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SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

B.A. SEMESTER - VI

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY
Course No. : SO-601

UNIT I - V
LESSON No. 1 - 20

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SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

**EDITING & PROOF READING :
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SYLLABUS : SOCIOLOGY
B.A. SEMESTER - VI

Course No. : SO - 601

Title : Social Change and Development in India

Duration : 3 hrs.

Total Marks : 100

Credit : 4

Theory Examination : 80

Internal Assessment : 20

Note : There shall be one written paper of 80 marks and of 3 hours duration.
20% marks shall be reserved for internal assessment.

Objectives : To familiarize the students of sociology about the social change & development in India.

Unit -I MODERNIZATION OF INDIAN TRADITION

- 1.1 Indian Social Values : Traditional & Modern
- 1.2 Phases of Modernization in post independent India
- 1.3 Modernization and Resilience of tradition
- 1.4 Factors and forces : Education, legislation and mass media

Unit-II PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

- 2.1 Sanskritization
- 2.2 Westernization
- 2.3 Secularization
- 2.4 Social Movement and Mobilization

Unit-III CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

- 3.1 Meaning and Characteristic of Stratification
- 3.2 Changing dimensions of caste structure
- 3.3 Changing dimensions of class structure
- 3.4 Changing dimensions of power structure

Unit-IV CHANGES IN FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP

- 4.1 Changes in the family system - (from joint to nuclear)
- 4.2 Family in the urban and industrial setting
- 4.3 Changing marriage pattern
- 4.4 Regional valuation kinship system

Unit-V SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

- 5.1 Development Schemes for Scheduled Castes / Backward Classes
- 5.2 Development Schemes for Scheduled Tribes
- 5.3 Development Schemes for Women
- 5.4 Development Schemes for Children

Note for paper setting :

The question paper for each course will consist of two sections A and B viz. 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 B will consist of 10 Short Answer Type Questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question will be of 6 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 shall be of 150 words approximately.

- *Internal Assessment : 20 Marks*
- *Two Written Questions : 10 Marks Each*

Books Prescribed :

- Ahuja, Ram. 1977. "Indian; Indian Social System." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Singh, Y. 1966. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C. 1992. "Understanding Change." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.
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- Kapadia, K.M., "Caste in Transition", Sociological Bulletin, September 1962.
- Singh, Yogendra, "Sociology of Social Stratification", A Survey of Research in Sociology and Anthropology, ICSSR, New Delhi, 1974.
- Tharner, Daniel, 1956. "Agrarian Structure." Allied Publishers, Delhi.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA
CONTENTS

LESSON NO.	TITLE	PAGES NO.
L.No.1	Indian Social Values : Traditional & Modern	1
L.No.2	Phases of Modernization in post independent India	31
L.No.3	Modernization and Resilience of tradition	44
L.No.4	Factors and forces : Education, legislation and mass media	56
L.No.5	Sanskritization	70
L.No.6	Westernization	79
L.No.7	Secularization	87
L.No.8	Social Movements and Mobilization	96
L.No.9	Meaning and Characteristics of Stratification	105
L.No.10	Changing Dimensions of Caste Structure	129
L.No.11	Changing Dimensions of Class Structure	150
L.No.12	Changing Dimensions of Power Structure	160
L.No.13	Changes in the Family System - (from joint to nuclear)	180
L.No.14	Family in the Urban and Industrial Setting.	189
L.No.15	Changing Marriage Pattern	198
L.No.16	Regional Valuation Kinship System.	214
L.No.17	Development Schemes for Scheduled Castes / Backward Classes	228

L.No.18	Development Schemes for Scheduled Tribes	234
L.No.19	Development Schemes for Women	244
L.No.20	Development Schemes for Children.	253

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Social Changes in Traditional India
- 1.4 Structural Changes and Sanskritization
- 1.5 Process of Modernization
- 1.6 Islamization: An Encounter between Two Traditional Systems
- 1.7 Institutionalization and Breakdown in Modernization
- 1.8 The Indian Scenerio
- 1.9 Historicity of Modernization
- 1.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.11 Suggested Readings
- 1.12 Answers to Check your Progress

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Tradition by which we mean value-themes encompassing the entire social system of Indian society prior to the beginning of modernization was organized on the principle of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence. These four value-themes were deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure. Hierarchy was engrained not only in the system of caste and sub caste stratification but also in the Hindu concepts of human nature, occupational life cycles (ashramas), and moral duties

(dharma). Holism implies a relationship between individual and group in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights; what had precedence here was community or sangha and not the individual. This assumption of individual by collectively persisted all along the line of traditional social structure, e.g., family, village community, caste and political territory or nation. Communalism in traditional social system was reinforced through the value system of continuity which in Hinduism was symbolized by principles of karma, transmigration of soul and a cyclical view of change. The principle of transcendence also posited that legitimization of traditional values could never be challenged on grounds of rationality derived from the non-sacred or profane scales of evaluation. It formed a super-concept contributing to integration as well as rationalization of the other value themes of the tradition.

The organization of tradition based on these values-components could not be called typical only to the Indian society, since at one level similar phenomenon also existed in the traditional west. The divergence between the two traditions, however, arose from their unique social heritage, existential situations and historicity of circumstances. From this a question follows: will the historicity of modernization in heterogeneous societies and traditions result into their transformation towards a universal and homogenous form of modernization? This question assumes significance especially for India which has a hoary past and has been the centre of civilizations with great temporal death.

This temporal death of civilization in traditional Indian society has relevance not only for analyzing the direction the process of modernization might eventually take through major transformations in the social structure and culture, but it is also important for understanding causality and sequence of events through which modernization has made its impact on the traditional Indian society. It might reveal also the manner in which initial structural and cultural conditions of modernization in India might contribute to such institutional adaptations which may be universalistic in orientation yet particularistic in form. The form of traditional institutions may remain intact but their substance might undergo major transformations incorporating modernization.

Historically, social structure and tradition in India remained impervious to major elements of modernity until the contact with the West began through colonization. The

earlier encounters with Islam only reinforced the tradition since Islam despite being exogamous to the Hindu tradition was basically organized on values-themes which were traditional; ideally, Islam had no place for hierarchical differentiation of individuals within its community of believers; its world-view was messianic-historical in contrast with the Hindu view of continuity; the principle of transcendence in Islam was strictly monotheistic and here too it differed from Hinduism. The principle of holism which no doubt was present both in Islam and Hinduism also varied in Sociological meaning in the two civilizations. In Hinduism, holism implied individual's social and moral subordination to the group without theocratic implications, so basic in Islam.

Despite these dissimilarities in ideal value-themes of the Hindu and Islamic traditions, there took place a synthesis between them which reinforced the traditional character of Indian society without significant breakdown in its organization. Islam, in its Persian transformation had already imbibed some elements of hierarchical stratification when it came to India from there, and in the midst of the caste-stratified when it came to India from there, and in the midst of the caste-stratified Hindu society, more so, owing to large-scale conversion to Islam by caste Hindus, Islamic social structure in this country soon developed its own pattern of caste hierarchy. In political structure too feudal monarchical system followed by the Muslim rulers was not fundamentally different from those of the traditional Hindu rulers, and even where there were variations attempt was made to accommodate Hindu norms of political order through institutional adjustments. Hindu princes and administrative functionaries held important offices at the courts of Muslim rulers in the North. Consequently, there took place a high degree of cultural as well as institutional syncretism between the two systems without major breakdowns. From the view-point of modernization, therefore, the Islamic contact was more tradition-reinforcing than otherwise.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss the process of modernization and Sanskritization
- Describe the social changes in traditional India
- Explain the concept of visit institutionalization and breakdown in modernization.

1.3 SOCIAL CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL INDIA

It is necessary to draw a distinction between social change and modernization, especially to evaluate changes in the traditional society. In traditional India there were continual instances of social change without implying modernization. These changes were from one traditional structure to another, without, however, transcending them for a qualitatively distinctive evolutionary differentiation. The changes were initiated both through orthogenetic and heterogenetic causal sources, and related to social structure as well as culture, but there were essentially in nature and quality.

The traditional cultural structure comprising the Little and Great traditions in India experienced many changes before the beginning of the western contact. Buddhism and Jainism emerged as protest movements against the Hindu caste system; their growth led to formation of new caste-like segmentary groups which later degenerated into castes contributing further to pluralistic tradition. These movements had their impact also on political and economic structure of the Indian society. Jainism particularly was an urban movement, and both Jainism and Buddhism led to the emergence of new mercantile castes in urban centre. Orthogenetic movements also formed the bases of Sikhism in north India, of Bhakti movements in North and South India, of Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj during the British regime, and finally of the Gandhian movement in the contemporary times that culminated in India's political independence. With the partial exception of the Bhakti movements in North India which projected egalitarian values and sought for a synthesis between the Hindu and Muslim traditions, all other movements were either break-away processes to establish parallel Great traditions or reiterated the established Great tradition of Hinduism.

The changes which thus occurred were confined to differentiation within the frame work of traditional social structure and values; structural changes were very few, and those which took place were limited in respect of the types of roles. Mention may be made of the priestly roles and monastic organizations which emerged with rise of Buddhism. Similar developments in religious role-structures and organizations partially followed the emergence of other traditions. But these changes by no means could be called structural, since differentiation of roles was segmental and did not alter the system as a whole. The role differentiation also had an elitist character since

all of them were led by members of the upper class and caste. Only a few Bhakti movements were an exception, but these were invariably reiterative rather than innovative in significance. None of them had a meaningful impact on political system, the stratification system or the caste order against which they propagated.

The Islamic tradition in India came from a heterogenetic sources; its establishment by conquest introduced a complex emotional variable right from the beginning which has continued through time. Value-themes of Islam were holistic but the principle of hierarchy or caste was not accepted in theory; the idea of continuity was also less pronounced as Islam, like all religions of Semitic origin, was based on the conception of historical time; its value-theme on transcendence too was rooted in the principle of absolute monotheism. These contrasts of history and values-themes could not, however, render Islam as a systematic exogenous source for radical transformation in the Indian tradition. Despite the apparent dissimilarities, the contact between the Great traditions of Hinduism and Islam was only a contact between two traditional systems. Large-scale conversions to Islam during the Muslim rule in India might be said to have offered a structural outlet for the deprived Hindu castes for social, economic and cultural mobility. But the extent to which the converts succeeded in it was always limited. Ashrafs (the four immigrant Muslim groups) generally maintained their social distance from these converts in matters of marriage and kinship ties; they never recognized them as their equals. The caste hierarchy continued within the convert Muslims and in most cases traditional occupations and caste rituals were also maintained. Yet, it is reasonable to believe that there must have been some advantages; being a Muslim in a political set-up where Muslim kings and chiefs were the rulers did offer security and other peripheral benefits to these groups.

These facts, however, do not support the view that conversion to Islam was motivated by cultural rigidity of the caste system and its dysfunction. Both castes and cultural deprivations did largely survive among the converts within the Islamic social structure. A stronger motivation behind conversion, therefore, might have been that of the felt structural deprivations (in terms of new economic opportunities, security and power) rather than cultural deprivation of the caste system. The spirit behind conversion

may not have been merely that of escape but also of innovation. However, the groups which took readily to the Islamic faith were from the lower castes for whom psychological appeal of belonging to the ruling community must have been stringer apart from the material benefits they must anticipated. The main structural deprivations here were those of power and social status, which Dumont rightly characterizes as an equation between 'power and religion'. In all traditional societies where the system of social stratification is closed and there are no legitimate structural means to climb up in social hierarchy, the change of faith, or of customs and rituals might offer a relatively secure means of gambling for higher status.

This clearly revealed when we shift our analysis from the Great to the Little traditions. These Little traditions as Redfield and Singer have maintained comprise the cultural beliefs and practices held by folk, through oral tradition and localized adaptations of cultural roles and values of the Great traditions. Plurality of the Little traditions was preserved through caste structure and its local cultural expressions especially among the castes of lower and intermediate ranks. These castes, both Hindu and Muslim, formed their own plural traditions and micro-structures. As we have already mentioned kinship and social ties of castes hardly ever extend beyond the radius of two hundred miles in any part of India; the diversity of languages and communication barriers traditionally delimited the scope of caste interaction. Thus, plural traditions of these castes formed the Little traditions in India.

Two important processes of change which have traditionally been active in the Little traditions are those of Sanskritization and Islamization. Sanskritization refers to the processes of change from within the Hindu tradition whereas Islamization has been in response to the contact with an external tradition. Both these processes reflect a tendency among the strongly deprived groups to adapt or change their local traditions in conformity with the normative elements of a Great traditions, whether orthogenetic or heterogenetic in origin. There is considerable literature on Sanskritization which has grown since the pioneering studies on the process of Islamization are, however, lamentably scarce, although both Sanskritization and Islamization are at one point homologous processes. This homology arises from the similarity of structural contexts in which the motivation for these changes comes into being. An important causal factor

here is that of 'relative deprivation' of groups and castes in comparison to other groups and castes enjoying better social status; which or outside the tradition, this forms a part of the theory of reference group analysis.

1.4 STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND SANSKRITIZATION

Endogenous changes in the cultural tradition of Hinduism were mainly confined to Sanskritization before the beginning of Western contact. Sanskritization took place in two different forms throughout this period; first, as a historical process by collective recognition of lower castes to the ranks of upper castes as a result of their acts of chivalry, rise in economic and power status and political alliances. In most such cases mobility was legitimized by consensus of the dominant castes and came into being as a historical necessity. Such legitimation to status upgrading was provided by the established higher castes, even by kings through royal decrees, and by other formal means of admittance to a higher rank recognized by the priestly castes. Here, Sanskritization had a wider historical implication. Although its impact was confined to a region or a sub region the implicit political and economic relationship in its background gave it a new dimension of importance. In the second form, Sanskritization has a contextual or local meaning and generally amounts to unilateral attempt of a caste or sub-caste to move upward in hierarchy. Some lower caste groups begin to emulate customs and seek to get recognition for higher caste status within the system. A major difference in this process from the historical context of Sanskritization is the absence of consensus. Often the opposite of it, that is, resistance by the dominant castes, prevails. Sanskritization in this form is seldom legitimized within the caste system. The maximum empirical cases of Sanskritization refer to this type of change.

Sanskritization in the second, or the contextual form, is a slow and non-spectacular process of cultural mobility of castes. It is devoid of wider political implications which this process follows in the historical sense. In both forms, however, Sanskritization results from certain developments which may be called the structural pre-requisites of this process. These are:

- (1) a change in the self-image of castes or groups followed by higher status aspiration;
- (2) some improvement in social and economic status of these castes (groups) which

could render changes in aspiration and self image viable for making active effort for status mobility;

- (3) the closure of stratification system in respect of other avenues (social roles, occupations, economic competition and competition for power status, etc.) except through emulation of customs and cultural styles;
- (4) the absence of social and psychological pressures among the aspiring castes to identify upper caste status as negative reference group either due to deeper commitment to ideology of traditional society or force of habit; and
- (5) the absence of organized opposition from the upper castes to such behavior of the lower castes due to reasons either psychological or structural.

In the light of these pre-requisites which in various combinations are present in all reported cases of Sanskritization, whether historical or contextual, many structural implications of this process can be seen. Sanskritization might not be a result of lower castes greater acceptance of the values of the Great tradition held by the upper castes, but it might be used as the only pragmatic means available to them for status mobility in a closed system of social stratification. Hence, Sanskritization may often disguise the seedbeds of effective modernization. Sanskritization is psychologically or even structurally, akin to modernization in so far as the motive forces to challenge the deprivations imposed by Great tradition are stronger. After Independence, with the lower and backward classes having gained political and legal rights to fight out their deprivations not Sanskritization but formation of politically oriented caste associations is the practice.

Sanskritization denotes changes in the cultural and not the structural aspect of tradition and society. It doesn't, for example, show how role differentiations following urbanization and new occupational innovations, or changes in the family structure and power structure (leadership and elite) follow from the inter-linkage of social variables, and how these variables could be explained. The major analytic orientation in this concept is culturological rather than Sociological. However, some social scientists believe that once Sanskritization is evaluated in the framework of reference group theory it could be defined not only culturally but also structurally.

Owen M. Lynch writes:

Under the frame or analysis provided by reference group and status role theories, Sanskritization can be defined not only culturally but also structurally. That is to say, it can be seen as more than a borrowing of status attributes or as more than a change of behavior of a particular caste, whereby it substitutes the ritual, pantheon, and practices of an upper caste for that which it previously held. Sanskritization can now be seen as structured relation between groups or castes. Thus a Sanskritization caste defines the social situation in which its mobility is to occur (reference groups) and thereafter interacts with members of other castes. In such interaction particular statuses are activated (dominant and salient statuses). Such social interaction has the intended of a rise in status within the caste hierarchy and an opening of the power and opportunity structure to the members of the Sanskritizing caste. More often than, not, such social action has the unintended consequence of 'conflict' or 'contradiction'.

The important distinction involved here is between Sanskritization as a concept referring to cultural changes in the internal organization of a particular caste and as a concept relevant to the understanding of structural changes within the caste system. There is no doubt that reference group theory offers a structural explanation of the cultural process called Sanskritization; it is because being more general, reference group theory has greater explanatory power. But in the analysis of Sanskritization by Lynch there seems to be an unfortunate Implication that simply by introducing the reference group theory to this nominalistic concept, Sanskritization could be made to explain structural changes in the caste system.

The reason for this simplistic assumption in Lynch's analysis lies in his lack of focus on some other important distinctions that Merton has introduced while formulating his reference group conceptual frame. These are:

- (1) the distinction between membership and non-membership groups based on the feeling of relative deprivation of members within a group;
- (2) the process of anticipatory socialization of members within to renounce their existing membership to a group in favor of some non-membership group; and

- (3) the important role of closure or openness of membership of the aspired for non-membership group which would finally define the limit of success or failure of reference group behavior of the aspirants.

Sanskritization process found in some castes is more like anticipatory socialization in the hope of status enhancement; but it must be stated that this hope is rarely if ever realized. Lynch's statement that a Sanskritizing caste defines the social situation in which its mobility is to occur, is very relevant but his conclusion, "and thereafter interacts with members of other castes", is highly vague. Probably the idea is of the interaction with the higher reference group caste, but again the meaning of interaction is left undefined. This is particularly misleading as some negative or positive forms of interaction are always present among castes forming its social system. The specific context in which 'interaction' assumes additional meaning through reference group analysis can only be made by membership non-membership distinction which is not fully explained by Lynch. The Fatavas of Agra whose cases he cites could never be accepted within the membership fold of the upper castes; their interaction with upper castes could never be either commensal or connubial, the two most significant and key forms of interactions which define the structure of the caste system. Consequently, these upper castes have according to Lynch's own statement become a negative reference group for the fatavas. It is here that the status of caste as closed assumes new explanatory significance which Lynch's analysis fails to pin-point.

In a more comprehensive treatment of the reference group theory as applied to the study of mobility in the caste system Y. B. Damle writes:

The caste system is characterized as a closed system and inclusion into a caste (jati) other than one's own (by birth) is not normally possible. But the reference group theory sets forth the pre-requisites for positive orientation in an open system, where ultimate inclusion in the non-membership group is possible and often anticipated. If ultimate inclusion in another caste (Jati) is not normally possible by the very nature of the caste system, would positive orientation to a caste other than ego's be dysfunctional for the person concerned? The paradox of caste lies in the fact that, although lower caste persons cannot expect to be included in a higher caste (jati), and

also because higher caste persons need not fear their inclusion, positive orientation for reference and imitation is permitted and even encouraged. Anticipatory socialization can thus occur and it has the effect of reducing distance and repulsion between castes even if it does not ensure ultimate absorption or inclusion.

This renders it clear that Sanskritization as a process only refers to changes in cultural attributes of a caste and not to a structural change in its system; the structural factors, however, are highly meaningful; mention may be made of the five structural pre-requisites of Sanskritization we mentioned above. The most important among these is redefinition of a caste's self image following either a change in its economic or political situation. What matters more in such changes is not the actual amount of improvement in status but the perception that a positive change is possible. Once this feeling is there, closure of membership to the aspired for group does not matter as it is adequately compensated by recognition by default of reaction from the upper castes. However, if the reaction of the upper castes is hostile or is perceived to be so by the lower castes, it is likely that latter (lower castes) would define the former (upper castes status) as a negative reference group, and from this a break-away movement in the caste system would follow. Particular mention may be made of conversion to Islam in the medieval period, to Christianity during the British period, and the current neo-Buddhist movement among the scheduled castes and tribes in India.

Despite these limitations, Sanskritization is an extremely viable concept to understand the changes in the traditional system of Indian society, where the social stratification system was closed and the normative principle were correspondingly hierarchical and holistic; the latter strengthened the former and thus a relatively stable social equilibrium was achieved. The changes which took place within tradition were seldom contradictory to this system of stratification and the value-themes. On the contrary legitimation was sought for changes and innovations from within these twin structural-normative attributes of the traditional society. Sanskritization connotes the special form that change takes place in the framework of Indian tradition.

Now the question is: what were the forms of structural changes in the traditional Indian society? To analyze such changes we have made a distinction between micro-structures and macro-structures of society. Heuristically, this categorization is attempted

on the basis of extension of networks of relationships. The range of extension of relationships of micro-structure is limited both in terms of territory and choices of activities involved. Its instances are: family, castes and sub-castes, and the village community. The caste structure played crucial role in defining the networks of relationship both of the family and community in the traditional society. Empirical studies suggest that its own boundaries of interaction very rarely outcrossed the limits set by the regional-linguistic and cultural inclusiveness, which in territorial terms extended not beyond two to three hundred miles. The macro-structures, on the other hand, have an inter-regional and pan-Indian spread of relational networks. Instances of such macro-structures in traditional India were the imperial and feudal political networks, the institutions of banking and commerce and monastic and other religious structure, etc.

An important aspect of structural change in the traditional society was determined by the nature of the relationship which existed between the micro-structures and the macro-structures. These relationships were characterized by a high degree of autonomy; its consequence was that changes and upheavals at macro-structural levels could seldom generate corresponding repercussions at the micro-level of society. Hence, the spectacular continuity of cultural practices and norms in India, despite the steady stream of encroachments to its cultural identity from alien sources. The inter-structural autonomy helped in selective syncretism of new cultural modes, forms of behavior and structure. Innovation at one level could be effected without causing breakdown in the social structure as a whole. This structural characteristic of traditional Indian society proved to be extremely helpful in its adaptive transformations towards modernization, beginning with the British regime.

This attribute of traditional society also set a limit to the nature and direction of structural changes. These changes were characterized by circular processes: a joint family would become nuclear and then again grow joint in structure; townships and trading centres would appear and disappear and reappear; there would be circulation of elite and rulers from among the same class and caste, etc. without major structural transformations. The changes were, therefore, adaptive rather than structural in the

real sense. Fluctuating nature of these changes would be evident from the estimates of India's population between 300 B.C. and 1845; population during this period fluctuated between 100 and 140 millions. Only after 1855 a rising trend in population seems to have stabilized in India. The social structure had, thus a 'fused' character without much functional differentiation of roles. This was because most innovations were re-interpretative adjustments in structural forms and activities (role-structures) within the traditional principles of legitimation and not alternative evolutionary solutions. This pattern continued even after the first major exogenous impact, that of Islam, on the traditional Hindu social structure.

1.5 PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION

Modernization in India started mainly with the Western contact, especially through establishment of the British rule. This contact had a special historicity which brought about many far reaching changes in culture and social structure of the Indian society. Not all of them, however, could be called modernizing. The basic direction of this contact was towards modernization, but in the process a variety of traditional institutions also got reinforcement. This demonstrates the weakness of assuming a neat contrariety between tradition and modernity. This polarity may be more heuristic than real. However, only after the establishment of British rule in India, modern cultural institutions and forms of social structure were introduced. In this respect the impact of Western tradition fundamentally differed from that of Islam, although both were heterogenetic and both began with political domination and rulership. The Western tradition at the time of contact had itself undergone fundamental transformations through Industrial Revolution and social reformation. Its traditional principle of hierarchy in stratification represented both by Church and Feudalism were shaken; its medieval holism of value system was seriously jeopardized by emergence of Protestantism, and was on the way out. Its place was now being taken by rational-individualism in economy and society. The basic dynamism to all these processes was imparted by cumulative chain of innovations in science and technology. It was a period of extreme optimism and ever more accelerated rate of social change in the West, particularly Britain.

This social background to a large extent determined the attitude of the British

rulers and administrators about modernization in India; another determining factor was their colonial status. With the exception of a handful of Orientalists who were overwhelmed by the textual grandeur of Indian tradition, the majority of British missionaries and administrators were only impressed by contrasts which Indian society presented to their own Western society. Indian society appeared to them as consisting of discrete plural traditions of castes, sub-castes and tribes devoid of a systematic binding force of a universal nature. The significance of British contributions to modernization mainly lies in the creation of such networks of social structure and culture which were modern and pan-Indians.

Initially, the contact led to growth of a modernizing sub-culture or Little tradition of Westernization, especially during the seventeenth century in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, where a small nucleus of interpreters, trader-cum-middlemen emerged who were slowly being socialized to Western ways; subsequently, there also emerged sects which emphasized assimilation of Western cultural norms and Western modes of learning (e.g. Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, etc.); these also ran a crusade against obscurantism in Hindu traditions. These movements on one hand and the consolidation of the British power towards the middle of the nineteenth century on the other, finally led to the institution of a modernizing Great tradition. Its components were: a universalistic legal system, expansion of Western form of education, urbanization and industrialization, spread of new means of communication and transport and social reforms. Along with these modernization norms structural modernization also took place. For instance, rational bureaucracy, new classes of business elite and entrepreneurs came into being. These were accompanied by emergence of political elite and a nationalist leadership by the middle of the nineteenth century. Growth of industrial entrepreneurship also contributed to the emergence of industrial working class and trade unions organized on corporate lines as in the west. These modernizing structures had a uniform character throughout the country. Their development led, therefore, to articulation of nationalist aspirations in the country which itself was a major step in the growth of modernization

There was, however, one important feature of Indian modernization during the British period. The growth of this process was selective and segmental. It was not

integrated with the micro-structures of Indian society, such as family, caste and village community. At these levels, the British by and large followed a policy of least interference, especially after the rebellion of 1857. Moreover, some British administrators were wrongly impressed by the staticness and autonomy of these micro-structures compared with the rest of the Indian society. This was especially so about the notion of village community, and importance attributed to caste. For a long time caste and ethnic factors were given recognition in recruitment of officers to army and middle and lower ranks of bureaucracy. Later, in the twentieth century, as the nationalist movement gathered momentum, a communal electorate system was introduced. These historical factors have deeply influenced the process of modernization which followed during the post-colonial period. It increased the contingency of traditional institutions and symbolisms to the Indian process of modernization.

This development is fully articulated in the freedom movement and the pace of modernization of Indian society thereafter. Freedom movement ushered in a new political culture of modernization. At its centre was the personality of Mahatma Gandhi whose one foot was always deeply embedded in tradition. His emergence during the peak of westernization process in India signifies an orthogenetic response of Indian tradition to the new challenges of social change. Gandhi successfully mobilized Indian people for the attainment of freedom, but he could not, however, avert one serious breakdown in the process.....the partition of India into two independent nations. As we mentioned above, it followed from the uneven growth of sub-cultural traditions of modernization in Hinduism and Islam, each conditioned by unique historicity of their own. The quest for a separate nationhood by the Muslim community in India reflected a crisis of aspiration along with that of confidence.

Following Independence, modernization process in India has undergone a basic change from its colonial pattern. As an integral part of developmental strategy now modernization has been envisaged for all levels of cultural and structural systems. Discontinuity in modernization between macro-structures and micro-structures and between the Little and Great traditions, as during the British regime, has now been consciously abolished. Introduction of adult suffrage and a federal parliamentary form of political structure have carried politicization to every sector of social organization.

Conscious legal reforms in Hindu marriage and inheritance laws have deeply affected the foundations of traditional Hindu family structure. Community Development Projects have carried the cultural norms and role-structures of modernity to each and every village in India, and this, coupled with introduction of land reforms and elective village panchayats, has initiated villagers to a bureaucratic form of participation in local level management and administration unleashed by democratization of polity and power structure. We have analyzed in detail how caste is increasingly developing an associational character. Now it functions as an important structural network in the process of modernization.

As the process of modernization becomes all encompassing, it also generates inter-structural tensions and conflicts between traditions (past and contemporary). Future course of modernization in India would depend much on the manner in which these tensions are resolved as modernization gathers momentum. In many developing countries in Asia modernization contributed to a structural and cultural breakdown in society. The cases of China, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan could be cited. The only successful case of modernization in Asia is that of Japan, but there too its institutionalization has been without a breakdown following the Second World War.

1.6 ISLAMIZATION : AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN TWO TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS

For social change the Islamic influence on India was limited and could conducive to modernization. However, its diffusion gave birth to the emergence of new Great and Little traditions, although it is not clear to what extent Islam led to innovations in the micro and macro-social structures of Indian society. Its impact on family, caste and village community was insignificant, and in the macro-structures too it did not set out any basically new forms. Islamic polity and judicial administration were essentially feudal and patrimonial; the legal principle and norms were also hierarchical and did not fully recognize the principles of equality and equity in political and civil rights. This explains why Islamic impact unlike that of the West failed to contribute to modernization.

The cultural changes which the impact of Islam initiated emerged from the growth of Islamic Great tradition on Indian soil. Since Islam established itself in India by conquest some element of force in the spread of this tradition cannot be ruled out,

but a more important reason for its growth can be attributed to structural factors which in early Hindu tradition motivated castes towards Sanskritization. It is revealing that both Sanskritization and conversion to Islam or Islamization had been most popular among the lower castes of India. The structural pre-requisite for Islamization too were the re-definition of self-image, frustration from the closure of existing system of stratification and anticipation that conversion would improve social chances; the same factors were active also in Sanskritization. The structural pre-requisites for Islamization too were the re-definition of self-image, frustration from the closure of existing system of stratification and anticipation that conversion would improve social chances; the same factors were active also in Sanskritization. Important differences, however, was in the reaction of the Hindus to such changes which presumably was of definite hostility and isolation. Islamization at every stage might have meant an active and hostile reaction from the original membership group towards the converts and their complete exclusion from its membership. This was not the case in Sanskritization.

Hence, Islamization also led to some structural changes through continual differentiation and segmentation of new castes who got converted to Islam. As the sub-culture of these Muslim castes even to this day suggests, they did not renounce many of their former rituals and practices. This led to formation of Little traditions of Islam. These traditions were remarkably syncretic and worked out a synthesis between the Hindu and Muslim cultural patterns and beliefs. With formation of Little traditions of Islam, Islamization further developed structural similarities with Sanskritization. The lower caste converts began to strive for the status of Ashrafs and a caste of Pseudo-Ashrafs emerged. As in Sanskritization, here too the claim for higher status is not recognized by the upper Muslim castes. Such cases of Islamization are widespread and have been reported from different parts of the country.

With the establishment of the British power gradually the relations between Hindu and Muslim groups and traditions began to be politicized. This was sparked off by many factors, such as the emergence of Hindu revivalist movements, frustration of Muslims with the British, and the beginning of new political movement for national independence which stimulated Muslims to chalk out their course of action. The result of this politicization was finally the division of India, adding a new dimension

to the minority status of the Indian Muslims.

There has now emerged a new awakening among the Muslims to level off the differences of their Little traditions and of caste sub-cultures of the past by encouraging purist conformity with the Great tradition of Islam. Tabligh movement, for instance, is directly oriented to this goal. Muslim communalism has also become active and forceful in some parts of the northern India and Kerala. The process of vertical mobility to new caste status by Islamization is now being replaced by emphasis upon horizontal solidarity of the entire Muslim community.

Thus, we see how Islamization as a cultural process has completed a full cycle in India. It began as a process of external impact and conversion of low caste Hindus to Muslim Great tradition, then it emerged as a process of status mobility within the Islamic social structure very much like Sanskritization, and finally it regained its earlier orthodoxy; sub-cultural frills which are outside the tradition of Islam are purposely renounced with the view that Muslims must consolidate themselves into an organic whole irrespective of divergent Little traditions. This turn in the process of Islamization corresponds with the new movement among the lower Hindu castes to form caste associations and establish horizontal solidarity instead of seeking status mobility within the caste system through Sanskritization. The casual background for both seems to be structurally identical. It emanates from the realization that in a democratic society power and status mobility would more easily be gained by consolidation of one's rank and formation of effective power and protest groups rather than by imitating a traditionally defined higher status which is difficult to get and is also becoming rapidly obsolescent in the new social dynamics.

It may well be that latent reasons for such changes both in the Hindu and Islamic cultural tradition are disguised protest movements against the established system of stratification and power. Attempt is not only towards forming horizontal communal solidarities but also to give them organizational shape to modern corporate groups, based on rational norms, allocation of duties and obligations and rational means of communication and propaganda. This aspect of the movements which may apparently seem to be traditionalizing is highly relevant to our analysis of modernization.

1.7 INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND BREAKDOWN IN MODERNIZATION

The questions are: Under what structural or cultural conditions does modernization leads to integrative transformation of society? What are the structural pre-requisites for institutionalization of modernizing changes without breakdown? How far does the Indian case warrant the possibility of institutionalization of modernity or alternatively of structural breakdown in the process?

Answers to these questions are related to the way modernization is conceptualized. Significantly, there is still no unanimity on concepts and evaluative standards of modernization among social scientists, and each approach can be charged having latent ideological bias. Sociologists having a Marxist approach to modernization might decry the very concept of 'breakdown' as employed by Sociologists from the 'free world' bloc; for Marxists 'breakdown' may be a vulgarized conceptual substitute for 'revolution' which is a pre-requisite for modernization in all developing as well as developed capitalists societies. It is, therefore, necessary that we try to evaluate some important theoretical presuppositions of modernization which may have a bearing upon modernization in India.

Most approaches to modernization could be grouped under two broad categories: structural and evolutionary. The structural approach is rather preponderant in social sciences. It seeks to analyze modernization with the help of selected social or normative variables. Such variables as 'social mobilization' growth of 'communication', 'media exposure'; democratic political institutions and values, morals and norms conducive to modernization, technological and economic resources of society, and 'initial conditions' of society with respect to the presence of cultural and structural autonomy of parts within the social system, have been taken into consideration. Modernization is supposed to follow as a result of the presence of these variables in the social system; their intensity and proportion would determine the nature and extent of modernization in specific situations.

Evolutionary approach to modernization, on the other hand, is based on more systematic theoretical assumptions. It treats modernization as an evolutionary stage in the life of human society. There are, however, difference in formation of the process of evolution and its direction. Its methodological formulation may either be structural-functional or dialectical; similarly direction of evolution may also be either unilinear or multilinear. A major difference between dialectical and structural-functional evolutionary approaches to modernization is that the former treats 'breakdown' in the established political, economic and structural framework of a society as a necessary and inevitable condition for development towards modernization. Class-struggle and its international form of struggle between the rich and poorer nations are here assumed as necessary processes for such evolutionary achievements. Even modernization as a concept is understood differently, its focus is upon changes in stratification system, sytem of property ownership and ownership of productive resources in a nation, and not on psychological-normative variables like 'achievement orientation', 'psychic mobility' and 'rational hedonism', etc, common among the treatments of many social scientists. Individual characteristics are here treated as bye-products of major aggregates of changes in institutional structure of society and its structure of power and property relationships.

The structural-functional evolutionary treatment of modernization is drawn primarily from an organismic analogy where evolution is treated as continuity from the sub-human to human phase and beyond. In an essay on modernization as an 'evolutionary universals' of human society, Talcott Parsons writes that such evolutionary changes would engulf all human groups despite their typicalities in other facets of social and cultural organization. His view assumes that the watershed between sub-human and human does not mark a cessation of the development change, but rather a stage in a long process that begins with many pre-human phases and continues through that watershed into our own time, and beyond. Modernization follows a succession of 'evolutionary universals', which are defined as "any organizational development sufficiently important to further evolution that, rather than emerging only once, is likely to be 'hit upon' by various systems operating under different conditions". An important 'evolutionary universal' in the sub-human organic world as a whole is that of vision, and in case of man it is development of hand and brain. In the social

realm the sequence of its evolution is set by four pre-requisites universals; these are: communication with language, religion, social organization with kinship, and technology. These integrated together constitute a set for elemental social organization. On this foundation universals like 'stratification', 'cultural legitimation', bureaucratic organization, 'money and the market complex', 'generalized universalistic norms', and finally, the democratic associations develop in a sequential order. Of these, the last four constitute the structural-normative condition of a modern society.

Structural breakdown in modernization, according to Parsons' theory' emerges when, due to historical or other cultural factors, the sequence of evolution is reversed or made uneven or when some of the universals become far too rigid and offer more than normal resistance to further evolution. Such conditions according to a later study by Buck and Jacobson prevail in the Asian nations. These nations, being ex-colonies, have many evolutionary structures like bureaucracy, democratic associations, and generalized universalistic norms introduced into their social structure without adequate development of other basic founding universals like communication, technology, stratification and principles of legitimation. This is true for countries like Indonesia, India, Pakistan and many others in Africa, Latin-America and the Middle East. Particularly about India, Buck and Jacobson's study reveals higher development in respect of bureaucracy and generalized universalistic norms but very poor growth in spheres of communication, Kinship, technology, social stratification and money and market complex. Thus, value support to many modern institutions is lacking, and the wholesale transfer of many institutions from the West renders the lag more acute.

There are many assumptions in Parsons' evolutionary theory of modernization which may not be accepted by other Sociologists. For instance, his assertion that 'democratic association' is the highest evolutionary stage in the process of modernization could be variously interpreted or even refuted both by Marxist and non-Marxists sociologists.

Despite these limitations which emanate from value premises of modernization, Parsons' formulation is theoretically powerful and could be used to explain many structural and cultural contradictions of modernization in under-developed countries. Stratification is one important factor which causes bottlenecks in rapid modernization

of India by its rigidity and non-egalitarian character. His model also delineates a course of modernization hypothetically, which would involve least conflict through stages of transition.

1.8 THE INDIAN SCENERIO

Modernization, in its initial stages in India, according to Eisenstadt, did not lead to any serious breakdown because of the peculiar structural characteristics of the Indian society. Here, cultural system was fairly independent of political system. Louis Dumont writes: "this domain is, in the dominant tradition, relatively autonomous with regard to absolute values"; there was also independence between the political system and the system of caste stratification. Castes had their own panchayats and plural traditions, and similarly there also existed autonomy for groups and regional communities. This inter-structural autonomy facilitated assimilation of modernization innovations, without introducing major breakdown. Modernity, however, mainly developed as a sub-structure and sub-culture without pervasive expansion in all sectors of life.

The colonial phase of modernization did not seriously articulate many structural challenges which now the totalization of this process in free India implies. As segmental nature of modernization becomes encompassing, relevance of structural autonomy ceases to operate as a shock-absorber. Changes in political system begin increasingly to impinge upon the system of stratification (caste, class, ethnic communities), and these together create serious stresses for the cultural system as a whole. The cultural pre-requisites of a comprehensive modernization necessitate adaptive changes in the system of values which come in direct confrontation with traditional cultural values and norms. For instance, secularism, untouchability, non-parochialism are some cultural demands of modernization in contemporary India which its traditional value system continues to resist. The question thus arises: will Indian society be able to avoid structural breakdown also in the second phase of modernization? Will not the advantage which it formerly enjoyed through structural autonomy, become, under the changed circumstances, a bottleneck for smooth institutionalization of modernity.

The answer to these questions can be formulated only through objective analysis of important trends of social and cultural changes in India which are relevant to the

process of modernization. In cultural sphere, major changes have been introduced by legislations. These seek to abolish social inequalities and exploitations handed down by tradition and accord democratic rights and constitutional privileges to all members of society. This had led to a trend away from Sanskritization and towards formation of new identities and associations of castes, regional groups and tribes. These processes are accelerated by 'Great Traditions' of modernization such as, urbanization, industrialization, spread of education, and politicization. The traditional structures and loyalties are being mobilized for objectives which are essentially modern and an increased emphasis is on protest movements. However, the tradition also gets reinforcement in, the process; modern media of communication and transport are increasingly used for spreading ritual order and for rational organization of religious groups and their mode of activities and social participation. There is a tendency among religious sects to organize themselves on rational bureaucratic model, and the previous fission of each new sect from the parent body has now changed into strong orientation towards fusion.

Inconsistencies are similarly there in structural changes that India has undergone during the post-colonial phase of modernization. Micro-structures like caste, family and village community have retained their traditional character; caste has shown unexpected elasticity and latent potential for adaptation with modern institutions such as democratic participation, political party organization and trade unionism, and it persists as unabatedly joint family loyalties and particularistic norms continue to prevail. These contradictions are, however, further magnified at the level of macrostructures, such as the political system, bureaucracy, elite structure, industry and economy. The colonial period of modernization had homogeneity in elite structure. These elite from industrial, civil and military bureaucracies, as well as political spheres came from similar class-caste stratum; they had equitable exposure to Western education, and socialization. They also had uniformity of ideologies and aspirations. This was because the social base for recruitment of these elite was limited. This has fairly widened during the post-independence period; it may not be equitable in terms of stratification system, but in cultural background there is enough representativeness which leads to many contradictions. A gap is specially coming into being between political elite and non-political elite; the former are less Westernized, and externally at

least identify with traditional cultural symbolisms more strongly than the latter. Contradictions are also growing in the federal structure of the Union as one party government is being replaced by multi-party governments in States, having divergent ideological policies. There is also evidence that, in the course of three five-year plans additional income generated by economic investments has gone in favour of only the well-to-do classes to the detriment of poorer sections. Planning has thus accentuated and sharpened the gaps in social stratification. This along with the slow rate of economic growth and rapid increase in population creates additional intensities for structural tensions. Despite the years of effort at industrialization, India continues to be a rural-peasant dominated society with general poverty of living standards.

