration. "

It is significant to note that social movements play a vital part in the process by which a social problem is brought to public attention. Social movements throw light on various social problems which have been in existence since decades and centuries. Modern India has also witnessed a number of social movements ever since the 18th century. Social movements have taken place here in the religious, political, economic, educational, environmental and other fields. Some of these movements had only a limited range while a few others have had a very wide range of influence. Here is an attempt to introduce some such movements that took place in India especially during the 19th and 20th centuries.

## **6.2 Definition, Concept and Types of Social Movements**

"Social Movement" represents a social phenomenon that assumes great importance in the study of not only collective behaviour but also of social change. Sociologists have started evincing great interest in studying its role not only in bringing about changes in society but also in resisting them. A social movement is a type of collective behaviour that could be a lasting one and at the same time, an influential one. It is, indeed, "a generator of social change".

Social movements of various types have been taking place in most of the societies of the modern world. In fact, they have become a part and parcel of the modern democratic societies. We hear of various types of social movements launched for one or the other purpose. There are movements to demand more and more reservation for the SCs and STs and other backward classes and there are counter movements demanding its cancellation or at least the status quo. There are movements to "save environment", to "save wild life" and to "save world peace". There are movements for and against the construction of Sri Ram Temple at the disputed place of Ayodhya. There are Fascist Movements, Communist Movements, Naxalite Movements, Tribal Movements, Peasants' Movements,

Women's Movements, Youth Movements, Labor Movements, Civil Rights Movements, Human Rights Movements, Afforestation Movements, and so on. What then do we mean by social movements?

### 6.3 Definition of Social Movement

1. A social movement is formally defined as “a collective acting with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part” - Turner and Killian.
2. “A social movement is a collective effort to promote or resist change” - Horton and Hunt.

### Characteristics of Social Movements

M.S.A. Rao, one of the prominent Indian sociologists, has made an analysis of the nature of social movements in the book “Social Movements in India”, edited by him. According to him, social movement includes two characteristics about which there is considerable agreement among the sociologists. They are as follows.

**Collective Action.** Social movement undoubtedly involves collective action. However, this collective action, takes the form of movement only when it is sustained for a long time. This collective action need not be formally organised. It could be an informal attempt also. But it should be able to create an interest and awakening in a relatively large number of people.

**Oriented Towards Social Change.** A social movement is generally oriented towards bringing about social change. This change could either be partial or total. Though the movement is aimed at bringing about a change in the values, norms, ideologies of the existing system, efforts are also made by some other forces to resist the changes and to maintain the status quo. As M.S.A. Rao points out, though sociologists are almost agreeable on the above mentioned two characteristics of social movement; they differ a lot regarding other criteria - such as the presence of an ideology, method of organisation, and the nature of consequence.

**Ideology Behind the Movement-** An important component of social movement that distinguishes it from the general category of collective mobilisation, is the presence of an ideology. Example: A student strike involves collective mobilisation and is oriented towards change. But is the

absence of an ideology a student strike becomes an isolated event and not a movement

**Organisational Frame Work-** As Paul Wilkinson has pointed out, a social movement requires a minimum of organisational framework to achieve success or at least to maintain the tempo of the movement.

**The Techniques and Results-** A social movement may adopt its own technique or me to achieve its goal. There is no certainty regarding it. It may follow peaceful or conflicting, violent or non-violent, compulsive or persuasive, democratic or undemocratic means or methods to reach its goal

#### **6.4 Types of Social Movements**

Sociologists hence classified social movements into different types on the basis of their bjectives. Wallace and Wallace, Horton and Hunt, M.S.A. Rao and others, have mentioned of three main types of movements: (i) reform movements, (ii) revolutionary movements, and (iii) revivalist movements.

1. **Reform Movements** -Reform movements are satisfied with the existing social order but believe that certain reforms are necessary in some specific areas. The reformers Endeavour to change elements of the system as it currently stands. Example, Save the Environment Movement, the Arya Samaj Movement, Brahmo Samaj Movement, Sri Ramakrishna Mission, etc.
2. **Revolutionary Movements-** The revolutionary movements deny that the system will even work. These movements are deeply dissatisfied with the social order and work for radical change. They advocate replacing the entire existing structure. Their objective is the reorganization of society in accordance with their own ideological blueprint. Revolutionary movements generally prefer not to use violence although some of them do resort to violence. Example: the Protestant Reformation Movement, the Socialist Movement, and So on.
3. **Reactionary or Revivalist Movement-**Some movements are known as reactionary or regressive movements. These aim at “putting die clock back.” Their members view certain social changes with suspicion and distaste and try to reverse the current trends.

They highlight the importance and greatness of traditional values, ideologies and institutional arrangements. They strongly criticise the fast moving changes of the present. Example: the, the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Khadi and Gramodyog Movement of Gandhiji, and the like.

In addition to the above mentioned three main types of movements, we can add two other types of movements as suggested by Horton and Hunt.

