Sociology- Minor I-II-Sub-Code-5024

Title;Study of Indian Society- Continuity and Change

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UNIT-I- INTRUDUCTION

a.Unity in Diversity is the unique feature of Indian culture.

Unity in Diversity signifies the importance of togetherness and unity among different kinds of individuals. People with a different culture, religion, class, language, and ideology when coming together and live in peace with each other, is called unity in diversity. This concept is in existence since ancient times. Unity in diversity is something that is followed everywhere in the world and this has consequently led to moral evolution across the globe.

Unity in Diversity suggests the relationship among people of different religion, caste, sex, and creed. For instance, if we think about schools, colleges, and public places, there are different people that live and work peacefully with each other without any disappointment or envy. Also, working and studying with diverse people offers us various opportunities to grow and develop. It also helps us increase our tolerance power along with respecting different opinions.

Unity in Diversity is great to implement at workplaces as it improves the work quality and consequently helps in making an organization successful. It increases the trust and connection between people and thus thy work in full cooperation to achieve the goals.

Also, many businessmen nowadays work globally to expand their business with different people, this sets a great example of Unity in Diversity. The concept of Unity in Diversity is age-old and helps in solving various social issues. The reason behind is people tend to understand each other and thus agree upon certain social issues which could otherwise be left unsolved.

India is a great demonstration of Unity in Diversity where people of diverse religions and cultures live together in unity. Therefore, it plays a critical role in making people ethical and tolerant. Without unity in diversity, humanity will soon see its doomsday, so one should always try to accept the differences and live in peace with each other.

b.Factors contributing to India achieve unity in diversity.
India is a vast country with various types of diversities. The entire society is divided by caste, religion, language, race etc. But with all these diversities we live together as there is a fundamental unity among us. Unified India is not a new concept. In the past also the concept of one unified India attracted many philosophers.
So many factors are contributing for the unification of India.
1. Geographical Unity:
India has its own fixed natural boundary, because of which different communities are forced to live together. It is surrounded on the one side by the great Himalayan range and on the other sides by the high seas. India has always referred to this vast land expanding from the Himalayas in the North to the Kanya Kumari in the South. Even today India includes the realization of a geographical unity.

2. Religious Unity:
Religious unity can be divided into three levels:
Firstly, the unity among various religious groups, such as Hindu, Muslim, Christian etc. All these religions have some common principles like principles of benevolence, honesty, faith in an invisible power, value of life etc.
Secondly, the unity among the different sects of Hindu religion. It is based on a common faith system or belief system. All of them believe in immortality of soul, temporary nature of world, doctrine of karma etc.
Thirdly, the unity among the Hindus who are scattered all over India.:
There are some religious elements accepted by each and every Hindu without considering their differences in ideas, customs, caste etc. Some of the epics like Mahabharat, Ramayan, Bhagbat are accepted by all.
The unity is expressed through the places of worship scattered ah over the country, like Badrinath, Dwarka, Rameswar, Puri etc. The pilgrimage to all the religious places creates the feeling of patriotism and a feeling for the unity of this country.

3. Cultural Unity:
Indian culture possesses a fundamental unity. The fundamental approach to literature, philosophy, tradition and customs is typically Indian. Some of the religious and cultural festivals are celebrated all over the country without any consideration of caste or religion. Likewise, social institutions like caste and joint family are found throughout India. Even they are found among Muslims and Christians.
4. Linguistic Unity:
In India a large number of languages are found. The problem of multiplicity of languages is solved because Sanskrit works as a link language. People of the North and the South have accepted Sanskrit as their language. Sanskrit is the only language in which the entire ancient literature and philosophy of the past are recorded.
5. Political unity:
In the past India was divided into so many kingdoms. At the time of British rule the concept of political unification emerged to make India free from the clutches of the Britishers. After independence India adopted democratic system of politics which demands political unification at all its levels.
6. Racial Unity:
From the earliest time India has invaded by different races such as Aryans, Shaks, Huns etc. But with the passage of time they merged so completely with the local population and culture

that they lost all traces of their original nature and cannot be distinguished today. They are totally merged into Indian culture and civilization.

7. Emotional Unity:

Finally, there is an emotional bond in India that binds all the members of the nation. The very word Bharat Varsha binds all Indians and emotionally they become closer to one another. They can also sacrifice their lives to protect India from foreigners.

The burning example is Kargil war. From all these facts it is obvious that India is a fine example of unity in diversity. All these areas of unity cross the boundaries of caste, creed, social custom and religious grouping to establish unity in diversities.

c.The Evolution of Indian society.

India is said to be a synthesis of diverse social and cultural elements. It is a synthesis of the Aryan and the Dravidian cultures. The unity between the village, the family, and the legal system was the outcome of this synthesis. The synthesis has created continuity from the ancient period till today – continuity from the time of Mohenjo-daro (2500 B.C.) through Jainism, Buddhism and Islam, and from the time of British rule to post-independence India. One finds the process of assimilation and synthesis in the fields of art, painting, music, religion, etc.

K.M. Panikkar (1967), a staunch nationalist, keeping in view the historicity of synthesis and assimilation writes: "I define culture as the complex of ideas, conceptions, developed qualities, and organised relationships and courtesies that exist generally in a society." He describes it as "a community of thought, a similarity of conduct and behaviour, a common general approach to fundamental problems, which arise from shared traditions and ideals".

Indian culture has been modified continuously by outside contacts, but remains essentially Indian, based on doctrines and ideas developed indigenously. This form and substance of Indian culture are found in literature, art and architecture. India has had a tradition of religious and social tolerance. This tolerance has contributed to the richness and variety of social and cultural life in India.

Society in Ancient India:

The main literary sources in the ancient period were written in Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages, and Dravidian languages. The Vedas, the Puranas and the Mahabharata, and the texts in Prakrit and Pali languages may be mentioned.

The Ceylonese chronicles, the Buddha charita and Jain literature are the important historical works. In the medieval period, several historical works about the Chalukyas of Kalyana, Chatramanas, and the Palas of Bengal were written in the Sanskritic languages.

The three well-known writings referring to these dynasties are the Vikramankadevacharita, the Prathvirajavijaya. and the Ramacharita, respectively. The Rajatarangini of Kashmir and the Gujarat chronicles are other important works The Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam languages also produced important works in the period A.D. 1206-1761 The Persian and Arabic languages received a lot of encouragement

Pre-historic and proto-historic periods are divided into the Stone Age, Copper Age and Iron Age. Such a classification refers to man's material and technological advancement. Knowledge of man's economic and social status and his environment needs greater attention. However, this periodisation does not provide adequate understanding.

The following stages in man's progress are more indicative of the evolutionary process:

1. Primitive food collecting stage or early and middle stone ages.
2. Advanced food collecting stage or late stone age/mesolithic.
3. Transition to incipient food production or early neolithic.
4. Settled village communities or advanced neolithic/ chalcolithic.
5. Urbanisation or Bronze Age.

Geography and History of India

India, formally called the Republic of India, is the country that occupies most of the Indian subcontinent in southern Asia. In terms of its population, India is one of the most populous nations in the world and falls slightly behind China. India has a long history and is considered the world's largest democracy and one of the most successful in Asia. It is a developing nation and has only recently opened its economy to outside trade and influences. As such, its economy is currently growing and when combined with its population growth, India is one of the world's most significant countries.

India's History

India's earliest settlements are believed to have developed in the culture hearths of the Indus Valley around 2600 BCE and in the Ganges Valley around 1500 BCE. These societies were mainly composed of ethnic Dravidians who had an economy based on commerce and agricultural trade.

Aryan tribes are believed to have then invaded the area after they migrated into the Indian subcontinent from the northwest. It is thought that they introduced the caste system, which is still common in many parts of India today. During the fourth century BCE, Alexander the Great introduced Greek practices into the region when he expanded across Central Asia. During the third century BCE, the Mauryan Empire came into power in India and was most successful under its emperor, Ashoka.

Throughout subsequent periods Arab, Turkish and Mongol peoples entered India and in 1526, a Mongol Empire was established there, which later expanded throughout most of northern India. During this time, such landmarks as the Taj Mahal were also constructed.

Much of India's history after the 1500s was dominated by British influences. The first British colony was established in 1619 by the English East India Company at Surat. Shortly thereafter, permanent trading stations opened in present-day Chennai, Mumbai, and Kolkata. British influence then continued to expand from these initial trading stations and by the 1850s, most of India and other countries such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh were controlled by Britain. Queen Victoria of England took the title of Empress of India in 1876.

By the late 1800s, India began a long struggle working toward independence from Britain. That finally happened in the 1940s, when Indian citizens began to unite and British Labor Prime Minister Clement Attlee (1883–1967) began to push for India's independence. On August 15, 1947, India officially became a dominion within the Commonwealth and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) was named India's Prime Minister. India's first constitution was written shortly thereafter on January 26, 1950, and at that time, it officially became a member of the British Commonwealth.

Since gaining its independence, India has undergone significant growth in terms of its population and economy, however, there have been periods of instability in the country and much of its population today lives extreme poverty.

Government of India

Today India's government is a federal republic with two legislative bodies. The legislative bodies consist of the Council of States, also called Rajya Sabha, and the People's Assembly, which is called the Lok Sabha. India's executive branch has a chief of state and a head of government. There are also 28 states and seven union territories in India.

Economics Land Use in India

India's economy today is a varied mix of small village farming, modern large-scale agriculture as well as modern industries. The service sector is also an incredibly large part of India's economy as many foreign companies have such places as call centers located in the country. In addition to the service sector, India's largest industries are textiles, food processing, steel, cement, mining equipment, petroleum, chemicals, and computer software. India's agricultural products include rice, wheat, oilseed, cotton, tea, sugarcane, dairy products, and livestock.

Geography and Climate of India

The geography of India is diverse and can be divided into three main regions. The first is the rugged, mountainous Himalayan region in the northern part of the country, while the second is called the Indo-Gangetic Plain. It is in this region that most of India's large-scale agriculture takes place. The third geographic region in India is the plateau region in the southern and central portions of the country. India also has three major river systems, all of which have large <u>deltas</u> that take over a large portion of the land. These are the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra Rivers.

India's climate is also varied but is tropical in the south and mainly temperate in the north. The country also has a pronounced <u>monsoon season</u> from June to September in its southern portion.

More Facts About India

- India's people are 80% Hindu, 13% Muslim, and 2% Christian. These divisions have historically caused tensions between different religious groups.
- Hindi and English are India's official languages, but there are also 17 regional languages that are considered official.
- India has several cities that have undergone place name changes such as Bombay being renamed Mumbai. These changes were mainly done in an effort to return the city names to local dialects, as opposed to British translations

d. The Threats and challenges to bring unity in India

The Ten major threats to national integration of India.

1. Communalism
2. Sectarianism
3. Casteism
4. Linguism
5. Regionalism
6. Economic Differences
7. Dirty Politics
8. Terrorism
9. Student Unrest
10. Lack of Good and Committed Leadership or Shameful Leadership.

1. Communalism:

It is the biggest challenge to national integration and democracy. Threat of communal hat redness has shaken the very unity and integrity of our nation.

No part of the country from Kargil to Kanyakumari and from Guwahati to Chaupati is free from communal disturbances.

There is a growth of feeling of hat redness of one religious community against other community on the grounds that religion of one community is anti-thesis to other religion.

Religious fundamentalism and communal fanaticism have raised their ugly heads which vitiate the atmosphere of peace and tranquility of the nation. The ugliest manifestation of this trend is the occurrence of communal riots with a disconcerting frequency in some parts of the country.

In the sordid scenario, peace becomes a mirage for the people who suffer the most. Misinterpretation of religion by fundamentalists is said to be the chief reason of spreading the fire of communalism.

2. Sectarianism:

Sectarianism poses another threat to national integration because it creates a further gulf among various sects of the people belonging to the same religion. For example, there is a tussle and strife between Sunnis and Shias of Muslim community on the one hand and Kabir-panth and Gorakhpanth or Nirankaris and the Alkali Sikhs of the Sikh community on the other hand.

This trend is surely a threat to the hard-won fabric of national unity and integration.

3. Casteism:

Caste is the basis of the division of our society. It is often remarked that in India one can change everything except 'caste'. Everything is organised on the line of caste. Caste loyalties are looming large. Different castes look to the benefit of their own castes.

As things are today, more and more power is getting concentrated in the hands of the dominant castes and the latter resent the attempts made by the lower castes to move up. This has resulted in inter-caste rivalries and tensions.

High caste people develop a feeling of superiority over the low caste people who are always despised by the former. While the high castes have not shed their sense of superiority, the low caste especially Harijans and backward castes have become increasingly assertive about their rights:

The result is the overt rivalries and clashes which pose a grave danger to the vital aspect of the nation i.e., national integration. Now, politics is getting affected by caste. Politicization of caste is a recurring phenomenon in India which divides the people on caste lines. Therefore, caste plays a dominant and formidable role in every affair of the people which is detrimental to the vibrant force of national cohesion and unity.

4. Linguism:

Although language plays an integrative role, in a number of times, it plays a disintegrative role. The linguistic cultural divide between the Aryan-Sanskritic North (Heart land) and the

Dravidian South has put to test India's hard-won integration. Controversy over 'official language' had triggered off serious law and order problems in southern belts. Tamilians are quite reluctant to accept 'Hindi' as official language in their states.

Their slogan is 'English ever and Hindi never' and they say they are Indians but not Indians. Even other states are not free from linguistic animosities. Linguistic differences have created social tensions and marred the social solidarity of the people. This situation poses a grave danger to the unity and integrity of the nation.

5. Regionalism:

Regionalism presents a serious threat to national integration. It can be defined as a feeling of attachment to a geographically and culturally marked segment of the national territory.