Thus, major potential sources of breakdown in the Indian process of modernization may, in one form or another, be attributed to structural inconsistencies, such as: democratization without spread of civic culture, bureaucratization without commitment to universalistic norms, rise in media participation and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justice, verbalization of a welfare ideology without its diffusion in social structure and its implementation as a social policy, over urbanization without industrialization and finally modernization without meaningful changes in the stratification system.

Gunnar Myrdal refers to similar impediments to modernization in India and other Asian countries in his work *Asian Drama*. Nationalism and democratic institutions themselves, according to him, have grown in a structurally uneven form in these countries. "In Europe, strong independent State with a fairly effective government and a common pattern of law enforcement," he says, "preceded nationalism, and both preceded democracy;" in South Asian countries democratic ideology if not reality, has, due to special historicity, preceded strong and independent State and effective government, and this is further complicated by onslaught of nationalism. This uneven historicity along with economic dependence of these countries on developed nations and slow rate of economic growth and still slower pace of institutional changes. Particularly in India, which, according to Myrdal, has a more viable size of intellectuals and middle classes necessary for democracy, planned economic growth has not made as deep an

impact towards liberalizing the structural bottlenecks for modernization as should have been expected. According to Myrdal, India's 'soft-state' policy after independence inhibited its leadership from going to the root of the problem, that is, introduction of basic changes in the institutional structure of the society. Consequently, the inegalitarian structure of the society continued to grow and consolidated itself; there developed a long gap between verbalization and implementation of policies of reform; the decentralization of power in rural sectors led to concentration of power in the hands of a petty plutocracy. Also the leadership of the country as a whole remained with those who are opponents of real economic and social change.

Myrdal's well known position on theory of social change and development is that of circular causation and cumulative change. He suspects the validity of constructing universal evolutionary stages of 'growth'. These according to him tend to be teleological and often have conservative ideologies latent in them. The crucial factor in the development is an 'upward' movement of the social system as a whole with all its component 'conditions'. These conditions for the South Asian countries as described by Myrdal are (1) output and income; (2) conditions of production; (3) levels of living; (4) attitudes towards life and work; (5) institutions; and (6) policies. He assumes a uni-directional casual relationship between these conditions; an 'upward' or 'downward' movement in one would cause cumulative movement of similar nature in other conditions too. Value premises, related to these conditions might differ from country to country specially in regard to conditions which are treated for their 'independent' values as different from those having 'instrumental' values. These valuations define ideological contexts of development in each national society, but their selectivity is organically linked with attributes of social system as a whole. The modernization process in India and other South Asian countries, according to Myrdal, is heading fast towards a climax, and the time for reasonable choice for them is limited. The opportunity for a 'gradualist' approach is also over. Myrdal thinks "it is not more difficult, but easier, to cause a big change rapidly than a small change gradually." The prime areas for such big, rapid changes are social and institutional conditions in Indian society. These conditions hold keys for mobilization of all other conditions of development.

Myrdal's theory of modernization could best be evaluated through the distinction he introduces between 'independent' and 'instrumental' values that institutions and social realities of a society have for their people. The 'independent values' of a traditional society differ from those of a modern society, and more often they are mutually contradictory. But the 'independent values' cannot be demonstrated to be false or irrelevant without transforming them into 'instrumental values'. Since, the institution and attitudes towards life and work in a traditional society come to be valued for their 'independent values', it is necessary to demonstrate their poverty over 'independent values' of a modern society in order to motivate people to renounce them for the latter. This, however, cannot be realized without introducing the medium of 'instrumental values'. If we want to convince people that "(A) closed system of stratification is bad" and "(B) open system of stratification is good", then we have to demonstrate also that "(c) the goal of social justice cannot be realized in a closed stratification system, but it can be easily accomplished in an open system." People would change their independent value (A) for (B), more easily when the instrumental value (C) they cherish, is shown to have closer association with the latter (B) than former (A).

As we have explained above the crucial variable to bring this about lies in mobilization of people's motivations for change on utilitarian grounds or what Myrdal calls the grounds of rationality. If we accept this, then it would appear that Myrdal's overemphasis on priority of radical changes first in the value systems of the developing society over the more instrumental or structural 'conditions' such as income, production, etc., tend to be highly unrealistic. To our mind it is difficult to begin with radical value changes in traditional society in order to facilitate the growth of modern instrumental structures. In fact, Myrdal votes for a 'mobilization system' of social transformation which is valid but does not logically conform with his emphasis on first changing the values or institutions rather than the structures of society.

The institutional changes are, however necessary for coordinating modernizing changes in other structural conditions of a society, but no general hypothesis, that 'big-push' policy of change in institutions is preferable to 'gradualist' approach to change' can be tenable. This in fact, contradicts Myrdal's own theory of balance among various 'conditions' for development and modernization. More important factor will be rational

coordination rather than 'big-push' policy which in an uncoordinated manner might inevitably contribute to a breakdown in the social structure, especially in India where democratic polity and way of life have been accepted as independent values.

In fact, the emergent tensions caused by processes of modernization in India do direct our attention to much needed further coordination in the strategy of change with radical changes in policy. Contradictions are emerging in the system at various points as a result of uncoordinated institutional reforms and economic measures introduced for modernization during the post-independence period. These contradictions, however, also inhere and symbolize the frictions caused by upward movement of hitherto suppressed aspirations and interests of groups. Protest movements whether disguised are inevitable in democratic transition to modernization. These, of course, indicate the specific areas where institutional and other reforms could further be accelerated to remove friction in the process of change. Modernization should thus proceed by a series of conciliatory steps through a forceful strategy of mobilization in the course of the developmental process. The need is also simultaneously to reinforce the democratic values and institutions. Given a democratic political framework, there exists a built-in mechanism in the system to build pressures for removal of inconsistencies emerging from uncoordinated changes in the 'conditions' of modernization; but the same cannot be said to be true for other forms of totalitarian political system.

On the Indian scene it appears that, despite continual tensions and contradictions, chances of the institutional breakdown are minimal; democratic values have fairly institutionalized in the political system; cultural gap which has recently widened between various levels of the elite does not go far enough to introduce major conflict about the ideology of modernization. Caste, which represents institutionalized form of inequality sanctioned by tradition now fights battles against inequality and inegalitarianism by its own rational self-transformations into associations; many independent or categorical values of tradition have shown a surprising degree of elasticity to adapt themselves even thrive as modernization processes accelerate without creating major contradictions. In the realm of material resources too, the recent 'agricultural revolution' in the countryside

has created a new atmosphere of optimism for further progress. This, along with people's increasing awareness to curb the birth-rate may point towards new hopeful signs of modernization without a breakdown.

This assumption would, however, rest on one major conditional assumption, that at no stage in the Indian process of development would conciliation as a goal of resolving contradictions be renounced or replaced by a policy of controlled suppression. A constant coordination of mobilization with conciliation is a pre-requisite for democratic form of modernization in India.

1.9 HISTORICITY OF MODERNIZATION

The problems connected with historicity of modernization emerge from the 'initial conditions' of different societies from where modernization as a process starts. The difference in these conditions may be both cultural and social structural in origin and lead to variations in adaptive patterns in modernization, which have been recognized by many social scientists. In contrast with evolutionary universalistic theory of modernization these social scientists hold that modernization would develop typical forms in different societies. This is also our contention in this essay.

There are both logical and substantive grounds why growth of modernization might vary in pattern from society to society. Often, modernization is defined through attributes which are too abstract and partial in nature and do not take account of the dynamics of social and cultural forces in each society. Modernization is understood as growth of a uniform set of cultural and role-structural attributes, but attention is not paid as to how these attributes develop typical adaptations within the traditional conditions of each society. This limitation in our view can be avoided if we conceptualize both tradition and modernization as sets values and role-structures which interact as they come into contact, and between them a selective acceptance is played by the system of values. These values in each society are differentiated into

- (1) Categorical or independent; and
- (2) Instrumental types.

All role-structures whether traditional or modern inhere both categorical and

instrumental standards, and this leads to a combination of both; a person who is well-trained in the modern role-structure with high instrumental value, for instance a surgeon or an engineer or a scientist, may be deeply committed to traditional categorical values. This is logically quite possible, because the categorical values enjoy autonomy over the instrumental values. Such instances are quite common in the Indian society, but it is presumed that no society would be an exception to this rule.

As for modernization in India, we find a growing trend that traditional role-structures are giving way to modern ones. But persons following these roles often retain categorical values of tradition instead of those of modernity. We have mentioned how caste itself is adopting many functions which properly belong to rational corporate groups. Generally, ritual order and religion which are essentially based on categorical values of a traditional nature do not show evidence of decline, nor is there an easy possibility of their disappearance in the near future. Since many of these categorical values differ from one society to another, there may always be a possibility of unique combination of traditional values with modern ones; the categorical values can hardly be falsified by scientific proof and hence the spread of science may not logically lead to obsolescence of traditional categorical values.

This would explain the diversity in the pattern of modernization in different societies. But it would be wrong to deduce from this argument that modernization will not bring about structural and cultural similarity among the peoples of the world. As modernization proceeds, it would create uniform sets of role-structures with accompanying modern value commitments, instrumental or categorical. Inconsistent combinations of roles and values may still persist but a large sector of societal and cultural life of societies would share uniformity of standards with other modern societies. Diversity may persist within this strong sense of unity in the traditions of mankind. The major factor would here be the nature of value premises that societies adopt for modernization. So far, however, no uniformity of such value premises is in sight. The divergence of political ideologies, contradictions in cultural and racial identities coupled with inequality of resources among nations create basic schism in the value-structure of modernization. Hence, particularistic growth pattern of modernization seems to be more credible than

universalistic form of its development.

Check your Progress :

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(1) How are the Indian social values differentiated in each society ?

(2) How is Myrdal's theory of modernization evaluated ?

1.10 LET US SUM UP

Thus it is concluded that due to many forces of modernization like education, secularism, empowerment etc, the traditional values are replaced by modern one thereby producing synthetic approach in the Indian system. The traditional cultural structure comprising the Little and the Great Traditions in India experienced many changes before the beginning of the western contact.

1.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996; Modernization of Indian tradition, Rawat publication, Delhi.
- Singh, Y. 1993; Social change in Indian-crisis and resilience, Har Anand Publication, Delhi.

1.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) The Indian social values are differentiated into :-
- (a) Categorical (b) Instrumental
- (ii) Myrdal's theory of Modernization evaluated through the distinction between Instrumental and Independent Values.

STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Understanding of Modernization
- 2.4 Difference between Modernization and Development
- 2.5 Phases of Modernization in India
- 2.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.7 Suggested Readings
- 2.8 Answers to check your progress

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Indian Society is marked by the presence of various customs and traditions. These cultural traditions, although maintained status quo, have started showing transition because of modernization forces. These forces are not revolutionary but gradually they have brought serious changes in their actual nature. Let us try to know these changes in tradition in the Indian Society.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the main emphasis is to :

- Explain the concept of modernization
- Distinguish between modernization and development
- Discuss various phases of modernization in India.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING OF MODERNIZATION

“Cultural Traditions might undergo momentous and revolutionary changes even through endogenous processes. However, in the developing contemporary societies, changes of much more revolutionary nature are at present in the offing, which emanate from exogenous sources. Such changes, as Arnold Toynbee (*A study of History*; 1948) postulates, result from cultural encounters through processes of ‘challenge and response’. Modernization is one such challenge. In the developing societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, modernization as a cultural goal implies an exposure to deeply ambivalent situations; the normative structure of modernization being mostly foreign to the indigeneous cultural tradition of these societies, it poses a threat to their identity. In contra-distinction to this, since modernization also constitutes a kind of universal strategy for economic development and social growth, its requirement is urgently felt and it is coveted for. This introduces some ambivalence in the cultural response of these traditions to modernization. Such ambivalence may be recognized as an inalienable part of all the processes of cultural changes which take place through encounters between an indigenous and a non-indigenous cultural tradition.

Apart from the above discussion, let us evaluate modernization in a different frame of reference. Modernization, as a form of cultural response, involves attributes which are basically universalistic and evolutionary; they are pan-humanistic, trans-ethnic and non-ideological. Modernization may in this respect be treated as a kind of ‘cultural-universal’, at a higher level of manifestation—a level at which the institutionalization of a higher order of culture is possible.

According to the views of M.J. Levy Jr. (*Modernization and the structure of Societies*, 1966). Modernization symbolizes a rational attitude towards issues, and their evaluation from a universalistic and not particularistic view-point, modernization is rooted in the scientific world view, it has deeper and positive association with levels of diffusion of scientific knowledge, technological skill and technological resources in a particular society. But what may be essential to modernization is the commitment to scientific world-view, the internalization of humanistic and philosophical view point of

science on contemporary problems and not merely the volume of technological advancement.

One of the most famous of early modernization studies was carried out by Daniel Lerner. In a the passing of Traditional Society (1958) he examined the process of modernization in several Middle East countries, sample survey in underdeveloped societies and village society. According to Lerner, Modernization is characterized by a high degree of literacy, urbanism, media participation and empathy.

2.4 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MODERNIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Views of ‘development’ are inevitably linked to some idea of progress, which involves a change, perhaps an evolution, from one state to another, both of which may be ‘real’ or ‘idealized’. But there is no agreed definition of development. It is inescapably a normative term, which at various times has meant economic growth, structural economic change, autonomous industrialization, capitalism or socialism, self-actualization and individual, national, regional or cultural self-reliance.

By contrast, ‘Modernization’ seems to be more easily defined. Put simply, ‘modernity’ is what is ‘up-to-date’ in a specific place at a given time. Generally, it will be an aspect of ‘westernization involving changes which contrast with a previous ‘traditional’ stability. Indeed, any reference to modernity implies the just a position of something new with a pre-established order. In such circumstances, conflict may occur, but it is not inevitable. Existing institutions can adapt, and the change may generally be acceptable. In additions, what is new may incorporate much of the traditional. Alternatively, modernization may also involve extensive structural changes.

The difference between development and modernization is that the former is a movement towards a valued state, which may or may not have been achieved in some other social context and which may not be achievable. The latter is a similar process. It is what is actually happening, for good or ill : a series of patterns with consequences that can be described, argued and evaluated.

PHASES OF MODERNIZATION IN POST INDEPENDENT INDIA

With the attainment of independence, India chose to follow the path of planning social and economic development, for which the Planning Commission was set up on 15 March, 1950 under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India.

Since then, Prime Minister of India has been the ex-officio Chairman of the Planning Commission. Having gone through the background of the Indian economy, the main aims and objectives of the various Five-Year Plans of development.

- **First Plan (1951-56):**

The First Five-Year Plan, in fact, paved the way for the planned economic development of the country. It had two main objectives. First, to bring the Indian economy out of the state of stagnation caused by the Second World War and partition of the country. Secondly to initiate the process of all-round balanced development of Indian economy, so as to ensure a steady improvement in the living standards of the people over a period of time.

The First Plan accorded the highest priority to agriculture, with special emphasis on rural reconstruction programmes and land reforms, including initiation of various irrigation and power projects. About 44.6 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 2,069/- crore was allotted for its development. The Plan projected, rather optimistically, that savings and investment as a proportion of national income would rise from an estimated 5 to 6 per cent in the early 1950s to 20 per cent by 1968-69 and stabilize at that level thereafter. Aggregate income was expected to double in approximately twenty years and per capita income in twenty-seven years.

- **Second Plan (1956-61):**

In 1954, Parliament declared that the economic policy should have to achieve a socialistic pattern of society with greater equality in income and wealth in sight. The main aim of the Second Plan was, therefore, to promote a pattern of development, which could lead to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society in India.

The Second Plan was aimed at:

An increase of 25 per cent in the national income;

- i. Rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
- ii. Large expansion of employment opportunities and
- iii. Reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

In the Second Plan, there was a special emphasis on industrialization and it also aimed at increasing the national income by 11 per cent per annum by 1960-61. The development strategy of economic growth through modern industrialization was continued into the Third Plan.

- **Third Plan (1961-66):**

The immediate objectives the Third Plan, which was aimed at self-sufficiency, were:

- i. To secure an increase in the national income of over five per cent per annum and at the same time ensure a pattern of investment which could sustain this rate of growth during subsequent plan periods;
- ii. To achieve self-sufficiency in food-grains and increase agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry and exports;
- iii. To expand basic industries like steel, chemicals, fuel and power and to establish machine-building capacity, so that the requirements of further industrialization could be met within a period of ten years or so mainly from the country's own resources;
- iv. To utilize fully the manpower resources of the country and ensure a substantial expansion in employment opportunities; and
- v. To establish progressively greater equality of opportunity and bring about reduction in disparities of income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

Therefore, in this strategy of development, the public sector was expected to promote the growth of infrastructural facilities like basic and heavy industries and on the other hand, to reduce the concentration of economic power through the expansion of public ownership of means of production.

The first phase of development over the first three Five-Year Plan periods was characterized by fairly sustained growth in per capita income, with an 8 to 10 per cent compound growth rate of industrial output, 3 to 3.5 per cent compound growth rate in food grains output and around 1.75 per cent growth rate in per capita income, thus indicating a steady improvement compared to the pre-independence past.

- **Annual Plans (1966-69):**

During the fifties and sixties, there was a stable government, thus paving the right way of planning and development. However, the Indo- Pakistan conflict of 1965, two successive years of severe drought, devaluation of the currency, general rise in prices and erosion of resources available for Plan purposes delayed finalization of the Fourth Plan. Therefore, instead of the Fourth Plan, three Annual Plans were formulated between 1966 and 1969.

- **Fourth Plan (1969-74):**

The Fourth Plan emphasized on improving the condition of the less privileged and weaker sections of society through the provision of employment and education. It aimed at raising the standard of living of the people through various programmes to promote equality and social justice.

- **Fifth Plan (1974-79):**

During this period, the economy was facing severe inflationary pressures. Though the major objectives of the plan were to achieve self- reliance and to adopt measures for raising the consumption standards of the people living below the poverty line, emphasis was also put on bringing inflation under control and to achieve stability in the economic situation.

- **Sixth Plan (1980-85):**

The Sixth Five-Year Plan was formulated after taking into account the achievements

and shortcomings of the past three decades of planning. The main objective of the Plan was removal of poverty. Therefore, the strategy was adopted to strengthen the infrastructure for both agriculture and industry. There was also an emphasis on increasing opportunities for employment especially in the rural areas.

- **Seventh Plan (1985-90):**

The main objective of the Seventh Plan was to provide employment opportunities and to raise productivity as well as the growth in food-grains production, with an emphasis on reducing poverty and improving the quality of life in the poor villages and towns.

- **Eighth (1992-97) and Ninth Plans (1997-2002):**

Though the Seventh Five-Year Plan went uninterrupted, there were unstable political developments such as assassination of former Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi, etc. resulting in short-life governments, and economic crisis due to shortage of foreign exchange. The Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992- 97) was, therefore, launched after return of normalcy in 1992, with its emphasis on generation of adequate employment to near full employment by the turn of the century and to achieve self-sufficiency.

The Eighth Plan was initiated against the backdrop of introduction of economic liberalization, and structural adjustment programmes. This plan proved to be a turning point when the role of planning in development was questioned and analyzed from various viewpoints. Therefore, the Ninth Plan was formulated viewing the role of the state and the private sector as complementary and both were considered essential. The Plan had accorded priority to agriculture and rural development with a view to accelerate the growth rate of the economy.

- **Tenth Plan (2002-2007):**

Presently, the Tenth Five- Year Plan is in operation, with its emphasis on expansion of social and economic opportunities for all individuals and groups with reduction in disparities and an indicative target growth rate of 8.0 per annum.

Many changes in policies and programmes were introduced keeping in mind the needs and demands of the situation. These reforms, to be precise, can be summed up by the notions of "liberalization, privatization and globalization".

2.5 PHASES OF MODERNIZATION IN INDIA

The history of the contacts of the primary Indian civilization with heterogenetic cultural tradition is very old, it dates back to the time of the Vedas. However, most of such contacts either remained marginal or were assimilated in the cultural stream of the orthogenetic Hindu Tradition. The real heterogenetic cultural encounters in India began, with Islamic conquest and later through the imposition of the British rule in the country. The three major cultural processes which shall be analyzed in the context of heterogenetic growth in culture are : Islamization, Westernization and Modernization.

In this part we will deal with the processes and phases of cultural changes and modernization that took place in the post-independent India.

According to Y. Singh (1993) the studies of modernization and social mobility in post-independence indicates, such as investment in education, agriculture, industry, the reservation policy for the weaker sections etc. A very substantial middle class has emerged both in the rural and the urban sectors of society. In this regard, the role of Gandhiji was foremost in his thinking of modernization in India, which could be characterized as revolutionary in content and evolutionary in strategy. Later Jawahar Lal Nehru completed this process by evolving a model for Indian path to social transformation. At recognised that revolutionary changes in institutions, social structures and values of the Indian society were essential if social change was to be brought about through democratic participation. Indeed, the model of social transformation that India gave to itself is contained in the constitution. It lays down the normative principles which are the over riding elements in the entire strategy for social change. Its emphasis on parliamentary democracy, justice, freedom and equality comprise the fundamental values to which all other processes of social change, the economic, social and cultural should be subordinated.

Democracy, equality and freedom are revolutionary ideas and are important for modernization process. The constitution enunciates them as establishment of a socialist democratic republic, which guarantees freedom of expression, occupation, religion and social justice to all citizens irrespective of their birth, sex and religion. It provided for protective discrimination in favour of the deprived castes, classes, tribes

and minorities. These objectives call for establishment of new institution, abolition of outmoded ones and modernization of economy, technology, education and cultural life.

Thus, we find the sign of modernization through the strategy of social change after independence. The state took upon itself the responsibility of conscious planning of social transformation. Its objectives were the creation of a society based on democratic political participation, social justice and cultural and religious pluralism within the framework of a secular state. The constitution of India broadly lays down these objectives. In some areas the policy of change began to show immediate results. These were electoral politics, agrarian reforms, industrial and economic expansion and investment in education, science and technology. All these coincided with an expanding role of communication and media participation.

From the above discussion it is clear that the process of modernization affected various aspects of Indian society. Let us try to understand the phases of modernization under the following broad heads :-

a) Rural Social Transformation

Institutional innovations and measures for social and economic reforms set into motion basic and irreversible changes in the rural society in India which comprises the largest social segment. During 1950's and 1960's the impact of these changes was more in the realms of values and consciousness than in the social structure. Its impact was more on people's aspirations and outlook than on their material conditions. In some parts of the country, the new electoral and political rights initiated important changes in the power structure, especially in the rural panchayats and districts and state level councils. The measures of decentralization of power, agendas of Ist five years plan, land reforms, Community Development Programmes and others were sign of modernization processes in rural India. All these led to breakdown in the segmentary mode of social change, rise of new middle classes to power, massive absorption of science and technology in agriculture and substantial changes in values and beliefs. Later, the "green revolution" signifies not merely growth in agricultural production but also the use of new technology and social relationships in production processes. More importantly, green revolution

reinforced a value system that was oriented to entrepreneurial initiative.

This attempt was further extended through new economic policies in 1990's especially the liberalization & privatization which were ultimately followed by globalization. These reforms in agrarian society brought new dimensions of modernization through communication networking, improved technology, access to wider market, competitive spirit and class character.

b) Urbanization and Industrialization

The massive investment in industry and technology which took place during the first two decades after independence has resulted into significant development in industrial activities and rise of entrepreneurial classes in urban areas. The growth in the size of the services, professions and administrative bureaucracy reflects the process of modernization and social dynamism in the urban-industrial sectors. Slowly the process of mercantile capitalism growing and maturing into industrial capitalism took place in India after independence. Further, the industrial policy resolution of the 1950's defined that social purpose should guide industrial production and therefore mixed economy (public & private) was envisaged. This process of modernization can be analyzed together with those of the demographic transition and urbanisation. As the census figures reveal, a proliferation of township with growth in economic activities and rise in transport and market facilities has taken place. The urban population which in 1901 stood at 25.9 million, in 1951 at 62.24 millions later rose to 156.2 million in 1981. Between 1951-1981, about 355 new towns emerged in India and the percentage of class-I towns roughly trebled. Similarly, substantial industrial expansion has taken place. The figures of joint-stock companies both public and private show a tremendous increase. This has swelled further because of the New Economic policies in 1990's, which gave rise to tremendous increase in private sectors. Presently, the Indian society has entered into a new era of modernization through the process of globalization which signifies the market. Competitiveness, new technology and communication, especially the IT sector.

Thus one can say that a process of social restructuring took place in the urban and industrial sector of our life. It symbolizes social dynamism, mobility and growth and is compounded by the high degree of communication exposure,

mass media participation and political activism.

c) Cultural and Ideological Transformation

Both in the rural and urban social systems the quest for economic and social modernization has activated cultural forces which legitimise values like acquisitiveness, opportunistic utilitarianism, revivalism, communalism and primordialism. These have resulted from social restructuring in society since independence. The rural development symbolised by green revolution, and urban development reflected in entrepreneurialism and professionalism have ironically generated a sense of narrow utilitarianism instead of liberal and cosmopolitan values of modernization.

The basic pluralism of Indian social structure and its inter-structural autonomy facilitated the initial process of cultural modernization when India was exposed to the west through colonization. After independence, cultural modernization became more participatory and less exclusive with mass participation in institutions of social, economic and cultural development. This has enlarged the base of people's participation in modern ways of life and sharpened their political consciousness and sense of identity. It has also set into motion new values as well as disvalues as the process of social restructuring takes place in society. Revivalism, casteism, communalism and regionalism are some of the disvalues which have emerged as a result of this development.

d) Institutional Transformation

According to Y. Singh, (1993) processes revolutionary in potential were set into motion in India soon after independence. These comprised a series of institutional innovations. At the national scene, the electoral rights based on adult suffrage was introduced. It meant a great qualitative change in the social psychology of people and their social, cultural and political self-awareness.

At the national level major institutional innovations included establishment of the Planning Commission and Development Council, the creation of a chain of scientific and educational institutions such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, University Grants Commission, Councils for growth of research in social, historical

and philosophical sciences, the Indian Councils of Medical Research etc. These institutions were to serve as agents of modernization and development in India to create a democratic, socialist republic. New institutions were established to promote cultural and artistic heritage of India to safeguard against one-sided modernization. Massive economic investment was made to modernize both industry and agriculture.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) What is meant by the term “Modernization” ?

(ii) Give the difference between Modernization and Development ?

2.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude Modernization involves rationalistic and scientific outlook. It is rooted in the Scientific World view. It involves a shift from particularistic understanding to universalistic application. Modernization symbolizes a rational attitude towards issues. Indian society is marked by the modernization processes in terms of equality, democracy, freedom, secularism and others. The modernization process effected rural setup, urban setup, cultural and institutional transformation in India.

2.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996, “Modernization of Indian Tradition.” Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Singh, Y. 1993, “Social change in India.” Crisis & Resilience, Har Anand Publication, Delhi.

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Modernisation is define as rationalistic and scientific outlook. It is a commitment to scientific world view.
- (ii) The difference between modernization and Development is, the former is a series of pattern with consequences that can be described & evaluated and the latter is movement towards a Valued State.

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Social Structure and Resilience
- 3.4 Tradition, Structure & Resilience
- 3.5 Modernization & Resilience of Tradition
- 3.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.7 Suggested Readings
- 3.8 Answers to check your Progress

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The term societal resilience is to be understood in its contextual sense to be meaningful as a framework for analysis of social processes in the developing societies. The context lies in the past history of colonial exploitation and neo-colonial threats to these societies, and the continual attempts by imperial nations to dominate their economic, political and cultural autonomy. The fragility of the constitutional foci in these nations gives a poignant meaning to the notion of resilience. The resilience of the societal structure and tradition connotes the ability of the developing nations to withstand socially, culturally and economically the forces of instability both internal and external to their system as they plan their march towards modernization. Obviously, the term societal resilience is to be understood not in a literal sense; such as status quoism or static consensuality in the system. It is to be used as the contextually relevant notion or

even a process through which the crisis of cultural, economic and political identity of the new nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America are articulated leading to the evolution of a meaningful strategy for autonomous process of development and modernization.

The initial impact of the forces of modernization generates social and cultural tensions in most societies which put to test their capacity for societal resilience. The process of modernization needs to be analysed in the background of history and tradition of each society to fathom the potential of its societal resilience.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss social structure of Indian Society.
- Explain continuity and change in the social structure.
- Describe role of modernization in changing traditions.
- Discuss resistance by traditions in overcoming modernization forces.

3.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE & RESILIENCE

Social structure and its historical specificities influence the degree of resilience that a social system has in withstanding the challenges of development and modernization. In the Indian experience, such historical forces were defined by inter-structural autonomy within the society. The impact of initial forces of technological, institutional and cultural modernization coming through colonialism was encapsulated by the social system because of the autonomy among its major structural foci, such as the polity, stratification & value system. The inter structural autonomy in the Indian society has subsisted through its tradition and past history. As a result, the exogenous impacts, political, economic and cultural, were moderated or even encapsulated in the system through selective adaptation which helped their indigenisation instead of their creating forces of disenchantment from the native tradition. It enabled the social system to maintain a remarkable degree of continuity with change. This process was put to severe test following the establishment of the British colonial rule in India. The contact with the western cultural tradition through colonial rule was for India in the nature of an encounter of a historical

kind. It represented an encounter of a technologically and scientifically stronger tradition inhering modern values of rationality, enterprise and industrialism with one which was suffering from its inner tensions and institutional survey. Such an encounter, in a colonial setting could have swept India from its cultural roots but for the resilience of its social system resulting from the historicity of its social structure and tradition. The impact of westernization in the initial stages of colonial rule was moderated in India through a process of structural encapsulation. This is evident from the fact that the educational, economic and cultural policies that the British introduced in India during the 19th century only succeeded in creating a middle class largely confined to the metropolitan cities, big towns and upper castes.

The social background of this middle class, which emerged as a result of the colonial form of modernization had features which initiated the freedom movement on the one hand, and on the other, encapsulated the impact of the western cultural onslaught and tensions of the colonial penetration. Thus the social and cultural forces such as values of equality, legal rationality, technology and science which this western contact generated were structurally confined to a limited group and the system gained time for slow percolation of these values to the rest of the society through an adaptive process of transformation. It did not cause major dissociation in the established institutions, values, social structure and tradition. Eventually, the growth of national independence movement gained a mass character. It made it possible for an alternate ideology for India's social, economic and political modernization to evolve with wider sensitization of people to this ideology. The historical forces in the society imparted a social resilience to the system that it could after independence undertake a massive and revolutionary programme of social, political and economic modernisation despite the human cost of partition. The colonial policy of divide and rule for a moment proved stronger than the traditional forces of resilience in the system and the country was partitioned on communal principle of two nation theory.

The second phase of modernization began with the achievement of independence at the end of the colonial rules.

The paradigm of modernization derived many elements from the western tradition, such as the emphasis on rationality, secularism, parliamentary form of democracy, adult franchise, and a rational judicial and administrative system etc. The constitution, however,

also incorporated many elements from the Indian nationalist movement and history, such as emphasis on social justice, moral bases of the directive principles of the state policy, the provision for protective discrimination for the scheduled castes and tribes and special provision for the religious minorities, backward classes and women. It also laid emphasis on maintaining the positive aspects of the Indian culture and tradition in the process of economic development and modernization. Thus the paradigm of modernization which India adopted after independence was itself a measure of resistance of its social structure and values.

3.4 TRADITION, STRUCTURE & RESILIENCE

The first issue that emerged soon after India embarked on the path of parliamentary democracy with adult suffrage was as to whether its people, illiterate and traditional as they were, would be able to absorb the tensions released in the process of electoral participation. The education to which in a broader sense the people were already exposed to through mass participation in the national movement was overlooked because the analytical model was imitatively borrowed from the west. The electoral politics and the level of political participation in India on the contrary has shown remarkable resilience through its responsive character and feedbacks from interest groups on issues of devolution of powers, social policies and finer electoral discriminations in respect of voting for parliament and the Assemblies.

Another negative prognosis on the role of tradition and traditional values in the modernization of Indian society was based on the argument of the otherworldly orientation of Hindu values which were expected to retard successful industrialization and economic growth. This has proved to be wrong as is evident from the pattern and direction of entrepreneurial activities and people's active participation in industrial work in all parts of the country. In the villages, even the puritan Brahmins have not hesitated from sericulture. Studies of urban centres in various parts of the country have established that religious gatherings such as the 'Hari Kathas' and prayer of assemblies along with preaching religion also serves as a means of communication of messages relevant to modernization ideology of the country such as social reforms, upliftment of the status of women, curbing the practice of caste discrimination and other social evils. Such uses of the traditional institutions and values in the promotion

of modern institutions and values have established a successful strategy of modernization with the continuity of tradition.

This is further evident when we observe the role that traditional joint family has been playing in country's economic and industrial modernization. The joint family and kinship resources of the members of the business community were successfully utilised for raising capital for investment in industrial units in the country. The same pattern has also continued after independence despite governmental support for capital funding as an organic element of the planning process. The studies of industrial entrepreneurships have revealed that there exists a causal relationship between successful functioning and growth of an industrial unit and the internal cohesiveness among the members of the family which owns and manages the enterprises.

A more prominent relationship between the joint family structure and economic development in India has been highlighted in the studies of the agricultural development called the 'green revolution'. The leaders of green revolution in all parts of the country come from the traditional peasant castes, normally the middle castes which have had centuries old tradition of cultivation on land as their calling. The mode of their work invariably is oriented to the joint family partnership. The joint family mode of production nevertheless selectively includes elements of rational uses of technology, such as uses of new variety of seeds and rational methods of irrigation. It also makes use of modern techniques of marketing, banking and credit alongwith utilising the resources of traditional family and kinship ties. This is combined with continuity of such traditional values of peasant castes as finegal style of living, consumption mainly on the traditional items of food, clothing and living, etc. and careful family budgeting. These contribute to higher economic surpluses which are used not only for further economic modernization, but also for incurring expenses on such traditional items as marriage feasts, construction of houses, temples and sacred ponds etc. in villages.

These sociological facts amply reveal the continuity of tradition in the process of modernization of economy, social structure and value system of the Indian society. Such adaptive tendencies have been consistently observed in the emerging functions of institutions of religion, caste, family and kinship and folk cultural tradition.

3.5 MODERNIZATION AND RESILIENCE OF TRADITION

Soon after independence, caste-vote-banks played significant role in influencing the political and electoral behaviour of parties and people in India. It led to politicalisation of castes, emergence of caste associations and backward caste and class movements. These developments represent not the traditionalisation of the forces of modernity in society, but modernization of its tradition.

The resilience in the social and cultural systems of the developing societies depends upon their balanced growth within and regulation of forces from without that influence their process of social transformation. The paradigm of modernization that India has adopted is reflected in its planning and development strategy. It comprises a consensual approach to development and modernization consensus strategy has to a large extent contained the conflicts based on caste and class in the country side and cities. It has been helpful in the management of inter-state, inter-political-party and centre-state relationships. It has maintained its legitimacy through policies and programmes of removal of poverty, of social welfare and protective discrimination. Conscious of the threat that communal ideology posed to balanced process of modernization in India, the religious minorities have been provided many constitutional safeguards to protect and promote their cultural and religious identities. The dimensions of communalism in India have assumed a multifaceted character such as casteism, tribalism regionalism and religious fundamentalism. The Indian social and political institutions have shown enough resilience despite many ups and downs in containing communalism of the false consciousness variety. Its modernization paradigm has a built-in strategy to overcome strains generated by communalism.

The cumulative result of the processes of modernization in India since Independence have set into motion a massive process of social restructuring. Through this India enters into a new phase of modernization. Its societal resilience is also put to new strains. The direction in which society is moving is indicated by the impact that modernization forces are having in the creation of alternative social structure by fracturing the traditional ones which were based on caste by classes, professional groups and social reform movements are going on in India today which

are organised not on the principles of caste, religion or community but on secular principles, such as the commonality of interests, skill and knowledge and commitment to social responsibilities. These developments augur well for realising the Indian goal of modernization. Its impact, however, still remains limited in size and spread through strong in qualitative terms. The principles of caste, community and religions continue to articulate themselves as interest groups in the system. The significant change is the historical disjuncture today between the principles of community versus category in the processes of social restructuring in society which differs from the pattern of the 1960's and 1970's. In the decade of the 1980's the traditional institutions instead of wholly succeeding in adapting the modern institutions and values within their framework are slowly giving way to institutional replacements and differentiation. This process indicates a qualitative shift in the pattern of social transformation in the Indian society. In the new social formations, traditional institutions instead of absorbing the functions of the modern sector are most likely to undergo differentiation of forms without, however, fully eroding the traditional institutions and value orientations.

social and economic opportunities for all individuals and groups with reduction in disparities and an indicative target growth rate of 8.0 per annum.

Many changes in policies and programmes were introduced keeping in mind the needs and demands of the situation. These reforms, to be precise, can be summed up by the notions of "liberalization, privatization and globalization".

MODERNIZATION AND RESILIENCE OF TRADITION

By destroying the traditional pattern of life, it has shattered the humane values evolved through centuries together. Implying considerable value changes, modernization involves the emergence of a new behavioral system having certain distinctive characteristics of its own. Value change is considered essential for institutional rearrangement which is absolutely necessary for modernization. A multiplicity of analyses of modernization provides its historical, economic and political perspectives. However, from the sociological angle these perspectives lack tolerance and miss certain important aspects of human context.

The works of Lerner, Almond and Coleman, McClelland, Pool, Moore provide the following list of characteristic attributes of modernity:

- (i) Mobility
- (ii) High participation
- (iii) Interest articulation
- (iv) Interest aggregation,
- (v) Institutionalized political competition
- (vi) Achievement orientation
- (vii) Rational ends means calculations
- (viii) New attributes to wealth, work, savings and enterprise
- (ix) Faith in the desirability and possibility of change
- (x) Social, economic and political planning.

Thus a telescopic view of the works of social scientists make us believe that modernization is but just superficial acquisition of some isolated elements and characteristics of the more advanced countries.

Pre-requisites of Modernization:

Eisenstadt holds that modernization requires three structural characteristics of a society:

- (i) A high level of structural differentiation.
- (ii) A high level of social mobilization, and
- (iii) A relatively centralized and autonomous institutional framework.

Prasad holds that the pre-requisites needed for a shift from traditionalism to modernization are:

- (i) An awareness of purpose keeping in view the future

- (ii) An awareness of existence beyond one's own world.
- (iii) A sense of urgency
- (iv) Availability of variety of opportunities and roles;
- (v) An emotional preparedness for self-imposed tasks and sacrifices.
- (vi) Emergence of devoted, dynamic and limited leadership.

Eisenstaedt is of the view that in any social system modernization requires three structural characteristics:

- (i) A high level of structural differentiation
- (ii) A high level of social mobilization and
- (iii) A relatively centralized and autonomous institutional framework.

Ways of response to modernization:

As the process of modernization is not responded in an uniform manner, in all social systems, Blumer evinces five different ways of response to the process of modernization, such as;

- (i) Rejective response
- (ii) Conjunctive response
- (iii) Assimilative response
- (iv) Supportive response and
- (v) Disruptive response.

Rejective response presupposes that a traditional society may reject modernization and maintain traditional order due to powerful groups, landed aristocracy, oligarchy, religious fanaticism, vested interests, social prejudices, special interest and firm attachment to given forms of traditional life.

In the conjunctive response pattern, there occurs the co-existence of traditionalism and modernity without threatening the old order. The assimilative response comprises

of absorption of the process of modernization by the traditional order. But simultaneously the traditional organizational pattern and life pattern are retained.

In supportive response the new and modern things are accepted on the ground that they strengthen the traditional order. The traditional groups and institutions utilize the scope provided by modernization to pursue the traditional interests in a more effective manner.

The disruptive response to modernization undermines the traditional order at many points while making adaptation to the changing situation. These five responses are controlled by values, interest or preferences and occur at different stages of the traditional order and in different combinations.

Conceptual formulations of modernization:

In social sciences, modernization is conceived through four conceptual formulations at the minimum.

These are:

- (i) Psychological formulation
- (ii) Normative formulation,
- (iii) Structural formulation
- (iv) Technological formulation.

Motivation and orientations of the individual, his mode of thinking, beliefs, opinions, attitudes and actions are all conceived in the psychological formulation. The normative approach to modernization emphasizes norms and values like universalism, humanism, rationalism, individualism, pragmatism, liberalism and secularism.

Structural conceptualizing of modernization stresses structural components of society such as bureaucracy, democratic associations and complex economy. Simultaneously it recognizes the importance of psychological as well as normative formulations. Technological approach to modernization emphasizes the economic resources and the utilization of inanimate power in production system.

Daniel Lerner believes that modernization implies changes not only at the institutional level, but also at the personal level. As a rationalist and positivist spirit, it involves changes in the modes of belief, thinking, attitudes, opinions and action of the individual. Prof. Y. Singh also holds that modernization "symbolizes a rational attitude towards issues and their evaluation from universalistic and not particularistic view point." As a form of cultural response, modernization involves "attributes which are basically, universalistic and evolutionary; they are pan-humanistic, trans-ethnic and non-ideological."

The very root of modernization lies in the scientific world views. "It has deeper and positive association with levels of diffusion of knowledge, technological skill and technological resources in a particular society." However, Prof. Singh believes that the commitment to scientific world-view, the internalization of humanistic and philosophical view point of science on contemporary problems is the essential conditions for modernization.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) How did the second phase of Modernization begin ?

