

Centre for Distance and Online Education

**UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU**



**SELF LEARNING MATERIAL
B.A. SEMESTER II
TITLE: SOCIETY IN INDIA**

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY

UNIT: I to V

Course No. SO - 201

Lesson No. 1 -17

Credits: 4

Course Co-ordinator

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SO-201 SOCIETY IN INDIA

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SYLLABUS
B.A. SEMESTER-II
SOCIOLOGY
FOR THE EXAMINATION TO BE HELD IN THE YEAR 2025

Course No. : SO-201

Title: Society in India

Duration of Examination: 3 Hours

Credits: 4

Total Marks: 100

Theory Examination: 80

Internal Assessment: 20

OBJECTIVES:

- To acquaint the students with the distinctive features of the Indian Society with special reference to the tribal and rural and urban communities.
- To understand the dynamics of caste, varna and Village.
- To learn about the distinctive features of basic institutions of Indian society.

SYALLBUS

Unit-I: Basic Features of Indian Society

- 1.1 Indian Society : Basic Features
- 1.2 Unity in Diversity
- 1.3 Caste and Varna
- 1.4 Village Studies

Unit-II: Basic Institutions

- 2.1 Family in India
- 2.2 Marriage in India
- 2.3 Kinship Organization in India

(i)

Unit-III: Tribal Society

- 3.1 Meaning and Features of Tribe, Tribe-Caste Continuum
- 3.2 Tribe - Caste Continuum

3.3 Socio - Cultural and Economic Profile of Tribes and their spatial distribution

3.4 Tribal Policy : Isolation, Assimilation and Integration

Unit-IV: Rural Society

4.1 Definition and Features of Rural Society

4.2 Rural - Urban Continuum

4.3 Community Development Programme

4.4 Panchayati Raj Institution

Unit-V: Urban Society

5.1 Concept of Urban, Urbanization and Urbanism

5.2 Classification of Urban Centres

5.3 Problems of Migration in Urban Areas.

NOTE FOR PAPER SETTING:

A. Theory Examination

The question paper of each course will consist of two sections A and B.

- **Section A** will consist of 10 long answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question will be of 10 marks. The candidate will be required to answer 5 questions, one from each unit. Total weightage will be of $10 \times 5 = 50$. The length of each answer should be of 500 words approximately.
- **Section A** will consist of 10 short answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question will be of 10 marks. The candidate will be required to answer 5 questions, one from each unit. Total weightage will be of $6 \times 5 = 30$. The length of each answer should be of 500 words approximately.

B. Internal Assessment (Total Marks: 20)

Two long answer questions shall be given and the learner has to attempt both the questions in

950-1000 words. (10X2=20 marks).

(ii)

SUGGESTED READINGS :

1. Ahuja, Ram : Indian Social Structure
Jaipur : Rawat Publications.
2. Ahuja, Ram : Society in India : Concept, Theories and
Changing Trends
Jaipur : Rawat Publications.
3. Bose N. K. : Tribal life in India
New Delhi : National Book Trust
4. Desai, A. R. : Rural Sociology in India
Mumbai : Popular Prakashan
5. Doshi, S.L.and : Rural Sociology
Jain P.C. Jaipur : Rawat Publication
6. Dube, S.C. : Indian Society
New Delhi : National Book Trust
- 7 Dube, S.C. : Understanding Change : Anthropological and
Sociological Perspectives
New Delhi : Vikas Publication
8. Ghurye, G.S. : Caste and Race in India
Mumbai : Popular Prakashan
9. Hasnain, Nadeem : Tribal India
New Delhi : Harnam Publications
10. Mandelbaum, David G. : Society in India : Continuity and Change
Vol. 1 & 2, London University of California
Press
- 11 Srinivas, M.N. : Social Change in Modern India
London : University of Callifornia Press

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THE MAKING OF INDIAN SOCIETY

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction.
- 1.2 Indian People through civilizations.
- 1.3 People in North east and South India.
- 1.4 Hinduism in Indian Society.
- 1.5 Islam and Christianity in India.
- 1.6 Some myths and stereotypes about Islam.
- 1.7 Indian Society through ages - Impact of Cultural Renaissance and Buddhism.
- 1.8 Impact of Islam.
- 1.9 Impact of West and Modernization.
- 1.10 Let us sum up
- 1.11 Self-Assessment Questions
- 1.12 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objectives:

The main objective of this lesson is to understand:-

- The complex making of Indian society through the passage of various civilizations.
- The heterogeneity of people and the coming of various tribes and cultures to India.
- The emergence and spread of Hinduism in India.
- The presence and origin of Christianity and Islam in India.
- And clarify some myths regarding Islam.
- The impact of various cultures and Religions on Indian society.
- The impact of westernization and Modernisation.

1.1 Introduction:

Indian society is old and it is extremely complex. According to a popular estimate it has covered a span of thousand years since the period of its first known civilization. During this long period several waves of immigrants, representing different ethnic strains and linguistic families, have merged into its population to contribute to its diversity, richness, and vitality.

Several different levels of social evolution co-exist in contemporary India: primitive hunters and food gatherers; shifting cultivators who use digging sticks and hoes (not ploughs and draft cattle); nomads of different types (breeders of goats, sheep, and cattle; itinerant traders; artisans and craftsmen); settled agriculturists who use the plough for cultivation; artisans, and landed as well as aristocracies of ancient lineage. Most of the major religions of the world—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism—are found here, and in addition there is a bewildering variety of cults and sects with different orientations in belief and ritual. Add to these the modern academic, bureaucratic, industrial, and scientific elites, and you will find the past, the present, and the future living together. In the process of its evolution, Indian society has acquired a composite culture, characterized by stable patterns of pluralism.

S.C. Dube has described the making of Indian Society in the following way in his book 'Indian Society'.

1.2 Indian People through civilizations:

It is difficult to identify the earliest inhabitants of India. Not surprisingly, there are no written records about them because at that time writing had not been invented. The oral tradition of the people is also not of much help, for later additions and subtractions render it unreliable as a guide to history. The evidence of pre-history is more dependable, though it can rarely tell the whole story. Many of the minute details of life cannot survive the ravages of time. We now know that early human activity in India goes back to the second Inter-Glacial period, between 400,000 and 200,000 B.C. Stone tools were in use then. Cave paintings found in different parts of the country portray the life and environment, the aesthetic urges and creativity and also, possibly, the metaphysical thought of that early period. Megaliths—large stones used as monuments, mostly for the dead—especially those found in peninsular India, bring to light the use of iron, bronze, and even gold. The new archaeology is beginning to bring out additional information on how people lived, what crops they grew, and what they ate. But it does not say who came here first and in what order the others entered this land.

We can speculate about the autochthons—original or earliest inhabitants—of India on the basis of information provided by physical anthropology regarding the ethnic elements, i.e., the racial groups, in the population of India. The most authoritative and widely accepted classification is by B.S. Guha who identified six major racial elements in the population of India: Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean, Western Brachycephals, and Nordic. Of these, the first three are the older residents of the sub-continent. They are confined to small pockets. In the south, the Kadar, the Irula, and the Paniyan, and in the Andaman Islands the Onge and the Andamanese have definite Negrito characteristics. Some traits of this group are found among the Angami Naga and the Bagadi of the Rajmahal hills. On the western coast there are some groups with pronounced Negrito traits, but they perhaps represent later arrivals who came to India with the Arab traders. We do not know much about the contribution of the Negrito element to the cultural tapestry of India. The Proto-Australoid group is numerically more significant; most of the tribes of middle India belong to it. These were the people described by the Indo-Aryans as Anas, Dasa, Dasyu, and

Nishad—all derogatory terms. The Mongoloid group is sub-divided into two branches—Paleo-Mongoloid and Tibeto-Mongoloid. Tribal groups in the Himalayan region and those in the north-east are of Mongoloid stock. Some Mongoloid features are seen in the non-tribal population of the eastern States—Assam, West Bengal, Manipur, and Tripura. These ethnic groups can be regarded as autochthonous; the Negrito were possibly followed by the Proto-Australoid.

The later arrivals into India were the Mediterraneans, the Western Brachycephals (sub-divided into the Alpi-noid, Dinaric, and Armenoid groups), and the Nordics (Indo-Aryans). The Mediterraneans are associated with the Dravidian languages and cultures. Alpinoid and Dinaric characteristics are seen in some groups of northern and western India; the Parsis belong to the Armenoid section. The Nordics were the last major ethnic element to arrive in India and make a profound impact on its culture and society. But before they came a unique civilization had slowly developed in India. It is known as the Indus Valley Civilization.

This account of the coming into India of various ethnic elements and of the Indus Valley Civilization that predated the advent of the Aryans is based on commonly accepted theories in anthropology, archaeology, and history. These views are now being disputed. It is believed, by an articulate group of scholars, that the notion of an Aryan invasion needs reconsideration and that the Indus Valley Civilization was the joint creation of the Aryans and pre-Aryan inhabitants of India. S.R. Rao, the noted archaeologist known for his work on Lothal, has reiterated in his speeches and writings that the people of the Indus Valley Civilization were multi ethnic. This is suggested by the skeletal remains found in extensive excavations. He is also of the view that the civilization itself represents the fusion of the contribution of different ethnic streams.

The outline of the Indus Valley Civilization that follows is based on the more conventional and accepted view about it. The dissenting view remains to be more convincingly argued and established. However, it cannot be lightly dismissed. It may eventually lead to the rewriting of chapters on India's first urbanization.

The Indus Valley Civilization is associated principally with the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, (now in Sindh, Pakistan), where it was first discovered. Later excavations indicate that it had a much wider spread. Kot Diji (Sindh, Pakistan),

Kalibangan (Rajasthan), Ropar (Punjab, India), and Lothal (Gujarat) are other important sites of this civilization. Lothal is additionally significant as a port town.

This civilization is believed to have originated around 2500 B.C., to have been flourishing by 2300 B.C., and in decline around 1700 B.C. In the skeletal remains of this civilization there is evidence of the presence of Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpine, and Mongoloid racial elements, who no doubt contributed to its growth. It was an urban civilization with a remarkable ability and competence in planning. The cities were well laid out. The dwellings were commodious and materials of excellent quality were used in their construction. Several animals—the humped bull, the buffalo, the camel, and the elephant—had evidently been domesticated. Besides cotton, the hinterland grew vast quantities of cereals that were stored in the spacious granaries built in the cities. People engaged in profitable commercial activities within the sub-continent and also with the Persian Gulf area and Mesopotamia. Some of them must have been rich for they used ornaments of gold, silver, copper, several alloys, and precious stones. There was considerable art activity and a variety of crafts flourished. The most important aspect, from our point of view, is that the foundations of Indian civilization were laid during this phase and some of the elements of that period continue to this day. The worship of Shiva and the Lingam, and the Mother Goddess can be traced to this period. Unfortunately, the script and the many seals of the Indus Valley Civilization have not yet been deciphered to tell us more about the economy, religion, and society of the times.

The Indo-Aryans came later and had a long encounter with earlier inhabitants of the land. They did not bring a civilization with them; they were essentially a pastoral people with a flair for poetry, philosophical speculation, and elaborate rituals. They were ‘racists’ in the sense that they regarded themselves as superior and tended to look down upon and deprecate the earlier inhabitants of the land, for whom they coined several derogatory terms. They were required to marry within their own group, i.e., practise endogamy, and had some elementary notions of ritual purity and pollution which governed their physical contacts and commensal—inter-dining—relations with others. This led to the origin of the Varnas (literally, “complexion”) and also of Jati (caste); the latter may have already existed in a rudimentary form because of the interaction between earlier ethnic elements. Commensal and sexual relations within different tribal groups and earlier ethnic groups were governed by customary norms and taboos, and the advent of the Indo-Aryans brought in refinements and complexities in them.

The ideological and social framework of Indian society began taking shape when the area of interaction between the Indo-Aryans and the earlier inhabitants widened. The Indo-Aryans were divided into three groups—the Rajanya (warriors and the aristocracy), the Brahman (priests), and the Vaishya (cultivators). The Rajanyas later came to be known as Kshatriyas. The Brahmans raised their status by claiming the right to bestow divinity on the king. The Vaishyas gradually took to trade and commerce. These were Dvija—twice-born groups—born first at physical birth and a second time when initiated into Varna status. The Shudras were the fourth Varna; they were from outside the Indo-Aryan group and were perhaps the progeny of unions between the Indo-Aryan and the Dasa (the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the land). They emerged as cultivators, but were denied twice-born status. Outside the four-fold vertical Varna structure, there was a fifth group—Avarna or the Pancham—whose ethnic status was so low and their occupations so degraded and polluting that any physical contact with them was prohibited for the twice-born and the Shudra. Jatis, depending upon their origins and the nature of their occupations, were fitted into one of these vertically graded levels. Each Varna had its own hierarchy of Jatis. Rather than invent Jatis, the pre-existing guilds of artisans and craftsmen and other organized occupational groups were assigned an appropriate level. Some new Jatis were added to the system from time to time.

The process of Aryanization of the sub-continental traditions was neither smooth nor complete. Its earlier phase was characterized by considerable cultural conflict and warfare. The Rig-Veda describes the Battle of Ten Kings in which the Indo-Aryan king Sudasa fought against ten allied kings in their early settlements in the Indo-Gangetic plains. This happened when some Indo-Aryan groups moved eastward from their settlements in the Panchnad (Punjab). Earlier too, they had come into conflict with people living in fortified areas—PURAS and DURGAS—and had to invoke divine intervention on their behalf. Accommodation and compromise were also taking place. For example, the Battle of Ten Kings was not an Indo-Aryan versus the others affair; Bhede, the king of the Yakshus, had fought on the side of Sudasa. The Indo-Aryans were gradually emerging from pastoralism to an agricultural economy. This necessitated greater harmony with the older inhabitants; in any case, some kind of synthesis between them was already taking place. This trend was further strengthened when the Indo-Aryans moved further east and when they crossed the Vindhya towards Malwa. As a result of the ensuing struggle the Vratya tradition was born, in which the non-Aryans adopted some elements of Indo-Aryan ritual and their philosophy of social organization, while retaining their own ethnic and regional identities. Pluralism

was being stabilized and a cultural mosaic being formed.

This method of absorption faced three difficulties. First, some tribal groups refused to be absorbed and chose to recede to inaccessible forests and hills. Many of them still maintain their separate identities, although there are vaguely defined norms for their interaction with others in the economic and social fields. This is true also of some Jatis and Jati-clusters that had a tradition of strong guilds. The Pancha Brahma—a cluster of five artisans groups—operate in Andhra Pradesh as one distinct and endogamous group without the services of a Brahman priest and with their own rituals. Second, some strong ethnic groups posed special problems in respect of their assimilation. The Reddy in Andhra Pradesh, the Nayar in Kerala, the Marava in Tamil Nadu, and the Maratha in Maharashtra were economically and politically too powerful to be given Shudra status. While they were not formally recognized as twice-born, they claimed and obtained a near-Kshatriya status. Third, later waves of immigrants—the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Shakas, Kushans, and Huns held power for long periods, settled down in India, and were willing to be absorbed into the Indian social system, but were aliens and therefore originally treated as Mlechchhas. However, they had power and high status. The assimilation of some groups like the Kushans was facilitated by the fact of their association with regions where Hindu orthodoxy had weakened as a result of the ascendancy of Buddhism. The Buddhists were all too eager to accept converts. Thus, these alien elements were incorporated into Indian society. Two famous kings who find an honourable mention in Indian history are Menander (the Indo-Greek Milind, 155-30 B.C.) and Kanishka (the Kushan king, first century A.D.) and both were notable Buddhists.

Some groups like the Shakas became Shaivites, for this sect, especially some sub-sects within it, were much less demanding in respect of purity of origin and standards of ritual life. The notable king Rudradaman belonged to this category. The Rajputs, believed to be of Huna origin, were accepted by Hindu society at a high level because of their power.

1.3 People in North East and South India:

Most general accounts of Indian society have very little to say about the north-east and make, only some scanty observations about the south. This results in an inadequate and incomplete social profile of the country.

The Mongoloid groups of the north-east either preserved their tribal identity or they were partially or fully assimilated into Hindu society. Sizeable numbers from the tribal groups—Khasi, Mizo, and Naga—have now been converted to Christianity, although they still retain some distinctive attributes of their tribal way of life. These (Indo-Mongoloid) groups, according to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee—an authority on linguistics—are the descendants of the Kirata, who find frequent mention in old Sanskrit literature. The Kirata belt presents some social processes not generally met with in other parts of India.

Assam, as it was before the creation of the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland, which were detached from its territory, provided a home to several ethnic groups and a multiplicity of cultures. It extended to the entire north-east except Manipur, Tripura, and the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. It was known as Pragjyotisha in the ancient times and extended to a wider territory. The epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—mention it by this name and so do some of the Puranas. Later, possibly in the medieval period, it was known as Kamarupa and came to be regarded as the legendary home of magic, witchcraft, and Tantra. The Kamakhya temple near Guwahati is recognized as a great seat of the Shakta branch of Hinduism. Still later the region acquired its present name—Assam. Several conjectures have been made to explain the origin of this name. According to one, Assam stands for the nature of the terrain and could mean ‘uneven’ or ‘unparalleled’. Another view associates it with the Ahom conquerors.

Migrations into India from passes in the north-west are well documented; what is less well known is the entry into the country of several waves of Mongoloid groups from the difficult north-eastern routes, mostly via Assam-Burmese passes and also through the northern passes of Bhutan, Nepal, and Tibet. Most significant early settlers in Assam came through these routes, especially through the Burmese passes. It is possible that earlier some groups came first by sea and entered Assam by land routes through Bengal or Burma. Physical anthropology presents some evidence of the possible entry of the Negrito and Austric groups in the distant past, but nothing can be said definitively about their impact on culture and society. Although no Australoid population as such is found in Assam, physical anthropologists believe that this element came into Assam before the Mongoloids and was absorbed by the latter. Then came the migration of people from Indian regions lying west of the traditional cultural and

political boundaries of Assam. They included both Hindus and Muslims. There were frequent military incursions, which were resisted with determination. However, the influx of settlers continued and several non-Assamese Hindu groups as well as Muslims—the Indid element—joined the population of Assam.

The history of the Mongoloid groups in Assam is long and their positioning in the society that emerged is extremely complex. Both touch very sensitive chords and as such all generalizations about them will be open to doubts and disputations. On one point, however, there will be no disagreement: this element constitutes the bedrock of Assamese culture and society. Doubtless there have been cultural adaptations and adoptions, but the imprint of these groups is indelible.

The Bodos or Boros are an important group in Assam. This generic name does not refer to a tribe, but to a large number of communities speaking Bodo language of the Tibeto-Burman family. The Kacharis, once a powerful people with their own kingdom, belong to this group. So are the Rabhas. Both are being rapidly Hinduized; in fact one section identifies itself as Hindu. These people of diverse origin, after their absorption into Hinduism, have given themselves a new identity as Rajbanshis. This group also includes the Koch, now a Hindu Jati, who ruled over substantial parts of Assam. They too have discarded their traditional name and now call themselves Rajbanshis. Another important cluster, of Indo-Mongoloid population, includes the Chutia, Deuri, Mishing, and Moran. They now live in upper Assam. The Chutias and Morans had their own kingdoms in the past. They have mixed with other populations; a sizeable section has adopted Hinduism. The Kuki-Chin groups, living in the southern tip of Assam, constitute the third ethnic cluster and have linguistic affinity with the Burmese and Kachins. They did not accept Hinduism and continued to preserve their traditional way of life. But now most of them have embraced Christianity. The fourth, and perhaps the most important, group consists of the people of Tai or Shan origin known as the Ahom. They are believed to have moved first from Yunnan in China to upper Burma, from where one of their branches entered into Assam in the thirteenth century. They established a powerful kingdom, of which records are found in the Buranjis or historical chronicles maintained by their priests and noblemen. They continued to rule until the second quarter of the nineteenth century when the British conquered their territory. The Ahoms took others into their fold, freely inter-married with non-Ahoms, adopted the Assamese language, and were gradually Hinduized. Other Shan groups—the Khamyang, Khamtis, Turangs, Aitons, Phakials, and others—entered into Assam later. They

spoke languages of the Tai family and were culturally influenced by the Burmese. They followed the Buddhist faith and did not adopt Hinduism. Assam dramatically illustrates an important aspect of the cultural processes of India and shows how alien groups are absorbed into Hindu society.

Hinduism in north-eastern India has several other puzzles also. Manipur, a small but fertile valley surrounded by hills that are inhabited by tribal groups, is the home of the Meitei or Hindu Manipuris. There are several theories of their origin. According to one, they are the descendants of Tartar groups who migrated from north-western China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. According to another, Pamheiba—a Naga chief—became king of Manipur in 1714. He accepted Hinduism and curiously adopted the Persian-sounding name Garib Nawaz—protector of the poor. Others followed him. The Brahmans serving the rulers gave them Kshatriya status, which was later accepted by most Kshatriyas elsewhere also. They began following Jati norms and observing rules of ritual purity. Hinduism in Manipur has a distinctive flavour and has evolved graceful styles of devotional music and dance. Tripura illustrates the co-existence of Hinduism and tribal religions. The Hindus worship fourteen deities—Hara or Shiva, Uma (the spouse of Shiva), Hari or Vishnu, Lakshmi, Saraswati, Brahma, Prithwi (Goddess of Earth), Samudra (God of Ocean), Ganga, Agni (fire), Kamadeva (Cupid), and Himalaya. The list has some unusual features: Brahma's worship has been discontinued elsewhere (with the exception of a few small pockets) in Hindu society and those listed after Brahma do not figure among the gods and goddesses worshipped in northern and peninsular India. The massive idols of these fourteen gods and goddesses, according to a legend, were in the possession of the king of Burma. The king of Tripura sent his army, which fought a battle and after defeating the king of Burma decided to bring back only the heads of the fourteen idols as it would have been difficult to carry home the very heavy statues. They are made of stone; thirteen of them are covered with gold, one with silver. All the priests are tribal Tripuris, not Brahmans. The head priest is known as Chantai; his four principal assistants are known as Narayan. They have eighty junior priests called Galim. The heads are kept in an iron safe, and each day three of them are worshipped by turn. Only on the occasion of the Kharchi festival, held in June-July for a week, they are lodged in a hut open on all sides and all fourteen are worshipped. On these days, a large number of goats are sacrificed by the Galim on behalf of the worshippers. In a separate hut is kept the idol of another goddess—Burama. During the Kharchi festival, women desiring children make her the offerings of Vermillion and light candles in the shrine. This tribal goddess is worshipped by all; she also receives her share of sacrifices. Tripura illustrates how tribal traditions are enmeshed with the

Hindu heritage and the two functions together in harmony. This situation needs to be known better.

The texture of Hindu society in the south was influenced by strong regional traditions that existed there during the process of Aryanization. Tamil society, scholars believe, was well established in 200 B.C. An early grammar (A.D. 200)—Tholkappiyam—provides some profiles of the organization of society and describes life in the hill areas, in forests, in cultivated plains, in coastal areas, and in desert areas. In the rich corpus of Sangam literature (200 B.C.-A.D. 200), one gets the portrayal of Tamil society emerging from segmented social formations into larger well-knit States under kings whose bravery and valour were celebrated. Comparable to Kautilya's Arthashastra and Manu's code is the great Tamil classic Tirukkural (A.D. 300) by Tiruvalluvar, who was born in the low Jati of weavers. Little is known about the author except for his social origin, the fact that he lived and worked in Mylapur (now a suburb of Madras), and that he was familiar with the great works of Hinduism as well as Jainism. Tirukkural consists of 133 chapters, each of ten couplets. Thus the book has altogether 2,660 lines and 1,330 couplets or Kurral, which stand out in their brevity as choicest of moral epigrams. The focus in this work is on virtue, wealth, and enjoyment (or pleasure); deliverance (or Moksha) does not figure in it. It describes the life and attributes of the householder, the ascetic, and men of power and influence. In formulating rules of conduct for individual success and social harmony, the work constantly keeps in mind Aram—the great power which keeps a ceaseless watch on individuals, society, and the State and which confers on all who follow its principles, material and spiritual riches. Aram also implies love and justice, and makes no distinction between the prince and the peasant when they deviate from the principles of righteousness. Tirukkural is rated as a Tamil Veda, in which the people recognize their inner voice speaking to them about righteousness, morality, and justice. This-wordly, rather than other-wordly, in its thrust, Tirukkural has a ring of eternal validity.

1.4 Hinduism in Indian Society:

The Indian social system is believed to be and is often described as bounded and rigid. In some respects, and particularly in some phases of its evolution, this indeed is true. But there have been many exceptions. Janak was a Kshatriya king, at whose feet even Brahmans sat because of his saintliness and learning; Vishwamitra, another Kshatriya king, was recognized as a sage and composed Vedic hymns. His

place remains unshakeable, even though he denied the supremacy of the priesthood and performed Yagnas for those outside the Varna system. Valmiki had a humble social origin, but he has a place of honour as the composer of the epic Ramayana. Veda Vyas, the author of the epic Mahabharata, was the son of a fisherwoman. Vidura, the philosopher and interpreter of Dharma, was the offspring of a maid-servant. According to legend, Rukmini, whom Krishna married, belonged to Arunachal Pradesh; Hidimba, whom Bhima married, was a Naga; and Arjuna was married to Chitrangada from Manipur and to Ulupi from Nagaland. Of course, other regional origins are attributed to the brides in question in other legends. What is important in this context is that people believe that this could happen and did happen, even in epochs with higher standards of Dharma.

Hinduism derives from diverse literary sources including the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads, the Srauta, Grihya and Dharma Sutras. The Rig-Veda is the oldest of the four Vedas; some of its hymns are believed to have been composed before 1000 B.C. The other three Vedas—the Sama, Yajur and Atharva Vedas—were composed later. The Rig-Veda also contains a narration of events; in all it contains 1,028 hymns dedicated to Aryan gods. The Brahmanas are Vedic texts dealing with rituals and sacrifices; the Rig-Veda has two Brahmanas, the Yajur and Atharva, have one each, and the Sama has eight. The Aranyakas are treatises on religion and philosophy. They represent the shift from ritualism to abstract philosophical speculation. The Upanishads derived from the Vedas contain abstract thought, and provide the foundations of monistic thought. The Vedangas are subsidiary texts of the Vedas; the Srauta, Grihya, and the Dharma Sutras, referred to earlier, form part of Kalpa—an important Vedanga. The Grihya Sutras are particularly important, for they define the domestic rituals which mark out the Hindus. Also important are the Puranas that trace the mythic history of the descendants of Manu Swayambhu, who was born of Brahma and was the first king of India. The story they tell comes up to the period of the Ramayana and Mahabharata and extends to some of the ruling dynasties of the historical period. It is difficult to date the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics; the war described in the latter took place possibly around 950 B.C. although some scholars claim that it took place in 3102 B.C. Two more works that had considerable influence on the Indian social system are Kautilya's Arthashastra (321-300 B.C.) and Manusmriti (the laws of Manu, A.D. 100-200). Kautilya concentrates mainly on statecraft, but his treatise also touches upon the control mechanisms of society. Manu, on the other

hand, has provided a complete social code. His work provided a framework for the structuring of Hindu society. But regional and caste diversities persisted. It is difficult to believe that all the injunctions of Manu were ever followed throughout Hindu society.

What is known as Hinduism developed through dual processes of considerable conflict and much accommodation and compromise. The word Hindu appears to have been coined by the invading Arabs around the eighth century A.D., for people living beyond the Indus. It had no religious connotation. In ancient and early medieval literature it does not find any mention. In this religion many of the Vedic gods were downgraded; Varuna (rain) and Vayu (wind) lost their pre-eminence and were reduced to the lowly position of Diggals (guards of the frontiers). Agni (fire) and Mitra (the Sun) also lost much ground, retaining only their symbolic significance. The fate of Indra was worse; he was rated first as the “god of gods” and the “lord of the thunderbolt”, but later he was portrayed as a genial debauch holding court in the lower heavens. He had become so weak that he had constantly to seek the protection of Vishnu and Shiva.

The Rig-Veda had ridiculed phallus-worshippers and even prohibited their entry into Indo-Aryan sanctuaries. But in the new pattern that emerged, Shiva was the principal god of one of the two major sects of Hindus. Lingam-worship continued, and the practice of fertility cults was widespread. Many non-Aryan beliefs, deities, and rituals were incorporated into popular Hinduism. The extension of Hinduism to the eastern parts of India and the breaking of the barrier between Aryavrata and Dakshinapatha resulted in the emergence of Hinduism with a federal character. A broad body of doctrines and rituals were vaguely accepted, but this acceptance did not come in the way of local, regional, and Jati traditions which continued with some modifications.

Because it was loosely structured, Hinduism accepted the growth of the heterodox doctrines, cults, and sects like the philosophy of the Ajivikas, who were followers of a philosophy of complete pre-determination, the Lokayats or Charvakas, who preached total materialism, and several varieties of Tantric cults. It also accepted considerable dissent and reform. Jainism grew out of dissent and achieved a countrywide spread. Buddhism also grew out of the flexible setting and gradually became a world religion. The Hindus, in their turn, eventually accepted the Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. Later, Sikhism also

developed as a distinct religion, although it had taken elements freely both from Hinduism and Islam. Bhakti cults represent another dimension of change in religion. They first surfaced as an articulation of dissent, but most of them were rigidly codified in due course and today they operate almost like Jatis.

1.5 Islam and Christianity in India:

To understand the texture of Indian society we have also to take note of the long presence of Christianity and Islam in the country. Of these two, Christianity came to India earlier, but the later arrival—Islam, made a greater impact on society. Both initially penetrated into India by peaceful means, although they later gained the support of the ruling powers. Both were influenced by the prevailing ethos and both made some impact on society in general. Christianity and Islam acquired some special characteristics in the Indian setting. They cannot be regarded as alien elements in Indian society; they are organic parts of it.

St. Thomas (A.D. 50) and St. Bartholomew (the same period) are believed to have brought Christianity to India. According to a well-established tradition, Judas Thomas was sold to an Indian merchant, named Habban, for twenty pieces of silver; the latter was looking for a skilled carpenter. Judas Thomas was reluctant to go to India to convert its people. According to the *Acts of St. Thomas*, Judas Thomas hesitated because he felt that he did not have strength enough for it: he was a Hebrew and he was not equipped to teach Indians, who enjoyed a high reputation in the fields of religion and philosophy. In a vision, the Lord assured him of His Grace. Still hesitant, Judas Thomas embarked on the long journey. He visited the court of Gondophornes in the Punjab and tried to convert him. Because Gondophornes gave himself the title of Deva-vrata (devoted to God), rather than Deva-putra (son of God) or Devanam-priya (dear to the gods), it was claimed that St. Thomas had succeeded in his mission, but the evidence is not convincing. What cannot be doubted is the spread of Christianity in Kerala through his efforts. When the Portuguese arrived in India, Christianity was found to have spread to the seventeen kingdoms in which Kerala was divided. In Kerala, Christians had several churches, fifty settlements, and numbered 1,00,000. This is supported by records which suggest that when Pantaenus, the first principal of the Alexandrine schools, visited India he found thriving Christian communities in Malabar. In

western India, St. Bartholomew was active when St. Thomas went on his mission to the Punjab. It is believed that Kalyan, near Bombay, emerged as a major centre of Christianity. Apart from St. Bartholomew, a specially invited Stoic philosopher—Pantaenus—was preaching to the Brahmans and philosophers of India at Kalyan. It is not known what impact he made.

What was the position of the St. Thomas Christians in society? In the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese arrived, they were known as Nazranis. In the hierarchy of castes their position was more or less equal to that of Brahmans, and they were regarded as superior to Nayars. To protect their title to nobility, they would not touch the inferior castes, including Nayars. On approaching others, they would shout from a distance so that the lower castes could make way for them. They even had the right to kill members of the lower castes who crossed their path. In their quest for higher status and nobility they attempted to convert kings and gave special attention to the upper castes, thus diluting an important aspect of the message of their religion. The early Christians, however, were held in high esteem by the Hindus. Things began to change with the arrival and establishment of the Portuguese in India. When St. Francis Xavier landed in Goa in 1542, it had become a Christian settlement with fourteen churches and over a hundred clergymen. St. Francis Xavier concentrated on preaching, but De Menzes, Archbishop of Goa, was more interested in eradicating Hindu influence on the ancient Christians of Malabar. The contradictions and dilemmas are best exemplified in the life and work of the Italian Jesuit, Roberto de Nobili, who landed in Goa in 1605 and died in Mylapore (Madras) in 1656. He lived like a Hindu ascetic, dressed in saffron robes, and observed the rules of ritual purity in his food and social contacts. Unprotected by European forces and working in remote areas, he communicated with the people in Tamil and other regional dialects. His discussions with the Brahmans were in Sanskrit, a language he had mastered. He was familiar with Hindu philosophic and religious thought and was attempting to win over Hinduism from within. De Nobili was keen to get convinced converts from the top of Hindu society to facilitate the rapid spread of Christianity. He avoided contact with Christians of lower caste origins, including their priests. By the end of the seventeenth century, de Nobili and his associates had made 150,000 converts. But his way did not meet with universal approval for he aroused hostility and had to face investigation by the Church and the local authorities.

The later development of Christianity in India is better known because of the association of the Church with foreign powers—the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French. Considerable evangelical and humanitarian work was done by Christian missionaries of diverse nationalities

and denominations. Besides Kerala and Tamil Nadu, there are pockets of Christianity in most States of the Indian Union. At least three of the tribal northeastern States have substantial Christian majorities. Christians have a sizeable presence among the tribals of Chotanagpur also. The Christians may have been distanced from the mainstream of Indian society because of their association with European rulers, but they had organic links with it in the past. It is necessary to remember that on the western coast, Christianity flourished with Buddhism and the figure of the Buddha appeared in the company of Christian saints. As St. Josaphat (a corruption of “Bodhisattva” thanks to translations through Pehlavi, Syriac, and Greek into Latin) the Buddha is a part of the Catholic heritage too. About this Max Mueller has said, “No one, either in the Greek or Roman Church, need be ashamed of having paid to his (Buddha’s) memory the honour that was intended for St. Josaphat, the prince, the hermit, and the saint.”

1.6 Some myths and Stereotypes about Islam:

There are some durable stereotypes regarding Islam in India. The first is that Islam was spread by the sword. The second is that Indian society was so degenerate and disunited that it could not resist the might of Islamic arms. The third assumes a long confrontation between Islam and Hinduism and attributes to Islamic rule the main purpose of spreading its faith. Fourth, it is implied that under Islamic rule all Muslims were in a privileged and superior position compared to non-Muslims. Each of these stereotypes is either incorrect or at best only partially correct.

Islam first came to India by peaceful methods, often with the encouragement of Hindu rulers. On the western coast, the Balhara dynasty in the north and the Zamorin of the Malabar Coast welcomed Muslim traders and encouraged them to settle in places like Anhilwara, Calicut, and Quilon. They could freely build mosques and practise their religion. Arab and Persian immigrants settled down along the coast and married non-Muslim women. This is how the Nawait (Natia) community of Konkan and the Mappilla (Moplah) community of the Malabar Coast emerged. Although legends claim an earlier time for the spread of Islam, historical records suggest that in the eighth century A.D. Muslims had taken up residence in India. Ibn Batuta, the early fourteenth century traveller, found cities in Malabar crowded with rich merchants who adhered to Islam and who had built impressive mosques. The Labbais, on the east coast of Tamil Nadu, are said to have originated from the union of Tamil women with Arabs who were either shipwrecked or exiled from Iraq.

It is essential to mention also the work of itinerant preachers, who contributed significantly to the peaceful spread of Islam. They started arriving from the eleventh century A.D. onwards. They came to India of their own accord; some were men of learning and all had a personal zeal for the spread of Islam. Only a few of these missionaries were brought into India by invaders. One of the earliest Muslim preachers who came in peace to India was Shaykh Ismail of Bukhara, who arrived in A.D. 1005 and established his seat at Lahore. He had considerable religious as well as secular learning and made a great impact on those who listened to him. Abd Alah arrived from Yemen in A.D. 1067 and preached in Gujarat. He is regarded as the first missionary of the Bohras. The list of such preachers is a long one and we can mention here only a few of the more important names whose impact survives to this time. Among them is Nur-ud-Din—better known as Nur Satagar—then the name he adopted in deference to Hindu sentiment. He came from Persia to Gujarat in the twelfth century and is regarded by the Khojas as their first missionary. Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din of Bukhara (A.D. 1190-1291) and his descendants worked first in Sindh and later extended their activities to the Punjab. The most famous among them, of course, is Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti, from east Persia, who operated from Ajmer and died there in A.D. 1236. Even today his shrine attracts large crowds of devotees from the Indo-Pak sub-continent, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Bu Ali Qalandar came to India in the same century, settled down at Panipat, and made many converts including from among the Rajputs. In Bengal there are graves and shrines of several Muslim saints, one of the earliest among them belonging to Shaykh Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi. He died in A.D. 1244. His tomb is not known, but the shrine erected for him is still visited by large crowds of pilgrims. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries several missionaries were active in the Punjab, Kashmir, the Deccan, and eastern and western India. The most notable among them were Baba Farid-ud-Din and Ahmad Kabir (also known as Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan), who was active in Kashmir. In the Deccan, Muhammad Gisu Daraz and Pir Mahabir Khamdayat are well known. The list is endless, for tombs and shrines of Muslim *pirs* and saints are scattered all over the country. What needs to be emphasized is that these missionaries transmitted the message of Islam through love and without the support of the armed might of the State. The sword doubtless won converts but it also evoked hostility; the *pirs* and saints used persuasion and they still have a grateful and devoted following even among non-Muslims.

Within a century of its establishment, Islam emerged as a power to contend with politically. Less than one hundred years after the Prophet left Mecca for Medina, Islamic rule extended from the Chinese frontier to the Atlantic coast in Spain. But in that expansionist phase it did not make any impressive gains in India. In A.D. 712 Mohammed Bin Qasim conquered

Sindh, tried to annex Broach, Gujarat, and Malwa. He initially won a few battles, but failed to attain his objectives. The attempt to conquer Malwa was foiled by the Gurjara king, Nagbhata, who defeated and drove him back. Six years later, in A.D. 731, his successor Tanim skirted Malwa and tried to capture a part of the Deccan. He was decisively defeated by the Chalukya king in A.D. 738. K.M. Panikkar believes that the outcome of this battle saved India for some 275 years and there were no major attacks on Indian territory in the intervening period. The only exception was Imam BinMussa's attack on Cutch in A.D. 883; this Governor of Sindh was defeated by Mihir Bhoja.

For nearly three centuries the aggressive designs of Islamic invaders were blunted, but later they could not be contained. What had happened in half of the world earlier was then repeated in India.

The socio-political conditions in India had changed by the time Ghazni invaded the country. In-fighting between rival kingdoms had weakened Indian resistance. Nonetheless there were some valiant efforts to respond to the challenge. For example, when Mahmud of Ghazni attacked the holy temple of Somnath, Bhoja—the Par-mar king of Dhar—marched into Kathiawar and blocked Mahmud's path of retreat, forcing him to suffer great distress and hardship and to return through a waterless region. As we have already noted, India had known other conquests; the Shaka, the Kushan, and the Hun had come from Central Asia and, after initial confrontation, they were absorbed in Indian society. The confrontation with the Islamic invaders was longer and more bitter as they brought with them their own theology and considered only their religion as true. A divide was created, but at the same time forces to bring about conciliation were also in operation. The Muslim rulers were in India not only for the spread of Islam, but had other interests also. Some of them took upon themselves the mission of Islamizing society more seriously than others; discriminatory practices such as the imposition of *jizyah* (poll tax), in addition to *kharaj* (tax on land and property), were pursued more vigorously by some rulers, while others were relaxed about them.

Theoretically, according to Islamic doctrine, three options were open to non-Muslims under Islamic rule: to embrace Islam; accept Muslim rule, become Dhimmis, and pay, *jizyah* and *kharaj*; or fight. Technically only *ahl-ul-Kitab*—those with a holy book of revealed knowledge—could qualify for Dhimmi status. The Hindus were not *ahl-ul-Kitab*. Thus, the alternatives for them were acceptance of Islam or death. Despite

long years of Muslim rule the overwhelming majority of the people remained Hindu. This would not have been possible had the requirements of Islam been strictly carried out. The army, State administration, and trade and commerce—all depended on the direct and indirect support of the Hindus. Thus, in respect of the hated *jizyah* we find that it was levied some times and then abolished, only to be re-levied by another zealot. In fact Islam was being Indianized; in the process, it acquired some distinctive characteristics in India. In the realms of art and architecture, philosophy and religion, medicine and other secular knowledge, there was considerable interchange. Rulers like Akbar tried to build bridges between the various communities. A composite culture was gradually evolving.

It may be added that Hindu rule was never completely wiped out from India. During the Sultanate, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was an impressive power. In several other areas, especially in the south, non-Hindu rulers continued to assert themselves and maintained or regained their independence. During Mughal times warriors like Rana Pratap refused to surrender; others worked out adjustments which left them considerable internal autonomy.

Were the Muslims in a superior position? Technically, all Muslims were citizens of the Islamic State; followers of other faiths were not. But within Muslim society itself there was internal differentiation. Consider, for example, the difference between the Ashraf (those claiming descent from groups of foreign extraction) and the Ajlaf (converts from the lower Hindu castes). The latter definitely had a lower social position. As we shall see later, many of the lower groups converted to Islam continued to occupy more or less their old positions in society. Some Hindus occupied high positions in the royal courts and were even generals in the army. Interaction between the Hindu and Muslim aristocracy was closer. The poorer Muslims could not have the psychological satisfaction of belonging to the religion of the ruling class, but economically and socially they remained backward and exploited.

Apart from those from Central Asia, other foreign powers also came to India. The Portuguese entered Indian waters in 1499 as a naval power. They had small territories on the western coast, but a large chunk of the sea trade. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch and the English arrived in quick succession, followed a little later by the French. For a variety of reasons the Dutch chose to move east and establish themselves in Indonesia. They captured Malacca (now in Malaysia) in 1641 and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1654. The English

dug themselves in and remained in India in one capacity or another till 14 August 1947. French intervention was of a relatively short duration and limited in impact.

The Portuguese did not distinguish themselves in administration or nation-building activity. They made some impact on religion, cuisine, music, and festivities of the people in their possessions. They had some hand in the shaping of the Goan cultural personality, although this also was largely a case of creative adaptation by the Goans. The French influence was limited to the tiny pockets they owned. The English had a larger-than-life presence and their impact was considerable, both in negative and positive terms. After an initial period of fraternization with the natives, in which some emulated the Indian aristocracy to emerge as Nabobs and many patronized nautch girls and kept Indian concubines, they were advised to keep to themselves in their exclusive quarters, cantonments, and clubs. Their affairs with natives were discreet. Once they became a dominant power their economic policy was exploitative, resulting in the drain of the country's wealth. Indian handicrafts suffered grievous injury. The English created a new landed aristocracy and the middle and lower rungs of the civil service to ensure a stable group of loyalists. A complicated system of titles, honours, and *sanads* was evolved to keep their men happy. Interference with local custom was minimal, except when it came to eradication of gross abuses like thuggee or *sati*. The country was unified by a common system of administration, a common Penal Code and Civil Procedure Code, and a network of railways. Responding to this alien rule, Indians developed a new self-image and created initiatives for an Indian renaissance. The English-educated intelligentsia, which was initially created as a pool for the loyal service of British rule, adopted new postures, became critical of British misrule and excesses, and launched a movement for independence. Indian society also developed an awareness and sensitivity of its inadequacies, weaknesses, and faults. In responding creatively to alien rule, Indian society found itself generating new impulses for reform and social transformation.

1.7 INDIAN SOCIETY THROUGH THE AGES

Impact of Cultural Renaissance and Buddhism:

The Vedic philosophy of early Hinduism was influenced by Buddhism and Jainism. Though both developed as separate religions yet they had deep roots in the Hindu tradition. Jainism had the patronage of urban-mercantile community while

Buddhism had princely patronage. Both emphasised the value of continuity (predestination, rebirth and transmigration) and criticised hierarchy (belief in *varna* and caste system). Both rejected the rituals of sacrifice in temples and talked of non-violence. The membership of Buddhism was open to all castes and both the sexes. Buddhism focused on soul liberation through *nirwan* (salvation), while Jainism referred to soul liberation through inculcation of a spirit of moral virtues through self-restraints. In short, it may be said that Buddhism and Jainism have an atheistic world-view whereas Hinduism is based on theistic beliefs. In a way, Buddhism and Jainism protested against some important characteristics of Hinduism like its rigid formalism, tyrannical ritualism, value system based on hierarchy, supremacy of Brahmins, and religious orthodoxy.

Hindu beliefs and values were further affected by the preaching of Shankaracharya (ninth century), Ramanujacharya (1017-1137 A.D. that is, eleventh and twelfth centuries), and Madhavacharya (fourteenth century), who established monasteries in different corners of the country for propagating monotheism. Ramanuja founded Vaishnava sect and got followers from Jains, Shaivites and low castes. The Lingayat sect in South India converted many non-Brahmins to the exclusive worship of Shiva.

The devotional schools emerged between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries which attempted to popularise some new values in the Hindu religion. Saints like Kabir (1440-1518), Guru Nanak (1469-1538), Ramananda (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), Chaitanya (1485-1535), Mira (1504-1550), Tulsidas (1532-1623), Tukaram and Ramdas, etc., emphasised equalitarian and non-hierarchical value system in Hinduism. They also made efforts towards liberalisation of the Hindu tradition and its synthesis with Islam.

1.8 Impact of Islam:

Islam influenced Hindu ideals in the medieval period. Though attacks by Muslims on India had started in the tenth century but it was more from the fifteenth century onwards that the impact of Islamic culture on Hindu great tradition was observed. Islam does not believe in idol-worship. It is monotheistic and non-hierarchical, that is, it believes in equality. Though both Islam and Hinduism are oriented to the principle of holism (collectivism), yet in Hinduism, holism is linked with hierarchy while in Islam, holism is differentiated from hierarchy.

Singh has discussed the impact of Islam on Hindu traditions in three stages: during the Islamic rule (1206-1818), during the British rule (of eighteenth, nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth centuries), and during the Indian freedom movement (from 1930s onwards up to the country's partition). During the Islamic rule, some Muslim rulers had adopted the policy of destroying Hindu temples, spreading Islam (Islami-sation) and converting Hindus into Muslims (proselytisation). This period was marked not only by conflicts and tensions between the two religions (Hinduism and Islam) but it also led to adaptations, cultural synthesis of traditions and cultural co-existence of Hindus and Muslims. Sufism influenced Hindus. It emphasised ascetic personal morality, material phenomena lasting for a short time, and mystical self-denial or self-sacrifice. Non-ritualism and abstract monotheism, as preached by the Sufi saints and philosophers, also appealed to Hindu masses. Singh has pointed out that some Muslim rulers and scholars tried to reconcile some aspects of the Hindu tradition with Islam. For example, Akbar introduced a new synthetic cult called *Din-e-Ilahi* (Divine Faith) which was a mixture of Islam, Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism. Dara Singh pleaded for a synthesis of Upanishadic monotheism with that of Islam. Famous scholar Amir Khusro interpreted Hindu traditions to the Muslim world. Many Muslim poets and writers even wrote in Hindi in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, religious and political elite of Islam not only occupied important administrative, judicial and political posts but they also believed in perpetuation and expansion of Islam. During the British regime, the position changed and the Muslim elite began to lose their status and power.

The Great Islamic tradition, therefore, could not maintain itself with the earlier vigour and confidence. In the eighteenth century, Islam lost its earlier liberal tendencies and in its place orthodoxy and revivalism became its chief pre-occupations. The Hindu tradition became more reactive than adaptive in ethos and lagged behind in cultural change. Islamic tradition, on the other hand, got highly politicised. But in the nineteenth century, liberal and orthodox Islamic traditions began to polarise. The politico-cultural phenomenon generated by the tussle between these two cultural forces culminated in the creation of a separate Islamic nation (Pakistan).

During the British rule in India, two types of reform movements in Hinduism emerged according to Singh (1973:43). First, reforms which called for changes in the cultural practices and values of Hinduism on the pattern of the primordial tradition of the Vedas; and second, which postulated synthesis of new cultural norms and values with the traditional norms and

values. Among the reformers of the first category were Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna (1836-1886), Vivekananda (1863-1902), and Mahatma Gandhi; while among the reformers of the second category were Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Jawaharlal Nehru. Swami Dayananda, Vivekananda and Gandhi did not reject the basic ideal-typical cultural themes of Hinduism. All of them accepted the *varna* system, the principle of hierarchy, and the *karma-yoga* or detached social action. All of them considered the ritualistic disabilities of caste as being based on misunderstanding of the Hindu tradition and called for their rejection. While, Swami Dayananda pleaded for the rejection of non-Hindu cultural values and religious beliefs, Vivekananda and Gandhi did not emphasise such rejection.