Cultural diversity, economic and social disparities, religious and linguistic differences, economic imbalances and uneven regional development are the root causes of the growth spurt of regionalism. Regionalism is visible in every domains of national life—industry, business, education, politics and service.

Political parties have been formed on regional basis whose concerns are to uphold the supreme interest of the state. Even within the states, regionalism raises its ugly head. Parochial loyalties and acute regional sense have been the order of the day.

The offshoot of this sense is the "theory of sons of the soil" which fundamentally implies the attachment of people of one area to such an extent that other people particularly 'minorities' so-called 'outsiders' are not allowed to remain in their former regions to function in different aspects of life. This aspect of regionalism is the most powerful threat to national solidarity and cohesion.

6. Economic Differences:

The socio-economic reality in India exposes the glaring contrast between the 'rich' and 'poor'; the chasm between wealth and affluence on the one hand and abject poverty and inhuman misery on the other, between haves and have-not's. Thus there is the existence of two Indians inside India.

A few people are rolling in wealth and living a life of ostentation and submerge in conspicuous consumption while masses are deprived of even a square meal per day who bear the brunt of endless exploitation and perennial oppression. As such, this wide hiatus gives birth to anti-national elements.

Poverty compels the poor to resort to anti-national activities which are suicidal for the preservation of national integration. They are apathetic to national development and do not accept governmental activities as a sign of their upliftment. Due to poverty, many a youth do prefer to join in the camps of anti-nationalist organizations like Naxalite and Maoist. This is not a healthy symptom for the largest democracy in the world.

7. Dirty politics:

India is a nation accommodating different political parties which are formed on the basis of caste, language, region and personal charisma. These parties play a dubious role in disintegration of the nation. They give top priority to their own interests at the cost of the national interest.

They uphold their own values of self-aggrandizement and busy in amassing of wealth. They do not think of the interest of the nation and continue to misled people through their false propaganda and slogans to upgrade their positions.

They play dirty and narrow politics for the interests of their own which sap the national feeling and solidarity. Thus, politics is played to consolidate one's position vis-a-vis other's at the cost of national interest.

8. Terrorism:

Terrorism poses a great threat to national unity and integration. The main objective of terrorism is to create a climate of extreme fear psychosis and thus, it undermines the confidence of people in the political system and the government. Violence is a means to achieve the goal of destabilizing the nation by infusing a spectra of fear in the minds of common people.

The reasons for the growth of terrorism are historical, political, economical and religious. Bomb-blasting, arsons, hijacking, abduction, killing, maiming etc. are some of the means to destabilize the country. State-sponsored terrorism is the ugliest manifestations of it pointed to disturb the unity and stability of other nations.

9. Student Unrest:

Now student unrest stands as a great stumbling block on the path of national integration. In-fact, students are the future of a nation. If they get dissatisfied and frustrated due to unemployment, internal bickering, defective educational system, etc.

it is sure that our country must bound to go hell sooner or later. Misled by politicians students commit a plethora of sinful activities which are detrimental to the health of our nation? They paralyze the machinery of government by going on strike, dharana, and setting fire major offices, vehicles, shops etc. Hence, Student unrest is a serious threat to the national unity and integrity.

10. Lack of Good and Committed Leadership or Shameful Leadership:

The success of a democratic republic harbours on good and committed leaders who are the harbingers of national development. But now, most of our leaders are swayed by petty interests, alienated from doing things for the interest of the nation.

Leaders are found to be interested in their own affairs setting the ground for sowing the seed of communalism, casteism, linguism and provincialism. Such leaders do not provide a berth to the rise of national culture. Hence, these leaders stand as obstacles on the path of national unity. Therefore, national integration is under the fire of threats from myriad forces.

UNIT-II - THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM-

Introduction

Structural and Functional Perspective of Indian Sociology

Sociological functionalism is closely related to the structural-functionalist approach in anthropology, which tries to explain the various social forms found in tribal societies in terms of their contributions to social cohesion.

The followers of this perspective focus on the understanding of the 'ordering' and 'patterning' of the social world. Their focus of attention is mainly the 'problem of order' at a societal level. Their theoretical and empirical analyses have generally been based on the assumption that societies can be seen as persistent, cohesive, stable, generally inherited wholes differentiated by their culture and social structural arrangements.

They even pose the questions: How did various institutions or customs originate? How does it fill in the broader context? How does the part relate to the whole? Regarding this perspective, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown says that the total social structure of a society, together with the totality of social usages, constituted a functional unity, a condition in which all parts work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, that is, without producing persisting conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated. Further, to explain any belief, rule, custom or institution demanded an analysis which linked the elements functionally with the structure of the culture as a system.

This perspective of society stresses the element of harmony and consistency not those of conflict and contradiction. The functional unity of a system is defined in terms of social order. In defining society in holistic terms, structural-functional implies that as everything within the system is necessarily functional for the whole.

They are the believers of the fact that society is a relatively persisting configuration of elements and consensus is a ubiquitous element of the social system. It treats changes as a slow, cumulative process of adjustment to a new situation. Its explanation consists essentially of pointing out how the different types of activity fit on top of one another, and are consistent with one another, and how conflicts are contained and prevented from changing the structure.

M.N. Srinivas is to be credited for initiating the new line of structural-functional analysis in sociological and social anthropological research in India. Structural-functionalism is brought into sociology by borrowing concepts from biological sciences. Structure in biology refers to organisms meaning a relatively stable arrangement of relationships between different cells and the consequences of the activity of the various organs in the life process of the organism as their functio

Spencer goes further and points out that not only analogy exists between the body social and body human but the same principle and the same definition of life is applied to both. Durkheim insisted on the importance of structure over elements. He has pointed to the importance of social morphology or structure.

A new departure was marked in the thirties of the 19th century by the works of a number of British social anthropologists (Srinivas, 1964). Evans-Pritchard describes social structure in terms of persistent social groups and Radcliffe-Brown indicates that social structure is based on network of relations of person to person through genealogical connections.

According to Srinivas, "In the recent British social anthropology, the two important concepts – structure and function – imply that every society is a whole and that its various parts are interrelated. In other words, the various groups and categories which are part of a society are related to each other" (Srinivas, 1964).

The structural-functional perspective relies more on the field work tradition for understanding the social reality so that it can also be understood as 'contextual' or 'field view' perspective of the social phenomena. The important followers of this perspective are M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube, McKim Marriott, I.P. Desai, D.N. Majumdar and others. In this section, we would discuss the structural-functional approach adopted by M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube and McKim Marriott in the study of Indian society.

M.N.Srinivas Biography and Contribution to Indian Sociology

 M.N Srinivas full name Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas. He was born in 1916 in Mysore and passed away in 1999 in Bangalore. He was one of the best Indian sociologists. He was a Brahmin. His studies are prominent in the area of caste and its other classifications, Sanskritization and many other topics that revolve around caste itself.

He acquired his knowledge and doctorate in sociology in the University of Bombay. In the late forties, Srinivas went to the University of Oxford for his further studies. There he played a significant role and started bringing up ideas for sociology.

Methodology:

Srinivas's perspective was different from another sociologist as he did not want to rely on a western textbook to study his own country people. So, therefore, he himself participated and started with observation and fieldwork. Somewhere in 1940-42, He did a vast field work on Coorgs. He further talks about the unity and interaction among different castes present in Coorgs. Caste he covered was Brahmins, Kaniyas, Bannas and Panikas. He also discusses in villages we can see many independent castes.

Most of the years Srinivas only concentrated on studying caste and religion. He covered all the dimensions of the caste and religion prevailing in the society. He came up with the terms dominant castes, westernization, secularization and sanskritization. This all was the impact and outcome of the caste system.

Srinivas being from Brahmin caste which was believed to be superior he never hesitated to choose caste system as his main area of interest. He presented number studies on how caste has its role everywhere be it be village or cities.

To make people understand the concept of society he categorized these concepts into two (i) book view (ii) field view

Now when we talk about the book view. Srinivas always said what is given in the book might be good as a reference but completely believing it won't be useful. He gave more importance to the field perspective. According to books all the caste elements, religion, kinship, geographical areas formulate Indian society's foundation.

Srinivas always believed to know Indian society and its different aspects one has to go in the field use his own mind and observation and share what he or she has experienced. He said to study Indian society starts with visiting different regions. Study that region and its functions. This is how you can know the nativity of those regions of Indian society.

He also emphasized the importance of mathematical and statistical studies. Many rely on practical analyzes rather on mathematical as it seems to be difficult to follow. He stuck to the notion of local bounded sites which were best seen his paper on the topic like dominant caste and joint family conflicts which he himself observed in rural south India. His uniques style of researching and best works were provided by him due to his unique sense of methodology. Many of his writing served as a reference to many other sociologists or researchers who were also determined to study caste in India.

Recognition:

He was awarded and honoured by different institutions. The University of Bombay, the government of France and Royal anthropological institute placed several awards on his hand. President of India awarded him Padma Bhushan. He was also seen as one of the foreigner members in the British Academy and American Academy of Arts and Science.

Writing and inspiration:

Srinivas was greatly influenced by Radcliffe Brown an English social Anthropologist and by his idea of structure. Radcliffe was also his teacher when he was studying at Oxford.

Srinivas was firmly determined to study religion, caste, and social changes. He studied every aspect of Indian society and its relationship with one another. Let it be different tribes, castes, peasants, and sections etc. His writing is of great effort and done in the field in South India.

Some of his writings are listed below:

1942, Marriage and Family in Mysore

1. 1952, <u>Religion and Society among Coorgs of South India</u>
2. The Oxford India Srinivas
3. 1955, India's villages
4. 1962, Caste in Modern India and Other Essays
5. 1966, Social Change in Modern India
6. 1976, the Remembered Village
7. 1980 India: Social structure and much more. If we will talk about the nature of Srinivas writing it is believed to be interdisciplinary.

We would discuss briefly on a few topics which were of great importance to Srinivas:

1. **Social changes** are occurring from the evolution of society but when we talk about Indian society there are certain social changes that have gained much popularity. Concepts like Sanskritization, Westernization, and Secularization etc are an example of social changes.
2. **Sanskritization** is as the process in Hinduism in which the low caste Hindu person or group tries to acquire values, ideologies, and rituals of higher caste Hindu. Westernization in India when the culture of West is gaining more importance than the culture of India. Indian people borrowing the culture of West is said to be the process of Westernization.
3. **Secularization** in India is a process in which all the religion existing in India will be treated as equal and neutral. These are some of the social changes which Srinivas emphasized on.
4. **View on Religion, caste and its impact**: He emphasized on many topics related to religion and village. How religion plays an important role to formulate Indian society. Religion, therefore, carries caste system which again produces subdivision of these castes. He later discusses how these castes affect different caste groups differently. Each caste carries its position in society and treated on the basis of those ranks. He further talks about how these caste differences bring out more differences among people differences like occupational differences, a hierarchy in society, the system of pure and impure, caste panchayats and assemblies.

5. **Dominant caste:** according to Srinivas any caste that has three main powers of numerical strength, political power, and economic power is said to be a dominant caste.

Now he arises a new concept of dominant caste it does not talks about how castes are ranked in society. If only concerns with if one has numerical strength, political power and economic power irrespective of whether he belongs to low or high caste.

We can see this when Srinivas talks about the village of Rampura in Mysore. There he witnesses that there were several castes each holding different positions. It consisted of Brahmins, peasants, and untouchables. But here peasants were stronger and dominant than Brahmins as many peasants had land were numerically stronger and had political power. That is why in this sense Srinivas said caste that was traditionally ranked below but having political and economic power proved them as dominant caste in the village.

Criticism Srinivas Faced:

Many have criticized him by saying he has at times eliminated religious minorities from his research during promoting the concept of Sanskritization.

In his studies, we can see he has focused on Indian traditions like caste and village which revolve around Hinduism trough this we can see he was using no secular concept. He focused more on upper caste or we can say, elite groups.

Many concepts of social change were introduced by M.N Srinivas such as sanskritization and westernization. These two processes cannot be studied individually. One needs to study both the concepts to acquire full knowledge. He introduced the concept of sanskritization when he

was still studying in Oxford and the concept of westernization was put up in 1956. In which he shares how westernization has impacted the Indian culture and gradually it's sweeping away the Indian culture over western.

The concepts which were introduced by Srinivas were not completely unique as they might be having the same concept from Aryanization or Brahminization by Lyall and Risley as said by Mukherjee.

M.N Srinivas importantly focused on fieldwork rather completely falling for bookish knowledge. He was one of the popular first generation sociologists in India. He discusses all the complex functions in Indian society with ease. He shares his point of view on topics such as caste, religion, traditional villages and their impacts on Indian society.

Biography of Shyama Charan Dube and his Contribution towards Sociology

Shyama Charan Dube (1922-1996) is a well-known anthropologist and sociologist in India. His application of the structural-functional approach for studying the Indian village community brought him in repute. Although he recognizes semi-autonomous character of the Indian village, he does not regard it as "static, timeless and changeless". He viewed that it is difficult to say any one village as representative of rural India as a whole; it cannot be representative in its cultural area. His study of Shamirpet provides description of social, economic and ritual structure, family level living etc.

S.C. Dube was born on 25th July, 1922 at Narsinghpur in Madhya Pradesh and passed away on 4th February, 1996 at the age of 73 years. Dube took his Master's degree from Nagpur University in Political Science and then proceeded to undertake research among the Kamar – a tribe of shifting cultivators in Madhya Pradesh.

He has taught social anthropology and sociology at universities in India and abroad. He started his professional career as a lecturer at Bishop College, Nagpur, and Maharashtra. Later, he joined the Department of Political Science in Lucknow University.