(ii) Give a brief note on various paradigms of Modernization.

3.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude India has a long history of presence of numerous traditions. The traditions are so deep rooted that it is difficult to transform them. Thus at many time they show resilience to the process of change. It is further seen that how the

change in the tradition is mainly accommodative and not revolutionary in nature. Value change is considered essential for institutional rearrangement which is absolutely necessary for modernization.

3.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Singh, Y. 1993. "Social Change in Indian-Crisis and Resilience." Har Anand Publication, Delhi.

3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) The second phase of modernisation began with the achievement of independence at the end of the colonial rules.
- (ii) The various paradigms of modernization are as follow : rationality, secularism, parliamentary form of democracy, adult franchise etc.

STRUCTURE

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Education & Modernization
- 4.4 Legislation & Modernization
- 4.5 Mass Media & Modernization
- 4.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.7 Suggested Readings
- 4.8 Answers to check your Progress

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As we came to know in the earlier chapters that modernization process is a complex process and it involves series of factors responsible for bringing changes in society. Although there are many factors and forces to speed up the process of modernization but still education, legislation and mass media plays a significant role in modernization. If we try to see the society, then the transformation in it is made by the efforts of members also. Here the role of education is important because it changes the attitude of people from superstitions to scientific and rational outlook. Thus education contributes a lot in process of modernization. However, we can also say that efforts by people alone is not sufficient to bring changes. The state has to help them by implementing proper legislation related to it. The law gives the colour to transformation because it makes things more effective and universal. It is also seen that mass media plays its own role in popularizing and generating awareness among masses.

Mass media acts as a strong force of modernization because it effects every section of society. Let us try to look to them individually.

4.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Understand the concept of education and its role in modernization.
- Discuss the idea of legislation and its role in modernization.
- Describe the idea of mass media and its role in modernization.

4.3 EDUCATION AND MODERNIZATION

Contemporary education, which is an agent of modernization in various forms is of western origin. The significance of education in modernization can be analysed in three areas. **First**, the cultural content of the education, secondly its organizational structure and thirdly, the rate of its growth. The content of new education was doubtlessly modernizing and liberal in nature. The literary content of the courses in the humanities and social sciences were drawn from the literature of the European, Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment. Its themes were humanistic, secular and liberal. For eg., John Stuart Mill's essay 'On Liberty' soon after its publication became a text in Indian colleges. Indians came to know Magna Carta, and the struggle for Liberty and equality in Europe and America. The implications of modern science became manifest in their studies. An important element in this education was emphasis on contemporary and humanistic evaluation of social, political and historical issues. Its sociological result was a disenchantment from traditional education, whose categories being embedded in the scriptural and mythological loves had an obsessive degree of orientation towards the past. The categorical structure of the new education was oriented to the present and the future.

The new education was also different in its organizational structure. It was imparted by teachers who were appointed on the basis of educational achievement irrespective of their caste or birth, a principle which was in basic contrast with the concept of Guru in the Hindu tradition who had to be a

Brahmin by caste. Not only the content of education but also the structure of the teaching profession was thus secularized.

There has been a tremendous expansion in primary, middle and high school education. The expansion of primary and secondary levels of education has been followed by growth in higher education. Progress has been made in other spheres of educational planning and modernization of its organization. Percentage of girls going to schools and colleges has increased. In many States schooling of children has been made free and compulsory. New vocational and polytechnical institutions have been started.

Education has been one of the most influential instruments of modernization in India. It has led to the mobilization of people's aspirations for nationalism, liberalism and freedom. It alone has been responsible for the growth of an enlightened intelligensia which carried forward not only a movement for Independence, but also a relentless struggle for social and cultural reforms. It has created a sub-culture of students in India which though not fully modern, contains elements of transition from tradition to modernity. Finally, the educational system has contributed to modernization by growth of new forms of rationally organized structures in the shape of schools, colleges and universities, which serve as cultural networks for diffusion of knowledge and cultural categories which are modern in ethos.

4.4 LEGISLATION AND MODERNIZATION

There are two views about the functions of law. According to one view, the essential function of law is to reinforce the existing modes and to provide a uniform procedure for the evaluation and punishment of deviance from the existing rules. According to the other view, it has not only the function of social control but it has also to bring about social change by influencing the behaviour, beliefs and values. By means of new enactments there will be institutionalization of new pattern of behaviour manifesting new social values. However, law could be a powerful force for social change only if a large majority of people are in favour of the new social norms.

- **Social Legislation in Pre-Independence days :**

Sati or the burning of widow on the funeral pyre of the husband was the custom

practised extensively in Rajasthan and to some extent in U.P. and other northern states. Ram Mohan Roy began the active campaign against Sati. Finally in 1829, an Act prohibiting Sati was passed.

Another revolutionary social legislation of this period is the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856. Some enlightened Indians like Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Behramji Malabaree, and others denounced the customs which continued to make the life of a widow miserable. Due to their efforts the government passed the Widow Remarriage Act. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar himself set an example by getting his son married to a widow. As a result of this Act, the social reformers started widow's homes and widow remarriage associations in different parts of the country.

Yet another illustration of social legislation is the Female Infanticide Prevention Act of 1870. To put an end to the barbarous custom of killing the female infants as soon as they were born, in 1870 legislation was passed prohibiting this custom and enforcing registration of births and deaths.

The next significant social legislation was the special Marriage Act of 1872 which provided for marriage irrespective of differences in religion. This Act is the first Act providing for civil marriage and registration of marriage. The Act was amended in 1923 in order to permit the Inter-caste marriage.

Another important social legislation in pre-independence India was against child marriage. In 1860, at the instance of Vidyasaar, the Indian Penal Code prohibited the consummation when the girl was less than 10 years old. Later, according to the Brahm Act of 1872, the marriageable age was fixed at 14 for the girls and 18 for boys. In 1891, the Age of Consent Bill was passed by the government prohibiting cohabitation with a wife under the age of 12. With further agitation the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in 1929 raising the marriageable age of girls to 14 and of boys to 18.

Another important Act of pre-independence era is the Madras Children's Act of 1920 which provided that no child under 14 could be imprisoned. Within the next few years, many of the other Indian states passed similar legislation and established juvenile courts and certified schools.

Hyderabad state passed the Beggary Act in 1940 and Bengal followed in 1943. Other States passed similar legislation and established beggar homes in the following years. This Act gave power to the police officers to take a person before a Sub-Magistrate if he was wandering about asking for alms.

The Factory Act of 1881 prohibited employment of children below 7 years in the cotton textile mills. It also fixed the hours of work for children between 7 and 12, at a hours a day with a rest of one hour and four holidays a month.

The 1922 Act defined a child as a person under 15 and prevented employment of children below 12. It limited the hours of work of adults to 60 hours per week with one hour rest per day. The 1931 Act limited hours of work to 54 hours per week and 1946 Act amendment reduced the work per week to 48 hours.

The employment of Children Act of 1938 regulates the employment of children in certain industrial employment. Under this law, children below 15 years are prohibited to take up certain types of employment, keeping in mind the deteriorious effect, working in such places, may have on the health of such children as bidimaking, cement manufacture and packing etc.

The children (Pledging of Labour) Act 1933 was passed to prohibit the pledging of the labour of the children.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, required the employer to give compensation for accident, disease, disablement and death when these are due to working conditions. The Trade Union Act, 1926 provided for the registration of Trade Unions. The payment of Wages Act 1936 provided for regular and prompt payment of wages and prevented arbitrary deduction from wages.

Thus, in the pre-independence era, a series of acts were promulgated to bring about a change in the social condition with respect to marriage, the position of women, juvenile delinquency, beggary, child labour and women labour, and the conditions of labour in general.

- **Social Legislation Since Independence :**

The constitution of India provides for equality of status and the principle of social, economic and political justice to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed, sex, etc. Infact, this is put as an article in the Fundamentals Rights which are justiciable. The Directive Principles of State Policy have provided for legislation on various social matters. Thus, after 1950, it has been the policy of the government to bring legislation in line with the fundamental rights enuciated in the constitution. As a consequence of this, there has been considerable social legislation since independence.

- The Hindi Marriage Act of 1955 abolished all caste restrictions as a necessary requirement for a valid marriage. Secondly this Act provides for a secular outlook with respect to a marriage and enables the registration of marriage. This Act enforces monogamy, thereby bringing an equality between the two sexes. It also provides for judicial separation and divorce. Finally this Act defines the term “Hindi” in the widest possible manner to include the protestant groups like the Buddhists, Sikhs, Aryasamajists, it also includes the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

- The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 confers for the first time absolute rights over the property possessed by a Hindu Woman. Secondly both the sons and daughters get the right of inheritance from the property of a intestate Hindu.

- The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956, is also a significant departure regarding the status of women. It permits the adoption of a son or a daughter. Further it makes the consent of the wife necessary. Finally, the widow has got the right to adopt.

- Since a long time many states had passed legislation against dowry. The government passed the Dowry Prohibitions Act, 1961, making the giver as well as receiver of the dowry punishable.

- The children Act 1960, was passed to provide for the care, protection, maintenance, welfare, training, education and rehabilitation of neglected or delinquent children.

- The Minimum Wages Act 1948 was passed to provide for minimum rates of

wages in certain employments.

- Another very significant Act is the Untouchability (Offence) Act, 1955. This is in accordance with the Article 17 of the constitution offences against this Act are cognizable and compoundable.

- Even with respect to labour laws there has been marked change since independence because of the enunciation of the directive principles in the constitution. The Factory Act of 1948, raises the minimum age of worker to 14 and made provision for annual medical examination of the workers between 14 and 18.

The Employment Exchange Act of 1959, in order to help the unemployed individuals to get jobs, provides for registration of the unemployed people and for training programmes. The Employment State Insurance Act was passed to provide for certain benefits to employees in case of sickness, maternity and employment injury and to make provisions for certain other related matters. This was followed by the Employees Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act of 1952 to provide for the institution of Provident Funds including Family Pension Fund and Deposit Link Insurance Fund for employees working in factories and other establishments. Under this enactment, the Employment Provident Fund Scheme and the Employees Family Pension Scheme was introduced in 1971. To further improve the lot of labour employed in different industries, Parliament enacted a series of Social Welfare Legislations like the Bidi and Cigar Workers (conditions of Employment Act, 1966). Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act was passed in 1970. For the abolition of the bonded labour system with a view to preventing the economic and physical exploitation of the weaker sections of the people. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition Act) was passed in 1976. In 1981, the Cine-Workers Welfare Cess Act and the Cine-Workers Welfare Fund Act was passed.

Thus, many efforts have been made before Independence and after Independence to bring about changes in Indian society by using legislation as the medium. However, social legislation could become effective only when there is organized voluntary effort to help the people understand the new values embodied in

the new law.

4.5 MASS MEDIA AND MODERNIZATION

There is a close relation between modernization and mass media. Realizing the importance of the modern media of communication in the transformation of the world society, the General Assembly of the U.N. in 1958 called for a “programme of concrete action” to build the press, the radio, the film in the developing countries. Free and adequate information is not only a goal but it is also a means for bringing about social and economic change. National development depends upon a change in knowledge—what people know, skills—what people can do, and attitudes—what people can aspire for and hope to get. These basic changes in knowledge, skills & attitudes among the citizens of the country help in increasing its productivity.

The function of mass media is to open up the large masses in society to new information, new thought, new attitudes and new aspirations which lead them to new achievements. Even without travelling, sitting in his own village, the young man is able to live through an immense amount experience; he learns about other ways of living and other patterns of culture than his own with the help of the creative communicator. This is why Lerner calls the mass media the “mobile multiplier”. The mass media is the device that can spread the requisite knowledge and attitudes quickly and widely.

The literature people who are exposed to mass media develop, according to Lerner, a “mobile personality” with a capacity to identify themselves with the new aspects of their environment and becomes free from his bonds to native soil and desires to move from the field to the factory and from the farm house to the urban flat.

A number of programmes on national integration and communal harmony and on various campaigns themes such as population control and family welfare, public health and hygiene, consumer protection, prohibition and drug abuse, social evils like untouchability, sati, dowry etc. are broadcast. Programmes related to protection of environment, protection of minorities, conservation of energy, adult education, women’s education, welfare of women and children, laws concerning industrial labour, unorganized labour, programmes on science in daily life, scientific inventions and researches are also dealt with.

Yuva Vani provides a forum for the youths in the age group of 15-30 years, in which they can express themselves freely on subjects intimately connected with their problems and also of the country. The Yuva Vani Services have helped in bringing out to the fore the best potential talent in the fields of literature, drama and music. Programmes for Senior Citizens (aged people) featuring interesting subjects like genetic care, pension problems, tax liabilities, legal advice, readings from classics, current affairs are being broadcast. Educational Programmes cover a wide spectrum including current curriculum based programmes like school and university broadcasts.

Seth has pointed out that radio is the one medium of mass communication which offers the solution to the three problems of inaccessibility, illiteracy and lack of properly trained and motivated extension personnel. Surveys have shown that in Jalandhar district, for eg., the families of the farmers listen carefully to the weather forecasts and price bulletins and are keen to listen to the latest information on agricultural practices, the performance of new seeds and new pesticides. Even television is a very powerful medium provided the programmes are designed to promote innovation and adoption of innovation.

Some of the film producers have tackled the current social problems, for eg., Harijan problem has been portrayed in some of the best films ever produced. Another recurrent theme is about the suffering of the women and the need to develop a sense of equality. Many good pictures have been produced with patriotism as the theme. Films division in order to educate the people about the potentialities of the new nation produced documentaries dealing with health, hygiene, farming, illiteracy and other subjects and showed these throughout the country. Many short films on subjects like India's struggle for Independence have been produced. Documentaries on subjects like agriculture, science & technology, energy, industry and overall development of the country from 1947 to 1988 have been produced.

FACTORS AND FORCES: EDUCATION, LEGISLATION AND MASS MEDIA

Sociologists of the present age use the concept of modernization in the

analysis of social change. It means the development of modern approach and outlook and adoption of modernity in everyday life. Modernization refers to the deeper change in man's way of thinking and feeling, a change in his whole attitude to life's problems, the society and the universe. As such, modernization appears to be a complex phenomenon involving the development of rational outlook and acceptance of realities and facts in the context of scientific value.

It implies an inherent change in the mode of life in a particular direction for attaining modernity. Hence, man's attitude, idea, outlook and approach are oriented towards change in that direction. The term modernization is used not only to describe the changes in the material culture of a nation but also in its belief system, values and way of life on the whole.

It is a process which brings desired types of changes in the social structure, value orientation, motivations and norms. It is a process of transformation of a society from its backward framework to a forward looking, progressing and prospering structural build up. Modernization is not a process which has emerged out just recently.

The Western people have been undergoing this process for some five centuries and people in the least developed regions of the world for less than a century. It began with the colonial history of many nations. In fact, the process of modernization has been slow in the initial stage but was accelerated after 1945. After World War Two it has been sped up and broad-based.

The factors which facilitated and accelerated the process of modernization are : the achievements in the field of science and technology, rapid growth of industrialization and urbanization, the rationalization of social life, the emergence of a rational outlook in every walk of life, rapid development of mass phenomena like mass production, mass communication, mass, education and participation, democratization of political structure and growth of large heterogeneous complex societies Weiner points out that each social science discipline is primarily concerned with modernization in terms of man's application of technologies to control the resources of nature so as to achieve a marked increase in the growth of per capita output.

Basically the process of modernization is concerned with the natural, behavioral and social processes and the application of the new knowledge to human affairs.

This process also involves an achievement, orientation and self-reliance in each individual. It does not mean mere imitation of the developed nations. It is a process which helps a nation to establish its own identity. Of course a nation has to learn much from the developed countries. But being a replica of the developed nations will not necessarily result in modernization. Society in the process of modernization recognizes its values of cultural heritage, but is not bound by the outmoded patterns of beliefs.

It is a society which has cultural patterns favoring the adaptation of new methods and techniques in enriching its, physical, moral and socio-economic life. Daniel Lerner holds the view that the process of modernization involves the replacement of sacred revelation by the secular enlightenment in the guidance of human affairs. Secular enlightenment is personal to be achieved by each person. One wrong notion about modernization is initiation of one society by the other but modernization is essentially based on "a rationalist and positivist spirit."

It is essentially a mass affair involving not only changes at the institutional level but also fundamental changes at the personal level, a change in modes of thinking, beliefs, opinions, attitudes and actions. It involves a fundamental change in social structure. In the Indian context it may be viewed as a structural change from the immutable Caste society which is a closed society to a casteless, classless, open society in which the ascriptive pattern changes to achievement pattern, i.e. an individual's status depends not on his birth but on his personal achievement and attainment. As such, the main feature of modernization is the building up of an 'open society' in which individuals of talent, enterprise and training, can find places in the society appropriate to their achievement.

Modernization is experienced in different spheres:

- (i) In the political sphere, as simple tribal or village authority systems give way to systems of suffrage, political parties, representation and civil service bureaucracies;
- (ii) In the educational spheres, the social system strives to bring down the rate of

illiteracy and enhance economically productive skills;

(iii) In the religious sphere traditionalistic religions are gradually replaced by secularized belief systems,

(iv) In the familial sphere, the extended kinship units gradually break down

(v) In the stratification sphere, geographical and social mobility make a shift from fixed and ascriptive hierarchical system. These multiplicities of change do not begin simultaneously or do not proceed at a uniform speed. Rather, these changes occur at different times and progress at different rates in a developing nation.

In the economic sphere Neil J. Smelser evinces at least four distinct processes which are also interrelated:

(i) In the realm of technology, a developing society changes from simple and traditional techniques towards the application of scientific knowledge.

(ii) In agriculture, the developing society evolves from subsistence farming towards the commercial production of agricultural goods.

(iii) In Industry, the developing society undergoes a transformation from the use of human and animal power towards industrialization, or men working for wages at power-driven machines, which produce commodities marketed outside the community production.

(iv) As regards the ecological conditions, the developing society moves from the farm and village towards urban concentrations.

Political modernization comprises of the following features:

(i) The existence of a legal structure

(ii) The broadening of popular participation in the polity.

(iii) The capability of maintaining national integration through orderly accommodation of various divisive forces.

(iv) The capacity to blend administrative expertness, responsibility and rationality along with the popular will into an effective amalgam.

Factors of Modernization:

A number of factors are involved in modernization i.e., education, mass communication, ideology, values and attitude, growth of knowledge and science. Education is the prime instrument in the creation of modern man; Shils and Anderson indicate that education plays a vital role in the inculcation of a sense of national loyalty and in creating attitudes and skills essentials for technological innovation. Development of mass communication is an important means of spreading modern attitudes.

The media helps create knowledge of desirable things faster than these things themselves produced. Ideology also plays a significant role in changing mass behaviour and attitudes. Attitudinal and value changes are pre-requisites of the creation of modern society, economy and political system. The growth of knowledge and its application will enhance man's control over nature. Science has provided the information needed by people to increase the strength of their own impulse to modernize.

Thus modernization is a multi-dimensional process and the complex and interrelated series of changes in man's way of life. The occidental people have been undergoing this process for last five centuries and peoples in the least developed regions of the world for less than a century. It is a part of the universal experience. Although modernization holds great hopes for the welfare of mankind, it has also been regarded as a destructive process in many respects.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Why was the Minimum Wages Act 1948 passed?

(ii) What is the function of Mass Media ?

4.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus the conclude modernization process is accelerated by the forces like education, media and legislation. Education helps in bringing scientific temperament and rationality in one's outlook. The legislation passed by the government helps in enforcing new idea more smoothing and finally media popularize the same by its own way. The function of mass media is to open up the large masses in society to new information, new thought, new attitudes and new aspirations which led them to new achievements.

4.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C., 1995. "Tradition & Development." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

4.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) The Minimum Wages Act 1948 was passed to provide for Minimum rates of wages in Certain Employments.
- (ii) The function of mass-media is to open up large masses in a society.

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Meaning of Sanskritization
- 5.4 Ideal of Sanskritization
- 5.5 Characteristics of Sanskritization
- 5.6 Models of Sanskritization
- 5.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.8 Suggested Readings
- 5.9 Answers to Check your Progress

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Sanskritization refers to the process of social change particularly in Indian society. The structure of Indian society is based upon caste system. There is hierarchy of the caste and certain caste are considered upper and certain castes, the lower. According to varna system, Brahmins were on the top, then kshatriya, vaishya and Shudra occupied the second, third and the fourth rungs respectively. The varna system was based upon the cultural values. The higher castes were considered to be culturally higher also. In the caste system, the social hierarchy is not strictly based upon the varna hierarchy. The higher castes control and govern the behaviour of the lower castes and the lower castes try to carry out the dictates of the higher castes. M.N Srinivas is of the view that by sanskritization we do not mean only the adoption of

new habits and traditions but also the expression of new idea and values. In this process, the dominant caste finds a place of pride in the social hierarchy but the lower castes follow it with great care and caution.

5.2 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the basic concept of sanskritization
- Describe the concept with various impact on society
- Discuss with various characteristics of sanskritization.

5.3 MEANING OF SANSKRITIZATION

M.N. Srinivas in his book 'Social change in Modern India' has defined the process of sanskritization as " sanskritization is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste or tribal or other group, changes its customs rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high court, and frequently twice born caste. By means of these changes in customs and ritual, the low caste people claim a 'higher position in the caste hierarchy. M.N. Srinivas further stressed that " A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise the 'higher' position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon". He also mentioned that there may be also agreement among the people between claimed and concerned status result only in positional changes in the system and doe snot lead to any structural change. "He also notes that how the tribal groups such as Bhils of western India, the Gonds and Oraom of central India claim to be a 'caste' through the process of sanskritization and then claim a place in the caste hierarchy. This is well known that there is no conversion process in the traditional Hindu system and the only way to become a Hindu was to belong to caste, which is the unit in the social system. M.N. Srinivas called sanskritization, to mean, some kind of Brhminzation. Some other Indian sociologists showed that sanskritization would be based on Kashtriya or vaishya or shudra models. Sometimes it can be said that sanskritization is only an illustration of the operation of the reference group. A reference group is a group which is used as a standard to evaluate ones, attitude, custom, rituals etc. The influence of the group or

person depends on the prestige of that group in a particular society. In Indian society, so long as the Brahmin caste has prestige in social group it serve as model.

In the same way, the ruling caste or group will also serve as a model when it commands prestige in the society. M.N. Srinivas has observed, “the best way of staking a claim to a higher position is to adopt the customs and way of life of a higher caste. Though over a long period of time, Brahmin’s custom spread among the lower caste, in the short run, the locally dominant caste was limited by the rest” even if it was not Brahmin.

R.K. Merton has remarked the influence of reference group with respect to the norms and standards and by providing a frame for comparison, the other members try to adopt the norms of the reference group and also develop the character of attitudes of the group. They also aspire to be members of those group. But in the context of the caste system which is the “close system” based on birth, membership in the reference group is impossible. But a slight shift with in the varna is possible. The sudra continues to be a sudra but because he has adopted vegetarianism, he may move up slightly in the scale of Jatis within the given varna . M.N.Srinivas has remarked that the varna hierarchy is clear and immutable. It is evident, therefore, that sanskritization reimpress and consolidates the immutable varna hierarchy” rather than dislodge or modify it. Srinivas mentioned, the division of the different varna is clearly intended to support the theory of Brahminical supremacy.” Thus sanskritization is not a process by which structural changes in the hindu society can become possible, it is certainly not the means by which any social change in India can be brought about.

From the above illustration it can thus be cleared that

- (i) By sanskritization, a caste or a tribal community ventures to gain higher states in society.
- (ii) In sanskritization, a low caste takes to the conduct, customs and rituals of the higher caste.
- (iii) The process of sanskritization is found not only in caste but also in tribal communities.
- (iv) In sanskritization, Brahmins alone are not the object of invitation. Kshatriyas

and Vaishyas are also taken as model.

- (v) By sanskritization, a caste or group adopts and follows customs and rituals which would qualify it for being treated as twice-born.

5.4 IDEAL OF SANSKRITIZATION

In the process of sanskritization, one claims for higher social status in a particular social structure, therefore it is a vertical movement. In Sanskritization, there is no structural change but only positional change. In India, besides castes, the process of sanskritization is to be found in tribal communities like Bails of Rajasthan, Gonds of Madhya Pradesh and other hilly tribes. In this process, a tribal community tries to prove itself to be part of Hindu society. M.N. Srinivas, in this book, has laid under emphasis upon the ideal of Brahminism. But in his book, 'social change in modern India', he admits that the ideal of sanskritization can also be kshatriya, vaishya and even shudra.

Vertical & Horizontal Integration : M.N. Srinivas has mentioned quite a difference between vertical and horizontal investigation. Horizontal investigation occurs within a single varna. Whereas vertical varna takes place between two castes.

On the whole, Brahmans have tried to keep aloof from the local influences and these are in different parts of the country are separated by deep difference. The maximum Sanskritization has taken place in certain shudra castes.

Sanskritization in tribals : The process of sanskritization is to be found among tribals. On the other hand S.L. Kalia has tried to show that a process of tribalization is evident among the castes of Jaunsar Bahlar of U.P. and Bastar of M.P. The elders of dominant caste administer punishment to those who violate its rules. But at times twice-born upholds of great traditions yield to little traditions. It is of course not always true that maximum sanskritization occurs in Brahmans.

Factors promoting Sanskritization : Industrialisation is one of the major factors which made sanskritization possible. There are some other factors like, occupational mobility, developed communication, spread of literacy, and western technology that led the spread of Sanskritization. The development of communications

carried sanskritization to areas previously inaccessible and the spread of literacy carried it to groups very low in the caste hierarchy. M.N. Srinivas, specially referred to one factor which has helped the spread of sanskritization among to low caste. It is the separation of ritual acts from the accompanying mantras which facilitated the spread of Brahmaical rituals among all Hindu castes, including the untouchables. The restriction impose by the Brahmins on the non twice born castes banned only the chanting of mantras from the Vedas. Thus, the low caste people could adopt the social products of the Brahmins. This made sanskritization feasible.

The political institution of parliamentary democracy has also contributed to the increased sanskritization, according to Srinivas. Prohibition, a Sanskrit value, has been mentioned in the constitution of India some states have introduced it wholly or partially.

5.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF SANSKRITIZATION

The following are the main characteristics of Sanskritization:-

1. The concept of sanskritization has been integrated with economic and political domination, that is, the role of local dominant caste in the process of cultural transmission has been stressed. Though for some time, the lower caste imitated Brahmins but soon the local dominant caste was often a non Brahmin caste.
2. Sanskritization occurred sooner or later in those castes which enjoyed political and economic power but were not rated high in ritual banking, that is, there was a gap between their ritual and politics-economic positions. This was because without sanskritization, claim to a higher position was not fully effective. The three main axes of power in the caste system are the ritual, the economic and political ones. The possession of power in any one sphere usually leads to the acquisition of power in the other two. But Srinivas mentioned that inconsistencies do occur.
3. Economic betterment is not a necessary precondition to sanskritization nor economic development must necessary lead to sanskritization. However sometimes a group may start by acquiring political power and this may lead

to economic betterment and sanskritization. M.N.Srinivas has give the example untouchables of Rampura villages of Mysore who have got increasingly sanskritized through their economic condition almost remain unchanged Economic betterment, the acquisition of political power, education, leadership, and a desire to move up in the hierarchy, are all relevant factors in sanskritization.

4. Sanskritization is a two way process. Not only a caste 'took' from the caste higher to it but in turn it "gave" some thing to the caste. We find Brahmins worshipping local devotion which preside over epidemics, cattle, children, lines and crops, besides the great gods of all India Hinduism. It is not unknown for a Brahmin to make a blood sacrifice to one of these devoties through the medium of a non Brahmin friend. Though local culture seem to receive more than they give, yet sanskritic Hinduism has also absorbed local and folk elements.
5. Unit of mobility is group and not individual or family.
6. The British rule provided impetus to the process of sanskritization but political independence has weakened the trend towards this change. The emphasis, is now on the crustal mobility and not on the horizontal mobility.
7. Describing social change in India in terms of sanskritization and westernization is to describe it primarily in cultural and not in structural term. M.N. Srinivas conceded that sanskritization involves positional change in the caste of system without any structural change.
8. Sanskritization does not automatically result in the achievement of a higher status for the group. The group must be content to want an indefinite period and during this period it must maintain a continues pressure regarding its claim. A generation or two must pass usually before a claim began to be accepted. In many cases the claim of the caste may not be accepted even after a long time. The fact that sanskritization may not help a lower caste to move up does not present it to discard the consumption of beef change polluting occupation, stop drinking alcohol and adopt some Sanskritic

customs, beliefs and devotes. Thus the process of sanskritization may remain popular without achieving the goal of mobility.

5.6 MODEL OF SANSKRITIZATION

Sanskritization may follow any of the following models such as:

1. Cultural model.
2. Varna Model.
3. Local Model.

1. Cultural Model:

Castes have been assigned high or low status according to cultural characteristics of Hindus. The wearing of sacred thread, denying the use of meat and liquor, observing endogamy, prohibition of widow remarriage, observing the restriction in caste system, worship according to the modes and methods described in the religious text books, giving respect to the religious and mythological stories etc. have been given sanctity in traditional culture. They are considered to be the measuring standards of sacredness and purity. Accepting these behaviour and code of highness and purity as described in religious texts in a form of Sanskritization.

2. Varna Model:

In the Varna system the highest status is given to that of a Brahmin followed by Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Antyaj or the lowest is the fifth Varna that is the lowest and untouchable one in the Varna system. The lower castes coping the ideals and life style of the superior castes. Where the Kshatriyas enjoy superiority, the lower castes followed their life style and ideals. Simultaneously where the vaishyas enjoy superiority, the lower castes followed their life style and ideals. Only the Antyaj or lower castes copy the Sudras. That is to say emulating the life style or ideals of a Varna on the basis of honour and superiority enjoyed by that class is called Varna model or sanskritization.

3. Local Model:

In every country, some castes are considered to be more respectful than others on account of their economic power. This caste may be called the "master caste" or the "dominant caste". So the lower caste copies the life style of the local dominant caste in

order to improve their status.

Effects of Sanskritization:

1. Sanskritization in social field:

The social aspect of sanskritization is much more important from the view point of change. The low caste individuals are inclined towards sanskritization because in that way they can elevate their social status and get higher status in caste hierarchy.

2. Sanskritization in economic field:

Economic betterment and sanskritization is another related issue. The lower caste people have given up un-cleaned occupation to raise their economic status because clean trades are a symbol of social light.

3. Sanskritization in religious field:

Sanskritization also can be observed in the religious field. Like Brahmins many of the lower castes people put on sacred thread. They also go to their temple regularly and perform Arti and Bhajan. They have left prohibited food and un-cleaned occupation. Even they have specialized in performing ceremonies like Brahmins.

4. Sanskritization in living patterns:

The living patterns of lower castes have also Sanskritized. Like higher caste they also get Pucca houses built for them. Now they sit along with the higher caste on the cots without any fear or hesitation. They also keep their houses clean and put on dresses like higher castes.

Check Your Progress

Note :- (a) Use the space given below for your answers.

(b) Use separate sheet if needed :-

1. What is meant by the term sanskritization and discuss its impact on Indian society?

2. A process through which lower caste Hindu claims themselves as high, 'Comment'?

5.7 LET US SUM UP

Thus Sanskritization is defined as a process of social as well as cultural changes. It is not only change in the culture and values but also in habits and traditions. In the process of sanskritization, a low caste takes the customs and rituals of the high caste. The process of sanskritization is not only found in castes but also in tribal communities.

5.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C., 1995. "Tradition & Development." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Sanskritization is a process of social change and its impact is seen with the upward mobility in the Indian caste system in Indian Society.
- (ii) With the process of modernization and Sanskritization lower caste hindu claims themselves as high so as to attain the upward status in Indian Social system.

STRUCTURE

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Objectives
- 6.3 Concept of Westernization
- 6.4 Characteristics of Westernization
- 6.5 Impact of Westernization
- 6.6 Carriers of Westernization
- 6.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.8 Suggested Readings
- 6.9 Answers to Check your Progress

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the modern times, a wide spread influence of the western culture has led to many important social changes. Therefore, Westernization is a vital factor in social change. Westernization has produced profound changes in the structure of family and marriage, personal relations, female education, social mobility etc. It has also affected in important ways like the ideological and value system. The means of social control has also undergone change. Along with Westernization, the materialist and scientific outlook of the west has also produced profound changes in the thinking of Indians. The philosophies of utilitarianism, pragmatism and individualism have also affected the Indian society. Still the cultural fallout from the industrialization and urbanization is less than what it could be.

6.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss the basic concept of Westernization
- Explain the various characteristics of Westernization
- Describe the impact of Westernization on Indian society.

6.3 CONCEPT OF WESTERNIZATION

Westernization refers to “Changes in technology, institutions, ideology and values of non-western society as a result of cultural contact with the western society for a long period”. M.N. Srinivas indicated the concept, while giving an example of Indian society, the technological changes, establishment of educational institutions, rise of nationalism and near political culture, etc. may all be described as the by products of Westernization or of British rule of two hundred years in India. Thus by Westernization, M.N. Srinivas primarily meant of the British impact.

The form and pace of Westernization of India varied from region to region and from one section of population to another. M.N. Srinivas has indicated an example in this regard, as one group of people became westernized in their dress, diet, manners, speech, sports and in the gadgets they used while another absorbed Western science, knowledge and literature, remaining relatively free from Westernization in externals. e.g. Brahmins accepted the dress and appearance, sending their children to westernized schools, using gadgets like radio, car, etc. but they did not accept the British diet, dancing, hunting and freedom from pollution. This distinction is, however, only of relative emphasis and it is not a clear cut distinction. M.N. Srinivas prefers the term ‘Westernization’ to ‘modernization’ Where as Daniel Lerner, Harold Gould, Milton Singer and Yogendra Singh prefer “Modernization” in place of Westernization. Srinivas considers the latter term as subjective and the former term as more objectives.

In 1962, M.N. Srinivas has written, “The Westernized upper castes began acquiring customs and habits which were not dissimilar from those they had looked down upon namely, meat eating, alcohol consumption etc.”. He also indicated that certain sectional differences. In 1966, M.N. Srinivas in his essay, has extended his

concept of Westernization to include “technology, institution knowledge, belief and values. He also tried to distinguish Westernization and the “concomitant process” of industrialization and urbanization, he warned against equating Westernization or industrialization with urbanization since urbanization is both oriental and pre-industrial. He next proceeded to show, “Westernization results not only in the introduction of new institution but also in fundamental changes in the old institution. Implicit in Westernization are certain values preferences. A most important value, which in turn subsumes several other values, is what may be broadly characterized as humanitarianism, by which is meant an active concern for the welfare of all human - beings irrespective of caste, economic position, age and sex. Equitarianism and secularism are both included in humanitarianism.”

Thus it can be said that concept of westernization as used by M.N. Srinivas concern three aspects (i) The behavioural aspects like eating, drinking, dressing, dancing etc (ii) The knowledge aspects like literature science, etc. and (iii) The values aspects like humanitarianism, equalitarianism, secularism, etc. He refers to the technological aspects in passing.

6.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF WESTERNIZATION

The following are the major characteristics of Westernization:

1. Morally Neutral:

Modernization is generally considered to be good. But this is not always so with Westernization. Westernization has been for good as well as evil so it can be said that westernization is morally neutral.

2. Limits of Westernization

A distinction has to be drawn between westernization and Western culture. All the elements of Western culture did not originate in the west. For example, christianity originated in Asia. The decimal system originated in India and via Arabia reached the West. Gun Powder, Printing Press and paper were invented in China. All these constitute the important elements of Western Culture, though these did not originate in the west. The manner in which westernization operates in India is mainly the result of

British influence. The culture of Germany, France and Russia etc., is quite different from the Indian culture.

3. Wide, Complex and Multi-Level concept

The concept of westernization is quite wide. It subsumes all changes which are consequent upon Western Technology and Modern science. Secondly, it has had varying impact upon the different aspects of the culture. Hence, it is the complex concept.

Thirdly Westernization has affected society on different levels. For example, in olden days people used to eat in thali or Banana's leaves in squatting position but now they use dining table with all its accessories. While Westernization has had very wide impact, there has been resistance to it in some quarters. Thus Westernization has had variable impact on the Indian society.

4. Conscious-Unconscious Process:

Westernization has not been incorporated Willingly every where in India. At places the copying of British manners and customs was deliberate; at other places it was a sub-conscious process.

6.5 IMPACT OF WESTERNIZATION

The following are the major impact of Westernization:-

1. Impact on Institutions:

Westernization has influenced caste system; joint family system etc. It gave birth to new institutions like press, electrical system, christian missionaries, etc.

2. Transvaluation:

Westernization has encouraged modern values like humanism, equalitarianism and secularism. British civil and criminal law affected Hindu and Muslim laws. The system of slavery was ended and members of all castes were free to get education. Gradually, there was spread of education among women. Theoretically, all were accorded equal economic opportunity. Many discriminative religious practices were ended. Among such practices the practice of untouchability is foremost.

3. Government Reform:

Under the impact of Westernization, the states undertook a number of reform. The steps were taken to prevent epidemics and famines. An effort to spread education was also made, every member of society is having right to get education irrespective of caste, colour, creed or sex.

4. Redefinition of Hinduism:

Under the impact of Westernization, many religious reform movement came into existence and they attempted to re-define the various aspects of Hinduism in the light of modern science and knowledge. In redefining Hinduism, Maharishi Dayananda, Ramakrishna Parmahansa, Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Raja Ram Mohan Roy did commendable job. They indicated to various aspects of Hinduism which required urgent reforms. By their efforts sati system where a wife was burnt alive on the funeral Syre of her husband was ended. The curse of child marriage was put to an end and widow-remarriage was sanctioned. An effort to eradicate the evil of untouchability was also made.

5. Many political and cultural movements:

Besides religious reform movement which came into existence under the impact of westernization many political and cultural movements were also started. Besides nationalists movements many parochial movements based upon caste, creed, language and religion came into existence.

6. Spread of Education:

The most significant impact of Westernization is to be seen in the form of modern education taking root. During the British period many schools, colleges and universities were opened to disseminate modern education. Press came into existence and many new papers and periodicals were published which offered a number of view points. An educated class came into existence which became the vanguard of freedom movement. This trend of modern education in India due to westernization has eradicated conservatism and orthodoxy. This sphere was obviously leading towards the progressive way of social life.

6.6 CARRIERS OF WESTERNIZATION

The British and Indian both helped to begin and accelerate the process of Westernization. Due to which both the aspects can be considered as carriers of Westernization. Among Britishers three groups can be distinguished. Firstly, there were soldiers and civilians occupying high ranks. Secondly, there were traders and the owners of orchards. Thirdly, there were missionaries. All of these three groups helped to spread westernization. On the other hand many Indian also helped the process of Westernization. Among them the following are included:-

(i) Indians who came in direct contact with the British:

The Indians who came in direct contact with British were influenced by their life style. Among them were the persons who were in the household employment of the British and also those Hindus who abandoned Hinduism and espoused christianity.

(ii) Indirect Influence:

Primary contribution towards westernization was made not by those who came directly in contact with the englishmen but by those who were indirectly influenced. Among these are included the persons who received new education, entered into trades or secured as petty bureaucrats under the British. All were not middle-class persons. For example, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Rabindra Nath Tagore belong to aristocratic families. These english educated gentlemen brought forth great change in society by launching various movements. Among the Muslim, Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan belonged to this category. Among the Backward class, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, did a great job of modernization. Besides the contribution made by the above mentioned luminaries certain castes among Hindus were especially westernized. These includes voids of Bengal and Parasi and Bania of Western India.

The impact of Westernization was also felt through the patients who were treated in the British hospitals, the persons who had to go to law courts

and through the medium of Newspaper and Books. The port cities near the sea coasts were particularly vulnerable to Westernization. E.g. Calcutta, Mumbai and Chennai were the first cities to receive the impact of Westernization. Westernization is a vital factor in social change. Westernization has produced profound changes in the structure of family and marriage, personal relations, female education, social mobility etc. It has also affected in important ways like the ideological and value system. The means of social control has also undergone change. Along with westernization, the materialist and scientific outlook of the west has also produced profound changes in the thinking of Indians. The philosophies of utilitarianism, pragmatism and individualism have also affected the Indian society. Still the cultural fallout from the industrialization and urbanization is less than what it could be.

Indian Westernization did not take place on a whole sale basis rather it was selective. The Westernization in India was the result of the traditional tolerant, catholic and respectful attitude of Indians. India always had the tradition of catholicity, tolerance and self criticism. The luminaries like Vivekananda, Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Tagore, Aurobindo, Gandhi, Patel, Nehru and Radhakrishnan who came under the influence of Westernization tried to re-evaluate and re-define the ancient Indian values in terms of modern enlightenment.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

Note : (a) Use space given below for your answers.

(b) Use separate sheet if needed.

1. Define the term Westernization ?

2. Discuss the various characteristics of Westernization in brief ?

6.7 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude Westernization is a process of social change i.e. changes in technology, institutions, ideology and values of non-western society. The form and pace of Westernization of India varied from region to region and from one section of population to another Modernization and Westernization are basically interrelated concepts.

6.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C., 1995. "Tradition & Development." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

6.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Westernization is defined as a process of social change. A change that occurs in both materialistic & non materialistic aspects of social life.
- (ii) The various characteristics of westernization are:-
 - (1) Morally neutral
 - (2) Widely complex & multilayered concept
 - (3) Conscious-Unconscious process.