All this shows how Hinduism and Hindu beliefs and values have undergone changes from time to time and how religious-cultural transformation has taken place in Indian culture.

1.9 Impact of the West and Modernisation:

The impact of the West on India can be discussed in five phases. The first phase is that of hostile contact with the conquest of Alexander, etc., followed by contact of peaceful interchange as the result of trade and commerce of successive centuries. The second phase began by the end of the fifteenth century when Vasco de Gama arrived with his ships at Calicut in 1498 A.D. Within a few years, the Portuguese occupied Goa. But the effect of these westerners was relatively restricted. The third phase began when East India Company established its rule in the beginning of the eighteenth century and later on the British rule was established in the country by the middle of the eighteenth century. This was the first step in the expansion of western culture in India. The fourth phase commenced with the beginning of the nineteenth century following the industrial revolution. With the economic exploitation of India by the British as source of raw materials, began the spread and dominance of western culture in social and cultural fields too. The fifth and the last phase began after the political independence of the country in 1947.

What has been the impact of the western culture on our society in terms of effect on our culture and our social systems? The impact may be briefly described as follows:

- (1) Western institutions like banking system, public administration, military organisation, modern medicine, law, etc., were introduced in our country.
- (2) Western education broadened the outlook of the people who started talking of their rights and freedom. The introduction of the new values, the rational and

secular spirit, and the ideologies of individualism, equality and justice assumed great importance.

- (3) Acceptance of scientific innovations heightened the aspirations for raising the standard of living and providing material welfare for the people.
- (4) Many reform movements came into being. Several traditional beliefs and practices dysfunctional to society were discarded and many new customs, institutions and social practices were adopted.
- (5) Our technology, agriculture, entrepreneurship and industry were modernised leading to the economic well-being of our country.
- (6) The hierarchy of political values has been restructured. Accepting the democratic form of government, all native states, which had been under a monarchic form of government, have been merged into the Indian State and the authority and domination of feudals and *zamin-dars* has been demolished. There have been structural changes in social institutions like marriage, family and caste, creating new forms of relations in social life, religion, etc.
- (7) The introduction of the modern means of communication, such as railway and bus travel, postal service, air and sea travel, press, and radio and television have affected man's life in varied respects.
- (8) There is rise in the feeling of nationalism. .
- (9) The emergence of the middle class has changed the dominant values of society.

1.10 Let us sum up :

In conclusion it can be stated that Indian society has emerged as a multi-religious, multi cultural plural society through ages. It has in itself different characteristics of various religions and cultures present in Indian society. It represents a large number of people living across its various regions. The Present Indian society is a result of impact of various processes like modernization and Westernisation. Although there has been innumerable factors responsible for the change in Indian society but it has still managed to emerge as a society which can assimilate any number of cultural and other similar invasions.

1.11 Self Assessment Questions

Q. 1. How has various civilizations helped in the emergence of Indian society.

Q.2. Explain briefly the important North eastern tribes that were settled in India.

Q.3. How did Hinduism develop in India? Explain with examples.

Q.4. Trace the development of Christianity in India.

Q.5. What are the different stereotypes and myths associated with Islam in India.

Q.6. What has been the impact of Buddhism on Indian society.

Q.7. Explain the impact of Islam on Indian Society.

Q. 8. Briefly explain the impact of west and Modernisation on Indian society.

1.12 Suggested Readings :

1. Ahuja, Ram, *Society in India- concepts theories and recent trends*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2003.
2. Dube, S.C. *Indian Society*, Delhi, National Book Trust, 1996.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Idea of Unity and Diversity
- 2.4 The Making of Indian Society
- 2.5 Salient Features of Indian Society
- 2.6 Sources of Diversity
- 2.7 Unity of Pre-Capitalist Culture
- 2.8 Factors Contributing to Unity of Indian Society
- 2.9 Dilemma of Unity in Diversity
- 2.10 Let us sum up.
- 2.11 Self Assessment Questions
- 2.12 Suggested Readings.

2.1 Objectives

After studying this unit you should be able to understand:

- The idea of unity and diversity.

- To know the forms and bases of diversity in India.
- The bonds and mechanism of unity in India.
- Provide an explanation to our option for a plural cultural model.

2.2 Introduction

This unit deals with unity and diversity in India. In general, we talk about unity in diversity but what does this phrase convey ? This unit will try to explain the meaning of this phrase on sociological lines. The unit will take about the meaning of unity in diversity; forms of diversity like race, language, religion, caste; and further how the Indian society is bound together through various social, cultural, political and religious factors.

2.3 Idea of Unity and Diversity

Diversity in general means differences. But within a nation, these differences are not individual but collective in nature. It includes diversity of races, castes, religions, regions, languages etc. Thus diversity means variety of groups and cultures in a territory.

Unity, on the other hand means, integration or solidarity. This unity brings the differences or variety under one common jacket which we call a nation or a country. Thus unity may be understood as togetherness of similar as well as dissimilar elements on some ground. Patriotic feeling is one channel for unity which all above the race, caste, creed, class etc.

2.4 The Making of Indian Society

Indian society is old and it is extremely complex. According to a popular estimate it has covered a span of five thousand years since the period of its first known civilization. During this long period, 'several waves of immigrants, representing different ethnic strains and linguistic families, have merged into its population to contribute to its diversity, richness & vitality.

Several different levels of social evolution co-exist in contemporary India: primitive hunters and food-gatherers, shifting cultivators who use digging sticks

and hoes, nomads of different types, settled agriculturists who use the plough for cultivation, artisans and landed as well as aristocracies of ancient lineage. Most of the major religions of the world-Hinduism, Islam, Christians, Buddhism — are found here, and in addition there is a bewildering variety of cults and sects with different orientations in belief and ritual. In addition to these, there are modern academic, bureaucratic, industrial and scientific elites. Moreover, you will find the past, the present, and the future living together. In the process of its evolution, Indian society has acquired a composite culture, characterised by stable patterns of pluralism.

Earliest Inhabitants of India

We can speculate about the original or earliest inhabitants of India on the bases of information provided by physical anthropology regarding the ethnic elements i.e. the racial groups in the population of India, namely, Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean, Western Brachycephals, and Nordic. Of these, the first three are the older residents of the sub-continent.

This account of the coming into India of various ethnic elements and of the Indus valley civilization that predated the advent of the Aryans is based on commonly accepted theories in anthropology, archaeology, and history. The Indus valley civilization is associated principally with the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. This civilization is believed to have originated around 2500 B.C., to have been flourishing by 2300 B.C., and in decline around 1700 B.C.

The Indo - Aryans came later and had a long encounter with earlier inhabitants of the land. They did not bring a civilization with them, they were essentially a pastoral people with a flair for poetry, philosophical speculation, and elaborate rituals. They were “racists”, in the sense that they regarded themselves as superior and tended to look down upon and deprecate the earlier inhabitants of the land, for whom they coined several derogatory terms. They were required to marry within their own group i.e. practise endogamy & had some elementary notions of ritual purity and pollution which governed their physical contacts and commensal-inter-dining relations with others. This led to the origin of the Varnas (literally, “Complexion”) and also of Jati (Caste).

Stratification in Vedic India

The ideological and social framework of Indian society began taking shape when the area of interaction between the Indo-Aryans and the earlier inhabitants widened. The Indo-Aryans were divided into three groups the Rajanya (warriors and the aristocracy), the Brahman (priests), and the Vaishya (cultivators). The Rajanyas, 'later came to be known as Kashatriyas. The Brahmans raised their status by claiming the right to bestow divinity on the king. The Vaishyas gradually took to trade and commerce. These were Dvija - twice born groups - born first at physical birth and a second time when initiated into Varna status. The shudras were the fourth Varna, they were from outside the Indo-Aryan group and were perhaps the progeny of unions between the Indo-Aryan and the Dasa (the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the land). They emerged as cultivators, but were denied twice-born status. Outside the four fold vertical Varna structure, there was a fifth group-Avarna or the Pancham - whose ethnic status was so low and their occupation so degraded and polluting that any physical contact with them was prohibited for the twice born and the shudra.

Formation of Hinduism

Hinduism derives from diverse literary sources including the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads, the Srauta, Grihya and Dharma sutras. The Rig Veda is the oldest of the four Vedas, some of its hymns are believed to have been composed before 1000 B.C. The other three Vedas - the Sama, Yajur and Atharva Vedas — were composed later. Two more works that had considerable influence on the Indian social system are Kautilya's Arthashastra (321-300 B.C.) and Manusmriti (the laws of Manu, A.D., 100-200).

What is known as Hinduism developed through dual processes of considerable conflict and much accommodation and compromise. The word Hindu appears to have been coined by the invading Arabs around the 8th century A.D., for people living beyond the Indus. It had no religious connotation.

Because it was loosely structured, Hinduism occupied the growth of heterodox doctrines, cults and sects like the philosophy of the Ajivikas, who were followers of a philosophy of complete pre-determination, the Lokayats or Charvakas, who preached total materialism, and several varieties of Tantric cults. It also accepted

considerable issue and reform. Jainism grew out of dissent and achieved a countrywide spread. Buddhism also grew out of the flexible setting and gradually became a world religion. The Hindus, in their turn, eventually accepted the Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. Later, Sikhism also developed as a distinct religion, although it had taken elements freely both from Hinduism and Islam. Bhakti cults represent another dimension of change in religion. They first surfaced as an articulation of dissent, but most of them were rigidly codified in due course and today they operate almost like fates.

To understand the texture of Indian society, we have also to take note of the long presence of Christianity and Islam in the country. Of these two, Christianity came to India earlier, but the later arrival Islam - made a greater impact on society.

Impact of British Rule on Indian Society

The English created a new landed aristocracy and the middle and lower rungs of the civil service to ensure a stable group of loyalists. A complicated system of titles & honours were evolved to keep their men happy. Interference with local custom was minimal, except when it came to eradication of gross abuses like thuggee or sati. The country was unified by a common system of administration, a common Penal Code and Civil Procedure Code, and a network of railways. Responding to this alien rule, Indians developed a new self-image and created initiatives for an Indian renaissance. The English-educated intelligentsia, which was initially created as a pool for the loyal service of British rule, adopted new postures, became critical of British misrule and excesses, and launched a movement for independence. Indian society also developed an awareness and sensitivity of its inadequacies, weaknesses, and faults. In responding creatively to alien rule, Indian society found itself generating new impulses for reform and social transformation.

2.5 Salient Features of Indian Society

a) Indian Humanity :— Ethnologically, most of the major types of ethnic groups of mankind are represented in the country. According to physical appearance, as indicated in India year Book 1956, the following five types could be easily distinguished : (a) The Negritoes of the Andaman Islands, having physical affinity with Asian and Oceanic peoples like Semangs of Malaya, and Popuans of New Guinea, but not with the African Negroes or Negritoes ; (b) The Veddids or Proto - Austratians - majority of the tribal peoples of the Central and Southern India. Genetically,

they are supposed to be related to the Australians and the Europeans; (c) The Mongoloids found in the mountain zones of North and North-East India; (d) The mediterranean of Melanids are found in the plains of South India. Generally, the word Dravidian was used for these groups incorrectly ; (e) The Indias are found mainly in North India, Central Deccan and the West Coast. Genetically and physically, they are considered by Anthropologist as forming a part of the South European Stock.

Herbert Risley had classified the people of India into seven racial types. They are — (i) Turko - Tranian (ii) Indo Aryan (iii) Scytho - Dravidian (iv) Aryo - Dravidian (v) Mongolo - Dravidian (vi) Mongoloid and (vii) Dravidian. These seven racial types can be reduced to three basic types — Indo-Aryan, the Mongoloian and the Dravidian.

Other administrative officers and anthropologists, like J.H. Hutton, D.N. Majumdar and B.S. Guha, have given the latest racial classification of the Indian people based on further researches in this field. B.S. Guha's (1952) classification of 6 types are — the Negrito, the Proto-Austroloid, the Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Western Brachycephalo and the Nordic.

(b) Indian Villages :— Village is one of the unique feature of Indian Society. One of the most useful and objective means is furnished by the physical forms taken by a village. This form put the village in a diversified category.

The different pattern of villages in India may be

- (a) Shapeless cluster
- (b) Linear cluster
- (c) Square or rectangular cluster
- (d) Isolated homestead

These diversified forms of village provide of great diversity in Indian culture.

(c) Land of Religions :— India is a land of numerous religions. It is inhabited by people belonging to almost all major religious and derivative religious cults providing rich complexity of other wordly beliefs, rituals, sacrifices and institutional diversity. Even the Hindu Religion, which is followed by the vast bulk of people reveals great regional variations as well as religio-ideological diversity.

(d) India's Multi-Lingual Population :— India presents a spectacle of a museum of tongues. According to the 1951 Census Report, there are 845 languages or dialects in the country. These include 720 Indian languages each spoken by less than a hundred thousand persons and 63 non-Indian languages.

These fourteen languages have a long historic past. They have reached a high stage of development. They are further considerably localised in specific territorial zones thereby transforming various Indian Linguistic groups into separate nationalists within the Indian Nation. Some of these languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are also associated with a body of traditions which have a predominantly Dravidian cultural background, differing in some respects qualitatively from the Indo-Aryan group of languages. The difficulties involved in evolving a national language for the Indian union can be appreciated only if this background is kept in mind. The great ferment which has exploded into veritable tempests in contemporary India on the issue of the Reorganisation of State within the Indian Union, the objective of which has been to evolve administrative units composed of linguist groups occupying specific territorial segments of India.

(e) Caste Hierarchy :— The institution of caste which emerged in India many centuries ago, which has a hoary history, and has survived numerous political upheavals and military convulsions and which has been still persisting, though slowly losing vitality, due to the pressure of the forces of modern, social, economic and political developments', is a unique institution unparalleled in the history of mankind. The considerable role which this institution still plays in influencing the life of the Hindus. Caste decides to a great extent', the social status and the vocation of a member of the Hindu community, which is hierarchically graded in numerous castes and sub-castes. It largely determines the opportunities accessible to him for material and cultural self-advancement.

Further caste differences also engender different patterns of domestic and social life, different cultural complexes, even differences in the type of houses which various caste groups inhabit. Not only that, due to historical reasons, property rights exist, markedly in agrarian area, on caste lines as also administrative functions and occupations. Hindu community which still holds almost decisive way

over their mind is caste contoured. It has fixed the psychology of the various social groups and has evolved such minutely graded levels of social distance and relationships that the social structure looks like a gigantic hierarchic pyramid with a mass of untouchable as its base and a small stratum of elite, the Brahmins, almost unapproachable, at its apex. The Hindu society is composed of hundreds of distinct self-contained caste world piled one over the other.

2.6 Sources of Diversity

What are the sources of diversity ? The most obvious are ethnic origins, religions and languages.

(a) Religion :— Religious boundaries are more clearly drawn. There are eight major religious communities in India : Hindus (82.7% of whom a substantial proportion—roughly 16% are scheduled castes). Muslims (11.8%), Christians (2.6%), Sikhs (2%), Buddhists (0.7%), Jains (0.4%), Zoroastrians (0.3%) and Jews (0.1%). The tribes constitutes 6.9%.

Each major religion is sub-divided along the lines of religious doctrines, sects and cults. This is true both of indigenous religions — Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism — and of introduced religions, especially Islam and Christianity. The Hindus are now broadly divided into Shaivite (worshippers of Shiva), Vaishnava (worshipper of Vishnu) Shakta (worshippers of the mother goddess in various manifestations), and Smarta (those who worship all three — Shiva, Vishnu and the Mother Goddess). Even among them, there are sub-divisions based on doctrinal differences and details of ritual. Sects and cults add to the complicity of Hinduism. Sects like the Kabir panthi, Satnami, and Lingayats — to take only a few examples - separate religions, as claimed?

The Indian Muslims are divided broadly into the Sunni and Shia communities, the latter are the smaller of the two sections. Indian Christians are divided into Roman Catholics and Protestants and into many denominational churches.

Though Sikhism is a synthesising religion that emphasizes egalitarianism, it has not been able to undo some of the less wholesome aspects of the “caste” system. For example, the lower Jatis converted to Sikhism are known as Mazhabis, they live in separate hamlets. Buddhism was spread widely in India once, but without the revival of

vedic Hinduism, it lost its hold in the country of its birth and remained confined only to a few pockets. Neo-Buddhists, as these people are called, have undisguised Jate lines. Buddhism in India had a two-tier structure and not the conventional four-fold Varna division, in the upper tier were placed the Brahman, the Kshatriya and certain categories of Gnhapats and in the lower tier were tribal and other marginal groups. The divisions of Buddhism into Mahayana and the Hinayana were based on doctrinal differences and do not represent a gradation in society. Jainism too, once held wide sway in India, and though its followers are now numerically small, they are found in both the northern and southern states. They have two main divisions — Digamber-unclothed, and shwetamber — white Drobed.

The Parsis are a small community, but they have played an important role in India's industrial development. They first came to India in the eighth century A.D. from Persia. The small Jewish population had two main settlements — One in Cochin (in Kerala) and another in (Maharashtra).

(b) Language:— Language is another source of diversity. It contributes to collective identities and even to conflicts. The Indian constitution lists fifteen Languages, but this is an official list for official purposes.

Another important source of diversity is the cultural identity of particular communities and regions, while some Jatis, sects and communities have an individual ethos, they also have organic links with other elements of the population of the region, which develops a cultural personality over time.

2.7 The unity of a Pre-Capitalist Culture

As many Hindu Writers have pointed out, the concept of the fundamental unity of India is an important element in the Hindu heritage. But this religious and, as it were, ideological unity - fostering the love of the land “as a sacrament of a culture which it embodies”—was based on the minute social differentiation that goes by the name of caste.

What is more, the system was clothed with all the sanctions of religion. Indeed, it was the Hindu religion and this massive and complex social structure which was declared to be rooted in the eternal order of things.

Thus while Hinduism unified India, it obstructed the further development of unity by unholding on religious grounds a social system composed of bits and piece of interlocked fragments. But the economic system was stabilised at a low level. It was based on the village community which was a more or less self-sufficient unit, combining agriculture and handicrafts. Production was everywhere on a small-scale and for consumption rather than exchange. It was, in short a pre-capitalist economic system parochial, static and, in many respects, primitive. There was indeed, a market of varying dimensions for different commodities ; but it was not a self-expanding dynamic market binding together the whole country, or even any very large areas of it, in a process of continuous and vital commodity exchange.

Frontiers fluctuated from time to time, dynasties rose and fell, wars and invasions ravaged some part of the land or other. But they left the life of the people largely unaffected, for it was governed ultimately not by the laws of the state but by caste, code of function and privilege, by caste organisation, and by virtually autonomous bodies such as the local guilds and village communes.

The British conquest initiated and enforced a series of interrelated changes. Each of them, by itself, would have been revolutionary enough in its consequences but occurring simultaneously as they did, they shattered once for all, within the space of a few decades, the foundations of a civilisation that had endured for well nigh three thousand years. There was a new land system, a new revenue system and a new system of administration. Railways were built, trade was encouraged and markets were widened. The transition to a money economy was speeded up. A uniform system of coinage was introduced and the use of money, that most potent dissolvent of ancient ties was made obligatory. At the same time, law more and more tended to replace the customs which had for so long kept India lathered to her immemorial past.

Underlying and dominating these changes was the political unification of the country. For there is an essential, qualitative difference between the unity which enables the Government in India today to exercise at need a direct and immediate control over any village or hamlet in any part of India and the sort of general and in the main nominal overlordship exercised by Asoka or Akbar.

The basis of this unity was three-fold. In part, 'it was technological; railways, telegraphs, etc. In part,' it lay in the character of British power in India : it was not, as

in the case of the Turks and Moguls, the power of a body of military adventures acting on their own behalf and for their personal gain, hence liable to fall out among themselves, but of rulers who were the nominees and agents of a foreign Government - of the highly organised and unified British Government and the capitalist class which supported it.

2.8 Factors contributing to unity of Indian Society

(a) Religion, Art and Culture :— Hinduism is the dominant religion in India. It has influenced the ethos of Indian culture and society, of course, it is not timeless and changeless and has had dissenting influences from within and from outside.

The two great epics — the Ramayana and the Mahabharata — are known widely but not through sanskrit originals. They have several folk and regional languages versions. More than Valmiki's epic on Rama in Sanskrit, the legend has been diffused to large sections of Indians through classics on the theme in Indian languages by poets like Tulsidas (Awadhi/Hindi), Kamban (Tamil), Ponna (Kannada), and many others in their respective languages.

In north India, 'the Rama Lila and Rasa Lila recreate the Rama and Krishna legends in folk ideas. Yaksha Gana in Karnatka and Kathakali in Kerala also take up religious themes. In fact, 'episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, especially the Krishna legend, have inspired most of the classical dance forms of India such as Bharatnatyam, Kuchipudi, Mohini Attam, katha Kali, Odissi, Manipuri and the devotional branch of ceathale down the centuries the heroes of epic proportions from these works have been immortalised in song and verse in all languages in India, imparting both unity and continuity to the Hindu tradition. Saint-poets have popularised religion through their compositions and have taken them to the masses. These endeavours have contributed significantly to the unity of India.

Hindu society would have been pictured and ultimately disintegrated had it not been for the traditions of dissent, protest, and reform which acted as safety valves and were instrumental in bringing about adaptations in society to keep it united.

(b) Sacred Geography :— The sacred geography of India has contributed to its cultural unity. The Himalyas in the North are believed to be the abode of gods, countlers sages have miditated here in search of true knowledge.

The four great Hindu religious centres of pilgrimage are located in four different directions — Badrinath in the North (UP), Puri in the east (Orissa), Dwarka (in the west (Gujarat) and Rameshwaram in the South (Tamil Nadu). Kamakhyapitha in Assam is perhaps the most important seat of shakte cult. Other sacred centres too numerous to list-are scattered all over the country. The most important among them are Haridwar, Prayag (Allahabad), and Varanasi in U.P., Gaya in Bihar, Amarnath and Vaishno Devi in J&K, Pushkar in Rajasthan, Ujjain and Onkareshwar in M.P., Nasik and Pdndharpur in Maharashtra, Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh, temple cities of Madurai, Tanjavur and Kanya Kumari in Tamil Nadu, and Guruvayoor in Kerala. They attract pilgrims from all over India.

Many rivers are regarded as sacred : Ganga, Yamuna, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, and Kaveri especially, on their banks are located several major and minor sacred centres.

(c) Monuments and architecture :— Islamic mosques, monuments, and shrines can be seen all over India, several of them stand out of their distinctive architecture. Taj Mahal, a creation of breath taking beauty, is a part of the precious heritage of India. Several monuments represent a fusion of Hindu and Muslim styles, they represent bold and innovative departures in architecture. India also has several churches conceived on a grand scale. Sikh places of worship — Gurudwaras stand out as a class apart, with elements of Hindu and Muslim architecture, but with a distinctive character. The Golden temple at Amritsar is an outstanding example, but there are several others, in different parts of the country, which attract attention. It may be recalled that Sikh Gurudwaras are open at all irrespective of their religion or creed and they attract a large number of non-sikh devotees also.

(d) Music :— Indian classical music presents another fact of the country's cultural unity.

The development of this musical tradition truly represents the composite culture of India, for folk Hindu and Muslim lineages-Gharanas — of musicians have contributed to its stylistic variety and richness. The subculture of music does not recognise the barriers of creed. Both Hindu and Muslim rulers extended their patronage to it.

There is a great deal of convergence between the north and south Indian styles of music, many of the Ragas are common to both.

(e) Philosophy of Hinduism :— A running thread of unity joins the past and the present, and also the different parts which represent ethnic and cultural diversity.

The frame work of traditional Hindu society has some broad features which are common throughout India.

First, traditional Hindu society believed in ascribed status. In simple words, one's status is determined by the accident of birth in a jati and not by the quality of one's performance.

Second, Hindu society was hierarchical. The basic grades were the vertically arranged varnas and a fifth grade outside the varna system within each of these grades there were and still are several jatis that are again fitted into hierarchy.

Third, the criterion of status evaluation was ritual, not economic or political. One comes in close contact, including touch and eating together, only with those of equal ritual status, not with lower groups.

Fourth, there was the concept of Purusharthas—the goals of life. They are :— Dharma (prety/morality) path of righteous/duties of the individual and the Jati), Artha (pursuit of wealth and well-being) Kama (Pursuit of bodily desires, particularly sex), and Moksha (salvation).

Fifth, related to these four objectives of life were the four Ashramas or stages of life. They were Brahmacharya (celibacy/student life), Grahastya (the householder's life, involving earning wealth, fulfilling sexual desires, and begetting children), vanaprastha (the hermits life/gradual detachment), and sanyas (renunciation from family and worldly concerns).

Sixth, there is the notion of Rin (debt/obligations) in traditional Hinduism. One owes a debt to the gods, to the sages, to ancestors, and to society. The repayment of those debts is also a part of Dharma.

Finally, the doctrine of Karma remains basic to Hinduism. It is extremely difficult to define this concept but to the common man it means that the deeds of one's previous

lives influence the present life, and deeds in this life determine future lives. The idea of rebirth is embedded in the notion of Karma.

Modern education, the development of network of transport and communications, and industrialisation and urbanisation provided a new basis for unity.

2.9 Dilemma of Unity in Diversity

One has heard so much about India being an outstanding example of a society which exemplifies the value of unity in diversity that one begins to take it for granted and to assert that this is in fact a true representation of the historic experience of our society. Yet, what we see to be happening contemporaneously in our society — whether in Kashmir or in Punjab or in the northeastern states or in Ayodh — cannot easily be reconciled with these claims. One sees life to be full of contention and dissension of conflict and violence and of insurgency and terrorism.

So, one wonders what exactly one has in mind when he speaks of “our glorious tradition and our ability to forge unity out of diversity.”

All large societies are heterogeneous or plural in their composition. The lines of plurality may be drawn along one or more of several factors such as race, religion, caste, class, language, nationality, sub-regional differentiation, etc. All large societies have had to find ways of coping with this diversity in their composition and the possible strains that this might have given rise to in the economic, social, political and religio — Cultural spheres of life.

Diversity poses problems to societies in two ways. First, differences imply a commitment of different groups to different styles of living and a different values frameworks and questions often arise about which life-style should prevail. Besides, diversity has also a way of giving rise to disparities, disparate access to opportunities and an unequal share in the power structure of society.

Historically speaking, equality was not always the core value for organizing, political, economic or social relationships between individuals or groups in society. Inequality prevailed, particularly in the relatively large societies, and was accepted as God-given, whether in the form of the divine right of kings and the birth-right of the

nobility or in the form of the innate superiority of certain castes or races.

One process of accommodation to diversity in Indian society followed the path of hierarchization and led to the development of the hierarchical varna/jati structure.

There were, of course, other processes of accommodation. One of these was the accommodation between major religious doctrines within the mainstream society itself. Prior to the entry of Islam and later Christianity, the main religious doctrines were those of the vedic religion, which gradually gave place to Brahminism, and of Jainism and Buddhism.

The process of accommodation to Islam raised several unprecedented issues, went on for several centuries and took various forms at different levels of society. Islam did not come to the country at one point of time but through diverse groups and in several waves at various points of time between the 7th century when first the Arabs came and the 16th century when the Mughals entered India. In between, the Turks, Ghaznavids, Ghurs and Afghans and others had invaded India and had established their kingdoms or sultanates as far east as the Ganges and as far south as the Kaveri. The Persians also came to India albeit in smaller numbers but their influence must have been strong enough for Persian to have become the preferred court language in later years.

One direct consequence of the purely indigenous response to the egalitarian, non-ritualistic message of Islam was the emergence of the Sikh religion based on the teachings of Guru Nanak. Sikhism was originally an effort to express the spirit of reconciliation between the two religious. It was rooted in the spiritual and devotional strain native to India and asserted itself in the heartland of Muslim dominance.

Despite these alternating currents in religion and politics at the court, the Hindu and Muslim stream seem to have given rise to a strong unified culture in language, music and the arts. Urdu is an Indian language though it may have come to be associated exclusively with the Muslims as a result of mistaken and overzealous partisanship claims. But, in music and the arts, the Hindus and Muslims continue to participate actively and independent of their religious proclivities. North Indian music was nurtured at the Muslim courts, in the Hindu temples and in the Kolhas. Hindus sang at the court

and Muslims have sung Bhajans at Hindu temples. Krishna, Radha and the Gopis have provided the staple theme for many of the bandishes sung by Hindu and Muslim masters alike. In contemporary life, the film as a medium has been nurtured by artists, directors and technicians drawn from every faith working together.

The British, who remained expatriate rulers throughout their stay in India and were very sensitive to their business interests, remained more circumspect in their approach to religious matters. They consciously distanced themselves from the efforts of Christian missionaries to spread Christianity.

During the period of British rule, a new hierarchy emerged in Indian society a hierarchy headed by those who could claim British descent, followed by other Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians in that order. Of these groups, only the last-the Indian Christians-were required to find a niche for themselves in terms of the local community. They were often themselves divided by a caste system based upon their pre-conversion caste status. In relation to other communities new christian converts suffered relative isolation and tended to move into urban areas.

If the above review of our historical experience in achieving reconciliation between different religious streams is at all valid, it suggests that our claim to having achieved unity in diversity is at best patchy. The varna/jati mechanism worked in reconciling status claims so long as there was no conflicting religious ideology supported by political power. That problem arose, first, when Buddhism because the religion of the ruling house and later when Islam came as the religion of the conqueror. In the former case, Brahminism won the contest over a period of time and Buddhism last out in political power and in the offiliation of the people. Islam remained politically dominant for many centuries until the British power came but it did not become the religion of the majority. Hinduism and Islam have co-existed in India for over a thousand years though one cannot say that this co-existence has been without its many ups and downs.

Unity in diversity thus is not a contemporary social reality. It probably reflects the best of our cultural aspirations. What is more, it is a pre-condition, in the present context, to our achieving a peaceable society in the midst of plurality. One thing should be clear that to seek unity is not to seek to establish uniformity.

2.10 Let us sum up :

In this unit, you have studied that diversity refers to patterned differences between groups, socio-cultural variation and lack of uniformity. Unity means integration of similar or dissimilar elements on a particular aspect. The various forms of diversity in India — race, language, caste, religion, village etc. contribute to diversity but the unity in India formed on the basis of religious accommodation, secular outlook, functional inter-dependence of caste, administrative jointness etc. Thus one can find various factors which contribute to unity in this pluralistic society.

2.11 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1 Describe various forms of diversity in India.

Q.2. How the Indian society is bound together through various factors.

Q.3. Examine the bonds and mechanism of unity in India.

2.12 Suggested Readings :

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STRUCTURE OF INDIAN SOCIETY VILLAGE, CASTE AND VARNA

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Village Community
- 3.4 Basic principles of Village
- 3.5 Characteristics of Village
- 3.6 Caste And Varna- concept
- 3.7 Concept of varna system
- 3.8 Difference between caste and varna
- 3.9 Let us sum up.
- 3.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 3.11 Suggested Readings.

3.1 Objectives :-

After going through this chapter learners would be able :-

- to have understanding of traditional Indian social structure

- to have knowledge about Indian village community
- to know various concepts and characteristics of caste and varna
- to know difference between caste and varna system

3.2 Introduction:-

Human being must be social to survive. Man is member of social species, which cannot survive unless its members are organized into groups and societies, these in turn develop a culture to meet shared needs. It is the minimum need – biological, economic, social and psychological, etc which results in universality of some basic structure. These structures lead to some general functions. Sociologists can therefore speak of a few kinds of structures or groups which will be present in all societies.

H. M Johnson pointed out that society can be understood as big group which consists of people. A big group or a large system consists of various subgroups. Various political, economic, religious, educational, familial and other groups and associations represent such subgroups. People who enact roles are organized in these subgroups with the larger system. Indian social structure is also comprised of some groups as well as subgroups. These are represented by Indian social institutions like family, marriage, religion, economy, and caste system. Some time they are represented by spatial aspects which have mentioned by Brown, as “it is convenient to study any network of social relations as confined to a locality of a suitable size”. With this “we can observe, describe and compare the system of social structure of as many localities as we wish”. In this regard Indian villages and other social organizations are the representatives of Indian social structures.

3.3 Village Community:- A village community is to be found in every society of the world. It is a community which came into existence after a long time. In human history the people all over the world were nomads in the beginning. It was slowly and steadily that they began to live a settled community life and share each other joys and sorrows. A village community has its own characteristics and is quite different from little community. In the growth of village community several factors have contributed, including the ecological factor. Village community in India has great sociological significance. The village community has slowly and steadily developed before it took some permanent shape. It has a separate entity and is the oldest of all the communities. A very peculiar feature of this community

is that it has maintained its individual features and characteristics in spite of the passage of the time .

The village community is much older than urban community , but today even urban community is being influenced by it. Several urban social institutions are directly or indirectly influenced by it. Though several attempts have been made to define village community . yet in brief it can be said that a village community can be defined as a group of persons permanently residing in a definite geographical area and whose members have developed community consciousness and have their own cultural, social and economic relations which separate it from other communities.

3.4 Basic principles of village community:- The following are basic principles of village community.

- (i) It should consist of group of persons. The size of group should be definitely bigger than a family.
- (ii) Such a group of persons should be permanently residing i. e it should have no nomadic character.
- (iii) The group of people should reside on a particular geographical area, but the size of that area is all immaterial .
- (iv) The group should have its own social , economic and cultural relations which should be different from the other communities.

The members of community can have and usually they have some sort of relationship. They have common living having more or less common occupations , and common customs and religious beliefs. Their religious and cultural background is common and their customs and traditions do not vary much. If the group of persons cannot have a common way of life that cannot be a community. A community comes into being when the people have community feeling and have a keen desire to maintain that.

3.5 Characteristics of village community:- Following are the major characteristics of village community .

- (i) **Smallness in size:-** The village is always small in size . Both the population and the area of village is very small. As that begins to increase with, its

character begins to change , then it does not remain a village but either becomes a town or city.

- (ii) **Intimate relationship:-** The people in the rural areas have vary close contacts and personal relationship with each other. The neighborly relations are always maintained. The people personally know each other's qualities and drawbacks. Not only this, but they have intimate and close relationship with nature.
- (iii) **Main occupation:-** Agriculture is main occupation in village. In fact it is difficult to think of a rural area without agriculture. It is land which provide livelihood to the rural people. It is rightly said that grain is the child of rural folk. This, however does not mean that the rural people have no other occupation or vocation. But it means that agriculture is the most important and main occupation of the people.
- (iv) **Homogeneity:-**In rural areas people live a homogeneous lifestyle. It means that people avoid conflicts and confrontations. They usually live a peaceful life and if perchance conflicts developed, these are solved and sorted out speedily and amicably. Thus there is no space for serious conflict in the rural life.
- (v) **Community character:-** A village is community character because it needs all the essential needs of the people residing in it. As common to a community, the people have fellow feeling and sense of unity. They have love for each other and people have community consciousness.
- (vi) **A primary institution:-** A village has all the characteristics of a primary institution. The villagers develop their way of life by close mutual consultations because they have face to face contacts with each other.
- (vii) **Group feelings:-** The people in rural have developed common feelings. They bow before group views and collective decisions and that is the reason as to why panchayat system has very successfully worked in the villages. Group is always preferred over the individuals . There is great fear of social condemnations. They collectively all the social and economic burdens.

- (viii) **Love for religion:-** In the rural society there is very important place for religion . Every body worships either in the open or in the temple. Religion occupies an important place in the rural society , the people are both religious minded and God fearing. Every important activity stars with some religious functions. Every religious festival ia a festive occasion . There is always a fear of wreath of some religious God . The people love religion and perform religious ceremonies to avoid the wrath of Gods and also to win their favours. The priest occupy a position of great significance in the village .
- (ix) **Love for the neighbours:-** There is a great regard and love for neighbour in the village. Each one loves the neighbour as he loves himself. He in fact considers his neighbour more important than the relatives living far away from him.
- (x) **Importance of the family:-** In Rural life family occupies a very important place. The people always prefer to live in a joint family system . the head of the family occupies an important position . All are supposed to obey his commands. He is friend , guide and philosopher of the family . It is the family which inducts an individuals in the society and also exercises control over the individuals . It distributes functions among the members and insures that all lead to a disciplined life. All happily share the burden of the work of the family. It is duty of every family member to preserve old customs and the traditions of the family.

3.6 Caste and Varna:-

Caste :- The twin concept of varna and caste have remained influential through out in the history of Hindu society because they have together shaped sound relation between various segment. Literal, the word ‘Caste’ is derived from Latin word- ‘Custus’ which means pure. The term was first used by Portuguese to denote the Indian social classifications as they thought that the system was intended to preserve purity of blood. Caste system is particularly found in India and it is quite complex. Sociologists and social anthropologists are of the view that the main characteristics of the caste are belief in common origin

held by all the members and the practice of having the same traditional occupation. Ketkar defines that caste is a social group having two characteristics:

- (i) Membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born
- (ii) The members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group.

Caste structure is thus a pattern of social behaviour in which group and individuals are guided by the prescribed set of norms, values and sanctions. The groups and individuals occupy specific statuses within and in relation to other groups. In this system individuals are born into a certain caste and thereby acquire the role and status associated with that caste identity. Sociologists are of the view of that caste or 'jati' as a "hereditary, endogamous, group which is usually localized. It has traditional associations with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relation between caste are governed among other things by the concepts of pollution and purity, and generally maximum commensality that inter dining occurs within the caste". This definition indicates the ideal form of caste system. However, M.N. Srinivas was of the opinion that in the real life there are innumerable variations and permutations in terms of structure and functioning of caste system.

3.7 Varna system :- Literally the word 'varna' refers to 'colour' and it is often confused with jati. It is accepted that there have been four varnas dividing Hindu society into four classes of which Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya are considered as twice born and the fourth namely, the shudra were denied of initiation ceremony. Below the shudra were the group of out castes. In the rigvedic society the four varnas were represented as the priests, warriors, traders and functionary groups. It is believed that the four varnas represented in the descending order of four colour namely white, red, yellow and black corresponding with Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and shudra.

Varna not only constituted division of society into four classes but also provided a system of social stratification. Each varna was placed in the system, at a particular position in the hierarchical order and was assigned specific tasks and duties. Initially there was some fluidity with regard to change of duties and function associated with a particular

varna. But in course of time the varna became rigid and insulated enclaves without having any inter-varna relations as a result of the rigidity and inflexibility the varna system was challenged in the form of various movements.

3.8 Difference between Caste and Varna:- Being a a dynamic reality which is assumed to be highly flexible, it has shown tremendous variations from one region to another, but then we must ask, what is it that enables to identify a caste? For this we must understand the relationship in between caste and varna.

From theoreticalperspective, the caste systemis interlinked with the ‘varna’ model which divides the Hindu society into four orders, ie Brahmana (Brahmintraditionally priest and scholar), Kshatriya(Ruler and Solider), vaishya (Merchant) and Shudra(Peasant, labourer and servant).The first three castes are twice born or ‘dwija’ since the men from these castes are entitled to done the sacred thread at the Vedic rite of upanayna, which the shudra were not allowed to perform. The untouchable castes are outside the varna scheme.

According to the varna scheme there are only four castes. This system excludes the untouchables and its number is same throughout India. But this is not true in reality since even during the vedic period, occupational groups existed which were not subsumed by varna ,although one cannot be sure whether these groups can be called castes or not. Ghurye is of the opinion that in each linguistic region, there are about 200 castes groups which are further subdivided into about 3000 smaller units each of which is endogamous and provides the area effective social life of the individual. Therefore one can say that the Varna scheme refers at the most only to the broad categories of the society and not to the actually existing effective units .

M.N. Srinivas has stated that varna scheme has certainly distorted the picture of caste but it has also enabled ordinary men and women to understand and access the general place of a caste within this framework throughout India. It has provided a common social language which holds good in all parts of India . This sense of familiarity, even when not based on real facts , leads to the sense of unity amongst the people. Thus Indian society has been full of changes and improvisation . But these changes have been the background framework of varna hierarchy. It the varna frame which remains more vor less constant, while castes vary from region to region. But the four varnas represent an all India category . the varnas are placed in strict rank order and this may not be

true of the caste in different parts of the country . In reality varna is more of a notion or a model rather than a social practice. Caste is more of a social practice and institutional mechanism in real life situations. The varna model has acquired some kind of a religious sanctity , which Gurye calls as the varna –(moral duties of castes). Varna - dharma is more of an ideal rather than a reality .

Yoginder Singh has stated that the varna model of caste system is macro structural in nature. But the reality of caste lies at the existential level and not at the ideal typical level which the varna theory postulates. At the existential level there does not exist a single varna with an all India structural network of kinship, occupational specialization and continuity of social interaction.

3.9 Let us sum up :

It can thus be observed that castes are derived into hundred of regional endogamous groups. The linguistic barrier between regions have served to isolate them further on the one hand and the regional cultural variations, they build in system of institutionalisation inequality and mutual repulsion among castes, on the other , have further reinforced the regional or local character of caste. Empirically, therefore castes exist as microstructures of Indian society . the varna model which has the appearance of macro structural phenomenon is in reality a cultural framework of caste as a pure category. It lays down normative principles with having much to do with actual processes of structural and functional variations in the reality of caste system.

3.10 Self Assessment Questions

Q. 1. Define caste and discuss its characteristics .

Q. 2. Define social disability on the basis of Indian caste system.

Q. 3. Define varna system and discuss its impact on Indian traditions.

Q.4. Define caste system and discuss difference between caste and varna.

3.11 Suggested Readings :

1. Risley, H.H. 1969 ; The People of India, orient book, Delhi.
2. Srinivas, M.N. 1969 ; Social Structure, G.O.I, New Delhi.
3. Desai, A.R., 1987 ; Rural sociology in India, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
4. Singh, Y. 1986 ; Modernization of Indian tradition, Rawat Publication, Jaipur.
5. Thapar, R. 1966 ; A History of India (Vol. 1), Penjuin book.
6. Dube, S.C. 1990; Indian Society, National Book Trust, New Delhi.

VILLAGE STUDIES

Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Village studies and their significance
- 4.3 The study of Indian village communities
- 4.4 Let us sum up.
- 4.5 Self Assessment Questions
- 4.6 Suggested Readings.

4.1 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this lesson is to equip student with

- Importance of village studies
- Different village communities

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The present section consists of four selections. Professors Srinivas, Dube, Atal and Rarnakrishna Mukherjee in their articles have highlighted the need for methodical, scientific and extensive study of Agrarian India which is comprised of nearly five lacs of

villages, experiencing transformation under the impact of directed social change ushered in by the Government since Independence.

Professor Srinivas rightly warns against "the unstated but none the less real and deep seated assumptions" among the educated people including scholars "that what is written is true, and the older a manuscript, the more true its contents". He strongly urges scholars to realise that Indology is not merely a study of India's past based on uncritical acceptance of the "vast body of written literature, sacred as well as secular as true". According to him empirical study of the present society would help to give a new meaning even to some of the elementary but key concepts like Varna, Caste, Joint Family and Hinduism. This may lead to the overhauling of the present notions of historical epochs of Indian Society. Professor Srinivas strongly pleads for scientific, empirical village studies to correct the "book view" and "upper-caste view" of many phenomenon of Indian Society.

Professor Dube in his study justifies the changed focus of Social Anthropologists from tribal studies to the village studies. He examines the criticism levelled against the type of village studies undertaken by Social Anthropologists. While admitting the validity of some of the points, he strongly makes out a case for such studies. He acknowledges the need for a clear conceptual framework for studying both the structural matrix of the village community and the change it is experiencing. He proposes certain interesting steps to evolve a methodology of study. He also points out the areas of the study. According to professor Dube, a systematic study of village communities "will provide the requisite background data from which more purposeful planning can emerge".

Professor Atal enumerates the eight factors which have facilitated the inclusion of a new dimension in the form of rural study in Anthropology. He briefly reviews the rural studies made by Social Anthropologists and points out how they have helped to expand the horizon of an understanding of village social life. He further indicates how these studies have helped to generate certain concepts which are proving valuable as tools for fruitful explorations in rural social structure.

Professor Ramkrishna Mukherjee's approach to Rural Studies is qualitatively different from the earlier three scholars. In his article, he provides an historical evolution of village studies in India. He draws attention to the forces and factors

which led to the study of villages. Professor Rarnkrishna Mukherjee while tracing the various streams of village studies point out the major limitations of the studies made by economists as well as Sociologists/ SocialAnthropologists have not taken into consideration the economic and class matrix while conducting the village studies. He strongly feels that this mechanical exclusion of one or the other aspect of social reality and dichotomising of social world of village life has created a peculiar distortion in our comprehension of rural social structure w and rural social change,

According to professor Mukerjee "the two streams of village studies carrying the imprint of economists or social Anthropologists/Sociologists, respectively must meet at relevant sites". He raises a very significant point for controversy. Are the two streams not meeting because they have different presuppositions about the social world?

These four selections from four distinguished scholars are presented to stimulate further discussions on the various methodological issues involved in Rural Studies. (Author)

4.3 VILLAGE STUDIES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

A VAST BODY of written literature, sacred as well as secular, is available to the student of Indian social institutions, and the existence of the literature has exercised a decisive influence on the analysis of Indian Sociological problems. For instance, references to caste and kin relations in literature have been treated as historical data and conditions obtaining today have been compared and contrasted with conditions alleged to prevail in historical times. The law books (Dharma Sutras and Dharma Shastras) have been assumed to refer to laws which were actually in force among the people and it has not been asked whether the laws did not refer to merely what a particular lawyer considered desirable or good. Even for the major lawyers it is not known when exactly they lived, it being not uncommon for one scholar's estimate to differ from another by as much as three centuries. This is especially so in the case of the earlier lawyers Dr. LP. Desai writes, "A further difficulty in the development of Hindu Law is the lack of agreement among scholars regarding the dates of various works... There is no agreement regarding the time sequence (of the various authors) Buhler considers Gautama as the earliest Dharmasastrakar and Apastamba as the latest, while Jayaswal reverses the order, considering Apastamba as the earliest and Gautama as the latest Dharmasastrakar." (Punishment and Penance in Manusmriti, Journal

of the University of Bombay, XV, part I July 1946, p.42) The provenance of a lawyer, and the sanction behind the rules enunciated by him are frequently far from clear if not unknown.

It is pertinent to mention in this connection that there is among our educated people, an unstated but none-the-less real and deep-seated assumption that what is written is true, and the older a manuscript, the more true its contents. Learning is almost synonymous with pouring over palm leaf mss. This bias is favour of almost synonymous with pouring over palm leaf mss. This bias in favour of literary material is most clearly seen in the syllabuses of Indological studies in our universities. Indology has come to be regarded as knowledge about India's past. Any suggestion that Indology should include the study of tribes and villages which are in existence today would be regarded as too absurd to merit consideration. Caste in the Vedas and in Manu ought not to be. Such a separation between the past and present is not healthy.

The observation of social behavior is everywhere a difficult undertaking and in certain respects observing one's own society is far more difficult than observing an alien society. In the case of Indians, there is the additional difficulty that ideas which are carried over from literary material and from the caste to which one belongs by birth, vitiate the observation of field-behaviour. An example of such a failure to understanding the factual situation is provided by the way in which the idea of Varna has vitiated the understanding of caste. According to the Varna scheme, there are only four castes and a few other groups, while actually there are, in each linguistic area, several hundred castes, each of which is a homogeneous group, with a common culture, occupation or occupations and practising endogamy and commensality. The castes of a local area form a hierarchy. There are several features of this hierarchy which run counter to the hierarchy as it is conceptualised in the idea of Varna. Firstly, in the Varna scheme the four all-India castes occupy definite and immutable places, while, in caste at the existential level, the only definite thing is that all the local castes form a hierarchy. Everything else is far from certain. For one thing, the hierarchy is characterised by uncertainty, especially in the middle region which spans an enormous structural gulf. Each caste tries to argue that it occupies a higher place than the one allotted to it by its neighbours. This arguability has an important function because it makes possible mobility, and castes are mobile over a period of time. There is occasional leap-frog-castes are mobile over a period of time. There is occasional

leap-froging inside the system, a caste jumping over its neighbours to achieve a high position. Another important point is that the hierarchy is local, carying from one small local area to another, if not from one village to another. Two groups bearing the same name and living in the same linguistic region often occupy different positions in their respective local hierarchy region often occupy different positions in their respective local hierarchies and differ from each other in some customs and rites. The Kolis of Gujarat are a case in point.