While teaching there, he got the book on Kamar published, and improved upon his anthropological readings through interactions with D.N. Majumdar, whom he assisted in the early stages of the publication of the journal Eastern Anthropologist. Then, he moved to Osmania University, Hyderabad as a reader to take the place of Von Furer Haimendorf in the Department of Sociology.

He also went to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and the London School of Economics. The interaction with academics including Raymond Firth who helped him in shaping the book on Indian Village. He was gifted speaker in English and Hindi.

Dube quit the Osmania University to become Deputy Director in the Anthropological Survey of India at Nagpur and later Professor of Anthropology in the University of Saugar in Madhya Pradesh. He had been very active on different positions. In the beginning, he was an advisor for National Institute of (Rural) Community Development.

During 1972-1977, he was Director at Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla. In 1975-76, he was President of Indian Sociological Society. In 1978-80, he was also Vice-Chancellor of Jammu University. In 1980-93, he had been ICSSR National Fellow and also occupied important positions in UNESCO and UNO. He was also Chairman of Madhya Pradesh University Grants Commission.

Theoretical and Methodological Approach:

S.C. Dube, basically a product of Lucknow, played a key role in his study on India's Changing Villages. His later writings also maintained the same insight into India's social reality, gained from a macro-perspective, while simultaneously demanding precision in theoretical formulations and empirical verification of these propositions, e.g., The Study of Complex Cultures (1965), Explanation and Management of Changes (1971), Contemporary India and its Modernization (1974).

Dube has all through been an ardent advocate of interdisciplinary orientation and a promoter of research interest. Thus, he had vision of looking things from different perspectives, which reflects his multidimensional personality. Commenting on the personality of Dube, Yogesh

Atal writes: "Dube has constantly been on the move both geographically and intellectually. Rather than harping on the same theme and concentrating on a narrow speciality, he chose the challenging task of exploring new territory and extending the frontier of knowledge."

Dube (1965) proposed a more comprehensive frame of reference for the study of 'complex cultures' to understand Indian reality. He applied deductive-positivistic rather than inductive-inferential approach, based on null situation, like 'no change in modern India' or 'India's unchanging villages'

Dube's Indian Village (1955) was a significant work in the post-1950 period in the sense that it was the first full-length account of a village social structure. Dube depicted rural social structure and institutions in his characteristically lucid style, and the work served as a model for descriptive-exploratory account of several other macro-settings that came to be studied later. But he did not offer any analytical insights, nor did he propose any alternative conceptual framework for studying Indian rural society (Dhanagare, 1993: 53-54).

Dube's interest in rural studies grew steadily largely because of the acceptance of the Community Development Programme (CDP) by the Government of India. This necessitated a shift from 'structure' to 'change' in India's villages as reflected in his other pioneering work, India's Changing Villages (1958).

Works of Dube:

S.C. Dube has contributed on a variety of themes including tribes, rural life, community development, and modernization, management of change and tradition and development over the next 30 years. In a way, he has written on many aspects of Indian society and culture.

The main works of Dube are as follows

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

He has also written some books in Hindi. They are Manav evam Sanskrati, Bhartiya Gram, Vikas ka Samajshasta, and Sankraman ki Peera. He was also the general editor of Bhartiya Samaj Parichaya Mala, etc. Besides the above books, Dube contributed nearly two dozen papers in volumes edited by national and international sociologists and anthropologists. He has also published several research articles in renowned journals of the country and abroad.

Thus, Dube's works are multidisciplinary in nature. But, here, we would like to discuss the following theme

1. Tribal society
2. Village study
3. Community development programme
4. Modernization and development
5. Political sociology
6. Indian society

Tribal Society:

Dube studied Kamar – a Scheduled Tribe of Madhya Pradesh – as part of his doctoral research. His first book on Kamar (1951) is a full-length study on one of the tribes of middle India.

Village Study:

Dube's another book on Indian Village, first published in 1955, and was a milestone in the study of Indian society. In this book, he made a significant contribution in understanding the Indian society through structural-functional perspective.

Writing in a lucid style, Dube brought out in this book the essence of life in an Indian village. While examining the village selected for his study he says that one must examine the various units through which the village community is organized.

The nature of study was interdisciplinary. It was sponsored and financed by the Social Service Extension Project of Osmania University in 1951-52 which Dube directed. The study was conducted at the village Shamirpet, located at a distance of nearly 25 miles from Hyderabad.

The village had a population of 2,494 including 340 Muslims and 19 ethnic groups belonging to Hindus. The field data were collected from historical, geographical, political and sociological perspectives on different aspects of social, economic and religious practices of village in India, which reflect an integrated picture of the village.

Dube describes a Deccan village in India in 1955 on the same lines which Robert Redfield conducted his first village study in Mexico in 1930. Many of his conclusions could provide the first insight into the complex web of Indian village life. He observes: "No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society.

An individual is not the member of a village community alone, he also belongs to a caste, religious group or a tribe with a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions."

The study presents a comprehensive picture of the functioning of village institutions although it is one of the earliest monographs on a village. Dube asserts that the economic system of rural India is founded mainly on caste's functional specialization, interdependence and occupational mobility. He also observes that the elements of classical Hinduism of an all-India spread are mingled with the regional religious beliefs and practices of Hindus of Deccan Plateau.

Three major types of religious services and festivals are observed in the village. They are:

1. Family ceremonies,
2. Village familial and communal festivals, and
3. The Muslims and Hindus interaction with each other during festivals.

Dube provides a short account of worldview, inter-group relations, inter-caste attitude and stereotypes. He also discusses the three most significant stages of life, namely, childhood, youth and old age in a generalized biography.

India's Changing Villages:

Dube's interest in rural studies grew steadily largely because of the acceptance of the Community Development Programme (CDP) by the Government of India. When the CDPs were launched in India, the book on Indian Village had become a landmark study. Then, Dube made the obvious choice to evaluate the CDP under the Cornell (India) Project in Saharanpur district of western Uttar Pradesh.

As Visiting Professor of Anthropology and- Far Eastern Studies at Cornell, the next year, Dube wrote a book based on that study. This book, titled India's Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development, was published by a well-known publisher – Routledge and Kegan Paul in 1958.

With this Dube became a recognized authority in planned change and development. In this book, Dube studied the impact of CDPs on Indian villages. He also pointed out the importance of human elements in community development. Simultaneously, he evaluated the changes and problems emerged from these programmes. He also described different traditions of India and their functional role in public life. He explained the meaning and characteristics of modernization.

Indian Village: Structure, Function and Change:

Dube conducted a descriptive study of the village Shamirpet, which is situated at a distance of about 25 miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad in Andhra Pradesh in the Deccan Plateau of India. It is an outcome of the Social Service Extension Project, sponsored by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. His aim has been to present a clear picture of an Indian village life and has basically used structural-functional approach.

The book deals with the following aspects:

1. The setting, which includes the description of the village, the people, housing pattern, the neighbourhood etc.

2. Social structure, which includes:

(a) Caste, inter-caste and inter-village organization. All the castes are endogamous and there is a permanent social distance between them. In general, people on higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Occupation of each caste is monopolized and sanctioned by religion. Dube found that persons belonging to different castes are united by common values and obligations.

(b) The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct groups, who retain their own socio-religious identities.

(c) Internal organization of the village in terms of two different units, i.e., the socio-religious organization and administrative organization of government and semi-government officials. He observes women in terms of five activities, i.e.,

(i) domestic work,

(ii) agriculture,

(iii) festivals and ceremonies,

(iv) birth, marriage and death, and

(v) village administration and politics.

3. Economic structure:

The main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village are traditionally specified. However, agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers. They also keep cattle and domestic animals for their livelihood. For example, cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. Poultry is pursued by all sections of the village population except the Brahmins and the Komatis.

Hunting, fishing, collection of fruits, medical herbs, roots, tubers and barks are the other pursuits. Villagers are also engaged in other non-agricultural occupations, which include the potter, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the barber, the washer man, and the menial servant etc.

4. Ritual structure includes folklore, myths, religious teaching of saints/poets and contacts with persons having knowledge of scriptures and popular religious books, animism, polytheism, and even monotheism also, beliefs, ghosts, demons, witches and magic. Dube describes: "The complex of these diverse factors constitutes the picture of the supernatural world …".

5. The web of family ties reflects the structure of the family. The patrilineal and patrilocal nuclear or joint family unit is the main aspect of the rural India. Dube also describes interpersonal relations within the family.

6. The Levels of Living:

The levels of living of the people are discussed in terms of status differentiation in the community, standard of living, division of labour in terms of work and diet. He recognized that six factors contribute in terms of status differentiation:

(i) religion and caste,

(ii) landownership,

(iii) wealth,

(iv) position in government service and village organization,

(v) age, and

(vi) distinctive personality patterns.

7. Regarding standard of living, Dube categorizes people on the basis of their perception into four levels, which are recognized by people as (i) rich, (ii) well-to-do, (iii) average, and (iv)

poor. Other ways through which one can differentiate between the standard of living of people such as type of dwelling and household possessions, clothing and ornament are also taken into account.

Indian Society:

Dube's book on Indian Society (1990) draws upon various sources in looking at the past and the present of Indian society. The growth of India's diversities and unities is traced through its complex history. The functioning, over the centuries, of varna and jati and of family and kinship is examined in urban and rural contexts, and gender relations are similarly treated. Naturally enough, this account of creation of today's India is followed by a brief assessment of ongoing and likely changes.

Trends and Change:

Contemporary Indian society has several contradictions with some extremely puzzling aspects. In a sea of mass poverty, it has some islands of dazzling prosperity. It boasts of its spirituality, but its elite – the rich and the powerful – set standards of ostentatious consumption that seem downright unethical.

In the pre- and early 'Jagir' period in Shamirpet, the contacts between village people and the state administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. In the second half of 'Jagir' period ihese administrative contacts increased very considerably.

The police action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the state of Hyderabad. The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former regime now no longer do so. The second noticeable change is that under the administration, forced labour and forced extraction of hospitability by government officials have been prohibited.

Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. Finally, there has been considerable political activity in the rural areas by the political parties, culminating in the first general election of December 1951.

The state administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. There has been very noticeable change in the dress and ornaments of the village people. There has also been much change in the list of articles of daily requirement. Several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games.

The opening of small dispensary in the village and the availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people towards them and their treatment The social structure of the community is basically the same, although with every administrative or political change in the village.

Society: Continuity and Change:

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

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

Traditionally, the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. At present, the government officials residing within the village discretely pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable judgment in certain cases in which for some reason they happen to be interested. In place of their traditional occupations, people have started accepting other vocations.

The family has been under some stress and bonds of kinship are no longer as strong and cohesive as they used to be. However, what is often described as the 'joint family' was never

the norm in Indian society: it was confined to some jatis in villages and small towns. Even among them, complete two-or-three-generation extended families were rare.

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

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

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

Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends:

(1) The regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture area;

(2) The national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the community of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalists and partly conscious innovations; and

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

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

Caste Ranking:

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

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

Dominant Caste and Village Leadership:

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

In each village, there are some dominant individuals, who have decisive say in political participation of the members of a village. They play a significant role in settling disputes, guiding the youth force for maintaining unity in the village, and organizing the village for common celebration of festivals. Their roles can also be observed at the time of elections of Gram Panchayat, MLA and MP.

Youth Culture:

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

These are:

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

Modernization:

Modernization is an extremely complex phenomenon, which involves a large number of interrelated changes of many different kinds. Dube deals with some of these in a sociological perspective. He considers the actual structural implications of change as well as the nature of some of the processes of change. Obstacles in the way of modernization, such as ill-balanced changes and rigid social norms, are given social attention.

India has been trying to modernize for the first twenty-five years of its independence and has had successes as well as failures. In his book on Contemporary India and Its Modernization (1974), Dube deals with subjects as diverse as bureaucracy, leadership, education, planning, and secularism. These perceptive essays have in common the fact that they attempt to analyse critically the country's successes and failures. The criticism is constructive since Dube follows an approach that is diagnostic and prescriptive.

Modern society is a rational and scientific. Dube identifies several components for constructing an adequate national framework for modernization.

These are as follows:

1. The cohesive bonds of society must be strengthened. This can be done by encouraging consciously planned inter-regional and inter-ethnic interdependence, by secularizing political and economic participation, and by working for increasing acceptance of the legitimacy of the established authority. In this context, the close connection between legitimacy and credibility must be emphasized; the latter is determined in a substantial measure by visible performance.

2. Social restraint and social discipline are important. These depend partly on the credibility of the established authority and partly on the latter's capacity to deal effectively with economic trends of different types. Everyone, from the highest to lowest, should be subjected equally to the norms of restraint and discipline. Differential application of these norms causes distrust and often leads to an ambivalent attitude to authority.

3. The need for expertise, both in policy making and implementation, cannot be overemphasized. The administrative structures should be visualized as a series of independent and interpenetrating but specialized and differentiated roles. These considerations apply equally to the political sector.

4. The reward system should be structured that it encourages excellence of performance and curbs inefficiency and corruption. The cannons of public morality should be applied with equal rigour to politicians, to bureaucrats, and in fact everyone else.

Judged by these criteria, what has been India's performance after independence as viewed by Dube. There certainly has been a change in the structure of values and generally in the personality system, but this change is characterized by ambivalence both to tradition and modernity.

Education and mass communication have played their part in promoting new values. A small section of India's population – the small elite and its satellites – which was more equipped to take advantage of the new opportunities and had the manipulative skills to make them more or less their preserve, profited from them, whereas poverty in the rural and urban areas has

been constant over the years with 40 per cent of the population remaining below the poverty line.