Structures

- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 Introduction
- 7.3 Concept of Secularization
- 7.4 Characteristics of Secularization
- 7.5 Impact of Secularization on Indian Society
- 7.6 Causes of Secularization
- 7.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.8 Suggested Readings
- 7.9 Answers to Check your Progress

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The ancient Indian civilization was dominated by religion; but under the influence of westernization it is becoming increasingly secular these days. Under the influence of Westernization the influence of religion over social institutions, traditions, practices and usages is declining and in its place utilitarianism and personal predilections govern human behaviour. After independence the Indian government has adopted the ideal of secularism. This has given inputs to the process of secularism.

Growth of Biological Science, expansion of Technology, dominance of rationalism, constituted a challenge to the blind faith, unscientific situation and the theological postulations organised religion lost its influence and church ceased to attract people in west. Max Weber also created Calvinism and the emergence of

the protestant ethic as constituting a major development in the rationalization of the world and secularization is part and parcel of that rationalization when its teaching turned men from other worldly pre-occupation to an inner worldly asceticism that termed to reshape radically the social structure and was one of the major sources of the powerful rationalization that produced both capitalism and industrialism. Protestantism directed the world of the magic and the miracles of medieval catholicism. It reduced the sacrament in number and eliminated all the intermediaries between God and men; Saints, the vurgin, angels, miracles and the sacraments through which grace would be dispenced.”

7.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Explain the meaning of Secularization
- Discuss various characteristics of Secularization
- Explain cause & impacts of Secularization on Indian society.

7.3 CONCEPT OF SECULARIZATION

Secularization means separation of matters from matters temporal. Religion matters, it is held, must be separated from the affairs of this world, political, social economic and ethical. It is an essence revolt against ritualism and priestism. The first voice was raised against it in the Upanishads. There is thrown the direct challenge to ritualism, the Bhagvad Gita, eliminates sacrifice and ceremony and emphasis, that social action should be triple conditioned by knowledge, action and Bhakti. The Bahkti movement in a way was a challenge to ritualism. In the west, Greeks separated religion from politics and literature Buddhism, eliminates god and the belief in divine from all action. Conception of Dharma, in absolutely secular in content. Secularism therefore, in origin is not new.

While defining the secularization M.N.Srinivas has said “The term ‘secularization implies that what was previously regarded as religion now ceasing to be such, and it also implies a process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of society, economic, political, legal and moral becoming increasingly discrete

in relation to each other.” Thus the process of secularization is anti religion. In other words, as secularization increases religion loses hold in India, secularization is fast progressing, particularly among Hindus better educated and urban classes.

7.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF SECULARIZATION

The following are the major characteristics of secularization:-

- (i) **Decline of Religion :** More secularization less religion, this is a universal social law. Wherever the forces of secularism are strong, the forces of religion lose hold and become weekend. Among Hindus, in various walks of life, the importance of religion is nominal, and the course of things is divided by reason and pragmatism.
- (ii) **Process of Differentiation :** The increase of secularism in the differentiation of various aspects of society. Thus in modern times an educated Hindu consider the economic, the political, the legal and moral issue separate and does not allow their mixing up as this unnecessarily confuses the issues. The matters pertaining to law can not be divided on moral basis, and the economic issues cannot be resolved politically therefore with secularization clubbing of diverse issues together ceases as is the case with the religious interpretation.
- (iii) **Reasonableness :** The increase of secularism leads to discarding of superstition a secular person considers every issue at the par of reason and is not carried by the authority of religion descriptures. The personal life of secular person guided by reasons and intelligence. He is critical of accepting any thing on faith and, therefor, analytically examines each and every issue.
- (iv) **Scientific Attitude :** The adoption of scientific attitude towards life in an important characteristic of secularism. More the influence of science grows on man, the influence of religion declines. The expansion of modern education also sacrifices the values of secularism and militates against religion.

7.5 IMPACT OF SECULARIZATION ON INDIAN SOCIETY

The following are areas as caste system, family and rural community which have be affected by secularization :

- (i) **Impact on Caste System :** In Indian society, the influence of Hindu religion is to be seen in distinction of pure and impure. From the religions point of view many action are regarded as impure, in particular, if a high caste person does action reserved for the low caste. He will get tainted by impurity. In traditional Hindu society, the caste system is rigidly followed, majority of the people were observing untouchability.

Due to the impact of industrialization a great change has taken place in Hindu society regarding purity and pollution. In the past, the high caste persons would rather storm than take to the profession of low caste; but now even Brahmins sells shoes now a days, a mensturing women freely manes every where and does all house hold duties. She is no longer considered impure as she was regarded in past. Now feeling of untouchability is declining. A Brahmin and Sudras not only share their business but also have common dinning. The English educated youngmen are a curse to considering any thing pure or impure merely because of religion sanction. Now on account of enlightenment, the criterion, of pure and impure is not religion scriptures but the rules of religion. A number of traditional action are still considered valid and adhered to; but this adherence is not on account of religion but the principles of good health and hygene. Thus now the distinction between pure and impure is no longer based on religion. It basis has become secular rigidity of caste system now has been declined by the constitutional pravisions.

- (ii) **Change in Sanskaras :** Sanskara is a chief characteristics of Hindu society. For different caste, different types of sanskaras are essential on different occasions. For example, with out the upanyan sanskara, no Brahmin could be considered twice-born. In ancient upanayan, sanskara was ceremonized some time after the child went to the school.

For Hindus, there are numerous sanskran for all the life, the chief among there are Garbhadhan (conception) punsawan, Jatkarma, Nankaran (Baptization), Upanyan, Samavarten (Marriage and funeral) for all these there is prescribed elaborate rituals. But now, under the impact of secularization there is great change in the performance of those sanskaran. For example, the sanskaran like Garbhadhan, Jatkarma are now almost extinct. Now no educated Hindu performs them. Some other sanskaras have also lost their religion significance, and have no become an occasion of social get together in which people collect for feasting and expressing happiness over the birth of the child or other feastive occation. Even now there is priest to ceremonize the sanskaras but now people pay less attention to him than to plates filled with dainties. The upanyan sanskara is now linked with marriage. Majority of the people prefers to do the sacred thread few days before the marriage. Maximum change in rituals has taken place in the process of marriage. Now only going round the fear and kanyadan are held as necessary. Even these are done perfunctionsily and little attention is paid to the recitation of the priest. Thus secularization has taken the religion string out of sanskaras.

- (iii) **Secularization of Family** : Family and marriage are the primary institutions. The provision of divorce and civil contract have greatly secularized the situation of marriage. This is also a great impact of secularization on family. Among Hindu, day by day life of various activities are fixed. For Brahmins worship, scriptural reading and yagna etc. are the compulsory features. But on account of seclarization very few Brahmin families today stick to this routine. The secularization has revolutionized the kitchen and the distinction of pure and impure is now virtually non-existent. In matter of food also there is better religion now. The festivals are still celebrated but now they have become more a social affair than religion. Now people celebrate Holi, Diwali, etc. not so much for their religious significance but only for their entertainment values. Some festivals are now celebrated on larger scale but this is not due to any realization

of their religion significance on account of modern education system inter community family interaction is seen at large scale. The respect for Saints, Sadhu and Medicants among house holders is much less. In Urban areas, the place of religion in family is now becoming extinct.

- (iv) **Secularization in Rural Community :** The impact of secularization is obviously seen in urban areas but the rural India also is not immune to this influence. In villages, the effectiveness of panchayats is declining and where ever there are panchyats these are now organised as political rather than religion basis. In the rural India now, a person is not respected so much for his religious basis or caste basis as for his money. That is why in rural India, money lender is respected more than Brahmin. The influence of religion on the family system in the village is also declining. The changes parallel to those in the urban families have occurred in the rural families also. Even then the secularization in rural india is on a lesser scale than in the cities through intercaste marriages are rare in the village some stray cases can be seen. The festivals have turned into social occasions.

7.6 CAUSES OF SECULARIZATION

The following are the major causes of secularization :

- (i) **Modern Education :** The most important cause of secularization is modern education which came to India with the British. With the impact of knowledge of english, science and modern socio-political thinking, the thinking of people inclined towards secularism. The educated mass abandoned all the superstition and false beliefs and put the entire tradition to critical analysis and accepted those parts of the tradition which can stand the test of reason. With co-education the tendency of inter-caste marriage received fillup. The educated are more pragmatic and restrictarian in their thinking and ideas and this exchange secularism. The members of different castes met in the educational institutions and this helped to discourages untouchability and caste feeling.

- (ii) **Development of Means/Transportation and Communication:-** The developmental mean of transport and communication has helped the process of secularization. This has encouraged catholicity of outlook. This give a block to caste system and helped in reducing the feeling of untouchability. The development of means of transport and communication helped the villages to come to towns and take the message & liberalization back to their homes.
- (iii) **Social and Religious Movement :** During the British rule, Raja Ram Mohan Roy , Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Keshav Chandra Sen, Mahadev Govind Ranade, M.K. Gandhi, Swami Dayananda etc. led a number of social and religious reform movements which greatly encouraged rational and critical thinking. Naturally, this helped the moment of secularism.
- (vi) **Legal Reforms:-** In Modern time, Hindu code bill greatly modernized and secularized the Hindu society. The various laws like Property succession provisions, adoption provisions etc have helped to liberate and emancipate woman. This made the marriage and family a temporary affairs. The 1955 untouchability eradication law gave blow to untouchability and the distinction of pure and impure. In modern times, all adults are equal before law. Besides the constitutional provision of equality before law, Indian constitution declares India to be a secular, democratic republic.
- (v) **Contribution of Political Organizations :-** Some political organization like D.M.K have directly attacked the Hindu society and thus encouraged secularism. On the other hand, Pro. Hindu organizations, like R.S.S. and Hindu Mahasabha also helped secularization by calling for reform in the Hindu society.
- (iv) **Secularization of Profession :** Though the Indian culture is know as being religion dominated, it is becoming progressively secularized. In this process of secularization, the modern generation does not consider it obligatory to choose their profession on the basis of religion but are guided practical and progmatic consideration in this respect.

Thus from above discussion it can be expected that the process of

secularization makes it clear that in the near future there is no possibility of this process showing down. And on account of the above mentioned causes the secularization is encouraged.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

Note : (a) Use space given below for your answers.

(b) Use separate sheet if needed.

1. Define the term Secularization ?

2. Briefly discuss the various characteristics of Secularization ?

7.7 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude Secularization implies process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of society like economic, political, legal & moral. Secularization means separating religious matters from the affairs of the world like political, social, economic and ethical. It is a revolt against ritualism and priestism.

7.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C., 1995. "Tradition & Development." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

7.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Secularization means separation of matters from methods temporal. It is an essence revolt against ritualism and priestism.

(ii) The various characteristics of Secularization are as follows :-

- (a) Decline of Religion
- (b) Process of Differentiation
- (c) Reasonableness
- (d) Scientific Attitude.

Structure

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Objectives
- 8.3 Concept of Social Movements
- 8.4 Major Indian Social Movements
- 8.5 Mobilization and Movements
- 8.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.7 Suggested Readings
- 8.8 Answers to Check your Progress

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'Social Movement' gained currency in European languages in the early nineteenth century. The leaders and writers who have used the term were concerned with the emancipation of exploited classes and the creation of a new society by changing basic social structure. A social movement requires a minimal degree of organisation, this may be ranging from a loose informal or partial level of organisation to the highly institutionalized and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group. It is a fact that much of the literature of movements is concerned with natural histories, models or theories of movement development. Such models have enhanced changes in the movement structure and organization ranging from states of initial social unrest and excitement and the emergence of a charismatic leadership, to a revolutionary a movemetns in different aspects of life of the people who came in contact directly or

indirectly with them. Mobilization depends upon the commitment to change and nature of organization and active participation of the members and also collective will of the people among whom they are accepted.

8.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :-

- Explain the concept of social movements
- Discuss the various Indian Social Movements
- Explain the impact of movements on Indian society

8.3 CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The term ‘social movement’ refers to one of the major forms of collective behaviour, it is formally defined as “a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part. Stated less formally, a social movement is a collective effort to promote or resist change. Social movement originate an unplanned, unorganised, undirected groupings of people who are dissatisfied with things. People talk, share ideas and grumble; intellectuals publish learned articles; citizens write letters to the editor; people experiment with novel forms of expression. In most movements, leadership and organization emerge before long. After an active life which seldom exceeds a decade or two, the movement passes out of the active phase. Some time the movement leaves permanent organizations or changes. And some times it disappears with scarcely a trace.

Paul Wolkinson has interpreted as, “ A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal nit sitopian’ community. Social movements are thus clearly different from historical movement, tendencies or trends. It is important to note, however, that such tendencies and trends and the influence of the unconscious or rational factors in human behaviour may be of crucial importance in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement.

8.4 MAJOR INDIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The major Indian social movements has been interpreted below:

1. Brahmo Samaj Movement :

The movement was founded in 1832, by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who was the most advanced and intelligent social reformer in India. He believed that the government should interfere in social affairs of the country only when social reformers failed to reform society. He was of the opinion that Indian society has reached at that stage where Idol worship, caste and Sati system the held no place in the religion. Similarly, he believed that the present stage of woman folk was also without any religious approval. He realized the need and necessity of proper interpretation of our religious books. Thus, the Samaj preached that Hindu religion should be properly understood and interpreted. He suggested that religious books of other religions should be studied and their good points and features followed in their true spirit. After the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, responsibilities fell on the shoulders of Ravinder Nath Tagore who infused a new spirit into it. The major impact of this movement was that the conversion of Hindus into christianity was checked.

2. Prarthana Samaj Movement:

It was an other movement which aimed at reforming Hindu society. The Samaj suggested the worship of one almighty. In order to end social evil, it started many institutions like orphanages etc. It also condemned ban on widow remarriage. With this view it opened widow ashramas and supported the cause of widow remarriage. It also started a plan for adult literacy. It also suggested a suitable place for women in Indian society.

3. Swami Dayanand and Arya Samaj Movement:

This movement was founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand. The main object of the Arya Samaj was the spread of ancient Indian culture and civilization based on our ancient religious books. The Vedas and Shastras. In his opinion, ancient Indian civilization was one of the most advanced in the world. He also believed that all Indians were equal and there was no high or low in the society. In his opinion, child marriage and restriction on widow remarriage were the product of some selfish people. These

have no religious sanctions behind them. He was of the opinion that due to these social evils our country had been defamed in the world and our rulers are making it an excuse for denying us our political rights. He laid stress on female education and expected that all other social reformers will help him in this noble cause. In the political field, he declared that our own worst Raja was better than the best alien ruler.

4. Rama Krishna Mission

It was established by Swami Vivekananda. After the name of his Guru Rama Krishna Parmahansa in 1897. Sh Rama Krishna taught unity of god, that service to man is the service to God and the equality of all religions. Swamiji, whose birth name was Narendranath Dutta, carried the message of Rama Krishna all over India. His supreme desire was to uplift the manhood of India with a view to restoring her proper place among the nations of the world. He was to quote the words of Sir Valentine Chirol. "The first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for Indian ancient civilization and for the near born claim to nationhood.

"The Rama Krishna Mission stands for the religious and social reform but takes inspiration from the ancient culture of India. It holds up the pure vedantic doctrine as an ideal and aims at the development of the highest spirituality inherent in man". This mission has laid stress on social service, as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life. The mission has opened many schools and dispensaries, and has always rendered ungrudging help to the people in time of distress caused by famine or flood or other calamity. In particular, the uplift of the dumb millions of Indian forms the chief plan of the mission is platform.

5. Peasant Movements:

The peasant movements, like workers movements belong to a distinct category of social movement considering the class conflict ideology as their basis. Karl Marx considered peasantry to be passive, & Lenin, Mao and Fanon placed the peasants at the centre of the revolution. Two ideologies are associated with Indian peasant movements. The Rhoodan and Sarvodaya of Vinoba Bhave and Jai Prakash Narayan and the communist.

The interest of the peasants has not come to be well safeguarded. The laws

made for their benefit have not been well implemented. Though all the major parties have the Kissan organs, these are mostly to solicit help, rather than to look after peasant's interest. The advantage has gone to petty land lords, middle class peasants. The local government don't want to annoy these groups otherwise they may loose their base. In the past independence period there have also been the peasant results. The Telengana rising 1946, the result in Thanjauur in 1950 and 1960, in 1967 the agricultural tenants of Naxalbari in Darjeeling in West Bangal, resorted to land grab practice. 1968 Girigan tribals in the Srikakulam District of Andhra hills clashed with land lords and police. There is yet a peasant pressure group to grow. Once, it comes into existence then along its interests can be well presented. The poor pleasantly is just now exposed to all sorts of political waves without handling what is realy in their interest.

6. Tribal Movements:

Tribal movements in India is very old like other Indian social movements. The tribal were considered to be rebellious and 'uncivilized' rulers quelled them as they had superior arm. They were in position of confrontation both with the Hindu overlords and the British colonists as the latter seriously encroached on their rights and territories. Roy Burman is of the opinion that during British rule faulty legislation pertaining to forest land and lack of understanding of tribal social organization were responsible for uprising of tribals. Roy Burman has pointed out that tribal movement since independence have been characterized by the features. There is strong tendency towards establishing tribal ethnic identities, they find near meaning regarding the relationship between man and nature and individual and society by reinterpreting their own traditions and myths. Second major trend is in the direction of agrarian movements, in the context of political ideologies including the Naxalite one.

While considering Indian tribal movement, Joseph Troisi has pointed out three specific movements among the Santal, namely the santal rebellion of 1855-57. The Khaswar movement and the Jharkhand movement. The Kharwar movement which emerged in 1930s, however, was oriented towards reform in the direction of Sanskritization. The Jharkhand movement took the Santals away from the

process of Hinduization with increased ambivalence involving them in the modern political processes in 1940's and 1950's. The movement cut across different tribes and demanded a separate state for the tribals so as to be able to maintain their identity and autonomy.

- **Trade Union Movement :** The trade union is most important pressure group with labour and management dependent on government institution, collective bargaining is mutually non instant. Government labour policy for the most part is guided by an effort to reduce the number of strikes and lockouts; most part is guided by an effort to reduce the number of others and lockouts, the particular demands of the labour or management or subordinated to the goals of national economic development. The labour movement in our country is not strong. It has fragmented into general union. There is all India union congress (AITUC) of the communists; Indian national Trade union congress (INTUC) of the communists; Indian National Trade union congress (INTUC) of the congress; Hindu mazdoor sabha (HMS) of the socialists; United trade union congress (UTUC). Non communist Marxist body etc. There are 17000 registered trade union affiliated to them.

- **Students Movement :** Students have often worked as a strong pressure group. It played an active role during the nationalist movement. Present day student activism is a reaction to the increasing frustration caused by unresponsive educational system, and the lack of economic guarantee and security. The continued use of English as the medium of instruction is both a force and a barrier, since majority of the students come from rural background and are rendered unable to use their ability to their best. The students' indiscipline due to lack of avenues of economic gain has become common. The students have thus felt concerned of economic gain has become common. The students have thus felt concerned to oppose the increase in capitation fees; have demanded easier entrance requirements to colleges, and have raised voice against staff examination and increase in bus fares. They have associated with the political movements; Language agitation in Tamil Nadu; Telangana movement in Andhra Pradesh; and now prestige nation of issue in Assam. Political parties in general expect the students O.M.K and Bhartiya Janta Sangh are described to learn successfully launched students movements. Students have

contributed to the success of the political parts in their processions, demonstration and electoral efforts.

8.5 MOBILIZATION & MOVEMENTS

Due to the impact of various peasant movements it can be seen that under the influence of Indian national congress during the thirties, the peasantry gradually arose from their trooper and became politically aware. There was also the simultaneous growth of an English educated middle class, and the political and military elite. The peasants soon reserved the possibility of changing their condition of relative depositions through an organized movements. Ranga Rao has described the peasant moment with reference to revolutionary ideology of 1 class struggle, collective mobilization and the catalysis adopted by the leaders. He portrays the movement in three phases and comedians the question of consequences. He concluded that although movements detents succeed in bringing about social resolution brought out significant changes in the traditional distribution of power in the various sectors.

When mobilization of tribal moments are considered, It is said that since independence tribal moments have been characterised by two features there is a strong tendency towards establishing tribal ethnic identities. They found new meaning regarding the relationships between man and nature and individual and society by interrupting their own tradition and myths. The second major trend is in the direction of aggressin moments in the context of political videologves, including the analities one. As, a result of the tribal moment, Joseph Troisi has remarked that the moments should be looked at as three donatives that the Santhal, adopted in overcoming their states of relative deprication, and for impressing their social economic and political portion. He also shown how the penetration of christancy in this area spread modern education and encouraged the influence of new leadership.

With the result of various movements a great change in the status of women in seen in Indian society. Social representatives like Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Maladev Govind Ranads, Behramy Malbari, Raved their various

social reform ideas against the preairling religious and social customs subjugating women. Their influence encouraged the British government to extract certain lakh supporters against the traditional system, permitting women to remarry, abolishing the customs of child marriage, results were also made to spread education among girls, the women were mobilised to participate the movement to get proper place in the society. With result of Trade union movement certain act, were made protect labored from exploitation and other facilities related to life security were guratned.

With the result of various students movement, various potential parties got benefits and enhanced of their influence.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

Note : (a) Use space given below for your answer.
(b) Use separate sheet if needed.

1. Briefly define the term Social Movement ?

2. Write a short note on the peasant movement in India ?

8.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude social movement originate an unplanned, unorganised, undirected groupings of people who are dissatisfied with things. It is a historical movement. The various social movements are : Brahmo Samaj Movement, Prarthana Samaj Movement, Peasants Movement, Rama Krishna Mission etc.

8.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition." Rawat Publication, Delhi.

- Dube, S.C., 1995. "Tradition & Development." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Social Movement refers to one of the major forms of collective behaviour. It is a collective effort to promote or resist change.
- (ii) It is a Movement where class conflict is an ideological basis. The various peasant movements in India are :- Tebhaga movement, Telangana movement, Naxalbari movement, Shetkari movement etc.

STRUCTURE

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Objectives
- 9.3 Meaning of Social Stratification
- 9.4 Characteristics of social stratification
- 9.5 Three systems of social stratification
- 9.6 Dimensions of social stratification
- 9.7 Theories of social stratification
- 9.8 Caste and class in India
- 9.9 Social mobility
- 9.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.11 Suggested Readings
- 9.12 Answers to Check your Progress

9.1 INTRODUCTION

It will be an ideal society where all members are equal. But in reality there is no society based on perfect equality. Every society has a system of rating and ranking its members based on a number of criteria. Income, occupation, education, and hereditary status are some of the most common criteria used to rank people in a social hierarchy. Children of wealthy families inherit not only money but also prestige. Celebrities and members of the aristocracy have considerable social prestige. Based

on their economic status, individuals are placed in different social classes. In India the caste system is used to rank individuals and groups as high and low. Throughout history most societies have used some system of classification such as plebeians and patricians, lords and serfs, rich and poor, landlords and landless labourers, upper castes and lower castes, the rulers and the ruled, and the elites and masses.

9.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :-

- Explain the concept of social stratification.
- Discuss the various characteristics of social stratification
- Describe the various dimensions of social stratification.
- Explain the various theories of stratification.

9.3 MEANING OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification is a system of structured inequality which rates and ranks members of a society based on selected criteria and limits access to wealth, power, privileges, and opportunities. Social stratification is not a haphazard arrangement; it is a system of structured inequality based on definite criteria. Moreover, it is not a classification of individuals based on their attributes but an established system of classifying groups. The caste system is a typical example; it is a highly complex hierarchical arrangement based on heredity and perpetuated by an even more complex system of rules and regulations. Similarly, the ruling elites close ranks in order to protect their own vested interests. Economic dominants use their power and influence to perpetuate their privileges. The poor are exploited by the rich and forced to live on the margins of society. The system of social stratification not only apportions prestige and privileges among the elites but it also restricts opportunities available to the masses.

Thus, social stratification refers to the division of people into layers or strata which may be thought of as being vertically arranged, in the same way that layers of the earth are arranged above or below other layers. Although the geological metaphor which Sociologists use draws attention to a striking feature of many, if not most societies

is enormously more complex than the arrangement of the layers of the earth and social strata are not visible to the naked eye in the way that geological strata are.

When we talk of social stratification we draw attention to the unequal positions occupied by individuals in society. Sometimes the term is used very broadly to refer to every kind of inequality, although it may be useful to restrict it to inequalities between groups or categories of persons with a definite or at least a recognizable identity. Thus we speak of stratification between manual and nonmanual workers or between Blacks and Whites, but not usually of stratification between the members of a family. The implication of this is that one may reasonably describe such simple societies as of the Andaman Islanders or the Kung Bushmen as being unstratified although there certainly are inequalities in these societies.

Some of the definitions of social stratification are:

According to Raymond W. Murray, "Social stratification is a horizontal division of society into 'higher' and 'lower' social units."

According to Gilbert, "It is the division of society into permanent groups or categories linked with each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination."

According to Ogburn and Nimkoff, "The process by which individuals and groups are ranked in a more or less enduring hierarchy of status is known as stratification."

According to Sorokin, "Social stratification means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superimposed classes, stratification involves the distribution of unequal rights and privileges."

According to Lundberg, "A stratified society is one worked by inequality, by differences among people that are evaluated by them as being 'lower' and 'higher'."

Social stratification thus divides society into various sections. Therefore a society is called stratified in which there is a formalization of in-group versus out-group relations. All individuals as well as groups are differentiated on the ground of recognition and privilege, consequently various divisions are created in a society. These

divisions, when conceptualized, are called 'social strata'.

9.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Three of the good things in life that are everywhere both scarce and desired are property, or rights over goods and services; power, or the ability to secure one's way of life even against opposition; and prestige, or social honor. In all societies in the past and in all societies today, people at different levels receive unequal amounts of these three classes of good things. In effect, in all societies there is a hierarchy of positions, or groups of positions, called strata that are set off from each other by the amount of property, power, and honor they command. To that condition, where societies are arranged into hierarchies of positions or strata that command unequal amounts of property, power and honor, we give the term stratification.

There are, of course, other good things in life that are distributed unequally among the people of a society. One might think of a miscellaneous class of things called psychic gratifications, including love, security, peace of mind, optimism, about the future, sense of self-worth, and that vague thing called happiness. Inequalities in these matters are rightfully included in the study of stratification if it can be shown that they, too, are scarce and desired and that they result from inequalities in property, power and prestige.

The phenomenon of stratification properly commands much attention from Sociologists because of five different characteristics it exhibit. It is (1) ancient; (2) ubiquitous; (3) socially patterned; (4) diverse; and (5) it has far reaching consequence. Each of these features now deserves further comment.

- **The Antiquity of Social Stratification**

According to historical and archaeological records, stratification was present even in the small wandering bands that characterized society in the earliest from their parents, or because they themselves cannot see or imagine alternatives. In short, social transmission or socialization into the norms from one generation to the next is indispensable to the continuity of these norms. Every society must be recreated a new at the birth of each child. No set of social patterns has any greater permanence than that given to it by the patterns of transmission from the adult to child, which is technically

called the process of socialization.

- **The Inherent Instability of Social Arrangements**

If norms have stability and continuity because of the socialization process and the sanctions that ensure conformity, they are also unstable and discontinuous partly because that process and those sanctions never work perfectly. They are always uneven in their effectiveness from one family to the next and from one generation to the next. For this reason, among others, every system of stratification is continuously changing.

A second source of inherent instability in systems of stratification results from the differences on the birth rates of various strata. If members of the ruling class fail to have enough competent children to fill adequately the traditional ruling roles, then some of the sons and daughters of nonelite origins will probably be recruited for these positions. This failure to produce enough adequate substitutes becomes especially acute when a society is growing and expanding.

- **The Connections of Stratification with other Institutions**

To say that stratification is social also implies that the system of stratification is always connected with other aspects of a society. We speak of such connections as institutional independences or institutional interrelationships, and we mean that the existing stratification arrangements are affected by and have effects upon such other matters as politics, kinship, marriage and the family, economics, education and religion.

An example of the connection of stratification with politics is the phenomenon of the inheritance of power, by which the sons of the ruling elite succeed their parents at the socially defined appropriate time.

The connections of stratification with economics are illustrated by the fact that the decisions as to what goods will be manufactured, what services will be provided, what salaries or wages will be paid, and what work conditions will be are often made by those who either control the capital required to implement these decisions or command the political power controlling these decisions or both. By such linkages the structure and function of the economy are closely interwoven with the system of stratification.

In sum, we say stratification is socially patterned because

1. The makeup of any system of stratification is dependent upon conventionally ascribed meanings and socially defined criteria and prescriptions.
2. Norms and sanctions are key ingredients in the shaping and maintenance of the system.
3. The norms have to be taught anew to each generation.
4. Any system is likely to be unstable, at least to some degree, because socialization is never identical throughout the society and because of other disturbing factors, such as differential rates of birth for different strata.
5. Ant system of stratification is intimately connected, both as affector and affected, with other systems in the society, such as political, familial, religious, economic, and educational institutions.

Such social patterning leads to the practice of adding the adjective social to the noun stratification so that the phenomenon most often gets called social stratification. It should be understood, however, that by that term we refer to economic inequalities in goods and services; political inequalities in terms of power; and that special part of social inequalities called prestige or honor.

- **The Diversity of Form and amount of Stratification**

We have previously alluded to the diversity in both the forms and amount of stratification. So far as amount is concerned, the theoretical possibilities stretch from one extreme, where all statuses would be considered entitled to equal amounts of power, property, and prestige, to the other extreme, where each and every status would be assigned unequal amounts. No society has existed at either of these theoretical extremes, though a society such as traditional India, with its more than five thousand subcastes, approaches the extreme of total inequality; and the agricultural communal cooperatives in Israel, the Kibbutzim, approach the extreme of total equality.

The diversity in amount of stratification found in societies of the past and present is matched by diversity in form. Here too, such terms as class, caste, and estate are

useful to express the different ways in which strata can be arranged, degrees of sharpness of distinction among strata, chances to change one's stratum, and degrees of legal recognition of strata as entities.

Class, caste and estate are very general terms. Although all systems of the world could be classified under them, we need many other terms to distinguish more adequately the varying forms of class and caste systems that exist in the world today. Thus, while the relations between Blacks and Whites in the United States have some rather caste like characteristics, it is also true that many class elements are present. The same observation about the mixture of types would have to be made regarding modern India. And still other terms would be required to characterize adequately the kinds of stratification systems we find in the Soviet and East European societies or the complex social arrangements found in Latin American countries, with their mixtures of primitive, peasant and industrial life and their confluences of traditional and modern criteria of stratification.

- **The Consequences of Stratification**

The consequences that flow from inequalities in property, power, and prestige can be classified under four general headings:

- (1) Life chances
- (2) Institutional patterns of conduct
- (3) Life styles
- (4) Values, attitudes and ideologies

- **Life chances**

Life chances refer to the probabilities that one will enjoy a range of opportunities, achievements, and satisfying experiences during the course of one's life. These include such things as infant survival; having good physical and mental health; the opportunity to go to school for the number of years one's talents permit; acquiring socially valued and well-paid skills; having a chance at a range of desirable occupations; earning a decent income; being able to exert a respectable amount of influence over the political

affairs of one's community and nation; having a satisfying degree of control over the course of one's own life; enjoying social honor, experiencing improvement in one's material well-being; and living to advanced years. Life chances, then, refers to the most important opportunities, achievements, and experiences in life.

- **Institutional Patterns of Conduct**

The term institutional patterns of conduct refer to the pattern of behavior of everyday life in all the basic institutions of society; the economy, the political system, the educational network, the family and religion; among others. Sociologists are interested in how inequalities in property, power, and honor influence these patterns of conduct. Do people in different income groups raise their children differently? If they do, why do they do so? Do they resolve their family quarrels in different ways? Or monitor their children's education differently? Institutional patterns, therefore, refer to the most fundamental affairs of daily life throughout the course of one's life.

- **Life styles**

The term life style refers to the ways in which people use their disposable energy, time and resources to lay claim to certain levels of honor that they believe are due them and that they consider desirable and acceptable. How do they dress and do their hair? What kinds of autos do they purchase? How do they decorate their homes? What is their style of visiting and entertainment? What forms of recreation and leisure activities do they pursue? What are their special modes of address and greeting? What media do they read, listen to, or watch? To what organizations do they belong? What are their patterns of speech and gesture? These are the kinds of activities that comprise life style and that often help to distinguish people at different levels of social acceptability and honor.

- **Values, attitudes and ideologies**

The term values, attitudes and ideologies refer to sets of belief about and orientations to such questions as the following: what define a good society? What are the ingredients of a good personal life? What is the proper relationship between the individual and society? How much freedom and what kind should people have?

How much, if anything does the system owe those who do not prosper on their own? Can one trust others? Can one expect others to come to one's aid in times of need? Is it worthwhile to bring children into the world today?

Answers to some of these questions are among the most fundamental belief system; they refer to crucial issues of public policy and personal conduct.

To the extent that people in different stratified positions enjoy different life chance, engage in different forms of institutional conduct, exhibit different life styles and affirm different values, attitudes and ideologies, the system of stratification is obviously a most consequential feature of a society.

9.5 THREE SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

There are three commonly organized systems of stratification. They are estate, caste, and class.

The Estate System

The caste system of stratification formed part of the feudal system and was prevalent in Europe during the Middle Ages. It is a closed system in which a person's social position is defined by law-based land ownership, occupation, and hereditary status. Each of the strata in the estate system has its own established rights and duties. The estate system consisted of the following strata:

1. Landed aristocracy known as feudal or manorial lords.
2. The clergy.
3. Merchants and craftsmen.
4. Serfs or landless peasants who were legally tied to the land.

Wealth was concentrated in the hands of a small group of royalty and feudal lords who enjoyed hereditary status and prestige. The aristocracy owned the land as well as the peasants who lived and worked on the land. They were supposed to be brave warriors who had the responsibility to protect their vassals. The clergy also enjoyed considerable prestige and often owned vast tracts of land. The serfs were

legally tied to the land and were very similar to slaves but with significant differences. Unlike slaves, the serfs were not bought and sold as individuals; they came with the land. Also, unlike slaves, serfs had certain clearly defined rights. Nevertheless, their condition was not much better than that of the slaves. Merchants and craftsmen operated independently and were, strictly speaking, outside the estate system. They could achieve considerable wealth and influence. On the whole, the estate system involved a hierarchical order based on heredity and permitted very little movement from one stratum to the other.

- **The Caste System**

The caste system represents a rigid form of stratification based on hereditary status, traditional occupation, and restrictions on social relationships. The typical caste system is part of Hindu social organization although many of its characteristics can be found in other social contexts. Caste is a hereditary, endogamous, usually localized group having traditional association with an occupation, and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. There is no single valid theory that could effectively explain the origin of caste, the oldest system of stratification. Some scholars claim that caste is a pre-Aryan institution, part of the prehistoric clan life in India and that the Aryans found it a convenient basis for race relations based on inferiority and superiority in their dealings with the natives. The 'religious' explanation, of course, is that the Brahmins proceeded from the mouth of Brahma, the creator, the Kshatriyas from his shoulders, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet. However, a more valid explanation could be that the caste system is a perversion of the old Varna system, the functional division of labour in society. Some authors, especially in the west, equate caste system with the original varna system which classified individuals into four groups:

- 1) Brahmins : priests, scholars, teachers, astrologers, and custodians of learned tradition.
- 2) Kshatriyas: rulers, administrators, and warriors.
- 3) Vaishyas: Merchants, artisans, traders, farmers, moneylenders, and cattle-keepers
- 4) Shudras: workers and labourers.

The trouble is that Varna system does not begin to tell the story of the caste system. There are several religious and secular interpretations of both systems, no one is sure exactly when and how either system came into existence. However, it seems safe to conclude that the varna system was a functional division of labour based on guna or aptitude. Any individual with an aptitude for governance or warfare, a Kshatriya and so on. In other words, the varna system was a classification of groups into individuals based on their quality or ability; it was not a classification of groups into hereditary status categories. The varna model did not imply any gradation on the basis of ritual purity although the four groups were unequal in the status hierarchy. Since the groups were not based on hereditary status, individuals were supposed to perform the functions for which they had the necessary talent. Gradually, each stratum developed its own subculture; the Vaishyas amassed wealth and as their status improved, they joined the 'trivarnic civilization'. The Shudras were reduced to permanent backwardness as a service class. Those who resisted oppression and preferred to live independent lives retired to forests and are today counted among the tribes of India. The privileged castes, particularly the Brahmins, rewrote scriptures, introduced the theory of pollution and provided new philosophical interpretations of sacred texts in an attempt to justify their superiority and to perpetuate the serfdom of the masses of untouchables and outcastes. Thus, according to many, the caste system, based on birth, is a perversion of varna which was based on guna or aptitude.

Yet the caste system cannot be explained in terms of the four varnas. In the first place, there are thousands of castes and subcastes in India. Second, their place in the social hierarchy varies from place to place. Generally speaking, castes are mutually exclusive, often localized, groups into which individuals are born and represent minutely graded levels of social distance and a way of life influenced by a tradition of customs and taboos. Third, castes, have evolved over the years; legal changes, education, new employment opportunities, urbanization, and the secular standards of human values and dignity have transformed many features of the caste system. The characteristics outlined below represent the traditional system.

1. **Hierarchy.** The caste system represents a hierarchic pyramid with Brahmins at the top, numerous low castes or Dalits at the bottom, and thousands of other

castes and subcastes in the middle. However, contrary to popular impression, the hierarchy is not a clear-cut one. The top and bottom layers are relatively fixed but there is considerable debate regarding the status of the numerous groups in the middle.

2. **Hereditary status.** Caste is determined by birth and there is very little room for change.
3. **Traditional occupation.** In the old system almost every caste followed a certain occupation which was handed down from one generation to the next. Temple, priests, leather-workers, potters, carpenters, barbers, washermen, sweepers, village musicians, and even landless agricultural labourers came from traditional castes. Louis Dumont believes that the above three characteristics (hierarchy, hereditary and traditional occupation) are linked by religious orientation. These are not ordered strictly in terms of power relations or economic domination.
4. **Endogamy.** Individuals usually marry within the caste, and in the past inter-caste marriages were strictly forbidden.
5. **Theory of pollution.** Relations between castes were traditionally determined by the concepts of pollution and purity which asserted that lower castes are polluting to the higher castes. The theory of pollution formed the basis of untouchability and established the most elaborate boundary maintenance system known to man.
6. **Restrictions on social interaction and access to opportunities.** Lower castes were denied many opportunities; they were not allowed to wear jewellery or finery, enter temples, or attend schools. Most were forced to live in separate neighbourhoods. In many areas, caste laws prescribed the distance that should separate them in both public and private places. For example, in parts of India, the lower castes could not appear in front of the higher castes and were considered polluting to the Brahmins even from a distance of 60 feet or more. Since different castes claim equal or superior status, the acceptance of cooked food and water was considered the most important criterion for judging social status. A caste that serves cooked food and water to another caste but will not accept the same from that caste considers itself superior and

the latter caste accepts its position as inferior.

7. **Castes are localized groups.** There is no uniform standard that evaluates castes all over the country. A particular caste may be considered 'untouchable' in one region and not so in another region.

While the characteristics described above can be attributed to the caste system in general, the situation on the ground is largely determined by the nature of subcastes. The castes divide themselves into numerous subcastes and some of the restrictions such as endogamy may not strictly apply to them. Ghurye, for instance, believed that although it is the caste which is recognized by the society at large, it is the subcaste which is considered more relevant by the particular caste and the individual. Therefore, Ghurye argues that in order to get a sociologically correct idea of the institution, we should recognize subcastes as real castes. But Karve insists that castes result from the aggregation of subcastes, rather than subcastes from the subdivision of castes. Once again, the situation of subcastes in relation to the castes varies with region and language.

Although much has been written about discrimination and untouchability, very little attention has been paid to the functions of the caste system. The caste system served as a great unifying force; it held together numerous culturally diverse groups in the wake of external threat and frequent aggression during the long history of Indian civilization. It also promoted efficiency and economy in the execution of traditional occupations in the absence of modern vocational training schools by encouraging artisans and craftsmen to excel in their professions. Caste also served as a mutual aid and insurance cooperative and through the institution of the jajmani system, it integrated the various caste groups in the locality into a well-knit community with an elaborate network of well-defined roles and social relationships.

Castes are no longer confined to traditional occupations. Untouchability has been abolished and its practice in any form or manner is made punishable under the law. India also has instituted an elaborate system of reservations for Dalits and backward castes in local elections, colleges and universities, public services. There are also many affirmative action programmes designed to advance the welfare of the weaker sections.

In a final note on the caste system, it must be said that although the caste

system is an integral part of the traditional Hindu social organization, many of its features are found among Christians, Muslims and Sikhs in India. There are social divisions and commensal restrictions among various religious groups. Sociologically speaking, racial discrimination in the old American south and apartheid in South Africa are very similar to the caste system in India. Any rigid system of stratification based on hereditary characteristics such as birth, race and skin colour is akin to the caste system.

- **The Class System**

The class system refers to the classification of people based on their economic positions in society. As we saw in the section on the evolution of societies, classes began to emerge as individuals started to accumulate wealth. Social classes are not rigid defined like estates or castes. Individuals move up or down the ladder as they gain or lose in the market system. Even those born in poverty have, in principle, a chance to get an education and a good job and raise their economic standing in society. Of course, individuals born into wealthy and influential families have much better access to resources and opportunities. Yet, the hallmark of the class system is individual 'achievement' rather than 'birth'.