4. Resistance Movements- These movements are formed to resist a change that is already taking place in society. Good number of contemporary resistance movements expresses their dismay at the directions in which our nation has seen moving. Example: Anit-Abortion Movement, Anti-Hindi Movement, Anti-Reservation Movement, the Swadeshi Movement against the movement towards Economic Liberalisation, the Movement towards Indian sing Indian Education, etc.
5. Utopian Movements-These are attempts to take the society or at least a section of it towards a state of perfection. ~These are loosely structured collectivities that envision a radically changed and blissful state, ether on a large scale at some time in the future or on a smaller scale in the present. The Utopian Meal and the means of it are often vague, but many Utopian movements have quite specific programmes for social change.” Example: the “Hare Krishna Movement” of the seventies.

### **Reform Movements**

During the 18th century, and afterwards, a great change swept over the land of India. The Hindu mind that had been moulded for centuries by a fixed set of religious ideas and social conventions was exposed to new ideas and new ways of thinking. it was the result of the western impact on India. As a result of that impact, the rigid rituals in religion and traditional beliefs started losing their influence on the masses. The western contact opened the Hindu mind to the social evils and set in motion a social reform of its time honored institutions in the new light. Several traditional beliefs and practices dysfunctional to society were discarded and many new customs, practices, institutions and values were adopted.

Indians who came under the influence of the new values and practices became aware of many of the existing social evils like child

marriage etc. this awareness led to a revolt against tradition and that was the first step towards reforms in social, religious and political spheres of life. this awareness led to the launching of a series of social reform movements right from raja ram mohanroy down to mahatma gandhiji. raja ram mohanroy's "brahmo samaj", swami dayanandasaraswathi's "arya samaj", swami vivekananda's "sriramakrishna mission", and such other movements not only served to eradicate some of the social evils but also to enlighten people regarding modern values.

1. The Brahmo samaj - raja ram mohanroy [1772-1833] of bengal, often known as the "first modern man of india", was the first socio-religious reformer of the 19th century. he was the first to see the evils that had crept into the hindu society on account of orthodox religious practices and superstitious beliefs. he was also the first to challenge the existing religious beliefs and practices of the day. he pointed out that they were not according to the basic scriptures of the hindu dharma.

The birth of brahmo samaj: Ram Mohan Roy showed that polytheism was opposed to the teaching of the vedas. he attempted at the emancipation of the indian society from the arbitrary social regulations. he advocated innumerable social reforms like - abolition of "sati", etc. he wrote a number of books inspired by the western ideals, values and models.

Crusade against inequalities : the brahmo samaj launched a crusade against the inequalities of the caste system. he dubbed caste as inhuman and undemocratic. the samaj under the leadership of ram mohanroy even condemned the worship of images, the practices of "sati" and polygamy, and the abuses of caste system.

Brahmo Samaj : The First Attempt to Reform the Hindu Society in Modern India : The Samaj is the first organised religious institution in modern India to reform the Hindu way of life. Hindu social system and religious beliefs. The Samaj began to attract many adherents from the middle class. By 1829, Raja Ram and his supporters were able to buy a house for the new organisation, that is. Brahmo Samaj. In the very same year, his efforts resulted in the abolition of Sati.

2. Prarthana Samaj - 1867

"Prarthana Samaj" represents one of the Indian reform movements

that took place in the 19th century. The Brahmo Samaj entered Maharashtra as early as in 1849 and obtained some initial support especially in Bombay.

The Samaj's Concentration on Social Reforms : The Prarthana Samaj devoted attention to social reform. It aimed at reforming the Hindu religious thought and practice in the light of modern knowledge. It preached the worship of one God and tried to free religion from the hold of caste and priestly domination. It encouraged interdining and intermarriage among different castes.

### 3. Arya Samaj-1875

Dayananda Saraswathi [1824-1883] was another religious leader who stood for the reformation of the Hindu society and the Hindu religion.

Vedas : The Source of Inspiration of the Movement: Dayananda Saraswathi drew inspiration from the Vedas which he regarded as infallible. Since the Vedas are believed to have originated from the divine inspiration, they represent an inexhaustible reservoir of all knowledge.

### 4. Sri Ramakrishna Mission - 1897

An outstanding movement which stood for religious reformation is the "Sri Ramakrishna Mission" of Calcutta. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa [1834-86] and his great disciple Swami Vivekananda [1863-1902] launched this movement which has now assumed the form of an institution.

Message of Sri Ramakrishna: Unity of God - Equality of Religions and Service to Mankind: Sri Ramakrishna Mission was totally an indigenous movement due to the personality of a simple and almost illiterate saint, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. He preached the unity of God and equality of religions and taught the philosophy of the Upanishads in universal language and laid particular emphasis on social service.

Attempts to Stop the Advance of Western Materialism : Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa wanted "to protect the country from the materialisation of the West. He never advocated violent change, but gradual economic and social upliftment of the people leading to



spiritual reform. He actually stimulated many local socio-religious organisations and movements like the Arya Samaj, Radhaswami Satsang, Bharath Dharma, etc. which played a remarkable role in bringing about national awakening.