It is clear that the idea of Varna is far too rigid and simple to cover the immensely complex facts of caste. But the idea of Varna helps to make the facts of caste in on region, intelligible all over India by providing a conceptual frame that is simple, clear stable and which, it is imagined, holds goods everywhere. And it helps mobility too, fc ambitious castes find it less difficult to take on high sounding Sanskritic names with th name of one of the Varnas as a suffix, than to take on the name of local higher caste. But all this is lost sight of be cause varna is treated as describing caste accurately and fully. This would not have happened if we Indians had not taken it for granted that the idea of Verna derived from literary material, adequately explained the facts of the caste system. The only cure for this literary bias lies in doing field-research. The field-worker, confronted by the bewildering variety and complexity of facts as they actually are is forced to relate what he sees to what he has assumed it to be, and the lack of correspondence between the two, results in his attempting to reassess the written material.

In every part of India only a few castes at the top enjoyed a literary tradition while the bulk of the people did not. Under British rule the top castes supplied the intelligentsia which acted as the link between the top castes supplied the intelligensia which acted as the link between the new masters and the bulk of the people. And the new intelligentsia saw the social reality through the written literature, regarding the deviations from the latter as aberrations. This group also perpetrated an upper caste view of the Hindu social system on the new masters and through them, the outside world. Conditions prevalent among the upper castes were generalized to include all Hindus. For instance women are treated much more severally among the higher castes than among the lower, but his distinction was ignored by the early reformers. They talked about the plight of the Hindu widow, the absence of divorce, the harshness of the sex code towards her and so only but on all the matters the institutions of the lower differ in important respects from those of the high castes. The point I am trying to make is that the observation of

Hindu social life has been and still is, vitiated by the book-view and the uppercaste-view. Asociological study, Indian sociologists would yield interesting results.

An emphasis on religious behaviour as such, as distinguished from what is written in the religious books and the opinions of the upper castes, would have provided us with a view of Hinduism substantially different from that of the philosophers, Sanskritists and reformers. I shall try to explain what I mean by an example. In the summer of 1948, I went along with the elders of Rampura village to the temple of the deity Basava to watch them soncult the deity about rain. The priest performed Puja, chanting Mantras, in Sanskrit, and then the elders began to ask the deity to let them know whether it was going to rain or not in the new few days. I was expecting them to behave as I have seen devotees behave in the temple of the upper castes, viz., stand with bowed head and folded palms, shut eyes, and utter words showing great respect, for and treat of, and dependence upon, the diety.I was completely taken back to find them using words which they used to an equal, and a some what unreasonable equal at that. They became angry, shouted at the deity, taunted him, and went so far as to say that they considered even the government more worthy of confidence than him. And they were deadly serious all the time. Nothing could have been further from an urban Hindu's ideas of what the proper relationship was between man and god.

It is frequently said by apologists and reformers that Hinduism is not a proselytizing religion like Christianity and Islam. This again is not strictly true. Besides the Buddhists and Jains, the Lingayats, who began as a militant reformist sect in the South in the twelfth century, A.D., secured in the early days of their history. The Lingayats are a well-organized sect, and they have monasteries scattered all over the Karnataka. In south Mysore, for instance, the monasteries have a following not only among Longayats but among a number of middle-range non- Brahminical castes with whom they are in continues contact, and over whose life they exercise some kind of direction. The head of each monastrey collectes a levy from each of his followers through a hierarchy of agents. It is important to note that this is not confined to the Lingayats though great theologian and reformer, Sri Ramanujacharya, have a monastery at Melkote, about 26 miles from Mysore City, and the monastrey has a following among the people in the surrounding towns and villages. Thus, both Brahmin and non-Brahmin sects have deeply influenced the people at large through

organizations which have existed for hundreds of years. Still one frequently reads in books on Hindu religion and philosophy that Hinduism is unique in that it is not a proselytizing religion. It is true that Hindus do not try to convert Christians or Muslims, but in a sense conversion is going on all the time within Hinduism. The lower castes and tribal people have been undergoing Sanskritization all the time, and sects, Brahminical and non-Brahminical, and Vaishnavite and Shaivite, have actively sought converts. Persecution for religious view and practices has not been unknown.

The studies of village communities which are currently being carried out in the different parts of the country provide the future historian with a vast body of facts about rural social life, facts collected not by travellers in a hurry, but by men who are trained to observe keenly and accurately. These studies constitute therefore valuable contributions to the social, political, economic and religious history of our country. Their value is further enhanced when it is realized that the changes which are being ushered in Independent and Plan-conscious India herald a complete revolution in our social life. It is true that in historic times India has been subject to invasions by diverse peoples including the Mughals and British and that British rule inaugurated changes the fulfillment of which we are observing now, but the break with the past was never as complete and through-going as it is today. We have, at the most, another ten years in to record facts about a type of society which is changing fundamentally and with great rapidity.

Historians have stated that a knowledge of that past is helpful in the understanding of the present if not in forecasting the future. It is not, however, realized that through understanding of the present frequently sheds light on the past. To put it in other words the intimate knowledge which results from the intensive field-survey of extant social institutions does enable us to interpret better data about past social institutions. Historical data are neither as accurate nor as rich and detailed as the data collected by field-anthropologist and the study of certain existing processes increases our understanding of similar processes in the past. It is necessary to add here that great caution has to be exercised in such a task, for otherwise history will be twisted out of all recognition. But once the need for extreme caution is recognized, there is no doubt that our knowledge of the working of historic processes will be enhanced by this method. The universities are the proper organization to conduct this research, and the government can help by giving money to the establishment of teaching and research posts in social anthropology and sociology.

Too much stress on utilitarian will defeat itself, and will further lower intellectual standards.

4.4 THE STUDY OF INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

In the last decade there has been a noticable shift in the orientation and the focus of interest of social anthropology in India. Anthropologists are no longer concerned primarily or even mainly with the study of tribal cultures; in increasing numbers they are now operating nearer home in village communities where they have discovered challenging possibilities of theoretical and applied social science research. This is a very welcome trend indeed, and augurs well for the future of social research in the country.

This development is not without its critics and detractors. There are those who criticize the utility of village studies, as also that of much else in anthropology, on the ground that such studies, howsoever intimate and intensive, do not add in any appreciable measure to our knowledge of the socio-cultural systems of the country, nor even to the understanding of the processes and trends of the society at large. An extreme view goes to the extent of questioning their validity as diagnostic or even illustrative case studies. It must be conceded immediately that the village communities studied so far and those being studied currently, do not approach anywhere near a statistically acceptable sample for the country as a whole. But such critics appear to ignore certain essential characteristics of anthropological research. What we lose by not working on an extensive and statically adequate sample, we more than compensate by acquiring depth and coverage of overt and covert norms in our analyses. Survey research of the extensive type does yield certain data that conform to the rigid tests of validity and reliability but its coverage must of necessity be limited. In its very nature it cannot explore the depths and covert aspects of behaviour which the anthropologist can in his study of single communities. To attempt the study-task of such magnitude we could only look upon it as an ideal for the distant future involving an enormous investment of men and money. Even if the money were to be found, investment of men and money. Even if the money were to be found, we simply do not have the trained personnel to undertake the adventure. The intensification of such research must be phased carefully. We would not lose much by waiting to go on the job on a massive scale only after we have evolved a clearer and more coherent theoretical frame of reference. In the meantime anthropologists can remain unrepentant advocates of single village studies, in the same way as there are devoted students or family and kinship, for the village as a culture-bearing unit does mirror certain significant aspects of the region and the nation.

Empirically derived meaningful concepts and hypotheses for more extensive survey research can emerge only from such investigations. In order to avoid a mechanical and overly schematic approach to the study of regional similarities and differences in the country, it is most desirable to continue with the anthropological tradition of single village studies. With the increase in the volume of such studies order would eventually emerge out of the apparent anarchy that prevails today.

A more valid criticism of the present trend is that some anthropologists have tended to ignore basic sociological realities by viewing the village as a biotic community, although in essence it is a synthesized community. Because of their theoretical and methodological orientation towards tribal studies some anthropologists indeed have tried to study village communities in a biotic frame of reference regarding it as an isolate; in consequence the unity of the village has been emphasized more than its extensions. It must be admitted that any efforts to understand the village without reference to its extensions in time and space in the social, cultural, and ideological contexts are bound to be partial and incomplete, and it is necessary to evolve an approach that would take account of the historical and regional determinants that shape and condition the culture of a village. Here too most of the fears of our critics are somewhat imaginary; the two major studies of Indian village communities published within hard covers to-date contain unmistakable evidence of the anthropologists' awareness of the problem and have sought to study single village in the background of the wider universe of Indian civilization.

A third criticism voiced by more discriminating social scientists points out certain inherent weakness in our initial approach in this direction. Our studies are often modelled on similar studies done elsewhere in the world, and lack a coherent frame of reference relevant to the structure and organization of Indian Society. While our descriptive categories are satisfactory, our analytical categories leave much to be desired. On the whole the organization of such research on an India-wide basis lacks planning, and we have not evinced enough interest in evolving or rigidly defining the criteria on which we select village for community study. It should be conceded that the critics have a point of unmistakable validity here. We can explain our position by suggesting that initial efforts in any new direction are necessarily exploratory in nature or by emphasizing that our need for facts is so great that almost any type of study should be welcome; but these and such other explanations would not constitute

a justification of our position. That we have lacked theoretical sophistication we should admit. With humility and critical self evaluation we should proceed to chalk out the lines of their action.

The concepts of Great and Little Traditions, Sanskritization, and universalization and parochialization offer us a good starting point, and from here we should build step by step a series of hypotheses and concepts that would ultimately lead to meaningful. The generalization regarding the structure and process of Indian Society.

The structural-functional and the other approaches provide us with more or less satisfactory conceptual tools for the study of village communities. A little more critical examination of the complexities introduced into such studies by the fact of their belonging to the complex web of the Indic civilization would yield of the required refinements and correctives. The study of change in village communities, significant as it is both in its theoretical and applied aspects, needs a more rigorous framework. To ensure comparability of data it is necessary to evolve certain common categories of investigation, processing and analysis covering this broad area of research.

Redfield's folk-urban continuum provides one such conceptual framework. Analyses of Indian materials within this frame of reference, however, have pointed out some of its shortcomings. The fabric of contemporary Indian Society is the result of so many divergent patterns of interaction between local, regional, and classical cultural influences, that the folk-urban continuum concept cannot cover them all adequately. Redfield himself has been among the first to recognize this inadequacy and to suggest an alternative approach. The concept of Great Little Traditions, to which a reference has been made earlier, provides approach for the study not only of the structure and integration of Indian Society but also for the analysis of change as a broad historical process. Srinivas' useful and much-discussed concept of Sanskritization, although it is independent of and was developed before Redfield's formulation, fits well into this conceptual scheme. Similarly, Marriott's Universalization and Parochialization concepts are refinements within the same general theme.

While the broad framework provided by these concepts is simple and attractive, operationally they are not without inherent contradictions and difficulties. There is apparently no precise definition of Great or Little Traditions. To define the Great Tradition is the corpus of beliefs, rituals, and social patterns embodied in the sacred canonical literature does not

take us very far. Even the clarification that it often emanates from the little traditions of the little communities and is abstracted and synthesized by the urban Literati does not help our understanding very substantially. It is difficult to reduce the inviolable central core of the more or less static ideas of Great Tradition to a list of traits and complexes; nor is it easy to classify them, with a degree of precision, as universals, alternative, and specialities concept must also allow for a wide nebulous area covering ideas and institutions that are not accounted for by the sacred or near-sacred texts. This only adds to difficulties in using the concept as an analytical tool. Where there are more than Great or near-Great Traditions, each with its canonical texts and ethical codes, situation becomes all the more confusing. In such a situation we have no criteria determining the elements which could be said to be basic to the Great Traditions Scriptures and sacred texts themselves often illustrate certain aspects of evolution and change in society and there is by no means unanimity among them. When conflicting ideal patterns are laid down by the sacred texts, and there is no universality in the acceptance of one in preference to the others, the efforts to find the Great Tradition would be fruitless. It may also be added that the Great Tradition-Little Tradition frame of reference does not allow proper scope for the consideration the role and significance of regional, western, and emergent national traditions, each of which is powerful in its own way. Some of these considerations would apply also to Srinivas' concept of Sanskritization. In our study of Indian village communities, therefore, it may be useful to consider the contextual classical and local traditions as well as the regional (culture-area), western (ideological-technological) and emergent national (nativistic-reinterpretational-adaptive) traditions.

The urgency with which the study of the changing village scene in India is being pressed in the wake of the national development programmes should not seduce us into adopting short-cuts of questionable validity for the study of cultural change. It is doubtful the plethora of spurious and superficial writings emerging from such efforts would provide, any meaningful lead to the community development planners and administrators. A good study of change invariably follows a good structural-functional-thematic study of a society and together these need sustained work by trained social scientists. Promise of quick results by adoption of shortcuts would not be anything more or better than anthropological quackery. For a little immediate gain we shall only be discrediting the profession in eyes of the discerning planner. Our time-consuming methods may arouse some impatience in those who subsidize our research, but our ultimate results are bound to be of constructive help to them.

It is hoped that the observation made above will not be constructed as a plea for letting the anthropologists pursue their own pleasures. Nor is there any denial of the urgency and importance of the study of change. Its critical significance is evident.

Earlier it has been suggested that we need to evolve a clear conceptual framework for the study of change, and that it is necessary to have some agreement on the broad categories covering data collection, processing, and analysis to ensure the comparability of the materials.

To place the study of change in one particular community in the proper perspective, it will be necessary to relate its change to the wider national, regional, and local area developments. An historical survey of the major trends would prepare the ground for the characterization of change, and would help in determining its cumulative, concentrated, or sporadic nature. In this context it would be useful to examine also the involvement of the community in this process, and to determine the areas most or least affected by the trends. Concepts of change and its conscious formulation too would merit a serious examination.

As the second step in such research it would be essential to discover and identify the reference groups, and the agents and carriers of change. Who provides the model for change? And who are its promoters? It would be most useful to construct a typology of the agents and carriers of change as individuals and groups, and to examine the sponsor-recipient relationships in all their ramifications. The motivations of the intimate field for investigation. It would only be logical to extend the research also to the techniques of effecting change by analyzing the communication channels and appeals that are employed for the purpose.

The dynamics of change can be best studied in the context of the kinds of changes that are taking place in the community. It would be necessary to distinguish between planned and unplanned change, and to assess the relative importance of both. This study would also involve the examination of the mechanics of the change, and a microscopic analysis of the selectively in and sequence of change. This would entail a study of the patterns of change in reference to their spread within and outside the community. In the cultural context the logic of the acceptance or rejection of particular items will have to be examined; the sequence of change, both in its ramifying and non-ramifying aspects, will have to be

closely watched and analyzed.

Finally, the community attitudes and reactions to change will have to be given an adequate coverage. This would necessitate research into valuation of change, associated aspirations and fears, and assignment of responsibility for change. The attitudes to change will have to be studied in reference to moves to facilitate, block or reverse change. Such analysis, it is hoped, would help us in making justifiable predictions regarding prospects for further change.

The numerous calls to social engineering, while adding to the general recognition of the utility of anthropology and sociology in development planning, have tended to confuse the role of the anthropologist. Our role should be viewed essentially as one of the analyst, and not that of the therapist. The temptations to the student of village India to assume the mantle of an action engineer will be many, but it is doubtful if we are cut out for such a role by our orientation, training, and experience. What the enlightened administrator expects of us is not so much of glib advice, but substantial additions to the existing knowledge of the village communities to enable him to formulate informed policies. Good base-line studies of village culture and social organization, followed by penetrating enquiries into the directions and content of change claim top priority on our time and research energy. To aid, the administrator further, within this general framework we can undertake more focussed investigations in areas which have a direct bearing on day-to-day action programmes. Serious analytical studies in the field of group dynamics, leadership and decision-making, communication and cultural factors governing acceptance or rejection of the externally induced programmes of change will have to be taken in hand without delay. Those of us who are oriented to the finer points of methodology could make a valuable contribution by introducing refinements in evaluation techniques. The more action minded could participate in the training programmes for the extension agents, and in the formulation of pilot action-research for the extension agents, and in the formulation of pilot action-research projects. The need for independent evaluation of the state-sponsored development projects, preferably without requiring financial support from the government, cannot be over-emphasized, and we need a great deal of illustrative as well as diagnostic case material. To these, it is hoped, we shall not turn with proper equipment of theory and methodology.

4.5 LET US SUM UP

There can be no doubt that village studies in this country have a future. Our teething troubles over, we have now to devote ourselves to the tasks of developing a proper conceptual frame of reference testing our methodological tools, formulating clear hypotheses and the going into the field for a spell of good solid field-work. In doing this we shall not only satisfy our over-developed sense of curiosity and make valuable theoretical advances, but shall contribute our bit towards understanding the complex factors involved in the problem of the emotional integration of India and will provide the requisite background data from which more purposeful planning can emerge.

4.6 Self Assessment Questions

Q1. Explain village studies and their importance.

4.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

Desai, A.R., 1969 : Rural Sociology in India, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

FAMILY OF INDIA

Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Family as A Functional Unit.
- 5.4 Family as an Association
- 5.5 The Joint Family in India
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5.1 Introduction

The structural ideal of the Indian family is entirely different from the western unit. It has greater cohesion and greater continuity. Even when sons are forced to separate from the parental family because of their job, education etc., their bonds with the parental unit remain unbreakable in most of the cases. The ties among the members remain more fenuous subtle and slender. But before analysing the traditional and the

transitional patterns of Indian family on the basis of the Indian concept it is necessary to understand the general concept of family.

5.2 Family as a Functional Unit

From the composition of and the principles of integration underlying the family it is obvious that it is a functional unit. It grows out of biological needs, particularly those of the expectant mother and the infant child, who cannot support and live by themselves. Another contributory cause is the need for the exploitation of environment which is essential to permit the satisfaction of the more intimate biological needs and this cannot take place without organized co-activity. The family as an economic unit has a personal and a collective aspect. It provides for the personal satisfaction of the individual. Family is also an agency that regularises and channelises sex-satisfaction. Cohabitation leads to conception and children are born not only satisfying the psychic instincts of parental love but also leading to the socially very significant fact of the perpetuation of the group and the species. Family makes the new generation familiar with cultural traditions and ethos, it facilitates adjustment to people and groups outside the family circle. Thus family acts as an educative unit and a socio-cultural agency.

5.3 Family as an Association

There are two ways of looking at the family. It can be regarded and studied as one of the universal and permanent institutions of mankind, that is, as a functional unit and it is as such that it has been examined above. There is yet another way of studying the family, that of regarding it as a group, or deliberately formed association. Such an approach would study the form and the content of the family, i.e., its character and composition, as also its variations from time to time and place to place.

It has been pointed out already that the family has a biological matrix; it is the expectant mother and the infant who require familial protection most. However, it is never the mother and the infants alone who constitute a family, there are always the mother's mate and their children who complete the initial membership. This basic grouping of the mates and their children has been called by such various names as the *nuclear*, the *immediate* or the *primary family*.

If this nucleus is extended, as it very often is, by the addition of other closely related kin, then it is called an *extended family*. Extended families are of various types. Firstly, there are those which grow mainly round the nucleus and secondly there are those which are extended still further by extending the principle of kinship like in the Hindu *joint family*.

If a nucleus of blood relatives is surrounded by a fringe of spouses, the resultant grouping is called a *consanguineous family*. It consists of members related by birth and individual choice does not operate. Consequently, it is more stable. Maturation of children or break up of the marriage bond does not destroy the consanguineous family. Owing to marriage between close relatives being universally ruled out, the consanguineous family can meet any demand of its members except that for sexual gratification and it is this fact that necessitates the fringe of spouses. Thus, we find that *emphasis is on the blood relationship* and not the marriage bond. The Nayar of Malabar are said to have had a family of this type till the earlier years of this century. They did not grant any social recognition at all to husband nor even to the father for that matter.

The type of family that we are more familiar with in our own society, viz that in which there is a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of relatives is called a *conjugal family* and is found among many tribes like, the Kharia. The emphasis here is on the conjugal bond and, therefore, this type of family is not stable among such people who do not hold this bond as indissoluble.

The family in which one is born is called the *family of origin* or *orientation* and the family which one helps to set up after one's marriage is called the *family of procreation*.

There can also be other types of extension to permit the inclusion of all those people whom it may not be possible to include in the primary family. Thus, we have *polygynous families* where a man marries more than one wife, a condition of marital arrangements common all over tribal India or there are *polyandrous families* in which the husbands are more than one, as for instance among the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar, U.P. where several brothers marry one wife without any exclusive right of cohabitation for any one spouse. An interesting case would be the combination of the above two

principles of organization and the Toda have recently developed such a family based on group marriage.

The *joint family*, is very prevalent in India. It is collection of more than one primary family on the basis of close blood ties and common residence. Consequently, there can be two types, the *matrilocal joint family* like that of the Nayar and the *patrilocal joint family* like that of the tribes in Central India and all Hindus. In both these types of family, the offspring (female in case of the matrilocal type and male in case of the patrilocal type) do not, as a general rule, leave their families of origin on their marriage. So we find that joint families are an amalgam of what might have otherwise been several families of origin and procreation. Such members of a joint family as do have to leave their family of origin on marriage (the daughters in a patrilocal joint family, and the sons in a matrilocal joint family) may not lose completely the membership of their original families, thus bringing about the dual membership.

When primary families link up with each other only on the basis of kinship and not residence, we will naturally have a much wider and bigger grouping which has been called *clan* or *sib*. Whereas the family is a bilateral grouping in spite of frequent one-sided emphasis, the sib is *unilateral*. Thus there can be either *mother sibs* or *father sibs*. In the former, descent is reckoned through the female line and in the latter through the male line. There being no restrictions of a common residence or even territory in some cases, the sib group is much wider than the family, alongside of which it is often found. Sibs are generally exogamous and therefore, a family contains members of several sibs.

Sibs being as wide and extended as their actual recording is not possible and often mythical ancestors are invented .

When several sibs or clans combine to constitute a still wider grouping, it is called a *phratry*. If sibs are, however, sub-divided into groups with known historical ancestors, they are called *lineages*. The Toda have their social life structured on the basis of sibs. The tribe as a whole is divided into two phratries, Teivaliol and Tartharol. Each of these two phratries is further sub-divided into father sibs. The family as a bilateral grouping is, however, present in both the Toda as well as the Khasi social structures, the latter being based on mother sibs. Thus

the primary and the extended families are not mutually exclusive.

Similar to the sib is the *gotra* kin group as it is found among the symptomatic of the functionless instability of the modern small family.

Many sociologists have expressed their grave concern regarding the rapid changes that are taking place in it. Some have said that “family has gone to the dogs” while some others lamented that family is *heading towards disorganisation*. But it would be more appropriate to say that “It (family) is merely seeking to adopt itself to changed conditions.”

The modern nuclear family continues to stay because of the essential functions that it performs even today. Those essential functions are explained below.

1. *Stable Satisfaction of Sex Need*. The modern nuclear family continues to be the executive means of providing sexual satisfaction to its members. No other agency has been able to take up this task to the satisfaction of the members. The family does this task through its agent-the marriage. Though pre-marital sex relations are on the increase especially in the West, they are still treated as ‘deviant trends’ or stray instances.
2. *Procreation and Upbringing of Children*. The modern family still fulfils the functions of procreating and upbringing of children. The family is regarded as the “proper” authority to produce children and to bring them up. Even today most of the children are born and brought up in the family only. Family alone is well equipped to produce and bring up children. This function has been associated with family since centuries. It continues to be the biological group for procreation and for the physical care of the children.
3. *Socialisation of Children*. The modern family still remains as the main architect of socialising the new born child. The child develops a ‘self’ and a personality of its own mainly in its family. Most of the social norms, values and ideals are picked up by the child in the family only. Parents are showing more interest now-a-days giving proper social training to their children.
4. *Provision of Home*. The modern family provides for its members house to

live in. Due to economic, and other exigencies, family members may go out for some time but they spend much of their time in the home itself. It is a happy place to live in both for parents and their children. It still continues to be the noblest centre of human affection, love and sympathy. Other agencies such as hotels, hostels, lodging houses, etc. may provide shelter to the members but not the needed love and affection. Only the home can provide permanent homely atmosphere for its members.

The general view of the modern nuclear family is that it is not a highly ritualised and institutionalised entity. It is rather what *Burgess* has called “*a unit of interacting personalities, set in a cultural framework, responsible for a limited number of social functions and for a biological function.*” It is held together by internal cohesion rather than external pressure. It is more unstable than what it was in the past. Still it is more free to fit the variations in human personality.

The joint family is also known as ‘*undivided family*’ and sometimes as ‘*extended family.*’ It normally consists of members who at least belong to three generations : husband and wife, their married and unmarried children; and their married as well as unmarried grand children. The joint family system constituted the basic social institution in many traditional societies, particularly in the Eastern societies. In India, this system prevailed among the Hindus as well as non-Hindus.

5.4 The Joint Family in India

The joint family, the caste system and the village system are often regarded as the pillars on which the whole Hindu social edifice is built. The joint family is the bedrock on which Hindu values and attitudes are built. It is found in almost all the parts of India. Family for a Hindu is a sacred institution deriving sanction from religion and social traditions with myths and legends. Hence this form of family is still found in India. It is deeply rooted in the traditional Hindu culture. It is an age-old system having a long history of its own.

Definition of Joint Family

- (i) The joint family is a mode of combining smaller families into larger family units through the extension of three or more generations including

atleast grandparents, parents and children.

- (ii) The joint family is one which consists of members related through blood and spread over several generations living together under a common roof and work under a common head.
- (iii) The definition given by *Smt. Iravati Karve* seems to be more satisfactory. According to her, the joint family may be defined as “ a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common, and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred .”

Types of Joint Family

The joint family may assume who forms :

- (i) *Patriarchal joint family* and (ii) *Matriarchal joint family*. Both the forms are found in India. The patriarchal joint family is father-centred and the matriarchal joint family is mother- dominated. *Examples* : The patriarchal joint families are found among the *Nambudari* of Malabar, the *Mundas* of Chhotanagpur and the *Angami Nagas* of Assam. The Nambudari joint family is generally described as “*Illom*”. The matriarchal joint families are found among the *Nairs* of Malabar, the *Khasis* and *Garos* living on the Garo hills of Assam. The Nair joint family is popularly known as ‘*Tarawad*’.

5.5 Characteristics of the Joint Family

1. ***Depth of Generations***. The joint family consists of people of three or more generations including at least grandparents, parents and children. Sometimes, other kith and kin such as uncles, aunts, cousins and great grandsons also live in the joint family itself.
2. ***Common Roof***. Members of the joint family normally reside together under the same house-hold. Due to the scarcity of accommodation or due to educational and employment problems, members of the joint family may reside separately. Still, they try to retain regular contacts and the feeling of belonging to the same family.

3. **Common Kitchen.** Members eat the food prepared jointly at the common kitchen. Normally the eldest female member of the family supervises the work at the kitchen. In the patriarchal joint families, women serve the food to men at first and take their meals afterwards.
4. **Common Worship.** The Hindu joint family derives its strength from religion. Hence, it is associated with various religious rituals and practices. Every family may have its own deity of 'Kula devata' and its own religious tradition. Members of the family take part in common worship rites and ceremonies.
5. **Common Property.** The members hold a common property. As Melley writes : the joint family "is a co-operative institution similar to a joint stock company in which there is a joint property". The head of the family manages the family property like a trustee. The total earnings of the members are pooled into a family treasury and family expenses are met with out of that.
6. **Exercise of Authority.** In the patriarchal joint family usually the eldest male member exercises authority. The super-ordination of the eldest member and the subordination of all the other members to him is a keynote of the joint family. His commands are normally obeyed by others. As opposed to it, in the matriarchal joint family the eldest female member in theory exercises the supreme authority.
7. **Arranged Marriages.** In the joint family, the head considers it as his privilege to arrange the marriages of the members. the individual's right to select his/her life-partner is undermined. The younger members rarely challenge their decisions and arrangements. But now- a-days, the feelings of younger ones are being given due weightage.
8. **Procreation.** The size of the joint family is by nature bigger. It is found to be associated with higher rate of production. It is so because in the past procreation was regarded as a religious duty. Members rarely practised birth control measures. But today the situation has changed.
9. **Identification with obligations towards the Family.** The members tend to identify themselves with their family. Every member has his own duties and obligations towards the family. The family in turn, protects the interests and

promotes the welfare of all. The senior-most member of the family acts as the guide for other members.

10. ***Self-sufficiency.*** There was a time when the joint family was mostly self-sufficient. It used to meet the economic, recreational, medical, educational and other needs of the members. The rural agricultural joint families were mostly self-reliant. But they can hardly depend on themselves today. No type of family is self-reliant that way to way.

5.6 Merits and Demerits of Joint Family

The joint family claims certain merits and suffers from certain defects. Some of them may be mentioned here.

Merits of Joint Family

- (i) ***Stable and Durable.*** The joint family is more stable and durable than the single unit family or the nuclear family. Individuals may come and go but the family as a unit stands. It contributes much to the continuation of the cultural tradition.
- (ii) ***Ensures Economic Progress.*** The joint family meets the basic needs of its members—food, clothing and shelter—a first condition of economic progress.

Further, it provides larger labour force especially for the agricultural communities. It prevents the sub-divisions and fragmentation of land-holdings and helps scientific farming.
- (iii) ***Ensures Economy of Expenditure.*** Savings are possible here since the household purchases are done jointly. No single member has an absolute right in family property. Everyone is bound to become spendthrift. The head of the family does not permit the members to become extravagant.
- (iv) ***Secures the Advantage of Division of Labour.*** Here the work is distributed among the members on the basis of age and sex. Members co-operate with one another since they hold the property in common. Especially for agricultural tasks, the joint family is better fitted. As *K.M. Kapadia* has pointed out : “The Indian farmer used to be producer, seller, labourer and investor combined. Each of these functions can be performed efficiently to the advantage of the

family if it is a joint one.”

- (v) ***Serves as a Social Insurance Company.*** For the people such as orphans, widows, the deserted, divorced, separated and the neglected, the joint family serves as a social insurance company. It gives them food, shelter and protection.
- (vi) ***Provides Social Security.*** The joint family gives social security to the weak, aged, sick, infirm, the unabled, the disabled and such other needy persons. An individual's life from cradle to cremation is looked after by the joint family. In times of accidents, crises and emergencies, one can rely on one's joint family for the needed help.
- (vii) ***Provides Leisure.*** Since the work is shared by all the members on the basis of age, sex and experience, they get more leisure time. More hands at home can finish off the work with minimum time and provide enough leisure to the members to relax. Here women are the main beneficiaries of leisure.
- (viii) ***Provides Recreation Also.*** The joint family is an ideal place of recreation for all the members. Childish play between the too aged and the little babies, the funny talks of the old, the broken language of the younger ones, the expression of sisterly, brotherly and motherly love and the like make the joint family life a pleasurable one. Social and religious ceremonies that take place at the family bring even the relatives together and tighten the ties.
- (ix) ***Helps Social Control.*** The joint family by exercising control over the behaviour of its members acts as an agency of social control. The individuals are taught to subordinate their individual interests to the group interests.
- (x) ***Provides Psychological Security.*** The joint family provides psychological security to its members. By creating a harmonious atmosphere in the family, it contributes to the development of social solidarity. It prevents the growth of excessive individuation inside the family.
- (xi) ***Promotes Co-operative Virtues.*** Joint family is said to be the breeding ground of love, self-help, co-operation, tolerance, discipline, loyalty, generosity, sacrifice, service-mindedness and obedience and such other virtues of life. It instils the socialistic spirit among the members. “*Work*

according to one's ability and obtain according to one's needs", and *"all for one and one for all"*,—are said to be the mottos of a joint family.

Demerits of Joint Family

- (i) ***Retards the Development of Personality.*** The joint family does not provide enough scope for the members to develop qualities of adventure, self-determination, industriousness, etc. The elder ones take up too many responsibilities and the younger ones are overprotected.
- (ii) ***Damages Individual Initiative and Enterprise.*** The joint family does not provide proper opportunities for the members to develop their talents. Any new enterprise or adventure on the part of the young people is discouraged by the head of the family. This adversely affects the individuality, originality and creativity of the young members.
- (iii) ***Narrows Down Loyalties.*** Joint family makes the members to develop narrow-mindedness. It is said that a member is more likely to develop a sense of loyalty to the family rather than to the larger society. These family units develop strong opposite principles which result in disintegration and division within the society at large.
- (iv) ***Promotes Idleness.*** The joint family is said to be the home of idlers and drones. Since all the members are assured of their basic necessities of life, no one takes much interest in the productive activities. Further, all the relatives may flock to the joint family with their idle habits and may become life-long parasites.
- (v) ***Not Favourable for Saving and Investment.*** The need for saving does not arise here because all are assured of their basic needs. There is no inspiration for the accumulation of capital and investment. Saving is not possible also for one has to share one's income with the large family.
- (vi) ***The Centre of Quarrels.*** The joint family is said to be the hot-bed of quarrels and bickerings especially among the womenfolk. Since women come to the family (after the marriage) from diverse socio-economic and religious backgrounds, they may find it difficult to adjust themselves properly. Quarrels very often take place between the elder and the younger members of the family.

- (vii) ***Denies Privacy.*** Since the joint family is always overcrowded, privacy is denied to the newly wedded couple. They cannot express openly their love and affection for the invariable presence of other members causes embarrassment for them. They rarely get opportunity to talk about their personal matters. Hence they fail to develop intimacy.
- (viii) ***Affects Socialisation of Children.*** Due to the lack of intimacy and privacy between the husband and wife, the socialisation of children is affected very badly. The parents cannot always give personal attention to the upbringing of their children. The children become more attached to their grandparents and often they pick up the idle habits and age-old ideas.
- (ix) ***Undermines the Status of Women.*** In patriarchal joint families, women have only secondary role. They are not given sufficient freedom to express and to develop their personality. Their inner feelings are never recognised. They are made to work like servants. Women are treated as non-entities here. They can hardly resist their elders even for just causes because obedience is enforced upon them. In such families, sons are preferred to the daughters.
- (x) ***Encourages Litigation.*** The joint family encourages litigation. Normally disputes over the common property crop up at the time of partition. Such disputes are taken to the courts which are dragged on for years leading to the waste of time, energy, money and more than that, loss of mental peace.
- (xi) ***Favours Uncontrolled Reproduction.*** The joint family is found to be associated with higher birth rate. Members do not feel the need to adopt birth-control measures. Since the joint family takes up directly the responsibility of feeding, rearing and educating the children, the married members do not experience the urgency and necessity of restricting the number of issues.
- (xii) ***Limits Social Mobility.*** The joint family is said to be more conservative in nature. Since it is dominated by tradition, it is slow to respond to the modern trends. It does not encourage its members to go after change. Members are more concerned with safeguarding their statuses rather than with changing them. Hence social mobility is very much limited here.

- (xiii) ***Encourages Nepotism.*** Some are of the opinion that the joint family system is the root cause of nepotism and discrimination. It is said that the public servants and officials belonging to one or the other family are more likely to favour their own kith and kin on public issues or in matters of providing job even at the cost of merit.

5.7 Changes in Joint Family

The Emerging Trends

After going through some of the empirical studies together (of Desai, Kapadia, Ross, Shah, Mukherjee, Gore, Sachchidananda, Kolenda, and Ahuja) following conclusions may be derived regarding the change in family structure in our country:

1. The number of fissioned families is increasing, that is, sons prefer to live separately from their parents but at the same time continue to fulfil their traditional obligations towards them.
2. There is more jointness in traditional communities and more nuclearity in communities exposed to outside influences.
3. The size of the traditional family (that is, co-resident and commensal kinship unit) has become smaller.
4. So long the cultural ideal that a male should look after his parents and his teen-age brothers and sisters persists, the functional type joint family will be sustained in our society.

It is not possible to specify when the Indian family began to undergo changes. The system never was completely static of course, and change proceeded slowly throughout the twentieth century. Until the end of the third decade of the twentieth century, however, there was no political, social or industrial power that could successfully break Indian family's self-imposed isolation from the families of the rest of the world. Marked change followed from the fourth decade of the twentieth century, particularly after the independence.

It could be said that changes from "traditional" to "transitional" family include trends toward : (1) neo-local residence, (2) functional jointness, (3) equality of

individuals, (4) equal status for women, (5) joint mate-selection, and (6) weakening of family norms.

Neo-local Residence

After marriage, children may live for some time with their parents but soon they prefer to live separately. As urbanization and industrialization proceed, more and more young married couples and their families find their residences being determined by the location of their jobs. Neo-local residence is, therefore, becoming more common. Sometimes these neo-local families eventually return to their stem (parental) families, but often they do not.

Functional Jointness

The neo-local residence may lead to weakening of ties with tertiary and distant kin but not with primary and secondary kin living separately. The married sons and their wives continue to fulfil their obligations to their parents and siblings. The ties are maintained with them not only because of the obligation to them but also because of the affection and respect for them. Mutual help in various exigencies of life (like sickness, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.) and economic co-operation with primary and secondary kin remain important characteristics of neo-local families.

Equality of Individuals

Treating spouses and other members of the family on the basis of equality is part of a larger ideological change. A pervasive philosophy of individualism which asserts the importance of the person over the continuity of the group (family) appears to be spreading over much of the world. As such, patriarch or parents in the family no longer try to impose their authority on the children but give them more freedom now to determine their own goals and means to achieve them. The worth of the individual is recognized and his/her wishes are now considered more important in the new family. The individual's status is evaluated not by his age or relationship but by his own accomplishments. As such, the status of the family is determined for each generation anew.

Equal Status for Women

The joint family has been associated with the subordination of women. Women are assigned all the domestic responsibilities and kept busy with cooking, cleaning, washing, and child-rearing roles. They are given the status of sex partners but not the full legal and other rights of wives. The emerging family is doing much to change this. The women are gaining a certain power. Coupled with this is the fact that child marriages have been replaced by adult marriages and the fact that education for girls is spreading rapidly. Women have also started taking up jobs in the expanding economy and their salary is used for meeting the family expenses and raising the quality of life. In such families, men have come to treat women on terms of equality. While the philosophy of equal rights for women receives more acceptance in families of working women. In families of non-working women, however, this is not much talked of. Because of women's inability to make any economic contribution, the power of money leads men in such families to expect deference from their wives. No family system will grant full equality to women as long as the daily work involving house and children is regarded as women's responsibility.

Joint Mate-Selection

In the 'traditional' family, the marriages for the children were arranged by parents without consulting them. In the 'transitional' family, the parents and children jointly make selection of the spouses. This joint selection reduces the chances of conflict and the newly married couple spends a few months/years in the parental family before establishing a separate household. The newly married wife who moves in the family often is subordinated to members of the family until she has been so socialized into the new family that opposition to its customs and practices has been reduced. Even if the new spouse opts for a separate residence, she is able to get along with in-laws and fulfilling obligations toward them assumes greatest importance.

Weakening of Family Norms

The family norms in the 'transitional' family have weakened to the extent that distribution of opportunities and rewards is determined by individual's qualities and not by his membership in the family. Indian traditional family was structured according to highly *particularistic* criteria. *Particularism* refers to the distribution of opportunities and rewards according to one's membership in the family rather

than according to any special qualifications or abilities which an individual possesses. In our early society, family membership was so important that the family controlled the system of rewards and distributed them. A person's opportunities for employment and the kind of work he did was determined largely by his position in a given family. The division of labour was not highly specialized and almost any adult could be trained fairly quickly to fill almost any occupational position. This division of labour is referred to as *functional diffuseness*. By contrast, the demands of a modern industrial economy require the application of *universalistic* criteria. *Universalism* involves the assignment of opportunities on the basis of special training and skills, irrespective of family and other relationship. *Functional specificity* involves a specialized division of labour.

Taking change in all the sets of relationships together (that is, between parents and children, husband and wife, and daughter-in-law and parents-in-law), it may be concluded that the relationship structure in Indian family is undergoing the following changes in the contemporary society : (1) Younger generation claims more individuality. (2) Conjugal relationship does not get any preference to consanguineous relationship. (3) People whose source of power is ideological no longer try to impose their authority on the youngsters.

5.8 Forces of Change

What are the factors responsible for the disruption of traditional (joint) family system? No one set of influences brought about changes in family. Nor is it possible to assign priority to any of them. It was a combination of industrialization with its application of universalistic criteria to an ever-widening sphere, ideals of individualism, equality and freedom, and the possibility of an alternative way of life which produced the 'transitional' family. Milton Singer regards four factors responsible for change in family : residential mobility, occupational mobility, scientific and technical education, and monetization. This author has also identified five factors which have affected the family most. These are : education, urbanization, industrialization, change in the institution of marriage, specially in the age of marriage, and the legislative measures.

Education

Education has affected family in more than one way. It has not only brought change in the attitudes, beliefs, values and ideologies of the people but has also created and aroused the individualistic feelings. In India, education is spreading not only among the males but among the females too. The working of education against the joint family is in two ways: one, by emphasizing individualism, it puts before the people the concept of the type of the family which is contrary to the prevailing concept of joint family, and two, it prepares the people for occupations which cannot be found in their native places, as a result of which they separate from the ancestral family and live in areas which provide them the occupations suited to their educational equipment.

Ross (1961) has said that the present occupations are such that they require special education, skill and training. Therefore, to raise the living standard of their children from their own, parents always remain ambitious for giving higher education to their sons, particularly in middle and upper class families in the urban areas. Some of the poor parents are so ambitious that they try to give the highest possible education to their sons even at the cost of their sufferings, sacrifice, and trials and tribulations. Sometimes they deprive themselves of comforts and even food and clothes. In such cases, however, if by chance their sons fail in examinations or do not reach up to the mark, they bring disappointments to their parents. In a few such cases, parents keep on nagging their children and this becomes so extreme that sons' ability to succeed is crippled and they always break off from their parents. On the other hand, there are some parents who, because of their poverty, are not very much ambitious about their children's education, but their children are extremely ambitious. They (children), therefore, leave their parents and go to different towns and cities for education. To support themselves economically, they take up tuitions or jobs. These children, thus, gradually are cut off from family ties. After the marriage also, they continue to live in cities. This is how their education affects their families. In the case of females also, the educated girls develop new attitudes towards husband, children and family, and clash with their conventional-minded mother-in-law and insist on separate households. All this shows the impact of education on family pattern. As the level of education rises, the percentage of those in favour of the nuclear family

increases and the percentage of people who conform to the pattern of joint family living (in behaviour) decreases.

Urbanization

Urbanization is another factor that has affected the family. Urban population has grown at a faster rate in our country in the last few decades.

The urban families differ from the rural families not only in composition but in ideology too. It has already been stated that the nuclear family in urban areas is somewhat smaller than the non-urban nuclear family, and that the urban-dweller is more likely to choose the nuclear family than the rural-dweller.

The urban living weakens joint family pattern and strengthens nuclear families. Cities provide increasing opportunities for new occupations and higher education. Those who deviate from the traditional family occupation and take to new professions show a greater shift in their attitudes than those who follow traditional occupations. Similarly, educated persons in urban areas are less in favour of, if not less conforming to, joint family norms. It may, however, be maintained that the change in attitude has direct relationship with length of stay in the city. Cities provide opportunities to females also for gainful employment and when woman starts earning, she seeks freedom in many spheres.

Industrialization

Industrialization got under way in India in the last quarter of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.

There have been three important effects of industrialization on family organization : *First*, the family which was a principal unit of production has been transformed into a consumption unit. Instead of all family members working together in an integrated economic enterprise, a few male members go out of the home to earn the family's living. This has affected not only the traditional structure of the joint family but also the relations among the members. *Second*, factory employment has freed young adults from direct dependence upon their families. As their wages have made them financially independent, the authority of the head of the household has weakened further. In the city, in many cases, along with men their wives also have started working and earning. This has affected

intra-family relations to some extent. *Finally*, children have ceased to be economic assets and have become liabilities. Although in a few cases, the use and abuse of child labour has also increased, law does not permit children to work. At the same time, educational requirements have increased, lengthening dependence upon parental support. Accommodation in the cities is expensive and child care is demanding. Thus, work and home have become separated due to industrialization.

Change in Marriage System

Change in age for marriage, freedom in mate selection and change in attitude towards marriage have also affected our family system. Children who marry at a late age neither obey the parental authority nor perceive the eldest male as the main person in decision-making. The freedom in mate selection has promoted inter-caste marriages which in turn has affected the relationship structure in the family. Similarly, since marriage is no longer considered religiously important and break in marital relations has come to be legally accepted, it has weakened the corporate authority of the family as symbolized by the husband's power.

Legislative Measures

Lastly, legislative measures have also their impact on family pattern. Prohibition of early marriage and fixing the minimum age of marriage by the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, and the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, have lengthened the period of education and functionally contributed to the adjustment of couples in new environment after marriage. The freedom of mate selection and marriage in any caste and religion without the parents' consent after certain age permitted through by the Special Marriage Act, 1954, sanctioning of widow remarriage by the Widow Remarriage Act, 1856, the freedom of breaking the marriage by the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, and giving share to daughters in paternal property by the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, have all not only modified the inter-personal relations and the composition of family but also the stability of joint family.

5.9 Family Disorganization

Family disorganization is a condition of a family characterized by the breakdown of harmonious relations and co-operation among the members, or breakdown of

social control, or unity and discipline. A state of disorganization in the family also exists when there is role conflict among the set of members, say between husband and wife or parents and children or daughter-in-law and parents-in-law or brothers and brothers. When a family does not seem to be functioning in a 'desirable' way, that is, when the enacted roles of members are not in conformity to the expected roles (of society), a state of disorganization is judged to exist.

5.10 Let us sum up

Having examined the nature, direction and the factors of change in family system, we may conclude that though the traditional type of jointness (that is, jointness in residence, functioning and property) in Indian family is yielding place to residential nuclearity but since the functional jointness persists both in the rural and the urban areas, it indicates that in coming decades, jointness as a sentiment and as a cultural objective will continue to exist. Increasing emphasis on urban living and materialization may affect the residential composition of family but not its functioning or intra-family relations. Technology and such other factors will have little effect on our set of values pertaining to relational structure which emphasize religious obligations, concept of debt ('rin'), and our moral and spiritual duties.

Gerald Leslie has said that the combination of industrialization, urbanization, and ideals of freedom, individualism and social equality provided what no influences on family had done for about 2,000 years—the prospect of an alternative way of living. In India, with urbanization, factory employment and growth of cities, single persons, married couples, and nuclear families could live apart from their parental or joint families permanently. The separation of the kinship and occupational structures led to weakening of parental authority; income and status came to depend more up on one's place in the occupational system than upon family ties; industrialization provided new sources of wealth greater than those of the old agricultural system; and people began to think of their individual interests as taking priority over joint family obligations. Thus, new ideals brought about by contacts with western education and the structural changes in society brought about by the growth of industries subverted traditional family order.

Using a combination of historical research and social surveys based on random

samples within particular regions, we suggest that the Indian family has moved through three main stages. *First* stage was represented by traditional (joint) family of a large number of generations living together. That family was a unit of production in which all members worked as a team—in occupations, in owning property and in functioning and social obligations. This type of family continued well till the nineteenth century. The second stage family began with the industrial revolution in the end of the nineteenth century and reached its peak in the fourth and fifth decades of the twentieth century. The large joint families became small joint families of two-three generations. The family also ceased to be a unit of production since a large number of individual members migrated from rural to urban areas or from one city to another to work in officers, factories or as wage-earners. The third stage family—a fissioned dependent family—has emerged after 1960s. This family in terms of residence lives separately from the parental family but continues to remain dependent on it (parents/siblings). This pattern provided to it (fissioned family) insurance against insecurity and hardship of poverty. It also maintained the basic kinship ties and fulfilled social obligations.

5.11 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Define family? Describe family as a functional unit.

Q.2. What is the dominant type of family in India ? Give characteristics of joint family in India.

Q.3. Illustrate merits and demerits of joint family in India.

Q.4. Is the joint family undergoing change ? Enumerate the various reasons for the

Change.

Q.5. Describe how education and Age at marriage contribute towards changing the joint family.

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MARRIAGE IN INDIA

Structure

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Objectives
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- 6.4 The Hindu Marriage - A Sacrament
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6.1 Introduction

Every kind of human grouping comes into being and is maintained through a process of recruitment by which various persons become its members. In every human family, the majority of its members are recruited into it by being born into it. But before children can be born, some women in patrilocal societies : men in matrilineal societies are to be recruited into it. Marriage is the socially recognized form of such recruitment through communication. Marriage and family— the two

social institutions with biological foundations— are complementary to each other. Both have a long standing history of their own. They are the permanent elements in our social system.

6.2 Different forms of Marriage

Marriage can be of several types. All over tribal India, and in other parts of the world as well, we come across rules laying down prohibitions, preferences and prescriptions in deciding the form of marriage.

Preference and Prohibition. A taboo on sexual relations between closely related kin like parents and children and between siblings is universal. An extension of this 'nuclear prohibition' is found everywhere, including among the castes and tribes of India.