Although sociologists have classified classes into several types, the age-old classification of upper, middle and lower classes still holds good. The lower classes are sometimes divided into 'working class' and the poor. Among upper classes a distinction is often made between the aristocracy of birth and wealth such as royalty and the new rich. The former consists of old aristocratic families which enjoyed considerable wealth and prestige in the past. The latter group is sometimes referred to a 'money bags', people who gained a lot of wealth in business, industry or through illegal means.

Sociologists rely on a number of criteria to determine classes. Income and wealth are the most commonly used. Whereas income refers to an individual's earnings, wealth is the sum total of all assets including inheritance, real estate, jewellery, gold and precious stones, and stocks and bonds. Level of education, type of occupation, material possessions, house-type and lifestyle are used to classify people into classes. Sometimes the place of residence-low income or poor neighborhood, slum area, or wealthy

subdivision-is important. Prestige or status which is purely a subjective criterion is also significant in social stratification. Based on certain attributes which elicit recognition and respect, people tend to evaluate individuals into different classes. In India, government jobs are generally valued much higher than private jobs. The three letters IAS (Indian Administrative Service) define a prestige category unto itself.

9.6 DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Max Weber analytically distinguished three orders within society-economic, social, and political-and corresponding to these identified three dimensions of stratification: class, status and power. Following Marx, Weber also defined class situation essentially as a market situation. In other words, classes were defined primarily in terms of economic criteria such a wealth, income, type of occupation, and material possessions. Status situation, on the other hand, is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor; it is not necessarily linked with class situation. The highest prestige in a particular social group does not always belong to the richest or the most powerful. The king or queen of England has the highest status in British society but he or she is not necessarily the richest and certainly not the most powerful. A call girl, stripper or member of the mafia may be very rich but does not enjoy high social status. Prestige or status is the social estimation of honor which is based on how members of a society evaluate certain occupations. In several sociological surveys of selected occupations in the United states, medical doctors, lawyers, and college professors ranked the highest with 86, 75, and 74 scores respectively whereas janitor and shoe-shiner ranked with 22 and 9 scores respectively. According to Weber, unlike classes, status groups are communities, and status symbols such as special attire, exclusive clubs and unique lifestyles distinguish them from other groups.

Power, the third dimension of stratification, exists in a social hub as well as in the state. Power is the ability to make a decision or influence the actions of others. In a democracy, politicians, especially of the ruling parties, exercise enormous power. Marx believed that those who have economic power also have the political power. It is well known that people with money and connections influence public decisions. In short, classes are stratified according to the principles of their

consumption of goods as represented by special lifestyles. The genuine place of classes is within the economic order, the place of status groups is within the social order but parties live in a house of power.

9.7 THEORIES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Structural-functionalism and conflict theory offer different perspectives on social stratification. The former looks at the functions of stratification and explains why structured inequality is essential for the stability of the social system. Conflict theories see inequality as the result of exploitation and talk about the inevitability of class struggle.

- **Functional theory**

The functional theory of stratification was first proposed by Kinsley Davis and Wilbert Moore in 1945. According to them:the main functional necessity of explaining the universal presence of stratification is precisely the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions. It must thus concern itself with motivation at two different levels: to instill in the proper individuals the desire to fill certain positions and once in these positions, the desire to perform the duties attached to them.

Davis and Moore identified two determinants of positional rank:

1. **Differential functional importance.** In other words, some positions are most important than others, and so society must see to it that less essential positions do not compete with more essential positions.
2. **Differential scarcity of personnel.** Some positions are easy to fill while others are hard. Also some positions require innate talent. In many cases talent may be abundant but the training is so long, costly and elaborate that relatively few can qualify.

The position of a janitor can be easily filled. But the position of a surgeon requires not only talent but years of training and experience. Therefore, different positions must be rewarded with different rank, salaries and privileges. Thus, in

functional perspective, society works better if most qualified people fill the theory. In the first place, how do we determine the relative functional importance of different positions? While it is true that a medical doctor's position is important to society, it is equally true that if street sweepers do not perform their duties, everyone's health will be affected. Similarly, if movie stars and call girls get paid well, is it because of the functional importance of their positions? Second, if the most important positions in a society always went to the most qualified people, the society would be an open society based on talent. The most talented people do not always have the opportunity to get the necessary training. Families with money, power and connections are able to get the necessary training. Families with money, power and connections are able to get many of the plum positions in society. Therefore, the functional theory of stratification has been criticized as a rationalization of structured social inequality in society.

- **Conflict theory**

Marx believed that the history of every society through the ages is a history of class struggle. In an industrial society the two classes who stand in opposition are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, those who own the means of production and distribution and those who sell their labour wages. The capitalists accumulate wealth at the expenses of the workers and become richer and richer. The workers, who are systematically exploited, become poorer and poorer. Eventually, the workers become conscious of their situation and organize themselves. Thus class conflict ensues. The conflict need not always be between the rich and poor, or the capitalists and the workers. Wherever there is exploitation, the oppressor and the oppressed continue two antagonistic classes. So the class struggle continues between the landlords and the landless labourers, between the rulers and the ruled and between the upper castes and the lower castes.

9.8 CASTE AND CLASS IN INDIA

Although the caste system is regarded as the traditional form of social stratification in India, it must be noted that caste and class are not mutually exclusive. Classes based on economic criteria exist in all castes. In urban areas caste and classes collaborate in such a way that traditional caste distinctions almost disappear.

Let us examine some of the recent trends in social stratification in India.

The abolition of untouchability in 1955 was a landmark legislation that transformed the face of caste system in India. Discrimination on the basis of caste and all caste-based restrictions were abolished. But law is largely ineffective in a society where customs are entrenched and resources are monopolized. Even today many temples in north India are off limits to Dalits. There are no signs which prohibit them from entering but those who dare to violate the unwritten social norms know the consequences. The poor Dalits who depend on the rich landlords for their livelihood are not in a position to take on the system. The legislation has, of course, abolished all restrictions pertaining to admission to schools, hospitals and other public facilities.

In most of the traditional villages in rural India, different castes live in different neighborhoods. Indeed, even the different castes within the Dalits community do not share the same streets. Even today, the vast majority of traditional occupations in village India are performed by the same castes just as their ancestors did for thousands of years. Dhobis, barbers, potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, leather workers, village musicians, and several communities of agricultural labourers are traditional castes.

There is an irony in India's official approach to caste. On the one hand, the state is committed to social equality and a casteless society but every individual is required to proclaim his caste for admission into schools and government jobs. And, there is an army of officials to issue caste certificates. The reality is that a caste enumeration is essential if the society wants to launch special programmes for the advancement of Dalits and backward castes.

There are at least four major trends of change that affect the caste system today.

First, Education has considerably altered the framework of the traditional caste system. Although free and compulsory universal education is still an elusive goal in India, many Dalits and tribals have been able to get a good education and liberate themselves from the clutches of traditional occupations. Many of them have attained jobs in public and private sectors as teachers, clerks and

officers, but their numbers are concentrated in the lower rungs of the service ladder.

Reservation of seats in educational institutions, government services, and legislatures has brought about significant change in the caste system. A certain percentage of seats is reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and for other backward caste for admission to institutions of higher education, especially professional colleges such as medical and engineering schools. From panchayats to parliament, the law provides for the reservation of seats for SC's and ST's. there is also a system of reservation in government services and certain posts can be filled by members of the general public only if suitable candidates from SC's and ST's cannot be found. Generally speaking, there are three ways in which states seek to address the problem of social inequality:

1. Preferential treatment. If there is a competition for a job or a seat, then other things being equal the disadvantaged person will be preferred over the other, in this case, there is no dilution of qualifications; from among the candidates who have similar qualifications, a member of the SC, ST or OBC is deliberately chosen.
2. Affirmative action. This includes positive actions taken to help members of the disadvantaged castes such as special loans, scholarships, training, hostels and other facilities.
3. Positive discrimination. Even if other things are not equal, members of the disadvantaged groups are given preference. In other words, people with lesser qualifications may be selected to fill the posts. This practice is not unique to India. Several top universities in the United States have used different set of criteria in order to encourage diversity on their campuses.

There is no question that reservation has worked; though the over all percentage of both the SC's and ST's in public services is still much below their proportion of the population, the number has virtually doubled in ten years.

Sociologically speaking, another significant point must be mentioned here. In

India, the terms caste and class are often used synonymously. Everyone knows that caste is determined by birth but then for all practical purposes the government treats a whole caste as a class. The following excerpt from a Supreme Court ruling illustrates this point:

It must be forgotten that caste is also a class of citizen and if the caste as a whole is socially and economically backward, reservation can be made in favor of such a caste on the ground that it is a socially and economically backward class of citizens.

The third important factor affecting inter-caste relations is rural-urban migration. Every year hundreds of thousands of people leave their ancestral villages and take up residence in urban areas. Although some of them may still carry on their traditional occupations in the cities, a vast majority of them follow occupations which have nothing to do with their caste. Many of the restrictions found in the rural areas can no longer be enforced in the city. People live together in crowded urban tenements. Old paraphernalia of caste has been replaced by new symbols of class. Economic opportunities rather than traditional patterns determine an individual's social status. Levels of education and income override many conventional caste taboos including inter-caste marriage.

The fourth significant trend is the emergence of castes as important pressure groups in politics. The caste system may be cracking up in the social and ritual spheres, but it plays a dominant role in Indian party politics. All political parties consider numerically large castes to be important vote banks; they field candidates, assign seats, and allot ministerial and other posts according to caste. Caste considerations influence voting behavior and every political party is eager to exploit caste links and accentuate caste loyalties. Since the introduction of the Panchayati Raj, caste is not merely a social phenomenon but also a political force to be reckoned with. At the state and national level caste politics continues to inflame the controversy over reservation and creamy layer. The debate continues on the percentage and duration of reservation, and there is no consensus on who all should be given reservation and where. One critic of the reservation argues that disproportionate benefited from the system and have

now entered the level playing field. Undoubtedly, these and many other issues pertaining to reservation will continue to be debated at all levels.

Finally, a note on the class system in India. In addition to the usual categories of upper, middle and lower classes, in India we also have a large poor underclass. India still has a small group of very rich people at the top and a large proportion of lower classes and poor at the bottom. One per cent of the population is thought to be super rich even without counting the huge reserve of black money which comprises almost 30 per cent of GDP. Over 30 per cent of the rural poor merely subsist. The percentage of people below the poverty line is supposed to have declined, from 48 per cent in 1977 to 25 per cent in 1992. At the current price level, per capita income during the last ten years is a significant demographic factor. According to some data, the upper middle class makes up about 100 million people and the lower middle class about 350 million. The significant rise in middle class consumption through sales of colour televisions, cars, scooters, refrigerators and other household appliances has radically altered the lifestyles of the middle classes in India.

9.9 SOCIAL MOBILITY

We have all heard about people who rose from rags to riches; they are the heroes of many Indian movies. Individuals from low income families who get a good education, work hard, and pass competitive examinations and join the IAS and move up the social ladder. There are also many who have lost everything and shifted downward. Social mobility is the upward or downward movement of a person from one social class or status level to another. It results in gain or loss of wealth, power and prestige for the individual.

Based on the ease or difficulty of upward movement, stratification systems are classified into open and closed societies. There is very little social mobility in rigid systems of stratification such as estate and caste because status is hereditary. On the other hand, the class system is supposed to be an open society because it permits movement of people from one class to another. It must be noted that no society is absolutely closed or open systems, but compared to caste and estate, the class system is a relatively open society.

Sociologists are interested in two types of mobility:

1. **Intergenerational mobility.** This involves the comparison of a parent's and a child's social class positions. We want to know whether a child's class position is higher or lower than that of his father. If the son of a blacksmith has attained professional education and become an engineer, this is a case of upward intergenerational mobility.
2. **Intragenerational mobility.** This is the study of an individual's occupational changes in the course of a lifetime. Let us say that an individual began his career as a manager in a company but he bought the company and became a successful businessman. In rural India we also observe cases where a barber or carpenter continues to perform the same occupation throughout his life without any change in his social status.

Horizontal and Vertical Mobility

The movement can obviously occur in any of three directions: from lower to higher, from higher to lower, or between two positions at the same level. The first two types of movement are known as vertical mobility and the third one as horizontal mobility. In other words, when a person changes his status by moving from one position to another, the movement is called vertical mobility. Vertical mobility may be either upward or downward, depending on whether one enhances one's social status or loses it. On the other hand, when a person moves from one position to another and does not change his status in any way, the movement is known as horizontal mobility.

In a perfectly open society in which vertical mobility is unrestricted the chance of every individual to choose and secure the position most suitable for him is equal, limited only by his suitability for a particular position depends entirely on native talent and that ascriptive statuses, such as lineage, ethnic membership, father's position etc., would not in any way impede the free flow of persons into positions most suitable for them.

By contrast, in a totally closed society, in which possibilities of upward vertical mobility are absent, the individuals are assigned positions at birth. Once such positions

are assigned, they cannot advance and improve their social status in any way.

It may be noted that no society ever existed or does exist today, in which either social mobility is totally unrestricted or possibilities of social advance are completely closed. These are two polar extremes and all societies actually fall between these extremes.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Write in short about the different characteristics of social stratification ?

(ii) What are the different consequences of social stratification ?

9.10 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude social stratification is a structured inequality which rates and ranks members of society based on selected criteria and limits access to wealth, power, privileges and opportunities. Social stratification divides society into various sections. All individuals as well as groups are differentiated on the basis of caste, class, race, gender and ethnicity etc.

9.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Ahuja, Zam. 1997. "Indian Social Systems." Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C., 1992. "Understanding change." Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

9.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

(i) The different characteristics of social stratification are as follows :-

- (a) It is ancient
- (b) It is Universal
- (c) It is socially patterned
- (d) It is in diverse forms
- (e) It has far-reaching consequences.

(ii) The different consequences of stratification are:-

- (a) Life chances
- (b) Institutional patterns of conduct
- (c) Life Styles
- (d) Values, attitudes and ideologies.

STRUCTURE

- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Objectives
- 10.3 Meaning and Definitions of Caste
- 10.4 Changes in Caste System
 - 10.4.1 –Structural Changes in the Caste System
 - 10.4.2 –Functional Changes in the Caste System
 - 10.4.3 –Attitudinal Changes in the Caste System
- 10.5 Factors Influencing the Caste System.
- 10.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 10.7 Suggested Readings
- 10.8 Answers to Check your Progress

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The Indian social system rests on three pillars: the caste system, the joint family, and the village community. Among these, the caste system appears to be the most significant feature of the Hindu society due to its interdependence upon the social, economic and political system. In fact, the Hindu society has been described as the caste society par excellence.

As a traditional basis of stratification, caste is distinctive category in the Indian social system though it had its beginning in the Hindu philosophy of four varnas

corresponding to functional divisions, it has resulted in the perpetuation of several caste groups among the Hindus. Before we discuss, the changing dimensions of the caste structure in the Indian society in detail we should look into some of the basic principles underlying the system of stratification. Social stratification stands for the placement of individuals and groups on the basis of social differences in income, occupation status etc. The term denotes an arrangement of people in a society into various layers on the basis of social status.

- Social status may either be ascribed or achieved.

Caste in India is an ascriptive group. Caste is also seen as a community based on kinship and primordial affinity. Cast system is regarded as a closed system of stratification with little scope in social mobility. However, it is not completely a closed system and some in the ran run of social making always existed in the caste system.

10.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss various definitions of caste
- Describe structural, functional and attitudinal view points regarding the interpretation of the caste system.
- Explain different factors responsible for changes in the caste system .

10.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION

The term “caste” is derived from a Portuguese word “casta” meaning breed, race or group. As already mentioned, castes are ascriptive groups. Thus basically caste refers to people belonging to the same breed. An individual is born into a caste, and this status is usually permanent.

Though the elements of caste are found outside India, it is only in India that numerous castes are found.

A part from general feature like endogamy specialized occupation, hierarchy, restriction in social and ritual aspect, caste also have specific features which are the outcome of regional, linguistic or other variables.

(1) According to G.S.Ghurye,

“Castes are small and complete social worlds in themselves marked off definitely from one another though substituting within the large society”.

(2) According to Maciver

“When status is wholly predetermined so that men are born to their group without any hope of change in it, then the class takes the form of caste”.

The caste system in India can be viewed from two angles

(1) First, from the structural point of view and,

(2) Secondly, from the cultural point of view.

As regards the structural aspect of caste it is explained by accepting it as a general principle of stratification in which caste occupies a portion in relation to other castes in the caste system. Caste, as a cultural system, is understood in terms of prominence of ideas of pollution purity and notions of hierarchy segregation and corporateness.

CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF CASTE STRUCTURE

- **Origin of Caste**

Various thinkers have put forward different theories regarding the origin of caste system. Yet, the origin of caste system is disputable. Some of them state that it is an Indo-Aryan creation. Many non-Indian writers have described the origin of caste in their own ways. Herbert Risley attributed racial differences to be the cause of caste system whereas Nesfield and Ibbeston explained its origin in terms of occupational factors. Abbe Dubois emphasized the role of Brahmins in the creation of caste system. J.H. Hutton referred to the belief in Mana as the origin of caste. Some of the important theories explaining the origin of caste system are given below.

- **Traditional Theory**

This theory states that caste system is of divine origin. There are some references in Vedic literature wherein it is stated that castes were created by Brahma, the supreme creator for performance of various social functions to run society. According to Purusha Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda, Brahmans originated from His mouth, Rajanya or Kshatriyas from His arms, Vaishyas from His thighs and Shudras from His feet. Since Brahmans came from the mouth of Purusha, they were to do study and teaching. Kshatriyas were to protect the country as arms symbolised power. Born of thighs, Vaishyas were to take up trade and cultivate lands and born of legs. Shudras were to serve the other three castes as the feet serve the body. Supporters of this theory cite instances from Manusmriti, Puranas, Ramayana and Mahabharata in support of their argument.

Such traditional theory has been criticised on three counts. First, it is difficult to believe man originated from Brahma's organs. Hence, it is biologically wrong. Second, according to Hutton, this theory caste engaged in agriculture. Lastly, the origin of other castes through hypergamous or hypogamous marriage is also doubtful and misleading.

- **Occupational Theory**

According to Nesfield, hereditary specialization of occupation was at the root of caste system. Guilds had petrified into castes in a hierarchical order. The more primitive and ancient an occupation, the lower was its ranking. But this theory is refuted on five grounds. First, according to Majumdar, the greatest weakness of this theory is its disregard of racial factors. Second, being a social institution, caste system includes religious factors although religion is not the only element in its origin. Third, all those engaged in agriculture do not belong to the same caste. Fourth, according to Bongle, the sacredness and profanity of occupation rather than superiority and inferiority may explain the origin of caste system. Lastly, the theory does not explain the conflict and hatred found between different castes. Therefore, the claim of Nesfield that function and function alone is responsible for origin of caste system is untenable.

- **Political Theory**

G.s. Ghurye and Abbe Dubois are the main advocates of this theory. They say that caste is the Brahminic child of Indo-Aryan culture cradled in the land of the Ganges and hence transferred to other part of India by Bhahminic prospectors.

Abbe Dubois thinks that the caste system is an ingenious device made by Brahmins for Brahmins. Brahmins composed restrictions on food and social interaction to preserve purity necessary for their sacred functions. They also accorded a high place to themselves and declared all others inferior to them. This theory is also subject to the following criticisms.

First, caste system is a fundamental and ancient institution of Indian society, therefore its artificial origin is improvable. Second, it is astonishing that nobody could understand this clever plan of Brahmins for over 2000 years. Third, Majumdar says that in view of the complex nature of this social division, it does not seem possible that it originated from any plan of social division worked out by Brahmins. Fourth, this theory overlooks racial differences. Fifth, no doubt, Brahmins did a lot to make the system stable, but they were not its originator.

Hutton attacks this theory on two counts. First, it is not possible to accept this theory unless it is confirmed that Brahmins got political power to implement such a scheme. Second, such a deep rooted institution like caste could hardly be imposed by an administrative measure.

- **Theory of Mana**

J.H. Hutton is the propounder of this theory which has been supported by Roy, Rice and Swart also. It states that 'Mana', a supernatural power possesses the capacity to do good or bad to people. The tribals believed that this mysterious impersonal power could be transmitted through contact. According to them, each mana is accompanied by its taboos. Taboos or restrictions are imposed on food, marriage and interaction, etc. to save the members of one tribe from the 'mana' of the other tribe. Hutton concludes that fear of mana led to restrictions on occupation, food, drink and marriage, because it was believed that mana would be transmitted through such contacts. Thus caste system originated.

However, this theory criticised on two grounds. First, India is not the only country where the belief in Mana existed. But no other parts of the world it created caste system. Hence the origin of caste system due to 'Mana' appears to be unconvincing. Second, there is no evidence supporting the existence of caste system in India alone.

- **Racial Theory**

Propounded by Herbert Risley and supported by scholars like Ghurye, Majumdar, Westermarc and others, this theory states that caste was created due to clash of cultures and contact of races. The Aryans came to India as invader. They conquered the original inhabitants and called them 'Dasa or Dasu'. Moreover, because of their fair complexion they considered themselves superior to the non-Aryans. hence they maintained distance from them. They married daughters of the non-Aryans but did not give their own daughters in marriage to them. Out of the practice of hypergamy, many castes originated.

This theory is also subject to criticism. First, if the Aryans and the non-Aryans were two separate races what about this mantra in the Vedas, "Convert the World into Aryans". Second, different castes originated by functions as Brahmins are also black and many shudras are white. Third, racial basis cannot be the only basis. Lastly criticizing the racial theory Hutton asks, Why did not Christians and Muslims coming from outside turned into castes?

- **Religious Theory**

Hocart and Senart are the expounder of this theory. According to Hocart, social stratification originated on account of religious principles and customs. For religious functions, sacrifice before deities was considered necessary. Sacrifice of animal required some people who could kill them. Religion considered it a profane job to kill animals. "Dasus" were engaged to perform this duty. Many duties were brought under religion. Even today services of barbers, water bearer, Gardner and waterman are required on religious occasions. These groups, formed on the basis of religious functions, developed into castes.

Senart believes that those who have faith in one deity consider themselves to be of the same family and feel tied in one. Moreover, there were some prohibitions

regarding sacramental food. Caste system originated on the basis of these differences.

This theory has been criticized on the following counts. First, as caste is a social institution, it cannot be fully explained with reference to religion alone. Second, Senart has created confusion between caste and gotra by imagining one ancestor.

- **Evolutionary Theory**

This theory of Denize Ibbeston maintains that caste system is the result of a long process of social evolution. It states that caste system has come into being through a long process of evolution. A number of factors are accountable for its origin. These factors include hereditary occupations, desire of the Brahmins to keep themselves pure, belief in reincarnation and the doctrine of Karma, the ideas of exclusive family, ancestor worship, and the sacramental food, the nature of Hindu social order, the geographical location of the Indian Peninsula and rural social structure. All these factors encouraged the formation of caste system from time to time. However, this theory has been criticised on the ground that it completely neglects racial differences.

- **Multiple Theory**

J.H. Hutton has enunciated this theory. He has pointed out more than fifteen factors contributing to the emergence of caste system such as ecological isolation, magical beliefs in certain crafts, primitive ideas regarding the power of food to transmit qualities, tribal concepts of batoo, mana, soul stuff, tokenism, pollution, ceremonial purity, belief in the doctrine of Karma, clash of races and color prejudice and deliberate exploitation by a hierarchy.

Hutton's theory has been severely criticized by some leading social anthropologists after the Second World War on the following ground. First, it is stated that Hutton overlooks the fact that caste is primarily a system of interrelated groups in which differences in the distribution of economic and political power are expressed through a cultural language such as restrictions on commensality and connubium. Second, Pocock criticises Hutton saying that Hutton's work is based on the nineteenth century evolutionism and ethnography and is an amorphous dossier of facts lacking in any guiding theory. Third, Dumont criticizes Hutton for taking an atomistic view of caste

and neglecting to study the system as a whole. According to Dumont, 'caste is above all a system of ideas and values'. However, in spite of criticism, Hutton's theory remains a classic as regards the origin, nature and function of caste.

- **Relationship between Caste and Politics**

The relationship between caste and politics reveals the politicized nature of caste in the context of Indian politics:

1. Caste provides an extensive basis for organization of democratic politics. The need to organize and articulate support in an open polity inevitably turns those engaged in political competition towards organizations and solidarity groups in which the masses are found. In a society such as India where caste remains the principal basis of social organization and activity, this means turning towards caste groups and associations. In this way caste groups and associations. In this way caste identity and solidarities became the primary channels through which electoral and political support is mobilized within the political system. Thus, as Kothari puts it, "it is no politics that tests caste ridden, it is caste that gets politicized."
2. Caste is used more extensively in mobilizing support in rural than urban areas.
3. Political parties find it easier to mobilize support directly from the members of a caste community by appealing to them.
4. The present political system itself encourages or inhibits the use of caste as a means of breeding followers.
5. It has been recently argued that caste enables the illiterate and politically ignorant masses of Indian to participate in the modern democratic process.
6. The communication of ideas is strong within a caste and generally the members of a caste and generally the members of a caste share the same views in relation to political parties, politics and individuals.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph, the relationship that caste bears to politics can best be understood in terms of three types of political mobilization, each suggestive of different phases of political development: vertical, horizontal and differential. Vertical

mobilization is the marshalling of political support by traditional notables in local societies that are organized integrated by rank, mutual dependence and the legitimacy of traditional authority. In Indian traditional elites were characteristically the leaders of locally dominant castes. They responded to representative government and popular politics by mobilizing what local notables in Britain called their 'interest'. Horizontal mobilization involves the marshalling of popular political support by class or community leaders and their specialized organizations. Differential mobilization involves the marshalling of direct or indirect political support by political parties from viable but internally differentiated communities through parallel appeals to ideology, sentiment and interest. The agent of mobilization in this case is the political party rather than the local notable or community association.

- **Rajani Kothari on Caste dimension**

In the context of interactions between caste and politics, Rajni Kothari has pointed out that three aspect of the caste system call for special attention:

The first is what may be called the secular dimensions. In emphasizing caste as a stratification system in which distances are rigidly maintained through endogamy, pollution and the legitimacy of rituals, caste as a system of conflict and interaction has received sparse attention. Yet the fact is that functionalism and caste cleavages, patterns of alignment and realignment among the various strata, and a continuous striving for social mobility have always been prominent features of the caste system.

Second, there is the integration dimension. The caste system not only determines the individual's social station on the basis of the group to which he is born but also differentiates and assigns occupational and economic roles. It thus gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration. At the same time, it is an integration structure of a specific type, namely, one that is more intense in its small group orientation and particularistic loyalties and where wider loyalties operate only when they are structured through the prevailing differentiations. This aspect is important in understanding the structural impact of democratic nation-building. For the competitive style of democratic politics involves group action and cohesion; democratic politics is as much a process of fusion as of

fission.

Third, there is the dimension of consciousness. Caste enters politics through the 'consciousness aspect' highlighted by its symbolism and value structure. This is where symbolic gestures for cultural mobility such as 'Sanskritisation', 'Westernization' and 'Secularization' assume or disguise political overtones in their manifestation. According to Rajni Kothari, "It is not politics that gets caste-ridden; it is caste that gets politicized." The operation of competitive politics has drawn caste out of its apolitical context and given it a new status and identity.

- **Caste and Democracy**

India's democracy is the largest democracy in the world. The peculiar feature of the Indian democracy is its interaction with caste which is fundamentally oppose to the principles of democracy.

The world 'democracy' has come from two Greek words-'demos', meaning the people, and 'Kratia' meaning power. Democracy, therefore, means power of the people. It refers to the organization of society in a way in which all power, political or otherwise, is vested in "the entire aggregate of the community". Equality is the basic principle of democracy. But caste is a system of institutionalized inequality which recognizes and establishes the principle of differences based on birth. Therefore, just after independence, the question "Can caste and democracy go together?" was a much debated issue, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his doubt as to what would happen to the Indian democracy if caste continued to exist. Strangely enough, caste and democracy have remained together in the Indian society, each influencing the other. Looking at the Indian society, each influencing the other. Looking at the dominance of caste in the Indian democracy Late Jayprakash Narayan commented that democracy in India has turned into autocracy. Various scholars have viewed caste as anti democratic. They have pointed out the discrepancies between caste and democracy. Some of these differences are:

1. Democracy stands for certain values such as liberty, equality and fraternity, whereas suppression of freedom, inequality and enmity among groups are values which caste stands for.

2. Democracy is the realization of human rights for the highest development of the individual but caste keeps down the people to a sub-human level.
3. Democracy provides channels of social mobility but castes restricts the scope of social mobility.
4. Democracy has universal standards of justice whereas caste has evolved different standards of justice for different caste groups.
5. Democracy keeps the door of education open to all the citizens of the country while caste restricts education to the higher caste people only.
6. Democracy makes the occupations free and open to all and the individual gets employment according his merit and taste. On the other hand, caste makes the occupation hereditary, thus debarring the individual from choosing an occupation which suits his ability and taste.
7. Democracy aims at eliminating exploitation while the very basis of caste is to legitimize and perpetuate exploitation.
8. Democracy imposes discipline which is a reciprocal practice based on the respect for the individual, but in caste discipline is an obligation performed out of fear.
9. The temper of democracy is marked by productive social compromises, but the temper of caste is marked by self righteousness.
10. The basic principle of democracy is liberation but caste is based on tyranny.
11. Democracy provides a base for common action for the collective welfare while caste looks after the welfare of as particular caste group and opposes any collective ideology meant for common action or common good.
12. Democracy propagates nationalism and patriotism but caste encourages caste-loyalty and parochialism.
13. Democracy infuses the idea of national sentiments and unity and thus brings in integration, while caste-loyalty leading to casteism is a hindrance to the national

integration.

14. Democracy is secular in nature. It is above the dogmas of religion. But caste claims to be sacred and is supported by religious sanction.

Sociologists have pointed out that there is mixing of caste and democratic politics in many parts of the country. In her study about caste and politics in India, Miss Maureen Patterson writes how three important castes like the Brahmins, the Marathas and the Maharas played a dominant role in the politics of Maharashtra. Mr. S.S. Harison also mentions the role of Reddy and Kamma castes in the politics of Andhra Pradesh. In Karnataka politics there is a rivalry between Okkaliga and Lingayat castes. In Bihar, Bhumihar, kayastha and Rajput castes are playing a dominant role in state politics. In the state of Orissa Karans and Khandayats are playing a major role in the state politics. In this way a number of studies have shown how caste and democratic politics have been interlinked in the Indian society.

Caste acts as a pressure group in politics to secure material benefits and status improvement. Political parties and government are often forced to make decisions and act in a certain manner to accommodate the interests of caste associations. Thus Weiner maintains that caste associations create problems for the Indian democracy.

Caste affects democratic politics in another way, too. A caste group as a whole may have its own political party or in the absence of its own caste-party it may lend support to one particular party. The Jatavas of Agra present a fine example of caste-political party. There is always struggle among political parties in their attempt to seek the favor of the caste groups. Competing political parties choose their candidates from the dominant castes. Sharma writes how caste lobbies in Parliament State Assemblies, Zilla Parisads, Panchayat Samitis and Village Pancayats have become a fact of today's political life. Elections have been fought to these organizations on caste lines.

I.P. Desai has lucidly narrated how caste influences the political behavior of the people in the present democratic set up. The following instances can be cited to illustrate this point.

1. The people of a caste vote in a body for a candidate of the same or a different caste as decided in the caste Panchayat or in the meeting or caste members.
2. Even when they do not vote in a body, they prefer a candidate of their own caste to other castes irrespective of the merit or demerits of the candidate.
3. The selection of a candidate for a constituency is very often based on whether he will be able to get the support of a caste or castes.
4. In recommending candidates, the caste of the recommenders plays an important role.
5. When a single caste is not likely to win, alliances with other castes are formed by the selectors, by the candidates or by the voters.
6. The office-bearers of a party are appointed on the basis of caste considerations.
7. Sometimes even ministerial appointed on the basis of caste considerations. So far, we have seen the effect of caste on democracy. Let us now examine how democracy affects caste:-
 1. Democracy affects caste in several ways. The adoption of adoption of adult franchise has opened up new opportunities of political participation of the lower castes which were denied political rights in the past. This phenomenon has compelled the higher castes to contact the lower castes to get their support in order to win the elections.
 2. Democracy introduces politics which demands the people's acceptance of the political ideology of a party. Thus political consideration may go against caste loyalty. Thus political consideration may go against caste loyalty. Apart from the working political parties, legislations, especially, land legislations and land reform have affected the rural power structure to a great extent.
 3. Democratization has also affected the traditional functions of caste. Functions which were restricted to some castes have now become the property of everybody. The opening of occupations and the availability

of making a living outside castes occupations has affected the caste system.

4. Democratic politics attach great importance to political ideologies and pushes back caste considerations to the background. It creates functions or divisions within the caste groups. Thus it succeeds in breaking down caste solidarity.

In this way, in the Indian democracy an interchange and exchange between caste and democratic politics has taken place. All have realised that caste is a cancerous element in the Indian democracy. It has eaten into the vitality of secular democracy. Almost all the political parties have raised their voice against caste-politics. But most of the parties and politicians, in reality, encourage casteism to bag caste vote. Unless there is strong political will it is difficult that casteism would be rooted out from Indian politics in near future. Caste-based political parties should be banned. Strict rules should be laid down to debar any candidate exploiting caste sentiments at the time of election campaign.

10.4 CHANGES IN THE CASTE SYSTEM

The caste system, as it exists today, has developed through many centuries. Its structure and functioning in ancient period (from 400 B.C to 700 A.D. i.e., vedic Brahmanical, Maurya and Post-Maurya (or Sanga, Kushan and Gupta) periods was much different from the medieval (Rajput and Muslim i.e. 700 A.D to 1757 A.D) and the British periods (i.e 1757 to 1947 A.D.).

- Changes in the caste system can be viewed from various angles, such as :
 - 1) the structural change
 - 2) the functional change
 - 3) the attitudinal change
 - 4) the changes relating to caste restrictions

10.4.1 Structural Changes in the Caste System

Structural changes pertain to the changes in the hierarchical arrangement, i.e,

the supermacy of the Brahmins and the suppression of the untouchables and other backward classes.

- 1. Decline in the Supermacy of the Brahmins:** In the traditional caste system the Brahmins were at the apex of the social and religious spheres and thus they enjoyed supermacy over others. But due to the process of secularization and westernization, the authority of the Brahmins gradually declined and they ceased to enjoy the traditional respect and honour in the society.
- 2. Changes in the Caste Hierarchy:** Traditionally each caste was maintaining its own style of life and the higher castes maintained a better life than the rest. But in course of time the process of sanskritization started. Sanskritization is a process in which a status group aspiring for upward mobility in the system of social stratification tends to emulate the life style of the higher castes and its acceptance within the great tradition of Sanskritic norms and varna system. The lower castes followed Sanskritization to bring about change in their social status. In Northern India, many Sudra castes demanded a higher status. After Sanskritizing themselves, they wanted to put on the sacred thread in order to register themselves in the census as members of the Kshatriya or Vaishya castes.
- 3. Safe Guards to the Harijans and OBCs:** A policy of protective discrimination has been accepted by the Government of India. This aims at making various provisions for the Harijans in the spheres of entry into educational institutions, getting into jobs representing in the legislature etc. That apart the practice of untouchability, in any form, is banned. As a result, the position of the Harijans is gradually improving in the social, economic and political spheres.

10.4.2 Functional Changes in the Caste System

Changes in the traditional functions of castes can be viewed in the following ways:

- 1. Changes in the fixation of status:-** The status-indicating function of castes has undergone changes due to the process of secularization, westernization and materialistic attitude of individuals. The ascriptive status based on caste and birth has lost its-ground and the achievement pattern has gained momentum.

2. **Occupational changes:** In a caste-ridden society occupations were hereditary and an individual's birth into a particular caste determined his occupation for ever. But when the rigidity of the caste system broke down, occupational changes were also marked.
3. **Changes in the sphere of culture:** The impact of the west and the process of sanskritization acted as the external and internal forces of cultural change in the traditional Hindu Society. This manifested itself in the changed style of life of different caste groups, their modes of living patterns of worship and performance of rites and rituals, customs and traditional practices.
4. **Changes in endogamy:** The rigidity of endogamic rules in marriages has undergone changes due to the changed attitude of people, legal support, romantic fallacy etc. The caste barriers have broken down and inter-caste marriages are practised, resulting in heterogeneous composition and intermixture of different castes. Thus, a fundamental function of the caste system i.e., to maintain purity of blood, has lost its significance.
5. **Changes in the commensality:** Changes have also occurred in the commensality aspects of the caste system. People are no more confined to their places of origin. They have migrated to different places and so it becomes very difficult to stick to the restrictions relating to the food habits. Particularly in the urban places where the strangers dine in hotels, it is impossible to maintain the restrictions. The cook and the co-diners may not belong to the same caste. Hence persons from different caste groups come together and eat by breaking the rules of commensality. In various offices and work-organisations, the same relaxation is evident. The employees get together and allow interdining.

10.4.3 Attitudinal Changes in the caste System

Changes in the attitudes towards caste have been noticed within the system. This relates to loss of faith in the ascriptive pattern and justification of the system itself. The following are the attitudinal changes.

1. **Loss of faith in the ascriptive status:** Under the sway of rapid social

transformation, people have changed their attitude towards life and have started questioning the old values, which are of no use for the social system, at present. People are no longer prepared to accord a fixed status on the basis of birth which is the sole criterion for determination of one's caste. The question of ability, aptitude, talent and efficiency has haunted the minds of people. As such the very existence of the caste system has been threatened.

2. **Suspicion of the justification of caste:** The traditional belief that the caste system has a divine sanction has been lost. This is also due to contradictory views in the shastras as well as recognition of efficiency and talent. Panikkar holds the view that the four-fold division of the society as a divinely-ordained institution has remained at the level of myth or fiction.

10.5 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CASTE SYSTEM

The caste system is still existing in our society, but it is not as rigid or irrational at once it was. A number of factors are responsible for bringing about changes in the system. These factors are explained below.

1. **Industrialization and Urbanization:** The twin forces of industrialization and urbanization have far reaching consequences in our society. The process of urbanization operates at two levels. First, it draws people from villages to urban and industrial centres through the migratory current.

Secondly, there is a shift in the occupational sphere-from agricultural to non-agricultural pursuits. That apart, urbanisation also produces social heterogeneity secondary and tertiary occupations, tolerance, social mobility spatial segregation, etc. Industrialisation and urbanisation, taken together, produce far reaching changes in the socio-economic life of people in the following manner :

- a) The ascriptive status loses its importance. In the industrial Urban sector the low caste people hold higher positions and vice-versa. Thus people belonging to a high castes work under them and accept the supermacy of the lower castes.
- b) In the industrial colonies, the residential accomodation is usually so altered

that there is no distinction between high and low caste people. Thus they have social intercourses through inter-mixing and inter-dining. This strikes at the root of the caste system.

- c) The educational institutions do not impose any restriction on the basis of caste. Children of different castes read in the same school, play together & take part in common prayer.
- d) Open competitions for getting into jobs in many factories and industries have shown that many a time people belonging to the low castes establish their superiority over the so-called high caste people. Thus the superiority of wisdom and knowledge claimed by the high castes cannot be maintained.
- e) In the industrial matrix the status symbols of both the higher and lower castes change, food habits and dress pattern become more or less uniform and the high caste people don't hesitate to host lunch and dinner in honour of well-established persons and holders of superior official positions of other castes.

2 Westernization

The term westernization was used by Srinivas to describe the change in Indian society during the British rule. The changes were observed in the spheres of dress, food habits, style of eating, manners etc. Westernization brought very important changes in the field of education by introducing English as the medium of instruction and the introduction of secular subjects of study. More over, the Schools were thrown open to all and so people belonging to the lower castes could send their children for study. This came as the blow to the supremacy of the higher castes, especially the Brahmins in matters of acquisition of traditional knowledge.

3. Sanskritization

It as a process of change, concerned with positional change in the caste system, Srinivas defines, "Sanskritization" as the process by which a low Hindu caste or tribal or any other group changes its customs, rituals ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently "twice-born" caste. By changing

the customs and rituals, people belonging to the low castes claim a higher position in the caste hierarchy. All to Srinivas, a low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and testotalism and by Sanskritization its ritual and pantheon.

4. Secularization

Secularization also disintegrate the caste system as it displaces the religious beliefs, rituals and sense of community from the moral life of the society. People's routine invocations of the sacred lose importance and the major institutions in society become legitimized primarily by secular ideologies and formal legal doctrines rather than by religious ethics.

5. Legislative Measures

A variety of social legislations are being introduced in the post-independence era. Those which relate to the changes in the caste system cover legislations to safeguard the interests of the down-trodden, to eradicate untouchability, to facilitate the social and economic development of the depressed castes and making the provisions of reservation for scheduled castes and other backward classes.

The untouchability act, 1955, provided far punishment against the practice of untouchability. Article 14 and 15 of the Indian constituton provided equality before law as a fundamental right. The caste Disabilities Removal Act, 1950 was also enacted. All these legislations and constitutional provisions are slowly but surely making their impact on the caste system.

6. Changed world view

Due to the belief in the doctrine of Karma and the belief in salvation and rebirth, the people had to accept their fate on the basis of birth and didn't question the basis of birth and didn't question the basis of religion. Western education changed the attitude towards life. Religious interference in the social activity came to a halt. The Hindu became more concerned with this-worldliness rather than the other-worldliness Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru propagated the Ideology

of action and people became more and more oriented towards the changing world view.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) What is meant by the term “Caste” ?

(ii) What are the various factors that influence the caste system ?

(iii) What are the two different changes that are present in the caste system ?