**Vivekananda Heralds a Movement of Liberal Ideas:** Vivekananda condemned caste inequalities, exploitation of lower castes and women. He stressed on education, self reliance and freedom of women. He urged the people to imbibe the spirit of liberty, equality and free thinking.

Vivekananda, like his Guru, was also a great humanist. Shocked by the poverty, misery and sufferings of the common people of the country, he wrote : “The only God in whom I believe, the sum total of all souls, and above all, my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all races. “ To the educated Indians, he said: “So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor, who having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them.”

## **B. Backward Classes Movement**

The Backward Classes / Castes Movement started in the early part of the 20th century. The backward classes or castes represent the underprivileged sections of the Indian society. The concept of “Backward Castes/Classes Movement” virtually refers to the movement launched by the backward castes / classes to fight against caste inequalities, Brahmin domination, socio-economic-religious discrimination and deprivation. The movement aims at removing or lessening the caste inequalities, promoting the economic advancement of the poor, the deprived and the low castes, and to obtain for them equal educational facilities and political opportunities. The backward classes movement which first took place during the British rule in Maharashtra [in 1860 and 1870s] later on spread to various south Indian states such as Kerala, Andhra and Karnataka, still continues with different dimensions.

### **Main Goals of Backward Classes Movement**

It can be stated that the backward classes movement started with some goals among which the following may be noted:

- Backward classes movement is a movement launched by the lower sections of the Indian population against the discrimination of various kinds - social, political, religious, economic, educational, etc.
- It is a movement aimed at securing greater self-respect, social recognition, prestige and status.
- These movements are basically movements aimed at finding the avenues of social mobility.
- These movements have been organised with the intention of unifying various non-Brahmin castes.
- Backward classes movements are launched with the intention of promoting the welfare and well-being of the non-Brahmin lower castes.

In their attempts to achieve the above mentioned goals, they have often turned out to be “adaptive movements, that is, movements oriented to cultural revolts and counter-cultural movements.”

### **Nature and Characteristics of Backward Classes Movement**

Backward Classes Movement started in India in the early part of 20th century. According to M.N. Srinivas, the term “backward classes movement” must be understood in the Indian social context as a kind of struggle waged by the lower castes against the supremacy of the Brahmins. It also represents concerted effort on the part of the lower castes to improve their social, economic, educational and political statuses. As Srinivas has pointed out the lower castes realised that mere Sanskritisation was not enough to attain social mobility. They became more determined to obtain Western education in order to qualify themselves for the new jobs in administration and the new professions like law, medicine, engineering, etc. Thus higher caste dominance in education and in the new occupations provided the conditions for the backward classes movement. M.N. Srinivas has also pointed out that such a movement was inevitable in India where only one caste, the Brahmins, enjoyed preponderance in higher education, in professions, and government employment.

1. A Caste Based Movement : The main characteristic feature of the backward classes movement is that it is caste based. In the Indian context, “backward classes” form an aggregate of “closed” status groups or castes. Caste associations came into existence in different

parts of the country to press their claims for new designations and occupations.

2. Backward Classes Movement is also a Political Movement : The backward classes movement right from its inception has been political in nature. The partition of Bengal in 1905 led to the intensification of nationalism, and also to the rise of communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism. The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 conceded separate electorates to Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. Now, the lower castes also demanded separate electorate. Dr. Ambedkar fought for it. This made the backward classes movement to become political. In South India, in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was formed to protect the interests of the non-Brahmins "dominant castes." It started newspapers in English and other languages to educate and to represent the case of the non-Brahmins. Similarly, many periodicals were started by caste organisations in different parts of India.
3. Backward Classes Movement Originated in South India : For various reasons, the backward classes movement not only originated in South India but also had become very stronger. It also assumed the character of a "Dravidian movement" and became - "anti-north Indian", "anti-Hindi", "anti-Aryan", "anti-Sanskrit", "anti-Brahmin" movement. In course of time, however, the movement was spread to North India also and even to the states like Bengal where the caste consciousness was found to be quite less.
4. Backward Classes Movement was not a "Mass Movement": Backward classes movement was not a popular movement for a very long time. People belonging to the lower castes though were often exploited and suppressed by the Brahmins, were not ready to oppose the hegemony of the Brahmins openly. Hence, it had not become a mass movement.

### **Factors Contributing to the Backward Classes Movement**

The backward classes' movement which started as a non-Brahmin movement, ultimately degenerated into anti-Brahmin movement. This movement is the cumulative effect of several factors among which the following may be noted.

1. The Dual Effect of the Politics Pursued by the British Government

The growth of the backward classes' movement is in no small measure due to the politics pursued by the British Government. The advent of the British rule in India had led to many far-reaching consequences. The consolidation of the political regime by the British, introduction of Western-oriented educational system, opening of vast occupational and professional opportunities, produced lot of structural disturbances in the caste structure. The British rule in a way, caused two contradictory effects on the Hindu society.