The policy processes of the country are in a state of total disarray for want of expertise. Democracy, socialism and secularism have been adopted as the objectives of the state policy, but no plan with careful specification has been formulated. However, in many ways, the contemporary predicament of India can be attributed to certain global trends.

Development:

Dube, in his book Modernization and Development (1988), has divided the growth and diversification or specification of the concept of development into four phases. In the first phase, development essentially meant economic development and economists focused their attention exclusively on economic growth.

In the second phase, the relationship between economic development and social change was more keenly realized and its consequences emphasized. Economic development and techno-logical change was hindered by institutional factors.

Thus, modification in the institutional framework of society and alternatives in the attitudes and values were to be contemplated to facilitate and accelerate the process of economic development. This revolution gave birth to modernization paradigm.

The third phase may be described a reactive and responsive one. It was born out of a strong reaction in the inadequate paradigm of development and modernization and responded positively to more successful praxis of development.

The fourth phase is a reflexive phase. One has to understand the world order and also the national orders. Both have to be altered if human social survival is too ensured.

The distributive aspects of economic growth and the diffusion of the benefits of modernization reflect the development. In fact, development that makes no visible change in the degraded lot of the common man – the majority in the country's population – is no development. Growth that permits a small segment of the society to wallow in vulgar high living is immoral.

No country permitting 60 million children to remain undernourished can justifiably register the claim that it is modernizing. Then, there is a runaway unemployment. Fourteen million people are on the roster of the unemployed today. An estimate suggests that 8,000 persons are added to it every day. Despite all efforts, there is little evidence of our capacity to arrest population explosion. Inflationary pressure is increasing and prices cannot be held in check as viewed by Dube in 1973.

Conclusion:

Dube highlighted the role of various social structures like social, economic, ritual and political to help in shaping the village. Further, the elements of various social structures are interlinked at the individual level as well as the higher order to bring about solidarity and consensus among the villagers.

Attempt has been made to understand the factors which led to the changing scenario of village Shamirpeth (Hyderabad) in Andhra Pradesh. In his book, India's Changing Village (1958), Dube deals with the changes brought about in Indian villages by initiation of CDPs in India. The book discusses the human factors' responsibility in bringing changes in villages of India through CDP.

McKim Marriott : Biography and Contribution to World Sociology

McKim Marriott, PhD in Anthropology (Chicago, 1955), is Professor in the Department of Anthropology in Social Sciences Collegiate Division of the University of Chicago. He has done field work in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra, edited Village India, and authored varied studies on rural social organization and change. He is concerned with formulating and simulating indigenous sociologies and psychologies in India, Japan, and other countries.

Works of Marriott:

1. Village India: Studies in the Little Community (1955)
2. Caste Ranking and Community Structure in the Five Regions of India and Pakistan (1960)
3. India through Hindu Categories (1990)

Methodology:

Marriott used the structural-functional approach in his study of village India. Influenced by the model of Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, Marriott had conducted some studies on social change in India utilizing this conceptual framework. The basic ideas in this approach are 'civilization' and 'social organization of tradition'.

It is based on the evolutionary view that civilization or the structure of tradition (which consists of both cultural and social structures) grows in two stages: first, through orthogenetic or indigenous evolution, and second, through heterogenetic encounters or contracts with other cultures and civilizations. In this context, we would like to discuss the writings of Marriott in the following paragraphs:

Communities and Traditions:

The discussion on relationship between communities and traditions has a history in the emergence of adequate concepts for the study of a social phenomenon. Redfield had propounded the idea of 'folk culture', relying largely on the distinctions put forward earlier by the European sociologists, such as those of Gemeinschaft and Geselschaft (Tonnies) and mechanical and organic solidarity (Durkheim).

Redfield (1955) formalized his ideas in the concept of 'little community' with its four characteristics of smallness, distinctiveness, homogeneity, and self-sufficiency. Marriott saw the interplay among the communities of rural and urban centres. In his essay on "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization", (1955) Marriott explicitly indicates the relationship between the local caste system and the larger order of state and civilization.

Village India:

Marriott's edited Village India: Studies in the Little Community (1955) is one of the most well-known collections of village studies in the fifties, and even today it could be considered eminently relevant. It includes contributions by both foreign and Indian anthropologists.

The book aims at looking Indian villages from the complexity of Indian civilization. The methodology, however, is structural-functional. The contributors have re-examined the concept of caste. It has been the effort of the editor to make caste more precise, and less open textured.

Our main concern here is to discuss the Marriott's paper entitled "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization" (1955), which is contributed in Village India. Marriott conducted his study at the village of Kishan Garhi in Aligarh district of Uttar Pradesh from December 1950 to April 1952. Kishan Garhi is not like an isolate whole, but a world in itself.

It has internal divisions of economic interest groups. It grows crops, which are sold outside the village. There are many external economic relationships. Internal divisions are also in matters of marriage and kinship. The village is divided politically too in terms of factions. Marriott observes: "These structural facts make Kishan Garhi seem very much less than an isolated whole in the primitive sense" (1955).

However, Kishan Garhi is 'isolable'. Marriott further writes: "But still I am compelled to go on to say that the village of Kishan Garhi is like a living thing, has a definable structure, is conceptually a vivid entity, is a system – even if it is one of many subsystems within the larger socio-politico-religio-economic system in which it exists.

Especially am I so compelled if I look at the concerns and emphases that the people of the village express and if I try to evaluate the structural aspects of their lives as they evaluate them" (ibid.). Marriott relies on certain cultural practices, norms and etiquettes etc. for considering Kishan Garhi as an 'isolate'.

The question is: How far these notions and practices are the core of the village life? Are they not peripheral aspects of social structure? To us, Marriott's phenomenological anthropology looks somewhat superficial as a methodological device.

In his paper, Marriott directly raises questions of interrelation of an Indian village with the larger society and with the civilization of which it is a small and local part. The balanced

account of the village in Aligarh district both as a unified world in itself and also as part of communities outside itself treats more fully than do earlier papers this question, recurrent for the book as a whole.

But, the topic is only introductory here. To Lewis' characterization of types of village organization and of countrywide networks Marriott adds a greatly expanded historical dimension: he treats Kishan Garhi as an element in the development of native Indian civilizati Government and culture alike have grown upward from Kishan Garhi and thousands of other villagers. And, the government and the reflective thought of India have influenced the development of all these Kishan Garhis. Upward from the village to the institutions and ideas of the state and the civilization, and the downward from the civilization and the state to the village, his mind runs in his efforts to identify some of the characteristic historical processes by which a native civilization, seen through the life of a village, may be understood.

In this paper, Marriott sees historical interaction in relation to little community and greater community. Government and land tenure and then caste organization, as products of interaction over many generations, are looked in. Native Indian government is in part a growth upward from the institutions of the local community.

On the other hand, features of the village that appears at first as local developments – elements of kinship structure, village layout, and typical modes of conflict – turn out to be "reflexes of general state policy". And caste relationships too are in part reflexes of institutions of the wider community, "degradations of the royal style".

The conclusion is reached that "both little communities and greater communities are mutually necessary conditions of each other's existence in their present forms". Besides the role of state and caste, Marriott has analysed festivals and deities in great detail with a view to understand the nature of the village community in India

Marriott also makes the same point in terms of culture and content of ideas. To little and great communities correspond little and great traditions. The religious life of Kishan Garhi is examined in historical depth. It is asked: "What elements of ritual and belief represent contributions from village life upward to the formation of India's great Sanskritic tradition?

What elements are local modifications of elements of that great tradition communicated downward to it?" To the two aspects of the double process of this interaction between little and great traditions Marriott gives names: universalization and parochialization. We are being helped to a viewpoint, a set of concepts, and a way of work that will allow anthropologists to study a village in its generic historic processes of interaction with the civilization of which it is a part. Marriott's work combines "a focus upon the small half-world of the village" with a "perspective upon the universe of Indian civilization".

In this very well-argued essay, Marriott discusses the small world of a village within the universe of Indian civilization. He also asks two questions:

(1) Can such a village be satisfactorily comprehended and conceived as a whole in itse

(2) Can understanding of one such village contribute to understanding of the greater culture and society in which the village is imbedded?

To provide answers to these questions, Marriott discusses certain aspects of social structure and religious culture of Kishan Garhi. The paradox is that if 'yes' is given in the case of the first question, then 'no' is given in regard to the second. Thus, there is an inverse relationship between the two questions.

Marriott explains this problem as follows:

"We cannot say both that an Indian village is comparable with a primitive isolate and also that it is dependent upon and part of a system that is outside itself. We cannot claim simultaneously that the great tradition of Indian civilization is relevant and that it is irrelevant to the understanding of peasant life."

Marriott writes: "In India, we are on middle ground". The village reaches beyond its central locus far into the outside world, and the outside world in turn reaches into the most central core of the village society. The following observation of Marriott may be referred: 'Although

Kishan Garhi is a conservative and a relatively traditional village, I cannot say it is self-contained, complete little community comparable with primitive little communities.

Nor, on the other hand, can I doubt that it is a community, and a clearly isolable community for its residents. So how am I to conceive it within its larger universe?' He accepts the notions of 'levels of socio-cultural integration', 'active fields', 'the folk-urban continuum' and 'levels of communal relations' for analyzing relations between 'primary civilization' and 'secondary civilization'.

An indigenous great tradition remains in constant communication with its own little traditions. The processes of 'universalization' and 'parochialization' facilitate interaction between the great and little traditions. Therefore, Marriott constructs the concepts of 'universalization' and 'parochialization'. These two concepts have been explained with the concepts of great and little traditions.

Little and Great Traditions:

A few of the concepts, which have emerged from the village studies made during 1950s, are considered to be significant for analyzing change in rural society. Most of these concepts are cultural in nature and evolved out of caste in rural India. The concepts of little and great traditions also stand for change in rural caste system. Both of these concepts are constructed by Milton Singer and McKim Marriott.

The origin of little and great traditions is from Robert Redfield, who conducted his studies in Mexican communities. It was Redfield who talked about little community. For him, little community was a village that had smaller size, self-sufficient and relatively isolated. Redfield did not mention anything about little traditions or great traditions.

Singer and Marriott, who were influenced by the studies conducted by Redfield for their intensive study of India's villages, elaborated the original model of Redfield in the light of data generated from Indian villages. Yogendra Singh (1994) has commented upon the construction of little and great traditions in Indian villages by these two anthropologists.

Parochialization and Universalization:

Marriott (1955: 197-200) envisaged two concepts, namely, 'parochialization' and 'universalization' with the two poles having been defined as the great and the little traditions. Thus, Marriott characterizes the mode of interaction between the 'little' and 'great' traditions in the Indian village as 'parochialization' and 'universalization'.

The first is when elements of the 'great' tradition percolate downward and become organic part of the 'little' tradition losing thereby their original form. The second process operates when elements of the 'little' tradition (deities, customs, rites, etc.) circulate upward to the level of the 'great' tradition.

Marriott gives many examples of such circular processes of change from his observations in India. Sanskritization, according to him, does not proceed as an independent process; it is superimposed on non-sanskritic cultural forms through accretion rather than simple replacement.

Parochialization refers to the manner in which the elements of the great tradition shed off some of their pure form and add local colour instead. Marriott presented the complementary concept of 'universalization' indicating an upward mobility of local tradition until it begins reaching the regional or the national level.

The possibility of styles of life moving upward can be seen in social context when Brahmins migrating to remote areas appear to take over some of the local customs. He argues that there is a constant interaction between the great and little traditions.

Social Stratification:

Rural stratification, according to Marriott, is closed rather than open; there are limited sets of inter-group ties and in this context the reference group behaviour often tends to be

dysfunctional. In urban areas, not only the stratification system relatively open but its character is 'attributional' and 'interactional'.

In other words, if a certain individual group or family is able to acquire high status attributes such as education, wealth, or better occupational position in the cities, the individual or group may be able to pass as a member of higher social rank.

In the villages, on the other hand, the ranking depends more on the traditional evaluation of caste status. This is reflected in most forms of inter-group or inter-individual interactions. Mere acquisition of higher status attributes may not be sufficient here for the evaluation of the caste status.

Moreover, in the metropolitan settings, the principle of 'corporate ranking' does not operate as it does in the rural system of stratification. In corporate ranking, status is attributed to the entire group or even if individuals or families in the group are able to acquire status-enhancing attributes, the status of the group as a whole is not changed.

The status is collectively defined on cultural criteria. In the rural caste system principles of purity and pollution, hereditary occupation and kinship relations which are more binding factors in social stratification, render the ranking system corporate. The process of status mobility through sanskritization, in a way, manifests this corporateness in the rural ranking system. This explains the tendency in the rural areas to mobilize caste, tribe or ethnic groups as a whole for advancement of social status.

Compared to this, in urban centres, non-corporate mode of status mobility is quite common. The above distinction between the rural and urban systems of social stratification highlights only the main characteristic of structural pattern.

Thus, Marriott (1968) points out the complexity of India's system of stratification and stresses the need for a number of new analytic notions in order to understand what any given effort at caste mobility is about. First of all, the contrast between closed, interactional rural system of stratification and the open, attributional urban system should be taken into consideration.

Further, he distinguishes the ranking and mobility of castes as corporations concerned with ritual dominance and pollution from the ranking and movements of individuals and groups concerned with wealth, power or prestige. Finally, he refers to the felt locus of each caste and specified to which of the several possible relevant hierarchies and audiences – local, regional, sectarian, civilizational, or national – its behaviour is referred to by itself and by others.

Specialized Study of Caste Ranking:

Marriott, in his path-breaking work on Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan (1960), takes the position that in terms of stratified structural relationship, the Muslim operates within the framework of the caste system. He develops a rigorous, comparative method for studying 'elaborateness' of caste ranking based on a notion of demographic factors of ethnic diversity in social ecology.