Breaches of the rule are often punished by inflicting heavy fines upon, or excommunicating, the offender. The fear of supernatural punishment in case of the violation of the rule of marrying out is widespread in tribal India. The practice of marrying outside one's clan is called *exogamy*. A breach of exogamy brings excommunication, refusal of funeral ceremonies and no resting place in the sepulchre of the clan.

The reverse practice of marrying within one's tribe, or very rarely, clan, is called *endogamy*.

In certain cases there is a prescription, or only a preference, expressed for marriage to a particular kin. Thus, we find that a Gond must marry his/her cross-cousin, and if one would like to have this prescription waived in one's case, a compensation has to be paid to the losing party.

Cross-cousin marriage, as a form of exogamy, the only form of exogamy under dual organization, is often explained to be a device for avoiding payment of a high bride price, and also for maintaining property in the household.

C. Levi-Strauss has said that preferential mating has for its main purpose the strengthening of solidarity within a tribe.

Levirate and Sororate : Preferential marriages are also often designed to

promote inter-familial cordiality by making certain linkages imperative. Among the Toda, the practice has been for one woman to marry several brothers (*fraternal* or *adelphic polyandry*). This practice of being mate, actual or potential, to one's husband's brothers is called *levirate*. When several sisters are simultaneously, or potentially, the spouses of the same man, the practice is called *sororate*. It is generally found to prevail among tribes that pay a bride price for a wife. The death of a spouse is compensated by supplying a new spouse, generally a younger sister of the deceased. Levirate and Sororate emphasize the acceptance of inter-familial obligations and the recognition of marriage as a tie between two families, and not only between two individuals.

It is obvious that these preferential or prescribed forms of mating limit the number of possible marital linkages. Nonetheless, their distribution is universal.

Polygamy : Polygamy, that is marriage to more than one person, is fairly widespread all over the world. In tribal India also, polygamy is widespread. Two forms of polygamy may be differentiated; *polygyny* is the marriage of one woman to several men. Both types of marriage are referred to as polygamy in common parlance.

Polygyny is found among the Naga tribes, the Gond, the Baiga, the Toda, the Lushei clans and most of the other Proto-Australoid tribes of Middle India.

Polyandry is, comparatively, much restricted in distribution. It is found among the Tiyan, the Toda, the Kota, the Khasa, and the Ladakhi Bota.

Hypergamy : Under the kind of social structure that caste has given rise to in India, there are certain restrictions in the form of limits beyond which a man and a woman cannot go in the choice of a spouse; of course, he or she must invariably marry outside of his or her own *gotra*. Just as in modern times, if a millionaire's daughter, who chooses to marry a pauper who will accept no doles from his father-in-law, would lose her economic status, likewise, under the caste system, if a high-caste woman marries a low-caste man, she loses caste status which is indicative of a degree of ritual purity. Up to marriage a daughter shares her father's caste status and after marriage her husband's. But a man himself does

not lose caste status or ritual purity by marrying a low-caste woman, though his offspring would suffer from a partial lowering from their father's caste status. Therefore, to prevent a woman from losing caste and becoming ritually impure Manu and other ancient law-givers prescribed hypergamous (*anuloma*) marriage under which a man can marry from his own caste or from those below, but a woman can marry only in her caste or above. *Hypogamy* (*pratiloma*) i.e. marriage of a woman to a man from a lower caste is not permitted.

Marriage is regarded as necessary in the life of a Hindu because without a wife he cannot enter the *grihastha asrama* (stage of a householder), the second of the four stages of life (*asrama*) ordained by the holy law-givers. Besides, without marriage there can be no offspring and without a son no release from the chain of birth-death-rebirth. Marriage has been also designated as one of those body-sanctifying rituals which every Hindu has to perform.

The religious sanction behind the Hindu conception of marriage is thus so obvious. The marriage ceremony consists of a series of ritual performances, the most important of which are the gift of his daughter by the father to the bridegroom (*kanyadan*), the lighting of fire as divine witness and sanctifier of the ceremony (*vivaha-homa*), the holding of the bride's hands by the bridegroom (*pani-grahan*) and the walking of the bride and bridegroom over seven steps, each step being denoted by a coin placed on the floor, the bridegroom leading the bride (*saptapodi*). Then the bride is carried away, *vivaha*, the Hindi word for marriage, means 'carrying away'.

Marriage must take place within one's caste (*varna*) but in practice it takes place only within one's sub-caste (*jati*). In seeking a spouse, one must move beyond five degrees on the mother's side (beyond *sapinda*) not beyond seven degrees on the father's (beyond *gotra* and *pravara*).

Eight forms of the marriage ceremony are recognized. When a father gifts his daughter to a learned man of good character, it is called *brahma* marriage. If it is a priest to whom the daughter is gifted, it is called *daiv* marriage. When a prospective son-in-law makes the gift of a bull and cow to the girl's father before receiving her as gift it is called *arsha* marriage. This latter should not

be confused with marriage by purchase which is called *asura* and has been declared unlawful by Manu. Marriage based on mutual love is called *gandharva* and need not be based on the acceptance of the match by the kinsmen of the couple directly involved. When a father gifts his daughter to a man, after duly honouring him, and exhorts the couple to perform their *dharma* together, it is called *prajapatya* marriage. Abduction is called *rakshasa* and regarded as lawful, but the seduction of a girl who is asleep, intoxicated or of unsound mind is unlawful; it is called *paisacha* marriage.

6.3 The Hindu Marriage—A Sacrament

Among the Hindus, marriage is not a social contract; it is religious sacrament. Marriage to a Hindu is of great individual and social significance. It is a socially approved union of man and woman aiming at procreation, pleasure and observance of certain social obligations.

The Hindu ideal emphasises the individual as well as social aspects of marriage. K.M. Kapadia in his "*Marriage and Family in India*" has given much information in support of the view that Hindu marriage is a sacrament. His explanation can be analysed from three angles : (A) *aims of the Hindu marriage*; (B) *Main rituals which are involved in the Hindu marriage*; and (C) *the basic beliefs and values underlying the Hindu marriage*.

Aims of the Hindu Marriage

The main aims of the Hindu marriage are : '*dharma*', '*praja*' and '*rati*'. Of these *aims*, *dharma* is given the first place, '*rati*' or pleasure is given only the third place, and '*praja*' or progeny is given the second place.

1. Dharma. The Hindu thinkers regarded Dharma as the first and the highest aim of the Hindu marriage. Marriage is desired not so much for sex or for children as for acquiring a partner for the fulfilment of one's religious duties.

2. Praja [Progeny]. The desire to get issues of children is completely felt by all the people. Psychologists call it *parental instinct*. The desire for '*praja*' or progeny is regarded by the Hindu Shastrakaras as one of the sacred purposes of marriage. The Upanishads have also stressed the continuance

of the line of progeny. Getting a son is essential for a Hindu, for it is believed that one can fulfil one's "*Pitri Rina*" [paternal obligations] only by getting a son. It is '*Kutumba Dharma*' [family obligation] also. In one of the important marriage rituals called "*saptapadi*" also the husband prays to the wife to fetch children for the family.

3. Rati [Kama or Pleasure]. Though sex is one of the functions of marriage it is given the third place. It is least desirable aim of marriage. To stress the lower role of sex in marriage, the marriage of a Shudra is said to be for pleasure only.

Important Rites Associated with Hindu Marriage

Among the Hindus there are certain rites which must be performed for marriage to be complete. The main rites are : *vagdana*, *kanyadaana*, *homa*, *panigrahana*, *saptapadi* and *aungalyadharna*. These rites and the importance attached to them have added to the sanctity of the Hindu marriage.

- (i) **Vagdana [Oral Promise].** In the presence of the people gathered for the marriage the *names*, *gotras* and *pravaras* of the bride and the bridegroom are announced along with the announcement that they are ready for the marriage. This ritual is known as "*Panigrahana sankalpa*" or *Vagdana*.
- (ii) **Homa.** 'Homa' refers to the offering in the sacred fire.
- (iii) **Kanyadaana.** This is the most important ceremony connected with marriage. It is the ceremony of giving away the bride as a gift to the bridegroom in the presence of the sacred fire and in the presence of the people gathered. The father of the bride gifts her away to the bridegroom with a promise on his part that he would not transgress her "*in the attainment of piety, wealth and desire*". The same promise is repeated thrice and the bridegroom affirms his promise thrice.
- (iv) **Panigrahana [Holding the Hand of the Bride].** This ritual refers to taking the right hand of the bride with the words : "*I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness that you may live to old age*

with me..." With this bridegroom takes the responsibility of looking after the bride.

- (v) **Mangalaya Dharana [Tying of the Tali or Mangalasutra].** This involves the act of tying the tali or mangalasutra [which is regarded as the sign of longevity of the husband] round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom.
- (vi) **Saptapadi.** This is the ritual in which the bride and the bridegroom go '*seven-steps*' together. The husband makes the bride step forward in the northern direction seven steps with the words : "*one step for sap, two for juice, three for wealth, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for seasons; friend be with seven steps united to me.*" This ritual is important from the legal point of view, for the Hindu marriage is regarded legally complete only after it is performed.

6.4 Recent Trends in the Hindu Marriage

The Hindu marriage system has undergone radical changes especially after independence. Even though the basic religious beliefs associated with marriage have not crumbled down, many of its practices, customs and forms have changed. The recent trends in this regard may be briefly discussed here.

1. Changes in the Form of Marriage. The traditional forms of Hindu marriages [as described by Shastrakara Manu] such as - 1. *Brahma*, 2. *Daiva*, 3. *Arsha*, 4. *Prajapatya*, 5. *Asura*, 6. *Gandharva*, 7. *Rakshasa* and 8. *Paisacha* - are no more in practice. Polygamy, polyandry and even bigamy are also not found for they are legally prohibited. Only monogamous marriage are universally practised.

2. Change in the Aim or Purpose of Marriage. The traditional Hindu marriage considers "*dharma*" as its primary object whereas the modern Hindus give more importance to "*life-long companionship*" between husband and wife. Marriage is taking place not very much for the performance of religious duties but for obtaining "*lifelong companionship*" of the individuals of the opposite sex.

3. Change in the Process of Mate Selection. In the three areas of mate selection we find significant changes today.

- (i) **Field of selection** has become very wide. It is wide enough to include inter sub-caste and inter-caste marriages.
- (ii) **Party to selection.** Parents do not take an active role in the selection of life-partners of their children. The practice of young men and women selecting their life-partners by themselves is becoming popular today.
- (iii) **Criteria of selection.** Much importance is given to individual interests, preferences and considerations rather than to family considerations. This trend is reflected in the increase in the instances of love marriages.

4. Change in the Age at Marriage. Child marriages [at least at the level of middle and upper class people and educated people] are virtually not found now. As per the present marriage Act [that is 1978 amendment to the *Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929*], a boy below 21 years and a girl below 18 years cannot marry. Pre-puberty marriages have thus given place to post-puberty marriages.

5. Change in the Stability of Marriage. Legislative provision for divorce has virtually affected the stability of the marriage. Hindu marriage is no more regarded as indissoluble. The legislative provisions for divorce and widow remarriage have undermined the importance of the value of "*pativratya*". The concept of equality of sex has also affected the value of '*pativratya*'.

6. Change in the Economic Aspect of Marriage : The practice of paying dowry is associated with marriage. This practice has grown into a big social evil today. Bride's parents are compelled to a huge amount of money as dowry. This practice has made marriage a costly affair. Marriages are often settled only on considerations of dowry.

Marriage ceremony is also becoming a costly affair since huge amount of money is lavishly spent on decorations, processions, band sets, video-shooting,

music, orchestra and so on.

7. An Increase in the Instances of Divorce and Desertion. Though the Hindu marriage is regarded as a sacrament instances of divorce and desertion are on the increase.

Though these new trends are observed today the importance of marriage has not diminished. It is still universally practised. Though its sanctity is affected a little, it is not reduced to the level of a mere civil contract. Hindu men and women are still emotionally involved in their marriages. There is no apparent danger as such to the Hindu marriage at present.

3. FACTORS AFFECTING HINDU MARRIAGE

Industrialisation, Urbanisation, Education and Legislation

The Hindu marriage has undergone vast changes during the recent years. Traditional values of marriage, *the form of marriage, type of marriage ceremony, the way of selection of life-partners in marriage, age at marriage* and in such other areas significant changes have occurred. These changes have been caused by a number of factors among which the following may be noted : *Industrialisation, urbanisation, education and legislation.*

1. Influence of Industrialisation

Modern industries have minimised economic functions of the family and reduced its size. Nuclear families have replaced joint families. People have started "going out of family" for work, for earning out their livelihood. Women also have joined men in the process of finding out jobs and earning money. This has boosted the self-respect and self-confidence of women. Men could no longer boss over women and suppress their attempt to become self-reliant. These developments have affected the institution of marriage.

2. Impact of Urbanisation

Industrialisation and urbanisation normally go together. Industrialisation accelerates the process of urbanisation. "Urbanisation" *refers* to the phenomenal growth of towns and cities or urban centers. It *denotes a diffusion of the influence of*

urban centres to a rural hinterland." It is "a process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits, common to cities and corresponding change of behaviour patterns."

Growth of cities and city environment has its impact on the institutions of family marriage. Selection of life-partners, age at marriage, nature and type of marriage ceremony, expenses of marriage etc. are affected by the modern urban environment. Normally, young men and women of cities want to select their life-partners on their own. Arranged marriages have become rarer in cities. In comparison with villagers, urban people delay their marriages. Child marriages normally do not take place in cities.

It is generally observed that in a city a bigger number of instances of divorce, desertion, separation etc. is found than in a village. There is greater tendency for developing pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations in cities.

3. Role of Education

Modern education has played its role in initiating some changes in marriage. It is through modern education that some of the modern values and western ideologies such as rationalism, individualism, equality of sex, democracy, individual freedom, secularism, etc. have influenced the outlook of our educated young men and women. Hence, they want to take their independent decisions on the main events of their life such as line of education, job and marriage. Thus our educated youths have their own views and stand on matters like to marry or not to marry, when to marry, whom to marry, how to marry etc. They do not want their families to decide these matters.

Educated youths do not hesitate to go beyond the boundaries of family ties to select for them suitable life-partners. For this purpose, they sometimes contact "*marriage bureaus*" and give advertisements in the matrimonial columns of the newspapers.

In the circle of the college, educated young men and women marriage is becoming a simple ceremony losing many of its rigid traditional customs. They give more importance to personal preferences and choices in marriage

rather than to the gotra rules, family traditions and rules of horoscope. Some of them are even ready for inter-caste marriages and if necessary, even for registered marriages.

4. Influences of Legislations on Marriage

The laws enacted in India relate to : (i) *age at marriage*; (ii) *field of mate selection*; (iii) *number of spouses in marriage*; (iv) *breaking of marriage*; (v) *dowry to be given and taken and* (v) *remarriage*. The most important legislations relating to these six aspects of marriage are :

1. The Prevention of Sati Act, 1829.
2. The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, 1856.
3. The Civil [or Special] Marriage Act, 1872.
4. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.

Latest Amendment. The Act was amended in 1978 which further raised the age for boys to 21 years and for girls to 18 years.

5. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.
6. The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961.
7. Domestic violence Act, 2005

6.5 Marriage Among Muslims in India

Marriage is Universal among the Muslims

In the Muslim community marriage is universal for it discourages celibacy.

Main Aims and Objects of Muslim Marriage

Muslims call their marriage '*Nikah*'. Marriage among the Muslims is regarded not as a religious sacrament but as a *secular bond*. The important objectives of Muslim marriage are - *control over sex, ordering of domestic life, procreation of children and perceptual increase of family, and upbringing of children*.

Marriage in the Muslim society is a religious duty also. It is a devotion and an act of "ibadat" [or religious duty]. It is believed that a person who does comply with it is rewarded in the next world, and he who does not commits a sin.

Characteristics Features or Preconditions of Muslim Marriage

The important pre-conditions or characteristics of valid Muslim marriage called "Nikah" are as follows :

1. Marriage Proposal and its Acceptance — Ijab and Qubul : As marriage is a civil contract in Islam, a proposal for the marriage and the acceptance of the proposal are essential.

2. Capacity of a Person to Contract Marriage : This is the second condition of marriage according to which only adult persons of sound mind can enter into a marriage contract. Child marriages and marriages of people of unsound mind are not recognised. However, the marriage of a minor could be contracted by his or her guardians.

3. Observance of the Doctrine of Equality. It is a matter of tradition among the Muslims to have marriage among equals. Though there is no legal prohibition to contract marriage with a person of low status, such marriages are looked down upon.

4. Preference System in the Male Selection. There is traditional insistence on the preferential system in mate selection. *For example*, a person is expected to give preference to his cousins and of the cousins, first preference to parallel cousins [*chachera cousins* or father's brother's daughter] and next to the 'cross cousins' [*mamera cousins* or mother's brother's daughter]. But these days no such preferences are given to cousin marriages.

6.6 Divorce Among The Muslims

Muslim marriage which is treated as a contract can be dissolved in the following ways :

1. *Divorce as per the Muslim law but without the intervention of the*

court; Khula and Talaq.

2. *Divorce as per the Shariah Act, 1937.*
3. *Divorce as per the Muslim Marriage Dissolution Act, 1959, that is, as per the court's intervention.*

6.7 Let us sum up

Marriage as an social institution is the most important aspect of India Society. No doubt society has always being changing its forms of marriage time to time, but then also marriage is one of the most important factor of today's world.

6.8 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Explain different forms of marriage in India.

Q.2. Is Hindu marriage a sacrament ? Comment.

Q.3. Describe the recent trends in the Hindu marriage.

Q.4. What are the various factors affecting Hindu marriage.

Q.5. What is Nikah? Explain various features of Muslim Marriage.

Q.6. Differentiate between Hindu and Muslim Marriage.

6.9 Suggested Readings

1. Madan & Majumdar : An introduction to Social Anthrology.
2. Bottomore, T.B.; Sociology : A guide to problems and literature.
3. Prabhu, Pandare Nath : Hindu Social Organisation.
4. Kapadia, K.M. : Marriage and Family in India.

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION IN INDIA

Structure

- 7.1 Kinship : An Introduction
- 7.2 Objectives
- 7.3 Types of Kinship
- 7.4 Kinship Usages
- 7.5 Kinship Terms
- 7.6 Importance of Kinship
- 7.7 Features of Kinship in North and Central India
- 7.8 Kinship Structure in South India
- 7.9 Kinship Organization in Eastern India
- 7.10 Let us sum up
- 7.11 Check your Progress

7.1 Kinship : An Introduction

In every society, a male at some time in his life, plays the roles of a husband, a father (unless he decides to remain unmarried), a son and a brother in some family; and a female plays the roles of a wife, a mother (unless she decides to remain spinster) and a daughter and a sister. But due to the incest taboo, a man cannot play the roles of a father and a husband in the same nuclear family in which he is a son and

a brother. Similarly, a woman cannot play the roles of a mother and a wife in the same nuclear family in which she is a daughter and a sister. Hence, every adult individual belongs to two nuclear families—**the family of orientation in which he was born and reared, and the family of procreation which he establishes by marriage**. It is this fact of individual membership in two nuclear families that gives rise to kinship system. By the virtue of the fact that individuals belong to two nuclear families, every person forms a link between the members of his family of orientation and those of his family of procreation. Such links bind individuals to one another through kinship ties.

Kinship as such, may be defined as “a social relationship based upon family relatedness.” (Theodorson and Theodorson). The nature of relationship which may be consanguineal (based on ties of blood) or affinal (based on marriage) determines the rights and obligations of related persons. A *kin group* may be explained as “**a group united by ties of blood or marriage**”. Most kin groups, other than the family, are consanguineal. *Kinship system* may be considered as “**the customary system of statuses and roles that governs the behaviour of people who are related to each other through marriage or descent from a common ancestor**” (Theodorson). It may also be described as “a structured system of relationship in which kin are bound to one another by complex inter-locking ties” (Murdock).

7.2 Types of Kinship

In all societies, people are bound together in groups by various kinds of bonds. The most universal and the most basic of these bonds is that which is based on reproduction, an inherent human drive, and is called *kinship*. The desire for reproduction gives rise to two kinds of bonds. Firstly, there is the bond between spouses and their relatives on either side; and secondly, there is the bond between parents and their children, and that between *siblings*, i.e., children of the same parents. The first kind of bond which arises out of a socially or legally defined marital relationship is called *affinal kinship* and the relatives so related are called *affinal kin*. The affinal kin are not connected to each other through blood, which is the case with relatives of the second kind enumerated above, who are called *consanguineous kin*. The relationship based on blood-ties is called *consanguineous* (same blood) *kinship*.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out that in determining consanguineous kinship, it is not the biological fact that is important but social recognition. Among many primitive societies, the role of a father in the birth of a child is unknown, as among the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia, for instance, among them it is the wife's husband who is conventionally accepted as father. Among the polyandrous Toda, until another brother makes the ceremonial presentation of a bow and arrow to the common wife, all children born to her of several brothers are regarded as the children of that brother who last performed the ceremony even though he may have been away or dead for a long time. Here is an instance where ignorance of the biological role of fatherhood is not implied, only social recognition is shown to override biological fact. Among some African primitives, in case a husband dies, a woman assumes the role of father to the expected child of the wife of the deceased.

A universal example of the over-riding nature of social recognition is the practice of adoption. An adopted child is everywhere treated as if it were one's own biologically produced offspring. So, in kinship social recognition overrides biological facts.

DEGREE OF KINSHIP

If a person is related to ego directly, then he is ego's *primary kin*; e.g., one's father is one's primary consanguineous, and one's wife one's primary affinal kin.

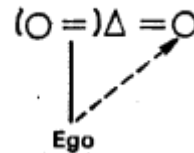
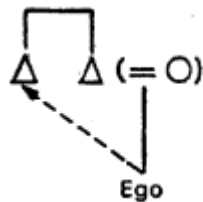
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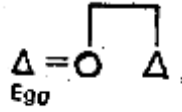
Ego

Ego

Any kin related to ego through primary kin, themselves being primary kin of ego's primary kin, are our kin of the *secondary* degree; e.g., ego's father's brother, or ego's stepmother are ego's secondary consanguineous kin, and secondary affinal kin respectively.



Likewise one's wife's brother is one's affinal secondary kin.



This relationship may be expressed as

$$\Delta \quad [\quad = \quad] \quad \Delta$$

Likewise, the secondary kin of our primary kin and the primary kin of our secondary kin will be our *tertiary kin*. The degree of kinship can thus be calculated, at least theoretically, to the *n*th degree.

RANGE

A kinship group is called a *broad-range* or a *narrow-range* one according to the number of persons it includes. Thus, the modern Western kinship system is a narrow-range system, whereas the primitive sib is a broad-range system including people scattered over relatively large areas between whom it is not possible to trace relationship without bringing in a mythical common ancestor.

DESCENT

The modern family recognized kinship with both the parents families of origin and therefore, it has been called a *bilateral* grouping. Of course, this recognition may not be equally weighted on either side. For example, a mother's maiden surname may not be perpetuated in the names of the offspring. As pointed out elsewhere in this book, in primitive society other kinds of descent are also recognized. Thus, there are sibs which completely ignore one of the two lines of descent and are, therefore, called *unilateral* groups. Opposed to such groups are *double-descent* and *bilinear* kin groups. The latter consist of only those persons who are related to ego through both patrilineal and matrilineal ties. Double descent involves the inclusion of some kin representing each line.

If a common ancestor is the binder among a people, they are called *cognates*. In case, their common ancestor is a male they are called *agnates* or *agnatic kin* or *patrilineal kin* : whereas the descendants of a common female ancestress are called

uterine kin or matrilineal kin.

Those kin who are related to each other directly through descent are called *lieal kin* and those who branch out from the main group, like uncles and cousins, are called *callateral kin*.

7.3 Kinship Usages

Within each kin group, whether it is a particularist family, or an extension thereof, like the joint family or the sib, there are certain types of coactive behaviour patterns which exhibit a regularity, a more or less permanent and definite structure. Such types of behaviour, verbal and non-verbal, constitute kinship usages. Some of these usages, universally found, are described below.

Avoidance

It has been found that in all societies, avoidance of one kind or another is observed in the relations between a daughter-in-law and her parents-in-law. Likewise, though less universally and also less rigorously, a son-in-law's relations with his parents-in-law are found to be cramped by certain restrictions. Thus, we have the universal kinship usage of avoidance.

One of the earliest explanations of this practice was given by Tylor. He said that in early stages of human history, when sons-in-law went to live with their wives, they were obliged to be on restricted relations with their mothers-in-law, who represented the matriarchal family in which they found themselves as complete strangers and in subservient positions. Thus, Tylor related son-in-law and mother-in-law avoidance causally to matrilineal residence. Later writers have questioned the validity of Tylor's conclusions, since these were based on deceptive statistics. (Offshoots of the same cultural matrix were treated by him as separate examples.) It is quite likely that what Tylor thought to be a causal relation may in most cases be only a correlation.

After Tylor, Frazer and Freud gave their own explanations of the kinship usage of avoidance. Both based themselves on the repugnance, among all societies, for tabooed sexual relations.

Frazer's explanation applies to such examples of avoidance as were reported

from the very primitive Ceylonese tribe, the Vedda, viz., brother-sister avoidance, or limited social relations between brothers and sisters reported from the Trobriand Islands and, in fact, from all parts of the world. Should a Trobriand brother happen to see his sister being wooed by a man, or she making love to him, all the three will have to commit suicide. But among the Vedda, brother and sister may not live under the same roof, nor even may they take their food together. No kind of intimacy or familiarity can ever develop between them. Frazer said that the purpose of avoidance is to prevent such sexual intimacy as would amount to incest. But, the question arises, why is avoidance observed between members of the same sex ? Frazer said that such avoidance must have been a later development.

Freud's psycho-analytical explanation, like Frazer's, is based on sexual attraction and the need to prevent sexual intimacy between various kinds of relatives. According to this explanation, a boy or girl when young has an infantile sexual passion for the parent of the opposite sex. Training is, therefore, required to teach the child to overcome and repress this feeling. Family customs are the medium through which this training is imparted. The natural consequence is the rise of ambivalent emotions in the subject's mind who is sought to be pulled away from his/her parent. Avoidance is observed to prevent any error on behalf of the subject in adult life in the observance of the norms of sexual conduct.

Lowie has come forward with a very significant explanation. He says that a daughter-in-law represents an alien and perhaps a different set of social, cultural and moral values. Her language, dress and notions about etiquette may be quite different from that of her husband's family. As an individual, her husband is bound to be influenced by her, but the rest of the family must be saved. Hence, the avoidance between her and her parents-in-law. Likewise, the son-in-law must be prevented from making cultural inroads into his wife's family.

Turney-High says that avoidance is a mechanism to preserve peace in the family. A woman's loyalty as wife may come into conflict with her loyalties as daughter-in-law. Consequently, the authority of the parents-in-law might collide with that of the husband. This would subject the wife to severe strain and impair the parents-son relationship. To prevent such social strains, daughter-in-law—parents-in-

law avoidance is observed. In other words, there is an implicit recognition that the spouse's authority should get the upper hand, but since in the familial structure it is his/her parents who stand supreme, avoidance between parents-in-law and daughter/son-in-law is the only way to meet the demands of this situation.

Radcliffe-Brown has given one of the most plausible of contemporary explanations. He points out that avoidance is a social fact and must, therefore, have a social explanation. He says that whenever people come in contact with each other, the possibilities of cooperation as well as conflict are always equally present. But there are certain kinds of kinship where hostility is regarded as against social norms. The best way to prevent such hostility from becoming manifest is to put restrictions on the growth of intimacy; and hence the kinship usage of avoidance. The same explanation is put differently by Chapple and Coon who root the avoidance usages in the necessity to keep the interaction rate low between individuals who would upset the social structure if this rate were increased.

There are other subsidiary kinds of avoidance also, like the taboo on using one's spouse's name, which are for the most part the outcome of the fear of witchcraft and sorcery that always dominates the primitive mind. It is necessary to point out that in many societies, the attitudes towards tabooed relatives are those of respect and consideration rather than hostile or ambivalent.

Joking Relationships

The reverse of the avoidance relationship is an extreme degree of familiarity expressed through joking relationships. Such joking may amount to exchange of abuse and banter, obscene and vulgar references to sex, damage of each other's property, ridicule and so on. Various explanations have been given to explain this equally queer usage of privileged familiarity.

Joking relationships may be indicative of equality and mutual reciprocity. They may also be indicative of potential sexual relationship. Thus is explained the joking relationship between a man and his wife's younger sister, or between a woman and her husband's younger brother. In each case, the two may be potential mates. A joking relationship with one's maternal uncle's wife may be indicative of the practice of

inheriting all the property of one's maternal uncle, including his wife. It may be indicative of a joking relationship with the maternal uncle himself expressed through sexual intimacy with his wife. Such usages have been reported from the matrilineal Hopi and the matrilineal Trobriand Islanders.

Among many primitive folk, joking relationships have been found to prevail between grandparents and grandchildren. Thus, among the Oraon and the Baiga, such joking relationships are found. It is of immense ethnographic interest that S.C. Roy has reported an instance of a grandfather marrying his granddaughter among the Oraon. Verrier Elwin has reported a similar instance from the Baiga where a grandson married his own grandmother. Recently a similar instance of grandfather having married his granddaughter, leading to the birth of a child also, has been reported from the Chamar, a depressed caste of leather-tanners spread all over north India. Ordinarily a joking relation between the two kin does obtain among them.

A joking relationship, when not mutual, assumes the role of social control. It becomes indicative of correction through ridicule.

Radcliffe-Brown regards the joking relationship as having a symbolic meaning (just as he does in case of the avoidance relationship). He says that joking relations may be a kind of friendliness expressed by a show of hostility. Exchange of abuse and even beating each other is at best sham hostility. Chapple and Coon regard this usage as the way to stimulate a higher interaction rate between various people which it may not be possible to do otherwise.

Teknonymy

All over rural India, and among some tribal groups like the Khasi as well and also elsewhere among the primitive societies of some parts of the world, a person is referred to as the father or the mother of his/her child, i.e., teknonymously. Tylor regarded this kinship usage also as a relic of the former supremacy of women, who never accepted the son-in-law as one of them in their residence and recognized a secondary relationship with him through the children he helped to bring to life. Through extension, a mother may likewise be referred to teknonymously.

Avunculate

If the maternal uncle enjoys a pre-eminent place in the life and affections of his nephews and nieces as a matter of convention, if he has special obligations towards them which exceed those of their father, if he has a prior right over their loyalties, if he transmits his property to his nephew, and if the nephew works for him rather than for his own father, in sum, if the maternal uncle comes first among all male relatives, then this kinship usage is designated as *avunculate*, and the maternal uncle's authority as *avuncupotestality*. If nephews and nieces are brought up in their maternal uncle's family, the condition is referred to as *avunculocal residence*. This is a common usage among matrilineal peoples, but may also be found among patrilineal societies, as a result of diffusion (borrowing from outside) or as a survival of a previous mode of matrilineal social structure.

Amitate

A special role, similar to that outlined in case of the maternal uncle, for one's father's sister is designated as *amitate*. Whereas *amitate* may be easily explicable in a patrilineal society, it has to be explained in the context of the matrilineal culture-complex of the Trobriand Islanders. It would seem that whereas *avunculate* in a matrilineal society and *amitate* in a patrilineal society may be the outcome of an obvious emphasis on one particular group of relatives, such emphasis expressed through *avunculate* in patrilineal society and *amitate* in a matrilineal society may be the social mechanism for preventing certain kinship bonds from falling into neglect. Or, to borrow once again the phraseology of Chapple and Coon, these usages are the way to keep up the rate of interaction between such kin among whom it may fall low due to their belonging to such groups which are not taken into account while reckoning descent.

Couvade

A queer practice designated *couvade* by anthropologists has been reported from among many primitive tribes like the Khasi and the Toda, as also from outside India. The practice consists in making a husband lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from active life, goes on sick diet and observes certain taboos. Thus, the Khasi husband, like his wife, cannot cross a stream or wash clothes until the spirits connected with childbirth are

propitiated. This kinship usage involving wife and husband has been variously explained. Some authorities have seen in it a survival of the transitional stage of the maternal-paternal complex. At the patrenal stage there is no excuse for treating the father so, for patrilocal residence leaves no room for doubt concerning the paternity of the child. It is only at the material stage that paternity is not likely to be known, nor is it considered important as the child takes the name of the mother's family and inheritance of property follows the uterine line of descent. In the maternal-paternal stage, where residence may be matrilineal, but inheritance patrilineal, or conversely, some conventional methods of ascertaining paternity are needed—keeping the father confined in a room or the customary bow and arrow ceremony of the Toda. The difficulty is that couvade is found associated with patriarchal clans and there is hardly any evidence to show that these clans at any time followed any system of inheritance other than the patrilineal. Malinowski believed couvade to be a cementing bond of married life and a social mechanism designed to secure paternal affection. Raglan regards it as an irrational belief which may be prior to marriage and even a contributory cause of the emergence of marriage as an institution.

Other writers have sought to give a psycho-analytical explanation: they have attributed this usage to the husband's desire to lighten the wife's discomforts by a process of participation through identification. But of late other explanations also have been put forward. Thus, it is said that a woman who has been delivered of a child undergoes certain chemical processes within her body which affect the atmosphere around her, if she is in an ill-ventilated cell or room, making ill those other people who live, and therefore breathe, in the same room. So, it is said, couvade is based not on superstition but on a fact. Of course, illness would result only in a few cases and it has been, and is, only anticipated in all the remaining cases.

7.4 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are the terms used in designating kin of various types. The study of kinship terms is as old as anthropology as a modern science is. The first significant contribution to the study of kinship terms was made by Morgan, who published his important conclusions as regards the study of kinship terms in the second half of the last century. Morgan studied kinship terms from all parts of the world and coined the still-used nomenclature for the two broad categories of kinship terms, viz., the *classificatory* and *descriptive*

systems of kinship terms.

Under a classificatory system several people, lineal as well as collateral, and often even affinal, are all referred to by the same term of designation. The term classes them as similar. Such terms refer more to relationship rather than to kin. Against this, a descriptive term of designation describes the speaker's exact relation towards him/her whom he/she is referring to or addressing. Thus, 'uncle' is a classificatory term but 'father' is a descriptive term. Rivers refers also to a third *family system* of terms. Such terms refer to the members of a single biological family individually.

There is no place in the world where either the pure descriptive or the pure classificatory system of nomenclature is used. Nephews, cousins and in-laws are some examples of classificatory terms used by modern Western society. However, Morgan was of the view that as we move away from backward primitive societies towards the so-called civilized societies we simultaneously move away from classificatory towards descriptive kinship terms. Some examples may now be considered.

The Sema Naga of Assam use *aja* for mother; father's brother's wife; mother's sister. The first two terms are indicative of levirate and the first and the third of sororate. The term *apu* is used for father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband, indicating marriage of several sisters to husbands who are brothers. *Ami* is used for father's sister; wife's mother; husband's mother; husband's brother's wife. The first two terms indicate cross-cousin marriage.

Among Kuki clans, *hepu* is used for father's father; mother's father; mother's brother; wife's father; mother's brother's son; wife's brother; wife's brother's son. Thus people of various age groups (generations) are designated by a single term.

Among Angami Naga, *shi* stands for elder brother; wife's elder sister; husband's elder brother; elder sister's husband; elder brother's wife; mother's brother's wife; father's brother's wife. Thus here we find the same term being used for members of opposite sexes.

In popular Hindi, *samadhin* is the only classificatory term; it refers to father and mother of daughter-in-law and of son-in-law.

Morgan's study of kinship terms had a pseudo-historical bias underlying it; he was always intent upon building evolutionary hierarchies.

W.H.R. Rivers has given an interpretation of the significance of kinship terms. He has said that terms of kinship refer to social usages which are antecedent to their use. For example, the use of the term *mama* by a particular class of Indians for a particular class of people is to be referred to the social functions of these persons for explanation. Thus, Rivers also tries to explain, when his theory so demands, certain kinship terms by speculating upon the former existence of now-vanished kinship usages. However, it must be accepted that so long as River's explanation is not merged with Morganian speculation it is a useful manner of interpreting kinship terms. Thus, among the Oraon *tachi* stands for father's sister; mother's brother's wife; mother's sister; and mother-in-law. This term indicates the presence of cross-cousin marriage and sororate which are in vogue in this tribe. Some other examples have already been cited. However, there are limitations on the applicability of this explanation.

Therefore, there have been other explanations also. It has been suggested that classificatory terms may be the outcome of the similarities which are apprehended between a group of kin. Others, like Kroeber, have given what has been called the nominalistic explanation, which amounts to saying that a person is 'just' given a name and kinship terms are merely tools of identification, and no deep meaning may be read into them. It may also as well be true that the more/less undeveloped a language, i.e., the more/less limited its vocabulary, the more/less would be the number of classificatory kinship terms in it.

7.5 Importance of Kinship

After the family, kinship group plays a very crucial role in the daily life, rituals and social ceremonies of Hindus. People turn to their kin not only for help in exigencies of life but even on regular occasions too. The kinship group may consist of four to five families or as many as twenty-five to thirty families. The important kinship groups after the family are *vansh* (lineage) and *gotra* (clan).

Lineage is an extension of family. It is a consanguineous unilateral descent group whose members trace themselves from a known (and real)

common ancestor. A lineage is based on more precise and specific genealogy. It may be either patrilineal or matrilineal. It is an exogamous unit.

The lineage members are treated as brothers and have fraternal allegiance to each other. Lineage ties lapse after several generations but the number of obligated generations is not usually specified clearly. The lineage fellows who live in the same neighbourhood or same village exchange economic aid, pool labour at harvest, help in dispute settlements, and co-operate with each other almost on all important occasions.

A main link among the families of a lineage is common participation in ritual functions. They participate together in each other's life-cycle observances like birth, death, etc. They worship the same deities and follow the same restrictions. Lineage fellows also co-operate for economic purposes. When the British came to power in the eighteenth century, they too made the headman of the lineage responsible for land revenue and maintenance of the order. In the nineteenth century, the system of land tenure changed which impaired the power of the ruling lineages. Today, the lineage relations continue to be important and powerful.

The *vansh* (lineage) passes into *gotra* (clan) which is also a unilateral kin group but is larger than the lineage. It has a mythical ancestor and is exogamous. Each person inherits the *gotra* of his father. According to T.N. Madan, the separation of a lineage is usually a gradual process and comes about through the slow, piecemeal relinquishing of mutual exchanging—sometimes under protest and sometimes mutually accepted—rather than in an abrupt, explosive break. The exogamous principle is, however, not relinquished, even after abandoning linear co-operation.

When lineage relations are limited in time and space, the *gotra* relations endure through time and across space. The members of a *gotra* usually have an origin story linking all of them to the same supernatural or mythical source. Co-operation within the *gotra* depends on economic factors as well as distance in place of residence. Today, the functions of *gotra* are minimal. Its chief function now is to regulate marriage.

Man's relations with his feminal kin, that is, kin related through his mother, his married sisters, his wife and his married daughters, are equally important

in his life. The exchange of gifts, periodic visits, reciprocal support in personal emergencies, and regular communication strengthen their relations with each other. Mother's brother has many obligations to perform for his neices and nephews on different occasions. The feminal kinsmen, broadly speaking, are more concerned with the individual and his problems as a person than as a member of a group. It may, therefore, be said that feminal relationships help to integrate each person and each village into a social network of villages that affect many aspects of village life. William Rowe (1960) also found in his study of a village near Banaras (present Varanasi) in Uttar Pradesh in 1959 that the feminal kin exchange labour, borrow from equipment, animals and cash from each other. When a person gets in trouble in his home village, he flees for refuge to his mother's brother's or to his wife's brother's village. Cohn also found in his village study that feminal kin cherish kinship ties in many ways.

7.6 Features of Kinship in North and Central India

Iravati Karve discussed the kinship features of Indian society in 1930s, 1940s and 1950s by dividing the country in four zones—northern, southern, central and eastern—on the basis of differences in languages spoken, that is, Sanskrit, Indo-Aryan languages (spoken in northern and central zones), Dravidian languages (spoken in southern zone) and Austric or Mundari languages (spoken in eastern zone). The difference between the northern and the central zones was made in terms of plain and hilly regions. In terms of present reorganized states, the northern zone consisted of eight states (Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Haryana, Kashmir and Meghalaya), the central zone consisted of six states (Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Orissa), the southern zone consisted of four states (Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu), and the eastern zone consisted of two states (Nagaland, Mizoram) and parts of Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa.

Though kinship behaviour in the northern zone changes slightly from region to region and within each region from caste to caste, yet the comparative study shows that it is possible to talk of an 'ideal' northern pattern referring to the practices and attitudes found mostly common among a majority of the castes (Karve).

The important features of kinship organization of the northern zone are : (1) Kins junior to Ego (person under reference) are addressed by their personal names

and senior to Ego by the kinship term. (2) All children in ascending and descending generations are equated with one's own sibling group (brothers and sisters) and all children of one's sibling group are again equated with one's own children. (3) The principle of unity of generations is observed (for example great-grandfather and grandfather are given same respect as father). (4) Within the same generation, the older and the younger kin are kept distinct. (5) The duties and behaviour patterns of the members of three generations are strictly regulated. (6) Some of the ancient kinship terms having Sanskrit origin have been replaced by new terms; for example *pitamaha* is replaced by *pita*. Suffix 'ji' is added to kinship terms used for kin older than the speaker (for example *chachaji*, *tauji*, etc.). In Bengal, instead of 'ji', suffix 'moshai' is added. (7) Marriage among close kin is not permitted. (8) After the marriage, a girl is not expected to be free with her parents-in-law, but when she becomes a mother, she achieves the position of respect and power and restrictions on her are lessened. (9) The family is so structured that children, parents and grandparents either live together or social kinship obligations toward them are clearly met. (10) Apart from the joint family which represents a person's intimate and nearest circle of relations, there is always a larger circle of kin who play a part in his life. This kindred represents the circle of his *patri-kin* or *matri-kin* who may stand by him and help him when the immediate family no longer suffices.

The salient features of kinship organization of Central India are not much different from those of North India. The important features of kinship in Central India are : (1) Every region follows northern practices of marriage, that is, consanguinity is the main consideration which rules marriage. (2) Many castes are divided into exogamous clans. Among some castes, the exogamous clans are arranged in hypergamous hierarchy. (3) The kinship terminology shows intimacy and closeness between various kins. The relations between kins are governed by the custom of “**neota-gifts**”, according to which cash-gift is given equivalent to cash-gift received. The **neota**-registers are maintained and preserved for generations. (4) In **Gujarat**, **mamera-type** of cousin marriage (with mother's brother) and **levirate** (marriage with husband's brother) are practised by some castes. (5) The **custom of periodic marriages** in Gujarat has led to **child marriages as well as unequal marriages**. But such marriages are practised in modern India too. (6) In **Maharashtra**, there is impact of both northern and southern zones in kinship relations. For example, the clan organization of the Marathas is similar

to that of the Rajputs, but the clans are arranged in a manner of concentric circles unlike those of Rajputs which are arranged in a ladder manner. Clans are grouped into divisions and each division is named according to the number of clans it comprises; for example **panch-kuli**, **sat-kuli**, etc. The clans are arranged in hypergamous order, the highest being the panch-kuli, followed by the sat-kuli, etc. The *panch-kuli* can marry among themselves or can take a girl from the *sat-kuli*, etc. but do not give their daughters outside the **panch-kuli**. (7) Some castes like Marahtas and Kunbis in the central zone practice **bride-price too**, though the dowry custom also exists among them. (8) Though the family system in Maharashtra is patrilineal and patrilocal, but unlike the north where a wife permanently stays with her husband after *gauna* and rarely goes to her father's house, in castes like Marathas, she moves to and from her father's house very frequently. Once she goes to her father's house, it is difficult to get her back to her husband's house. This shows the impact of the south on relations with kins. (9) Though the kinship terms are mostly northern but some terms are borrowed from the Dravidians in the south, for example, use of term *anna* and *nana* for brother along with the term *dada*. Similarly, use of them *akka*, *tai* and *mai* for sister. (10) The kinship system of the tribals in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh is somewhat different from that of the caste Hindus. The difference exists in terms of kinship terminology, marriage rules, inheritance system, and the clan obligations.

Thus, it may be stated that though the kinship organization in the northern and central zones is almost similar, yet it can be described as a region of transition from the north to the south. State like Maharashtra is a region of cultural borrowings and cultural synthesis (Karve).

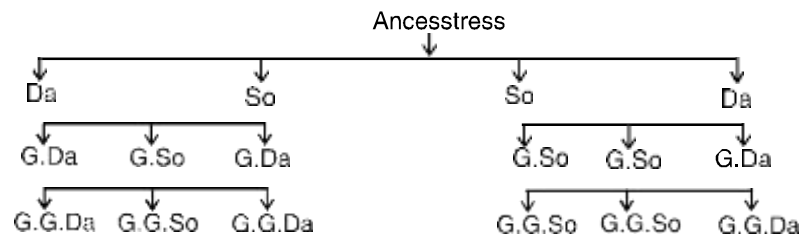
7.7 Kinship Structure in South India

The southern zone presents a complicated pattern of kinship system. Though patrilineal and patrilocal family is the dominant family type for the greater number of castes and communities (for example, Namboodris), there are important sections of population which are matrilineal and matrilineal (for example, Nayers), and also a quite number whose systems possess features of both patrilineal and matrilineal organizations (for example, Todas). Similarly, there are some castes/tribes who practise only polygyny (for example, Namboodris) and there are others who practise only polyandry (for example, Asari, Nayers) and yet others, who practise both polygyny and polyandry (for example, Todas). Then there are

polyandrous patrilineal groups (for example, Asari) and also polyandrous matrilineal groups (for example, Tiyan, Nayars) and polygynous patrilineal groups (for example, Namboodris) but no polygynous matrilineal groups. Similarly, there are patrilineal joint families and also matrilineal joint families. All this shows varied patterns in kinship organization in southern zone. Let us examine some of these organizations/patterns.

Matrilineal Family

How is matrilineal family organized ?



In the example of a matrilineal family, what is the kinship relationship of women to one another ? It is that of a daughter, mother, sister, mother's mother, mother's sister, and sister's daughter. What is the kinship relationship of women with men ? Males are related to women as brother, son, daughter's son, and sister's son. What is the kinship relationship of males to one another ? It is that of brother, mother's brother and sister's son. All these kinship relations are based on blood. There are no relations by marriage. This is because husband visits the family occasionally. We, therefore, find : (i) absence of companionship between husband and wife and between father and children; and (ii) there is complete independence of women as regards their livelihood from the earnings of their husband is concerned. This is how some southern families differ from the northern families.

Matrilineal Joint Family

Matrilineal joint family, called *Tarwad*, is found amongst the Nairs at Malabar in Travancore and a few other groups. The important characteristics of *Tarwad* are :

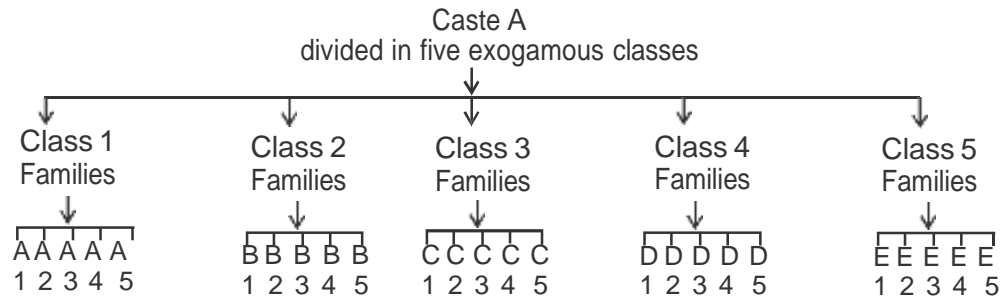
(1) the property of *Tarwad* is the property of all males and females belonging to it. (2) Unmarried sons belong to mother's *Tarwad* but married sons belong to their wife's *Tarwad*. (3) Manager of *Tarwad* property is oldest male member in the family, called *Karnavan* (his wife is called *Ammayi*). (4) *Karnavan* is an absolute ruler in the family. On his death, the next senior male member becomes *Karnavan*. He can invest money in his own name, can mortgage property, can give money on loan, can give and as gift, and is not accountable to any member in respect of income and expenditure. (5) When *Tarwad* becomes too large and unwieldy, it is divided into *Tavazhis*. A *Tavazhi* in relation to a woman is "a group of persons consisting of a female, her children, and all her descendents in the female line."