(a) British Rule Further Widened the Gap Between the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins :

The British rule led to an increase in the structural distance between the Brahmins and the rest of the and political power. In most parts of the country Brahmins were the first to benefit from the Western education. They also increased their representation in the professional and administrative and managerial services especially in the first quarter of the 20th century. There was preponderance of castes in the Hindu society. It led to an increase in the disparities in the distribution of economic the Brahmins among the literates and particularly the English knowing population in the Madras Presidency and the then princely state of Mysore

(b) British Support to Non-Brahmin Movement to Curb Brahmin-led Revolutionary Activities: The British, for their own benefit started supporting the non-Brahmin movement. Though the British used to favour the Brahmins in the beginning, they later realised that Brahmins were potentially dangerous. During the first phase of the 20th century, a section of the British in India believed the Brahmin to be their primary enemy.

## 2. Role of Census System

The desire for more mobility among the backward castes came from the census operations also. The caste "sabhas" represented to the census authorities the demand of individual castes to belong to a particular "varna" and not to a lower one. For example, the two peasant castes of Tamil Nadu, the Vellalas and Padaiyachis wanted to be recorded as "Vaishyas" and "Vaniya Kula Kshatriyas" respectively, and not as "Shudras." Many such claims were made

in 1931 census. The “Sabhas” also altered the styles of life of their castes in the direction of Sanskritisation. This included the giving up of forbidden meat [pork and carrion beef] and liquor, and the donning of the sacred thread, the shortening of the mourning period like that of the Brahmins. In the case of very “low castes” it included .non-performance of a traditional degrading duty such as “Carvee” or other free labour or carrying palanquins, or beating the “tom-tom” on ceremonial occasions. The upper caste people were mainly indifferent towards these trends. On some occasions, they used force to make the lower caste people to perform their traditional duties. The caste consciousness created by the census system thus favoured the backward classes movement.

### 3. Influence of Reform Movements

During the British rule various social reform movements were initiated by the enlightened Indians. Most of these movements aimed at eliminating caste disabilities, promotion of education among women, abolition of sati, upliftment of the depressed and the down-trodden castes such as the Scheduled Castes, and so on. These movements definitely played their role in the beginning of the non-Brahmin movement. At least in the beginning, these movements were generally led by the learned members of the forward castes themselves. These movements created conditions of self-awareness among the deprived sections of the society.

## **Non-Brahmin Movement as a Type of Backward Classes Movement**

### **Beginning, Growth and Course of the Non-Brahmin Movement**

#### **Sathya Shodhak Samaj and the Non-Brahmin Movement: The First Phase**

The foundation for the non-Brahmin movement was laid by the great social reformer of Poona Jyothirao Phule. He was the first to have revolted against the tyranny of caste in general and Brahmanical dominance in particular. He established the “Sathya Shodhaka Samaj” in 1873 which spearheaded the non-Brahmin movement. Phule undertook the social reforms by establishing schools and hostels for the low caste people, etc. in order to elevate the status of the low caste people. He appealed to the non-Brahmin castes and particularly the depressed castes to liberate themselves from mental and religious slavery. He preached against idol worship and superstitions.

Sri Sahu was more interested in getting “communal representation” to the depressed and the downtrodden castes. Thanks mainly to his efforts, special representation through mixed electorals was conceded to the non-Brahmins in the “Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.” Due to his efforts certain percentage of posts for non-Brahmins was reserved. Sri Sahu separated judiciary from the executive functions in his home state.

### **Justice Party and the Non-Brahmin Movement: The Second Phase**

The discontentment of the non-Brahmins began to express itself through various efforts to organise the non-Brahmins in the city of Madras. A Vellala medical student by name Natesh Mudaliar established a Dravidian Association Hostel in Madras in June 1916 with the help of non-Brahmins. He also started a joint stock company called “South Indian People’s Association Ltd.” for the purpose of publishing English, Telugu and Tamil newspapers to express the grievances and problems of the non-Brahmins.

The “Non-Brahmin Manifesto” of the Justice Party : The Justice Party released the “Non-Brahmin Manifesto” in December 1916. It was directed against the Brahmins who had dominated the fields of education, public service and politics. It revealed an extremely high concentration of the Brahmins in all the important positions who constituted only 3% of the total population of the Madras Presidency. The chief leader of Justice Party Movement, Dr. J.M. Nair announced that without a provision for communal representation the reforms would be a failure. He made known to his people through the Manifesto that the Brahmins had secured 94% of the positions in Madras Provincial Civil Service between 1892 and 1904

Justice Party - A Party of Elites and Not Masses ? : It should be noted that though the justice Party claimed to represent the non-Brahmins as a whole, in practice the depressed castes and Muslims were considered separately. As Andre Beteille has pointed out “The Justice Party was in a very real sense an elite party dominated by urban, Western educated, landowning and professional people. It contained a number of Rajas, Zamindars, industrialists, lawyers and doctors. It was by no means a mass party and it is doubtful whether any serious effort was made to draw peasants and workers into the organisation. “

The “Self Respect Movement” or The Dravidian Phase : Leadership of E.V. Ramasami Naicker, The non-Brahmin movement assumed the

form of the Self Respect Movement when E.V. Ramasami Naicker became its leader. Ramasami Naicker, a Baliya Naidu had begun his political career with the Congress. But he was unhappy with the way in which the non-Brahmins were treated within the Madras Congress organisation and hence he decided to come out of it. He was also very much annoyed with Gandhiji's support of a purified Varna ideology. He left the Congress Party to start the "Self Respect Movement" [1925].