He locates the factors causing elaboration in the social ecology and in the pattern of inter-ethnic interaction (Marriott, 1959). He further develops a matrix analysis of caste ranking and food transactions. One may also mention here to his publication on Hindu Caste Ranking: The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures (1967).

In his article, "Multiple Reference in Indian Caste System" Marriott (1968: 103) suggests reference group approach to the study of caste stratification system in India. He refers to 'multiple reference' in the caste system. He argues that in order to gain fuller understanding of the stratification system in India, its processes should be observed at various levels.

These levels are: rural as different from metropolitan system of ranking, individual, group and corporate units in ranking and finally, "a series of successively wider zones of reference for the units in any local system, the several zones being distinctively characterized by distinctive values".

At an another level, according to Marriott (1968: 109), caste stratification reflects its structural features in India that of zones.

He mentions three zones:

(1) the zone of the village community and its directly connected parts in the countryside;

(2) the zone of the recognized cultural or linguistic region; and

(3) the zone of whole civilization.

In the village, zone, castes or sub-castes are the most relevant category for ranking is class. Classes manifest themselves through categories like 'lord' or 'servant' in northern India, or the 'waterbearing' or 'non-waterbearing' in Bengal or 'light people' or 'dark people' in Gujarat. In the civilizational zone, however, the more inclusive categories those of varna, ethnic origin or the cosmopolitan scheme of gradation according to Marriott offer a framework for understanding social stratification.

The conflicts in the system of social stratification emerge from the changing frames of reference in the ranking of castes from one level of categories to another. This process has also contributed to the crystallization in favour of any one of these three levels of ranking systems and Marriott says that all of them are operating in a 'multiple reference model'.

Marriott's analysis does not indicate the complexity of the social stratification system in India, but it offers us an insight into the mechanisms by which stratification process at one level, such as rural or metropolitan, interacts with that of other levels such as those of the three zones of the village, region and civilization.

An understanding of the dialectical relationship between the stratification mechanisms at different levels can be had only through the analysis of the various social forces that operate in social stratification. Marriott's scheme offers categories for the description of the pattern of stratification in India, but is limited in theoretical validity and power.

It does not offer theoretical codes for transcription of data from one level of observation to another and finally, it fails to indicate how the scheme of categories of ranking suggested by him constitute or do not constitute a logically interrelated set of status ranking principles through which the dynamics of social stratification could be understood and analysed (Singh, 1974: 322-23).

Hierarchical Order:

The stratification of society is also maintained through the customs and traditions advocated by religion. The caste system, despite the efforts made by secular forces, continued to survive because of the values inherent in caste system. Marriott has identified the ritual and religious aspects of hierarchical relations in the village life. The commensual relations in the village are even today regulated by the concept of purity and pollution. In the cities there are no taboos so far as commensality is concerned.

Social Mobility:

Marriott (1968), reviewing a number of studies on social mobility, finds relevant distinctions at three levels in the ranking system related to the Indian mobility pattern. These are based on distinctions between: (1) rural from metropolitan types of ranking system, (2) individual or group from corporate units in ranking, and (3) a series of successively wider zones of reference for the units in any local system, the several zones being characterized by distinctive values. The zones, according to him, are the village, the linguistic, region and the whole civilization.

Hindu Cultural Categories:

It is an anomalous fact that social sciences in India have developed from western rather than Indian cultural realities. As a result, western disciplines often do not recognize and, therefore, cannot deal with realities reflected in many Indian social institutions.

In his volume on, India through Hindu Categories (1990), Marriott explores social science ideas which can be developed from the realities known to Indian people. These ideas are drawn from the Hindu cultural categories, not merely because they offer coherent and comprehensive systems of thought, but especially because they illuminate variations, which escape the notice of conventional social science.

INDOLOGICAL OR TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Radhakamal Mukerjee : Biography and Contribution to Sociology

Radhakamal Mukerjee (1889-1968) along with D.P. Mukerji – his colleague in Lucknow University – and G.S. Ghurye of Bombay University, are considered a great pioneer in sociology in India. Lucknow University was a major centre of sociology and social anthropology. Under the scholarship of the triumvirate – Radhakamal Mukerjee, D.P. Mukerji and D.N. Majumdar – Lucknow soon emerged as a leading centre for social science studies and it remained so until the mid-1960s. Our discussion here is mainly on Radhakamal Mukerjee.

Life Sketch:

Radhakamal Mukerjee was born on 7th December in 1889 in a large Bengali Brahmin family at Berhampur (Murshidabad), a small country-town in Western Bengal. He spent the first sixteen years of his life in this town. His father was a lawyer and the leader of the bar. He was an accomplished scholar with a great interest in history.

Mukerjee had his early education in Berhampur. He went to the Krishinath College of Berhampur. He got an academic scholarship in the leading educational institution in India – the Presidency College, Calcutta. He took his honours course in English and History in this college. Here, he came in contact with scholars such as H.M. Percival, M. Ghosh, brother of Aurobindo Ghosh, and the linguist Harinath De.

A brilliant student of Presidency College, Mukerjee read meticulously the works of Comte, Herbert Spencer, Lester Ward, Bagehot, Hobbhouse and Giddings. But, his interest in under-standing the social life ameliorating the conditions of the poorer segments of the society was the result of his contact with the masses during the Swadeshi days of 1905-6. His patriotism found expression in his educational work among the slum dwellers in Calcutta. "Only educational and social work among the masses could be silently … pursued without being nipped in the bud by political oppression".

During this period of his life, Mukerjee launched himself into the area of adult education which remained his interest till the end. He started an Adult Evening School in 1906 in the slums of Mechaubazar in Calcutta. He also wrote simple texts for adult education.

The Renaissance, particularly the intellectual and political ferment, specially caused by the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, kindled in Radhakamal the flame of patriotism and the eagerness to do something for the suffering masses. His interest in economics and sociology in preference to history was a sequel to this.

In 1910, Mukerjee joined his alma mater in Berhampur as a teacher in economics. He stayed there for five years. It was the busiest period of his life. During this period, he wrote his early works in economic, such as the Foundations of Indian Economics. At this time, he also became the editor of the renowned Bengali monthly, Upasana.

During 1915, when there were persecutions by the British government, Mukerjee was once arrested for a day and all his adult schools were liquidated. The charges against him were that he was a 'terrorist' or had sympathy with terrorism under the disguise of adult education. He was released very soon by the efforts of his lawyer brother. He was offered a position in Lahore College in Punjab. He went there thus, nipping in bud any interest in politics.

He went back to the University of Calcutta where Asutosh Mookerji had established the Post Graduate Council of Arts and Science in 1917. He stayed there for five years and taught economics, sociology and political philosophy. He was awarded the Premchand Raychand Scholarship in 1915 and PhD degree in 1920 (Calcutta University) on his study of "Socio-Economic Change in the Indian Rural Community".

In 1921, he joined the University of Lucknow as Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology on the very day when the university started functioning. He introduced an integrated approach in economics, sociology and anthropology in both research and teaching in Lucknow University.

He taught economics and sociology in Lucknow University for nearly thirty years up to 1952. He was Economic Advisor of the Gwalior State Government from 1945 to 1947 and Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University from 1955 to 1957. In 1958, he became Director of the J.K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relation of the Lucknow University. Thus, he stayed at Lucknow until his death, with interludes at the universities of Patna, Calcutta and Delhi, from 1925 to 1940.

Mukerjee also visited the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Cologne, Vienna, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, Michigan and Wisconsin for delivering lectures in economics and sociology in 1937, 1946 and 1948. He was nominated Chairman, Economics and Statistics Commission of the FAO at Copenhagen in 1946, a member of the Indian delegation to consider proposals for World Food Council, Washington in 1947, and as a member of the Technical Committee of the ILO for recommending names of countries for seats on its governing body. He served as a member of various committees appointed by the Government of Uttar Pradesh and the Union Government.

Theoretical Formulation:

According to Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1979), since human institutions form an indivisible unity of the individual, society and values, any consideration of social facts without their value component is unreal; instead, there should be a fusion of 'empirical' and 'normative' sociology, therefore, development of man is possible through commonality and cooperation in a free society, and not through contradiction and conflict.

Radhakamal Mukerjee's vision of sociology, though rooted in the Indian tradition, was still universalistic. He saw the possibility of developing a general theory of sociology based on a social action theory. In the Indian case this theory would be derived from Indian philosophy and tradition.

Methodology:

Beginning with the structural-functional approach to ascertain the interdependence between the economic sphere and the entire socio-historical-cultural order of Indian society, the 'transdisciplinary' approach was to be used for a comprehensive appraisal of social reality in the Indian world context. Mukerjee also suggested for the use of comparative methods in the study of social sciences in India. He said: "We must aim at the scientific study of the race and culture origins.

Inspired by Seal to investigate reality in the specific context of India, by Geddes to unfold in its empirical details, and in the light of his basic training in economics, Mukerjee began his research career with field investigations and bibliographical research in economic sociology and human ecology. He sustained his interest in empirical field investigations and throughout his life encouraged his students in this respect.

However, in course of time, Mukerjee empiricism became multidimensional, centred around the conceptualization of human institutions as forming an invisible unity made up of the individual, society and values. Having received initial training in economics, Radhakamal began with a series of micro-level analyses of problems in economic sociology, such as rural economy and land problems (1926, 1927), population problems (1938), and the problems of the Indian working class (1945).

In the late 1920s, when the great depression had set in, he initiated a number of micro-level inquiries into the deteriorating agrarian solutions and the conditions of the peasantry in Oudh (1929). This study should have been a pace-setter in agrarian studies in India, but, except for Ramkrishna Mukherjee, who conducted a series of studies on agrarian structure in Bengal in the 1940s, this aspect of Indian rural society remained neglected till the 1960

After receiving training in social anthropology in England, Radhakamal naturally took a more active interest in micro-level empirical field investigations. These included studies on 'inter-caste tensions' and 'urbanization', particularly cities in transition (1991, 1952, 1963, and 1964) and the like.

What is interesting is that his involvement in micro-empirical sociology co-existed with his prediction towards a metaphysical and multidimensional philosophical view of human societies and social institutions. He thought that sociology and social anthropology were logged down by lower order empirical realities and were forgetting the higher order ones whose laws and processes governed them.

He advocated and practised philosophical anthropology. In an almost meta-theoretical perspective, he tended to view individual, society and values as an apparent trinity, but quintessentially an indivisible unity (1931, 1949, 1950, 1956 and 1965). In this sense, Radhakamal was a pioneer of a transdisciplinary approach in Indian social science.

Writings:
Mukerjee wrote around 53 books on several issues. The basic nature of his writings is the integration of the social sciences. He has been a path-finder in many fields. Many of his students and associates reflect this approach in their writings.

His contribution lay in the important areas of:
(1) developing interdisciplinary, rather, trans-disciplinary approach in studying society,
(2) social ecology and regional sociology, and
(3) sociology of values or social structure of value

Commenting on his contribution to knowledge about social life of men and women, the celebrated philosopher, Sarvapalli Radhakrishanan correctly observed: "What interests me is (Mukerjee's) attempt to base his thinking on Indian mysticism, his perception that human life is whole and cannot be studied in fragments.

Sociology or the science of man cannot ignore the question of values. Social sciences give us knowledge and if this knowledge is to be employed for the betterment or good of man, we must develop a sense of values. Mukerjee's great ambition is to work for a better social order."

A predilection towards metaphysics and the 'idealism' however was noticed in Mukerjee's earlier writings such as:
1. The Three Ways: The Way of Transcend list-Religion as a Social Norm (1929)
2. Sociology and Mysticism (1931)
3. The Theory and Art of Mysticism (1937)

Mukerjee's other important writings are as follows:

1. The Foundations of Indian Economics (1916)
2. The Rural Economy of India (1926)
3. Regional Sociology (1926)
4. The Land Problems of India (1927)
5. Introduction of Social Psychology (1928
6. Field and Farmers of Oudh (1929)
7. Regional Balance of Man (1938)
8. Man and his Habitation (1940)
9. The Institutional Theory of Economics (1940)
10. Indian Working Class (1945)
11. The Social Structure of Values (1949)
12. The Dynamics of Morals: A Socio-Psychological Theory of Ethics (1950)
13. Inter-caste Tensions (Co-author) (1951)
14. Races, Lands and Food (1946)
15. The Social Function of Art (1948)
16. The Social Structure of Values (1949)
17. A General Theory of Society (1956)
18. The Philosophy of Social Science (1960)
19. Social Profiles of a Metropolis (1963)
20. The Dimensions of Human Values (1964)
21. The Destiny of Civilization (1964)
22. Flowering of Indian Art (1964)
23. District Town in Transition: Social and Economic Survey of Gorakhpur (with B. Singh) (1964)
24. The Oneness of Mankind (1965)
25. The Way of Humanism: East and West (1968)
26. Social Sciences and Planning in India (1970).

We would like to discuss here the following major issues, which we find worthwhile in the writings of Mukerjee:
1. Indian culture and civilization
2. Theory of society
3. Concept of universal civilization
4. Economic transactions and social behaviour
5. Personality, society and values
6. The community of communities
7. Urban social problems
8. Social ecology

Indian Culture and Civilization:
Mukerjee (1964) writes extensively on Indian art and architecture, history and culture. He believes that Asiatic art aimed at collective developments. According to him, harmony is the basic value of life. He found this harmony amply illustrated in the Indian scheme of life of previous ages. Indian culture has viewed man as a responsible member of a community. Man is not isolated individual.