10.6 LET US SUM UP

In conclusion we can say that many factors are responsible for the changes that have undergone in the structure of the caste system and the caste rules. Although, all the factors are directly related to the industrialisation. Besides the importance of education and social Movements too cannot be under-rated. Keeping in view the modern changes one is sometimes haunted by the delusion-Will the caste system develop into a class? Virtually speaking, the closed doors of the caste system are gradually being unbolted. The social distances amongst the various caste based communities are getting shorter. The exploitation of the low castes is drawing to an end. The caste restrictions are getting eliminated. Hence the caste system is assimilating various qualities of the class system. The mutual give and take amongst the various castes is on the increase. There does exist a marked difference between the caste system and the class system the caste system is virtually a caste system even today.

Any how this has actually happened that the caste system has changed its form keeping in view the requirements of the changing circumstances.

10.7 SUGGESTED READING

- Bailey, F.G. Caste, Tribe and Nation, Manchester University Press, Manchester England, 1960.
- Kapadia, K.M., "Caste in Transition", Sociological Bulletin, September 1962.
- Beteille, Andre, Inequality Among Men, 1977.
- Singh, Yogendra, "Sociology of Social Stratification", A survey of Research in Sociology and Anthropology, ICSSR, New Delhi, 1974.

10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1 Caste refers to people belonging to same breed. Caste is an ascriptive status.
- 2 The various factors that influence the caste system are :
 - a) Industrialization
 - b) Westernization
 - c) Sanskritization
 - d) Legislative measures
 - e) Secularization
- 3 The two different changes present in the Caste system are :
 - a) Structural change
 - b) Attitudinal change

STRUCTURE

- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Objectives
- 11.3 Meaning & Definitions of Class in India
- 11.4 Rural an Urban Class Structure and Changing Dimensions in Post-Independent India.
 - 11.4.1 (i) Social classes in Indian towns and cities.
 - 11.4.2 (ii) Social classes in Rural India
- 11.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 11.6 Suggested Readings
- 11.7 Answers to Check your Progress

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The stratification as the division of the society into several ranks on the basis of superordination and subordination is a characteristic feature of most of the social systems. Social scientists use class as the most powerful concept of stratification for explaining social organisation, social movements and power structure. A social class is a stratum with a definite identity recognised by its members and others. It is concerned with a group of individuals which cuts across castes and religion. “Many men many minds” is aptly applicable to the class phenomenon. In our society classes are distinguished by their ‘Position’ and ‘status’. Some classes are privileged while others are underprivileged.

Meaning of Class

A social class may be interpreted in a couple of ways.

First, it may be defined in terms of some objectives, normally economic terms.

According to Karl Marx, classes are large groups of people who differ from another by their relation to their role in the social organisation and labour and consequently by the mode and dimension of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose.

Thus, while accepting such explanations social scientists and political thinkers have tried to analyse the presence of classes in the industrial setting and the agrarian social structure in India.

Some social scientists being inclined towards Marxists understanding of class, have gone to the extent where they suggest the existence of classes in India even during the ancient period yet, the Marxian explanation of class after lacks in conceptualizing the social reality as such in rural India.

Maxweber defined class as group of persons having the same “life chances” or social opportunities. He, thus, added the “status” dimension to determine one’s class. By status, weber meant social honour or social esteem and this, he said, “normally” stands in sharp opposition to the pretensions.

Thus a class for weber is composed of all persons, in the same economic situation, who have about the same probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in life, and gratifying their wants, in so far as their probability rests on the control of goods and services and the access to opportunities within the given economic system.

11.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Explain various definitions of class
- Discuss class structure in British India.
- Describe class structure in Independent India.

- Explain rural and urban class structure

11.3 CLASS IN INDIA

In the Indian context, in general terms, we link caste with the rural society and regard class as an urban phenomena, existing in towns, cities and industrial centres. But, in real terms, both villages and towns have castes as well as classes. The Indian society has always been caste ridden. Nevertheless, the changes in the economic spheres, initiated by the various legislative measures of the British government including permanent settlement, opening of new markets and expansion of communication within the country brought social classes existence in India. Simultaneously, the newly formed classes continued to have their caste affiliation.

The main gainers of the British land policy in India were the higher castes like the Brahmins and the Rajputs and some middle ranking castes in the northern part of the country. In the south, Nairs, vellalas, Kammas etc. were the main beneficiaries along with Brahmins. The zamindars and the ryots became well-entrenched groups during the British regime.

Another distinctive category was the class constituted of the supervisors who assisted the Zamindars. They belonged to an intermediary class. The Zamindar's system flourished in North India. On the country, Ryotwari system prevailed in South India. Also during this period, another landless class emerged owing to the takeover of land by the land lords. The Landlords had to take such actions in order to settle the debts etc.

Gradually market expanded under the British rule and many cities in India became very busy commercial centres. This gave rise to a large merchant class who sold and bought goods. In course of time, this merchant class became a powerfull wealthy class in India and most of them invested their capital in Industrial enterprises. Even in post-independence India the growth of private sector in engineering, chemicals, textiles etc can be attributed to the founding of these trading groups.

The colonial administration also demanded the services of modern professionals

like doctors, engineers, lawyers and journalists. Schools and colleges started imparting legal, commercial and general education, to meet the requirement of a changing society. Thus the professionals constituted a particular class in free India.

CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF CLASS STRUCTURE

Nature of Social Class

Each social class possesses certain particular privileges and responsibilities. Classes have also special powers and positions. Social classes came into existence due to social stratification and represent horizontal division of society. These represent different occupations. Members of a social class have not only feeling and sympathy for one another but also a sort of class consciousness. Members of one social class have more or less the same living standard and try to follow the same occupation. They have more or less same attitude and behavior and a sense of superiority to other classes. Social position of a social class determines its social prestige. Among themselves their members treat each other as equal and usually try to associate themselves with each other. In other words we can say that a social class is a society within society.

Members of a social group use almost same type of dress and also the means and methods of recreation. They also struggle against those who try to put obstacles on their way of living and thinking. They are also not prepared to give up their rights and privileges at any cost and use every possible means and methods to settle that. Members have both internal and external unity. External unity is represented by dress, customs and language whereas thoughts and ideals represent internal unity.

- **Marxian Theory of Class Consciousness**

In his philosophy Marx laid maximum stress on class consciousness. That is the outcome of his stress that he said in his communist Manifesto that "workers of the world unite." He was very firm in his opinion that unless the workers united and were conscious of their rights they could not achieve their purpose. According to him the society was divided into the 'haves' and 'have not's' i.e. those who owned the means of production and distribution and those who had no such resources. He also said that

whereas the propertied people had inherited consciousness from the feudal society, the working classes had not inherited any such consciousness for which specific and concerted efforts will have to be made. he also said that the propertied class could only be overthrown when property less class had become class conscious and according to his viewpoint class consciousness in propertied class in itself will generate similar consciousness in non-propertied class. But for Marx class consciousness among the non-propertied class. But for Marx class consciousness among the non-propertied class was a condition precedent for the overthrow of propertied class which was very much class conscious.

Marx also felt that economic reasons were the basis for the creation of class and as such he felt that the interests of the owners and workers were quite different from each other in a capitalist economy. According to him unless both were conscious of their rights, the exploitation was bound to continue and progress.

- **Max Weber's Theory of Social Class**

Max Weber, though not in complete agreement with Marx has defined class as the people in the same class situation, when their occupation or ownership of property under the conditions of commodity or labor market gave them a similar chance, however, large or small, to obtain some of the things valued in a society, such as : materials goods; physical health. education; travel; leisure; and exposure to a wide range of highly prized social experiences. Some people have goods to sell to others, and it is this that determines their life chances. Other people sell their skills or labor on a labor market to available employers. Still other such as professionals, offer highly valued and relatively scarce services to a clientele. Each of these constitute a different "class situation" this specific definition is: "We may speak of a 'class' when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour market".

He recognized the ways in which the possession of property or goods by those who "do not necessarily have to exchange them" gave them an advantage in the

market over those who had to sell their goods to survive or who had no goods but only their "services in native form". Weber was very close to Marx, when he said: 'property' and 'lack of property' are, therefore, the basic categories of all class situations". Thus to Weber, class is such a collectivity which has a common set of life chances; and these are described from their property, occupation and income.

- **Veblen's Theory of Social Class**

Veblen provides another conceptual analysis of class system. It is generally known as the theory of "Leisure class". He interprets the origin and growth of this class in terms of leisure, which some could get as they had the necessities of life in ample measure. They made no contribution in terms of social production. They ploughed no land, spun no yarn and worked at no craft. Not to work was their characteristic. Others worked for them. They had wealth, to enjoy their leisure. This 'koi hai' class was in medieval Europe, and in the Nawabi India. Its influence is not that completely dead. Industrialization has not mitigated it and democracy has not eliminated it. It is apparent in the disdain that some have for the manual labor, and in the behaviour of the neo-democrat and the neo-rich.

In certain respect as a reference group it may be said to have served some purpose: but as a class it makes the insects of the have nots.

- **W. Llyod Warner's Theory of Social Class**

Warner, an anthropologist has carried out several studies on the subject. He considers class as a 'multi-factored' phenomenon. Though, he began with the economic factor as being fundamental to social stratification, his research analysis brought him to what he described as the 'evaluated participation' belief. By this he means the way in which an individual participates in community life, and the manner his equals in the community evaluate him. "Such a criterion stresses knowing manner his equals in the community evaluate him." "Such a criterion stresses knowing the right people, knowing how to spend money, belonging to the kind of associations, the area in which one resides, how long one's family has been in the community, and the like". Warner developed a six fold classification by taking the familiar terms, upper, middle, and lower, and dividing each of them into an upper and a lower. Thus there is an upper-

upper class, composed of the community's elite of long-standing, its old ruling families of high prestige, and a lower-upper class of rising families with newly-won wealth, eager to win social acceptance. The upper middle class constitutes the established business and professional people, and the lower-middle class is made up of varied white-collar people, small businessmen, and skilled workers. The upper-lower class is made up of skilled and other workers who are "respectable" though poor and hardworking, whereas the lower-lower class includes the most economically depressed whose way of life is not respected by other members of the community.

11.4 RURAL AND URBAN CLASS STRUCTURE AND CHANGING DIMENSIONS IN POST INDEPENDENT INDIA

The Indian society is divided between the villages and the towns and cities. The structure and shape of the rural society differ from those of the urban society.

11.4.1 Social Class in Indian Towns and Cities

Due to western relation with the western countries, industrialisation, urbanisation, novel economic system political condition of the country etc. in the post Independence India new class structure have sprung up in the Indian towns and cities. Three types of class have been identified in the Urban areas.

- a) **High Class:** The people of this class are powerful in the economic, social and political fields. They hold the highest place in the social ladder. They are the owner of big firms and industries and consume the items of luxury . A major portion of the national income is closed in their iron chest. This class influences the party in political power also. Their political and economic grasp in very strong.
- b) **Middle class:** The doctors, engineers, teachers and traders constitute this class. The people of this class are associated with the people of the High class. This class serves as the organizers for the high class. They are found indifferent to physical labour and they don't have greater control on the means of production. They can only save a little after meeting their requirements.
- c) **Labour class :** This class work on the basis of physical labour. The workers in factories, industries, mines and on machines constitutes this class this class

depends and lives on limited and scanty income. It can hardly meet its both ends. These people mostly lack resources and even sell their flesh to earn their daily bread.

11.4.2 Social classes in Rural India

If we analyse the class structure in rural India in post-independence period, we find the following major class:

- a) **The owner and the rich class :** The highest class in rural life belongs to those who are known as owners, landlords and Sahukars. They enjoy the supremest position in the rural areas. They are the owners of the maximum area of land in the village. All of them may belong to the high castes. There are peoples of backward classes at certain places e.g., Ehoomihar and Jats etc. Who represents the Sahukars in the rural areas. They get their land cultivated by labourers. They work like the Sahukars and remain busy in other industries and trades. This is the most influential group of the village.
- b) **Peasants (Agriculturalists):** In the village, the second class belongs to the peasants. They own tiny pieces of land. They cultivate their own lands. Sometimes they take the land from the landlords on hire and cultivate the same. Their standard of life is slightly higher than that of the class of peasants who serve as landless labourers.
- c) **Landless Farmers and Labouring class:** They hold the lowest position in the rural social hierarchy. They put in their labour in other fields and somehow earn their living. The people of this class are in large number but their income is quite nominal.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Discuss briefly about the different social classes found in rural India ?

(ii) Discuss in short the different classes found in town and cities ?

11.5 LET US SUM UP

So, in conclusion we can say that in Pre-British India stratification was mainly based on caste system, the class character emerged in India only when Britishers introduced land tenure system in 1793 A.D in order to extract more and more revenue.

In the post-independence India, with the adoption of Industrial policy resolution and the launching of five year plans, industrialisation has taken a gigantic stride. The public as well as private sectors are now busy in setting up heavy industries. They are providing and expanding the scope of employment opportunities for the technical personnels, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. As such a sizeable chunk of India's population comprises the working class.

In, the agrarian sector, the agricultural labourers and landless farmers also constitute a peasant class like the aforesaid proletariat segment of industrial classes. Barring a few states in India, such as U.P, West Bengal and Kerala, the agricultural labourers else where in the country are largely unorganised.

11.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Desai, A.R. peasant Movement in India (Rev. ed.), The Indian Society of Agricultural Economic, Bombay, 1959.
- Dhanagare, D.N., "The Model of Agrarian classes in India" in Desai, A.R., Peasant Movements in India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983.
- Tharner, Daniel, Agrarian structure, Allied publishers, Delhi, 1956.

11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1 The different social classes found in Rural India are :

- a) The owner and rich class
 - b) Peasants (Agriculturalalists)
- 2 The different social classes found in cities and towns are :
- a) High class
 - b) Middle class
 - c) Labour class

STRUCTURE

- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Objectives
- 12.3 Meaning & Definitions of Power
- 12.4 Changing Dimensions of Power Structure in Indian Society.
- 12.5 Changing Power Structure in Rural India.
- 12.6 Trends/Factors Responsible for Changing Power Structure in Indian Society.
- 12.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 12.8 Suggested Readings
- 12.9 Answers to Check your Progress

12.1 INTRODUCTION

As a traditional basis of stratification caste is a distinctive category in the Indian Social system. As a universal aspect of social interaction, social power plays a significant role in shaping affinity among the members of a group. Power differences are found among occupants of various statuses, father and child, employer and employee, etc.. etc. "Power" is ability to get one's wishes carried out inspite of opposition if any. By saying that someone has more power than some one else, we usually imply his ability to influence the behaviour of others. But influence is not equivalent with power in group. If need not be considered equivalent with influence without regard to the situation of its occurrence.

12.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss various definitions of power.
- Explain traditional power structure of Indian society.
- Describe emerging power structure in Indian society.
- Explain factors responsible for changing power structure.

12.3 DEFINITIONS

1. Maxweber defined power as the probability that an actor has with in a social relationship in a positin to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.
2. Kingsley Davis, “power is the determination of the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own ends.”

Power is a relative matter. A man who has power in one-situation will not be necessarily be powerful in all the situations. Thus power differes from situation to situation.

The extent of one’s power may determine the status of the person exercising power. It is viewed from two angles.

- a) How many persons have been influenced by person exercising power ?
- b) How many times their behaviour has been influenced ?

A person may exercise power because of his status and position which he enjoys in the social structure. Usually the entire social structure is viewed as a legitimate power system.

12.4 CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF POWER STRUCTURE IN INDIAN SOCIETY

Caste, class and power are the three major dimensions of stratification in Indian

society. Because of the introduction of democracy land reforms and many other measures, change has been an important feature of this relationship over the last few decades. The distribution of power has acquired a very dynamic character over the last two decades. In some ways the traditional relationship between caste and power has been reversed. Where as in the past power was concentrated in the hands of Brahmins, today the village panchayat is controlled by non-Brahmins and the traditional elite is being pushed into the background. Thus the traditionally dominated higher castes now face new challenges to the power they used to hold.

In the study of Sripuram village, Andre Beteille observed that power has also become independent of class to a greater extent than in the past. Ownership of land is no longer the decisive factor in acquiring power. Numerical support and strategic position in the party machinery play an important part. A new process into the village society has been introduced by panchayati Raj and adult Franchise. The struggle for power has become all pervasive mainly due to accessibility to power by common men than was ever the case in the past.

“Mobility in the caste system has always been an Extremely slow and gradual process. To acquire land and move up in the hierarchy of class also takes a generation or two. Shift in the distribution of power under the new set up are, by comparison, quick in nature. Since the traditionally dominant higher castes have lost their power, they now try to motivate the lower castes to capture power in the power structure, gram panchayats at the grass root level assemblies at the state level and Parliament in the national level, through elections. This has been possible in some villages where some numerically smaller castes still hold their traditional power alongwith economic ones in the face of numerical strength of the lower castes. But the situation is just the reverse in other villages where the lower castes have become successful in uitlising their numerical strength, have entirely changed the traditional pattern in the power structure.

CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF POWER STRUCTURE

Power structure in India: Institutional

The functions of a government are multifarious. However a close analysis

of the nature of government functions reveals that these functions can be broadly classified under three categories, viz, legislative, Executive and Judiciary. On this basis the governmental organization may be divided into three different organs, each performing one of the three functions mentioned above. We shall examine them individually.

- **Legislature**

Legislature is that branch of government which primarily concerns itself with the business of law-making. The task of making law is as old as the origin of the State. Even under despotic and autocratic regimes the functions of making law was assigned to a body of persons. But representative legislatures which are regular and permanent organs of government are of comparatively recent origin. Perhaps the first legislature in the modern sense originated in England. When English kings were in need of money, they asked the rich land owners to send their representatives to assemble in a place and agree to taxation to be imposed. Thus the early legislatures did little of law making. These were mere assemblies to consider proposal of taxation by the kings.

The British Parliament is said to be "the mother of Parliaments". It is the oldest legislature in the world. In the beginning it was unicameral structure. There was gradual bifurcation of the British Parliaments. Representatives of nobles and clergies came together in one body known as the House of Lords. The common people formed a separate assembly known as the House of Commons. Early legislatures expressed their views in the form of petitions addressed to the king.

- **Unicameralism and Bicameralism**

A common controversy about the structure of legislature is whether it should be unicameral or bicameral. A bicameral system is one in which the legislature consists of two chambers or houses. In a unicameral system, the legislature consists of a single chamber. In India, England, and the U.S.A. and in most of the countries of the world, bicameralism has been adopted. Wherever the bicameral system is in vogue the relative powers enjoyed by both the chambers vary. For instance, in England the lower chamber, that is the House of Commons, is supreme. In India the Lok Sabha which is the lower

chamber, is more powerful than the Rajya Sabha. The bicameral system is the product of history. We have already discussed how the English Parliament was bifurcated into the House of Common and the House of Lords Unicameral system or a single chamber legislature was quite fairly favored towards the close of the eighteenth century and during the early part of the nineteenth century. This was due to the democracy. It was indivisible and hence only a single chamber could represent their will. "The law", said Siewes, "is the will of people, they cannot at the same time have two different will on the same subject; therefore the legislative body which represents the people ought to be essentially one."

But it could not last and many countries, which had adopted unicameral legislature originally abandoned them in favor of the bicameral systems. It was generally held that single chambers "were characterized by instability, violence and passion and that their actions were unbalanced and impulsive." It was consequently thought necessary to have bicameral system.

- **Composition of the Legislature**

In England the House of Lords which is the upper house, consists of primarily hereditary Lord Members. It is the most undemocratic principle. However the upper chamber in England is so powerless that there are no serious objections to the continuance of this principle. In America the members of the Senate are directly elected. In India the members of the Rajya Sabha are indirectly elected.

The legislature unquestionably occupies a supervisor place. In fact, the primary and the most important function of the State is legislative. Law must exist before a judgment can be given or the executive executes it. Every executive or judicial act involves primarily an enactment made by the legislature, Gilchrist compared the relation to the legislative, executive and judicial departments to the major and minor premises and conclusion of a syllogism. He writes, "The legislative authority forms the major premises, the judiciary the minor and the executives, the conclusion. As the major premise is more important than the minor and conclusion, so the legislature is more important than the executive or judiciary."

- **Functions of the Legislature**

The functions of the legislature are not identical in every country. They fully depend upon the form of government. If the pattern is unlimited monarchy, as it was in Czarist Russia, the executive for all practical purposes. Under a bureaucratic type as it existed in the provinces of India before 1937, and persisted at the Centre till India became independent in August 1947 the legislature is completely subservient to the executive. A dictator like Hitler or Mussolini pays little attention to the existence of a legislature. Both Hitler and Mussolini suppressed the powers of the legislatures. But in a democracy the legislature occupies an important place. Although as the name implies, the primary function of the legislature is law-making, most of the modern legislatures perform the following categories of functions.

- **Legislative Functions**

Firstly, the law-making power of legislature includes power to formulate new laws and the power to repeal obsolete laws is important, as legislation must be adapted to the changing social environment or modern life. The power of law-making also includes deliberative functions of legislature. Parliament, while deliberating on bills is molded by the sum total of the thinking forces of the nation. In course of parliamentary deliberations the contents the ends of the law are discussed.

Expression of Public opinion

Secondly, one of the most important but extra-legal or informal functions of the legislature is the molding of public of public opinion. On the other hand, legislature is the form through which the public opinion is expressed. Legislatures in a democracy represent, as far as possible, all shades of opinion of a country and quite naturally the deliberations and discussions in a legislature reflect the public opinion. On the other hand, the legislature is an effective agency that formulates and stimulates public opinion. When the debates, and discussions, which take place in the legislature, are publicized, the general public is in a position to view the political, economic and social problems from all possible perspectives. Thus legislatures provide leadership in the development of public is in a position to view the political, economic and social problems from all possible perspectives. Thus legislatures provide leadership in the development of public

support for some policies and in stimulating opposition to others.

- **Constituent Function**

The third category of functions performed by the legislature includes constituent power or the power to amend the Constitution. Legislatures in most of the countries share this function with other bodies. In India major parts of the Constitution may be amended solely by the Union Parliament. On the other hand, in Switzerland, constitutional amendments are subjected to ratification by the people at a referendum.

- **Financial Functions**

Fourthly, an important function of all modern legislatures is that they exercise control over national finance. All proposals for taxations must bear the concurrence of legislature in order to be effective. All appropriations too must be authorized by the Parliament. The India Parliament exercises full control over our national finance.

- **Control over Foreign Policy:**

Fifthly, legislatures do influence and direct the foreign policy of the State through their financial power and the power to ratify treaties made by the executive. The foreign policy of a nation is approved in the legislature.

- **Judicial Functions:**

Sixthly, legislatures in some countries perform judicial functions too. In England the highest court of justice is the House of Lords. In India, the Parliament is empowered to impeach the President. Similar power is enjoyed by the U.S. Senate. In India an adverse parliamentary resolution results in the removal of Chief Justice and other judges. The legislature also its own rules of business.

- **Electoral Functions**

Not only do legislatures generally elect their own officers, but they may also elect some executive officials. The elected members of both Houses of Parliament in India form a part of the Electoral College for the election of the President. Both the Houses also elect the Vice-President of India. Legislatures of other countries more or less perform this function.

- **Decline of the Legislature**

Modern legislature is losing their power and prestige. Legislation has become a technical job. There is also are enormous increase in the bulk of modern laws. Hence the legislatures possess neither the time nor the requisite qualification to undertake this task. The consequence is delegation of legislative functions to the executive. This executive legislation is growing in bulk every day. The executive is becoming more powerful at the cost of legislature. Similarly, the rigidity of the party system in legislature has reduced the debates to a mechanical level. Members of the legislature do not enjoy complete freedom of speech in face of rigid party discipline.

- **Executive**

The executive is that branch of government which executes or carries out the will of the State as expressed and formulated in terms of law. According to Garner, the executive "is that out the State will as expressed by the legislature, constitution and the judicial decisions." The executive constitutes the most vital part of government.

The executive branch of the government includes the Chief Executive and the entire array of civil servants, who execute the laws made by the legislature. The Chief Executive may be a president, whose position is nominal or he may be exercising real powers like the American President. But his status is of a political character. On the other hand, the civil servants who are also responsible for the execution of law are appointed on a permanent basis. So the executive branch of the government may be divided into the political executive and the non-political Executive.

- **Parliamentary and Presidential**

The executive may be parliamentary or presidential on the basis of relationship of the executive to the legislature. Parliamentary type of executive gives responsibility to the legislature. Under this form, the legislature and the executive are unified and coordinated under the control of same persons and they always work in harmony it is also called a responsible government, because the cabinet which carries on the administrative function of the State is always responsible to the legislature and it remains in office, so long as it retains the confidence of the legislature.

The presidential executive is organized in conformity with the theory of separation of powers and in this system the executive (including both the head of the State and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of the legislature in respect to the durations of his or their tenure and irresponsible to it for his or their political". The independence of the legislative and executive powers is the specific quality of Presidential Government just as combination of the legislative and executive powers is the principles of Cabinet Government. The outstanding example for his type of executive is afforded by the national government of the United States of America. We may examine the features as well as merits and demerits of the Parliamentary and the Presidential executive in details.

- **Parliamentary Executive: Its Features**

Parliamentary and Presidential executives are identified with the respective form of Government. Cabinet or Parliamentary form first originated in Great Britain. It was the product of an evolutionary process that was characterized between the successions of hereditary monarch and a bicameral Parliament. The Parliamentary government that is found at present in Great Britain is the product of the first half of the 18th century. This pattern of government spread to the continent of Europe and to various countries. It is now found not only in Great Britain but also in other State, such as Canada, Australia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, India, Sweden and Japan. Although there are certain special characteristics of some Parliamentary system, yet their mode of operation and general features are common.

The following are the main characteristics of the Parliamentary executive:

- (1) In a Parliamentary form of government a clear distinction is made between the nominal and the real executive. The chief executive or the head of the State whether hereditary or elected, possesses only nominal powers. He is the titular head of the State and his authority is de jure. Legally, he possesses all the powers which the constitutions may confer upon him but in practice he exercises none of these. The real executive powers rests with the cabinet.
- (2) All the members of the ministry and the cabinet are normally the members of the same political party. Generally, they are drawn from the majority party in

the legislature. In other words, there is political homogeneity in this form of government.

- (3) There is harmonious co-operation between the executive and the legislature. the ministers are both the leaders of the legislature and heads of the executive. Hence there is absence of strict separation of powers.
- (4) There is collective responsibility which means that all policy decisions are collectively taken. All the ministers swim or sink together. For the wrong policy of a particular minister, the entire cabinet may be responsible. This is enforced in Parliamentary through various methods like the votes of no-confidence, votes of censure, refusal to pass government bill, etc.
- (5) There is leadership of Prime Minister. He is the captain of the cabinet team. He is the leader of the majority party. He determines the composition of his ministry and supervises and co-ordinates other minister. The titular heads of the State appoints other minister on his recommendation.

Functions of the Executive

Although the primary function of the executive is enforcement of law, such a view is not comprehensive. The complexity of the modern State assigns a variety of functions to the executive. These functions have been briefly described below.

- **Direction and Supervision of Administration**

Executives in all states are responsibility for the over-all direction and control of administrative machinery. Political executive does not enforce law directly. it is the civil service of the permanent executive which enforce the law in accordance with the policy laid down by the political executive. But the political executive is responsible for the supervision of administration. In order to assert this power the political executive is assigned the function of appointment, promotion, removal and suspension of administrative personnel. However, in most of the modern states administrative personnel are recruited on merit basis. As such independent statutory bodies like the Public Service Commission in India, recommend the names of suitable candidates for the purpose of appointment. Even then these recommendations are of advisory nature

are not mandatory on the part of the executive. An important power of the executive under this category is the power to issue such regulations as may be necessary to prescribe the manner in which administrative officials to proceed in the enforcement of laws.

- **Functions in relation to foreign affairs**

Under this category the functions of the executive include power to make treaties with other states, power to accredit ambassadors and delegates to foreign countries, the international conference, etc. Broadly speaking, executive is assigned to the tasks of conducting the foreign relation on behalf of the state. However, in most of the states, the treaty making power of the executive is subjected to the approval by the legislature. In the U.S. A. constitution, there is an express provision that all treaties may be signed by the President but these will be effective only after their ratification by the Legislature.

- **Military Functions**

In the most of the State the political executive has supreme control over the Armed forces of the State. Thus the essential functions of the State to protect the country against external aggression are assigned to the executive. Waging war or maintaining peace is the task of the executive. However, in some states power to declare war is vested in the legislature. In the U.S.A., Congress alone can declare the war. But the American President's power to mobilize the armed forces provides ample opportunity for the President to create circumstances when the Congress would be compelled to declare war. Moreover in these days undeclared wars like the Bangladesh Liberation, the Sino-Indian war, the China- Russia border conflict, are common. Such wars are often conducted by the executive without any approval from the legislature.

- **Financial Functions**

Fiscal functions relating to public finance are important. Although in most of the modern states, it is the legislature that control the public purse, functions of the executive in relation to public finance are important. Budget or the annual financial statement is prepared by the executive and is presented to the legislature for approval. Such provision exists not only in parliamentary system like India but also in presidential

countries like the U.S.A. The executive also controls the execution of budget as a safeguard against wasteful, unwise and illegal expenditures by civil services.

- **Judicial Functions**

The executive in most of the States also performs certain types of judicial functions. Right to grant pardon, reprieve and remission are some of the quasi-judicial power enjoyed by the executive. These powers are exercised with due caution and only when exceptional circumstances arise. These powers ought not to be used to protect a criminal. In some countries the top executive makes appointment of judges. Moreover, some administrative cases are also decided by the executive. This is known as 'administrative adjudication'.

- **Legislative Functions**

In almost all the States the chief executive is authorized to summon, prorogue and adjourn the legislature. In parliamentary system like India and U.K. the chief executive is also empowered to dissolve the legislature, in order to enable the cabinet to seek as fresh mandate from the electorate. In these States, the chief executive also recommends legislative proposals through speeches delivered in the Parliament. In the U.S.A. Presidential message to the Congress embody proposals for absolute) enjoyed by the executive also amounts to a check over undesirable legislation. Ordinance-making power is also a legislative power of the executive.

Lastly, the advent of the welfare State has assigned to the executive a new group of legislative function. Activities of the welfare States are too large. Hence all details of laws cannot be incorporated in laws or statutes. Thus the legislatures in modern States have resorted to a device known as 'Delegated Legislation'. Legislature only passes the laws in broad outlines. The details are filled in the executive but rules and regulation framed by the executive in accordance with the spirit of the original statute. Thus the executive has acquired law-making power indirectly. This delegated legislation, however, is subject to legal and legislative security.

- **Growth of Executive Powers**

From an analysis of the above power and functions enjoyed by the executive,

it is clear that executive branch of government provides national leadership in these days. Commenting on this Bruke says, "Growth of the executive organ, in consequence of the extension of rights and the corresponding extension of services which mostly fall to the lot of the executive is the notable features of the 20th century".

The modern executive is becoming powerful at the cost of the legislature and the judiciary. These developments are primarily due to the change of our ideas about the functions of the State. Formerly, the sole functions of the State were the function of a policeman that is to protect us against encroachment on our safety. But modern States are welfare States. Hence the functions of the executive have become multilateral, consequently, a large number of legislative and judicial functions have been entrusted to the executive. The alarming growth of executive powers has involved serious criticism from all quarters. Lord Hewart, in his book entitled 'The New Despotism' has raised a stout against these developments. Never before in the history of the mankind the fate of so many is controlled by so few.

However, growth in the powers of the executive is necessity for the contemporary society. As Corry observes, "the essence of Government is an executive. The legislature and judiciary are merely the instruments constitutionalising it". Unless we discard the philosophy of welfare State the powers and functions of the executive are bound to increase. Hence, what we require is certain checks or control over the omnipotent executive and not an attempt to diminish the powers and functions of the executive.

- **Judiciary**

The judicial functions of the government continue since time immemorial. In ancient days executive and judicial functions were combined in the Monarch or the Emperor. The Kings himself was the executive as well as the fountain of justice. In spite of this combination, ever in ancient time, a set of subordinate courts with qualified judges were maintained. In modern times, as a result of the influence of the "Theory of the Separation of powers" propounded by Montesquieu, the governmental structure in most of the civilized states. All over the world, the judiciary possesses the power of interpreting the constitution and Acts of the legislature. Laski has rightly said that "Act

of Parliament is not self-operative.” According to Hamilton, "Laws are like a dead letter without fears or favor. Bryce rightly stated, "If the lamp of justice goes out in darkness, how great is that darkness!" Hence arises the necessity of judiciary.

- **Functions of Judiciary**

A ministration of justice is the prime function of the judiciary. However, the judiciary performs certain other functions too. These functions may be judicial in character but some of these functions are non-judicial in nature. Following are some of judicial and non-judicial functions performed by the judiciary.

- **Judicial Functions**

Firstly, when a dispute is brought before a court, it is the responsibility of the court to 'determine the facts' involved. The usual manner in which the courts determine the facts is through evidence given by the contestants. Once the facts have been established, the court proceeds to decide what law is applicable to a particular controversy of circumstance. Thus the judiciary becomes the interpreter of laws which is the prime function of the judiciary. So the major task of the judiciary is to 'determine' the facts of laws and to apply them to particular circumstance.

- **Law-making functions**

Secondly, the judiciary while interpreting the existing laws also performs the role of a law-maker. It may sound surprising, but "judge-made" laws are common to all systems of jurisprudence. Such occasions arise when the provision of the existing laws may be ambiguous, or sometimes two or more laws of a particular government appear to conflict under a given circumstance. Herein the judiciary plays an important role in determining what the law is and when two laws apparently conflict, which shall prevail. For instance, the enunciation of the 'Doctrine of implied powers' by the U.S.A. judiciary proved conducive to the growth of the federal government's power. But the phraseology of the original U.S.A. constitution did not provide such enormous power of the Federal Government. In this context we realize the prime importance of the judiciary.

- **Guardianship of the constitution**

Thirdly, in federal States like India, the U.S.A. and Switzerland, the judiciary is the guardian of the constitution. Chief justice Hughes of America once said, "We are under a constitution but the constitution is what the judges say it is". In federal states conflict in jurisdiction and authority frequently occurs as there are several law-making and executive authorities, each owing its power to the constitution. Under the circumstance the judiciary becomes the umpire and regulates the legal action of the State and Central Government. In case the laws made by any of these law-making bodies conflict with the constitutional provision, the judiciary in the legislation as illegal. Indian courts on several occasions have declared laws of the Union as well as the States laws illegal.

- **Advisory Jurisdiction**

Fourthly, some national judiciaries possess advisory jurisdiction. For instance, the President of India may seek the advice of the Supreme Court of India on any proposal legislation. However, there is no such provision in the U.S.A. The Canadian Supreme Court is also obliged under constitutional provisions to tender advice to the Governor-General.

- **Protector of the Fundamental Rights**

Fifthly, the judiciaries also act as the defender of the individual's rights. Such role of the judiciary is important as it prevents the individual's rights from being violate. An individual need not wait till harm is done to him. If he had sufficient reasons oblige that attempts would be made to violate his rights, he could approach the courts for protection. Then the courts would issue prohibiting such attempts till the rights of the parties were determined. Judiciary is the watchdog of rights and liberties of people. In India, the Supreme Courts is empowered to protect the Fundamental Rights of the citizens.

- **Supervisory Function**

Sixthly, higher courts are often assigned the task of supervision over the lower courts. The India High Courts are responsible for the supervision of the respective

judicial.

- **Non-Judicial Functions**

Lastly, the judiciary in some countries may perform a number of non-judicial functions. Courts may undertake the administration of property in cases where the ownership of property in question is in dispute. Courts also assume responsibility for handling the affairs of minor children or lunatics courts also may be authorized to issue and cancel certain licenses. Courts also may be authorized to grant citizenship to aliens.

12.5 CHANGING POWER STRUCTURE IN RURAL INDIA

In the Indian rural society the power holders may be classified in four groups

- (a) Those who have power based on the ownership and control of land.
- (b) Those who have power based on their caste
- (c) Those who have power based on numerical strength, and
- (d) Those who have power because of the positions they hold, e.g. in Panchayats etc.

In the traditional power system the main dimensions of power system were : The Zamindari system, The caste system, and the village panchayat.

The villagers referred their social, economic and other problems either to the zamindar or to their caste leader or to the village panchayat. In a state like Rajasthan, traditional power structure was feudalistic. In other states also, Zamindari was hereditary. The Jagirdari and Zamindari system were in fact land revenue systems. The kings granted lands to their favourite chosen men like ministers, courtiers and military commanders etc. The Jagirs were bigger estates than the zamindaris. The jagirdar was intermediary between the tiller of the soil and the state but he behaved practically as the owner of the land in respect of peasants. He collected revenue from peasants for their support and also of the military force which he maintained.

The Zamindars were big landlords but possessed no title. The jagirdars levied

numbers of taxes and took a great portion of the produce as land revenue. They discouraged reforms and social awakening. The zamindars were those who were assigned land by the feudal chiefs and had to pay tribute to the ruler. They used to give their land to tenants whom they exploited in every respect. Thus, ownership of land and this economic status were the fundamental sources of jagirdars and zamindars power in a village.

The caste leaders had social status in a village. Since, caste councils were very powerful through severest sanctions, they could even throw out defaulters from the caste. The leaders enjoyed great power over members. The village elders from amongst all the major castes in the village. These were informal organisations. The members gathered whenever issues involving the interests of the village were to be decided.

After independence, the Jagirdari and zamindari systems were abolished and money land reforms were introduced which weakened the traditional power structures and created a new power structure. In Place of hereditary and caste leaders, elected persons with political backing became leaders. Individual merit and not caste or class become an important factors in leadership.

Yogendra Singh in his study of changing power structure in U.P. villages concluded that the power systems has a tendency to incline in favour at the groups which fulfill the economic expectations of the people in the village. Some studies in Haryana and Rajasthan villages conducted in the 1970's and 1980's have also shown that linkages with politicians and officials have strengthened the already privileged position of the upper classes in rural stratification. Andre Bettle noted in his study that power has become independent of class to a greater extent than in the past ownership of land is no longer the decisive factor in acquiring power. A.R. Hiranman has pointed out that the distribution of power and authority in the village does not show any correlation with land holding or caste. Iqbal Narain and P.C. Mathur's study in Rajasthan (1969) concluded that the upper class continues to have a monopoly of leadership but new leadership of younger age group has also emerged at the village level Sirsakar (1970), Carrass(1972), Inamadar (1971) and Yogesh Atal also studied the impact of elections

on finding base by the political parties in the villages and the introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions.

On the nature of change in leadership pattern in the villages. Oomen also pointed out the influence of decentralised decision making process on rural leadership and the character of the village community power structure.

12.6 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CHANGING POWER STRUCTURE IN INDIAN SOCIETY

After independence, the patterns of power structure of Indian society have undergone major changes. The westernization, industrialisation and resultant urbanization, improved communication, introduction of panchayati Raj and community development operating at the cross roads of the social relationship, have made their impact felt on the traditional power structure of the Indian society. The pattern of power structure on leadership as it exists today reflects a transition from individual to collective from the hereditary to elective and from descriptive to functional type of leadership.

The numerical preponderance of castes in assuming increasing importance in this era of adult franchise. This means today an effective village leader has, by necessity, to belong to the caste group that has its largest share in the village population. The backward castes have come to dominate the panchayats as well as other institutions in the village. The upper-castes have been relegated to a second place in the power hierarchy.

Economic Power an important determinant of status in the past, has ceased to be defective in direct elections. The panchayats and others institutions have been captured by the lower income groups.

Education, having become profession oriented and serving as an important agency of social control is assuming great importance in the present context with the massive drive for literacy and education in recent times, educated persons get advantage over the illiterates, as a consequence of which the literate dominates the rural community.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Give a short note on power difference ?

(ii) What are the various factors responsible for the changing power structure in India Society ?

12.7 LET US SUM UP

The foregoing analysis clearly shows that leadership pattern in the Indian society has registered a major shift. The traditional determinants of leadership and power structure have been eroded to a great extent. The authority of the people, old age, the three survey of upper castes, the near supreme domination of the landed and rich classes, all these have been rendered less effective in varying degrees. The development programmes initiated by the state, require efficient and dynamic leaders and such leadership can only be provided by the younger generation. The newly created institutions like the panchayats that are formed on the basis of universal adult franchise have offered unprecedented opportunities to numerically propondrant and socially backward castes and classes. So, the emerging pattern of power structure and leadership pattern present a picture of an amalgam of new trends and traditional elements though it is evident that the older forces appear to fight a losing battle.

12.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Yojana, Special Issue on "Could We Break their Shackles", Vol.31 No.8, May 1-5,1987.

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- 3) Mishra, Sweta, Democratic Decentralisation in India, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1994.
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12.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1 Power differences are found among occupants of different statuses. Power is the ability to get one's wishes carried out inspite of opposition if any.
- 2 The various factors responsible for the changing power structure in India are :
Westernization, Industrialization, Urbanization, Improved communication, Community development programmes etc.

STRUCTURE

- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Objectives
- 13.3 Distinctive Features of the Family
- 13.4 Indian Joint Family : Dimensions and Issues
- 13.5 Changes in Joint Family System
- 13.6 Functional & Dysfunctional Aspect of Change
- 13.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 13.8 Suggested Readings
- 13.9 Answers to Check your Progress

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Family is the basic and universal social structure of human society. It fulfils needs and performs functions which are indispensable for the continuity, integration and change in the social system. A considerable body of sociological literature has appeared in recent decades regarding the effects of modern forces on the extended and nuclear family, both in rural and urban areas in different parts of the world. The changes brought about by industrialization, urbanization and other modern forces have raised questions in the minds of sociologists and anthropologists and other researches over the status of the “isolated nuclear family” and the viability of joint or extended family networks in India.