**Call to Reject the Brahmanical Culture and Religion :** The Self Respect movement aimed at the rejection of the Brahmanical culture and religion. It rejected the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmins in all respects. It considered the Brahmanical religion and culture as the main instrument of enslaving Tamilians. Naicker as a leader of this movement publicly ridiculed the puranas as fairy tales, not only imaginary and irrational but also totally immoral. He carried on an active propaganda in an attempt to rid people of puranic Hinduism. He condemned religious ceremonies which required the priestly services of the Brahmins. In strong words he denounced caste rules, child marriage, enforced widowhood and attacked the Laws of Manu, which he regarded as totally "inhuman." According to Naicker, the Laws of Manu were designed to maintain the supremacy of the Brahmins and to enslave the other caste people to them.

**Attempts to Advocate Dravidian Culture :** Ramasami Naicker championed a new system of values in which all people could enjoy self respect. By directly attacking the Brahmins and making fun of their religious culture he sought to obtain the support of a large number of lower caste people. Naicker claimed that the lower classes and the lower sections of the Tamilian society represented the Dravidian culture. He considered Dravidian culture superior to Brahmanical Aryan culture. Formulation of the Dravidian ideology as opposed to Aryan ideology was the very basis of Self Respect Movement.

**Anti-Brahmin, Anti-Sanskrit, Anti-Aryan, Anti-North Indian, Anti-Hindi and Anti-God Movement:** Ramasami Naicker represented a new type of leader. He did not have English education and was able to speak in Tamil only. Unlike the Justice Party which drew support from middle and upper-middle class Hindus in both Tamil and Telugu areas, the Self Respect movement concentrated almost entirely on Tamil districts and on groups low in the caste hierarchy including the untouchables. He used Tamil as the medium of communication. Tamil newspapers reflected his thoughts which were anti-Brahminical, anti-Aryan, anti-Sanskrit and



anti-North Indian. As a result of that the movement got the support of the uneducated, untouchables, the depressed and the exploited sections of the community, women and rural youth. The movement took a violent turn when a copy of the Manu Smrithi was burnt by the supporters of the movement in 1920.

As M.N. Srinivas points out, this movement was explicitly anti-Brahmin. It encouraged non-Brahmins not to call upon Brahmin priests to perform wedding and other rituals. Its followers were required to use the Tamil language for all political and other purposes. These followers were claiming themselves to be Dravidians and members of a sovereign independent state. As M.N. Srinivas writes “the movement was anti-Brahmin, anti-north, anti-Hindi, anti-Sanskrit and finally anti-god. It included an attempt to rid Tamil of long-established Sanskrit words, and to introduce the singing of exclusively Tamil songs at public concerts.”

### **Agrarian unrest or peasant movements**

Agrarian unrest or peasant unrest is not a new phenomenon in India for it has been in existence since a couple of decades. As Bipin Chandra has pointed out peasant movements had been a part of national movement against the British supremacy. Even now the unrest has not subsided in spite of various rural development activities and programmes. The growth of green revolution and the spread of education along with the development of agriculture have only added to the problem. The tribals who have taken to agriculture of late have also started asserting their rights and demanding the government to concede their demands. Since agriculture and land are regarded as state-subjects, the issue of “agrarian unrest” is to be taken up and handled carefully by the state governments. It is a known fact that a number of issues related to the peasantry of our country are not settled and still hold their sway.

### **Concept of Agrarian Unrest**

Rural sociologists have tried to analyse the phenomenon of “agrarian unrest” in their own way. For example, N.G. Ranga uses the expression “struggle of the peasantry” to refer to the agrarian unrest. A.R. Desai also uses the term “peasant struggle” to refer to the agrarian unrest.

### **Types of Peasant Struggles**

Though the peasant struggles were taking place in India for the past 225 years they are not uniform in nature. The Santal insurrection [1855-56] was of one variety whereas the Bardoli Satyagraha [1920] represented another variety. The Naxalbari peasant struggle was actually a violent armed struggle. In the Mopla Rebellion of Malabar [1921] there was the influence of Muslim religious leaders. The Champaran Movement [1917-18] which was led by Gandhiji was absolutely a peaceful non-violent struggle. It is in this manner the peasant struggles in India differ significantly depending upon their purpose, ideology, organisational base, working style, etc.

### **Kathleen Gough's Classification of Peasant Struggles**

Kathleen Gough in one of her articles, has classified peasant agitations or struggles into five important categories, which are mentioned below.