In this context, Mukerjee writes: "Art in Asia became the torch bearer of social and spiritual upheavals for millions…. Oriental art is most intensively charged with community feeling and is thus chiefly responsible for the historical continuity of Oriental cultures." In contrast, such artistic endeavor in the West had been dominated either by individualism or feeling that art was an end in itself. This was just not conducive to either social solidarity or spiritual development.

Indian art is embedded in social or ethical sphere. Mukerjee writes: "The myriad temples, stupas and viharas of India bear witness to the link between an and ethics, religious and social values. Art in India is an enduring component of people's interaction with each other which

shows in concrete forms the active relationship between people's aspirations and their artistic creativity."

Indian art is constantly associated with religion. Mukerjee is impressed by the largely non-aggressive nature of Indian religions like Hinduism, Buddhism or Jainism. The spirit of tolerance of diversities is reflected also in Dharamashastras. These codes are flexible enough to accommodate ethnic diversities of communities.

Emphasis on the ultimate truth, rather than on a particular set of beliefs or rituals, has been a constant feature of Indian religions. It is through the peaceful agency of religion that the Indian culture and civilization spread beyond the natural geographic limits of India to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and countries in the southeast. Therefore, Indian influences spread to many countries not through war or conquest but through friendship and goodwill.

Theory of Society:

Radhakamal Mukerjee emphasized interdisciplinary or trans disciplinary approach towards the understanding of human life. He sought to develop a general theory of society. To achieve this, first, he proposed to break the barriers between physical or natural sciences and sciences relating to man's social and psychological aspects.

Secondly, the compartmentalization of social sciences like economics, sociology and psychology should also be avoided. There should be constant interaction among various social sciences. Mutual exchange of ideas between physical and natural sciences is necessary to adequately appreciate the multiple dimensions of human personality and its interaction with the natural environment and social environment.

Concept of Universal Civilization:

Mukerjee's general theory of society seeks to explain the values of a universal civilization. He used the term 'civilization' in an inclusive sense; culture is part of it. He proposes that human civilization should be studied at three interrelated levels.

These are:

1. Biological evolution
2. Universalization
3. Spiritual dimension

1. Biological Evolution:

The biological evolution of human being has facilitated the rise and development of civilization. They have the capacity to change the environment as an active agent. The animals can only adapt to an environment, but human beings can mould it in different ways. The human beings, as biological species, are capable of overcoming competition and conflict and attain cooperation (symbiosis).

2. Universalization:

In social psychology, people are often depicted within the framework of race, ethnicity or nationhood. Human beings are seen as prisoners of little selves or egos, whose attitudes are parochial or ethnocentric. On the contrary, human beings have potentiality to overcome the narrow feelings and attain universalization, that is, to identify oneself with the larger collectivity such as one's nation or even as a member of the universe itself.

In the process, common values help to subordinate the particularistic values to universal values. To Mukerjee, ethical relativism, which means that values vary from society to society, is not helpful in the present times. There is a need for ethical universalism, which affirms the unity of the mankind. In the new perspective, men and women become free moral agents who are capable of recognizing the common strands binding the humanity. They are no longer dictated by divisiveness or relativity.

3. Spiritual Dimension:

Mukerjee views that the civilization has a spiritual dimension. Human beings are gradually scaling transcendental heights. It means that they are moving up to the ladder of spirituality

by overcoming the constraints of biogenic and existential levels, i.e., the physical and material limitations. In this endeavour, art, myth and religion provide the 'impulsion' or the force to move upward.

As the social sciences have hitherto ignored these cultural elements, they are capable of providing a spiritual perspective. To Mukerjee, humankind's search for unity, wholeness and transcendence highlights the spirituality of civilization. In this respect, he commended the Indian and Chinese civilizations, which had endured as stable entities since 6th century BC. Their strength is derived from their universal myths and values which foster spiritual quest.

Economic Transactions and Social Behaviour:

Too much of specialization in a particular discipline may give only a one-sided or partial view of man's existence and behaviour. In his Institutional Theory of Economics, Mukerjee has shown that Indian western economics and that mostly neglected the traditional caste network in indigenous business, handicrafts and banking. It viewed economic development mainly as an extension of monetary economics or market phenomenon. The western model in economics focused on the market and industrial centres.

In a country like India, where a large number of economic transactions take place within the framework of caste or tribe, the market model has only a limited relevance. Economic exchange in the Indian setting has been influenced by traditional networks. The guilds and castes of India have been operating in a non-competitive system.

The rules of economic exchange were largely derived from the norms of social or collective living. Interdependence or non-competition between groups has been emphasized in the norms of Indian tradition. They have not stressed promotion of self-interest but highlighted fulfillment of the well-being of the community as the proper goal of human life.

The economic values in India should be understood with reference to social norms. Sheer biological or physical drives do not generate economic transactions. Religious or ethical constraints have always given a direction to economic activities.

Values enter into the daily life of people and compel them to act in collectively sanctioned ways. For example, a hungry upper caste Hindu would not eat beef; likewise, an orthodox Muslim or Jew would not eat pork, however, urgent may be the need for food. Therefore, it is wrong to always treat economic behaviour as separate from social life or collectivity.

Personality, Society and Values:

In his book Personality, Radhakamal views personality of individual as an agent, who takes decisions and makes choices, and seeks value-fulfillment. Man makes choices and acts in terms of values relating to (i) self, (ii) the other, and (iii) cosmos.

Individual man is, of course, subjected to two kinds of influences. On the one hand, there are the influences of nature, environment and biological drives and needs. Add to them are man's psychological impulses. On the other hand, there is the pressure of society or collectivity. Human personality is greatly influenced by these two influences.

But, it is not determined by them. Human personality has the quality of transcending both kinds of pressures. It can even transcend itself. Indeed, personality is defined by Mukerjee as "the sum total of the individual's characteristic mode of adjustment at different dimensions:

(i) biological,

(ii) social, and

(iii) ideal, cosmic or transcendent".

The human personality transacts with the environment as a biological and social creature. But, it is something more than that. It is "the psycho-social whole responsive to the cosmic whole". According to Mukerjee, "personality essentially is transcendence". Personality of a man or woman has a social dimension.

But, he/she may want isolation from his/her fellow beings in order to establish a communion between himself/ herself and the cosmos. He/she may require freedom from social pressures to realize the freedom of his/her inner self. The function of the society and its value system lies in facilitating the development of personality which would be a free agent.

Society is, according to Radhakamal, "the sum of structures and functions through which man orients himself to the three dimensions or levels of his environment:
(a) ecologic,
(b) psycho-social, and
(c) moral".
Thus, society "fulfills the basic requirements of sustenance status and value-fulfillment".

Values:

Values are "socially approved desires or goals that are internalized through the process of conditioning and socialization. They generate subjective preferences, standards and aspirations." Values help man in orienting his desires and goals in a set pattern. Thus, man resolves the inner tensions or conflicts of imperious biological drives. Besides this, he succeeds in achieving harmonious social roles and orderly relations with his fellow men with the help of appropriate values.

The concept of value cuts across desires, goals, ideals and norms. Desires in social action are goals. The ideal is constructed in a hypothetical social situation characterized by the conflict of goals. Norms are arbiters of opposing or contradicting ideals. They connote a beyond-human, teleological order of the universe.

Social relationships are defined by Mukerjee as attitudes and behaviours of men towards one another as presented by their common goals and values. Groups are, according to Mukerjee, orderly social relationships and behaviours of associated persons that emerge out of the integration and fulfillment of their common goals and values. Institutions are more enduring than groups. Institutions are defined as more organized formal and enduring social relationships that fulfill certain common and stable goals and values of persons.

Position refers to the individual's capacity and achievement in the specific status within the institutional set-up. The institutional network of a society provides the matrix where multiple roles become complementary and facilitate the fulfillment and integration of the goals and values of society and personality.

The basic problem for modern societies is to create and nurture values which will lead to full development and expression of human individuality on the one hand and the generality of harmony order and solidarity on the other.

The social sciences as developed in the West propounded metaphysical individualism:

i. First, it makes the mistake of isolating man and his atomic desires and preferences from his total group and institutional situation.

ii. Secondly, the atomism and rationalism of the social sciences have ignored the vast sector of human values that are sharable rather than competitive, integral rather than partial, and that mark both maturation of personality and improvement of social culture.

iii. Thirdly, the notion of rational and atomized individual creates the artificial division between empirical sociology and ethics or metaphysics. Empirical sociological studies social structure and function through the method of natural science and ethics studies values. The dichotomy of the two in western social sciences gives the wrong impression that values cannot be studied objectively.

According to Mukerjee, the distinction between values and measurable facts is false. Values and valuations can be verified and validated in the social process.

It is borne by three postulates:

i. First, values play an important part in the integration and fulfillment of man's basic impulses and desires in a stable and consistent manner. It means that the selfish desires and interests are modified by collective living, where people give and take from each other.

ii. Secondly, values are generic in scope and are made up of both individual and social responses and attitudes. Values become shared by all through their symbolization. Symbols are condensed or epitomized expressions of commonly shared values. The national flag, for example, is a common symbol that constitutes a nation.

iii. Thirdly, despite the diversity and divergence of values of different peoples, and cultures, some universal vales are discernible.

A gradation of values is found on four levels of social integration:
(1) In the crowd there is a spontaneous, although brutal, expression of value – e.g., moral indignation, etc., directed against individuals and institutions.
(2) In the economic interest group, certain elemental values may be expressed, such as reciprocity, integrity, consideration, fairness level; they are susceptible to impersonal conflict and retaliation.
(3) In 'society' or 'community', equity and justice find expression.
(4) In 'general', the chief values are 'spontaneous love', and social co-cooperativeness. These values are necessary for the reconstruction of the world. In short, Mukerjee deals with values in several contexts.

Values are always accompanied by disvalues. Disvalues arise both due to individual's lags and social shortcomings. The disvalues are expressed not only in individual deviance but also in institutional deviance (criminal gangs, etc.). Mukerjee emphasizes treatment of disvalues. He would reintegrate deviant individuals and groups by working on the total social situation and on the social adaptability of persons and groups.

In two of his works, The Dynamics of Morals and The Dimensions of Human Values, Mukerjee discusses ethics from a global perspective. He refers to man's need to transcend selfishness and attain a universal brotherhood. The movement towards moral transcendence becomes almost an inevitable development. This is especially true in a world, which is ridden with violence and discord.

The Community of Communities:

In the Dimensions of Human Evolution:

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

The book on The Community of Communities endeavours to use and develop the same contemporary seminal idea of the open human person-in-communication for the understanding and interpretation of human communion and community. Human person, values and community are all unities and transcendences.

Normally, man never expands his cosmos and its resources for the deepening, enrichment and expansion of life, values and community in a continuously creative, transcending process of evolution. The philosophy of community envisions it as the pattern of "one cosmos, one community".

This widens the prospects of human evolution for both individuals and species within an overall unity of world science, communication and civilization. In this context, the philosophy of community means a profound study of the unforeseeable role of man in and with community and cosmos, of the values and potentialities of Homo universalis.

The meaning of community in evolution varies at the level of following dimensions:
1. Biological
2. Psychological
3. Moral
4. Philosophical
5. Metaphysical

At the biological dimension the true community comprises the entire species of Homo sapiens which guides and directs the psychozoic phase of evolution through human values and culture. At the psychological dimension the true community rests on man's self-extension and transcendence or transformation of Homo sapiens into Homo universalis, who consecrates himself to the infinite values and possibilities of both himself and the community for self-fulfillment and self-expression.

At the moral dimension the true community grounds itself in man's vital communion with his fellow men, belonging to all races and continents. At the philosophical dimension the true

community embodies faith in the vital principles of inner harmony and organic unity of mankind and cosmos and of the order, wholeness and togetherness of existence.

Finally, at the metaphysical dimension, the true community realizes the truth of identity between the self and the Universal Other or the Community of Communities of which human love is capable, and embodies this truth in every goal and striving of human life in all interpersonal relations and values.

Contemporary man's history should strengthen his evolutionary trend by enlarging his communication and communion and extending and deepening his cosmos, making it more relevant to his meanings, values and possibilities.

Urban Social Problems:

Mukerjee envisages an ameliorative approach to the problems of working class. The industrialization in India, which has been taking place during the last several decades, succeeded in bringing together people from diverse regions and languages. But, the living conditions of workers in the urban centres, such as Mumbai, Kanpur, Kolkata and Chennai, were adversely affected by slum life. In the early days of industrialization, urban slums gave rise to vices such as prostitution, gambling and crime. It was, therefore, necessary to bring about drastic changes in the lives of workers to improve their economic and moral conditions. Today, many private industries and public sector units have been providing facilities for social welfare to their workers. Besides, the central and state governments have promulgated legislative acts, which are binding on the employers. However, unorganized workers (i.e., who are unemployed, or temporarily employed) continue to live in slums.

The rampant problems in the Indian slums at present are consumption of illicit liquor and drugs, crimes, and worsening housing conditions and civic facilities. Therefore, Mukerjee's analysis of the working class is relevant even for the present industrial organization in India.

Social Ecology:

Harmonious development of man requires that he should live with other members of the community and also with nature or environment or ecology. Radhakamal Mukerjee's contribution to the studies of what is called 'social ecology' is unparalleled. Social ecology, as a discipline, requires the cooperation of a member of sciences including social sciences.

The geological, geographical and biological factors work together to produce an ecological zone. Ecological conditions also conditioned by social, economic and political factors. Indeed, human or social ecology is the study of all aspects of reciprocal relations between man and his environment.

In his book, Regional Sociology (1926), Mukerjee explains the scope of human ecology "as a synoptic study of the balance of plant, animal and human communities, which are systems of correlated working parts in the organization of the region". American pioneers in ecological studies did not give adequate attention to the factor of culture in their conception of ecological relations.