This chapter aims at facilitating a better understanding of the changing structure and functions of the family. Before going in detail about the changing aspects of family, let us first understand the basic features of the family.

13.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss different views on functions and characteristic of family
- Explain the concept of Indian joint family
- Discuss various studies of joint family system
- Describe changes in the joint family system
- Explain positive and negative aspects of changes in joint family.

13.3 DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE FAMILY

The family is, in the first instance, characterized by some form of institutionalized mating, i.e., some type of marriage. Secondly, there is some mode of reckoning descent by having a nomenclature. Thirdly, family is an economic unit, particularly so far as the mother and the infant are concerned. Finally, a family is always associated with a common habitation for all its members.

The family has the following distinctive features, as listed by Maciver.

1. **Universality :** In view of the fact that all the aspects of an individual's life are considerably influenced and made possible by the family grouping, family is found all over the world and at all levels of culture.
2. **Emotional Basis :** The integrative bonds in is family are mutual affection and blood ties. The emotional basis of the family makes it ideally suited to perform the all important role of early education, which makes it an institution of considerable importance as a transmitter of culture.
3. **Educative Role :** The most plastic years of every individual's life, i.e., his childhood, are spent in his family. It is here that he gets the earliest and the most fundamental lessons in socialization.

4. **Limited Size :** The family, throughout the world, is characterized by its precision as compared to other types of groupings, like the sib or class.
5. **Nuclear Position :** With regard to all the different types of groupings, the family plays an important role in so far as it prepares the individual for participation in all the secondary groups.
6. **Sense of responsibility among members :** A sense of responsibility among its members in relation to each other is an aspect which is more rational than emotional one. This feeling of personal responsibility towards each other is very important to ensure the smooth functioning of the familial grouping.
7. **Social Regulation :** Society, that is the collectively, keeping the collective and wider view in mind, has to ensure, by evolving mores and folkways, that the individual members in a family do perform all those functions towards each other on the basis of which the wider network of social relationship is dependent for its success.
8. **Persistence and change :** Whereas the family as an institution is the most permanent and universal one in human societies, as an association it is subject to constant change in composition and structure, even within the same society.

13.4 INDIAN JOINT FAMILY : DIMENSIONS AND ISSUES

Family sociologists of India mostly agree that joint family continues to be the norm but the range of kinship within it has narrowed. Various processes of change because of modernization are at work apart from the normal demographic changes.

A review of the literature on the Indian family shows that the discussion mostly centres around the structure changes in the institution of the joint family in consonance with the coming of modernising forces into India. Two view points are prevalent in this regard. The first group asserts that nuclearisation of the joint family structure is taking place in India in tune with the global trend, and that one of the inevitable consequences of industrialization and urbanization is the transition of the family from the joint to the nuclear type. Another view point is that nuclearisation of

the joint family structure is not taking place as the Indian social and cultural conditions are very much different from those in the West, and there is no necessary correlation between industrialization and nuclearisation of the family structure.

The concept of jointness in the term “joint family” has varied with different scholars. When some scholars (like I. Karve) regard ‘coresidentiality’ as important in jointness, others (B.S. Cohn, S.C. Dube, Harold Gould, Pauline Kolenda, R.K. Mukherjee) regard co-residentiality and commensality as essential ingredients of jointness; yet others (F.G. Bailey, T.N. Madan) give importance to fulfilment of obligations towards Kin, even if residence is separate and there is no common ownership of property. “Fulfilment of obligations” refer particular family, rendering financial and other kinds of help and following joint family norms.

According to **Inavati Karve (1953)**, the ancient family in India was joint in terms of residence, property and functions. She terms this family as traditional family or joint family. She has give five characteristics of traditional joint family : common residence, common kitchen, common property, common family worship and some kinship relationship. She defines joint family as “a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common, who participate in common family worship, and who are related to each other as some particular type of kindered.”

Desai (1956) however, feeds that we cannot place undue emphasis on co-residence and a common kitchen as dimensions of jointness, because doing so would be failing to recognize the joint family as a set of social relationships and a functioning unit. According to him, it is the relationships between the members of a household among themselves and with those another household that determines the type of the family of that household. What distinguishes nuclear family from joint family is the difference in the role relations and the normative pattern of behaviour among different relatives. He thinks that when two families having kinship relationships are living separately but function under one authority, it will be a joint family. He calls it functional joint family.

Rama Krishna Mukherjee (1962) while giving five types of relations—conjugal, parental—filial, intersibling, linear, and affinal—has maintained that a joint family is one which consists of one or more of the first three types of

relations and either linear or affinal relations among the members.

T.N. Madan (1993) admits that Hindu joint family generally operates at four different levels— (i) as a household; (ii) as a grouping of households constituting a property group; (iii) as a still wider grouping of households incorporating the co-that parcenary which defines the outer limits for allodial and obligatory ritual purposes; (iv) as an all-encompassing dispersed grouping defined genealogically rather than in terms of active interaction.

The root of the 'joint-family controversy' lies, therefore, in the problem of defining the joint family which still generates many confusion and controversies. Hence, while defining and clarifying the 'joint-family' nothing should be taken for granted. "Jointness" cannot be assumed to be a static concept. The features and indices of the joint family are to be such as empirically observable and measurable, and also meaningful for analyzing our family system from a sociological point of view.

13.5 CHANGES IN THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM

Within the past century, the people of India have been strongly affected by the worldwide tides of social change. Such change has occurred as a result of the establishment of the British rule in India, the impact of Christianity, social movement, modern education, western values, the impact of industrialization, a share in the view economic opportunities and the modern political ideas. Modern forces such as industrialization, urbanization, education, occupational differentiation, do seem to correlate with an increasing proportion of nuclear families and many studies have emphasized the effects of these forces on the family structure and functions. Beals (1955) study showed a trend towards reference for nuclear families as a result of modern education, new urban-industrial occupations, development of market cash economics and changes in the family law dealing with joint property. In this connection Kapadia (1951) stated that "the net result of the administration of the Hindu law by British courts were the disintegrating of the joint family organization and the assertion of the individuals inherent right in the property held by the head of the family." Beals (1955) supported this theory in his research in South India. He argued that the change in the legal position of the joint family, and the use of law courts, explains why all but are of large families divided after 1920. By 1953 it has become almost customary for families to divide as

soon as the children reached maturity.

The rural to urban migration because of population pressure on land also added to the weakening of the joint family. Bailey (1957), in his account of an Orrisa village, emphasized that changes have been brought about in the villages by the arrival of political administration and the development of commercial economy. He argued the breakdown of the joint family system in the village was due to diverse occupation. Morrison (1959) also observed in his study of Badlapur that the greater acceptance of nuclear families among rural people was a response to the impact of modern education, urbanization, industrialization and modern values. He indicated that only 6% of the total sample was living in joint families, 8% of the total was quasi-joint families and 85% of the total were nuclear families. He noted that although the nuclear family was found in all status levels, it was more so among upper and middle classes. Orenstein's (1960) research of 59 villages in Poona provided further evidence of this. He examined the relationship of agricultural technology to family type. He founded that families with more technological advances in agriculture were much less likely to have joint families. A study conducted by Desai (1964) in Mahuva, a town in South Gujarat showed that of 423 families surveyed, about 95% of the families practised some kind of jointness. Further those people having non-traditional occupations have slightly lesser degree of jointness than those do with the traditional types. Desai indicated that common ownership of property was the main factor, which helped to maintain jointness. Robb (1961) research among the traditional middle and upper class urban Hindu family in Bangalore, provided further evidence of the impact of industrialization on the family. She discussed how the various factors such as increased pressure on land, modern education, western influence, new techniques of mass communication, increased employment opportunities in towns and cities have contributed to break up the traditional large joint family and how these factors have affected the role relationships within the family and wider kinship network. Gore (1968) investigated whether industrialization and urbanization led to greater acceptance of nuclear family norms. His sample was based on 399 Aggarwal families from urban fringes and rural areas in Delhi who followed their traditional occupation such as bankings and commerce. He also obtained information from 100 additional families of professionals who do not follow traditional occupations. These families showed less favour for joint family living and were more eager to change than those followed

traditional occupations.

13.6 FUNCTIONAL & DYSFUNCTIONAL ASPECT OF CHANGE

The change in the structure from traditional to fissioned or nuclear family is both functional and dysfunctional. It is functional, first because joint families creates parasites. Some members do not work thinking that other family members are there to support them. Even if a person does not earn anything, he, his spouse and his children get the same attention from the family head as the children of earning members get. Therefore, even if these non-earning members try to get some job, the efforts are half-hearted. This leads to suspicious, misunderstanding and quarrels affecting the harmonious relations of members and the organization of family. Second, joint family curbs individualism. Third, joint family is a hot bed of narrow-minded, suspicious, conservative, jealous, superstitious, and quarrelsome women. The uneven distribution of burden of work among women, the upbringing of children, and the differentiation in treatment of women by the elders also becomes frequent source of trouble. Finally, joint family adversely affects the status of women, they feel repressed and suffer from emotional strains.

The change in traditional joint family is dysfunctional first, because it leads to the fragmentation of landholdings, which affects the agricultural production and national income of the country. Second, the disintegration of the residential jointness has negatively affected us in the sense that joint family was an asylum for the old and weak. Third, in the emerging residential nuclear family, an individual is not able to develop the value of love, faith and sacrifices as he was able to do in a joint family. Such training in integrative processes provided us the required experience of life, developed our social maturity and thus contributed much to our personality development.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Discuss in short about the different characteristics of family as given by Maciver ?

(ii) Write in short about the five types of family relation given by Rama Krishna Mukherjee in 1962 ?

13.7 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude Indian joint family is based on coparcenary, coresidentiality, and commensal practices. However because of modern means there is a shift in joint family towards a nuclear family. This change has its own positive and negative implications on society. The changes that led to shift from joint family system to nuclear family are :- Modernization, Westernization, Modern Education and Urbanization etc.

13.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Chakraborty, K; 2002; Family in India, Rawat Publication, Delhi.
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13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1 The different characteristics of family as given by Maciver are :
 - a) It is universal
 - b) It has limited size
 - c) It has educative role
 - d) Social Regulation
 - e) There is sense of responsibility among members.
- 2 Rama Krishna Mukherjee gives five types of family relations (1962) and they are as follows :
 - a) Conjugal

- b) Linear
- c) Affinal
- d) Intersibling
- e) Filial (parenting)

STRUCTURE

- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Objectives
- 14.3 Idea of Family
- 14.4 Trends and Patterns of Family in Urban Setting
- 14.5 Family in an Industrial Setting
- 14.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 14.7 Suggested Readings
- 14.8 Answers to Check your Progress

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Family is the basic and universal social structure of human society, it fulfils needs and performs functions which are indispensable for the continuity, integration and change in the social system. The forms and functions of family have undergone adaptive changes with change in the technological and economic superstructure of society. One way to characterize this change is to associate nuclear forms of family with relatively modernized or industrial society and extended or joint types of families with traditional-agrarian and pre-industrial societies.

14.2 OBJECTIVES

The major objectives of the present chapter is to :

- Discuss the concept of family

- Describe the changing dimensions of family
- Explain the role of urbanization in changing family
- Explain the role of industrialization in changing family

14.3 IDEA OF FAMILY

Family in its most broadest sense refers to the group comprising parents and children. Thus parents & children staying together and assisting each other mutually or cooperating with each other while staying under common shed is referred to as family.

In some places although it may also refer to a patrilineage or matrilineage or to a group of cognates, that is, person descended from the same ancestor while in other cases it may refer to a group of relatives and their dependants forming one household. All members of a family have reciprocal rights and duties towards each other.

14.4 TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF FAMILY IN URBAN SETTING

Various trends and patterns in the family have changed a lot due to urbanization and industrialization. Due to urbanization, more & more people are shifting out of villages and are setting in towns & cities. Thus number of town & city dwellers is on constant rise. The urban families differ from rural families not only in position but in ideology too. Nuclear family in urban areas is somewhat smaller than the non-urban nuclear family and the urban dweller is more likely to choose nuclear family than rural dweller. Urban families show a shift away from joint family norms in their attitudes, role perceptions, and in their behavior. For example : in the area of decision making, unlike rural families, in the urban families parents rather than the eldest males take decisions about their children. Similarly, urban people who favour the idea of brothers living together after the death of parents are fewer than the rural people with the same attitude. Thus, in urban areas the trend is more likely towards nuclear families. Urbanization as such may not result in the break up of the joint family system. But there exist a significant relationship between the duration of the stay of the family in the urban area and traditional jointness i.e., longer the duration of stay of family in the urban area, lower will be the degree of jointness. And jointness tends more among the 'very old' and 'old families' than in the 'new ones'.

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. Change in attitude has direct relationship with length of stay in the city. Cities provide opportunities to females also for gainful employment & when women starts earning, she seeks freedom in many spheres. She tries to break away more & more from her husband's family orientation. Urban residence thus seems to introduce a measure of variation in family pattern in our society.

14.5 FAMILY IN AN INDUSTRIAL SETTING

In earlier society trend was mostly towards an agrarian society. Thus the whole family had the same occupation. All the family members used to work together jointly on their common piece of land. By working together towards a common goal & motive, they developed similar interest and preferred & stay as a joint single unit. But with urbanization and industrialization, different family members showed different interest & choices which led to their drifting apart & forming a nuclear family.

Industrialization got under way in India in last quarter of nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century cities grew around the new industries. Before industrialization, we had :

- i) agrarian non-monetized economy
- ii) a level of technology where the domestic unit was also the unit of economical exchange.
- iii) a non-differentiation of occupations between father and son and between brothers and brothers, and
- iv) a value system, where authority of elders of the sanctity of tradition were both supported as against the criterion of 'rationality'.

But the industrialization has brought the economic and socio-cultural changes in our society in general and family in particular. In the economic field, it has resulted in the specialization in work, occupation mobility, monetisation of the economic, and a breakdown of link between kinship and the occupational structures, in the social field, it has resulted in the migration of people from rural to urban area spread of education, and a strong centralised political structure, in the cultural field, it has brought secularisation of beliefs. 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 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 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.

Some sociologists have, however recently challenged the theory of emergence of nuclear families due to industrialization. This challenge is based on the results of empirical studies and documentation of variety of family systems in different parts of the world. Jointness is more preferred and prevalent in business communities, and many nuclear families maintain widespread kin ties. Several recent researches in the industrialized west have also emphasised the supportive role of kin and their function of acting as a buffer between the family and impersonal wide world. Social historians too have shown that the nuclear family was prevalent as a cultural norm in Europe and the United States even before industrialization. However, it has to be noted that the supportive role of kin does not have compulsory character which is found in family obligations of the Indian nuclear

family. The youngsters in the nuclear family still willingly follow the norm of responsibility towards the primary kin such as sense of unity of the family even though living in separate households. All these changes have modified our family system while population movement from the rural to the urban areas has led to decline in authoritarian power, growth of secularism has developed a value system which emphasize individual initiative and responsibility. Individuals now function without any reconstructive familial controls. Formerly, when man worked in the family and all family members helped him in the work, there was more intimacy among the family members but now since he works in the industry away from the family, the intimacy in the relations has been adversely affected. The effect of industrialization on the pattern of family relationship is also evident from the decline in self sufficiency of the family, and attitudinal changes towards family. Industrialization has thus contributed markedly to the creation of new social & psychological settings in which survival of the early joint family with its authoritarian familistic organization has become very difficult.

FAMILY IN THE URBAN AND INDUSTRIAL SETTING

Urbanization - The Social Impacts of Urbanization

It is now widely accepted that urbanization is as much a social process as it is an economic and territorial process. It transforms societal organizations, the role of the family, demographic structures, the nature of work, and the way we choose to live and with whom. It also modifies domestic roles and relations within the family, and redefines concepts of individual and social responsibility.

- **Fertility Rates:** Initially, the societal shift from rural to urban alters rates of natural population increase. There are no recorded examples of where this has not been true. Contrary to public perception, however, it first reduces the death rate, despite the often appalling living conditions in many cities, as in, for example, nineteenth-century Europe and North America and in present-day cities in the developing world. Only later does urbanization reduce the birth rate (i.e. the fertility rate). The time lag between declining death and birth rates initially means rapid urban population growth; subsequently, fertility rates drop sharply and the rate of growth of urban populations declines.

As a result, families become smaller relatively quickly, not only because parents have fewer children on average, but also because the extended family typical of rural settings is much less common in urban areas. Children are clearly less useful in urban settlements, as units of labor and producers, than in rural settings, and are more expensive to house and feed. In fact, fertility levels in developed countries have dropped so low that cities are seldom capable of reproducing their own populations. They grow, if at all, largely through in-migration from other cities or from rural areas-the latter is now a largely depleted source of population in Western countries-and increasingly through immigration.

Ironically, overpopulation in the Third World and historically low fertility levels in developed countries have combined to produce a massive immigration into those cities in the latter countries that serve as contemporary immigrant gateways or world cities. Those cities, in turn, have been transformed, in social and ethno-cultural terms, as a result of this immigration

- **Families and Living Arrangements:** The evolution to an urban society is also frequently equated with a decline in the status of the family, and with a proliferation of nontraditional family forms and new types of households. By nontraditional we mean those families without two parents and/or without children. This trend is in part a reflection of an increasing diversity in "choices of living arrangements." This concept is used in the scholarly literature to refer to the myriad of ways in which individuals in an urban society combine to form collective units (i.e., households). Those combinations may follow from marriage, the traditional arrangement, or from any other association of individuals within the housing system whether those individuals are related by marriage or blood, or are unrelated.

Historically, of course, living arrangements in the past or in rural areas were never as homogeneous or traditional as the literature would have us believe. Nevertheless, the last half-century, notably in the Western countries, has witnessed an explosion in rates of household formation and a sharp increase in the diversity of household and family types. For most of the period since World War II, rates of household formation-that is, the propensity to establish a separate household-has been much higher (indeed 50% higher) than the rate of population growth, and the rate of nonfamily household

formation (whose members are not related by blood or marriage) has been higher still. This proliferation has many causes, including rising incomes, higher divorce rates, lower marriage rates, and alternative life styles.

The highest propensities to form separate households, however, have been within two principal groups: the young and the elderly. The former includes single parents, the most rapidly growing household type in Western cities; the growth of the latter has been facilitated by increased longevity and improved health and social benefits. In previous generations, and in most rural societies, many of these individuals would have shared accommodation, often as part of extended family groupings. The result, again with respect to Western countries, is that average family size is now fewer than four persons, while average household size is fewer than three. In many older central cities, in fact, average household size is below two persons. This is in part a sign of success, reflecting improvements in housing and in our ability to afford to live alone, but it also reflects dramatic changes in how we choose to live and in our attitudes to marriage, family life, and social responsibility.

- **Links to Labor Markets:** This diversity in living arrangements and family composition in urban societies is also closely linked to shifts in the world of work-in the urban economy and in occupations. Not only does urbanization involve obvious changes in employment and working life, it alters the relationships between households (the collective units of consumption) and labor markets (the production sector). Individuals work and earn wages, but it is households (and families) that spend those earnings. Thus, the composition of families and households influences the changing well-being of the individuals in those households as much as the occupational status of its members.

Two countervailing processes are at work here in reshaping the linkages between living arrangement and work. One is that over the last half century the proportion of the population in the labor force-that is, the participation rate-has increased, especially among married women. Historically, of course, women always had full-time jobs in pre-urban societies, but through the process of urbanization much of that work became marginalized as "domestic" (and unpaid) work. Second, the decline in average household size has tended to fragment the incomes of consuming units, usually meaning

fewer wage earners per household. One rather obvious result of this intersection of changes in family composition and the labor market has been a deeper polarization in economic well-being among urban populations, which is especially marked between households with two or more workers and those with none.

- **Domestic Relations:** Such labor market changes are also interrelated, as cause and effect, with shifts in domestic relations inside the household and family. The impact of these changes have been most obvious for married women. Not only has their involvement in the formal (paid) labor market increased, but so too has their economic position within the family. This gives women more autonomy in decision making, but it has not been without drawbacks. For many women the challenges of balancing work, domestic responsibilities, and the imperatives of everyday urban life, have increased, not decreased. Smaller families, and the dispersion of extended families in contemporary urbanized societies, have in combination also reduced the level of kinship support systems available to these women.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Give a short definition of family ?

(ii) What are the various causes or factors that weakens the family bond ?

14.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus, industrialization & urbanization have influenced many changes in the family system.

Contemporary familial trends are more towards a nuclear family set up, and

towards the self sufficiency of each members of the family. The transition from extended family based society to nuclear family based society is thus, in essence, an example of structural change, since this involves systematic changes in role structure through processes of differentiation.

14.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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- Dube, S.C. 1995; Tradition and Development, Vikas Publication, Delhi.
- Ahuja, Ram; 1997; Indian Social System, Rawat publication, Jaipur.
- Ross, A.D. 1961; The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting, Oxford University Press, Toronto.

14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Family is define as parents and children staying together and assisting each other mutually or cooperating with each other while staying under common shed is refered to as family.
- (ii) The factors that weakens the family bond are as follows :
 - a) Industrialization
 - b) Urbanization
 - c) Occupational Mobility
 - d) Specialization in Work
 - e) Westernization.

STRUCTURE

- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Objectives
- 15.3 Meaning of Marriage
- 15.4 Characteristics of Marriage
- 15.5 Distinctive Functions of Marriage
- 15.6 Types of marriage
- 15.7 Changing Marriage pattern
- 15.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 15.9 Suggested Readings
- 15.10 Answers to Check your Progress

15.1 INTRODUCTION

All societies impose limitation and restriction on sexual activities as it is allowed in certain clearly defined directions. Marriage is a social institution, machinery by which society enables people to satisfy their biological needs in an orderly way. It is a relatively more universal and major social institution because it fulfills the one of the most important function of a society i.e. reproduction with some degree of social regulation over sex relationship. In contemporary world, it is impossible to find out any society in which marriage, in any form is entirely absent.

15.2 OBJECTIVES

In this chapter you will be able to :

- Explain the meaning and characteristics of marriage
- Discuss various types of marriage
- Describe various functions of marriage as an institution
- Explain changing pattern of marriage

15.3 MEANING OF MARRIAGE

Like family, marriage is another important social institution. Marriage and family are two aspects of the same social reality i.e. the bio-psychic and social instincts of man. Marriage is one of the most ancient, important, universal and indispensable social institution which has been in existence since the inception of human civilization. Marriage is a ritual union between a man and a woman such that the children born to the women are the legitimate offspring of both the parents.

- (1) According to **Encyclopedia Britannica**, “Marriage is a physical, legal and moral union between man and woman in complete community life for the establishment of a family.”
- (2) According to **Malinowski**, “Marriage is a contract for the production and maintenance of children.”
- (3) **Edward Westermarck** in his famous book ‘History of human marriage’ defined, “Marriage is a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by customs or law and involves certain rights and duties both in case of parties entering into the union and in the case of children born of it.”
- (4) According to **Lowie**, “Marriage is relatively permanent bond between permissible mates.”
- (5) According to **Horton and Hunt**, “Marriage is the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a family.”

- (6) According to **Hoebel**, “The complexes of social norms that define and control the relations of a mated pair to each other their kinsmen, their offspring and their society at large.”
- (7) According to **Rivers** (1914), “Marriage is a union between two opposite sex for regulation their sexual relationship. It is an organized institution for regulating sex relationships.”
- (8) **D.N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan** (1955) defines, “It involves the social sanction generally in the form of civil and/or religious ceremony authorizing two persons of opposite sexes to engage in sexual and other subsequent and correlated socio-economic relations with one another.”

15.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF MARRIAGE:

Marriage may have the following characteristics.

- (1) Marriage is a universal social institution. It is found in almost all societies and at all stages of development.
- (2) Marriage is a permanent bond between husband and wife. It is designed to fulfill the social, psychological, biological and religious aims.
- (3) Marriage is a specific relationship between two individuals of opposite sex and based on mutual rights and obligations. Relationship is enduring.
- (4) Marriage requires social approval. The relationship between men and women must have social approval. Without which marriage is not valid.
- (5) Marriage establishes family. Family helps in providing facilities for the procreation and upbringing of children.
- (6) Marriage creates mutual obligations between husband and wife. The couple fulfills their mutual obligations on the basis of customs or rules.
- (7) Marriage is always associated with some civil and religious ceremony. This social and religious ceremony provides validity to marriage. Though modern marriage performed in courts still it requires certain religious or customary practices.

- (8) Marriage regulates sex relationship according to prescribed customs and laws.
- (9) Marriage has certain symbols like ring, vermilion, special clothes and special sign before the house etc.

15.5 DISTINCTIVE FUNCTIONS OF MARRIAGE

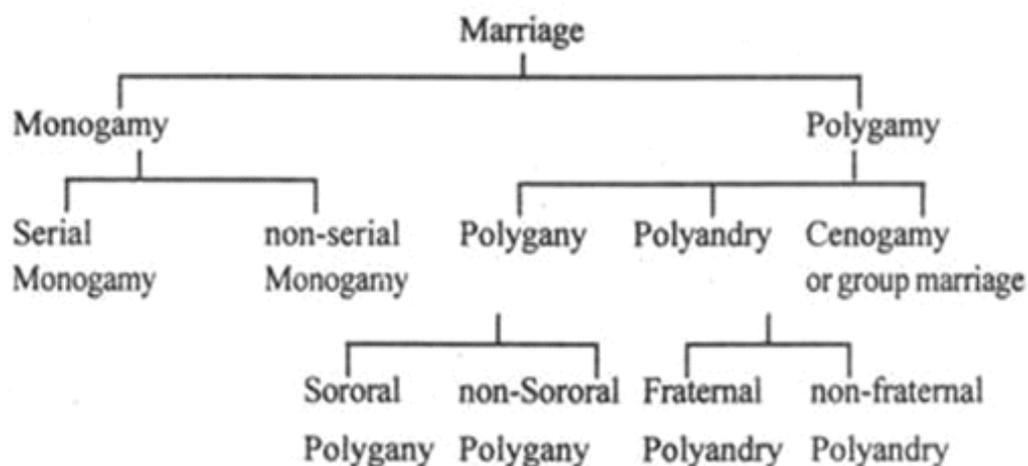
1. **Social Regulation:** Marriage gives social regulation to all sexual relationships, which otherwise would have many social problems. Marriage alone makes the society accept the relationship of boy and girl, as husband and wife.
2. **Procreation of Children:** Then other function of marriage is to have legitimate children. The children born as a result of socially recognized marriage are accepted by the society as legitimate and legal heirs to the property and other assets of the family.
3. **Sense of Sympathy:** After the marriage alone the husband and wife and their children develop a sense of sympathy for each other and they begin to share each other's joy and sorrows. They sacrifice for the sake of each other.
4. **Basis of Family:** As we all know that after marriage family comes into being and with that the virtues of all the family life emerge in the society.
5. **Stability in Relationship:** After marriage alone relationships come into being e.g. the relationship of husband and wife, son or daughter, father in law or mother in law or that of grandfather and grandmother etc. These relationships get stabilized with the passage of time but only after marriage and not before marriage.

15.6 TYPES OF MARRIAGE

As a universal social institution marriage is found to exist in all societies and at all stages of development. Types or forms of marriage vary from society to society. Types or forms of marriage in different communities, societies and cultural groups differ according to their customs, practices and systems of thought. In some societies marriage is a religious sacrament whereas in others it is a social contract. However, there are several types of marriage which is classified on different basis.

(A) On the basis of number of mates:

On the basis of number of mates marriage may be classified into three types such as Monogamy, Polygamy and Endogamy or group marriage. This can be known from the following diagram.



(1) Monogamy :

Monogamy is an ideal, widespread and rational type of marriage. It is found in all civilized societies. Monogamy refers to a marriage of one man with one woman at a time. This type of marriage is normally unbreakable in nature. It continues till death. Today the principle of monogamy i.e. one husband and one wife is practiced and emphasized throughout the world. Monogamy is of two types such as serial Monogamy and non-serial Monogamy.

(1.1) Serial Monogamy:

In serial Monogamous marriage the possibility of remarriage exists in case of divorce or death. In spite of his remarriage he remains to be monogamous.

(1.2) Non-serial Monogamy:

In case of non-serial monogamy the question of remarriage does not arise by either of the couple. Here a spouse has the same single spouse throughout his life.

However, Monogamy is an ideal or best form of marriage because of its different advantages which are as follows:

- (1) It is suitable for all society and for all levels of people.
- (2) It provides better sex satisfaction to both husband and wife.
- (3) It promotes better understanding between the spouses.
- (4) It minimizes jealousy, hatred and quarrels in the family.
- (5) It upholds gender equality and provides equal status to men and women.
- (6) It provides stable sex-life and stable family life.
- (7) Children are taken proper care by parents.
- (8) It facilitates easy rules of inheritance and succession.

Because of the above advantages Monogamy is considered as the best form of marriage and is practiced everywhere. The only disadvantage of Monogamy is divorce which is resulted due to the monogamous boredom.

(2) Polygamy:

Polygamy is a type of marriage in which there is plurality of partners. It allows a man to marry more than one woman or a woman to marry more than one man at a time. Polygamy is of three types such as polygyny, polyandry and endogamy or group marriage.

(2.1) Polygyny:

Polygyny is a type of marriage in which a man marries more than one wife at a time. In this type of marriage each wife has her separate household and the husband visits them in turn. It was a preferred form of marriage in ancient Indian society. But now it was not in practice among majority of population.

But it is now found among few tribals such as Naga, Gond and Baiga. Economic and political cause was mainly responsible for polygamy. Besides man's taste for variety, enforced celibacy, Barrenness of women more women population etc. are some of

the cause of polygamy. Polygamy is further divided into two types such as sororal polygyny and non- sororal polygyny.

(a) Sororal Polygyny:

Sororal polygamy is often called as surrogate. The term surrogate comes from the Latin word 'soror' which means sister. Accordingly it refers to a marriage practice in which a man marries the sisters of his wife at a time or after the death of his wife.

(b) Non-sororal Polygyny:

It is just opposite of the sororal polygamy, when a man marries several women at a time who are not necessarily sister to each other it is known as non-sororal polygamy.

(2.2) Polyandry:

Polyandry is a very rare type of marriage in present day. In this type of marriage a woman marries several men at a time. In the words of K.M. Kapadia, "Polyandry is a form of union in which a woman has more than one husband at a time or in which brothers share a wife or wives in common. At present it is found among some of the tribes like toda, khasi and nayars. Polyandry is divided into two types such as fraternal polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry.

(a) Fraternal Polyandry:

When several brothers share a common wife it is called as fraternal polyandry. Draupadi's marriage to Pandabs is fine example of fraternal polyandry. The determination of father is associated with some rituals. At present time this type of marriage is practiced by some tribal's like toda and khasi.

(b) Non-fraternal Polyandry:

It is just opposite of fraternal polyandry. In this type of marriage husbands of a woman is not necessarily brother to each other. This type of

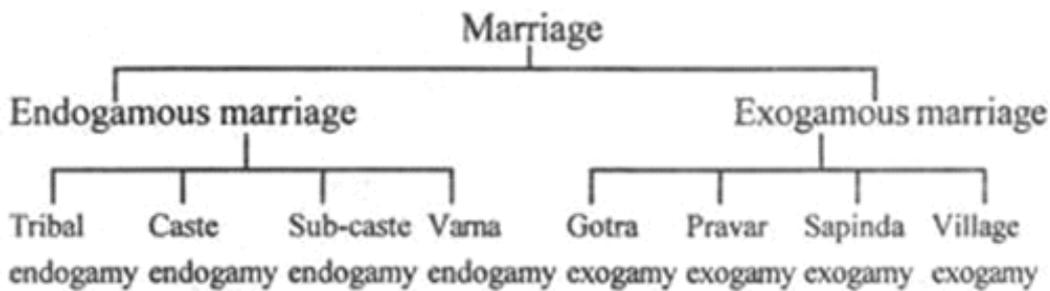
marriage is found among the Nayars of Kerala, Wife goes to spend some time with each of her husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands, the others have no claim on her. This mainly happens due to scarcity of women.

(2.3) Endogamy or Group Marriage:

Endogamy is otherwise known as group marriage. In this type of marriage a group of men marry a group of women at a time. Every woman is the wife of every man belonging to the particular groups. Sociologist, like Dr. Rivers call it as a kind of sexual communism. This type of marriage is found among some tribes of New Guinea and Africa,

(B) On the basis of choice of mate or on the basis of rules of mate selection:

Marriage may be divided into two types i.e. endogamous and exogamous marriages on the basis of choice of mate or on the basis of the rules of choice of mate. Endogamy is divided into four sub types such as caste, sub-caste, varna and tribal endogamy. Similarly exogamous marriage may be divided into four sub-types such as Gotra, Pravar, Sapinda and village exogamy. All this can be presented in the following diagram.



(1) Endogamy or endogamous marriage :

Endogamy or endogamous marriage refers to the marriage within one’s own group such as within one’s own caste, sub-caste, varna and tribe. In other words there are several types of endogamous marriage such as caste endogamy, sub-caste endogamy, varna endogamy and tribal endogamy.

Caste endogamy is a type of endogamous marriage in which marriage takes place within one's own caste. In a caste based society endogamy is strictly followed. Members of each caste marry within its own caste group.

(b) Sub-caste endogamy:

It is another type of endogamous marriage. In a caste based society each caste is divided into many sub-castes. Like caste each sub-caste is also an endogamous unit. In sub-caste endogamy marriage takes place within one's sub-caste only.

(c) Varna endogamy:

Varna endogamy is another type of endogamous marriage. In the traditional Indian Society we found the existence of four varnas such as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. In varna, endogamy the choice of mate is restricted to one's own varna only.

(d) Tribal endogamy:

Tribe is a territorial group. Tribal endogamy is a type of endogamous married in which the choice of mate is restricted to one's own tribal group. Like caste tribe is also an endogamous unit.

(ii) Exogamy or Exogamous marriage:

It is just opposite to the endogamy or endogamous marriage system. It refers to a system of marriage in which an individual has to marry outside one's own group such as gotra, pravara, sapinda or village. This is a sound marriage system which leads to the creation of healthy and intelligent children. However there are several forms of exogamy such as:

(a) Gotra exogamy:

Gotra refers to clan. Members of a particular gotra or clan supposed to have close blood relation among themselves. Hence according to gotra exogamy one has to marry outside one's own gotra.

(b) Pravara exogamy:

Pravara means siblings. People originating from a common saint are said to belong a particular Pravara. According to Pravara exogamy one has to marry outside one's own pravara. Marriage within pravara is forbidden.

(c) Sapinda exogamy:

Sapinda means- lineage. People belonging to five generations from father side and three or seven generation from mother side are known as sapindas. They believed they belong to a particular sapinda. Hence according to sapinda exogamy marriage within one's own sapinda is forbidden. They are supposed to marry outside one's own sapinda.

(d) Village exogamy:

According to this principle marriage within one's own village is forbidden each and every society prescribes certain rules relating to marriage. Some societies put several restrictions on marriage among kins whereas some other societies allow marriage between a limited numbers of kins.

Hence in those societies marriage is sanctioned on the basis of preference or priority. Accordingly socially sanctioned marriage among kins is known as preferential marriage.

(C) In other words on the basis of preference marriage may be divided into four types such as cross-cousin marriage, parallel cousin marriage, levirate and surrogate.

(i) Cross-cousin marriage:

When marriage takes place between one's mother's brother's daughter/ son with father's sister's son/daughter we called it as cross cousin marriage. The marriage of Abhimanyu with Sashikala is an example of this cross-cousin type of marriage. This type of marriage supposed to

be practiced in some part of Orissa, Rajasthan, and Maharashtra etc. This type of marriage occurs to avoid payment of high bride price and to maintain one's family property.

(ii) Parallel Cousin marriage:

When marriage takes place between the children of either two sisters or two brothers it is known as parallel cousin marriage. This type of marriage is mostly found among Muslims.

(iii) Levirate:

It is otherwise known as 'Devar Vivaha'. When a woman marries her husband's brother after the death of her husband it is known as levirate. This type of marriage is found among some tribes like the Gond, the Munda or the Santal the oran and the Toda etc

(iv) Sororate:

It is otherwise known as 'Sali Vivah'. When a man marries his wife's sister after the death of his wife or even when the wife is alive it is called as sororate. This type of marriage is found among some tribes like the Kharia and the Gond.

Other forms include:

Sociologists have classified marriage into Anuloma or Pratiloma.

- **Anuloma**
- **Pratiloma:**

(1) Anuloma marriage or Hypergamy:

When a man of higher caste or varna marries a woman of lower caste or varna it is called as Anuloma or Hypergamy marriage. In traditional Indian society hypergamy is known as Anuloma. This was in practice among the nobles in the past. In Bengal it was found in the form of Kulinism.

(2) Pratiloma marriage or Hypogamy:

Pratiloma or hypogamy marriage is just opposite of Anuloma or hypergamy. When a man of lower caste or status marries a woman of higher caste or status it is known as pratiloma or hypogamy marriage. This is not an approved form of marriage. Ancient Hindu law giver a man a lower caste or status marries a woman of higher caste or status it is known as pratiloma or hypogamy marriage. This is not an approved form of marriage. Ancient Hindu law giver Manu denounced Pratiloma is still it practice among the people.

Like family, marriage is another important social institution. Marriage and family are two aspects of the same social reality i.e. the bio-psychic and social instincts of man. Marriage is one of the most ancient, important, universal and indispensable social institution which has been in existence since the inception of human civilization.

15.7 CHANGING MARRIAGE PATTERN

Like the other social phenomenon, the institution of marriage has also been experiencing profound changes. The practice of monogamy has largely been followed by all sections of society. Taking consent of the children for their marriage, declining stability of the marriage coupled with enhanced greed of the bridegroom's family are some of the perceptible changes occurring in the institution of marriage. An economic development, arrival of technology, increased materialism in the life; legislative efforts are some of the important factors responsible for generating changes in the institution of marriage. New social phenomenon such as gay/lesbian relations, cohabitation, DINK Syndrome are emerging in this modern age which were not part of traditional Indian society. Even if, the new trends are emerging yet importance of marriage has not diminished. The world is changing; it has reached to industrial society from pre-industrial societies. The advancement in technology, urbanization, industrialization, law and education is leading to change in patterns of marriage throughout the world.

1. Change in the form of Marriage:

Due to the advancement and development, the traditional form of marriage are not practiced (Polygamy, Polyandry) or strictly prohibited. Peoples

are giving priority to monogamous marriages as they have lots of advantages and are universally practiced.

2. Change in the Economic role of Women:

In earlier societies women do not have much economic role as they were dependent in their families. But, today women have achieved a great economic independence i.e. they have become property owners, got a qualitative education, become leaders leading to change in the pattern of marriage.

3. Change in the age of marriage:

In earlier societies, there were no so much laws, rules and regulations which lead to child marriage as there was no particular age for marriage. But today child marriage was completely forbidden by law and a boy below 21 years and a girl below 18 years cannot marry without their parent's consent.

4. Remarriage:

Nowadays, we can see lots of case of divorce leading to remarriage. Males seem to remarry more often as compared to the females and widower or divorced men often marry women considerably younger than they are.

5. Delayed Marriage:

Nowadays, people do not become hurry for marriage. Firstly, they want to get good education and want to make their career good, and then only they think of marriage. In earlier societies, women were expected to marry after completing their high school but nowadays women's are exploring themselves. Because of this people generally marry late.

6. Cohabitation:

A compared to earlier societies, nowadays people seem to very practical regarding the issue of marriage. Cohabitation is a situation or we can say contract in which a couple live together involving in emotional as well as

sexual intimate relationship without officially getting married. If they are compatible with each other they will get married in future and if not compatible they will not. For e. g. Living relationship.

7. Material Conditions

The material condition of industrial-capitalist society is the main cause of change in the family. Greater affluence, geographical and occupational mobility and economic independence of (some) women are the main contributing factors for the change in patterns of residence and family life.

8. Global Factors

The global factor (technology and industrial change) is nearly encompassing everything. Since it is everything, naturally it causes everything. Industrial change or industrialization includes not merely machines, but the science and engineering that produced them, the secular attitudes of the modern era, anti-traditionalism, job placement on the basis of competence, an open-class system, high geographical mobility and urbanization.

- 9.** The growth of romanticism, the high premium on individual attachment along with individualistic and liberal values of industrial-capitalist society encourages people to change their partners as they want. In this connection, Giddens (1997) observed, ‘for many in the West commitment is “for now,” not necessarily “forever”’.

Check your Progress

Note: (a) Use space given below for your answers.

(b) Use separate sheet if needed.

- Define the term Family and also discuss its characteristics briefly ?

- What are the different functions of marriage?

- Discuss changing pattern of Marriage system?

15.8 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude the situation in India and other traditional societies is bit different where the institutions of marriage is still rooted in. Baring a few metropolitan cities, people still do not resort to divorce as a common remedy for the ills of marriage. So the marriage patterns are changing due to the different forces of changes like : Industrialization, Urbanization, Modernization, Education, Mass-media etc.

15.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Ahuja, Ram. 1977. "Indian Social System". Rawat Publications, Delhi.
- Singh, Y. 1996. "Modernization of Indian Tradition". Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Madan. 1985. An Introduction to social Anthropology. Mayor Paperback, Noida.

15.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

(1.) Marriage is a ritual union between a man and a woman such that the children born to the women are the legitimate offspring of both the parents. The various characteristics of marriage are as follows:

- Marriage is a specific relationship between two individuals of opposite sex and based on mutual rights and obligations. Relationship is enduring.
- Marriage requires social approval. The relationship between men and women must have social approval. Without which marriage is not valid.
- Marriage establishes family. Family helps in providing facilities for the procreation and upbringing of children.