Tarwad before and after 1912 are two different things : (a) before 1912, *Tarwad* property was indivisible, but now it can be divided; (b) before 1912, *Karnavan* was the absolute ruler of *Tarwad*, but now his authority has become limited; (c) before 1912, members of *Tarwad* were not entitled to maintenance unless they lived in the family house, but now members have become entitled to maintenance outside the ancestral house; (d) before 1912, ancestor worship of *Karnavan* was common, but now it is no longer common; (e) before 1912, relations between husband and wife were formal, but now the relations have become informal and personal and more close and intimate; (f) before 1912, the self-acquired property of a member of a *Tarwad* went to *Tarwad* after his death, but now it goes to his widow and children, and in their absence to mother and mother's mother.

Thus, *Tarwad* of Nairs has now disintegrated after the enactments of 1912 Act (Travancore), 1920 Act (Cochin), 1933 Act (Madras), and 1958 Act (Kerala). Woman's property now goes to her sons and daughters and then to her father and husband. Kapadia (1947 : 348) has also written that the fact that more than 90 per cent of *veedus* (houses) have only one *Tavazhi* shows the extent of atomization of *Tarwads* in the last few decades.

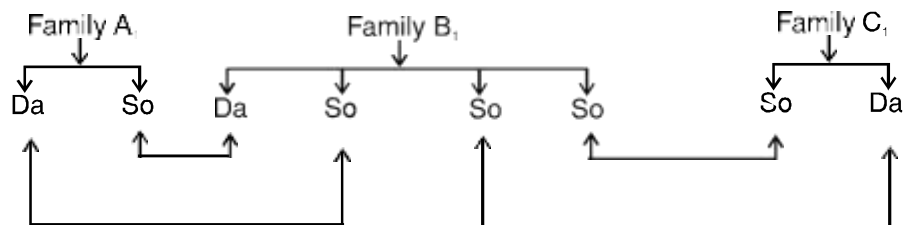
Clan Organization and Marriage Rules

How are clans of a caste organized and what are the rules of marriage obligations?



The important characteristics of clan organization are :

- (1) Each clan (composed of a number of families) possesses a name of some animal or a plant or some other object.
- (2) A person from one clan can seek a spouse from any other clan except his own. However, this choice is theoretical because of the rule of exchange of daughters.
- (3) In marriage, there is not only the rule of clan exogamy but also of family exchange of daughters. Thus, a man belonging to family 'B' of clan 'B' will seek daughter only from families A₁ and C₁ of clans 'A' and 'C' and from clans 'D' and 'E'. This rule makes the field of selection limited.



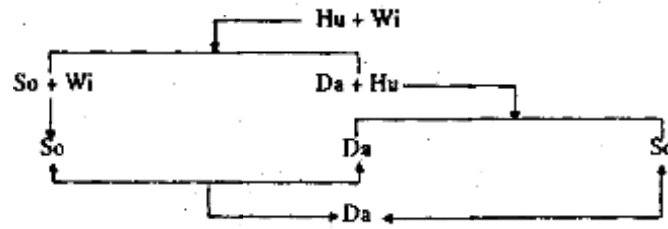
- (4) Because of the marriage rule of exchange of daughters, many kinship terms are common. For example the term used for *nanad* (HuSi) is also used for *bhabhi* (BrWi); the term used for *sala* (WiBr) is also used for *bahnoi* (SiHu); the term used for *sasur* (HuFa) is also used for bhabhi's father (BrWiFa).

- (5) Marriage between maternal parallel cousins, that is, between children of two sisters, is not permissible.

- (6) Sororate marriage (that is, marriage with wife's younger sister) is practised.

Also, two sisters can marry two brothers in one family.

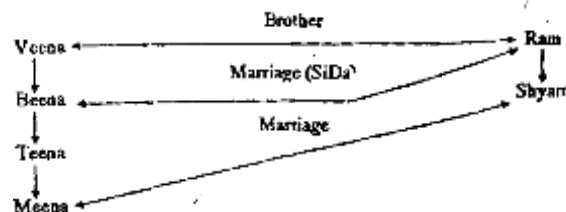
(7) There is a system of preferential mating in the south. In a large number of castes, the first preference is given to elder sister's daughter, second preference to father's sister's daughter, and third preference to mother's brother's daughter. This is shown in the diagram below :



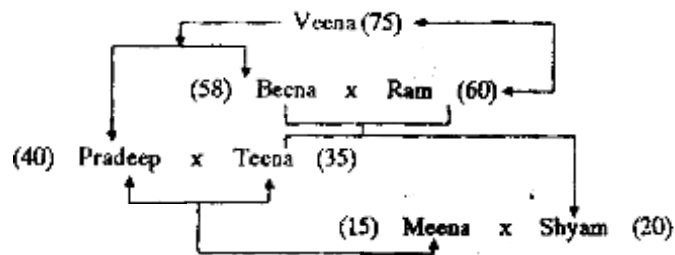
However, today cross-cousin marriage and specially the uncle-niece marriage is beginning to be considered as out-moded and a thing to be ashamed of among those groups which have come in contact with the northern Indians or with western culture.

(8) The taboos prescribed for marriage are : a man cannot marry his younger sister's daughter; a widow cannot marry her husband's elder or younger brother (that is, levirate is a taboo); and a man cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter.

(9) Marriage is dependent on the chronological age differences rather than the principle of generational divisions as in the north. One example is that the marriage of grandfather and granddaughter is possible in south as shown in the following example :



In the above diagram, Meena is a great granddaughter of Veena and also of Ram. Meena marries Shyam who will be her great grandfather's son, that is, grandfather. This is how marriage between grandfather and granddaughter is possible.



(10) Yet, another feature of marriage and kinship in the south is that marriage is not arranged with a view to widen a kin group but each marriage strengthens already existing bonds and makes doubly near those people who were already very near kins.

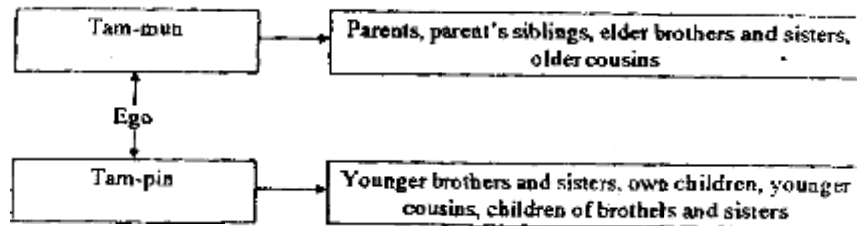
(11) A girl has to marry a person who belongs to the groups older than her, that is, *tam-mum*, and also to the group younger than parents, that is, she can marry any of her older cross-cousins. A boy must marry in a *tam-pin* group and who is a child of a group of *tam-mum*.

(12) The dichotomy of status and sentiments expressed in such northern terms like *kanya* (unmarried girl), *bahu* (married girl), *pihar* (mother's house) and *sasural* (husband's house) are absent in south. This is because in south, a girl after marriage does not enter the house of strangers as in north. One's husband is one's mother's brother's son and so on. Marriage in the south, thus, does not symbolize separation from father's house for a girl. A girl moves freely in her father-in-law's house.

Comparison of Kinship System of North and South India

- (1) In southern family, there is no clear-cut distinction between the family of birth (that is, family of orientation) and family of marriage (that is, family of procreation) as found in the northern family. In north, no member from Ego's family of orientation (that is, of father, mother, brother and sister) can also become a member of his family of marriage, but this is possible in the south.
- (2) In the north, every kinship term clearly indicates whether the person referred to is a blood relation or an affinal kin but this is not so in the south.
- (3) In the south, an Ego (person under reference/study) has some kin who are his blood relatives only and others who are his blood relatives and affinal kin at the same time.

- (4) In the south, organization of kin is arranged according to age categories in the two groups, that is, older than Ego (*tam-mum*) and younger than Ego (*tam-pin*) (*tam* is 'self', *mun* is 'before' and *pin* is 'after').



In the north, kin are organized according to the nature of relationship.

- (5) In the south, kinship organization is dependent on the chronological age differences while in the north, it is dependent on the principle of generational divisions.
- (6) No special norms of behaviour are evolved for the married girls in the south whereas in the north, many restrictions are imposed on them.
- (7) Marriage does not symbolize woman's separation from father's house in the south but in north, a woman becomes a casual visitor to her parents' family.
- (8) In the north, marriage is to widen the kinship group while in the south it is to strengthen already existing bonds.

7.8 Kinship Organization in Eastern India

There are more tribes than caste Hindus in eastern India (consisting of parts of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa). The important tribes are : Khasi, Birhor, Hos, Mundas and Uraon. The kinship organization here has no one pattern. People speaking Mundari languages have patrilineal, patrilocal families. However, joint families are rare in this zone. Cross-cousin marriages are practised seldomly though bride-price is common. Woman is addressed as *dual* (you two), referred to as *dual* (she, the two) and speaks as *dual* (1, two). Kinship terminology is borrowed both from Sanskrit and Dravidian languages. Khasis and Garos have matrilineal joint family system (like Nairs in the south). After marriage, a man rarely lives with his parents and establishes a separate house.

7.9 Let us sum up

It may be concluded that the kinship organization in India is influenced by caste and language. In this age of sharp competition for status and livelihood, a man and his family must have kin as allies. The caste and the linguistic groups may help the individual from time to time but his most staunch, trustworthy and loyal supporters could only be his nearest kins. It is, therefore, necessary that a person must not only strengthen his bonds with kin but should also try to enlarge his circle of kins. Cousin marriages, preferential mating, exchange rules and the marriage norms which circumvent through marriage may be extended and a person is able to get their help in seeking power and the status-lift that power can bring.

7.10 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Define Kinship and Describe the Kinship structure in South India.

Q.2. Explain the importance of Kinship and Describe Kinship terms.

Q.3. Describe in detail Kinship usages.

Q.4. Give the structure of Kinship in North and Central India.

MEANING AND FEATURES OF TRIBE

Structure

- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Introduction
- 8.3 Concept and definition of Tribe
- 8.4 Characteristics of Tribe
- 8.5 Classification of Tribes in India
- 8.6 Tribe - Caste Continuum
- 8.7 Similarities and Differences between Tribe and Caste
- 8.8 Justification of caste Tribe continuum
- 8.9 Let us sum up
- 8.10 Check your Progress

8.1 Objectives

After going through this lesson, the learners should be able to :-

- Understand the concept and definition of tribe
- Outline the characteristics of tribe.
- Know on what basis the tribes in India are classified.

- Understand the relationship between tribe and caste in the Indian context.

8.2 Introduction

In this lesson, we will study the various aspects of tribal society. First of all, it is important to define the term, 'tribe' because it has been used in different and ambiguous ways by social anthropologists, as well as, has a different meaning in the politico-administrative context. This will become clear as we outline the characteristics of tribe or its important features. A classification of tribes is also made in this lesson to have an understanding of the various types of tribal societies, their locus and spread. This lesson also brings out a similarity and difference between the two concepts 'tribe' and 'caste'. This is a useful attempt as the two terms have often been understood to overlap and mean the same things in the case of India.

8.3 Concept and Definition of Tribe

The term 'tribe' has been widely used in sociological and anthropological studies, but there is no general consensus as to its precise definition or appropriate application. The Roman word 'tribus' meant a political unit and was used to refer to social groups defined by the territory they occupied. The Greeks somewhat equated the term with their 'fraternities' and also at times with geographical divisions. In Irish history, the term 'tribe' meant families or communities of persons having the same surname. In certain areas of the western world and certain periods of history, it stood for a division of territory allotted to a family or community.

In the recent times, in the west, the term 'tribe' has come to mean what it has been defined in the latest edition of the Oxford dictionary. According to it, tribe is 'a race of people ; now applied especially to a primary aggregate of people in a primitive or barbarous condition, under a headman or chief.' In India, the term 'tribe' carried a similar meaning, especially since the time of British rule as depicted in the census figures. Till 1931 census, the nomenclature referring to 'tribe' underwent successive modifications, involving 'aboriginal' or 'depressed classes'. By the 1941 census, these qualifying adjectives were dropped, a practice continued after independence with the adoption of the term scheduled tribes or

as they are commonly called, the 'Adivasis'.

After independence (1947), political and administrative concerns were given prominence over the scientific and academic ones. Therefore, tribes in India have been identified and accordingly listed as 'Scheduled Tribes' rather than really defined. On this basis, there are more than 400 tribes accounting for 8.08 percent of the country's population as per the 1991 census. In the 'People of India' project, K.S. Singh has registered 461 tribal communities in India. The tribes thus categorized as 'Scheduled Tribes (S.T.)' receive several provisions granted under the Constitution of India (see lesson 4). Incidentally, there are certain tribal groups which fall outside the S.T. category and efforts are made to include them in the list as well. In some cases, the same community is identified as S.T. as well as S.C. (Scheduled Caste) or sometimes even OBC (Other Backward Class), depending upon in which category they are placed in the state list. The problem arises, mainly because of a lack of proper definition of tribe and their categorization. The term 'tribe' is nowhere defined in the Constitution of India. All that the Constitution says is that the Scheduled Tribes are 'the tribes or the tribal communities or part of a group within tribe or tribal communities which the President may specify by public notification' (Article 342).

The definition of 'tribe' however, given by social anthropologists vary from the conceptual understanding of 'Scheduled Tribe'. The term 'tribe' has a wider meaning and implication than the 'Scheduled' status in the Constitution. The definition given by Majumdar of a tribe in India is considered to be apt and sufficient, even if not totally complete. According to him, 'A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing, social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obliquity attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration' (see Nadeem Hasnain, **Tribal India Today**, 1983).

Majumdar's definition, though long, includes most of the characteristics that define 'tribe' in India, and also bring under one definition the views of several other anthropologists who have tried to define 'tribe'. He points out that kinship ties, common territory, one language, joint ownership, one political organization have all been referred to as the main characteristics of a tribe. Even though all anthropologists do not agree with all these

characteristics, they are understood to be universal characteristics, those which would define a tribe anywhere. Moreover, there are variation in tribes across cultures in the country and there are bound to be differences in these characteristics. These differences are spelt out in the later lessons.

An important reason for a problem in defining ‘tribe’ is related with its association with ‘caste’. Indeed Bailey, a distinguished anthropologist characterized tribe in terms of segmentary principle. This principle is different from that of caste which is a part of the hierarchical system based on functional interdependence of castes. ‘Tribe’ as different from caste possess much more autonomous and self-sufficient status. These points will be elaborated subsequently while dealing with ‘Tribe and Caste’ later in this lesson.

8.4 Characteristics of Tribe

From the above definitions, we can outline certain distinguished characteristics of tribe. However, it should be kept in mind that all tribes may not possess each and every characteristic owing to their different cultural and historical backgrounds. Also, not all scholars agree on all the characteristics. It is possible that in reality, a tribe may be characterized by all or a few characteristics given below.

First, it can be said that a tribe is a homogeneous group characterized by common kinship ties, religious beliefs and customs, family and marriage patterns, wherein all people belonging to it consider themselves as members of a small, but semi-national unit.

Second, members of a tribe usually have a common dialect and they live in a comparative geographic isolation. This means that they have a common language and a territory.

Third, though tribes follow different occupations and are at various levels of economic development, a tribe is usually understood to have joint ownership and use rights on land and forest. The economy is less money-oriented and more dependent on exploiting natural resources using fairly primitive technology. Many times, a tribe is referred to as a self-sufficient community.

Fourth, a tribe usually possess a political organization of its own, despite

politically being under the control of state governments. Panchayat among Indian tribes is an influential institution. It decides various matters pertaining to the tribe, work as effective social control mechanism and a unit of dispute resolution.

Fifth, since a tribe is understood to be a self-sufficient, isolated and homogeneous community, it is regarded as one based on segmentary principle. That is, various parts of a tribal community like clans, lineages etc. are like segments, different but not unequal or hierarchically arranged as in the caste system.

Sixth, we can therefore say that, unlike as in the Hindu caste system, a tribe has the least functional interdependence within the community.

Seventh, some scholars feel, an important characteristic of a 'tribe' is that it has the least desire to change. The members would not like to leave their given environment and culture in the normal circumstances.

Eighth, it can be said that intra-tribal conflict on a group-scale is not a feature of Indian tribes.

There are other distinguishing features of the Indian tribes as well. Like the dormitory institutions, the absence of institutional 'schooling', distinctive customs regarding birth, marriage and death, a moral code different from other religions and peculiarities of religious beliefs and rituals. (Majumdar and Madan 1986, ch. 16).

As said earlier, the different tribes in India vary across cultures and regions and owing to their cultural and historical backgrounds they present a very different picture. These differences can be understood by outlining the various basis on which the tribes in India are classified.

8.5 Classification of Tribes in India

By and large the tribes in India are classified on the basis of their (a) territorial distribution (b) linguistic affiliation (c) physical and racial characteristics (d) occupation or economy (e) cultural contact, and (f) religious belief. (Nadeem Hasnain, 1988, Ch. 3)

1. Geographical or Territorial Classification

On the basis of geographical and territorial distribution, the tribes in India

can be classified into three zones. These are : (i) the north and north-eastern zone (ii) the central or the middle zone and (iii) the southern zone. This classification will be dealt within detail in the next lesson.

2. Linguistic Classification

At present, people of India may be divided into four speech families—1. the Indo European (Aryan), 2. the Dravidian, 3. the Austric (Kolar Munda), and 4. the Tibeto-Chinese (Sino-Tibetan). Moreover, most of the scholars are of the view that the tribal people of India may be classified chiefly into three speech families (1) Dravidian, (2) Austric, and (3) Tibeto-Chinese.

The tribal people speaking the languages falling under Dravidian speech family inhabit the middle and southern India. The most developed languages of Dravidian family are Tamil, Telegu, Kannada and Malayalam. ‘Gondi’ occupy the chief place among the tribal speeches derived from Dravidian family and it is spoken widely by the Gond tribals who are scattered from Madhya Pradesh to Andhra Pradesh. It has no literature but considering the numerical strength of its speakers, it has been assigned a very important place. Another important language of this group is ‘koi’, spoken by the Kondh of Orissa, Oraon of Chotanagpur are Malto of Raj Mahal hills. The speeches of Toda, Paliya, Chenchu, Irula and Kadar are also included in the Dravidian family.

The Austric family of speeches is also known as ‘Munda’ speech family. Speeches of this family are spoken mainly by the tribals of Chotanagpur area, but also in some parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Madras and Terai region of Himalayas stretching from Bihar to Shimla hills. The Santhal speech of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Bhumij and some other speeches of Bihar are also included in this family. Tibeto-Chinese speeches are spoken most by the tribals of Mongol racial stock. This family is divided into two branches— (1) Tibeto-Burman, and (2) Siamese-Chinese. The tribals of Assam, Meghalaya and other parts of the north-east India speak one or the other speeches of this family.

3. Racial Classification

The main races of India are described as the Dravidian, the Mongolian

and the Indo-Aryan (Sir H. Resley, '**The Peoples of India**, 1915). The latest racial classification of Indian people are those made by Hutton, Guha and Majumdar. Of these, the classification made by Guha is considered to be the most important one. (**The Racial Elements of India**, 1938).

Guha lists six main races. These are—the Negrito, the Proto-Australoid, the Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Western Brachycephals and the Nordic. The ancestry of the present tribal population of India is traced chiefly to the first three types—Negrito, Proto-Australoid and Mongoloid.

The tribals of the hills of Cochin and Travancore such as Kadar, Irula, Paliyan etc., Angami Naga of Assam and the tribals of Rajmahal hills of eastern Bihar are included in Negrito racial type which exhibits short stature, black skin colour, black woolly hair, thin lips and broad nose.

The Proto-Australoid racial type people have short to medium stature, long and high head, broad and small face and flattened nose. Most of the middle or central Indian tribals come within this racial type but some south and west Indian tribes like Chenchu, Bhil, etc. also exhibit the racial characteristics of this type.

Most of the tribes of north-east India are included in the Mongoloid racial stock. They have yellowish skin colour straight and dark hair, flat nose, prominent cheek bones and almond shaped eyes. The Naga, Chakma, Lepcha etc. are some of the important tribes of this racial group.

Despite this scheme of racial classification, racially the tribes in India cannot be put strictly under any particular type or category. India has been described as the 'melting pot of races' by Majumdar (**Paces and Cultures of India**, 1944).

4. Economic Classification

The tribes in India are classified on economic basis ranging from simple hunting and gathering economy to those of settled agriculturists and artisan population.

This classification is taken up in detail in lesson 3.

5. Classification According to Culture Contact

Certain anthropologists and scholars like Verrier Elwin and Majumdar,

classified Indian tribes on the basis of their cultural contact with the rural and urban groups. This classification will be considered in more detail in the lesson ahead.

6. Classification Based on Religious Beliefs

The tribes in India belong to one or the other major religion like Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism and other religions. Like the above classification, this one will also be dealt with in detail in lesson 3.

8.6 Tribe Caste Continuum

The overlapping and similarity between tribe and caste in India dates back to the time of British rule. The decennial census operations of those times included not only counting of people but also the classification of population into such categories as tribes, castes, sects and occupations. Initially or till the time J.H. Hutton took over the charge of census operations, such groups as 'Jats' and 'Ahirs' were also described as tribes. That is why, the discussion on the points of distinction between 'tribe' and 'caste' became an academic issue of importance from 1931 onwards. If a group could be shown to be clearly Hindu in its religious beliefs and practices, it was a 'caste', if it was 'animistic' it had to be treated as a 'tribe'. Economic, political and ecological factors, were of secondary importance.

Andre Beteille (**Six Essays in comparative Sociology**, 1974) enumerated 'certain commonly observed differences between tribes and castes'. First, there is a relative isolation of tribes as compared with castes. This has two facets. It means, first, that the tribes are geographically isolated, being concentrated in areas which are or have been more or less inaccessible. It also means, that a tribe is a world within itself having few external social ties, whereas a caste is by its nature a part for a larger whole being linked by multifarious ties with other castes. The second criterion is language or dialect. As discussed earlier, the tribes speak a variety of dialects which can be shown to differ, on a number of important counts from the major Indian languages. The distinction can be seen on the basis of religions as well. Though now, most of them claim to be 'Hindus' the tribals follow a form of religious belief close to 'animism', a practice common to many tribes as different from Hinduism.

But religion, unlike language in a loose criterion, for what we encounter is a continuum without sharp breaks between 'tribal' and 'non-tribal'. It therefore becomes very difficult to classify and distinguish tribe and caste. Some scholars considered it better to see the relation between 'tribe' and 'caste' as not one of establishing similarities and differences between the two, but on seeing, them in terms of continuum.

In an important paper, *"Tribe" and "Caste" in India* (**Contributions to Indian Sociology**, Vol. 5, 1961). F. G. Bailey took all the points raised by various sociologists and social anthropologists into account and presented a scheme to distinguishing between tribe and caste in structural terms. He suggests that we should curb the tendency to view 'tribe' and 'caste' disjunctively, but view them in terms of 'continuum'. He argued that a caste society is 'organic' and hierarchical while a tribal society is 'segmentary' and egalitarian. But Bailey also talks about the changes in India society where 'both caste and tribe' are being merged into different system which is neither one nor the other. In this scenario, the classical distinction between the two—the 'tribe' and the 'caste' seems to be dwindling away as much as the relevance of Bailey's scheme.

After Bailey, it was Surajit Sinha who made the most serious attempt to understand Indian society in terms of tribe-caste continuum in an article 'Tribe-caste continuum' (**Man in India**, Vol. 45, No. 1). Citing certain cultural characteristics as the basis of continuum, Sinha opines that many of the lower castes in India seem to share with the tribals emphasis on equality in social behaviour within one's own ethnic group, considerable freedom of cultural participation for the women, and a value system burdened by puritanical asceticism. Further, the supernaturalism of there lowest castes has some similarities with that of tribes. Indeed for G.S. Ghurye, a well known pioneer sociologist of India, tribals are but backward caste Hindus placed at the lowest strata of the Indian society. (**The Aborigines, So-Called and their Future**, 1943).

Tribe-caste continuum has also been understood on the international level of great and little traditions. The references of tribes like 'Khasa' and 'Bhil' in the epics and texts of the great tradition such as Ramayana and Mahabharata, go on to prove that despite their general isolation, the tribes did maintain, though occasionally, cultural contacts with the larger Hindu society. The absorption, into

great tradition, of several tracts from little tradition because of occasional contact is also responsible for the tribe-caste continuum. N.K. Bose, in his **Hindu Methods of Tribal Absorption** (1941) showed the mode of absorption of caste influence by the primitive tribes of Orissa. Martin Oran's study, **Santhal : A Tribe in search of Great Tradition** (1965), goes on to show, how on a different plane, many tribes of India are being attracted towards the complex beliefs of Hinduism (Nadeem Hasnain, **Readings in Indian Anthropology**, 1988).

In the recent years, though the question of tribal and ethnic identities as separate from that of caste is emerging, the studying of tribe and caste relationship and tribe-caste continuum is still a useful exercise. It provides insights into the genesis and dynamics of Indian society, and points for discussion for such issues as conversion, collective mobilization and identity formation, inter group relations, social movements and nation building.

8.7 Similarities and Differences Between Tribe and Caste: -

A tribe is a group of local communities, inhabiting a common area, conversing in common dialect and sporting a common culture. 'The shift into the caste society of these tribal communities is usually gradual and un dramatic. There is no absolute cultural or social distinction between all tribal and all caste peoples. But rather a range of variation between tribal and caste traits. At the middle of range there may be very little difference between a group that considers itself a tribe and one that claims to be a caste, sometimes a caste group is often mistaken for a tribe where as they differ sharply. These two communities hence following points of similarity:

- i) A tribe forbids marriage with in a class – caste also does not permit a marriage within a clan.
 - ii) A tribe as well as a caste, in general do not permit a marriage outside.
 - iii) Tribal seek the interests of their members, so does the feeling of castism. A caste differs from a tribe in its organization, behaviour and nature. Given below are the basic points of differences: -
- According to Risely, the convention of endogamy is not rigidly enforced in tribe, whereas such is the case in a caste. But this view of Risely

does not appear to be unusually true since the law of endogamy is enforced with extreme rigidity in some tribes.

- Max Weber writes in social structures that when an Indian tribe loses its territorial significance it assumes the form of an Indian caste. In this way, the tribe is a local; group where as the caste is a social group.
- The caste originated, in ancient Hindu society, with a view to division of labour on the basis of profession and occupations. The tribe came about because of the evolution of community feeling in a group inhabiting a definite geographical area.
- According to D.N. Majumdar the tribe looks upon Hindu ritualism as foreign and extra – religions even though indulging in it and in the relationship of God and Goddesses, whereas in the caste these are necessary parts.
- According to Max Weber status of all people is similar in the caste, where as there is much difference of status and rank in the tribe.
- There is greater consciousness of difference of status and rank in the caste than in the tribe.
- Caste is never a political association whereas the tribe is a political association.
- In the caste individuals generally observe their own definite occupation because functions are divided under the caste system. In the tribes, individuals indulge their fancies in whatever profession they please because there is no fixed relation between them and the occupations

8.8 Justification of tribe and caste continuum:-It is very difficult to draw a rigid line between tribe and caste to classify and distinguish tribe and caste. Various scholar consider relation between tribe and caste as not one the establishing similarities and differences between the two but prefer them in terms of continuum. An important paper entitled ‘tribe and caste’ in India, F.G. Bailey referenced various sociologists and Anthropologists who have tried to make structural distinction between ‘tribe’ and ‘caste’ distinctively, but were them in terms of continuum. He argued that a caste society is

‘organised’ and hierarchical while a tribal society is segmentary and egalitarian. But he also indicated changes in Indian society, where both ‘caste and tribe’ are being merged into different system, which does not indicate absolute meaning of one.

In an article entitled “Tribe Caste Continuum” Surjeet Sinha referenced various cultural characteristics as the basis of continuum. He is of the view that some lower castes in India share with the tribal emphasis on equality in social behavior with in one’s own ethnic group, considerable freedom of cultural participation for the women, and a value system burdened by puritanical asceticism, supernaturalism among lowest castes was somewhat similar with that of tribes. G.S. Ghurye an Indian sociologist is of the view that tribals are the backward caste Hindus placed at the lowest strata of Indian society.

When we examine great and little tradition at international level Khasi and Jaintia in the Epic and text of great tradition such as Ramayana and Mahabharata, so on to prove that despite their general isolation, the tribes did maintain, though occasionally, cultural contact with the larger Hindu society. Thus, the absorption into great tradition of several traits from little tradition due to occasional contact is responsible for the tribe caste continuum.

N.K. Bose in Hindu method of tribal absorption indicated the mode of absorption of caste influence by the primitive tribes of Orissa. Marton Oran’s study on Santhal: A tribe in search of great tradition shows that many tribes of India are being attracted towards the complex beliefs of Hinduism.

Thus, from above discussion, references and definitions of both the concepts, it can thus be concluded that both the terms are different as well as similar to each other but their approaches are absolutely based on Tribal caste continuum. Because there is neither absolute difference nor similarity between them the related literature refers to the appropriate continuum of Tribe and Caste.

8.9 Let us sum up

In this lesson, we discussed the concept, definition and characteristics of tribe. On the basis of this, we can argue that a tribe possess certain distinguished characteristics, like kinship, ties, common territory, one language, joint ownership,

one political organisation and absence of strife. These may vary from one region to another. It was also learnt from this, that the official definition of 'tribe' in India is different, wherein the tribes are classified as 'Scheduled Tribes', numbering more than 400.

This lesson also focussed on the classification of tribes which provided the basis to know the different types of tribes present in India. The understanding and classification based on geographical, racial occupational, cultural contact and religion will help us further in the next two lessons.

'Caste' and 'Tribe' dealt within the last part of this lesson brought out the relation between the two concepts and suggested the usefulness of analyzing them in the context of 'Tribe-Caste Continuum' framework.

8.10 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Define tribe and discuss its characteristics.

Q.2 Define caste and discuss its characteristics.

Q.3. Define caste and discuss difference between caste and tribe.

Q.4. Discuss tribe- caste continuum in Indian social system.

Q.5. What do you understand by 'Tribe-Caste Continuum'.

Q.6. Examine F.G. Bailey's views on 'Tribe-Caste Continuum'.

8.11 Suggested Readings

1. Hasnain, Nadeem. **Tribal India Today**, Harnam Publications, New Delhi, 1983.
2. Hasnain, Nadeem, **Readings in India Anthropology**, Harnam Publications, New Delhi, 1988.
3. Majumdar, D.N. and T.N. Madan, **An Introduction to Social Anthropology**, 1991 (6th Ed.) (1986) Mayur Paperbacks.

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE OF TRIBES

Structure

- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 Social Organization of Tribes
- 9.4 Classification Based on Culture Contact
- 9.5 Religious Profile
- 9.6 Economic Classification
- 9.7 Let us sum up
- 9.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 9.9 Suggested Readings

9.1 Objectives

After going through this lesson the learners will be able to :

- understand the social organization of tribes in India.
- know that tribes are not a homogeneous and isolated categories but have different levels of contact with other non-tribal groups.
- know that they belong to different religious groups even if they have their own rituals and beliefs.

- understand the economic classification of tribes in India which vary from simple food gathering and hunting stage to that of industrial stage.

9.2 Introduction

This lesson deals with the socio-cultural and economic profiles of tribes in India. First of all, it focuses on the classification of tribes based on their social organization. In this, we will know that study of tribes also includes other categories like clan, lineage, moiety or phatry and on this aspect there are variations across regions.

This lesson then deals with the differentiation of tribes based on the level of cultural contact, *i.e.* to what extent tribes exist independently and in isolation and to what extent they have become a part of wider culture. Tribes in India are also classified on the basis of major religions of the country, and this is a shift from their earlier categorization as ‘animists’. An important classification of the tribes is based on economic criterion. In this lesson, it is shown that the economic profile of tribes present no less than seven different occupations or combination of occupations.

9.3 Social Organization of Tribes

Social organization refers to a set of inter-related roles and inter-relations within a particular group at a particular time. Every social organization consists of certain groups, which when related provide a structure to that organization. The family, school and club are examples of such groups. Among tribals also we find such groups, though a few others like dormitory, clan and men’s club are very important.

Groups of people engaged in economic pursuits comprise the economic organization of a tribe, and groups like the panchayats constitute its political organization. The former sustains, and the latter controls and regulates the social organization. The inter-relation between the three would present the total pattern of tribal organization. Religion and religious groups are both social as well as regulative.

One can broadly talk of six important types of social organizations found in tribes of India. Since regulation of marriage is the most important function of the units of tribes, the social organizations of tribes is based on the criteria of endogamy (within) and exogamy (outside) in the context of marriage.

First, there are tribes which are endogamous, having local endogamous groups which are further sub divided into exogamous families. Some of the primitive and simplest tribes of India like the Andaman pygmies of Andaman Islands and the Kadar of central India are examples of this type.

Second category of social organization may include endogamous tribe with exogamous clans subdivided into exogamous families. Clans are understood to be descent groups and their members trace their ancestry to a common ancestor. Since members of a clan are supposed to be descendants of a common ancestor, they consider themselves to be blood related and do not intermarry. Many tribes of central India like the Ho, Munda, Khond and the Goud have well developed clans and the social organization as described above Khasi tribe of Meghalaya, a Matrilineal group also has exogamous clans subdivided into exogamous matrilocal families.

In third type of social organization, an endogamous tribe is divided into endogamous or exogamous moieties which are further sub-divided into exogamous families. Moiety actually refers to the division of a group into halves. When based on descent they are exogamous. But moieties are also based on marriage rules. The Toda tribe of Nilgiri Hills for example is an endogamous tribe with two endogamous moieties, Teivaliol and Tartharol. Each Moiety is further divided into exogamous class and exogamous families.

In this sense, the Todas present an example of the fourth type in which there are four divisions—tribe, moiety, clan and family. Similarly and fifthly, an endogamous tribe may have exogamous or endogamous phratries which may have exogamous clans and families. A phratry refers to a grouping of two or more clans who claim common descent from a mythological ancestor. In this sense, a phratry is a collection of a few clans and a moiety could be collection of a few phratries. This would then constitute

the sixth form of social organization. That is, an endogamous tribe, endogamous or exogamous moieties, exogamous phratries, clans and families. (See Majumdar and Madan, 1991.)

Thus we see that on the basis of the principles of endogamy and exogamy in relation to marriage, one can talk about different forms of social organizations. This classification is however, not exhaustive, as some tribes may fall outside these social organizations.

9.4 Classification Based on Culture Contact

Indian tribes can also be classified according to their cultural distance from caste, peasant and other groups. Verrier, Elwin, gave the following classification of the tribals or aboriginals :—

- 1) those who are most primitive, live a joint communal life and cultivate with axes.
- 2) those who, though equally attached to their solitude and ancient traditions, are more individualistic, less occupied with axe cultivation.
- 3) those, the most numerous, who under external influence are already on the way out by the loss of their tribal culture, religion and social organization.
- 4) the tribes like the Bhil and Naga who are said to be representatives of the old aristocracy of the country, who retain much of their original tribal life.

According to Majumdar tribal cultures fall into three groups :—

1. those who are actually most distant from the rural-urban groups, that is more or less out of contact.
2. those who are under the influence of the culture of rural-urban groups and have developed discomforts and problems consequently.
3. those who, though in contact with rural-urban groups, have not suffered thereof.

The Indian Conference of Social Work (1952), appointed a Tribal Welfare

Committee which had suggested the following classification :

1. **Tribal Communities** : Tribals who confine themselves to original habitats and are still distinctive in their pattern of life.
2. **Semi-Tribal Communities** : Tribals who have, more or less, settled down in rural areas taking to agriculture and other allied occupations.
3. **A Cultured Tribal Communities** : Tribals who have migrated and settled in urban or semi-urban areas and are engaged in such occupations as trade and industry.
4. **Totally Assimilated Tribals** : Some authors like B.K. Roy Burman has classified tribals in terms of their orientation towards the Hindu social order like—incorporation in the Hindu social order.

Taking into consideration different criteria like culture contact, external influence, welfare, Hinduization etc., Vidyarthi and Rai have given the following classification with examples which is the most acceptable one.

- 1) Distinctive Tribal Communities living in highly isolated regions, e.g. the forest hunting tribes and the hill cultivators.
- 2) Rural tribals who are living in rural areas and are dependent on agriculture and other allied occupations, e.g. agriculturist tribes.
- 3) Semi-Acculturated Tribals who have successfully blended their own cultural traditions with the neighbouring people like tribal communities living in mixed villages.
- 4) Acculturated Tribals who have adopted modern occupations in urban and industrial fields and have mixed to a great extent with the rest of the population, e.g. industrial labourers.
- 5) Totally Assimilated Tribals who have acquired a place in the Hindu caste ladder, e.g. the Bhumij, the Majhi, the Khasa and the Raj Gond.

9.5 Religious Profile

Before independence of the country the religion of the tribals used to be enumerated as 'animism', *i.e.* belief in spiritual beings and souls. However, over the years, the tribals started classifying themselves according to the major religions of India. The census of 1991 and those before that as well, show that the tribals in India are classified into the following religions :—

1. Hinduism
2. Christianity
3. Buddhism
4. Islam
5. Jainism
6. Other Religions.

Among these religions, the influence of Hindu religion on the tribes is tremendous and almost 90 percent of tribals follow Hinduism. Those who have embraced Christianity are also quite considerable in number and about six percent are under this category. Those following Buddhism, Islam or Jainism are negligible in number. However, the number of tribals belonging especially to Islam and Buddhism has increased not so much because of larger number of tribal people embracing these religions, but mainly because people professing these religions are now placed under scheduled tribe category. For instance, the Gujjars who are Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir are now classified as scheduled tribes, so are other tribes in Kargil region of Ladakh as 'Balti'. Similarly, followers of Buddhism in Ladakh region like Boto are also classified as scheduled tribe. There are more such cases in different states of India, resulting in the increasing of those people classified as scheduled tribes under the religions categories like Buddhism or Islam.

Viewing these tribes in geographical perspective, barring the tribes inhabiting the islands falling under Bay of Bengal and Arabian sea, most of the tribes of South India as well as of Western and Central India are more or less Hindu in faith. Most of the tribes in North-east follow Christianity and more than 90

percent of the population of Nagaland and Mizoram are Christians. In Central India, some major tribes of Chotanagpur also follow Christianity like Oraon, Munda and Ho. The tribes following Islam are mostly scattered in Lakshdeep, Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Jammu and Kashmir. Among such tribes about 98 percent of the total tribal population of Lakshdeep, Minicoy and Amindiri Islands are followers of Islam. Buddhism among Indian tribes is represented mainly by some tribal groups of Arunachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.

9.6 Economic Classification

The economic classification of tribes by two well known anthropologists is quite well known in the world, that of Thurnwald and Herkovits. The classification by Thurnwald is considered as most appropriate in the Indian context.

This is as follows :—

1. Homogeneous communities of men as hunters and trappers and women as collectors. The tribes in this category are—the Kharia, the Korwa, the Kadar and the Chenchu.
2. Homogeneous communities of hunters, trappers and agriculturists, like the Kamar, the Baiga and the Birhor tribes.
3. Graded society of hunters, trappers, agriculturists and artisans. Most of the Indian tribes fall in this category. The Chero and the Agaria of Central India are famous as artisans.
4. The herdsmen—the Toda and some sections of the great Bhil tribe furnish classic examples in India.
5. Homogeneous hunters and herdsmen. This category is not represented among Indian tribes. The famous pastoral Todas of Nilgiri hills do not hunt or catch fish.
6. Ethnically stratified cattle breeders and traders. The Bhotias of the sub-Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh breed Yaks and are traders.

7. Socially graded herdsmen with hunting, agricultural and artisan population.

According to D.N. Majumdar, such a classification though useful, is not very helpful in the long run as it mainly indicates the nature of economic difficulties experienced by the tribal communities. Taking mainly technological achievements into consideration, he undertakes a more lucid and clear-cut classification on the conditions of economic life of the tribals.

- 1) **Tribes hunting in forests :** In this category, are included those tribes that earn their livelihood through collection of edible roots and fruits, hunting and fishing. Examples are the Chenchu, Chandi (Andhra Pradesh), Kadar, Malapatram (Kerala), Paliyan (Tamil Nadu). Onge, Jarwa, Nicobarese, Sentenelese (Andaman and Nicobar Islands), Raji (U.P.), Hill Garo (Meghalaya), Birhor, Korwa and Hill Kharia (Chotanagpur) and Juang (Orissa).
- 2) **Tribes engaged in hilly or shifting/slash-burn cultivation.** A vast chunk of Indian tribes is engaged in shifting cultivation on hilly or mountainous tracts of north-eastern and middle or central India. Many tribes are giving up this type of cultivation in the recent years.
- 3) **Tribes engaged in cultivation on levelled or plain land.** Almost all the tribes of Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura produce their crops through this mode of cultivation. Some tribes of Orissa, Gond and Baiga of Madhya Pradesh are also engaged in this mode of cultivations. Among the numerically big tribes, Oraon, Munda, Ho and Santhals are successful cultivators.
- 4) **Simple Artisan Tribes :** Some of the Indian tribes earn their livelihood through cottage industries. They are engaged in basket and mat making, wearing and blacksmithy etc. The gujjar of Jammu and Kashmir and Kinnauri of Himachal Pradesh work on wood. Asur of Bihar and Agaria of Madhya Pradesh are proficient in iron something, the Kolam of Maharashtra are traditional mat weavers and the Irula of

Tamilnadu make beautiful mats and baskets on bamboo.

- 5) **Pastoral Tribes :** Totally pastoral tribes are a few in number and those are also settling down and taking to different occupations now. Some of the well known examples are Toda of Nilgiris, Gaddi of Himachal Pradesh, Gujjar and Bakarwal of Jammu and Kashmir, Nageshia of Madhya Pradesh, Maldhan of Gujarat as well as some other tribes of northern and southern India. Most of these pastoral tribes trade in milk, though some like the Bakarwal rear sheep, goat and cattle for selling them in the market.
- 6) **Tribes living as folk Artists :** Some tribes earn their livelihood by performing dances, acrobatics, snake charming etc. and are called 'folk artist'. The Nut and the Sapera of Uttar Pradesh, the Mudupptu (acrobats) of Orissa, the Kota of Tamilnadu (snake charmers), and some groups of Gonds of Madhya Pradesh (tattooers and dancers) as well as some tribes of eastern India are good examples of this category.
- 7) **Agricultural and non-agricultural labour oriented tribes :** Among the tribes engaged in agricultural labour are those which are traditionally agriculturists but due to their landlessness they work as agricultural labour on other's land. About one fifth of the total tribal population is engaged in agriculture as wage farmers.

Non-agricultural tribal labour force includes those tribals who are working in local factories and mines of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal and the plantation of Assam and neighbouring states.
- 8) **Tribes engaged in service and trade :** A comparatively small number of tribal are engaged in service, especially government and trade. However, their number is increasing owing to the reservation of jobs for scheduled tribe category. Among such tribes are those of Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland on the north-eastern side of the country and mainly Christian tribals of Chotanagpur area, now in Jharkhand state.

9.7 Let us sum up

In this lesson, we dealt with some of the important basis on which the tribes in India are classified. On the basis of culture contact or the level of integration, it is noted that tribes in India are in contact with other Hindu, rural and urban categories in varying degrees. Some are completely isolated and have no contact, some have little, while others are more or less assimilated in the wider groups. This classification is useful to understand the level and types of changes that various tribes in India are undergoing.

The religious classification of the tribals showed that most of them classify themselves as Hindus, though there are tribes in significant numbers professing Christian religion. Tribes favouring Islam and Buddhism are comparatively rare, though their number is increasing owing to the placement of certain groups following these religions into 'scheduled tribe' category.

The economic classification is indeed an important classification which shows that tribes in India range from primitive economy of food and hunting to that of service and trade category with large number of them following agriculture as the main occupation. The economic classification also tells us the stages of development of different tribes and the changes coming in them.

9.8 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Explain the classification of tribal groups based on cultural contact.

Q.2. Explain the economic classification of tribe according to Thurnwald.

Q.3. Describe the classification of tribes on the basis of major religions of India.

9.9 Suggested Readings

1. Hasnain, Nadeem, **Tribal India Today**, Harnam Publications, New Delhi, 1988 (1983).
2. Vidyarthi, L.P. and B.K. Rai, **The Tribal Culture of India**, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, 2nd Ed. (1976).

TRIBAL POLICY : ISOLATION, ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION

Structure

- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Introduction
- 10.3 Different Perspectives on Tribal Development
- 10.4 Policy of Isolation
- 10.5 Assimilation Method
- 10.6 Integration of Tribals to the Mainstream
- 10.7 Approaches to Tribal Welfare
- 10.8 Constitutional Provisions for Scheduled Tribes
- 10.9 Let us sum up
- 10.10 Self Assessment Questions

10.1 Objectives

After going through this unit the learners should be able to :

- understand the different perspectives on tribal development.
- know in detail the different perspectives and approaches on tribal development like isolation, assimilation and integration.

- know the different constitutional provisions regarding scheduled tribes.
- understand the efforts of the government for the development of the tribals.

10.2 Introduction

This lesson deals with the different approaches of the government before and after independence on the question of tribal people in India. It is seen that the policy of isolation or segregation, i.e. of keeping tribals away and isolated from the mainstream was followed before independence mainly through some argue for the continuation of this policy afterwards as well. Assimilation or absorption of the tribals by the other communities was the result of the continuous contact of the tribes with the rest of the population as seen in the last lesson. The integration approach is regarded as the most important one as it became the approach of the government of India after independence. It focussed on the integration of the tribes in regional and national setting whereby they become the part of the national stream, as well as keep their own culture and identity intact.

This lesson also deals with the provision for the scheduled tribes as enshrined in the constitution of India and several other advantages bestowed upon them. The lesson also highlights due efforts towards development of tribals and special steps taken in this direction, like identification tribal sub-plan and initiation of various development schemes for them.

10.3 Different Perspectives on Tribal Development

Since ancient historical times, the tribals were known by different names like the 'Adivasi' or the 'aboriginals' and other presence was acknowledged during all the periods. Most of them remained isolated and inaccessible mainly due to lack of communications and self sufficiency of their situations. Tribals had a world view and life of their own which they enjoyed. Modern principles of administration, whether for colonial or other ends were first brought to the tribals by the British. The British, by and large, kept the tribals isolated and their mode of tribal administration was basically 'law and order' oriented. However, as tribal area were also rich

in forest and mineral wealth and the Britishers needed the resources for their defence and development purposes. The Britishers introduced their own administrative system and policy vis-a-vis the tribals. Not all this was accepted and tribal history is full of examples of several tribal revolts, like the Munda and Santhal uprising against the British rule.

Initially, the British rulers came in contact with the tribals with the entry of some Missionaries in the beginning of the 19th century. One of the most important of them was Verlner Chemic, who though came as a missionary but later identified himself more closely with the life and condition of the tribals. His monumental work on Baiga (The Baigal, 1939) which regarded the Baiga tribe as victim of civilization, and later the work entitled 'Loss of Neine' (1941) suggested a stronger love in favour of an approach called 'Isolation'. Though some well known marks were carried out by anthropologists like D.N. Majumdar, S.C. Dube, N.K. Bose and L.P. Vidyarthi besides others eminent personality carried a lot of weight. Since, he was regarded as the major spokesman of the majority of anthropologists of his time, anthropologists were labelled as 'isolationists', 'revivalists', 'No-changers', or 'status-quoists' by the social workers aligned with the Indian National Congress Party. Even though many anthropologists did not side with this view, the social workers and politicians went on to brand the entire community of anthropologists as 'isolationists'. These people and the National movement leaders regarded the tribals as a separate section of the Indian population and wanted them to be the part of the freedom struggle and the national mainstream.

The social workers and politicians were led by A.V. Thakkar, popularly known as 'Thakkar Bapa'. He was a Gandhian and like him several workers concentrated on work for the upliftment and development of tribals. Thakkar Bapa accused the anthropologists of being selfish and their desire to keep the tribals confined to isolated and inaccessible hills and jungles, something like keeping them in a glass case of a museum or in a zoo for the curiosity of purely academic pursuits. To him, 'separatism' and 'isolationism' seemed to be dangerous theories as they struck at the root of national solidarity. He pleaded for total 'assimilation' of tribals and taking the posture of a typical social worker simplified the tribal

problems into those of—poverty, illiteracy, lack of communication, ill health, defects in administration and lack of leadership.

All these controversies took place in the thirties and forties of the 20 century, just prior to independence. When India became independent in 1947, the constitutional provisions were made for the scheduled tribe categories who were identified and listed scheduled and tribal areas (Vth and VI schedule of the constitution) were demarcated, and Tribes Advisory Council as well as Commissions for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were set-up. The general idea is to bring about the overall development of the tribals on the one hand and to keep their identity and preserve their culture on the other. The approach is that of 'integration' as against 'isolation' and 'assimilation' propounded before or at the time of independence. Historically, there have been three main approaches.

- (1) Policy of isolation
 - (a) In pre-independence period
 - (b) In post-independence period.
- (2) Assimilations : A result of constant contact of the tribes with the rest of Indian population and the efforts of social reformers.
- (3) Integration of tribes in regional and National setting.