They viewed such relations as similar to those which take place among plants and animals. Mukerjee argued that ecological relations among human beings are largely similar with those among lower organisms. But, in case of human beings, cultural norms have a very important role. Human ecology highlights this fact.

In the formation of an ecologic unit like 'region' social habits, values and traditions become very important. Individuals having the same or similar values possess solidarity. The ecological standpoint in which man's constant strivings, aspirations and ideals mingle silently with the ecological forces and processes. Social ecology stresses the ever complex give-and-take relationship between man and the region.

There is a definite link between ecology and society. The development of ecological zones is the outcome of a dynamic process that is the challenge of the environment and the response of the people who establish a settlement. Ecological balance is not achieved by a mechanical carving out of a territory and setting people therein.

Such an attempt weakens or destroys the social fabric. For example, in building industrial plants or constructing irrigation plants or constricting irrigation dams in India, very often,

people of the concerned locations are moved to new settlements. It seriously affects community's life of the people. As a people lives in an area, it develops a symbiotic relationship with the ecology or environment of the area. In the new situation it may fail to develop that kind of relationship with the surrounding.

Mukerjee's ideas about social ecology advocated regional development. He stood for a balance between economic growth and ecological fitness. Traditional crafts and skills like weaving or engraving should be revamped for attaining economic growth of a region without any great damage to its ecology. Deforestation has created havoc. Long back Mukerjee cautioned his countrymen against it. He strongly advocated for conservation of forests and protection of ecological balance.

Mindless urbanization was also lamented by Mukerjee. From the ecological point of view he upheld the idea and process of urbanization. Urban development at the expense of the countryside should be kept in check. Agriculture should be diversified and industries should be decentralized.

Mukerjee notices with concern that (i) overgrazing, (ii) improvident destruction of trees and scrubs, and (iii) faulty method of cultivation brings about a serious imbalance in the biophysical constitution of the entire region. It seriously impairs nature's cycle.

Removal of vegetation brings about a chain of unfavourable reactions such as:
(1) Denudation of the top soil,
(2) Fall in the underground water level,
(3) Diminution of rainfall,
(4) Increase of aridity, and
(5) Acceleration of 'river', sheet or gully and wind erosion. These have led to serious and continuous agricultural deterioration.

Industrial civilization, because of its mindless exploitation of natural resources, finds its "security threatened due to the exhaustion of coal and petroleum" and the diminishing supply of minerals and vitamins, which cannot be synthetically manufactured. The importance of ecological values can hardly be overemphasized even in the industrial society.

Of course, there is no need for loss of nerves. Man's success in his adaptation to the geographical environment rests on certain ideal values, which have their roots in ecological values. But it is necessary that these values should "have reached the level of standards of moral behaviour".

Conclusion:
It may be viewed from the above analysis that Radhakamal Mukerjee advocated a methodology reflecting the organic interdependence between the economic sphere and the entire socio-historical cultural order [see, e.g., A General Theory of Society (1956); The Philosophy of Social Sciences (1968)]. He proposed, therefore, a trans disciplinary approach to social research at a time when some social scientists in India were considering the need for interdisciplinary research.

Mukerjee has pioneered three approaches to social science for which he would always be remembered:
1. Conceiving economics as a specialization, and not as a discipline, in the realm of social science.
2. Introducing the 'institutional approach' to planning which should not be regarded as the exclusive prerogative of the economists but should be treated under the rubric of social science.
3. Raising the sight of appraisal of social reality from the uni-disciplinary or interdisciplinary outlook of the social scientists to a trans disciplinary perspective, bearing in mind the common acceptance of the term 'social sciences' comprising various 'disciplines' like economics, political science, psychology, and sociology and so on.

Mukerjee started his career as an economist who, in those days, defined the framework of reference to the 'discipline' as the relation between man and his exploitation of the natural resources in successively compounded forms.

At that time, the Marxists had raised the issue, but they were not seriously considered by the establishment of economics. Mukerjee was not a Marxist, but he clearly conceived economics as dealing with the relationship among humans with respect to the exploitation of natural resources and the consequent production and appropriation of material goods and services.

In his voluminous writing in this context, Mukerjee examined the nexus of human relationships in the totality of life and living. But that was transcending the boundary of economics as a discipline, which he regarded as a specialization within the unitary discipline of social science. This viewpoint was not acceptable to the contemporaneous mandarins in the 'economic' science; nor was Mukerjee acceptable to the contemporaneous mandarins of sociology or any other social science 'discipline'. Therefore, Mukerjee became a bratya, a marginal man in the realm of social science.

However, Mukerjee's empirical studies on various aspects of life conditions (e.g., land problem, working class, town and village life, ecology, food planning, etc.) were more and more appreciated on their own merit; that is, irrespective of the theoretical underpinning to these efforts and achievements of Radhakamal.

But his advocacy of 'institutional planning' was not so readily accepted. As we live in a lunar world, where light is reflected from the sun rising in the West, the social scientists became vocal about institutional planning after Gunnar Myrdal posed it (1971) in terms of transplantation of the 'modernizing ideals' from the First (and the Second) to the Third World.

In his last years, Mukerjee postulated the need for a fusion of 'empirical' and 'normative' sociology in order that social engineering will have its disposal reliable knowledge concerning human behaviour, goals and values as well as means and techniques of analysis and feasible devices for social control [see, e.g., A Philosophical View of Civilization (1963); The Oneness of Mankind (1965)].

Although, his last writings were somewhat speculative in nature, however, he is distinguished among the pioneers of Indian sociology as one who clearly specified his factual foundations, arguments and proposals regarding what Indian sociology was in his time and how it should develop.

Mukerjee did not give adequate importance to the part played by conflicts in actual social life. He upheld the cause of harmony between man and man, one nation and another, between different regions, between human groupings and biological environment. His stress on the importance of values of understanding and toleration, moral responsibility of the individual to the community and human responsibility for protecting ecology would be considered very important by the students of sociology, even today.

That intellectual freedom is a precondition for an advancement of science and of the frontiers of knowledge was the basic faith of the founding fathers of Indian sociology and social anthropology. This explains why, despite their own preferences for certain perspectives and methodologies, their students could contribute appreciably to the development of alternative conceptual framework for studying Indian society – its structure and change in the post-1950 period.

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye : Biography and Contribution to Indian Sociology

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye (1893-1984) is a towering figure in intellectual and academic circles for his unique contribution in the field of Indian sociology. He has often been acclaimed as the 'father of Indian sociology', 'the doyen of Indian sociologists' or 'the symbol of sociological creativeness'. Ghurye had been engaged in building up; almost single handedly, the entire first generation of Indian sociologists in post-independence period.

M.N. Srinivas has rightly said, "Nothing disguises the fact that Ghurye was giant". Efforts of individuals, who have variously been regarded as the 'founding fathers', 'pioneers' 'first-generation sociologists' etc., constituted the most important factor in the growth of Indian

sociology. These pioneers provided direction to shape the future of sociology in India. And, of all these, none did as much for sociology in India as Ghurye.

Two aspects of Ghurye's work are worth inquiring into:

a. First, his role in promoting and directing the course of research in diverse fields of Indian society (as a teacher, as an institution builder and as a scholar); and

b. Second, his own substantive writings, his theoretical postulates, his vision of the role of sociology, etc.

Ghurye excelled in both of them.

Background:

Ghurye was born on 12th December, 1893 in a Saraswat Brahmin family in Malavan, Maharashtra, and the West Coast of India. He died on 28th December, 1983 at the age of 91 in Bombay. Sociology was not a school or college subject when Ghurye was a student. From the very early years, Ghurye showed a flair for Sanskrit.

After passing the matriculation examination, Ghurye got himself admitted to the Elphinstone College, Bombay with Honours. He had a brilliant academic career throughout. He stood first class second at the BA examination and was awarded the Bahu Dazi prize – the blue ribbon of Sanskrit competence in the university.

He stood first class first at the MA examination in English and Sanskrit in 1918 and was awarded the Chancellor's Gold Medal. None before that time had obtained a first class at the MA with Sanskrit. With this type of background in Sanskrit, Ghurye finally came to sociology, which profoundly influenced later Ghurye's own writings and the course of research made in the field of sociology under his leadership.

While teaching at the Elphinstone College, Ghurye submitted an essay to Patrick Geddes on "Bombay as an Urban Centre". It won him a foreign scholarship. The scholarship was instituted by the University of Bombay to train promising young men in sociology. Ghurye went to London School of Economics where he briefly worked with L.T. Hobhouse.

He later moved to Cambridge where he worked with W.H.R. Rivers. Rivers died in 1922 before Ghurye completed his doctoral work. In 1923, he completed his PhD under A.C. Hadden on Caste and Race in India. His work was published by Routledge and Kegan Paul in 1932 in C.K. Ogden's History of Civilization Series. It immediately established Ghurye's reputation.

Sociology in Bombay developed under the leadership of G.S. Ghurye. Patrick Geddes was invited by the University of Bombay to start a Department of Sociology in 1919. Ghurye succeeded Geddes as head and as a Reader, took charge of the Department of Sociology at Bombay University in 1924.

He was appointed as Professor in 1934 and retired in 1959. When he retired in 1959, the University of Bombay made him an Emeritus Professor. Ghurye was the first Emeritus Professor in Bombay University. He did not cease to be academically active after retirement from service. His last research student submitted thesis in 1971. During these about fifty years' span, he supervised as many as eighty theses. Of these, forty have been published as books.

As a teacher, Ghurye was very serious and meticulous in preparing his lectures notes. Many of his students have testified that his lectures were heavily documented. As a research guide, he was more impressive and more successful. He created a 'sociological awareness

The 'second generation' of Indian sociologists was largely his creation. They include M.N. Srinivas, K.M. Kapadia, I. Karve, K.T. Merchant, I.P. Desai, A.R. Desai, Y.B. Damle, D. Narain, M.S.A. Rao, K.N. Venkatarayappa, A. Bopegamage, M.G. Kulkarni, K.C. Panchnadikar, M.L. Sharma, D.B. Unwalla and many others.

As an institution-builder, deservedly, the most profound impact on Indian sociology was made by Ghurye. Ghurye was the principal architect of the Department of Sociology of Bombay University and produced a batch of renowned scholars including M.N. Srinivas, who is now internationally known. His students headed (and many of them are still heading) the departments of sociology in many universities in India.

Ghurye was the prime mover in the formation of Indian Sociological Society in 1952 and was also instrumental in the publication of its mouthpiece, Sociological Bulletin, as its official bi-annual journal. However, the first sociological journal in India, The Indian Journal of Sociology, was started in January 1920 under the editorship of Alban G. Widgery of Baroda College in Baroda.

Ghurye was elected the president of the anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress in 1934. In the same year, he was also elected as the nominee to the Royal Asiatic Society and continued to hold this position till 1948. During his lifetime, he won several top honours accorded to any intellectual in India.

As a scholar, in fact, throughout his life, Ghurye has been active from the academic standpoint. His 16 books, out of a total of 31 books, published during his lifetime. His output is indeed prodigious by any standard. Several of them are noteworthy as pioneering contributions to the sociology field.

Even so, Ghurye is most likely to be remembered by Caste and Race in India (titled Caste and Class in India in subsequent editions). His persistent research endeavor, wide ranging interest and upholding of the base of academic tradition made him the centre of sociological creativity and research for several generations of Indian sociologists.

Ghurye's broad area of interest was general process of evolution of culture in different civilizations in general, and in Indian (Hindu) civilization in particular. The origin and subsequent proliferation of the different varieties of Indo-European civilization constitute the range of Ghurye's study.

Indian society, through its long historical process of growth, presents a picture of a vast mosaic of culture held together by religion, values and norms of Hinduism. As a sociologist, Ghurye feels the imperative of exploring this unifying and synthesizing process.

In spite of many diversions, exploration and analysis of the process of cultural unity in India through ages constitutes the major thrust of Ghurye's writing. He moves to establish his thesis with perfect case, back and forth, from the Vedic to the present-day India.

Theoretical Approach and Methodological Application of Ghurye:

Ghurye's rigour and discipline are now legendary in Indian sociological circles. In the application of theories to empirical exercises or in the use of methodologies for data collection that legendary rigour is not somehow reflected. To put it differently, Ghurye was not dogmatic in the use of theory and methodology.

He seems to have believed in practising and encouraging disciplined eclecticism in theory and methodology. Despite his training at Cambridge under W.H.R. Rivers and his broad acceptance of the structural-functional approach, Ghurye did not strictly conform to the functionalist tradition when interpreting the complex facets of Indian society and culture, which he chose to investigate.

The pioneers were 'armchair' or 'lecture-ism' sociologists. Even Ghurye had conducted village, town and community studies. It was said that "Ghurye insisted on fieldwork, though he himself was an armchair scholar" (Srinivas and Panini, 1973: 188). This was not intended as a pejorative comment (Srinivas, 1973), but it reflected the tremendous premium placed on single-handed 'anthropological fieldwork'.

Therefore, it may be said that although trained in the craft of Indology, Ghurye was not averse to the fieldwork traditions of social and cultural anthropology. His field survey of Sex Habits of Middle Class People in Bombay conducted in the 1930s and published in 1938 and the monograph on the Mahadev Kolis (1963) demonstrated Ghurye was far from promoting an armchair textual scholarship. He was an empirical field worker also. Later generations of Indian sociologists and social anthropologists used Ghurye's inexhaustible themes for their researches.

It would be appropriate to characterize Ghurye as a practitioner of 'theoretical pluralism'. Basically interested in inductive empirical exercises and depicting Indian social reality using any source material – primarily Indological – his theoretical position bordered on laissez-

faire. Similarly, when Ghurye conducted survey-type research involving primary data collection, he did not conform to accepted methodological canons.