1. Restorative Rebellions.
2. Religious Movements.
3. Social Banditry.
4. Terrorist Vengeance.
5. Mass Insurrections.

Dr. Dhanagare, a renowned Indian sociologist has added the 6th variety to this list, which is mentioned below.

### **Liberal Reformist Movements.**

1. Restorative Rebellions

These types of struggles though appeared to be intending to drive away the British from the Indian soil, their basic purpose was different. They virtually had the intention of re-establishing monarchy or kingship and the associated social system. Agitations of this type usually consist of an attempt on the part of the agitators to fight for the restoration of the one time existed privileges, statuses, etc. They were very rarely initiated to fight against the foreign domination. Example: Santal Insurrection. The Santals fought against the British not very much for driving them away from India, but for restoring their traditional rights. According to

Kathleen Gough, as many as 29 such rebellions took place in India prior to the national freedom struggle of 1857.

## 2. Religious Movements

Many a times, agitations took place in India with the guidance and sometimes with the active leadership of religious leaders. People joined these agitations with the belief that there would be the re-establishment of “Rama Rajya”, wherein social equality, justice and brotherhood would be assured for all. Example: The Mopla Muslims of Malabar, for example, revolted against the Hindi: landlords and also the British, from 1836 to 1921 at least 50 times under the leadership of Thangal a local Muslim religious leader.

## 3. Social Banditry

“Social Banditry” represents a type of social oriented robberies in which the leaders plunder and loot the property of the rich and later on claim to distribute it among the poor. Example, the banditry led by Narasimha Reddy of Karnool in Andhra Pradesh; the dacoity carried on by a few of the Kollar Community in Madras; the Sanyasi-Fakir banditry that took place in Bengal - can be mentioned here as examples.

## 4. Terrorist Vengeance

Agitations or struggles in which the agitators make a frontal attack on the opponents who are regarded as their enemies, belong to this category. Capturing the people who are dubbed as enemies, torturing and tyrannising and finally killing them, and such other violent activities are common here. Agitations of this kind are different from that of other categories for there is a scope for violence and armed revolt. Examples: Naxalite agitations and agitations conducted by the Marxist extremists known as “People’s War Group”, etc.

## **Causes of Agrarian Unrest or Peasant Struggles**

Agrarian unrest is not an unfamiliar thing in India. In a traditional society like India, peasant struggles have been taking place for the past 225 years. In spite of the expressed views of Barrington Moore and others - that Indian peasants are basically traditionalists, and god-fearing people who are tied down tightly to the caste system and hence cannot float any

type of peasant struggles - these struggles have taken place. As Kathleen Gough has pointed out, upto 1912, as many as 77 major peasant revolts had taken place out of which 34 revolts were initiated by the different Hindu castes themselves. S.R. Maheshwari too has expressed the opinion that after Independence, particularly after 1960s, large number of peasant struggles took place and about 65% of them were found to be violent. These struggles clearly reveal that our rural development programmes and activities have failed to bring about peace and harmony in the rural areas. Hence it is necessary to find out an explanation for the serious issue of increasing instances of agrarian unrest in peasant struggles after Independence. Agrarian unrest was there even during the Mughal period and afterwards during the British rule. Even after Independence they have been alive and are taking new dimensions. Number of factors have contributed to this unrest among which the following may be noted.

1. **Feeling of Relative Deprivation :** During the British rule, zamindars, jaghirdars, inamdars, and higher level government officials and the rich in general enjoyed several facilities and privileges. The common people, including the ordinary peasants, were deprived of such privileges. The feeling of relative deprivation made these peasants agitated and disillusioned.
2. **Foreign Invasion, Atrocities and Exploitation :** Prior to our independence, foreign invasions, atrocities and exploitation of different kinds had instigated our people to fight against such things. The spirit of patriotism was also there in these struggles. The peasants too had joined hands with other people to fight against the British officials, their agents and their henchmen.
3. **Destruction of Cottage Industries of the Farmers :** The industrial system of economy and the factory system of production, introduced by the British, led to the destruction of cottage and home industries of our farmers. Many of the handicrafts, home industries, in which children, women, and even old people could take part, had to be stopped because of the unfavourable import and export policy of the British.
4. **Exploitation of the Tribals :** The tribals, who were leading a peaceful life in the midst of forests and mountainous regions, were not only disturbed but were even exploited by the British. The Munda, Oraon, Chauri, Ho, Kola, Tamara of the Bihar region; the Koli and

the Varli of Maharashtra; Khasi, Dafla, Lusha, Kuki of Assam; Khoya, Palegara, Gondakolan of Andhra Pradesh; Bhil and Nayika of Gujarat; Juvanga and Khonda of Orissa; Dhundia of Karnataka; and many other agricultural tribal communities, which were exploited by the British, had revolted against the British.