10.4 Policy of Isolation

The foremost policies which were adopted by the British rulers were to isolate these people from the general mass and separate the tribal areas from the purview of the normal administration. This administrative segregative adjustment was not at all realized by the rest of their countrymen as they were either too subdued or too ignorant to understand what was happening. This isolation led to much exploitation by non-tribal money-leaders, contractors, zamindars and middlemen. In the segregated areas, however, only a few such people could enter through the administration. But they were not welcomed by the tribals. Also their contact with non-tribals added to their strain fighting a lone battle against nature in the hilly and forest areas.

The policy of isolation by the British Government was largely effected by their deliberate efforts not to develop communication in the tribal areas which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. A few roads that were constructed were for security purposes and to enable contractors to exploit the forest produce. Communication with the other groups of people, was also discouraged as the tribal areas were made secluded by the authority. The most burning example that can be cited in this respect is of the north-eastern Himalayan tribes. They had no communication with the rest of India and consequently a sense of separatism has developed in them.

In isolated tribal areas, a very small number of people were allowed, *i.e.*, some contractors, Government officials and a few businessmen. They grouped together and started business on their own terms. They were there to interpret the rule, and their terms of business swept in purchase and sale of the goods and thus exploitation of an extreme degree pervaded.

In some areas, the British rulers also created 'excluded' and 'partially excluded' areas and gave them separate political representation. The feeling in the national field was that it was a wicked conspiracy to create a new separatist minority. And ultimately this precipitated the creation of Nagaland, a separate State, in 1960 with a population of a few lakhs.

In fact the area-wise isolation began with the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1870, and a few tracts were specified as "scheduled tracts", *viz.*, in the Himalayan region, the then Assam, Darjeeling, Kumaon and Garhwal are then Tarai Paragnas, Jaunsar-Bawar, Lahaul and Spiti; in middle India Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana, Angul Mahal. Chanda, Chhattisgarh, Chhindwara, Manpur (Indore), Jhansi, Mirzapur, Ganjam; in western India, Panch Mahals, Mewasi (Khandesh); and in south India, Vizagapatan (Visakhapatnam) Godavari, and Lakshadweep. In 1874 the Scheduled District Act gave effect to the Government of India Act 1870. A number of Acts were enforced from time to time till 1919 when certain territories were declared 'Backward Tracts' under the Government of India Act of 1919. The areas were, more or less, the same as those of 'scheduled tracts' and 'scheduled districts' with certain additions

and omissions. For instance, Sambhalpur was included whereas the Mewasi, Chattisgarh, Chanda, Chhindwara, Mirzapur and Jaunsar-Bawar were excluded. The 'backward tracts' were the result of the reforms suggested by Montague and Chessford in their report. They considered certain areas as to be backward, the people being primitive without political institutions and so on. This drama of helping the tribals with special protections in these demarcated area did not end. The British Parhamment was eager enough to show that something had been done to help the tribals through special administration in the areas concerned. Again in 1936, two areas were created, "Excluded Areas" and "Partially Excluded Areas" under Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act of 1935. The list of the areas was embodied in the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. On the whole, the list of excluded areas or partially excluded areas largely left the situation as it was in 1874 barring only certain areas on then frontiers. The main features to distinguish an Excluded Area from a Partially Excluded Area were : (i) the Governor functioned in his own discretion in an 'excluded Area' whereas he sought the advice of the Ministers in a 'partially excluded area', (ii) the expenditure in regard to the former was non-votable while the demands in the latter case were subject to a vote of the Legislature, (iii) the discussion of any matter regarding the excluded areas needed prior consent of the Governor. In 1939, Elwin advocated for the "establishment of a sort of National Park" of the tribals and advised that their contact with the outside world should be reduced to the minimum. Again in 1941, he supported the idea of "isolationism" to a great extent.

Isolation in Post-Independence Period

In the early period of Independence, the Government of India too adopted the policy of isolation though in a slightly modified form. areas under a Tribal Development Block so that the bulk of the tribal population is brought under intensive development schemes) there is no alternative to declaring these areas as Scheduled Areas despite the complications involved.

The enlisting of the Scheduled Tribe also creates the wrong impression of the tribals being under a special law. The origin of the term "Scheduled Tribe"

itself is the result of our Constitution coming into force on January 26, 1950. However, the first serious attempt to list these communities as primitive tribes was made during the census of 1931. In the Government of India Act (1935), a reference was made to "Backward Tribes" and again the Thirteenth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies) Order 1936, specified certain tribes as backward in the then Provinces of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Barar, Madras and Bombay. In the 1941 census these, people were recorded as "Tribes" and separate totals were furnished only for a few selected individual tribes.

Here, again, the old British concept of "excluded area" was applied in a modified form where the ethnic groups were the basis rather than the area. Moreover, the Constitutional safeguard and the inclusion of tribes in the Fifth Schedule created Constitutional gaps between general population and tribal population.

In pursuance of the provision under Article 343 of the Constitution, the President made an order in 1950 specifying certain tribes or tribal communities as Scheduled Tribes. This list of Scheduled Tribes was revised as the need arose in 1953, 1954, 1956, 1960, 1962, 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1970. Here mention may be made of the advisory committee of 1965 which was set up for advising the Government on the revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and which also suggested the revised list, and the orders made in 1967, 1968 and 1970 are the result of the efforts made by this committee.

Again, in the different Five Year Plans the tribal development faced Financial sagregation. The fund meant for "tribal welfare" was kept reserved for tribal development and the general fund was not utilized for the developmental work among them. They were not given the general benefit of being part of the general mans. The Fifth Five Year Plan clearly laid down that major thrust of development efforts be provided by the general sector.

The intensity of isolation can well be grasped from a statement in the report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission. It says : "The problem

emanates from centuries of isolation. Only to this extent, it is different from the problems facing the other section of Indian society. The most hopeful feature is that the tribal himself has awakened to the need of finding a solution and is responding.

10.5 The Assimilation Method

The assimilation of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process and the culture contact with the neighbouring population is held responsible for it. Though this has also created some problems for them, partly because of their isolation and partly because of their limited world view. About assimilation, Kroeber opines that "normally, we may expect assimilation only when the outlook of one society is inclusive and when this society is definitely the stronger and its culture is more advanced". In India, the tribal people have come in contact with different Hindu and other communities and situations have different degrees of culture contact leading to assimilation in different parts. Some tribals have gradually accepted the Hindu way of life and others have converted to Christianity. This culture contact has given rise to so many types of tribals and has created a set of different types of tribes on acculturation level. Ghurye divided them into three classes : first, members of fairly high status within Hindu society, viz., Raj Gonds; second partially Hinduized and, thirdly, hill sections. Assimilation of the tribals attracted a number of anthropologists. Dube (1960), classified them into five categories considering the present habitation and behaviour of the new communities which come in contact. According to this classification, they are : (i) aboriginals living in seclusion, (ii) tribal group with some village folk association, (iii) tribals living in mixed villages, (iv) tribals who have been forced to live as untouchables, and (v) tribals enjoying a high social status.

These classifications reveal that the process of assimilation has been a part and parcel of the Indian tribal culture. Many anthropologists have explained it in their own ways. Sanskritization of Srinivas and tribe-caste continuum model given by Sinha for the Bhumijis, by Srivastava for the Bhutias and by Sachchidananda for the Gonds explain the phenomenon. All this points, to gradual assimilation into the Hindu peasantry at various levels as Kshatriya agricultural clean caste

or even low castes. The process of assimilation has been propagated by the tribals themselves.

Ghurye characterized the tribals as backward Hindus and argued that any attempt to isolate them from the mainstream of Indian life would be meaningless. While sections of these tribes are properly integrated in Hindu society, very large sections, in fact the bulk of them, are rather loosely integrated. Only very small sections, living in the recesses of hills and forests, have not been more than touched by Hinduism. He opines that the tribals are the imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society. Though for the sake of convenience they may be designated the “tribal classes of Hindu society” suggesting thereby the social fact, as viewed by him, that they have retained much more of the tribal creeds and organization than many of the castes of Hindu society, yet they are, in reality, Backward Hindus. The Gonds are the best illustration of assimilation and the Raj Gonds rank with the Hindu cultivating castes; and the Brahmans take water from them.

The south India tribes also are not untouched by the process of assimilation. Luiz believes, that rapid Hinduization has been going on and the greater part of the Kerala tribes willingly proclaims Hinduism as its religion, uses Hindu names, celebrates Hindu festivals and visits Hindu temples. As regards the Lakshadweep people, Aiyappan never regarded them as tribes, but the inhabitants are as good as the Moplas of the west coast. Their coming to the mainland on different occasions and the historical account of Leela Dube about the people clearly indicate their close association with the constal people.

It would be seen from the above, that the tribal people of different regions have assimilated themselves in the neighbour folk people and have been in fairly intimate contact with them.

10.6 Integration of the Tribals to the main-stream

The ultimate way in which the *tribals* were approached is the rational one. The past experiences of the policies of isolation and assimilation and their results forced the thinkers and social reformers to go a midway which might have been more fruitful. The base of the Indian culture, i.e. unity in

diversity once again got its due importance. The social reformers, politicians, anthropologists as experts on the tribal ways of life and the administration combined their skills and adopted an integrated approach towards the tribals.

For the first time, the late Jawaharlal Nehru gave a “Panchsheel”, *i.e.*, five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment, as an integrational approach which was later confirmed by the researches of anthropologists. The principles are :

- (i) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- (ii) Tribal rights to land and forests should be respected.
- (iii) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- (iv) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
- (v) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

From the experience of the working of the "Panchsheel" for the tribals we find : (i) that we should not force tribals to do things, (ii) that tribal rights aim at saving tribals from exploitation which can be possible only by integrating them with their neighbouring people, (iii) that only tribal officers may work in the area with some local bias, and in these conditions experienced non-tribal officers have proved themselves to be anthropological in approach, (iv) that tribal programmes be very simple, and (v) that one has to ‘serve the tribals in a dedicated spirit.’

Dube has reviewed the policy in the broader context of national unity and opines that in tribal India there is not one tribal culture but an admixture of so many tribal customs and traditions, and "unity" is not at all there. (The British administration and the free-India administration were previously of the view that there existed unity in tribal India.) The various all-India tribal Conferences organized by the Government or actively supported by it, indirectly created solidarity in tribal India. But he found in this only additional encouragement to the separatist move in some parts of the country. The most desirable course, therefore, he suggests, was to work for the integration of the tribes in the regional and national setting according to their genius.

The latest approaches, *i.e.*, (i) single-line administration, (ii) comparatively small districts due to communicational difficulties, (iii) area development approach to develop the area in its totality in the Fourth Plan and drawing the Sub-Plans in the Fifth Five Years Plans are a clear reflection of the policy of integration with the regional and national setting. It is also a good sign that recently all the three districts of Nagaland have been bifurcated into seven districts and one big district of Madhya Pradesh, *i.e.*, Raipur, have been bifurcated into two districts. The single district, has been put under a Commissioner and has been made a commissioner. In Bihar too, the number of districts has been doubled to give better administration and to speed up development.

The discussion on how tribals are approached will, however, remain incomplete unless we consider the approaches to tribal welfare.

10.7 Approaches to Tribal Welfare

The term tribal welfare has been used to cover an all-round development of the tribals as a weaker section of the Indian population. They are in a subsistence stage. Their comparative isolation, living in and around forest and hill areas, their simple economy and limited world views have placed them in a state of death.

Under the administrative approach, according to Majumdar, the State and Central Government have helped the tribals in a stereotyped way—so many wells have been dug, and many schools have been opened, tribal education is being

imparted through their own dialect, etc. What has been done in Hyderabad is being repeated in Assam and in Chotanagpur. This is not correct. The welfare programmes should be suitably adjusted to the requirements of each area. Again he prefers, going in for nationalization of welfare activities to leaving the destiny of the tribes in the hands of so-called politicians.

S.C. Dube feels, the approach to the tribal problems so far has been either aesthetic or political. He presents four main approaches to the tribal problems. They are : (i) the social service approach, (ii) the political approach (iii) the religious approach, and (iv) the anthropological approach.

Vidyarthi concurring with Dube's views assesses the tribal welfare approach as four : (i) anthropologists' approach, (ii) social workers' approach, (iii) missionaries' approach, and (iv) administrative machinery for tribal welfare. Here, he pin points the Christian missionaries rather than the religious approach. He further talks about the administrative machinery for tribal welfare.

Thus, we find that there are mainly five approaches which have been employed so far for the welfare of the tribals in India. These are :

- (i) Political Approach,
- (ii) Administrative Approach,
- (iii) Religious Approach with special reference to Missionary Approach,
- (iv) Voluntary Approach, and
- (v) Anthropological Approach.

10.8 Constitutional Provisions for Schedule Tribes

Following the attainment of independence, free India framed an elaborate democratic Constitution which applies to each and every Indian, irrespective of who he is and where he lives. In this Constitution, there are many provisions which apply to all Indians, but which acquire a special significance in the case of tribal and other backward classes in view of the hardships and disabilities from which these people suffer at present. Besides, there are many clauses in the

Constitution which apply only to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Part III of the Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights and assures to all citizens of Indian that no discrimination will be permitted on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Article 15). This acquires significance because the tribal people have been in the past discriminated against on grounds of religion, race and place of birth, the depressed castes have been depressed because of their caste affiliation.

Article 16, assures equality of opportunity to all in matters of employment with government, and Article 17 abolishes untouchability. Article 19, grants freedom of speech, expression, residence, acquisition and disposal of property, practice of a profession, free association and free movement. Article 23, illegalizes traffic in human beings and forced labour, evils which non-tribal people have encouraged and imposed upon the tribal folk. Article 25, gives the right of freedom of religion. Article 29, protects the cultural and educational rights of minorities. This provision also acquires special significance when applied to the tribal communities who constitute one of the important cultural minorities of the country.

Part IV, Article 46, lays down that 'the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people; and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Part VI, Article 164, provides for a ministry of tribal welfare in each of the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Part X, Article 244, provides for the inclusion of a Fifth Schedule in the Constitution incorporating provisions for the Administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribes of the various States, other than those in the State of Assam. For Assam tribes, the Sixth Schedule carries administrative provisions.

Part XII, Article 275, provides for the grant of special funds by the Union Government to State Governments for promoting the welfare of the

Scheduled Tribes and for providing them with a better administration.

Part XV, Article 325, lays down that nobody will be denied the right to vote on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex. Part XVI, Article 330 and 332, reserve seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and State Legislatures. Such reservation or special representation will cease ten years after the Constitution comes into force. Article 335, assures that scheduled castes and tribes will be given special attention while filling in posts in the services. Article 338, provides for a special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. This has been done and the present incumbent of the post, Shri L.M. Shrikant, a well-known social worker, has been working with considerable zeal and has submitted a series of useful reports to the Government, outlining not only the problems of the tribes and castes in general, but also the actual working of the Constitution. He has been designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Article 339, requires the President to call for a report on the special administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes ten years after the commencement of the Constitution, he may do so before the expiry of the ten-year period also. Besides, the Union executive has the power to give instructions to the States on the administration of the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 340, empowers the President to appoint a commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes in general and suggest ameliorative measures. A Backward Classes Commission came into being in the winter of 1952-53 under the chairmanship of Kaka Kapelkar, M.P. and well-known social worker. The Commission has travelled all over the country for two years ascertaining the view-point of various bodies of public opinion and has submitted its report to the Government.

Article 342, empowers the President, after consultation with the Governor of a State, to specify the Scheduled Tribes of that State from among its tribal communities.

The Fifth Schedule, attached to Article 244 (1) requires a Governor to submit reports to the President, whenever asked, on the administration of the Scheduled Areas, and receive from the President instructions on the administration of these areas.

The Schedule also provides for the appointment of Tribes Advisory Councils of not more than 20 members of whom three-fourths, or as nearly as may be, shall be representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State.

The Governor can modify general laws, or restrict their application, when applied to the Tribes. He may make regulations for the peace and good government of a Scheduled Area in his State. These may refer to the prevention of land alienation, land allotment and control of the activities of businessmen and moneylenders. No regulation shall be made unless the Tribe's Advisory Council is consulted. Obviously, their advice is not, constitutionally binding.

The Sixth Schedule, attached to Articles 244(2) and 275(1), provides for the administration of tribal areas in Assam through the creation of the autonomous districts and autonomous regions with District Councils and Regional Councils, respectively. These Councils shall make laws about land allotment; use of forest and canal waters; regulation of shifting cultivation; establishment of village or town committees and their powers; appointment or succession of chiefs; inheritance of property; marriage and other social customs. The Councils will administer justice under the All-India Civil and Penal Codes, modified by local custom. They can establish primary schools and raise funds by assessing and collecting land revenue and imposing taxes. They may issue licences on leases for the purpose of prospecting for, or extracting minerals. The District Councils can regulate money lending and other trading activities by non-tribals. They can prohibit or restrict the application of Parliamentary or State laws to their areas.

The Constitution requires the Councils to maintain a regular account of revenue and expenditure. The Governor may at any time appoint a Commission to report on the working of these Councils. He is also empowered to annul or

suspend the Councils whenever he is satisfied that their activities are likely to endanger the safety of India.

It is obvious from the provisions of the Sixth Schedule that a considerable degree of social, cultural and political autonomy is envisaged for the tribal areas of Assam.

10.9 Let us sum up

There is enough in the spirit and the letter of the Constitution to usher in a new, hopeful era in the history of tribal India, but much depends on how the Constitution is worked. Thus, the ambitious Sixth Schedule has not worked. The Naga have not availed themselves of the constitutional measures. Autonomous District Councils came into being in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills but objective observers report that these have been captured by politicians and not all that could be done is being done.

10.10 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Describe the different constitutional provisions for Scheduled Tribes.

Q.2. Explain in detail different perspectives and approaches on tribal development.

Q.3. Describe the integrational approach for the upliftment of tribals.

DEFINITION AND FEATURES OF RURAL SOCIETY

Structure

- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 Introduction
- 11.3 Definition and features of Rural society
- 11.4 Evolution of village community
- 11.5 Definitions of village/rural society
- 11.6 Some Basic principles of rural society
- 11.7 Characteristics/Features of Rural society
- 11.8 Characteristics of Indian Rural society
- 11.9 Change in Indian Rural society
- 11.10 Let us sum up
- 11.11 Self Assessment Questions

11.1 Objectives

After going through the present Topic, the students should be able:—

- To have the concept of rural society.

- To understand the rural society with reference to the views given by various sociologists.
- To understand rural society with reference to its principles and characteristics.
- To understand the Indian rural society and its changing structure.

11.2 Introduction

In this chapter various aspects of Rural society have been explained. It has included discussion on the concepts and evolution of village community, definitions which have been given by different sociologists, some basic principles and characteristics of rural society in general and Indian rural society in particular. The last part of the chapter deals with the changing structure of Indian rural society.

11.3 Definition and features of Rural Society

In order to study society, sociologists have classified society into different categories. These categories indicate the nature of society on different basis, such as Tribal society refers to the simple and primitive society, rural society refers to the society which is largely based on agricultural economy. And urban society refers to the modern, complex and advanced society. When the whole society is categorised into different sections indicating the differential nature of those sections, then the term community is also used to represent a particular section of the society. Because in a society there are many communities, but in a community there may not be different societies, therefore, the term rural society can be represented by the rural community.

Rural society refers to a particular setup dwelling in a remote area, all the dwellers are leading life, having common pattern, common culture and common style of their own.

11.4 Evolution of village community

The earliest human communities were perhaps the loosely organised aggregations of a few families, who carried on mutually interdependent activities in gathering food and defending themselves against their enemies. With the development of agriculture, and the consequent stabilization of source of food, people began to

lead a settled life and human communities became more stationary and the village emerged. A village is generally supposed to mean a small area with a small population which follows agriculture not only as occupation but also, as a way of life.

Evolution of the village community can be seen through certain stages. The first stage was the primitive stage which was marked by close kinship ties and an economy based on collectivism, land was held in common and cultivated as a 'group trust'. The bond of kinship and close ties of inhabitants with the land developed a high sense of community feeling in the primitive village society.

The second stage emerged, when the society shifting from the primitive to medieval life and with that a village community underwent a change. The hold of kinship ties was loosened. Land was no more a group property. It was said to belong to the king or the ruler but area in fact owned by his feudals. Thus, village society came to have people of different social ranks and prestige-The lords or the land owners and the vassals, serfs and the peasants who actually cultivated the land. With the advent of the industrial revolution and the subsequent progress of technology and knowledge, the complexion of the village community also changed. The rural group lost much of its predominance. Urban way of living and thinking penetrated the rural areas. Rural norms have been changing. Land has become the private property of individuals. Methods of tilling and cultivation have been drastically modified by the influence of scientific technology. Hence, it can be seen that village community has slowly and steadily developed before it took some permanent shape. It has a separate entity and is the oldest of all the communities. A very peculiar feature of this community is that it has maintained its individual features and characteristics inspite of the passage of the time.

Village community is much older than urban community. It is responsible for the development and growth of many social institution and system. Not very far back, it was influenced by urban community, but today even urban community is being influenced by it. Several urban social institutions are directly or indirectly influenced by it.

11.5 Definitions of Rural Society

Several attempts have been made to define village society, yet in brief it can be said that a village society can be defined as a group of persons permanently residing in a definite geographical area and whose members have developed community consciousness and have their own cultural, social and economic relations, which separate it from other societies.

According to Kropotkin, “We do not know one single human race or on single nation which has not had its period of village communities” he mentions, this, while considering the age of village, which is the oldest permanent community of man.

According to Bogardus, “human society has been radled in the rural group.”

It is also said that the village is the name commonly used to designate settlement of ancient agriculturists.

Thus, it can thus be cleared from the above mentioned discussion that village implies a settlement of people which originated many thousand years ago. It contained a few hundred of people who lived together in the surroundings of nature and whose main occupation was agriculture. Agriculture is not only their main occupation it is rather their way of life. It is a way of life in the sense that its mode of production and what its temper is reflected in every form of village activity.

11.6 Some basic principles of Rural Society

- (i) It should consist of a group of persons. What should be the size of a group is immaterial but it should be definitely bigger than a family.
- (ii) Such a group of persons should be permanently residing i.e, it should have no nomadic character.
- (iii) The group of the people should reside on a particular geographical area, but the size of that area is all immaterial.
- (iv) The group should have its own social, economic and cultural relations which should be distinct from the other communities/societies.

11.7 Characteristics / Features of Rural Society

When we make distinction between rural and urban societies, Geographical features

or population is taken into consideration. Though these can be the basis of distinction between the two societies. The real distinction is on the basis of feature or characteristics. The following are the major features of rural society:

Social Unity :— We often see, there is a great unity in rural society. The people are closely well knit with each other. They participate in the solution of the problems and other social customs. They more or less have common customs. Most of the families are related to each other. Thus it can be said that every where village society has great social unity.

Non-polluted Society :— A rural society is usually unpolluted. It is free from the smoke of the chimneys and of the vehicles that move around on the roads. There is thus neither air nor water, nor sound pollution. The nature is graceful to rural people and there is so much of natural purity that problems of pollution does not exist in the rural society.

Love for nature :— The people have sufficient time to see the nature and enjoy its blessings. They never remain in undue haste and hurry. They feel that the nature has much for them and they take out of it with all pleasure and joy.

Social Interaction :— The people in rural society live very close to each other. They have deep some of sympathy and have profound interaction. They never conceal any thing from each other. Thus there is very close interaction between the individuals and the families in rural societies. But this sense does not indicate that there is no conflict among the rural people. If they have any sort of conflict or misunderstanding among them, it may even continue for more than one generation. There persistent social conflict as well.

Agriculture main occupation :— Rural society depends on agriculture produce. Not only in India but every where rural population depends on agriculture, which is treated to be their main occupation. Their whole economic system, family budgeting, social system and performance of social customs are linked with agriculture. Failure of crops ruin them and changes their whole planning and programmes.

Social stratification :— In rural society, there is great stratification. The whole

society is divided into castes on one hand and into class on the other. It means that both types of divisions are found in the rural society, on the basis of caste and on the basis of the rich and the poor. The landless and landlords are socially stratified and so is the case between the higher birth and lower caste.

Love for Tradition :— In every rural society, there is great love of traditions even if all efforts are made to convince them that the traditions being followed by them are quite out dated. They have no love for modernity. All those activities are performed by the rural people in the society, what their forfather have performed. Though there is no logic behind their performance.

Small in Size :— As compared with the urban society, rural society is small in size. One to this smallness, the people are closely connected with each other, they understand each other's problems, because in this situation there is not any restriction on social intercourse.

Simplicity :— The people in rural society believe in simplicity, their life is quite simple and so are their habits and way of living. They avoid complexity at every stage. They take and accept every thing on its face values, without doubting the other party. That is the major reason as to why at times they are deceived by the urban people. There may not be found any chance of crimes like theft, misconduct, chiranery etc. The villages have limited means and they do not license ostentation. In rural society, every individual endeavours to attain and observe the ideals of his family and caste. The villagers are very simple and plain people. They are incapable of making false pretence at cultured behaviour and gaudiners, nor are they capable of boasting. They have sympathy for men and want to meet each other as a natural and human footing.

No Social Mobility :— In rural society, there is neither social nor occupational mobility, the caste rules are very rigil and it is impossible to violate hang rule. One cannot think of inter-caste marriage. Social customs are observed at all cost. The process of social change is very slow and infact does not exist at all. It is equally true of occupational mobility. One cannot think of changing the main occupation. That is one reason as to why the village cannot absorb its enlightened and educated youth.

Homogeneity :— In rural society, it is not always essential that all the members have blood relationship. They may or may not have any blood relationship. But the people have more or less similar leaving and having similar economic standard. Leaving under the Zamindars and Sahukars, who constitute a very minor percentage of the population of village, the people on the whole are poor and always in debt.

Peace and Simplicity :— The most important feature of Indian rural society is its atmosphere of simplicity, calmness and peace. In village, there is no noise and little sophistication. Some of the activities of the modern civilization are rarely seen there. Though occasionally, a car or abuse rolling along the kucha road enveloped in thick clouds of dust may be seen there, but on the whole, life in the village moves with the traditional pattern. The villagers lead very simple life, eat frugally, dress simply and live in mud walled houses.

Conservatism :— The villagers are often strongly attached with the old custom and traditions. Their outlook is primarily conservative and they resist the social changes and the existence of modernity. They like old ways and are less eager to follow the advice of social reformer, regarding changes in traditions and old customs. Sir, Charles metcalfe wrote about Indian villages, “they seem to last where nothing else lost. Dynasties tumble down; revolution succeeds revolution. Hindu Pathan, Mughal, Marathe, Sikh, English all the master change in turn, but the village communities remain the same.”

Poverty and illiteracy :— Villagers are known by their illiteracy and poverty. It is one of the depressing features of Indian ruralism. They generally have very low income. They take coarse food and put on rough clothes. Besides poverty, the Indian villagers are stupid in ignorance and illiteracy. The opportunities of education are very meager, in villages. Ultimately, poverty become the cause of illiteracy, and illiteracy become the cause of poverty, as the villager cannot send their children to the cuty to seek education and sometime, the villagers are not aware of education and its utility.

Local self government :— In ancient India, villages enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy or self government. The villagers were managing their own affairs through the traditional institution of panchayat. The national government had

no any interference with the local self government of villages. But during the British rule, due to the strong and highly centralised system of administration, the importance of the panchayats began to decline. The judicial powers were taken over by the British courts and special officers were appointed to look after the village administrative affairs. Since the time of lord Ripon, various attempts were made to remine the old system of village local self government. But progress was slow in this regard. After independence, the efforts are being made to resume the old system of panchayat. And it is assumed that panchayats play a better role in the work of national reconstruction.

11.9 Change in Indian rural society

Though, the Indian villages are known by the above mentioned characteristics. But the social structure of Indian villages are rapidly changing due to urbanization and Industrialization. Some are the important changes are as under :— (i) They have started realising the importance of education and prefer to send their children to schools and colleges. Rather than keeping them illiterate (ii) The hold of joint family system is not as strong, as it was in the past (iii) Due to the spread of education, the faith on superstition is coming down. (iv) Bank loans instead of money lenders, they have started taking benefits from government run and controlled cooperative societies and Banks (v) Due to the influence of the city people their greed for wealth is also increasing. (vi) The villages in India were known for their hospitality, but now this feature is gradually disappearing (vii) Now the villagers are thinking that their better economic standard can solve many social problems. (viii) In villages, caste system was very rigid and had defamed India for its rigidity. Though, the system still has strong hold, yet it is losing though very slowly, its rigidity and strong hold. (ix) The speed of migration from rural areas to urban areas, which used to be very slow, has now become quite fast. (x) the characteristic of village people as collectivism is now being replaced by individualism.

11.10 Let us sum up

Infact, Indian villages are on the thresh hold of great change. In the past, it was

considered to believe in slow change and is opposed to radical and revolutionary changes. Now our village people are unintentionally and unknowingly drifted towards changes under influence of industrialization and urbanization. Though they cannot say good bye to the past, they equally not avoid entering the modern life. Many old customs and traditions as well as rituals have been found outdated, are being discarded. The villages are being linked with market places and facilities for storage of their produce are being made. They are also being provided more housing and medical facilities. Now villager are under the direct influence of urbanization.

11.11 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1 Define rural society and discuss its characteristics.

Q.2. Define Rural society with special reference to India as Rural society.

Q.3 Discuss the major principles of Indian rural society.

Q.4. Rural society is known for its illiteracy and superstitious, joint family system and Homogeneity. "Comment".

RURAL URBAN CONTINUM

Structure

- 12.1 Objectives
- 12.2 Introduction
- 12.3 Rural Urban Migration : Basic concept
- 12.4 Social Characteristics of Migration
- 12.5 Economic Condition of the Migrants
- 12.6 Types of Migrants
- 12.7 Factors Responsible for Migration
- 12.8 Effects of Rural urban migration
- 12.9 Self Assessment Questions

12.1 Objectives

After going through this chapter the learners should be able:

- To have the concept of migration.
- To have knowledge of various aspects of migration.

- To understand the various categories of migrants.
- To know the factors behind the migration and effects of rural urban migration.

12.2 Introduction

This chapter deals with the different aspects of Rural urban migration. After discussing concept of migration as the movement of the people from one place to another place, stress has been laid on socio-economic conditions of the migrants with reference to some studies conducted by Singh and D. Souza and Mazumdar. The chapter also includes the types of migration indicating categories of migrants and factors responsible for migration. The last part of the chapter deals with the effects of rural urban migration.

12.3 Rural Urban migration – Basic concept

Migration means the movement of the individuals or a group of individuals or a section of society from one place to another. It is a process of shifting either temporarily or permanently, the time and period for their settlement at the next place has not been fixed. It is generally seen that the term ‘rural urban migration’ is used to express both types of movement, as from rural to urban and urban to rural. But the term has been specified to one type of movement i.e. from rural to urban. The major cause of the migration is the burden on agriculture land is has no comoderably increased that it cannot be any additional burden. There is thus one way traffic in the field of migration i.e. from rural to urban areas.

India is not an exception to the world wide trend of mass exodus of people from rural area and their settlement in urban centres. In India, the rural urban migration began 1930s. The pace of such migration increased manyfold during the post independence period. There is an increasing concentration of people in small, medium and larged sized towns leading to a spatial expansion of the urban settlements. In addition, new towns centering around the setting up of new factories are coming up in increasing numbers.

The people of villages in general and educated youth in particular are getting restive with the rural life, where they feel non availability of opportunities

to grow and develop their outlook and intelligent. They are attracted by a glamour of the cities. Now it has become a trend in the modern and complex societies to be migrated from rural areas to urban centres. One of the major reasons for this is that villages have not been in a position to provide best opportunities and employment to the increasing population particularly the abotious youth. The educated youth when feel a particular place or village which is socially and economically backward and is being ignored in the development plan, they want to get rid of these types of localities and due to uncertainties pertaining to their career, they fixed only a way to migrate from that village to the city. The youth of modern era feel that, village is not a place where they can either make use of their education or express their talents. Due to the increasing of population, agricultural condition of villages is not suitable, due to the constantly increasing burden on agriculture land, there is no need for additional hand on the agricultural land, more particularly because much of modern tools and techniques have come in agriculture, which has resulted in surplus man power. It is also a problem that agricultural man power does not essentially need educated youth.

12.4 Social characteristics of the migrants

Various studies have been conducted to indicate different categories and classification of migrants. In the investigation, the data regarding the age, the marital status, the size of migrants families, their educational level and their children education have been taken into account for analysis purpose.

The studies pertaining to the migrants, observed that the adults among the poor were migrated from their villages to the urban centres (Das gupta and Roy) 1975. The data reveal that majority of the people 55.3% belong to the age range 21-40 years and a considerable number 29.8% belonged to the age group of 14-20 years. And some 50 migrants (14%) were from group aged i.e. 41-50 year. Thus it can be said that the people migrate from rural areas to urban areas belong to aged category and considerable number belong to young section.

Marital Status :— When it is assumed that the people who migrate from rural areas to urban centres either belong to married category or having unmarried

status, in this regard above mentioned studies show that the high percentage of married people are migrant. The study observed that 77.5% of the migrants are married and 56.5% are the male heads of their families had left their places with all members of their families. Moreover 14% were unmarried at the time of migration. It is also observed that 7.5% were the widows were amongst the migrants. Thus migrated population was composed of a big size of married and a significant number of unmarried as well as widows.

Education :— As regards, the education of the migrants in the above mentioned study observed that there is higher literacy rate among the village migrants. Another study based on Visakhapatnam (Raoetal 1977) shows that 69% of the migrant had educational level varing from primary to collegiate level. This also shows that the migrants' similar educational background, 56.7% of the migrants were found to be illiterate and remaining 33.3% were literate. Amongst the literates, only 8.7% had secondary education. For the service job, minimum secondary education is seen a required qualification. From this view point, very few had the level of education. Educational level of school going children is also shown amount the migrantes, that 22.41% of the migrant's children had to give up their schooling. Children were mostly studying in the primary and middle schools. It has been concluded from the above mentioned characteristics of migrants that all types of the people are migrating from rural areas to the small are large towns for their basic requirements.

12.5 Economic condition of the migrants

In order to understand the economic conditions of the migrants and particularly employment position of the migrants, it is necessary to know about the migrants early employment position prior to their migration to the city. At the time of migration, 7.8% migrants were unemployed for many days, when a majority of 53.3% migrants belonged to the category of wage employment. Some migrants were agricultural labourers and other group of migrants which forms one fourth proportion was from the self employed category. Among the self employed, were the skilled persons like mason, carpenter, blacksmith, shoe maker, Bidi roller, weaver etc., semi-skilled such as stone cutter, peasants etc. 13% migrants were in lower service category, such as peop, sweeper, shop servant, watchman etc.

Land holding status :— Regarding land holding background of the migrants, majority of the migrant in Delhi city were landless labourers, In another study of same city, 35% migrants were from the marginal landholding households. While 31% migrants were from the landless background (Mazumder 1983 : 61) In an other study reports, majority of the migrants in Wadala, Worli and Kurla in Mumbai belonged to the farming background of their parents (Desai 1994 ; 54). When we compare the socio-cultural and economic condition of migrants, it can be observed that the previous condition or before migration they were not progressive but after migration there is a change and particularly upward change in socio-cultural and economic condition of migrants and now they are well aware of all aspects of social life.

12.6 Types of Migrants

The people who migrate from rural areas to urban areas broadly have been categorised into three types :—

Fist category is comprised of those migrants who leave the villages for earning their livelihood, their parents remain in the villages, and they regularly send them some money. Their major aim of migration is to earn money. Timely, they visit their previous residence to look after their old age parents. It is not out of place to mention here that the old people are much traditional and orthodox, they dislike the city culture due to which they cannot accompany their children who settle in the city for a long time.

Second category. Second category is determined by those migrants, who migrate to the urban areas and their parents may and may not be with them, similarly they may or may not send them money regularly but they frequently visit the village and try to impress the village friends and relatives of their better placement, living standard etc. Even sometimes, they bring some gifts from the town for them. But their aim is some what similar to reside in a city i.e. only for the earning of money. In both the cases of migration, the people are keen to maintain the contact with the village, they build houses, purchase agriculture lands and other types of property, basically still their intention is to come back to the villages after they have retired from active life. They are interested to come back in the villages because they are still not cutting off their village base. In

this case, the impact of migration is some what deep because they are quite in touch with the village and remain in content contact with the village people and relatives, and impressing them about the glamour of the city life and the ways in which they are earning money and leading comfortable life. They attract the villages to migrate to the cities and thus help in the process of migration from rural to urban setup.

Third category. Under this category, the migrants who leave their villages and settled down in some other villages or an urban areas. These people are preed to leave the villages because either some industries have been setup or the state has undertaken some huge project uprooting them. Many of them are forced to migrate, they are not happy with this shifting and some may get common they have got either some employment or compensation for their land by and large these migrants are not happy for their forced uprooting. In this case, the migrants lose their contacts with the village because after their migration they may have established an industry or building a dam.

Then similar nature of migration takes place when the people are preed to migrate because the industry, or urban activity so rapidly expands that their village is garbbed, for examples, an industry may expands its housing programme and purchase land of near by village, by paying them at high rates, but at the same time forcing the village folk to migrate to same other place. Sometimes their migration is not preed on but voluntary because they themselves agreed to sell their land and were lured by the rate of compensation.

12.7 Factors responsible for migration

Generally there are two types of the factors responsible rural urban migration (i) push factors and pull factors :—

Push factors :— When the situation in the rural area may be so inhospitable as to force people to leave their heart and home. The followings are the push factors which are responsible for rural urban migration in India.

- (i) To began with, man-land relation in the rural areas has changed to the disadvantage of the farmers, the land for cultivation is not available, it is decreasing day by day due population increase. This situation has strictly

restricted the scope for expansion of employment opportunities and created scarcity in food supply.

- (ii) In traditional societies, seeking high education is the status symbols. So it is assumed that as such to make a person literate has the effect of alienating him from his ancestral occupation, because literary tends to give him the impression that manual work or farming operation are not proper calling of a literate persons. They therefore, migrate to the urban areas in search of new pasture.
- (iii) Farming in India provides seasonal employment, and people remain unemployed for atleast few months in the year. As a resulting are forced to move to urban areas in search of odd jobs when there is not enough work in the field.

Pull Factors :— When the people living in the rural areas are attracted by the better facilities, opportunities of employment and best standard of living in urban areas they decide to move from rural areas to urban areas. The pull factors are the standard of living which attracts the people or pull the people towards city. The followings are the pull factors responsible for migration :—

- (i) Various employment opportunities in towns and cities attract large numbers of people from the rural areas.
- (ii) In urban areas, the heterogeneous nature of employment, patterns of recreation, education, mode of transportation, styles of living and thought as well as hinds of stimulation. In contrast to life in rural areas which is dull, monotonous and uneventful, life in town and cities attract people from rural areas.
- (iii) The partition of the country on the eve of India's independence led to a mass exodus of people from East Bengal and West Punjab. Millions of uprooted people with out home and job for obvious reasons preferred to stay in town and cities or in the peripheries in order to settle themselves. They had no other alternative. As a result, the concentration of population in cities and town all over India, West Bengal and punjab towns in particular, swelled all of a sudden.

- (iv) It is pointed out that in India “family and village ties are sufficiently strong to create an obligation upon the successful migrant to help and sponsor new entrants to the city.” Every individual compels the people of its own village to reside in their locality.

12.8 Effects of Rural-urban migration

When there is migration from rural areas to urban areas, the villagers effect the ways and styles of living of the urban people. Not only this, but their life is also effected by the urban culture. With the results, cultural contacts between the two very much develop. The industrial fields and related activities get necessary manual and semi-skilled labourer, which is always scarce in the cities, thus both the sections are in need of each other, where as rural people get their livelihood, the industry gets much needed labour force. The rural migrants with every visit to their native village, bring with them, new fashions, ideas and novelties, which attract the local rural population and their life styles begin to change.

The interaction of the migrants with the city people lowers the blind faith and superstitions, level which is dominant in rural area and also help in developing the idea of use of machines in the houses and farms. Thus because of their migration automation comes in the industry on one hand and reasoning and awareness on the other.

Urban people are highly impressed by the simplicity and purity which makes the city people sober and patient in the materialistic race. When these people are blindly running, they now think less exploitation and human outlook develops in them to some extent.

As a result of migration, the rural people cannot be exploited by the urban people because migrants become easy agents for procurement and sale and sale of agricultural products in the cities.

In the cities, there is already housing problem which assumes a gigantic dimension when the people begin to migrate to the cities in large numbers. The migrants live in guggies and shanties, which create serious problems. Due to the over crowding and population increased, the low exforcing agencies are also facing different types of

problems. Sometimes migrated people cannot adjust themselves in the near environment a various maladjustment problem is created. When all people do not get job in the cities they involve in illegal practiceses their source of earning, which results in many problem.

Thus because of migration both urban and rural population is affected, yet impact is more on the rural population, because it is one way migration from rural to the urban areas and not the vice-versa.

12.9 Check your Progress

Q.1. What is migration ? Give its Sociological meaning.

Q.2. What do you understand by migration with special reference to Rural and urban migration.

Q.3. Discuss various factors which are responsible for migration of Rural people to urban areas.

Q.4. Discuss the effects of Rural-urban migration on Indian society.

Q.5. Rural people cannot be exploited now, due to continuous migration. "Comment"

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Structure

- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 Introduction
- 13.3 Concept of Rural Development Programmes
- 13.4 Essential aspects of Rural Development
- 13.5 Implementation of Rural Development Programmes
- 13.6 Community Development Programmes
- 13.7 Integrated Rural Development Programmes
- 13.8 National Rural Employment Programme
- 13.9 Training Rural Youth for self employment
- 13.10 Antyodaya Programme
- 13.11 Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme
- 13.12 Jawahar Rozgar Yojna
- 13.13 Some other Rural Development Programme
- 13.14 Impact of Rural Development Programme
- 13.15 Self Assessment Questions

13.1 Objectives

After going through this chapter learner would be acquainted with;

- The Concept of Rural Development and their different aspects.
- The Various Developmental Programmes which have been launched by the government of India from time to time.
- The Objectives of different Rural Development Programmes.
- The pattern of implementation and impact of Rural Development Programmes.

13.2 Introduction

This chapter includes the nature of Indian village and different developmental programmes which have been proposed and implemented by the government of India from time to time. Efforts have been made to conceptualize different aspects of Rural Development Programmes, their purpose, aims and objectives. Various Rural Development Programmes have been enlisted along with their objectives and impacts on villagers in India. Evaluation of the programmes has been made according to different studies which have been conducted by various Sociologists.

13.3 Concept of Rural Development Programmes

It is well known fact that India is a land of villages. Villages constitute the backbone of India. Villages continue to contribute 40% of our national income. Villages therefore, play a vital role in the life of the nation. If villages grow and develop, the country shall automatically develop. Once these villages were self sufficient units, but now they have become customs of various problems like illiteracy, casteism, untouchability, conservation, economic backwardness and other allied problems. During British period villages lost their autonomy, self reliance and importance. They not only mismanaged the village but also destroyed the village cottage industries that existed in the villages. The economic structure of villages was shattered.

Gandhi ji, Vinobha Bhave, Jaya Prakash Narayana and all other leaders of the nation reiterated that the development of country and its property depends on its village. They warned that the negligence of villages would ruin the future of India. Soon after

independence development of villages became a priority issue. Since then Government decided to launch various developmental Programmes and welfare schemes to improve the villages and increase the standard of living of the people. Different plans and Programmes which are especially meant for rural development have the objectives of changing and improving the quality of lifestyle of the rural people. Though the development efforts are not a new phenomena, plans, Programmes, schemes and projects that are launched today assume special significance, because they are mostly designed to fulfill the immediate and 'trust areas of the village'.

Major Components of Rural Development: - Rural development includes three major elements.

1. It is concerned with the development or improvement of all the sectors of rural economy, namely, the primary sector, the secondary sector and the territory sector.
2. It is concerned with the improvement of social conditions of the rural people through the provision of drinking water, education, vocational training, medical facilities, etc.
3. It is concerned with the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the rural people particularly the weaker sections such as scheduled caste, scheduled tribes, the land less agricultural labourers and the marginal and small farmers.

13.4 Essential Aspects of Rural Development: - the rural development programmes have been initiated with following terms and conditions.

- i) **Agricultural Development:** - It is most important aspect of rural development. It can be ensured through mechanization of agriculture, consolidation of land holdings, effective implementation of land reforms, use of good varieties of seeds, adequate fertilizers, pesticides, adequate supply of water, proper crop planning, proper harvesting and allied activities.
- ii) **Change of Economic Structure:** -Rural development should include adequate Programmes to change the socio-economic structure of the rural setup. This type of change refers to changes in socio-economic institution.

These changes ensures maximization and equitable distribution of income among rural people.

- iii) **Political Independence:** - Rural development Programmes should be politically independent. Because, it is expected that political involvement may divert the ever purpose of Programmes. With providing political freedom to the people adequate results are not possible.
- iv) **Cooperative Orientation:** - All the rural development Programmes must have cooperative orientation. Cooperation assumes to be powerful instrument of up lifting the poor sections of the rural society, cooperative societies should be setup for improving, production in cottage industries, marketing, finance or credit and even for the supply of consumer goods.
- v) **Participation of Rural People:** - These cannot be any rural development Programmes which can forcibly be imposed forcibly on the ruralite, these should always be framed on the basis of the felt needs of the people. The rural people must be motivated properly to take an active role in the Programmes. In this respect separated leaders of the rural areas must come forward with proper guidance to the masses.

13.5 Implementation of Rural Development Programmes: -The government of India has launched various developmental Programmes to assist the ruralsector for progress. The purpose of all these Programmes was achieving rural development and promoting rural welfare. The following are the major rural development Programmes, which have been launched by government of India from time to time.

13.6 Community Development Programmes (CDP): - The programme was launched on 2nd October 1952. The government of India has launched a number of Programmes to eradicate poverty and unemployment in India. On 2nd October 1953 National Extension Services NES was launched. Both the Programmes were intended to promote agricultural and rural development. The only difference between the tow was that the (CDP) was more intensive programme than (NES). Both these schemes extolled by Pandit Nehru as “the armoury of our nation’s loiling spirit”.

According to International Cooperation Administration, Community

development is a, “Process of social action in which the people in a community organize themselves for planning and action define their common and individual needs and solve their problem; execute these plans with a minimum reliance upon community resources; and supplement them with services and material from Governmental and non Governmental agencies.”

Initially this project was launched in 55 selected blocks by March 1979, it was extended to 5,123 blocks covering a population of about 47 crosses spread over all the five lakh villages in the country. Each block covered an area of about 400 – 500 sq. kms in about 100 villages and a population of about 1 Lakh. It was implemented through project officers, block development officers, technical experts and gram seveks.

Objectives of CDP: - The following are the major objectives of community development programmes.

- i) The programme was intended to create an interest among the rural people for better economic, social and cultural life and make them satisfy their interest by self help.
- ii) It intended to increase agriculture production by means of good irrigational facilities.
- iii) It intended to provide safe drinking water and to make villagers conscious of water communicated diseases
- iv) It aimed at improving transport and communication facilities and promote cottage industries in the villages.
- v) It aimed at generating progressive outlook among the rural people and to make villages self sufficient.
- vi) It aimed at encouraging community thinking and collective action.
- vii) It intend to promote rural welfare through the improvement of education, public health and sanitation, medical facilities, housing, drinking water, hospitals, community centers and sports and cultural activities.

- viii) It also intended to increase people's participation in development Programmes.
- ix) It aimed to provide a single multiple agency for rural development.
- x) Community development projects and Programmes intended to improve the multi-aided development of rural life.

The community development programme no doubt attained some success in the beginning. But gradually it started losing its importance. It failed to obtain effective participation of people in the Programmes. The government too lost its interest in the programme and then replaced it by (IRDP) integrated rural development programme from 1978-79.

ACTIVITIES OF CDP

The following rural community development activities are undertaken in such varying degrees (within the limits of the available funds), as are advisable under the circumstances peculiar to each block (Ensminger 1972; 105-07):

Agricultural and Related Matters

1. Reclamation of available virgin and waste land.
2. Provision of water for agriculture through irrigation canals, tube-wells, surface wells, tanks, lift irrigation from rivers, lakes and pools, etc.
3. Development of rural electrification.
4. Provision of commercial fertilizers.
5. Provision of quality seeds.
6. Promotion of improved agricultural techniques and land utilisation.
7. Provision of veterinary aid.
8. Provision of technical information, materials and bulletins on agriculture.
9. Provision for the dissemination of information through slides, films, radio broadcasts and lectures.