(2.) The different functions of marriage are as follows:

- **Sense of Sympathy:** After the marriage alone the husband and wife and their children develop a sense of sympathy for each other and they begin to share each other's joy and sorrows.
- **Basis of Family:** As we all know that after marriage family comes into being and with that the virtues of all the family life emerge in the society.
- **Stability in Relationship:** After marriage alone relationships come into being e.g. the relationship of husband and wife, son or daughter, father in law or mother in law or that of grandfather and grandmother etc.

(3.) The advancement in technology, urbanization, industrialization, law and education is leading to change in patterns of marriage throughout the world.

STRUCTURE

- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Objectives
- 16.3 Rules of Descent
- 16.4 Range of Kinship
- 16.5 Kinship Terms
- 16.6 Features of Kinship in Northern and Central India
- 16.7 Kinship Structures in South India
- 16.8 Comparison of Kinship System of North and South India
- 16.9 Kinship organization in Eastern India
- 16.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 16.11 Suggested Readings
- 16.12 Answers to Check your Progress

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in group is called kinship. In order to understand kinship, we may start with a familiar biological fact: men and women have sexual intercourse and as a result, women bear children. We may also consider a second fact: given the nature of human memory and language, blood ties are held in mind and recognized by special terms of relationship: mother,

child, father, mother's brother etc. the relationship based on blood ties is called consanguineous kin.

The desire for reproduction gives rise to another kind of binding relationship: the bond between spouses and their relatives on either side. This 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 kins are not related to one another through blood.

- Kinship may be defined as a social relationship based on ties of blood or on ties based on marriage.
- A kin group may be defined as a group bound together by ties of blood or marriage. Some of the definitions of kinship are as follows:

Robin Fox: "kinship is simply the relations between 'kin' that is person related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity".

Aberchrombie and others: "The social relationships deriving from blood ties (real and supposed) and marriage are collectively referred to as kinship".

A.R. Radcliffe Brown: kinship is "a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behavior of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way, and to a greater or less extent by social usage".

Kinship system may be described as "the customary system of statuses and roles that govern the behavior of people who are related to each other through marriage or descent from a common ancestor."

16.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the main emphasis is to :

- Discuss the concept of Kinship.
- Describe the various rules of descent.
- Explain the features of Kinship in Northern and Central India.

16.3 RULES OF DESCENT

The principle set of principles by which one's relatives are determined is known technically as the rule of descent. There are three basic rules of descent: patrilineal, matrilineal and bi-lateral or bi-lineal.

In patrilineal descent each individual automatically becomes a member of any consanguineal kin group to which his father belongs, but not of those to which his mother belongs.

In matrilineal descent an individual joins the consanguineal kin group of his mother but not those of his father.

In bi-lateral descent, an individual inherits some but not all of his father's consanguineal relatives and also the corresponding consanguineal relatives of his mother.

Strictly speaking, probably no society is perfectly bi-lateral. No society is perfectly unilineal either, if that term implies total neglect of one side in favor of the other.

If a common ancestor binds a group of people together, they are called cognates. If their common ancestor is a male, they are called agnates or agnatic kin or patrilineal. The descendants of common female ancestress, on the other hand, are called uterine kin or matrilineal kin.

Those kin who are related to one another directly through descent are called lineal kin and those who branch out from the main group, like uncles and cousins, are called collateral kin.

Kinship Categories

On the basis of nearness or distance, kins are classified into

- (i) Primary kins,
- (ii) Secondary kins,
- (iii) Tertiary kins

Those who belong to one's nuclear families of orientation are called

primary kins.

There are eight primary kins: Husband-wife, father-son, mother-son, father-daughter, mother daughter, youngest brother-elder brother, younger sister-elder sister, sister-brother.

Our secondary kins are primary kins of our primary kins. For example, father's brother, sister's husband, brother's wife, are our secondary kins. Anthropologists have identified altogether thirty-three secondary kins.

Our tertiary kins are secondary kins of our primary kins. For example, brother of sister's husband is our tertiary kin. Anthropologists have identified 151 tertiary kins.

The primary kins of tertiary kins are called distant kins.

16.4 RANGE OF KINSHIP

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

16.5 KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms are used in designating kins of various types. The first significant contribution to the study of kinship terms was made by Morgan. He studied kinship terms used in various parts of the world. For the two broad categories of kinship terms he coined the nomenclature classificatory and descriptive systems of kinship terms.

Under a classificatory system, several people, linear as well as collateral and even affinal are referred to by the same term of designation. Thus, 'uncle' or 'aunt' is classificatory terms. Such terms refer more to personal relationships rather than to kin.

The 'descriptive' terms of designation, on the other hand, describes the

ego's exact relation towards the alter who is being addressed by the term. Thus, 'father' is a descriptive term.

We may note, however, that there is no place in the world where either the pure descriptive or the pure classificatory system of nomenclature is used. Morgan was of the view that as we move forward from primitive societies, we move away simultaneously from classificatory descriptive kinship terms.

16.6 FEATURES OF KINSHIP IN NORTHERN 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, Dravidian languages and Austic or Mundari languages. 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 behavior 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.

The important features of kinship organization of the northern zone are:

- (1) Kins junior to Ego 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 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 behavior 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. 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 grand-parents 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-gifts is given equivalent to cash-gift received. The neota-registers

are maintained and preserved for generations.

- (4) In Gujarat, mamera-type of cousin marriage and levirate are practiced 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 practiced 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 Marathas 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. 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 the term anna and nana for brother along with the term dada. Similarly, use of the term 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.

16.7 KINSHIP STRUCTURES 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, there are important sections of population which are matrilineal and matrilocal, and also a quite number whose systems possess features of both patrilineal and matrilineal organizations. Similarly, there are some castes/tribes who practice only polyandry and yet others, who practice both polygyny and polyandry. Then there are polyandrous patrilineal groups and also polyandrous matrilineal groups and polygynous patrilineal groups 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 relationships 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.
- (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 land 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 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 has also written that the fact that more than 90 per cent of vedus (houses) have only one Tavazhi shows the extent of atomization of Tarwads in the last few decades.

Clan organization and Marriage Rules

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

The important characteristics of clan organization are:

- (1) Each clan 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 is also used for bhabhi; the term used for sala is also used for Bahnoi; the term used for sasur is also used for bhabhi's father.
- (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 practiced. 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. However, today cross-cousin marriage and specially the Uncle-neice marriage is beginning to be considered as outmoded 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.
- (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-mun, 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-mun.
- (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.

16.8 COMPARISON OF KINSHIP SYSTEM OF NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA

- (1) In the 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-mun) 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 behavior 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 the north, a woman becomes a casual visitor to her parent's family.
- (8) In the north, marriage is to widen the kinship group while in the south it is to strengthen already existing bonds.

16.9 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 Uroan. The kinship organization here has no pattern. People speaking Mundari languages have patrilineal, patrilocal families. However, joint families are rare in this zone. Cross-cousin marriages are practiced 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.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Briefly categorize the kinship relations ?

(ii) Define the term “Range” ?

(iii) Give a brief explanation of the term kinship ?

16.10 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 not 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 the field of mate selection need to be changed so that kinship relations through marriage may be extended and a person is able to get their help in seeking power and the status-loft that power can bring.

16.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

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16.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) The kinship relations are broadly categorize into three main categories :
 - a) Primary kins
 - b) Secondary kins
 - c) Tertiary kins
- (ii) Range is define as total number of persons in a group. The range is broadly divided into two categories i.e. Narrow range and broad Range.
- (iii) Kinship is define as the bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in a group.

STRUCTURE

- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Objectives
- 17.3 The Scheduled Castes.
- 17.4 Constitutional Measures for Upliftment of SC's
- 17.5 Other Welfare Measures for Upliftment of SC's
- 17.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 17.7 Suggested Readings
- 17.8 Answers to Check your Progress

17.1 INTRODUCTION

The Scheduled Castes (SC) occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. They form a part of the backward or depressed classes. They are generally regarded as 'untouchables' and popularly known as Harijans. They are those untouchable castes which are subject to some disabilities in every walk of life — social, religion, educational, economic and political.

The total number of SC in 1935 was estimated as 227 with a population of 50.1 million. In 1981, their population increased to 104.75 million. The scheduled castes comprised 15.7 % of the country's total population in 1981 but in 1991, this percentage increased to 16.73 %.

17.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson students will be able to :

- Discuss the concept of Scheduled Castes.
- Describe various constitutional measures for their upliftment.
- Explain the role of other agencies and welfare measures for the upliftment of their status.

17.3 THE SCHEDULED CASTES

The term scheduled caste was coined by the Simon Commission in 1935 which came to be used for the people described as untouchables. According to Ambedkar, in early India, they were known as ‘broken men’ or ‘outcastes’. The British described them as ‘depressed classes’. In 1931 census, they were classified as ‘exterior castes’. Mahatama Gandhi designated these classed as ‘Harijans’—the children of God, the educated persons among the untouchable castes did not take to this nomenclature. Kindly as they thought that to single them out as the children of God merely means that attempts were being made to make their conditions tolerable rather than destroy the system which bred inequality.

The Simon Commission prescribed thirteen tests for including a caste in the scheduled list. Some of these tests were :

1. whether caste in question pollutes high castes by their touch or proximity.
2. whether caste in question is denied entry into temples.
3. whether caste in question is denied the use of public places like schools, wells, etc.
4. whether caste in question can be served by Brahmins as purohits.
5. whether caste in question can be served by tailors, barbers, washerman, water carrier etc.
6. whether caste in question is one from whose hands a Hindu caste can take water.

7. whether in ordinary social intercourse, a well educated member of the caste in question will be treated as an equal by high caste man.
8. whether caste in question is 'depressed' on account of the occupation followed.

Some of the important castes includes in the scheduled caste list are :— chuhra, Bhangi, Chamar, Dom, Pasi, Raigar, Mochi, Rajbansi, Dosadh, Paraiyan & Kori.

17.4 CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES FOR UPLIFTMENT OF SC's

- i) The preamble of the constitution of India declares that it assures equality, promotes fraternity, guarantees liberty and ensures justice to one and all.
- ii) Art 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, race, sex or place of birth.
- iii) Art 17 abolishes untouchability. It is further provided that the enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.
- iv) Art 46 promotes educational and economic interests of scheduled castes.
- v) Art 330 reserves representation for scheduled castes in the House of the people.
- vi) Art 335 mentions the claims of scheduled castes to services and posts.
- vii) Art 339 empowers the President to appoint a commission to report on the administration of the scheduled areas.
- viii) Art 341 empowers the President to specify the castes, races or tribes deemed as scheduled castes in a particular State or Union Territory.

17.5 OTHER WELFARE MEASURES FOR UPLIFTMENT OF SC's

- i) **Appointment of a National Commission for the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes :-**

A national Commission for the SC's has been set up by the Central Government

to safeguard the interests of the SC's. It functions as an advisory body on issue and policies related to the development of the SC's. The state governments have separate departments to look after the welfare of the SC's.

ii) Educational Opportunities :-

Free education, free distribution of books, stationery, uniform etc, giiving scholarships, banking loan facilities, providing mid-day meal, arranging for free boardings and lodging facilities, reserving seats for SCs in all the government and government aided institutions etc. are some of the concrete steps which the government has taken in this regard.

There are some centrally sponsored schemes also for the educational benefits of SCs — (i) Free coaching and training for various competitive examinations (IAS,IPS, etc.); (ii) Post matric scholarships (iii) Construction of hostels (iv) Providing text books to those studying in medical and engineering courses (v) Financial assistance to those SC students going to reputed research institutes for research work (vi) Scholarships.

iii) Expansion of Economic Opportunities :-

Government has taken up economic programmes also for the benefit of SC. e.g. : Landless SC labourers are allotted land. Poor SC farmers are supplied with seeds, agriculture implements, fertilizers, interest-free loans, pair of bullocks, subsidy for developing dairy farming, piggery, animal husbandary, handicrafts. The 'loan-mela' programme of Rajiv Gandhi Government also provided smaller loans for the poorer section to help them to earn money through some secondary sources as toy-making, agarbati, tailoring etc.

iv) Expansion of Employment Opportunities & Reservation :-

The constitution has provided for the reservation in services. Reservation of jobs operates in the all India services, Central Governments, State Governments and government owned and managed public sector units and institutions. In government services special quotas are also allotted to them. The reservations are also extended to promotions to higher positions to facilitate their adequate

representations. Concessions such as relaxation of the qualification and experience have also been provided to them.

v) Upliftment of SCs through Five Year Plan :-

The welfare of the SCs has been given special attention in the five year plan. The size of investment on the special programmes has been increasing from plan to plan.

vi) Other Welfare Programmes :-

Drinking water facility, medical facility, janata houses, liberation of bonded labourers, Sulab Sauchalaya Scheme—are some other steps taken for welfare of SC.

vii) Voluntary Organisation :-

In addition to the Governmental schemes and instruments, some of the voluntary organisations are also playing an important role in promoting the welfare of the SCs. Example : (i) Harijan Sevak Sangh (New Delhi); (ii) Servants of Indian Society (Poona); (iii) India Red Cross Society New Delhi; (iv) “Ishwara Sharana Ashrama”, Allahabad. The Central Government has been giving financial assistance to these organisations for their Harijan Welfare activities. Some other organisations (Hindu Seva Prathisthana, Dalit organisation etc.) which are not getting any financial help from the Govt. are also rendering Yeomen service to the SCs.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Why Scheduled Caste is denotified as untouchable Caste ?

(ii) Briefly explain Article 15 as one of the constitutional measures ?

(iii) What is Article 46 of The Indian Constitution ?

17.6 LET US SUM UP

The Scheduled Caste population are highly discriminated by the high caste people in various spheres. They are supported by the government and non-government agencies for uplifting their status. Reservation in education, employment and political system will help them to uplift socially, economically and politically.

17.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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- Sachidananda, 1977. "The Harijans Elite." Thomson Press, Faridabad.
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17.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) The scheduled caste is identified as untouchable caste because they occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder and considered as backward class because of their social impurity.
- (ii) Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, race, sex or place of birth.
- (iii) Article 46 promotes educational and economic interests of the scheduled castes.

- Explain the concept of scheduled tribe .
- Describe various Development Schemes for the upliftment of the scheduled tribes.

18.3 IDEA OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Second largest group of the backward classes of the unprivileged second consists of about 7.42 Crores of Scheduled Tribes who constitute 8.8 of the total population (1991 Census Report). The scheduled tribes, generally called tribal people, survived with their unchanging ways of life for centuries. They are known by various names such as primitive tribes, animists, jungle people, adivasis, aboriginals & so on. Gandhi Ji called them 'Girijans'. The constitution of India has referred to them as the "Scheduled Tribes".

According to the scheduled tribe lists modification order 1956, there are 414 different tribes in the various states of India.

According to Gillin & Gillin "A tribe is a group of local communities which lives in a common area, speaks a common dialect & follows a common cuenire."

The tribal population is divided into three zones, namely, North-Eastern zone, the central zone and the southern zone.

Article 366 (25) of the constitution of India has defined scheduled tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be ST for the purpose of this constitution".

In the people of India project K.S.Singh has registered 461 tribal communities in India. Out of the total groups 172 are segments. The total population of the ST in the country stands at 6,77,58,000 (1991 census).

18.4 THE CHANGING TRIBAL INDIA

The pangs of social change which tribals are experiencing are not new. Methodologically, we should be very clear that like other sections of society the tribals also change. In the process of massive social change tribals thus have experienced

vast transformation. Malinowski studied the Argonauts of the western Pacific in 1922 & declared that these tribals would experience social change very soon.

In Malinowski's Trobrianders, these people have largely adopted to processes of modernization on their own terms. Another case is that of Azandes of Africa studied by Evans Pritchard, these people have taken to wage earning in cotton. The Nuers have also witnessed the same social change. It Azandes, Argonauts & Nuers have changes considerably, the Indian tribes e.g. Bhil, Gond & Toda have also experienced social change.

Social change and official Tribal Policy

Historically, the Government of India has not been able to resolve the ethnic relations between the tribal society & caste Hindu society. The farmers of our constitution have not entered into this controversy. They have, in a straight forward way, administratively defined ST for the purpose of Governance.

If we analyze the tribe caste relations during the British Period, we find an uncertain situation. For instance, Hulton maintains that "caste system and many cultural traditions of Hinduism have organic links with the tribal culture". Ghurye also holds similar views. However, O'Malley and Elwin believe that the tribal and the Hindu traditions are separate.

Official Policy

The attitude of the Government towards tribal problems and social change emerges from the constitution. The Government wants that the tribals should be given benefits of development & protective safe guards.

Yet another approach to the tribal people can be seen in the statements made by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in his foreword to Verrier Elwin's book when Pandit Nehru wrote the foreword to the second edition of Elwin's book, he laid down five fundamental principles also known as Panchsheel. These are as follows :-

- 1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius & we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to

encourage in every way their own traditional arts & culture.

- 2) Tribal rights in land & forest should be respected.
- 3) We should try to avoid train & build up a term of their own people to do the work of administration & development. Too many outsiders should avoid into tribal territory.
- 4) We should not overadminister these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes.
- 5) We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but the quality of human character their is evolved.

The Panchsheel or Five principles of tribal development were given in 1958.

18.5 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGES IN TRIBAL INDIA

At the empirical level we find that the tribals have become conscious of the fact that their ethnic identity is invaded by Christianity & Hinduism. We find this not only as manifested in their political demands, but also in their movements. Such as “return to tribal religion”, despite their religion of conversion.

With these introductory observation we give below some of the social & cultural changes observed among the tribals over the years.

- 1) **Changing Social Stratification : From Tribe to Class :** Enough literature is present in social anthropology which indicates that tribals have attained the status of class from that of ethnicity. S.D. Badgaiyan informs social stratification become complex in Chotanagpur & the Mundas of this area have formed themselves into classes.

Reporting about the tribal situation of South Gujarat, Jan Breman observes that there is today a class stratification among the Chaudhri tribe. Though the class formation among the tribals in this part of the country has developed to the level of Marxian class

consciousness, there has definitely emerged as “agrarian under class, which today comprises 60% of the members of tribal castes which lay behind economically, socially & politically.

- 2) **Depeasantization** : The tribals took to agriculture sometime during the first quarter of the 20th century. At that time, they had enough land, the caste Hindu made their entry into the tribal & then the tribal land slipped into the hands of these non-tribals. As a result, a section of the tribals in Orissa, Bihar & Madhya Pradesh have migrated from their parent villages. This has made them job workers instead of peasants. This taking of non-agricultural occupations is called depeasantization.

Breman finds new trend among Bardoli’s taluka of Surat, that the tribals have not only been depesentized but have also become proletarianized.

- 3) **New Ethnic Development** : K.S. Singh, Stephen Fuch & P.K. Bose have very elaborately established that there has appeared an ethnic stratification among the tribals of country. The North-east tribals, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa & Bihar accepted Christinity. The indogeneous tribal religion has split into several reform movement. Bhajanism is the new form of religion accepted by the tribals & this has created an ethnic stratification among these people.

- 4) **Migration** :Traditionally, Social Anthropologists have defined tribals as an immobile stock of people. Today, these tribals are working as migrant groups outside their parent village. Government jobs have also encouraged them to move. Migration thus had emerged as a powerful factor for the transformation of tribals.

- 5) **Political Socialization** : Rajni Kothari has analyzed the political forces which work among the Indian tribes. He says that the universal right for voting, party functioning, social activism have all

initiated a strong process of political socialization among the tribals.

- 6) **Diversified Economy :** The tribal subsistence economy now has become diversified. Their traditional occupation was related to forest & forest produce. But they do not have any hereditary occupations, this has enabled them to take to any occupation they may find suitable.
- 7) **From Local to Global (Erikson) :** According to him, in the present era of globalization, the tribals cannot be kept isolation. The small places i.e. tribal homelands are linked with the region, state, nation & world. The tribals are no longer an encapsulated mass of people restricted to hills & forests. They have become a part of the larger process of globalization.

18.6 DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES FOR SCHEDULED TRIBES

Though the Indian constitution has not defined clearly the term 'tribe', Art 336 (25) of the constitution says that scheduled tribes are the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities which the Indian President may specify by public notification under Art 342 (1).

The tribals constitute a sizeable proportion of the total population of India. The tribals are also the citizens of India and hence promotion of their welfare is of equal importance. Not only the Central and the State Governments have undertaken various steps in this regard, but also various voluntary organisations have evinced interest in this task.

(1) Constitutional Safeguards :

- i) Art. 15 provides equal rights and opportunities to all the citizens of India (including the tribals) without any discrimination.
- ii) Reservation in employment is made for the tribals under Art. 16(4), 320 (4) and 335.
- iii) Seats have been reserved for them in the legislature (in Lok Sabha and State Vidhana Sabhas) under Articles 330, 332, and 334.

- iv) Under Art. 339 (2) the Central Government can give directions to the States in the formulation and execution of tribal welfare plans, projects and programmes.
- v) Under Art. 275 (i) the centre is required to give grants-in-aid to the states for approved schemes of tribal welfare.
- vi) Art. 46 consists of the provisions that protect the economic and educational interests of the tribals.
- vii) Art. 224 gives instructions to the administration to take special care to protect tribals interests in the “Scheduled Tracts” or “areas”.
- viii) According to Art. 275 a large amount of money can be taken from the consolidated fund of India to be spent on tribal welfare activities.

(2) Economic Programmes and Facilities :

- i) **Development through five-year plan :-** The government spent Rs. 30 crores, Rs. 80 crores, Rs 101 crores, Rs 172 crores and Rs 257 crores on tribal welfare activities during the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Five Year Plans respectively. The amount allocated for the tribal sub-plans in the 5th plan was Rs. 1100 cores and it was Rs. 5,535 crores in the 6th plan and in the 7th plan it was Rs. 10,500 crores.
- ii) **Establishment of “Lamps” :-** Large-sized Multi-purpose Cooperative societies are established in the tribal areas for giving productive and unproductive loans, for sale of surplus produced and purchase of necessities of life to the tribal people.
- iii) **The 20-point Programme :-** This programme focussed its attention on the development of the scheduled tribes including existing the tribal families economically to enable them to cross the poverty line.
- iv) **Agriculture made Stables :-** The tribals are persuaded to give up

their system of “shifting cultivation” and to settle permanently in a place of their selection by making agriculture their profession.

(3) Educational Facilities :

Measures to provide educational facilities to the scheduled tribes have been taken by the Government schools are established in some tribal areas. The students belonging to scheduled tribes are getting various concessions such as free tuition, stipends, scholarships, stationary and other equipment. For the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste 20% of seats are reserved in technical education and relaxation is made in respect of age limit and qualifying marks. There are Ashrama Schools for providing basic education and vocation training for schedule tribes. Pre-examination centres are established to help them to appear for UPSC examinations and for IAS and IPS examination.

(4) Medical Facilities :

In some places, hospitals are established and in many places mobile hospital facilities have been provided. Many preventive and curative measures to combat the diseases are undertaken.

(5) Research Work into the Problems of the tribals :

Tribal Research Institutes, which undertake intensive studies of tribal arts, culture and customs and problems have been set up in various places.

(6) Role of Voluntary Organisations :

Taakkar Bapu and Gandhiji have shown that individuals and voluntary organisations with social commitment can do a lot for the welfare of the tribals. Organisations as Sri Ramakrishna Mission, Vanavasi Kalyanashrama and a number of Christian Missionary Organisations are already working in this field.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Discuss various development schemes for the upliftment of Scheduled Tribes ?

(ii) Write a short note on various medical facilities given to scheduled tribes ?

(iii) What is Article 15 of the Indian Constitution ?

18.7 LET US SUM UP

Thus to conclude the development programmes have really benefitted the tribal society. Different plans have led to their transition in various dimensions like social, economic, political as well as cultural. Not only the Central and the State Government have taken various steps but also many voluntary organization help in the upliftment of the scheduled tribe.

18.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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18.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

(i) The various development schemes for the upliftment of scheduled tribes are constitutional safeguards, economic programmes and facilities, educational

facilities and medical facilities etc.

- (ii) The various medical facilities given to scheduled tribes are :- mobile hospitals, disease preventive and curative measures.
- (iii) Article 15 provides equal rights and opportunities to all the citizens of the India (including the tribals) without any discrimination.

STRUCTURE

- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Objectives
- 19.3 Approaches for Women Development
- 19.4 Schemes for Women Welfare & Development
- 19.5 Women in Five Year Plan
- 19.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 19.7 Suggested Readings
- 19.8 Answers to Check your Progress

19.1 INTRODUCTION

The role of Indian women is full of diversity and contradictions. The status of women in society is the true index of social, cultural, religious and spiritual level. The 19th century could well be called an age of women, for all over the world. Their rights and wrongs, their nature, capacities & potential were the subject's of heated discussion. After independence there had been a rise in the status of women. As India became republic, constitution provided women with equal fundamental rights as to men and also many administrative bodies set up for creation of opportunities for women. Some Acts were passed for women development like.

· Some common Acts are as follows :

- 1) The Hindu Marriage Act (1955)

- 2) The Hindu Succession Act (1956)
- 3) The Hindu Minority & Guardianship Act 1956.
- 4) Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956.

19.2 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this lesson is to :

- Describe various women development approaches.
- Explain the role of women in development process.
- Discuss various development programmes for the upliftment of the women.

19.3 APPROACHES FOR WOMEN DEVELOPMENT

There have been three approaches that seek to intergrate women in development process. They are :

- a) Women in Development (WID)
- b) Women and Development (WAD)
- c) Gender and Development (GAD)

The United Nations Decade for women (1976-85) brought the role of women in social and economic development in third world countries. The main focus of the WID approach was that women contribute positively to economic development and they should be given an equal recognition for the same.

- Some agitation which took place for women development :
 - 1) Agitation against Dowry Deaths
 - 2) The agitation against Rape.
 - 3) The agitation against Sati.
 - 4) The agitation against Violence (Domestic).
- Some organisation which are formed for women development and welfare are :

- 1) Mahila Atam Raksha Smiti's
- 2) Textile labour Association
- 3) Self employed Women's Association
- 4) Progressive Women's Organisation
- 5) Purogomi Stree Sangathana
- 6) Stree Mukti Sangathaya
- 7) Manushi
- 8) Women Wing of Janata Party
- 9) Women Wing of Communist Party
- 10) Mahila Dakshata Smiti
- 11) Saheli Group
- 12) Music Group

19.4 SCHEMES FOR WOMEN WELFARE & DEVELOPMENT

- 1) **As per Area of Operation :-**
 - a) **Scheme in Rural areas :** for eg. welfare extension projects, family and child welfare projects, organizing or Mehila Mandals, framing, schemes for work.
 - b) **Schemes in Urban areas :** Welfare extension projects and working women's hostels.
 - c) **Other schemes :** Grant-in-aid to voluntary agencies, condensed courses of education for adult women, adult literacy & Social education for women, craft training centre, Socio-economic programmes, nutrition programme, Social defence programme, border area programme, homes for women.
- 2) **As Per Nature of Schemes :**
 - a) **Scheme under statutory obligations :** for eg. SITA (Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act), 1956, Maternity Benefit Act 1961 and other

protective laws.

b) Schemes for development : Programme providing essential services opportunities to women for development for e.g. education, health, maternity and child welfare, family planning, nutrition, Socio economic plans and certain community organizations programme.

c) Schemes for special group : for eg. aged, widows, destitutes etc. which vary from state to state.

It has been noted that with every successive scheme as programme unable to deliver what is originally set out to do, success stories become increasingly uncommon, resulting in a radical change in the language of development. Disillusionment with the supply oriented and target driven programmes gave way to planning for demand generation, organizing beneficiaries, education for empowerment, formation of women collective, mobilization and awareness generation programmes.

An observation of various reports and analysis of the scheme for the development of women indicate that there are approximately 82 schemes for the development of women. Out of these 82 scheme, only 80 scheme are exclusively for women while the remaining are both for men and women. The total allocation Rs 575/- crores per year. These schemes fall under the four local categories :-

- 1) Economic Development
- 2) Welfare
- 3) Public good/Services
- 4) Awareness

19.5 WOMEN IN FIVE YEAR PLAN

The five year plan are also very helpful for the development and welfare of women.

Plan Period

- First (1951-56)

Policy for Women

To fulfil women's legitimate role in the family

and the community adequate service be promoted for her welfare – CDP 1952, women and child development programme 1962, preschool balwadis 1952.

- Second (1956-61) Special attention to problem of women workers, protecting them from injurious work and through training, changes through legislation—yet for welfare SITA Act 1961, Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, Hindu Succession Act 1956, Maternity Benefit and equal pay to women.

- Third (1961-66) Expansion of girl's education, rural welfare services, condensed courses of education for adult women, mother and child health programmes and family planning expansion of physical infrastructure for health care, female education as a major welfare strategy.

- Fourth (1966-74) Emphasis on education, programme for both men and women, institutional services to destitute women and women rescued from prostitution, social welfare—women welfare with family as base, Balwadi nutrition programme, setting up CSWI.

- Fifth (1974-79) Functional literacy for women. Equal Remuneration Act 1976, toward Equality report and National plan of Action—creche and day care in rural India, training traditional birth attendants, free legal aid and health of mother.

- Sixth (1980-85) Multi-sectoral approach for women's development, employment opportunities for women, rural women as targets, science and

technology for women, re-examination of education—DWCRA 1982, total literacy campaign 1990. National Rural Employment Programme 1980. RLEGP 1988, National Health Policy.

- Seventh (1985-90) Identifying invisible areas of women work-collection of fuel, fodder and walls etc. and labour in family from or business, awareness among women, training for economic activity and employment to than, expansion of done paltas to men and women done in sixth plan.

- Eighth (1990-95) Employment Strategy for women integrated with sectional planning, self employment and wage employment, education as critical input, formation of grass roots level women's group to play crucial/participative role in decentralized planning and implementation of plan programme—STEP, IRDP, LIDC.

- Ninth (1997-2002) Empowerment of women & socially disadvantaged group, utilize local skill and resources and provide part time as well as full time work to rural artisians, women and minorities.

- Tenth (2002-2007) Universal access to primary education by 2007. Reduction of maternal mortality rate IMR to 20 percent 1000 live birth by 2007 and to 10 by 2012.

Major Welfare Programme For Women :

- 1) IRDP :- Intergrated development programme to promote self employment by subscribe credit.
- 2) SSEUY :- Scheme for self employment for educated unemployed youth.

- 3) SEPUP :- Self employment programme for the urban poor.
- 4) STEP :- Support to training-cum-employment programme to provide training & employment to women in agriculture & allied activity.
- 5) DWCRA :- Development of women and children in rural areas.
- 6) WDD :- Women development programme run by government of Rajasthan.
- 7) TRYSEM :- Training of rural youth for self employment.
- 8) NREP :- National rural employment programme for rural landless.
- 9) Women's Development Corporations :- This was formulated in 1986 by department of women and child development.

DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES FOR WOMEN

- **Some Women Empowerment Schemes are as follows:**

1. Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Scheme
2. One Stop Centre Scheme
3. Women Helpline Scheme
4. UJJAWALA : A Comprehensive Scheme for Prevention of trafficking and Rescue, Rehabilitation and Re-integration of Victims of Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation
5. Working Women Hostel
6. Ministry approves new projects under Ujjawala Scheme and continues existing projects
7. SWADHAR Greh (A Scheme for Women in Difficult Circumstances)
8. Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women (STEP)
9. NARI SHAKTI PURASKAR
10. Awardees of Stree Shakti Puruskar, 2014 & Awardees of Nari Shakti Puruskar

11. Awardees of Rajya Mahila Samman & Zila Mahila Samman
12. Mahila Shakti Kendras (MSK)
13. NIRBHAYA
14. Mahila police Volunteers
15. Mahila E-Haat

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

- (i) What are the three development approaches used to integrate women in development process ?

- (ii) Discuss any three welfare programmes made for the upliftment of women ?

19.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus, we can conclude that there are various Ancient Reform Movement, agitation and scheme were put forward for the welfare & development of women and 8th March is celebrated as women day throughout the world. These development programme and welfare measures have raised the status of women and to an extent led to the idea of women's empowerment.

19.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

GOI. 1975. "Towards Equality, Ministry of Education & Social Welfare." New Delhi.

Indira, R. 1999. "Gender & Society in India." Manak Publication, Delhi.

Desai, N. & K. Maithreyi. 1969. "Women and Society in India." Ajanta Publication, Delhi.

19.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) The three main approaches used to integrate women in development process are :
 - (a) Women in Development (WID)
 - (b) Women and Development (WAD)
 - (c) Gender and Development (GAD)
- (ii) The three welfare programmes that are made for the upliftment of women are:
 - (a) DWCRA : Development of Women and Children in Rural Area.
 - (b) TRYSEM : Training of Rural youth for Self Employment.
 - (c) Women Development Corporation : Formulated in 1986 by department of women and child development.

STRUCTURE

- 20.1 Introduction
- 20.2 Objectives
- 20.3 Child Development Scheme
- 20.4 Development Programme for Children
- 20.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 20.6 Suggested Readings
- 20.7 Answers to Check your Progress

20.1 INTRODUCTION

The development and welfare of the child is important for the child itself, for the family and for the society. It is important for the child in the sense that he will be able to perform his duties well when he has a good physique, a good mind and a good personality. His development and welfare is important for the family as he forms an integrative part of the family, being its members. His betterment is also the betterment of the society, as he is future leader or the “tomorrow” or ‘future’ of the society itself. The child in the sense is the most important element of society.

As million has rightly said “child shows the man, as morning shows the days”. The study team on Social Welfare and development point out “the importance of health of nation is determined largely by the manners in which it is shaped in the early stages”.

20.2 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson the students will be able to :

- Discuss various development schemes for the children in India.
- Explain the development programmes of children.

20.3 CHILD DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

After the declaration of the rights of the child adopted by U.N. General Assembly in 1959, which proclaimed the mankind owes to child the best it has to give, and the child has the rights to enjoy special protection & facility to develop a healthy and normal manners, the GOI have been consistently subscribing to the principles enshrined in the declaration and taken steps to guarantee these rights in consonance with the availability of resources. But it was found that there was hunger & malnutrition among children in those causing lasting damage and ill effects in them. In 1967, GOI appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Sri Ganga Saran Sinha to go into the full extent of problem facing the children. As result the GOI appointors proclaimed the national policy for children in August, 1974. The declaration said that “ the nation’s children are a supremely important asset. Their nurture and solocitude are our responsibility”.

The policy lays down that the slite shall provide adequate services to children both before and after birth and through the period of growth to ensure their full physical, mental and social development.

The measure suggested for the attainment of these objectives are :-

1. a comprehensive health programme.
2. nutrition services for remaining deficiencies in the diet of children, expectant and nursing mother.
3. nutrition education for mothers.
4. free to compulsory education for the children upto the age of 14 years including non formal education for preschool children.
5. promotion of physical and recreational activities.

6. special consideration for the children of weaker section like SCs and STs.
7. prevention of exploitation of children of with different types of handicap.

The fifth five years plan point out that child welfare has been accorded the highest priority in the social welfare sector. To ensure healthy growth and development of children, especially those in the age group of 0-6, a scheme for integrated child care services, with emphasis on supplementary, nutrition, immunization, health check up, referral service and nutrition education was launched in the fifth five years plan. But still the available services for children in the need of care and protection are found to be inadequate.

20.4 DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME FOR CHILDREN

1. **Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) :** It aims at providing a package of early childhood services to children below 6 years of age and expectant & nursing mother. The package of services consist of supplementary nutrition, immunisation health check up, referral services for children & mother, non-formal education for children in the age group of 3-5 years & nutrition health education for the mothers. The services are provided by Anganwadis.
 - a) **Special Scheme for Adolescent Girls using ICDS Infrastructure:** It focuses on school dropout adolescent girls in the age of 11-18 years and attempts to meet the nutrition, heal nutrition and health education, recreational and skill development needs. It attempt to make the adolescent girl a better future mother and tap her potential as a social animator.
 - b) **Maternal & Child Health Services :** Immunisation to expectant or pregnant women against tetanus and even supplements like folic acid tablets etc. are provided under ICDS. A prophylaxis programme against blindness due to Vitamin A deficiency is implemented.

NUTRITION PROGRAMME INCLUDES :

- a) Special Nutrition Programme for pre-school children in the age group of 0-6 years, pregnant and nursing mothers in Urban slums,

tribal drought prone rural and hill areas.

- b) Mid-day Meals Programme (MDM) for school children in the age group of 6-11 years belonging to weaker sections of the society.

The main objective in the field of Nutrition education aimed at making a community conscious of balanced nutrition by bringing change in the food & dietary habits.

- 2) **Welfare of Children in Need of Care and Protection :** With the break up of joint family system, under the pressure of modernization, two important problems cropped up i.e. increase of children of working mothers. Two schemes have been initiated to tackle this problem i.e.

a) One is the scheme for the welfare of children in need of care and protection.

b) Creches for children below 5 years of mothers who are working or ailing.

- 3) **Special Measures for Children in Difficult Circumstances or Working Children :** To enforce the ongoing legal labour and other remedial cum rehabilitators measures to eliminate child labour by strengthening various instruments that prevent the problem of child labour and also ensuring their effective implementation.

To organize suitable literacy/vocational training programme & recreational facilities after working hours for overall development of working children.

- 4) **Child Sex Workers :** To curtail the social evil of child prostitution, action will be initiated to bring forth specific amendments in the Immoral Traffic Act 1956 (amended in 1956) with stringent punishment for those involved in it.

- 5) **Street Children :** To curb the growing problem of street children the Juvenile Justice Act 1986 will be enforced more effectively.

Special priority to non-institutional services so as to restore the children either back to their own families or place them with foster families.

DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES FOR CHILDREN

- **Central Government Child Schemes in India**

In this section we will create a list of all child schemes that the central government launched from time to time to ensure that Indian children can enjoy a better future. Whether these schemes really worked or not are something debatable and we will deliberately skip that debate part. So, lo and behold all the child schemes launched by government of India. You get to see a table!

Scheme Name	Target Group	Purpose
Scheme of National Child Labor Project	Children under the age of 14 years who are involved in child labor	Withdrawing and rehabilitating children involved in child labor under hazardous conditions.
Scheme for Grant in Aid on Child Labor	Non-governmental involuntary organizations	Providing financial aid to such organizations to come up with several schemes to aid with child labor prohibition in areas/districts where central government has not reached effectively.
Integrated Child Development Services	Children between the age group of 0 and 6	Improve health, provide proper nutrition, reduce school dropouts, reduce morbidity and mortality, lay foundations for proper social, physical and psychological development of children.
Grant in Aid on Child Development	Non-governmental involuntary organizations	Providing financial assistance to such organizations so that they can extend welfare services towards child development where government has not reached effectively but urgent intervention is required.

Balika Samriddhi Yojana	Female children born on August 15, 1997 or later and belong to Below Poverty Line families	Change negative attitude towards girl child among community and family members, retaining girl children at school, raising the age for marriage of girl child, help the girl child to take part in activities for income generation.
Early Childhood Education for Children Belonging to Age Group 3 to 6	Non-governmental involuntary organizations	Provide financial assistance to such organizations like public trusts, voluntary societies and non-profit making companies so that they can assist with the objective of early childhood education.
Pre-Matric Scholarships to the Children of those engaged in Unclean Occupations	Children of all people who are engaged in unclean occupations like Flaying, Tanning and Scavenging	Provide 100% financial assistance to state governments and UT administrations to cover up the expenditures of the scheme so that pre-matric scholarship can be provided to target group.
Ujjawal0a	Women and children who are vulnerable to and victims of human trafficking aimed towards commercial exploitation	Rescuing, rehabilitating and re-integrating women and children who are vulnerable to and victims of human trafficking through various agencies who have prior experience in the field of trafficking.
Integrated Child Protection Scheme	Vulnerable children living in difficult circumstances	Integrate different child protection schemes under a single umbrella and help to protect children from harm through various interventions at

Rajiv Gandhi National Creche Scheme for the Children of Working Mothers	Children belonging to age group 6 months and 6 years	Generating provisions for daycare facilities for children, ensuring that emotional development of children, ensuring that social development of the children. Physical and cognitive development of the children are to be ensured. Also providing proper education to parents and caregivers so that they provide better childcare.
Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Yojana	Female children	Prevention of killing of girl child or even female feticide, equipping the girl child for survival, ensuring protection of the female child and ensuring continued education of girl child.
Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana (part of Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Yojana)	Female children between the age group 0 years and 6 years	Promote savings for girl child for her future education and marriage.

Check your Progress

Note :- (a) Write your answers in the space given below.

(b) Check your answers with those given at the end of the lesson.

(i) Discuss in short about the special schemes started for the street children in 1986 ?

(ii) What does “GOI” stand for ?

20.5 LET US SUM UP

Thus various programmes have been launched by Government of India to improve the conditions of children. These programmes will also act as a safeguard for the future citizens of our nation. In 1967, GOI (Government of India) appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Sri Ganga Saran Sinha to go into the full extent of problem facing by the children and as a result the “National Policy for Children” was formed in August 1974.

20.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Ahuja, Ram. 1997. “Indian Social System.” Rawat Publication, Delhi.
- Dube, S.C. 1992. “Understanding Change.” Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

20.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) There are various schemes started for the street children and one of them is under the “Juvenile Justice Act 1986” i.e. Special priority to non-institutional services so as to restore the children either back to their own families or place them with foster families.
- (ii) “GOI” stands for Government of India. GOI had implement several policies for the welfare of the children and one of them is National Policy for children in August, 1974 and it declare the Nation children as greatest assest.