It is clear from the above description that the farmers' unrest or agrarian unrest in India has been caused by various factors. The various economic and political developments that have taken place at the national and international levels, especially during 1990s, have caused new anxieties, fears and threats for the farming community. The economic processes of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation have only added to the helplessness of the farmers. Indian farmers at the beginning of the 21st century, are faced with the toughest challenges. They are not able to compete with their counterparts in the West and also in the developed nations and are thereby suffering a great deal. They have demanded the Governments to fix the minimum prices for their produces. For example, farmers of Karnataka have demanded the Government recently to fix the minimum price for their produces, such as, arecanut, coffee, rubber, copra, etc. A large number of the Indian farmers who depend only on agriculture are now finding themselves in a very difficult situation. In this context, it seems that farmers' agitations are bound to aggravate.

### **Naxalbari Movement -**

#### **A Violent Peasant Agitation**

The Naxalbari peasant struggle / agitation was launched in March - April 1967 in a place called Naxalbari that belongs to Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The Naxalbari region, all of a sudden attracted the attention of the world in 1967 by giving rise to the Naxalite Armed Struggle. This Naxalbari revolt spread to almost 82 square mile area in a record speed. Various tribals, such as Santals, Oraons, Mundas, etc. numbering around 42,000 had taken part in this agitation. These tribals, who were residing in forests, tea plantations, and agricultural lands, were made to go out of the land in which they were living, and pay heavy interests for the loans that they had borrowed from the money-lenders. Conflicts were going on regularly between the forest officials on the one hand, and the tribals on the other. The entire peasant community in this Himalayan region, spread over more than 60 villages of the Darjeeling district, was totally

agitated. Their dissatisfaction and frustration culminated in the Naxalbari Agitation of 1967.

### **Causes for the Naxalbari Agitation**

Various political, economic, and other factors have contributed to the Naxalbari agitation. A brief explanation of these factors is given below:

1. **Economic Dissatisfaction :** Economic dissatisfaction is said to be the primary cause of this agitation. The tribals of this region were comparatively poorer in relation to the farmers in other areas. Even though, their population was increasing, they were not able to feed the growing population due to the poor productivity.
2. **Demand for Reasonable Distribution of Benami Lands :** Another cause that led to this movement was the demand for the regulation and distribution of benami lands in an appropriate way. The zamindars, landlords and money-lenders had forcibly acquired the lands of the tribals and poor farmers, who had taken heavy loan, but failed to repay the same. These people had transferred the ownership rights of these acquired lands into the names of some anonymous people. The leaders of the agitation wanted the proper redistribution of these lands.
3. **Nationalisation of the Forests :** When the State Government started nationalising the forests, tribals of this region were deprived of their right over forests and to collect and enjoy forest products. It became an offence to cut the wooden logs and collect forest products without the permission of the Government. Tribals who were resorting to shifting cultivation had to stop it. In a way, the tribals had become refugees and parasites in their own original homeland.
4. **Partiality of the Judiciary :** The judiciary of this region was charged of being partial towards the landlords and money-lenders. The poor farmers and tribals, known as the praja, felt that they would never get justice at the hands of the judiciary.

Though the Naxalbari episode came to an end by July 13th, 1967, naxalites as such have been carrying on their struggles in different places of the country. For example, in Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh [1970], Midnapur and Purulia of West Bengal [1969], Kerala [1968], Muzafferpur, Dharbhang, Singhbhum of Bihar [1968-69], Lakhimpur-Khed forest areas

of U.P., Golpara, Kamaroop, Nadia, Virbhum of Assam and in other places the naxalites had staged their armed revolts at different times. In course of time, the naxalite struggles spread to urban areas also. The naxalite struggles are still going on here and there, wherever the extremist - leftist communists are powerful. But today, they rarely remain as agrarian struggles.

### **6.5 Social Movements in India: Elements and Approaches!**

Social movements in India have not only been protest and dissent movements but also reform and reactionary as well as socio-religious and freedom movements. These movements defined as “collective effort to promote/resist change” came into origin only after uniformity in intellectual orientations, social structures, ideological preferences, and perceptions of truth came into existence.

It is a well-known fact that characteristics of society shape the styles of movements. Therefore, the elements of social structure and the future vision of society provide the focal point of analysis of social movements.

Till the British period, the orientation of social movements in our country was religious, though national liberation movement also emerged after the 1930s which was overtly against the forces of imperialism and colonialism. But, after independence, the new situation that emerged led to divergence in the targets of attack, say political authority, economic exploitation, cultural domination, male domination and humiliation of women, and so forth. This led to proliferation of diverse movements.

Social movements are often labelled on the basis of the identity of particular participants, e.g., tribal movement, Harijan movement, women's movement, peasant movement, student movement, industrial workers' movement, and so on. Similarly, movements are also labelled on the basis of the nature of collectivities against whom they are led, e.g., anti-Brahminism, anti-leftist, anti-dalits and so on.

Yet another basis of classification is their territorial anchorage, i.e., locality in which they originate and operate, e.g., Vidharbha movement, Telengana movement, Chhattisgarh movement, Jharkhand or Vananchal movement, Uttaranchal movement, and so on. Such names indirectly point out the goals pursued.