10. Provision of improved agricultural implements.
11. Promotion of marketing and credit facilities.
12. Provision of breeding centres of animal husbandry.
13. Development of inland fisheries.
14. Promotion of home economics.
15. Development of fruit and vegetable cultivation.
16. Provision of soil surveys and information.
17. Encouragement of the use of natural and composite manures.
18. Provision of arboriculture, including plantation of forests.

Communications

1. Provision of roads.
2. Encouragement of mechanical road transport services.
3. Development of animal transport facilities.

Education

1. Provision of compulsory and free education, preferably basic education, at the elementary stage.
2. Provision of high and middle schools.
3. Provision of adult education and library services.

Health

1. Provision of sanitation (including drainage and disposal of wastes) and public health measures.

2. Provision for the control of malaria and other diseases.
3. Provision of improved drinking water supplies.
4. Provision of medical aid for the ailing.
5. Antenatal care of expectant mothers and midwifery services.
6. Provision of generalised public health service and education.

Training

1. Refresher courses to improve the existing standard of artisans.
2. Training of agriculturists.
3. Training of extension assistants.
4. Training of artisans.
5. Training of supervisors, managerial personnel, health workers and executive officer for projects.

Social Welfare

1. Organisation of community entertainment.
2. Provision of audio-visual for instruction and recreation.
3. Organisation of sports activities.
4. Organisation of melas (village fairs).
5. Organisation of the cooperative and self-help movement.

Supplementary Employment

1. Encouragement of cottage industries and crafts as the main or subsidiary occupation.

2. Encouragement of medium and small-scale industries to employ surplus hands for local needs, or for export outside project areas.
3. Encouragement of employment through trade, auxiliary and welfare services.
4. Construction of brick kilns and saw mills to provide building materials for local needs.

Housing

1. Demonstration and training in improved techniques and designs for rural housing.
2. Encouragement of improved rural housing on a self-help basis.

ORGANISATION OF CDP

The CDP was undertaken and implemented by the Government of India and the various state governments in cooperation with one another. For this purpose, an organisational structure was contemplated under the Technical Cooperation Programme Agreement of 5 January 1952 between the GOI and the Government of USA. Some salient features of the organizational structure are briefly presented in the following paragraphs.

Central Organisation

The GOI formed a Central Committee at the national level with the Prime Minister as the Chairperson, the Members of the Planning Commission, and the Minister of Food and Agriculture as members to lay down the broad policies, provide the general supervision for the agreed projects. An Administrator was appointed to plan, direct, and coordinate the programme throughout India, under the general supervision of the Central Committee, and in consultation with appropriate authorities in the various states. All nation-building ministries were directed to collaborate with the programme through the Community Projects Administration (CPA) which was specially created for the purpose. The administrator was

assisted by a team of highly qualified executive staff, in areas such as administration, finance, personnel (training), community planning and other matters, and by operating divisions in the fields of (a) agriculture, (b) irrigation; (c) health; (d) education; (e) industries; (f) housing; and (g) community facilities. This staff worked with the state, district and project level workers to implement the CDP.

The CDP Organization at the national level has undergone a number of changes in September 1956, a new Ministry of Community Development was created. Thereafter, for many years, the Department of Rural Development under the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development was in overall charge of the programme in the country. Now (1998-99), there is a separate Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment in centrally sponsored rural development programmes.

State organization

Each state government established a state development committee or similar body consisting of the Chief Minister as the chairperson, minister representing the nation-building departments as members, and a highly competent officer as Development Commissioner, who acted as the secretary to the Committee. He was responsible for directing the programme within the state, and coordinated the activities of the heads of various departments concerned with the programme of various departments concerned with the programme. He was assisted by suitable operating staff.

My states constituted state planning commissions or state planning boards for this purpose, and the Development Commissioner in many states was redesignated as the Agricultural Production Commissioner, or the Principal Secretary, Agriculture.

District Organisation

This was established at the district level. Where necessary, a district Development Officer (DDO) was responsible for the CDP in his district. This officer has the status of an additional collector, and is responsible for the execution of the community projects as well as the general development in the district. He operates under the direction of the state Development Commissioner, and is advised by a district development board consisting of the officers of the various departments concerned with community

development, with the collector as chairperson, and the district development officer as the executive secretary.

Now, after the 73rd Constitution Amendment, statutory Zila Parishads are responsible for the implementation of the programme in the districts. The Zila Parishad is chaired by an elected non-official, and the DDO is the chief executive officer of the zila parishad. There are state-to-state variations in the organizational structure of the CDP at the district level.

Block Organisation

At the block level, a Block Development Committee (BDC) was established with the sub-divisional officer acting as its chairperson, and a Block Development Officer (BDO) acting as its executive secretary. The BDO is responsible for the implementation of the programme within the block. He is assisted by a number of Extension Officers (EOs) in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, rural engineering, public health, cooperation, social education, women's and children's programmes, and rural industries.

After the introduction of panchayati raj, the BDC has been replaced by the statutory block parishad or *samiti* or block panchayati samiti, which is chaired by an elected non-official. The BDO is the secretary of the block samiti.

Village Organisation

Initially, at the village level, 10 Village Level Workers (VLWs) or gram sevaks and two gram sevikas were responsible for implementing the programme within a cluster of villages. VLWs work under the advice and control of the BDO. With the establishment of panchayati raj in all states now, the village or gram panchayat, which is headed by an elected non-official, is responsible for implementing the programme within its jurisdiction. The VLW assigned to the panchayat is its secretary.

FINANCING AND ASSISTANCE OF CDP

The community Development Programme was conceived, planned and initiated as a people's self-help programme. Parliament appropriated funds annually for the conduction

that the funds had to be committed within the year appropriated, or reverted to the treasury. The administrative bureaucracy - centre and state - projected targets and allocated funds for the specific projects undertaken by community development blocks.

Initially, financial and technical assistance to the CDP was made available by the US government under the Technical Cooperation Programme Agreement signed on 5 January 1952. Financial assistance worth \$ 8.67 million was made available for payments to be made outside India in US dollars for the procurement of supplies, equipment, services and other programme materials and their transportation to India (exclusive of allotments from other operational agreements). The dollar funds provided under the agreement to finance the programme were to be treated as a loan to the states to the extent deemed feasible and advisable by the GOI, estimated at about 55 per cent of the total dollar funds, to be repaid upon such terms and conditions as would be determined. The proceeds of such repayments were to be deposited in a fund for the prosecution of further projects of economic development mutually agreeable to the Government of India and the USA, as provided in the agreement.

The US government also made available funds necessary to pay the salaries and other expenses of the technicians employed by the United States government for the purpose of providing technical assistance in the CDP.

To meet the local expenditure on the implementation of the CDP, funds were drawn from the GOI, the state governments, as well as the people. For each project area, the programme prescribed a qualifying scale of voluntary contribution from the people in the form of money as well as labour. Where the state offered material assistance for the execution of these projects, the expenses were shared by the state and central governments in the proportion of 1 : 3 in the case of non-recurring items. However, the recurring expenditure was shared equally between them. For productive works like irrigation and reclamation of land, to mention just two, necessary funds were advanced by the central government to the state governments in the form of loans. From 1 April 1969, the CDP was transferred to the state sector. The state governments are now free to provide resources for the programme from within their state plan ceiling, according to the priority accorded to the programme by them. The central government's assistance to the states is now given as annual lump-sum grants, as block grants and block loans.

The Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA) for India provided technical assistance to the CDP at both the central and state levels. At the central level, the services of the Director of the TCA were made available to the Central Committee. The Director was assisted by a deputy director for community development who coordinated and expedited all technical assistance to the CDP. The TCA also provided specialists in agricultural, irrigation, education, health, agricultural extension, vocational training, agricultural engineering; and extension methods and materials. These specialists served as advisers and consultants to the extent required.

The CDP was related to, and supported in part by, most of the other projects under the Indo-American Technical Cooperation Programme.

The fertilisers required by the CDP were acquired and distributed, pursuant to Operational Agreement No.1 dated 1 May 1952. The iron and steel needed for farm implements and tools was acquired and distributed, pursuant to Operational Agreement No. 2 dated 29 May 1952.

The tubewells to be constructed in community project areas were allocated from the project for ground water irrigation, pursuant to Operational Agreement No.6 dated 31 May 1952.

Information and services with respect to soils and fertiliser application were made available to the programme from the project, to determine soil fertility and fertiliser use, pursuant to Operational Agreement No.4 dated 31 May 1952. Similarly, assistance in malaria control in the community project areas was forthcoming from the project for malaria control planned under the Technical Cooperation Programme between the two Governments.

Training of VLWs and project supervisors for the CDP was carried out under the village workers training programme by the two governments and the Ford Foundation of America.

The Necessary allocation of funds for equipment, construction, supplies, information and other support for such projects was determined by the particular ministry supervising the project, and the Administrator. Each ministry supervising the project was

responsible for all necessary arrangement for the proper and effective allocation of such support to the CDP.

EVALUATION OF CDP

A continuing evaluation of the progress of the CDP was expected to be undertaken by the Planning Commission, in close cooperation with the Ford Foundation and the Technical Cooperation Administration. Accordingly, the CDP has been reviewed from time to time by the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission, the National Institute of Rural Development (formerly known as the National Institute of Community Development), and by various other research institutes and individual research scholars. In addition, various committees and commissions were also appointed by the government to look into the functioning of the CDP, and make recommendations for the improvement of its effectiveness.

There, have been & number of surveys and studies which have highlighted the tangible achievements of the CDP in terms of distribution of improved seeds, use of chemical fertilisers, plant protection chemicals, improved farm tools and equipment, construction of roads, wells, irrigation canals, establishment of primary health centers, rural dispensaries, balwadis (nurseries), etc. On the basis of these studies, it would be fair to say that the CDP contributed significantly towards the creation of basic socio-economic infrastructure in rural areas, and helped expand and improve the production base of the rural economy of India. The CDP has also fulfilled, to a large extent, the equity norm of rural development.

However, the CDP failed to achieve the expected increase in agricultural production. This failure could be attributed to its diffused character, as it did not put sufficient and direct emphasis on agricultural production. The financial, material and administrative resources of CDP were spread too thinly - albeit uniformly, all over the country side to produce any tangible impact on agricultural production and rural poverty. In other words, the resources devoted to agricultural production fell short of the 'critical minimum' required to escape from the perpetual problem of low productivity in Indian agriculture.

By the middle of the Second Plan, it became increasingly evident that whatever

the success of the CDP, a new approach would be required if agricultural production was to keep ahead of the demands of India's mounting population. With foodgrain production at 64 million tones in 1957-58 (five million tones below the 1953d-54 level), India faced its first post-Independence food crisis, and as a result there was a substantial shift in the agricultural development strategy of the CDP.

Douglas Ensminger (1968: 12), however, does not subscribe to this criticism of the CDP. In his opinion, the failure on the agricultural front was due partly to the fact that the agricultural prices had, prior to 1964, been oriented towards cheap food for poor people, and had thus served as disincentives to the producers to produce more, and partly due to the planners' unrealistically low estimate of the time required (15 years) to attain self. sufficiency in food production in India He asserts that a more realistic time-frame for India to achieve self-sufficiency in this area must be thought of as closer to 25 years, starting in 1952, and not 15 years.

Some of the other criticisms of the CDP include that : (a) it has not been a people's programme: (b) it has followed a 'blueprint' approach to rural development: (c) it has employed a large army of untrained extension workers who, because of lack of coordination of among themselves, were less a source of help to the villagers and more a source of bewilderment and confusion; (d) a spirit of ritualism has permeated the block programmes, and the inauguration, opening or foundation stone laying became the 'be-all and end-all' of all block activities: and (e) there was lack of functional responsibility at the block level that led to a good deal of confusion and interdepartmental jealousy.

Despite all this criticism, however, it would be fair to say that the CDP was instrumental in laying the foundation for further growth and development of the rural economy of India.

13.7 Integrated Rural Development Programme

It is a programme for improving the living standards of the poorest of the poor living in the rural areas and for making the process of rural development self-sustaining.

Various rural development Programmes had been introduced in different states

with different funding patterns often creating confusion and problems of administration and effective implementation. Hence, the government of India decided to replace all these Programmes by a single integrated programme for entire country with background the integrated rural development programme was launched. It was initiated in 1978-79, a major attempt to attack poverty, in the beginning it was confined to 20 districts, but by 1982, it was extended to 5011 blocks, the programme is based on, "the local needs, resources, endowments and potentialities." Its major objective is to enable selected families to cross the "poverty line" through "a strategy of production assets and endowment."

Objectives of IRDP: -

- 1) Its objective is to improve the economic and social conditions of the poorest sections of the rural society and to help them to cross the line of poverty.
- 2) It aims at developing agriculture and raising the productivity in agriculture by providing agricultural inputs and credit facilities.
- 3) It is equally concerned with the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the rural economy especially to help the landless labourers.
- 4) It is to generate employment opportunities in the rural areas and to enlighten the rural masses to exhibit their capacity for fuller development.
- 5) The IRDP is concerned with task of promoting self employment in rural areas by providing productive assets, skills, inputs and credit facilities to the poor.

Central and state government provide financial resources for the programme and lay down broad guidelines for its implementation. The main administrative unit for its implementation is the district rural development Agencies (DRDAs) at the block level, number of extension officers are provided for programme implementation.

13.8 National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)

It was launched in October 1980 and became a regular programme of the five year plan for 1981. At the initial stage it was called FFWP (Food For Work Programme). It came to be known as the NREP from October 1980. It is assumed as an important component of the anti-poverty strategy. Its main purpose was to generate additional gainful

employment opportunities, to create durable community assets and to improve the overall quality of life in rural areas.

Objectives of the Programme: -

- i) The scheme intended to provide employment to the unemployed and underemployed labourers in villages.
- ii) It intended to raise minimum level of wages of rural workers.
- iii) Under this scheme the workers were paid partly or fully in the form of food grains like rice and wheat supplied by the central government.
- iv) The scheme worked as a relief measure for the poorer sections of the rural areas in times of droughts and famines and thus, has become a major instrument of rural employment and development.

The programme has been implemented through DRDA (District Rural Development Agencies). The programme was centrally sponsored and expenditure was to borne by the centre and state on 50: 50 basis. During 6th plan totally Rs. 1843 Crore was spent on this scheme. During the same period, about 4.69 lakh irrigation and group housing wells 54,000 vilalges covered and 2.23 Lakh schools and Balwadi centres were constructed in the seventh plan the scheme assisted about another 20 million families.

13.9 Training Rural Youth For Self-Employment (TRYSEM)

The scheme was started on 15th August 1979 to provide technical skills to the rural youth and to help them to get employment in the fields such as agriculture, industry services and business activities. Youths of the poor families belonging to the age group of 18-35 were entitled to avail of benefits of this scheme, but priority was given to ST and SC and Ex-servicemen and one third seats were reserved for women. The rural youths trained under this TRYSEM programme were also assisted under the IRDP and were provided with loans from financial institutions. The trainees under this scheme were given stipend which ranged from 75/- to 200/- per month. This schemes was aimed at training 2 lakh rural youths a year. In the real sense 9.4 lakh received training and of these 4.64 lakh the 7th plan the scheme covered about about 8.73 lakh youths

between 1990-91 and 1995-96, this scheme benefited about 17.03 lakh rural youths.

13.10 Antyodaya Programme

“Antyodaya” was special programme launched for the 1st time by the then Government of Rajasthan on October 2, 1972 for the upliftment of the poorest of the society.

According to this programme every year five poorest families of every village were identified and selected and efforts made for their economic upliftment. Beneficiaries were selected by following conditions like.

- i) Families which were under the group of utter poverty and the and the families which do not have any visible means of subsistence were are to be selected for this.
- ii) Families with no single member in the age group of 15-59 capable of economic production, were to be preferred.
- iii) Families which did not have any productive assets such as land, cattle, etc, but may have one or two persons working as labourers but whose income did not exceed Rs. 20/- per month are entitled for obtaining this benefit.
- iv) Families, which have on an average, Rs. 40/- as per capita income could also be included in this programme.

The responsibility of identifying the poorest families was assigned to the ‘Gram Sabhas’. the scheme helped these poor families in various flags. They were helped interims of allotting land for cultivation, monthly pension, bank loan or help in getting employment, loan facilities were provided to purchase bullocks carts, buffaloes, cows, goats and pigs, to help basket making purchasing carpentry tools, opening a tea-shops, or a tailors shop barber’s shop. With the experience of Rajasthan government. The Government of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh were inspired to launch the same programme in 1980, but due to political change could be succeeded.

13.11 Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)

Rural Landless Guarantee programme was launched on 15 August 1983 with the objective of generating gainful employment creating productive assets in rural areas and improving overall quality of rural life. It aimed at providing guarantee of employment to at least one member of the landless household for nearly 100 days in a year.

Major Features of RLEGP:-

- i) The scheme was launched with an intention of guaranteeing gainful employment to the people in rural areas and of raising the overall quality of rural life.
- ii) Under this scheme, preference in the employment is given to the landless labourers, women, SCs and STs.
- iii) As per the scheme, the workers are paid wages according to the provisions of Minimum Wages Act.
- iv) Under this scheme as part of the wages was to be paid to the workers in the form of food grains at subsidized rates.
- v) This scheme includes in itself various rural development Programmes such as construction of wells, roads houses and social forestry.
- vi) Another specialty of this programme was that the entire scheme was financed by the Central Government. However, the programme was to be implemented by the state governments.
- vii) Various schemes such as “Million Wells”, “Indira Awaas Yojna” and “Social Forestry” are covered under RLEGP.

13.12 Jawahar Rozgar Yojna (JRY)

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced on 28th April, 1989 the launching of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna (JRY). All the existing rural wage employment programmes were merged into JRY. This implies that National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) have been merged so as to be brought under this umbrella programme referred to as Jawahar Rozgar Yojna. Following

are the features of JRY.

- i) The JRY intends to help atleast one member of each poorest family by providing employment for about 90 to 100 days in a year at his own work place or residential area.
- i) This scheme was sponsored by the Central Government
- iii) The scheme was funded or financed by the Central and the State Governments on 80:20 ratios respectively
- iv) Contractors or middlemen were not permitted to operate for executing the works under this programme.
- v) About 60% of the funds allocated for the scheme were spent for wage employment.
- vi) Under this scheme, 2 kgs. of food grains per day was given to every worker employed at subsidized rate.
- vii) A part of the funds allocated for the programme was spent for housing under the Indira Housing Scheme.
- viii) The entire scheme was implemented through the Vilalge Panchayat.
- ix) About 80% of the funds obtained by the centre and State are to be utilized through the Gram Panchayats for helping the targeted beneficiaries.
- x) At least 30% of the employment is to be provide to women under JRY.

In the year 1993-94, the JRY was modified and split into 3 streams. The first stream consisted of general works along with two sub-schemes, namely, Indira Awass Yojna (IAY) and Million Wells Scheme (MWS). The second stream comprised of intensified works in 120 identified backward district. The third stream consisted of special and innovative projects.

13.13 Some other Rural developmental programmes:

Small Farmer's Development Agency (SFDA)-1971: This Agency was set up in accordance with the recommendations of All India Rural Credit Survey. It was in

operation since 1971 covering 1,818 blocks in the country.

Food For Work Programme (FFWP) – 1977: This programme which was introduced in 1977 aimed at making payment of wages in kind, that is, in food grains either in full or in part to the persons living below the poverty line. It aimed is; (a) generating additional gainful employment for both men and women in rural areas; (b) creating durable community assets and strengthening the social infrastructure; (c) utilizing surplus food grains for the development of country's human resources. This scheme was started at a time when the government had a huge buffer stock of food grains.

Desert Development Programme (DDP) – 1977-78: The Desert Development Programme was launched in 1977-78 on the recommendation of the National Commission on Agriculture. This programme aims at raising the level of income, production and employment of the people in the desert areas of Rajasthan, Haryana and Gujarat in hot and arid regions and in Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh in cold and arid regions.

Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP)-1979: This programme was started in the year 1979 for drought prone areas. Almost two-thirds of the cultivated area in the country is rain fed and has low productivity, though bulk of the foodgrains, pulses, oil seeds, etc. comes from here. This programme has been launched with an intention of helping the farmers in the drought prone areas to get sufficient income even in the condition of drought. During the Seventh Plan, Rs. 237 crores were spent on this.

Scheme for Providing Self-Employment to Educated Unemployed-1983: This programme was introduced in 1983. It intends to provide a loan of Rs. 25,000 to the educated unemployed residing in areas other than cities with a population of 10 lakhs or more. A subsidy of 25 percent of the loan was provided under the scheme for all the loans granted by the banks to the unemployed youth. This programme was continued in the Seventh and Eighth Plans.

Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS)-1983: The main objective of this scheme was to provide gainful employment in manual work to all able bodied adults in rural areas during the lean agricultural season. Under this programme, a maximum of two

adults per family could be provided with gainful employment. Under this scheme 41,6,533 lakh man-days employment was generated by spending Rs. 2,819.76 crores upto 31st March 1999.

This scheme was launched on 2nd October 1993 initially covered 1778 blocks of 23 states. As on 31st March 1999, the scheme covered all the rural blocks of the country. The Centre and the States provided the needed funds for this programme in the ratio of 75:25.

Jawahar Gram Samriddhi Yojna (JGSY)-1999: The Jawahar Gram Samriddhi Yojna (JGSY) launched on 1st April 1999 represents the previously existed but restructured and streamlined scheme called the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna (JRY).

This programme is concerned with the development of rural infrastructure at the village level. This programme is to be implemented by village panchayats. The cost of this programme will be shared between the Centre and States in the ratio of 75:25, and in the case of programmes undertaken in the Union Territories, the entire cost of the programme will be met by the Centre.

Swarnjayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY)-1999: This programme aims at establishing a large number of industries through bank credit and subsidy and bringing the assisted poor families above the poverty line in three years.

This programme launched in April 1999 replaces earlier programmes like the IRDP, the TRYSEM, etc. It is the single self-employment programme for the rural poor.

Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojna (PMRY)-1993: The Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojna (PMRY) was launched on 2nd October 1993. In this PMRY the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna (JRY) and all other similar schemes sponsored by the Central Government were merged together. This scheme covered both rural and urban areas. This scheme aimed at providing sustained employment to about 10 lakh educated unemployed youths in small industries, services and small business ventures during 8th Five-Year Plan.

13.14 IMPACT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Various rural development programmes, projects, plans and schemes which

the government has launched have brought about some impact. It must be noted that the impact of these programmes has not been uniform throughout India. As far as the programmes are concerned, some of these programmes are directly sponsored by the Central Government, while some others are sponsored and supported by the State Governments. In some states, a particular programme gets an encouraging and healthy response while in other states, it proves to be a failure. Of these various programmes, some are able to elicit a relatively good response from the public while many others fail to obtain the positive support and co-operation of the people. While making an assessment of the impact of rural development programmes, these observation should be borne in our mind.

It may also be noted that most of these development programmes beginning from Community Development Project (CDP) to Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) have stressed on the development of agriculture and irrigation. Some of these programmes have not doubt emphasized the importance of education, public health, sanitation, veterinary and housing. It appears that the basic content of all these programmes seem to be the same. But specific programmes give more emphasis on one or the other needs of the people. As Doshi and Jain have pointed out, “Generally the impact has to be seen at two levels. If we look at any particular programme we would find that either it falls in the individual beneficiary programme or community beneficiary programme. Any evaluation of the impact of development programmes on the village life should take stock of both individual and community beneficiary programmes.

13.15 Check your Progress

Q.1. Discuss in detail rural development programmes which have been provided by the govt. of India.

Q.2. Discuss community development programmes and in elaborate its various objectives .

Q.3. Define Integrated Rural Development programme and discuss its major objectives.

Q.4. Write detailed note on Rural Development Programmes and their impacts.

PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTION

Structure

- 14.1 Objectives
- 14.2 Introduction
- 14.3 Historical Background of Panchayati Raj System
- 14.4 Structure of Panchayati Raj
- 14.5 Objectives of panchayati Raj
- 14.6 Impact of panchayati Raj on Indian villages
- 14.7 Self Assessment Questions

14.1 Objectives

After going through this chapter the learners should be able.

- To have knowledge of rural social organisations.
- To understand the democratic setup in rural area.
- To know the evolution, progress, objectives and impact of panchayati Raj system in rural India.

14.2 Introduction

In this chapter, the efforts have been made to illustrate the overall information about panchayati Raj system. The topic includes the evolution and different stages of the system. The structural aspects of panchayati Raj system indicating three tier system and their functions as well as ways of working are also focussed in the study. The objectives of panchayati Raj and its impacts on Indian villages indicating certain short coming have also been highlighted.

14.3 Historical background of Panchayati Raj system

Panchayati Raj means democratic decentralization. We often talk about panch Parmeshwar. It means that god speaks through the panch. Due to which it is expected that panch Parmeshwar can never be prejudicial to any body. India is not new to panchayati Raj system. It is deeply rooted on India soil. Our tradition of gram panchayati is elaborately manifested in our languages. Besides, we also have traditional caste panchayati. The caste panchayat look after the problem at local level. Sometimes, it also functioned as inter-village panchayat. But this system was dealing the caste affairs mainly. After that, the village panchayat in India covered, the organisation, administration and all kinds of progress of the rural communities.

Village Panchayats of Ancient India: — In India during the vedic period there were panchayat in all most all the villages. K.M. Pannikar mentioned that this is the sole permanent basis of ancient history on which each dynasty of India has prospered. On it Dr. Altekar has pointed out that Gram panchayats worked for the defence of the village and collected the revenue of the state. They imposed near taxes, arbitrated in the disputes of villagers and implemented the projects for public welfare. Though public loans were being made to allocate the distress caused by famines and other calamities. They also organised and established schools, orphanages and colleges and did much cultural and religion work through the temples. With exception of declaring war and entering into treaty these panchayats were vested with all the remaining rights and authorities of the state. According to a 10th century text shurka neeti sar, the ancient village panchayat had the following characteristics : (i) The members were elected (ii) The members had the executive as well as judicairy rights (iii) The members were held in due respective. (iv) The

panchayats collected the tax on the land and controlled its distribution (v) The pasture of the village and other forested land were treated as the property of the panchayat. (vi) The panchayats also undertook such activities like maintenance of peace, security, health, education and public construction. (vii) The panchayats also negotiate between warring factors of the villages.

Village Republic :— The name, village republics, was given by the English to these ancient panchayats of India. They collected new taxes imposed by the king. They collected the revenue from the public and thus the king too did not interfere in their working but rather listened to them. Sir. Charles metcalf mentioned that these panchayats had all the characteristics of a republic and every village was a small independent country. It was completely free from external control.

Panchayats During British Rule :— When British came to India and they found that Panchayati Raj system was well developed and flourishing inspite of the apathy of the Muslim rulers towards the system. The Britishers, however, feel that to consolidate British power successfully, it is necessary that panchayati raj should be weakened due to which they took away many powers which were enjoyed by the village panchayats. The revenue began to be collected from every individual and not from the villages as a whole, panchayats were deprived of many punitive powers also. But after some time, Britishers realized that they were following a wrong policy in India and that they were mistaken in their notion because the system of panchayati Raj was so deep rooted in India and it is not easy to root it out. In 1909, decentralisation was recommended. That the old panchayati Raj system should be revived and panchayats should be given back the power which they have lost. In 1915, the government passed an act reviving panchayat system in India. In 1919, the government of India act was passed by which provinces were given some powers. And accordingly in many states panchayat acts were passed, which gave many powers to the panchayats. But in spite of all these efforts for restoration, panchayats did not get back their lost power and glory and damage done was partially set right. On the whole, the British rulers did not encourage the system and just tried to underestimate it.

Panchayats in Free India :— When India became independent,

the national government paid special attention to the village panchayats. In 1914, the role of panchayati Raj has to be analysed with reference to the great Indian tradition. Gandhiji had a conviction that Gram panchayats should be made all powerful so that it could take all the decisions pertaining to its administration and development. Gandhiji often talked about Gram swaraj. Literally, it means autonomy of village. The village as a collectivity should rule over itself. The theory of Gram swaraj is given in the words of **Gandhiji** as, “My idea of village swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is necessity. Thus every village’s first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have reserve for its cattle, recreation and play grounds for adults and children. The government of the village will be conducted by a panchayat of live persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualification. These will have all the authority and Jurisdiction required. Since there will be no system of punishment in the accepted sense, this panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined to operate for its year of office, here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world. For the law, governing every villager, is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his villages honour.” After the independence of the country the state governments have made efforts and established Gram Sabhas, independent village panchayats and panchayati Adalats (courts) in the villages of India.

14.4 Structure of Panchayati Raj

The U.P. Panchayati Raj act is a model and presents a general pattern of the structure of panchayati raj in the country. The structure of panchayat raj can be explained in the discussion of three tier system.

The system of community development as the 1st step was started in 1952. Under this system, each state was divided into blocks under the supervision

of a block development officer. The system did not work well because it could not seek the cooperation of the villagers. In 1957, Balwantrai committee was setup to receive the working of community development programme. The committee submitted its report by the close of the year and recommended establishment of panchayati Raj system. It suggested that the whole system should be so organised that villagers may participate in their own affairs and the rural people develop a capacity for taking decisions. The committee also recommended that there should be elected bodies at village, block and district levels. The government should also try to surrender some departments completely to the villages. It also recommended a three tier systems namely (i) Gram Sabha (ii) Panchayat samiti and (iii) zila parishad.

(i) Gram Sabha :— It has been established in those villages where population exceeds 1000. When the population is less than this number, several neighbouring villages have been compound to constitute Gram sabha. All the individuals who have the capacity of being members and who are also permanent residents of the area of gram sabha will be its members. For the membership, both male and female should have attained the age of 21 years. Insane people, bankrupts these who are punished or government official cannot be a member of gram sabha. It meets twice in the year, once at the Rabi crops and again at the kharif crops, from among the members of the sabha, one chairman and one vice chairman are elected, The members of the gram sabha can impeach the chairman or vice chairman of two third majority.

(ii) Village panchayat :— The executive committee of the gram sabha for the management of the village is called gram panchayat. The chairman and vice chairman of the gram sabha are also the chairman and vice chairman of the village panchayat. The election of the members of village panchayat and the chairman and vice chairman of gram sabha is carried out by the direct vote system. The polling officer appointed by district magistrate counts the votes through the hands lifted by the voters or through any other modern device. There is no fixed strength of the members of the panchayat. It varies from state to state. The members of panchayat are called panch. Each panchayat has a 'Sarpanch'. In some states, sarpanch is elected by the people directly and where

as in other states the panch elect their sarpanch.

Nyaya panchayat/Panchayati Adalat (Rural court) :— There is one panchayat adalat for four or five Gram sabhas. In every panchayati adalat, there are live representations from each gram sabha. These representatives are elected by direct vote system. There are twenty or more than this number are panches, one sarpanch is elected among those panches. Of these five panches, one panch necessarily belongs to that place from which the case comes. The judgement on the case is decided by majority members. The decisions of panchayat court are final and no appeal can usually be made against them but in special cases one can appeal to Mumif. All the cases are settled by the committee of these representatives and then approved by the panchayat. It listen both the civil and criminal cases.

(ii) Panchayat Samiti :— In three tier system, it is an intermediary tier and its area of operation broadly consider with a block of community development. This samiti is known by different names in different states. It consists of sarpanches of all the panchayats falling with the Jurisdiction of samiti. In some states representatives are directly elected from he panchayats. In a samities, a provision is made for giving representation to scheduled castes, scheduled tribe and other weaker section of the society. Representation is also given to local M.L.A. and M.L.Cs. In some states, known, however, M.L.As and M.L.Cs are voting members while in others they are non voting members. Real power remain with the president of the samiti in the three tier system. In this whole setup, he/she is the key figure and act as the chairman of standing committees.

Functions of Panchayati Samities :— Most of the function which were hitherto being performed by local Boards and district boards are today being performed of panchayat samiti. Panchayat Samiti sanction their budget proposals and make suggestion for improvement and exercise general control. Samities help in providing improved seeds, assist in land reclamation, development of local manure and distribution of fertiliser. These are also responsible for looking after primary education. In Punjab, it has responsibility of establishment, management and inspection of schools. In some state, panchayat simities have been general responsibility of looking after the arrangements for communication, drinking water, drainage, sanitation, child welfare centre construction

of rural roads and approving building plan etc. These also look after development of cottage and small scale industries, social education and emergency relief measures. In fact, these are the first of the three tier system and success panchayati raj system very much depends upon them.

Ways of Working :— Panchayat samities function through standing committee. Each committee given specific functions. Each samiti has a president and important standing committees are presided over by samiti president. The chief executive officer of the samiti is block development officer who is assisted by assistant development officer and few village level workers. They are government servants and are under the administrative control of the deputy commissioner. But they are supposed to carry out the duties of panchayat samiti. Thus they are under the control of both the bureaucratic and democratic setup, which makes their functions difficult to some extent.

The main source of income are financial assistance from the state government funds drawn from the block budget, funds gives to the panchayat samiti for the execution of particular scheme, share from the land revenue and taxes levied by the samiti. The samiti also receive loans from the state government. Panchayats also contribute to the funds. But the main problem in this process is that the sources of expenditure are for more than those of the income and as such the samities always remain hard pressed with funds and thus cannot take upon many developmental activities which expose these bodies to severe public criticism.

(iii) Zila Parishad :— Before the introduction of Zila Parishad in the Panchayati Raj institution, there were district Boards Zila Parishad. At district level, it is the first tier of the three tier with little variation from state to state. On the whole the pattern, organisation and function of zila parishads all over the country are almost the same.

In many state, president of all the samities are exofficers members of the zila parishad. And in some other states some elected representative of panchayat samities are also members of zila parishad. Usually special representation is given to the members of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes on the zila parishad. In some of the states, M.L.As and M.Ps as well as M.L.C's are also members and have right to vote and collector is eligible to become chairman or member of the parishad or

its standing committees. There is also a provision for the cooperation of members on the zila parishad. Such members must have special qualifications either in administration or education.

Functions :— Almost every where zila Parishad is required to perform (a) Administrative and Advisory functions (b) Municipal functions (c) planning and community development function (d) Miscellaneous functions. The parishad coordinates the activities of panchayat samitis. These supervise administrative work of these bodies and tender advice to the state government on the implementation of different development plans. These are responsible for maintaining roads, providing of drinking water, hospitals, maternity and child welfare centre etc., these are responsible for the execution of community development projects. These look after industries in the district and also watch progress of education at primary and middle level.

14.5 Objectives of the Panchayati Raj

The main objectives of panchayati Raj as laid down in Third five year plan are as follows :— (i) Increase agriculture production (ii) Development of rural industries (iii) Fostering cooperative institutions, (iv) Full utilization of local man power and other resources (v) Assisting the weaker sections of the community (vi) progressive dispersal of authority and initiative with emphasis on the role of voluntary organisation (vii) Fostering cohesion and encouraging the spirit of self help within the community. The village production plans should include the following two programs :— (a) programmes such as supply of credit, fertilizers and improved seeds, plant protect, minor irrigation etc. for which major assistance has to come from outside. (b) programmes such as digging field channels for utilizing irrigation from large projects maintenance of bunds and fields channels, digging and maintenance of village tanks, development and utilization of local manurial resources etc, which call for effort on the part of the village community or the beneficiaries.

14.6 Impact of Panchayati Raj on Indian Villages

On the basis of various official inquiries and findings of the experts, the impact of panchayati raj on rural India can broadly be summed up as under :—

- (1) The implementation of the panchayati raj has given a new fillip to caste systems in Andhra and Rajasthan.
- (2) Panchayati Raj has further intensified the factional struggle and group rivalries among the contesting groups for power.
- (3) It has given birth to a new variety of non official bureaucrats in rural areas.
- (4) It has further intensified the tension and conflict among the administrative personnel and Taluk leaders.
- (5) It has brought politics of manipulation right up to the village level.
- (6) It has successfully directed the mind of the rural people from resolving their basic economic and social problem to intrigues for power from village to Taluka level.
- (7) It has given rise to intensified form of nepotism and corruption through patronizing selected group of individuals.
- (8) The ruling party has successfully created, through panchayati Raj, an organised group of its supporters who form its social base today in rural areas.
- (9) It has further generated hunger for power and consequently power tension in rural areas.
- (10) The production plan which panchayats are expected to implement at the village level have largely remained only paper plans. Thus, the panchayati raj like community development has proved a total failure, ineffectively enforcing production plans at village level and thereby contributing to increasing agricultural production.
- (11) Panchayati has failed in benefiting weaker section of the rural society.
- (12) The new rural elite emerging from the higher income and more educated section of the rural society is dominating the panchayati raj today.
- (13) Panchayat raj has failed in generating local enthusiasm for government

project. This is evident from the fact that it has failed in enlisting the cooperation of the village people for the voluntary projects which demanded more contribution from the people in kind or cash. It has succeeded in the undertaking only those projects which are mainly financed by the government.

- (14) The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have no effective choice in panchayat samities which is a real governing body. To the best of my knowledge no scheduled caste member has been selected as the pramukh of the panchayat samiti in any state, however scheduled tribes pramukh are found only in tribal areas. Thus the weaker sections of Indian rural society are left almost completely unrepresented in the panchayati raj institutions.

Thus the government should reframe the panchayati raj system while considering above mentioned drawbacks.

14.7 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. What do you understand by Panchayati Raj system.

Q.2 Discuss the evolution and development of Panchayati Raj system in India.

Q.3. Discuss the structure and functions of Indian panchayati raj system.

Q.4. Write a note on the impact of panchayat raj on the villages of India.

CONCEPT OF URBAN, URBANIZATION & URBANISM

Structure

- 15.1 Objectives
- 15.2 Introduction
- 15.3 Concept of urban
- 11.4 Characteristics of urban community
- 15.5 Concept of urbanization
- 15.6 Urbanization in India
- 15.7 Concept of urbanism
- 15.8 Let us sum up
- 15.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 15.10 Suggested Readings

15.1 Objectives

After you have gone through this unit, you should be able :-

- To analyze the concept of urban
- Salient features of urban society

- Concept of urbanization
- Aspect of urbanization
- Describe the main features of urbanism

15.2 Introduction

Technological advances from the stage of hunting and gathering to present global stage have given birth to technological advances complex society. One of the most significant developments in human history has been the development of cities. A city is a relatively dense and permanent concentration of people who secure their livelihood chiefly through non-agricultural activities. Described as ‘complex societies’, urban society is contrasted with rural societies in various way—

- i) Large territory and population.
- i) Greater occupational differentiation of specialized groups.
- iii) Advanced technology for production.
- iv) Quick rate of change in terms of consumer goods form of education, polity and so on.

The branch of Sociology that deals with the science of the urban life is called urban Sociology. According to J.A. Quinn “it is that branch of Sociology which deals with the city or the urban community, with urbanization and urbanism.” This branch of Sociology, as a systematic discipline came into being in the 20th century only. As a special branch of sociology it not only studies the general principles of urban life but also deals with development of towns, social disorganization, problems of urban life and town planning. It studies the structure and functions of urban life family, with the institution of marriage in urban context, class structure and class struggle in urban societies and various urban problems.

Sociologist have always shown particular interest in urban life. The emergence of Sociology as a distinct field may be thought of as on Parallel lines the industrial urban revolution which began during the 17th & 18th century in Europe and England. Saint Simon, Comte, Tonnies, Durkheim, Simmel and Weber were some of the founder of

modern Sociology who responded diversely to the societal transformation associated with the industrial – urban revolution. The interplay of technological forces stimulated the movement of population into cities, creating a social milieu for further research.

15.3 Concept of Urban

Every society divides itself into two sectors, one is called urban and the other as rural. Although social science scholars have been attempting to distinguish these two sectors but there has been no universally accepted definition of an urban place even today. It has been defined and described from various points of view such as a function of population size and density, as a distinctive physical settlement and land use patterns, as a unique way of life and as an administrative jurisdiction.

Specifically the term ‘urban’ is used demographically and sociologically. In the former sense, it lays emphasis on the size of the population, density of population and nature of work of residents, while in the latter sense it focuses on heterogeneity, impersonality, interdependence, and the quality of life. Thus, population of not less than 5000, density of not less than 1000 persons per sq. mile, and 75% or more of working population engaged in non-agricultural activities (Like manufacturing, trade and commerce, service, etc.) are said to be important characteristics of town/city or ‘urban’ (Ramchandran 1998, 107-03). The 1991 census has defined urban place as any place with a minimum population of 5,000, 75% of the male population being non-agricultural population density of at least 400 persons for sq. km. (or 1000 persons per sq miles) and with a municipality corporation/cantonment/notified area.

15.4 Characteristics of Urban Community

- 1. Social Heterogeneity :—** An urban society is heterogeneous. The city life is complex and manifold. Wide difference is found in the ways of living of the people. Louis Wirth further says that “the city has been the melting-pot of races, peoples and culture and a most favourable breeding ground of new biological and cultural hybrids. The way of thinking, behaving, acting, the habits morals, religious beliefs and practices, food

and dress habits, occupations, etc., of the people differ significantly. Differentiation is potent in urban life.

2. **Secondary Relations :—** The urban community is characterised by secondary relations. A city by virtue of its size cannot be a primary group. Face-to-face, friendly or intimate relations may not be observed among people. Mass media of communication such as telephone, radio, press, post and telegraph, etc. are often resorted to by the urbanites for contacts. Even the neighbours are often found to be strangers. Private interests prevail over the common interests.
3. **The Anonymity of the City Life :—** The city is an Ocean of strangers. There prevails a state of namelessness in which the individual identities remain unknown. This kind of namelessness that is found in the city is often referred to as anonymity of the city life. The anonymity of the city life makes more complex the problem of social control.
4. **Secondary Control :—** Control of social behaviour is more difficult in a city. Predominance of secondary relations makes the social control more complex. The social behaviour of people is no more regulated by customs, traditions, religion and group standards. Instances of social deviation are commonly found in a city. Regulation of social behaviour is largely done through the specialised agencies like law, legislation, police, court, etc. The larger the city, the greater becomes the problem of control and more complex the agencies of secondary regulation.
5. **Large-scale Division of Labour and Specialisation :—** An urban community is known for its large-scale division of labour and specialisation. We find different people in society engaging themselves in different kinds of activities like mechanical commercial, educational, political, recreational, artistic, literacy scientific and so on. There are skilled, unskilled and semiskilled workers. The artisans, the technicians, the ‘paper expert’, the ‘white-collar’ employees, the financiers, the businessmen, administrators, the politicians, the artists and other in society specialising themselves in some particular kind of activity or the other.

- 6. Large-scale Social Mobility :—** An urban community, is characterised by intense social mobility. ‘Social Mobility’ refer to the movement of people from one social status to another, from lower status to higher status or from poor position to rich position. Urban life in this way is highly competitive. The city with its elaborate division of labour, its competitiveness, its impersonality, has a tendency to emphasise the achievements of people.
- 7. Individuation :—** In an urban community, people are more individualistic in their attitudes. As Kingsley Davis points out, “The secondary and voluntary character of urban association, the multiplicity of opportunities and the social mobility all force the individual to make his own decisions and to plan his life as a career.”
- The concentration of people in a limited space has the effect of emphasizing individuality. The city dweller takes his independent decision on such matters as education, marriage, occupation, enterprise, adventure, and so on.
- 8. Voluntary Association :—** An urban community is the breeding centre of a number of voluntary associations. The size of the urban population, its close proximity, diversity, and easy contact, make it the proper ground for voluntary associations. People normally become members of a number of associations which may be called secondary group in order to fulfil their varied interests.
- 9. Social Tolerance :—** Social tolerance characterises city life. Diversity of population, impersonality of contacts and heterogeneity in living style make it almost inevitable for the city people to develop the spirit of tolerance.
- 10. Spatial Segregation :—** Due to its very nature, the city is bound to be overcrowded. It is found that various types of business tend to concentrate in different spots of the city. Occupational groups of people also prefer to live together in distinct zones of a city. That is

to say, some kind of functional segregation is found there. Commercial activities in the form of big departmental stores, show rooms, fancy stores, legitimate theatres, fine hotels, jewellery stores, etc. are located in the centre. The same is true of high-priced professional services, clinics, law offices, accounting firms, government offices, etc. Retail grocery establishment, filling stations, cleaning and pressing shops, shoe repair shops, garages, drug stores etc., may be found at the cross-roads of the entire city.

- 11. Unstable Family :—** It is said that the urban family is not firmly organised. Many of the traditional functions of the family are transferred to the external agencies. Family is no longer the economic, educational, protective, recreational and effective unit. Family has lost much of its control over its individual members. Individualism is developing even inside the family.

On the basis of above understanding, we may define 'Urban Community' as 'a community characterised by a large heterogeneous population, predominance of non agricultural occupations, complex division of labour, a high degree of specialisation in work, dependence on formal social controls, and a formalised system of local government.'

When sociologists hold that a society moves from traditional to modern, they in fact contrast pre-industrial, largely rural, traditional society with industrial, largely urban modern society. While American sociologist Louis Wirth had used the term 'rural and urban' for contrasting communities, German sociologist Ferdinand Toennies used the terms 'gemeinschaft and gessellschaft', E. Durkheim 'mechanical and organic' solidarity, and Talcott Parsons 'traditional and modern' societies. Wirth (1938), distinguishing urban from rural society, defined city in terms of three fundamental features : population size, density, and heterogeneity. These characteristics meant that though the city-dweller would experience more human contacts than the rural inhabitant he would also feel more isolated because of their nature of contacts ('emotionally empty'). According to Wirth, social interactions, typical of city, are impersonal, segmental (narrow in scope), superficial, transitory, and usually of a

purely practical or 'instrumental' kind. He describes these as 'secondary' contacts which are totally different from 'primary' contacts in rural areas. According to Max Weber, the most fundamental feature of a city is that it functions as a market-place and it displays a relative predominance of trading-commercial relations.

Rural and urban communities may be distinguished from each other on the basis of several criteria like occupation, size, and density of population, environment, homogeneity - heterogeneity, social stratification, mobility and system of interaction.

15.5 The concept of Urbanisation

Urbanisation is a process involving two phases or aspects : (1) the movement of people from rural to urban places where they engage in primarily non-rural functions or occupations, and (2) the change in their life-style from rural to urban with its associated values, attitudes, and behaviours. The important variables in the former are population density and economic functions ; the important variables in the latter depend on social, psychological and behavioural factors. The aspects are mutually supportive.

The story of urbanisation in India in historical times is a study of spatial and temporal discontinuities. The causative factors behind urbanization varied from time to time, leading to not one but several urbanization processes at different points in time. In the prehistoric period urbanization was synonymous with the origin and rise of civilization itself, thus manifesting itself essentially as a culture process. In the historical, periods, from ancient times to the British period, urbanization was inextricably related to the rise and fall of kingdoms, dynasties and empires, and thus in effect urbanization during this period was essentially a political process. In recent times, urbanization has been associated with industrialization and economic development. In this sense, urbanization is essentially an economic process.

Thus urbanisation is a universal process implying economic development and social change. Urbanisation also means, "a breakdown of traditional social institutions and values". However, in India, one cannot say that urbanisation has resulted in the caste system being transformed into the class system, the joint-family transforming into the nuclear family, and religion becoming secularised.

M.S.A. Rao observes that the “breakdown” hypothesis originated from the western experience, and it ignores the fact of “traditional urbanisation” in India, “Modern urbanisation” is different from the “traditional urbanisation”.

An operational definition of urbanisation is given by G.S. Ghurye. Urbanisation means migration of people from village to city and the effect of this movement upon the migrants and their families and upon fellowmen in the villages. R.K. Mukherjee rejects the notion of dichotomy between rural and urban and also the view that urbanisation is an independent variable. He refers to the notion of “degree of urbanisation” as a useful conceptual tool for understanding rural-urban relations. Hence, he also prefers the concept of “rural-urban continuum.”

The concept of urbanisation needs to be distinguished from the concepts of urbanity and urbanism. Urbanisation refers to the process of change in values, attitudes and style of life of those people who migrate to cities from villages and the impact of these people on those in urban areas distinct from those living in the countryside. Urbanity refers to a pattern of life in terms of work situation, food habits, stress pattern and world view of the people living in urban centres. Urbanism can be characterised as a system of values, norms and attitudes towards interpersonal relations in terms of formalism, individualism and anonymity.

15.6 Urbanization in India

With urban growth and urbanisation process in India after 1951, sociologists' interest in urban themes has changed. The change from 1951 till today indicates that the rate of urbanization is low but the rate of urban growth (percentage increase in absolute size of the urban population) is high, whereas the percentage of urban population has increased by 1.5 times from 1951 to 1991 (from 17.3 to 25.73%), absolute size of the total population has increased 2.6 times (from 356.9 million to about 940 million) during the same period. Though increasing urbanisation has led to urban problems, yet cities are centres of civilization and culture. In this connection, Anderson (1953 : 11) holds that urbanization involves not only movement of population to cities but also change in the migrant's attitude, belief, values and behaviour pattern.