Movements are also named after the issues they pursue, e.g., Anti- Hindi movement. Movements are named after their initial or top leadership too, e.g., Gandhian movement, Ramakrishna movement, J.P. (Jayaprakash) movement, etc. M.S.A. Rao (1978) has talked of three types of movements—reformist, transformative, and revolutionary.

We will confine our analysis here to one type, viz., reformist. Reform movements bring about partial changes in value system. They do not affect structural changes (as transformative movements do) nor do they bring about radical changes in the totality of social and cultural systems (as revolutionary movements do).

Here we will discuss five reform movements relating to specific social collectivities, viz., peasant or agrarian movements, tribal movements, dalit movements, backward caste/class movements, and women's movements.

**All these movements are characterised by five elements:**

- (i) Collective goal
- (ii) Common ideology of widely accepted programme
- (iii) Collective action
- (iv) Minimal degree of organisation and
- (v) Leadership.

Thus, a 'social movement' with above characteristics is different from 'agitation' as the latter has no ideology and no organisation. Ghanshyam Shah holds that some collective actions termed by some scholars as 'agitations' are considered by others as movements; e.g., demand for the formation of linguistic states.

Shah himself considers them as 'movements' or a part of a social movement of a particular stratum of society. Thus, demand for Vananchal in Bihar, Uttaranchal in Uttar Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh can be described as social movements according to him.

## **6.6 Generally two approaches are used in the analysis of social movements:**

Marxist and  
Non-Marxist.

### 6.7 The Marxist approach views a social movement as:

- (i) Collective action to bring about revolutionary change in society;
- (ii) Its cause is located in the economic structure of society or in the antagonistic interests between two opposite classes;
- (iii) The 'powerful' class uses the coercive power of the state to impose its ideology and to control the exploited classes, while the 'powerless' class resists, protests and revolts against the dominance of the dominant class;
- (iv) Members of the same class not only have common interests vis-a-vis other classes but also share a common consciousness regarding their position in society.

### 6.8 The non-Marxist approach criticises this approach on the ground that:

- (a) It ignores cultural factors and over-emphasises structural factors,
- (b) It over-determines economic factors,
- (c) It is 'reductionist' approach. In the approach of non-Marxist scholars, there is a great variation in the analysis of social movements.

Some do not inquire into causes while others differ in their emphasis on the causes responsible for the movements. Some lay stress on cultural factors, some on individual traits, some on manipulation by elite, and some on conflict between tradition and modernity.

Our approach in the analysis of above five movements is mainly based on A.R. Desai's, Rajni Kothari's, Gurr's and M.S.A. Rao's approaches. Desai (1986) held that some movements are caused by the inability of our Constitution to protect the civil and the democratic rights of people. Rajni Kothari (1984, 1986) is of the opinion that failure of the state in 'social transformation' of society in which repression and intimidation of large masses of people has become common compels people to assert their rights through various struggles.

Gurr (1970) and M.S.A. Rao (1979) have explained social movements in terms of 'relative deprivation'. Rao focuses on the 'possibility of doing something by the sufferer' along with relative deprivation. Ghanshyam Shah (1979) and T.K. Oommen (1977) do not accept Relative Deprivation Approach in explaining social movements.

Oommen's argument is that deprivation theorists do not view movements as 'ongoing process of change'. They also do not deal with the sources of deprivation. Shah holds that deprivation theorists ignore the importance of consciousness and the ideological aspects of the participants.

### 6.9 Functions of Social Movements

So far we have defined and explained the main features of social movements with the help of examples and typologies. Another important aspect of social movements, which needs consideration, is the functional aspect of social movements. According to Touraine (1968) social movements have three important functions.

They are:

i) Mediation: They help to relate the individual to the larger society. They give each person a chance to participate, to express his ideas and to play a role in the process of social change.

ii) Pressure: Social movements stimulate the formation of organised groups that work systematically to see that their plans and policies are implemented.

iii) Clarification of Collective Consciousness: This is a significant function. Social movements generate and develop ideas which spread throughout society. As a result group consciousness arises and grows.

### 6.10 Reference

- Kumar, A. 2001.** *Social Transformation in Modern India*. Sarup: New Delhi
- Rao, M.S.A. 1979.** *Social Movements and Social Transformation: A Study of Two Backward Classes Movements in India*. Macmillan: Madras.
- Shah, Ganshyam (ed.) 2002.** *Social Movements and the State*. Sage Publications: New Delhi
- Wilson, John 1973.** *Introduction to Social Movements*. Basic Books: New York.

## 6.7 Check Your Progress

Fill in the Blanks

1. "Prarthana Samaj" represents one of the Indian reform movements that took place in the ..... century.
2. The Naxalbari peasant struggle /agitation was launched in.....and ..... district of West Bengal
3. Champaran Movement (1917-18) led by .....

Answer

1. 19<sup>th</sup>
2. 1967, Darjeeling
3. Gandhiji