Urbanization in India has a rich historical past. While few concerns, in

a general way, the nature of traditional urban structure before the introduction of Pax Britannica, others analyses the factor in the growth of a town near the port city of Calcutta, during British rule. It is argued by scholars like Sjoberg (1960) that industrialization is a crucial variable in the process of urbanization and on this basis a typology of pre-industrial and industrial cities is worked out.

In the Indian context, the process and growth of urbanization have been so complex that it would be simplistic to characterize the difference in terms of any one factor. A general distinction between traditional and modern urbanisation may, however, be made in the Indian historical context taking the introduction of Pax Britannica as the cut-off point. Urbanization during British rule was characterized by features of westernization. The state of urbanization in India in 1901 was summed up by William Digby in his book 'Prosperous' British India as follows :— “There are two India's : the India of the Presidency and the chief provincial cities, of the railway system, of the hill stations There are two countries : Anglostana, the land especially ruled by the English, in which English investment have been made and Hindustan, practically all India fifty miles from each side of the railway lines.”

Ashish Bose in his article “Six decades of urbanization in India : 1901-1961” find that a number of factors were mentioned in census to explain the slow growth of urban population : race, rainfall, plague, attachment to village life etc, while famine and the presence of pilgrims were also mentioned as factors which gave the impression of slow urbanization in the following decades. The second world war and the partition of India in 1947 were mainly responsible for a sudden spurt in urban growth during the decades 1931-41 and 1941-51. According to census convention, an urban area with a population of 100,000 or over is called a 'city'. In 1961, the test adopted to classify a place as a town were — (a) density of not less than 1,000 persons per sq. mile, (b) population of 5,000 (c) 3/4th working population dependent on non-agricultural activities; and (d) a few pronounced urban characteristics.

Rapid urban growth in the developing countries like India has been causally linked to larger inflows of population from rural-to-urban areas. The urbanisation level defined as the proportion of urban population to total population

has increased in India from 10.84% in 1901 to 23.31 in 1981 — an increase of around 12.5 percentage point in the last eight decades.

15.7 Concept of Urbanism

Urbanism is a broad concept which generally refers to all aspects— political, economic, social etc. of the urban way of life. Unlike urbanization, it is not a process of urban growth, but rather the end result of urbanization.

L. Wirth's “urbanism as a way of life (1938)” was one of the first to stress on the social aspect of urbanism. The central problem for him was to discover the forms of social action and organization that typically emerge in relatively permanent compact settlements of large number of heterogeneous individuals. Urbanism is a way of life, characterized by transiency (short-time relations), superficiality (impersonal and formal relations with limited number of people), anonymity (not knowing names and lacking intimacy), and individualism (people giving more importance to one's vested interest). L. Wirth has given four characteristics of urbanism : heterogeneity of population, specialisation of function, anonymity and impersonality, and standardisation of behaviour.

Urbanisation as a cultural phenomenon is the outgrowth of interplay between technological and social process. It is a pattern of existence which deals with —

- (i) The accommodation of heterogeneous groups to one another.
- (ii) A relatively high degree of specialization in labour.
- (iii) Involvement in non-agricultural occupational pursuits.
- (iv) A market economy.
- (v) An interplay between innovation and change as against the maintenance of societal tradition.
- (vi) Development of advanced learning and the arts.
- (vii) Tendencies towards city based, centralized government structures.

TABLE
Total Population and Urban Populaton in India

Year	Towns (no.)	Cities (UAs with million+ population)	Urban population (million)	Urban population (% of total)	Decennial growth rate of urban population (%)	UA population (million)	Decennial growth rate (%)
1901	1827		238.9	10.84	—		
1911	1815	1	252.1	10.29	0.17		
1921	1949	2	251.3	11.18	8.30		
1931	2072	2	279.0	11.99	19.07		
1941	2250	2	318.7	13.86	32.04		
1951	2843	5	361.1	17.29	41.34	28.10	
1961	2365	7	437.2	17.97	25.84	40.07	42.61
1971	2590	9	548.2	19.91	38.93	62.21	55.27
1981	3378	12	683.3	23.34	46.12	95.69	53.81
1991	3768	23	844.3	25.72	36.16	141.15	47.51
2001	NA	40	1027.0	30.5	44.25	213.00	50.90

Source : Census of India (2001).

TABLE
Migration and Urbanisation in the 1971-1981 Decade:
All India and Major States

<i>States</i>	<i>1971 urban population (000)</i>	<i>1981 urban population (000)</i>	<i>Percentage share in Decadal increase of Urban Population</i>					
			<i>Net inflow from rural Areas</i>	<i>Net inflow from other Urban Areas</i>	<i>Net internal migration</i>	<i>Total migration</i>	<i>Area reclassi- fication</i>	<i>Natural increase</i>
India	107820	157680	18.6	Nil	18.6	19.7	19.8	60.5
Andhra Pradesh	8402	12488	26.5	-0.6	25.9	25.9	10.0	64.1
Bihar	5634	8719	26.3	-2.3	24.0	24.4	12.4	63.3
Gujarat	7497	10602	21.9	1.1	23.0	23.3	13.7	62.9
Haryana	1773	2827	22.7	0.9	23.5	24.9	16.0	59.1
Karnatka	7122	10730	16.1	0.9	17.1	17.2	17.4	65.4
Kerala	3466	4771	-3.1	-11.7	-14.8	-14.5	47.8	66.7
Madhya Pradesh	6785	10587	21.2	2.2	23.4	23.7	20.3	56.0
Maharashtra	15711	21993	26.8	4.2	31.1	31.5	5.3	63.2
Orissa	1845	3110	31.3	1.4	32.7	33.0	24.1	42.9
Punjab	3216	4648	15.3	-2.7	12.6	14.1	16.9	69.0
Rajasthan	4544	7211	11.9	-0.5	11.4	11.7	20.3	68.0
Tamil Nadu	12465	15952	12.6	-1.2	11.4	13.4	5.8	80.8
Uttar Pradesh	12389	19899	11.4	-5.4	6.0	6.3	43.9	49.8
West Bengal	10967	14447	15.7	1.6	14.1	21.0	22.0	56.1

Note : Total migration is net internal migration plus gross inflow from abroad.

Source : Computed from results of the 20 per cent sample of the 1981 Indian Population Census, Sundaram (1989).

TABLE
Level of Urbanisation in All India and States, 1901-1991

<i>States</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>1941</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1991</i>
Andhra Pradesh	9.65	10.09	10.21	11.13	13.43	17.42	17.44	19.31	23.32	26.84
Assam	2.34	2.41	2.74	2.92	3.11	4.29	7.21	8.82	10.29	11.08
Bihar	4.02	3.81	4.15	4.54	5.41	6.77	8.43	10.00	12.47	13.17
Gujarat	22.33	19.25	20.15	20.50	23.79	27.23	25.77	28.08	31.10	34.40
Haryana	12.42	10.77	11.31	12.38	13.39	17.07	17.23	17.66	21.88	24.79
Karnataka	12.56	11.56	13.76	15.30	16.94	22.95	22.33	24.31	28.80	30.91
Kerala	7.11	7.34	8.73	9.64	10.84	13.48	15.11	16.24	18.74	26.44
Madhya Pradesh	8.65	-6.68	7.51	8.30	9.81	12.02	14.29	16.29	20.29	23.21
Maharashtra	16.59	15.13	18.50	18.60	21.11	28.75	28.22	31.17	35.03	38.73
Orissa	2.47	2.42	2.52	2.54	3.00	4.06	6.32	8.41	11.79	13.43
Punjab	12.39	12.08	12.16	14.58	17.26	21.72	23.06	23.73	27.68	29.72
Rajasthan	15.06	13.44	14.33	14.72	15.27	18.50	16.28	17.63	21.05	22.88
Tamil Nadu	14.15	15.07	15.85	18.02	19.70	24.35	26.69	30.26	32.95	34.20
Uttar Pradesh	11.09	10.19	10.58	11.19	12.41	13.64	12.85	14.02	17.95	19.89
West Bengal	12.20	13.05	14.41	15.32	20.41	23.88	24.45	24.75	26.47	27.39
All India	10.84	10.29	11.18	11.99	13.56	17.29	17.97	19.91	23.31	25.72

- Notes :** (1) Level of Urbanization is defined as the percentage of population residing in urban areas.
 (2) Level of urbanization for India as well as Assam State for 1981 have been worked out taking into account the projected population of Assam as at 1981.
 (3) While working out the proportion for India for 1991, the projected figure as on March 1, 1991 for Jammu and Kashmir State has been included.

- Sources :** (1) Census of India, 1981, Occasional Paper of 1986-I.
 (2) Census of India, 1991, Provisional Population Total, Rural-Urban Distribution.

TABLE
Growth of Urban Population of India, 1901-1961

Census year	No. of towns	Total urban population (millions)	Increase in each decade (millions)	Per cent increase (decade)
1901	1,917	25.85		
1911	1,909	25.94	0.09	+0.35
1921	2,047	28.09	2.15	+8.29
1931	2,219	33.46	5.37	+19.12
1941	2,424	44.15	10.69	+31.95
1951	3,060	62.44	18.29	+41.43
1961	2,700	78.94	16.50*	+26.43*

* Unadjusted. The adjusted figure after taking note of definitional changes is 21.23 million, and the growth rate for 1951-61 is 34.01 per cent.

15.8 Let us sum up

In this unit we have examined the notion of urban, urbanization and urbanism. In brief, urban is understood in terms of size of the population, density of population and the unique characteristic which distinguish it from its polar opposite i.e. rural. Further, the process of urbanization is highlighted. India has witnessed an increased growth of urbanization and industrialization in the post-independence period. Urban growth in India is particularly due to large scale migration from villages to towns and cities, as the latter offers better facilities for education training, health, employment etc. At the end, the concept of urbanism— as a way of life is discussed, which signifies the urban culture.

15.9 Check your Progress

Q.1. Explain the salient features of Urban Society.

Q.2. Describe the main features of Urbanism.

Q.3. Give the concept of Urbanization and distinguish the concept from urbanism?

15.10 Suggested Readings

1. Rao, M.S.A, 1974, Urban Sociology in India, Orient Longman, New Delhi.
2. Ramchandran, R 1998, Urbanisation and urban systems in India, Oxford university Press.
3. Bose, Ashish, 1978, India's Urbanization 1901-2001, Tata McGraw Hill, New Delhi.
4. Nagpaul, H. 1996. Modernisation and Urbanisation in India, Rawat, New Delhi.
5. Sari Kwal, R.C., 1978, Sociology of a growing town, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi.
6. Prakasa Rao, V.L.S., 1983, Urbanization in India-Spatial Dimension, Concept Publication, New Delhi.
7. Huth, Mary Jo, 1970, The Urban Habitat, Nelson Hall, Chicago
8. Breese, G; 1966, Urbanisation in Newly Developing Countries, Prentice Hall, New Delhi.

CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN CENTRES

Structure

- 16.1 Objectives
- 16.2 Introduction
- 16.3 Meaning of Urban Centres
- 16.4 Factors responsible for development of cities in the past in India
- 16.5 Causes of development of new cities
- 16.6 Characteristics of Urban centres
- 16.7 Patterns of growth of Urban centres
- 16.8 Classification of Urban centres
- 16.9 Let us sum up
- 16.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 16.11 Suggested Readings

16.1 Objectives

The basic objective of this unit is

- To acquaint you with the concept of urban centres.

- About the theories of growth of urban centres.
- Classification of urban centres.

16.2 Introduction

Although mankind has inhabited the earth for an estimated two million years, the Neolithic age some 10,000 years showed permanent agricultural villages, but the culmination of this 'primordial urbanization' in the 'definitive city' (like the Tigris-Euphrates valley, in the Indus valley, in the Hwang-ho basin, in the central Andes, in sub-Saharan Africa between 4000 BC and AD 1000) was primarily an expression of the greater size and complexity of the social unit rather than a reflection of any major change in subsistence technology. The history of world urbanization, thus, may be divided into two stages primordial urbanization and definitive urbanization. V. Gordon Childe attributes the advent of definitive urbanization to both social and technological factors, as characterize by— a compact settlement with atleast 4000-5000 inhabitants; full time craftsmen and artists; an effective capital surplus based on agriculture ; foreign trade ; monumental, public architecture; writing system ; mathematical sciences ; social stratification and political hierarchy. (Huth, 1970).

The roots of urbanism go deep into Indian history. The pre-colonial urban centres had tended to be political at the core, their rise and fall often closely linked to sponsoring political regime, though the addition of commercial and religion activities would give the urban centers a certain immunity from political vicissitudes. Generally speaking, the urban centres are identified as large dense and heterogeneous.

16.3 Meaning of Urban Centre

By urban centres, we normally mean cities and towns. Man originally built the city, and the city, in turn, civilised man. Urban community life represent the city life. Though the term 'urban' is popularly used but there is no single all-inclusive definition of a city. Few definition of city are —

1. Howrad Woolston in his 'Metropolis', defined the city as a 'limited geographical area, inhabited by a largely and closely settled population, having many common interests and institutions, under a local government authorised by the state.'

2. Park in 'The City' says that the city far from being a mere collection of individuals and of social convenience, is rather a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and the organised attitudes and sentiments that inhere these customs."
3. James, A. Quinn viewed the city as a "phenomenon of specialisation", as a population aggregate whose occupations are non-agricultural.
4. Louis Wirth in his essay urbanism as a way of life writes — "For sociological purposes a city may be defined as a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals."

16.4 The Factors Responsible for Development of cities in the past in India

In the context of discussion about the development of cities, it shall be appropriate to discuss the cause of growth and development of cities in India in the past. In this connection we may mention the following important factors :

1. **Holy Place** :— The religious life is of essence to Indian life, religion permeates every fibre of it. In the past people visited certain towns consider holy as a matter of highest duty, The sacred places visited by the stream of pilgrims round the year soon developed into cities. The outstanding examples of such cities are : Kasi, Hardwar, Mathura, Puri etc.
2. **Means of Communication** :— In the past, modern sophisticated means of communication were not available and, therefore, most of the places were not easily accessible. Wherever the facilities of communication were better cities came into existence.
3. **Agricultural Facilities** :— Included in agricultural facilities are good irrigation, fertile soil and stable climate. As in the past, there were no big industries, agricultural facilities were the main conditions which determined the establishment of cities.
4. **Cantonments** :— In old India there were numerous small and big princely states. All princes and kings used to live in forts which were

surrounded by military cantonments. In order to supply the goods to persons living in big numbers in forts and cantonments, towns and cities used to spring up around these military centres. Thus the city of Gwalior is situated on the outskirts of Gwalior fort. Similarly, old Delhi is near the Red fort.

5. **Capitals :—** Likewise cantonments all those places which are made the capitals of states soon turn out to be cities. This is natural, as a consequence of official patronage much money is invested in such places and all municipal facilities besides a guaranteed security is made available.
6. **Cultural Centres :—** In India culture is highly valued, therefore cultural centres are fully protected by the official machinery. At these centres people gather from far and wide.
7. **Educational Centres :—** In ancient India there were many celebrated seats of learning. At these seats of learning students in large number from far and wide used to assemble. Therefore, these became cities. Nalanda and Taxila are examples of such centres.
8. **Art Centres :—** In all countries there were certain places renowned for artistic manufacture. These places became big business centres and thus turn into cities. In India examples of such places are Kannauj, Bareilly, Kanpur, Moradabad, etc.
9. **Business or Commercial Centres :—** For a variety of reasons some places become commercial centres. Usually places situated on the river banks or sea coast become flourishing business centres. These places, too become cities.

16.5 Causes of development of New Cities

Every city has at personal history and certain causes of its origin and development are peculiar to it. For example, if and when a certain place is declared to be the capital of some state or country it is bound to become a city overnight. Broadly, the following may be enumerated as the main causes of the development and origin of cities.

1. **Industrial revolution :—** The cities are business centres. The increase in business stimulated industrial activity. When large industrial complexes come into existence, big markets, housing and shopping complexes are a natural sequel to industrial activity. The places situated in the vicinity of large industries automatically become important business centres, and at a business centre there is a collection of a large number of people. When population of a place is big enough, it naturally turns into a city.
2. **Business revolution :—** Where there is large turnover of trade and business, that place must in due course turn into a city. As N.L. Sims observes, “Trade is a necessary cause of the existence of a city as circulation of blood is necessary cause for the life of an organism”. A large business centre must naturally have big markets, shopping complexes, housing colonies, educational and cultural associations, clubs, restaurant and hotels.
3. **Agricultural revolution :—** Today we possess highly sophisticated agricultural tools and implements and these help us to get for higher yield of crops than before with the help of more hands. The revolution in agriculture has relieved a big labour force, who hunt jobs. Being available cheap, the capitalist is induced to invest money into new factories in order to utilize cheap labour. When large labour force migrates to any place, that place grows and tends to develop into a city. In the West, agricultural revolution was an important factor in the development of cities.
4. **Increase in the means of transportation :—** In the development of cities, means of transport play a crucial role. Without the facilities of transportation and the easy availability of such means as trains, trucks, buses, taxis, scooters etc., no place can become a business centre. Today, by means of rail, road or air we can transport goods from one place to the other very quickly and inexpensively. In big towns or

metropolises, therefore, goods are brought from great distances by air, rail or road transport and they become business centres for national as well as international goods.

5. **Development of communication** :— With the development of means of communication like postal, telegraph and wireless services etc., it has now become possible for the businessmen away from each other by great distances to establish contacts with each other. This in turn stimulates business and trade activity.
6. **Political factors** :— Owing to political reasons certain places assume great importance, and consequently, become great cities. In almost all states the capitals have developed greatly and fast. For example, Chandigarh was an obscure village but when it was decided to make it the capital of Punjab it was metamorphosed and become a modern city. Besides the reason of being capitals many towns develop fast into metropolises if some strategic importance is attached to these.
7. **Education centres** :— The places which are centres of higher learning soon become big cities. This is because students and teachers from far and wide assemble at such places and in order to cater to their needs shops, markets, hotels, restaurants and clubs come into existence.
8. **Growth of population** :— It is an evident fact that whenever and wherever there is increase in the population, all prerequisites of cities are bound to come into existence.
9. **Security** :— A place which is vulnerable to external attack or which is subject to attack by some marauding tribes cannot grow into a city because no body would like to invest any money at such a place. People would invest money and do business only at those places which are safe and secure and where life and property are not consequently threatened.
10. **Municipal facilities and means of entertainment** :— In good cities there are schools, colleges, universities, music institutes dance centres,

medical colleges and industrial training institutes. People can avail of these facilities and enhance their abilities. In cities there are cinemas, music and dance clubs, theatres, night clubs etc. for spending money. On account of easy availability of means of improving one's abilities, and self culture and also easy availability of means of entertainment they attract people from village to cities.

16.6 Characteristics of Urban Centres

1. Life in the city is not so simple as it is in villages.
2. The people in the city belong to different castes, creeds, religions and cultures and thus do not enjoy the same social status.
3. In the city there is usually disintegration of community sentiment for lack of homogeneity.
4. In the cities there are many occupations and professions and as such occupational and professional mobility is both possible as well as frequent.
5. In the cities, hold of family is not strong and many functions which the family perform in the villagers are taken away by other institutions and associations in the city.
6. In the cities, it is difficult to find pure culture. There is novelty, sophistication and excitement in the culture.
7. In the cities there are no personal contacts with the result that serious crimes are committed which remain untraced in spite of best efforts of the authorities.
8. In the cities there are more excitements and a constant struggle is going on among the people of all categories to rise and go up.
9. In the urban community there is always division of labour and specialization in job allotments. Each and every individual is allotted a particular job which he is required to finish. The members of the same family even do

not perform similar type of work.

10. In urban communities, women enjoy comparatively high social status. They are earning partners and occupy very high and important positions. They are given equal opportunities to use their wisdom and worth.
11. There is considerable social stratification and problems like family quarrels, divorce etc. are very frequent in cities.

16.7 Patterns of Growth of Urban Centres

Several theorists have attempted to identify and account for pattern in the way people and facilities are distributed within the physical space of a modern city. Three theories have attracted special attention : the concentric-zone theory, the sector theory, and the multiple-nuclei theory. Besides these, there are three other theories which are also discussed.

- (1) **The concentric-zone Theory** :— Using the large city of Chicago as their principal source of evidence. Robert Park, Earnest Burgess, and R.D. Mc Kenzie suggested that a modern city typically consists of a series of concentric zones. These zones radiate out from the downtown center, and each successive zone contains a different type of land use. The first zone is the central business district, containing retail stores, banks, hotels, theaters, business and professional offices, railroad and bus stations, and city government buildings. The second zone is the zone in transition. The transition is caused by the steady encroachment of business and industry into what were once residential neighbourhoods, often containing the homes of the wealthy. This process is the classic pattern of growth of the American slum. Wealthy families leave their old homes near the city center under competition for space from the central business district. The residences are then converted into apartment dwellings, rooming houses, and marginal business establishments such as restaurants. These shabby zones readily become ghettos for minority groups or the center of the urban vice trade. The third zone is the zone of working people's homes, consisting of ageing, relatively inexpensive

family residences and apartments. The homes are superior to those in the zone of transition, however, and are often filled with people who have escaped from the second zone. The fourth zone is the residential zone, inhabited mainly by small business operators and professionals. Land use here is less intensive than in the more central zones. There are a large number of single family residences, and the proportion of homes that are owned rather than rented is quite high. The final zone is the commuter's zone, consisting of small towns from which the wealthy travel to their work in the city. The neighbourhoods in the commuters' zone are beyond the city limits, but most of their inhabitants are economically integrated into the urban area.

This model is, of course, merely an ideal type that stresses the relationship between social status and distance from the city center. Many factors, such as environmental obstacles or determined resistance by residents of one zone to invaders from the next, may influence the actual pattern of development.

- (2) **The Sector Theory** :— Homer Hoyt proposed the sector theory of urban development as a better model for the growth of American cities since the appearance of the automobile. Hoyt recognized that cities grow outward from the center, but he saw growth as taking place largely in “Sectors” of land use in wedge-shaped areas that extend from the center, to the periphery rather like slices cut from a pie. As the city expands, both low and high rent areas move outward, but the area in which they originated may keep its character and is not necessarily abandoned. Nor do upper-class residential areas encircle the city entirely. They tend to cluster at certain points on the boundary, usually on the outer edge of high-rent sectors. Industrial areas, too, do not necessarily form a concentric zone. They may also take a wedge-shaped form because they spread outward along river valleys, watercourses and railroad lines. Again, Hoyt's theory is merely an ideal type that may provide a better model for at least some cities than the concentric-zone theory. It

does not represent a universal pattern, and specific exceptions to it have been found.

- (3) **The Multiple - Nuclei Theory** :— This theory, proposed by C.D. Harris and Edward Ullman, places less emphasis on the downtown business area. Instead it suggests that a city has a series of nuclei, each of which is the center of a specialized area. In addition to the business district, for example, there may be “bright lights” areas, light or heavy manufacturing area, or government administrative centers. Each of these nuclei influence the character and development of the surrounding district, the nuclei develop for several reasons. Some activities require specialized facilities for example, the commercial area needs easy, public access, and the port area needs a waterfront. Some activities benefit from being concerned in one area— for example, retail outlets draw more customers, and financial and business institutions benefit from easy communication. Certain activities, such as industrial manufacturing and entertainments cannot be reconciled in the same area and therefore tend to be segregated. Like the other models, the multiple nuclei theory fits some cities better than others. It seems most applicable to those cities that have developed since the arrival of the automobile and therefore has decentralization of families.

16.8 Classification of Urban Centres

The census authority of India defines cities and towns in respect of population structure and economic activities. The following are the criteria for the recognition of urban centres —

- (i) The places should have a population of not less than 5000.
- (ii) These must be governed municipality or notified area committee or military cantonment.
- (iii) These should have density of not less than 1000 persons/sq. miles.
- (iv) $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the working force should be engaged in non agricultural activities.

On the basis of the above criteria, the census of India, 1971 classified urban centres having inhabitants as —

I	100,000 and over	—	Cities/Class I town.
II	50,000 to 100,000	—	Medium size town
III	20,000 to 50,000	—	— do —
IV	10,000 to 20,000	—	Small size town
V	5,000 to 10,000	—	— do —
VI	Below 5,000	—	Township

Besides these, there are metropolitan cities like Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Ahemadabad, Hyderabad, Banglore.

Urban centres in traditional India were important places of worship, annual congregations, trade and nowigation. They had a stable population. Today, cities have come up as places of industry, headquarters of district and states or as centres of higher education. A city has highly diversified population. Chandigarh, Gandhinagar, Bokaro, Bhilai etc. are examples of view towns and cities in 1970's and 1980's. Some towns have lost their traditional significance, whereas and political factors.

India has a long tradition of urbanization, and an understanding of present day cities must be based upon historical geography. Of great cities, India had seventy five in 1951. In 1961, their number rose to 105. In 1981, there were 216 cities of one lakh population or more (class I).

In pre-industrial India, there were pilgrim-centres, capital towns, centres of trade and commerce and towns having universities and facilities for academic activities, Varanasi, Allahabad, Tirupati, Amritsar, Ajmer, Haridwar, Delhi, Agra, Hyderabad, Poona, Nalanda and Taxila were well knowm towns before the dawn of industrialization. With the coming of British, port towns became important centers of trade and commence but later on the same towns, namely Calcutta, Bombay Delhi and Madras also became places of higher education and centres of the legal profession.

On the issue of definitive cities/urban centres, Gideon Sjoberg has delineated three categories :—

- (a) **Pre-industrial city** :— Historically, these have been predominantly governmental and religious centres. There is little specialization with respect to land use within there seperated ethnic and occupational quarters, the technology of this type of city is unsophisticated and their economic organization in also uncomplicated while the political system tends to be highly centralized and bureaucratic.
- (b) **Transitional cities** :— They are always hybrids demonstrating both industrial and pre-industrial character. In this type of cities there is considerable resistance, both covert and overt, to the introduction of new urban pattern. Predominance of informal organization and use of nationalism in facilitatory the abandonment of old social order in favour of new one.
- (c) **Industrial cities** :— It has a commercial and industrial set up; their is emphasis on planning, scientific research, machine production etc. It has legally defined residential, commerical and industrial zones. Finally, it marked contrast to pre-industrial cities, whose elite class reside towards centre, the core of industrial cities is inhabited by most disadvantages citizens, the privileged class resides on the outskirts. Ultimately the industrial cities are characterized by wide range of specialzed knowledge and skill in contrast to pre-industrial cities having magic religious notes.

TABLE
Decadal Percent Change in Urban Population in India as Computed
by Instantaneous and Continuous Approach : 1951-1991

<i>Size-class</i> <i>Category</i>	<i>Population</i> <i>Range</i>	<i>Instantaneous Approach</i>				<i>Continuous Approach</i>			
		<i>1951-61</i>	<i>1961-71</i>	<i>1971-81*</i>	<i>1981-91*</i>	<i>1951-61</i>	<i>1961-71</i>	<i>1971-81*</i>	<i>1981-91*</i>
1. Cities I	100,000 & above	48.02	51.98	54.35	46.87	31.01	36.07	41.41	34.49.
2. Medium Towns	20,000-99,999	34.9	37.11	40.94	26.58	25.84	33.51	38.14	35.54
2(a) II	50,000-99,999	24.99	54.38	55.73	28.14	26.49	33.79	36.15	31.6
2(b) III	20,000-49,999	41.7	26.65	30.85	25.3	25.42	33.33	39.53	29.57
3. Small Towns	Less than 20,000	-7.21	13.71	25.88	6.38	27.6	32.34	35.87	29.32
3(a) IV	10,000-19,999	20.48	23.67	27.54	10.72	25.49	31.58	35	28.41
3(b) V	5,000-9,999	-25.46	-2.31	17.82	-1.27	27.07	33.4	36.99	30.02
3(c) VI	less than 5,000	-57.33	1.37	65.73	-21.7	50.48	35.26	47.74	43.88
4. All Urban Places		26.41	38.23	46.23	36.09	28.51	34.43	39.68	32.81

Notes : (1) The constituents of an urban agglomeration have been classified according to their own population and not according to the population of the urban agglomeration except in such cases where an urban agglomeration comprises a single town alongwith its outgrowths.

(2) * 1971-1981 and 1981-1991 figures exclude Assam and Jammu Kashmir.

Source : (1) Census of India, 1981, Occassional Paper-I of 1986.

(2) Provisional Population Total : Rural-Urban Distribution, 1991.

TABLE (a)
Urban Population India, 1961

		No. of towns	Population (millions)	Per cent of total
I.	1,00,000 and over	107	35.13	44.50
II.	50,000–99,999	139	9.53	12.07
III.	20,000–49,999	518	15.75	19.95
IV.	10,000–19,999	820	11.30	14.32
V.	5,000–9,999	848	6.34	8.03
VI.	Below 5,000	268	0.89	1.13
Total Urban		2,700	78.94	100.00

Source : This and all subsequent tables are based on data presented in *Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II — A(i), General Population Tables.*

TABLE (b)
Town Groups, Cities and Towns in India by Six Urban Classes, 1961

	Class of town	Town groups	Cities/ towns	Total	Population (millions)	Per cent of total
I.	1,00,000 and over	48	65	113	38.18	48.37
II.	50,000–99,999	29	109	138	9.39	11.90
III.	20,000–49,999	40	444	484	14.63	18.53
IV.	10,000–19,999	10	738	748	10.29	13.03
V.	5,000–9,999	5	756	761	5.71	7.23
VI.	Below 5,000	—	218	218	0.74	0.94
Total		132	2330	2462	78.94	100.00

Ultimately the industrial cities are characterized by wide range of specialized knowledge and skill in contrast to pre-industrial cities having magic religious notes.

16.9 Let us sum up

Urbanization and industrialization of Indian society has resulted into emergence of several urban centres. As per 1961 census—a density of not less than 1000 persons per sq. miles; population of 5,000; 3/4th of working population dependent on non-agricultural activities and few pronounced urban characteristics are the salient features of town. A city is defined as a place having population of 100,000 or more. The 1961 census has described town in India into six urban classes without taking note of ‘town group’. Besides these, there is identification of other urban centres like pilgrim centre, capital towns. Centre of trade and commerce etc.

16.10 Self Assessment Questions

Q.1. Explain the theories of growth of Urban Centres.

Q.2. Give the classifications of Urban Centres on the basis of economic activities?

16.11 Suggested Readings

1. MSA, Rao 1974, Urban Sociology in India, Orient Longman, New Delhi.
2. Breeze, G. 1969, Urbanization in nearby developing countries, Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi.
3. Hath Mary Jo, 1970, The Urban Habitat, Nelson Hall, Chicago.
4. Sarikwal, R.C. 1998, Sociology of a growing town, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi.
5. Bose, Ashish 1978, India’s Urbanization 1901-2001, Tata McGraw Hill, New Delhi.

Problem of Migration in Urban areas

Structure

- 17.1 Objectives
- 17.2 Rural- Urban Migration
- 17.3 Society moving from Rural to Urban
- 17.4 Continuity and Change
- 17.5 Urbanisation and Family
- 17.6 Let us sum up
- 17.7 Self Assessment Questions

17.1 Objectives

After going through this chapter the learner is able to understand the :-

- Concept of migration
- Rural-Urban Migration

Introduction

Rural-urban interaction is an important aspect of urbanization. It is expected that urbanisation and urban growth would have their impact on rural areas and activities in rural areas would have their effect on the nearby towns and cities. A few studies have been made on this rural-urban interaction which have shown that : (1) Urbanisation has impact on the economy of the surrounding villages. There is increase

in farm productivity (due to the availability of fertilizers , better seeds tractors etc. in nearby cities), increase in commercialization of crops and decline in the density of farm population (2) Level and pattern of migration has been affected. (3) Villagers have imbibed several urban characteristics.

17.2 Rural -Urban Migration

Social science literature has often exaggerated contrasts and dichotomies of rural and urban social organisations and ways of life. This type of perspective tends to ignore difference in the size of urban areas ranging anywhere between 5,000 and 15 million. The dichotomous perspective further neglects the existence of continuous interdependent , complimentary and overlapping relationships of rural and urban sectors which are reflected through mutual exchange systems of goods and services. The ruralities are dependent on the urbanities of their banking and credit needs for the purchase of agricultural equipment and other supplies, for marketing of farm products , even for commercial recreation. The urban sector is dependent on the rural sector for food supply for cheap labour and for vast market of its manufactured goods. The urban professionals like doctors , lawyers etc. draw a large number of their patients / clients from rural masses because hospitals and courts are concentrated in the urban centres.

Yet other double dimensional phenomenon which affects rural - urban relationships is migration. Most rural migrants who move to urban areas are young males who take up unskilled and semi skilled occupations. Even those ruralities who receive higher education prefer to settle in Cities . This migration from rural to urban areas exerts pressures on urban public services and creates problems of social disorganisation.

Migration from rural to urban areas is of different types. One is to settle down permanently in the urban areas of one's choice. This is called *translocatory* migration. Other is one in which migrants hang on to their rural base and migrate repeatedly and for varying durations , either to the same urban area to different ones. This is termed *circulatory migration*. Yet other migrate in graded steps from a smaller to a larger settlement. This is known as *step migration*. Mary Chatterjee (1971) has shown that the stability of migration is a function of distance from the native place , as

well as of occupational status . The longer the distance from the native place, the greater the number of migrants who regards their stay in city as temporary . Relatively, more migrants from lower -prestige occupations than those from higher occupations regards their stay in city as temporary.

Migration from rural to urban areas also follows certain patterns. One , it depends upon the pull factors at the urban and push factors at the rural end. Thus migration of agricultural labourers from Bihar to Punjab during the harvest seasons is of this type. Then there is migration which is caused by rural poverty and urban opportunity of getting work. Migration of young children as well as of adults from Uttar Pardesh and Bihar to other states for the lure of a Job is of this ‘pull ‘ type.

Along with cooperative relationships and functional dependence, there are cleavages and conflicts also between rural and urban sectors. The conflicts have been classified as primary or secondary , manifest or latent, and episodic or continuous. However , rural -urban conflicts are not clear-cut and do not erupt in open violence. It is difficult to fix their beginning or ending. The three factors identified by (Nagpaul , 1996 : 158 -160) which promote / foster cleavages and conflicts among the rural people for the urban people are : contrasting environmental subcultures , modernisation, and urban bias.

Natural environment of the ruralities is different from artificial environment of the urbanities. Rural work is determined by seasons and weather while urban work is carried out indoors in predictable conditions. Both sectors , therefore develop somewhat distinctive subcultures of their own which further , shape their social institutions and personalities. Although ruralities outnumber urbanities numerically , urbanities usually come to dominate in most facets of life. In economic fields also , urbanities enjoy a better living standards . Urbanities , therefore dominate the rural people both economically and politically.

Modernisation is another factor that fosters conflict. As part of moderations programme , the Government of India has introduced several schemes and plans in the last five decades in the form of Five Year Plans , social legislation , agrarian reforms , abolish of untouchability, population control, and distributive justice etc. The four important consequences of these modernisation programmes have been (1) increasing

pace of urbanisation and concentration of power in the urban sector (2) political democratisation (3) weakening of traditional institutional structure based upon caste and religion and (4) widespread emergence of revolution of rising expectations (Nagpaul , 1996 : 160-161) . More and more people are moving from rural to urban areas, draining off young males from the rural sectors , feminising the rural household increasing rural urban contracts and diffusing urban ways of life far and wide in the villages. Ruralities feel envious of the material comforts enjoyed by city people. The increasing contacts promote more and more cleavages and conflicts between the villagers and the city dwellers. Political democratisation has brought new tensions because the traditional patterns of leadership deprived from landownership, caste etc. are giving way to new types of leadership based on elections and formalism . The increasing involvement of women has produced some conflicts and stresses and strains. Though the rigidity of the caste system has declined yet caste has become a major factor affecting politics. The introduction of modernisation programmes has weakened traditional institutions (of caste , family and religion) relatively more in the urban sector/ centres as compared to the rural sector. The lower caste associations have become pressure groups in political life. The rising expectations of people have also led to the emergence of agitations and movements.

Lastly , *Urban bias* also acts as a source of conflict between rural and urban sectors . Inequalities in income , and better opportunities for occupational mobility and for raising living standards create biases among the villagers for the city people . Though the government has laid emphasis on agricultural development , rural reconstruction and poverty alleviation programmes , in practice , the villagers ' lot has not improved much. The rural people also feel strongly about the diversion of rural funds to urban infrastructure of education, health , housing and transport facilities etc. Some people describe the urban bias as state of mind , yet the fact is that it creates stresses and conflicts.

Generally , researchers study adjustments which villagers have to make due to change taking place in towns and cities. But Victor, S.D' Souza examined how changes taking place in the rural areas produce their impact on the urban centres. He found large - Scale transformation in urban functions and increasing trade and commerce predominating most of the towns and cities because of the rural impact.

On the other hand , Scholars Like B.R Chauhan (1970) and N.R Seth (1969) found lack of meaningful and intimate interaction between people in the towns and those of the villages. N.R Seth has even pointed out social , political and economic differences dividing urban and rural communities in India. Notwithstanding this disjunction , intimate and complementary relationship between the two segments is considered to be normal and desirable state of affairs. A town and a city by and large , act as service centres for their surrounding village community. L.K Sen (1971) has shown that like a town and a city a large village also performs central-place functions for the city as well as surrounding smaller villages.

17.3 Is Indian Society Moving From ‘Rural’ TO ‘Urban’

If instead of using the terms rural and urban we use Parsons terms of traditional and modern societies, it would enable us to use his pattern variables and distinguish between the two societies . The characteristics of traditional society are *Ascription* (status given by birth), *role of diffuseness* (broad relationship), *particularism* (each person treating others in a personal way), affectivity (satisfaction of emotions) , and collective orientation (shared interest) . The modern society is characterised by achievement (status acquired through one’s own efforts), *role specificity* (relationship developed for specific purposes) , *universalism* (same rules applying to everybody equally), *affective neutrality* (controlled emotions) and *self orientation* (individual interest being important). It makes sense to think in terms of a graded rural urban continuum of which above mentioned pattern variables are the extremes . In India , these characteristics appear together in various ‘mixes’ both in rural and urban areas. Since the rural communities have urban characteristics too and urban societies have rural characteristics also ., it will be illogical to hold that Indian society is moving from rural to urban.

17.4 Urban Social Organisation : Continuity And Change

The urban social organisation needs to be analyzed at two levels (1) level of change which family, caste, and kinship systems and religious values are undergoing and (ii) its comparison and contrast with rural social

organisation. If we take the second aspect first, it could be said that while rural social organisation is caste based, urban social organisation is class based. D ' Souza (1985) too has said urban social organisation is class based and secular oriented . However , some other scholars like William L. Rowe (1973) , David S. Daykin , and Bradley R. Hertz (1978) hold that caste , kinship , and religion still have their traditional hold over urban communities in India. The change in rural and Urban communities on this level is not because of the place of residence but because of the difference in the socio- economic status . S.P Jain (1971) holds, on the basis of his study in UttarPradesh towns, that Hindus and Muslims continue to have traditional caste hierarchy Sylvia Vatuk (1973) too on the basis of a study of migrants in a North Indian town held that kinship continues to assume importance among the migrants. Mary Chatterjee (1947) and M.F. Khan (1976) have said that kinship is the primary principle of social organisation . The traditional features of social organisation in towns and cities are brought out in a clear focus especially during religious occasions. Milton Singer (1968) has pointed out the prevalence of traditional Indian joint family in urban and industrial settings. Several studies on relationship between caste and politics in urban areas have indicated the use of caste by Rajputs, Nadars , Jats Reddys , Brahmins , Yadavs etc for seeking votes. On the other hand , some castes have used politics in cities for social mobility. Thus there is doubtless continuity in the traditional principles of social organisation i.e. functioning of caste and kinship systems and the importance of religious values.

However , there is some change in the functioning of caste and kinship systems in urban areas. In the day-to day interaction among people in urban areas , neither caste nor kinship nor religious values are given any importance. For economic and social help on different occasions, people depend upon more on neighbours and acquaintances and office colleagues than on caste and kin.

17.5 Urbanisation and family

The effect of urbanisation on family structure has been pointed out by scholars

like M.S. Gore , Alieen Ross, K.M Kapadia and I.P Desai , Urbanisation affects not only the family structure but also intra and inter family relations as well as the functions the family performs I.P Desai (1964) in his study of family in a small town in Gujarat found that traditional joint families (i.e. joint in residence, authority property, and with members of more than three generations) are being replaced by functionally joint families, the size of the family is shrinking and kinship relationship is confined to two or three generations only. Kapadia (1959) in his comparative study of rural and urban families in Gujarat found that in the rural community, the proportion of joint families is almost the same as that of nuclear families 49.7:50.3 in the urban community, there are more joint families than nuclear families , the proportion being two nuclear families for every three joint families. Ross in her study of middle and upper class Hindu families in Bangalore in 1957 found change in structure and size of families as well as weakening or breaking of relations with distant kin. Gore how ever found little change in family due to urbanisation.

Causes of Urban Problems

Following Mc Veigh and Shostak who have linked urban problems in the United States to four factors we can identify following five major causes of problems of urban life in India.

Migration

As already indicated people migrate to towns / cities because of the relatively better employment opportunities available there. In India , rural to urban and urban to rural migration is crucial. The 1991 census figures pointed out that in 17.7 percent cases migration was found from rural to urban and in 11.8 percent cases it was from urban to urban. The analysis of intra district migration and inter district or intra state migration and inter district migration shows that about 68 percent migrations are short distance , 21 percent are medium distances and 11 percent are long distance migration

Entry of the rural poor into a city depletes sources of revenue. On the other hand , the rich people today prefer to live in suburban areas. This movement of the rich causes financial loss to the city . This migration to the city and away from the city

aggravates problems.

Industrial Growth

While the urban population growth is 4 percent in India , the industrial growth rate is about 6 percent per annum. The ninth Five year Plan postulated an industrial growth rate of 8 percent per annum. This growth was expected to take care of additional job requirements in the cities. The tertiary sector also provides refuge to migrants , though their earnings remain at low level.

Apathy of the Government

The administrative mismanagement of our cities is also responsible for the mess in which city dwellers find themselves. Municipal authorities have not kept pace with city growth, either spatially or in terms of management infrastructure. There is neither the will nor the capacity to plan for the future. There is also no skill and capacity to manage what exists. Until we improve the capacity of our cities to govern themselves, we can not emerge from the urban mess. On the other hand , state governments also put many restrictions on local governments in raising necessary funds for dealing with particular urban problems.

Defective Town Planning

A more alarming factor in the general deterioration in the standard of civic services is the growing sense of helplessness of our planners and administrators. From the Planning Commission downwards , there seems to be a fatalistic acceptance of uncontrolled growth of our metropolitan cities . In fact , a member of the National Commission on Urbanisation had expressed a feeling that very little is being done in our country to plan the growth of the cities in a proper way.

Vested interest Forces

The last cause of urban problems is the vested interest forces that work against people but enhance private commercial interest and profits. The city residents are usually powerless to affect decisions that the elite make to further their own interest , power and profit. When these powerful elite can make more money , they adopt plans and programmes no matter how many people are hurt in the process. The best example of the role of the

vested interest was the transfer of one Municipal Commissioner in Maharashtra for 25 times in 25 years who refused to toe the line of Politicians, bureaucrats and petty officials for their motivated interest and got demolished many unauthorized constructions.

Solutions to Urban Problems

Some measures have been adopted if we want to remedy urban problems. The measures suggested are as follows:

Systematic Development of Urban Centres and creation of Job Opportunities

One important solution to our urban problems is the systematic development of the fast growing urban centres and planning an investment programme which over the next 20 years or so, could give rise to a large number of well distributed , viable urban centres throughout the country. So far we have been focusing attention on programmes for providing wage employment in rural areas through IRDP, NREP and JRY to hold people back in villages. While there is ample justification for providing rural employment , this by itself is not enough. It is not possible to provide gainful employment in the agricultural sector beyond a certain point. For this purpose , we have to lay emphasis on programmes which can permit multifunctional activities to sustain people in cities.

Regional Planning along with City Planning

Urban Planning is almost city centered. We have always been talking of town and city planning but never of the planned development of the whole region so that population is logically dispersed and activities are properly distributed. City planning is an ad hoc solution but regional planning could be a more lasting one. For example , instead of providing houses to slum-dwellers in cities through city development authorities , if through regional planning migrants could be diverted to other areas which may provide attractive employment , the pace of growth of existing cities could be checked. It is to be appreciated that at least beginning from the Ninth Five year Plan (1997) the Government of India has started helping states in setting up regional planning organizations and evolving meaningful regional settlement plans.

Encouraging Industries to move to Backward Areas

land pricing policy which gives land in large chunks at the throwaway prices has to be replanned to encourage industries to move to backward areas/districts. This will also take care of linear development of metropolitan and big cities. A policy of the state taking over potential high value land in and around large cities with a view to exploiting its full cost at a later date also needs serious consideration.

Municipalities to Find Own Financial Resources

People do not mind paying taxes to the municipality if their money is properly utilized to maintain roads , provide sewage system reduce water shortage and provide electricity. It is well known fact that cities suffer from crippling resource constraints. If deterrent punishment is given to corrupt municipality officials there is no reason why municipal corporations should find it difficult collecting money from the residents of a city. A city must bear the cost of its own development. High financial support from state government is becoming difficult. By revising property , water and electricity taxes, money can be collected and more money per head per annum can be made available for providing necessary amenities. When any new industry or business is located in a city or on its periphery , it could be moderately taxed so that additional money becomes available to the local body.

Encouraging Private Transport

Why should city transport be a public monopoly? When transport is handled by state employees it has been noticed that they tend to behave extremely rudely and callously. Backing of the trade unions encourages them to go on strikes frequently. It is necessary then that private transportation be encouraged . Privately operated mini bus and tempo services will charge a little more fare and commuters would not mind paying this in view of better services.

Amendment of Rent Control Acts

Laws which inhibit the construction of new houses or giving of houses on rent must be amended. Which landlord would like to spend Rs 3 or 4 lakh on a two -

three room house and give it on rent for Rs 1000-1500 a month for the next 10 to 20 years without having the authority to increase the rent or get the house vacated on appropriate grounds. Maharashtra has taken a lead in amending Rent Control Act which has made thousands of houses available for rent. A similar step in other States would be welcome.

Adopting Pragmatic Housing Policy

In May 1988, the central government presented national Housing Policy (NHP) to the parliament which aimed at abolishing ‘homelessness’ by the turn of the century and upgrading the quality of accommodation to a fixed minimum standard. Such policy sounds too ambitious and utopian. It is a dream impossible to accomplish in a span of remaining one year or so by which time the twentieth century will have ended. The government policy and planning has to be more down to earth. This is not to say that the concept of NHP is irrational. The NHP strategy is broadbased. It seeks to provide easy access to finance as well as land and material for building houses at reasonable rates. It also seeks to encourage manufacturers to use new type of building material. Moreover, it seeks to review the entire gamut of laws relating to land tenure, land acquisition and ceiling to apartments ownership, municipal regulations and rental laws. But these are all thorny issues. The NHP is oriented towards rich developers, landlords and contractors. The NHP has to discourage luxury housing and promote cooperative and group housing societies. It has to develop special schemes for the poor and low income people. It has also to provide incentives to employer to build houses for the employees. It has to increase its authorised capital capital of Rs 100 crore which cannot go anywhere near meeting its financial needs. Unless a more pragmatic NHP is adopted it will be possible to achieve the set goals.

Structural decentralization

One proposal by innovative planners and some radicals envisions a structural decentralisation of local self government itself. This could entail the creation of neighborhood -action groups to be called ‘community centers consisting of representatives of residents and municipality officials. These centres will identify and act upon neighboring needs. For example, many new colonies have to be established

in many cities in which as many as 10,000 to 50,000 people reside. Thus these colonies are small towns by themselves. Some taxes like house tax ,road tax, light tax etc. could be passed on directly to these community centres instead of giving the to municipalities. The centres would direct the affair of the neighborhood without reference to the city municipal corporation and use the collected money for maintaining roads , lights and so forth. The argument for this kind of decentralized structure within the city is that the same system that allows lakhs of people a substantial control over their civic destiny denies them an effective role in shaping the institutions that shape their lives. Community centres will allow them to create their own exclusive environment.

17.6 Let us sum up

To conclude, it may be pointed that the effects of urbanisation and urbanism and the problem of cities can never be solved until urban planning is modified and radical measures are taken. These should not be based on profit motive which would benefit a few vested interests. The use of land, technology and taxes should be for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of a few powerful interests. City dwellers have to become active and organise themselves and agitate to change the existing economic and social systems in the cities.

17.7 Self Assessment Questions

Q1. How you conceptualize Rural Urban Migration.

Q2. Discuss various reasons behind changing of society from Rural to Urban.