He often ventured into generalization on the basis of scanty and unrepresentative evidence, e.g., Social Tensions in India (Ghurye, 1968). It is also likely that Ghurye's flexible approach to theory and methodology in sociology and social anthropology was born of his faith in intellectual freedom, which is reflected in the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches that his research students pursued in i heir works. Ghurye also used historical and comparative methods in his studies which have also been followed by his students.

Ghurye was initially influenced by the reality of diffusionist approach of British social anthropology but subsequently he switched on to the studies of Indian society from indological and inthropological perspectives. He emphasized on Indological approach in the study of social and cultural life in India and the elsewhere. This helps in the understanding of society through literature.

Ghurye utilized literature in sociological studies with his profound knowledge of Sanskrit literature, extensively quoted from the Vedas, Sbastras, epics, and poetry of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti to shed light on the social and cultural life in India. He made use of the literature in vernacular, e.g., Marathi, and cited from the literature of modern writers like Bankimchandra Chatterjee as well.

Works of Ghurye:

Ghurye's writings have enormous diversity of themes and perspectives. The range is very wide, indeed. As the two principal branches of the Indo-European people subsequently prospered in India (the Indo-Aryan) and Europe (the Anglo-Saxon), for example, he has shown wide similarities between these two peoples as regards the two principal institutions, viz., the family and the caste.

Not only this, a host of other things also came with Ghurye's range of interests. Rajput architecture and funerary monuments, sadhus in India and sex in America, Shakespeare and Kalidas, castes, tribes and races, metropolitan civilization – everything was grist to his sociological mill. His writings have been gathered from all sources – literary, historical, archaeological, sculptural, painting and iconography. This gives an extra dimension to his research.

Up to 1980, he authored thirty-one books; only five of them were written before 1950 and thirteen up to 1959 when he retired from the university service.

The important works of Ghurye are as follows:

1. Caste and Race in India (1932, 1969)
2. Culture and Society (1947)
3. Indian Sadhus (1953)
4. Bharatnatyam and Its Costume (1958)
5. Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture (1955, 1961)
6. Cities and Civilization (1962)
7. Gods and Men (1962)
8. Anatomy of a Rural-Urban Community (1962)
9. Scheduled Tribes (first published as The Aborigines So-called and their Future) (1943, 1959, 1963)
10. Religious Consciousness (1965)
11. Indian Costume (1966)
12. Social Tensions in India (1968)
13. I and Other Explorations (1973)
14. Whither India (1974)
15. Indian Acculturation (1977)
16. Vedic India (1979)
17. Bringing Cauldron of North East India (1980)

The whole range of Ghurye's works can be classified into a number of broad themes. The classification has not always been a neat one, sometimes a little bit of discretion had to be used but this enabled us to arrange more systematically his ideas.

Pramanick (1994) has divided Ghurye's writings into six broad areas. These are:

1. Caste
2. Tribes
3. Kinship, family and marriage
4. Culture, civilization and the historical role of cities
5. Religion
6. Sociology of conflict and integration

Besides these, there are a number of important writings of Ghurye, which could not be fitted into the above scheme. We would briefly discuss here the important works of Ghurye.

Caste and Kinship:

We first take up Ghurye's Caste and Race in India (1932), which cognitively combined historical, anthropological and sociological perspectives to understand caste and kinship system in India. He tried to analyse caste system through textual evidences using ancient texts on the one hand and also from both structural and cultural perspectives on the other hand.

Ghurye studied caste system from a historical, comparative and integrative perspective. Later on he did comparative study of kinship in Indo-European cultures.

In his study of caste and kinship, Ghurye emphasizes two important points:

1. The kin and caste networks in India had parallels in some other societies also.
2. The kinship and caste in India served in the past as integrative frameworks.

The evolution of society was based on the integration of diverse, racial or ethnic groups through these networks.

Ghurye highlights six structural features of caste system as follows:

1. Segmental division
2. Hierarchy
3. Pollution and purity
4. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections
5. Lack of choice of occupation
6. Restrictions on marriage

Besides the above characteristics, Ghurye laid particular stress on endogamy as the most important feature of the caste system. Any effective unit of the caste hierarchy is marked by endogamy. Every caste had in the past segmented into smaller sub-divisions or sub-castes. Each of these sub-castes practised endogamy. For example, Vaishya (Baniya or Mahajan) castes are divided into various sub-castes such as Agrawal, Maheshwari etc.

Caste is also linked with kinship through caste endogamy and also clan (gotra) exogamy. Gotra has been treated as thoroughly exogamous unit by the Brahmins and later by the non-Brahmins. The basic notion here is that all the members of a gotra are related to one another, through blood, i.e., they have rishi (sage) as their common ancestor. Therefore, marriage between two persons of the same gotra will lead to incestuous relationship. It will lead the lineage of the gotra to near extinction.

The relationship between caste and kinship is very close because:

(i) exogamy in our society is largely based on kinship, either real or imaginary, and

(ii) the effective unit of caste, sub-caste is largely constituted of kinsmen.

To Ghurye, there are three types of marriage restrictions in our society, which shape the relationship between caste and kinship. These are endogamy, exogamy and hypergamy. Exogamy can be divided into two parts:

(i) spinda or prohibited degrees of kin, and

(ii) sept or gotra exogamy.

The gotra and charna were kin categories of Indo-European cultures which systematized the rank and status of the people. These categories were derived from rishis (saints) of the past. These rishis were the real or eponymous founder of the gotra and charna.

In India, descent has not always been traced to the blood tie. The lineages were often based on spiritual descent from sages of the past. Outside the kinship, one might notice the guru-shishya (teacher-student) relationship, which is also based on spiritual descent. A disciple is proud to trace his descent from a master.

Likewise, caste and sub-caste integrated people into a ranked order based on norms of purity-pollution. The rules of endogamy and commensality marked off castes from each other. This was integrative instrument, which organized them into a totality or collectivity.

The Hindu religion provided the conceptual and ritualistic guidelines for this integration. The Brahmins of India played a key role in legitimizing the caste ranks and orders through their interpretation of Dharamashastras, which were the compendia of sacred codes.

Tribe:

Ghurye's works on the tribes were general as well as specific. He wrote a general book on Scheduled Tribes in which he dealt with the historical, administrative and social dimensions of Indian tribes. He also wrote on specific tribes such as the Kolis in Maharashtra. Ghurye presented his thesis on tribes at a time when a majority of the established anthropologists and administrators were of the opinion that the separate identity of the tribes is to be maintained at any cost.

Ghurye, on the other hand, believes that most of the tribes have been Hinduized after a long period of contact with Hindus. He holds that it is futile to search for the separate identity of the tribes. They are nothing but the 'backward caste Hindus'. Their backwardness was due to their imperfect integration into Hindu society. The Santhals, Bhils, Gonds, etc., who live in South-Central India are its examples (Ghurye, 1963).

There has been fierce debate between G.S. Ghurye and Verrier Elwin. Elwin in his book Loss of Nerve said that tribals should be allowed to live in isolation, whereas Ghurye argued that tribals should be assimilated into Hindu castes.

Thus, Ghurye holds the view that a grand historical process of merger between two communities has almost been completed. Consequently, tribes, now, may be regarded as 'backward Hindus'. The incorporation of Hindu values and norms into tribal life was a positive step in the process of development.

The tribes in India had slowly absorbed certain Hindu values and style of life through contact with the Hindu social groups. Today, it is being considered a part of Hindu society. Under Hindu influence, the tribes gave up liquor drinking, received education and improved their agriculture.

In this context, Hindu voluntary organizations, such as Ramakrishna Mission and Arya Samaj, played a constructive role for the development of the tribes. In his later works of north-eastern tribes, Ghurye documented secessionist trends. He felt that unless these were held in check, the political unity of the country would be damaged.

Ghurye presents a huge data on the thoughts, practices and habits of the tribes inhabiting the Central Indian region. He quotes extensively from various writings and reports to show that Katauris, Bhuiyas, Oraons, Khonds, Gonds, Korkus etc. have substantially adopted Hinduism as their religion. Ghurye suggests that the economic motivation behind the adoption of Hinduism is very strong among the tribes. They can come out of their tribal crafts and adopt a specialized type of occupation, which is in demand in society.

Rural-Urbanization:

Ghurye remained occupied all through his life with the idea of rururbanization securing the advantages of urban life simultaneously with nature's greenery. Therefore, he discusses the process of rural-urbanization in India. He views that the urbanization in India was not a simple function of industrial growth.

In India, the process of urbanization, at least till recent years, started from within the rural area itself. He traced Sanskrit texts and documents to illustrate the growth of urban centres

from the need for market felt in a rural hinterland. Development of agriculture needed more and more markets to exchange the surplus in food grains.

Consequently, in many rural regions, one part of a big village started functioning into a market. This led to a township, which in turn developed administrative, judicial and other institutions. In the past, urban centres were based on feudal patronage, which had demands for silk cloths, jewellery, metal artifacts, weapons etc. This led to the growth of urban centres such as Banaras, Kanchipurum, Jaipur, and Moradabad etc.

In brief, it may be said that Ghurye's approach to 'rural-urbanization' reflects the indigenous source of urbanism. During colonial times, the growth of metropolitan centres altered the Indian life. The towns and cities were no longer the outlets for agricultural produce and handicrafts but they became the major manufacturing centres.

These centres used rural areas for producing raw materials and turned into a market for selling industrial products. Thus, the metropolitan economy emerged to dominate the village economy. Therefore, the urbanization started making inroads into the rural hinterland in contrast to previous pattern. A large city or metropolis also functioned as the centre of culture of the territory encompassing it.

For Ghurye, the large city with its big complexes of higher education, research, judiciary, health services, print and entertainment media is a cradle innovation that ultimately serves cultural growth. The functions of the city are to perform a culturally integrative role, to act as a point of focus and the centre of radiation of the major tenets of the age. Not any city, but large city or metropolis having an organic link with the life of the people of its region can do this work well.

According to Ghurye, an urban planner must tackle the problems of:
(1) sufficient supply of drinking water,
(2) human congestion,
(3) traffic congestion,
(4) regulation of public vehicles,
(5) insufficiency of railway transport in cities like Mumbai,
(6) erosion of trees,
(7) sound pollution,
(8) indiscriminate tree felling, and
(9) plight of the pedestrians.

Culture and Civilization:

There are two conflicting views about the growth and accumulation pattern of culture. One theory maintains that in any community culture grows quite independently of similar events happening elsewhere or predominantly with reference to local needs and local situation. The other group believes that culture grows by diffusion. A single invention or discovery is made at one place and ultimately this cultural trait diffuses throughout the world. Sir G.E. Smith was the most ardent advocate of the diffusion theory.

In one of his papers, "The Disposal of Human Placenta", published in 1937, Ghurye examines the practices of human beings with regard to the disposal of discard of human body like first out hair, nail pairing, first fallen teeth and the after birth. The purpose of this paper is, as he says, to compare the methods of disposal of the human placenta in the different regions of the world to see if they shed any light on the problem of diffusion of culture.

Culture diffusion is essentially an anthropological theory, which is concerned with the nature of culture contact operating principally among the preliminary people. According to Ghurye, culture constitutes the central or core element for understanding society and its evolution. In fact, culture is a totality involving the entire heritage of mankind. Ghurye's abiding interest was to analyse the course of cultural evolution and the nature of heritage which mankind has denied from the past.

Culture relates to the realm of values. It is a matter of individual attainment of excellence and creativity. Ghurye had a strong faith in the power of man to preserve the best of his old

culture, while creating from his own spirit of new culture. He was more concerned with the process of evolution of Hindu civilization, which has been termed as a 'complex civilization'. And, Ghurye thought that for analyzing the dynamics of culture in such a long historical civilization. In this context, the process of acculturation is more relevant than the process of diffusion. He thinks that the challenging task of a sociologist is to analyse this complex acculturation process in India.

According to him, India has been the home of many ethnic stocks and cultures from pre-historic times. In his analysis of caste, Ghurye refers to how caste system was developed by the Brahmins and how it spread to other sections of the population. The operation of the process of Hinduization also provides the general backdrop of his analysis of the trial phenomenon.

Ghurye was promoted by the belief that there is a "common heritage of modern civilization" and that civilization is a "collective endeavour of humanity". He holds that behind the rise and fall of civilization, there has occurred a steady growth of culture. Cutting across the vicissitudes of civilization growth, there are certain values, which have been established as final. These values have been termed by Ghurye as the 'foundations of culture'.

He delineates five such values or foundations of culture. These are:
1. Religious consciousness
2. Conscience
3. Justice
4. Free pursuit of knowledge and free expression
5. Toleration

According to Ghurye, "civilization is the sum total of social heritage projected on the social plane". It is also an attribute of the society. Different societies can be differentiated with reference to their civilizational attainment.

Ghurye makes four general conclusions with regard to the nature of civilization:
i. Firstly, as yet, there has been no society, which has been either completely civilized or very highly civilized.
ii. Secondly, Ghurye believes in the law of continuous progress.
iii. Thirdly, gradation of civilization is also correlated with the distribution of values. In a high civilization, the humanitarian and cultural values will be accepted by a wide cross-section of population.
iv. Fourthly, every civilization, high or low, possesses some distinctive qualities.

Sociology of Religion:
Religion is fundamental to man. Man becomes conscious of some power beyond his comprehension almost at the dawn of civilization. This field has drawn the attention of sociologists like Weber (The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism, 1930) and Durkheim (The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, 1915).

Ghurye thinks that religion is at the centre of the total cultural heritage of man. He gives the five foundations of culture as mentioned earlier in the description of culture and civilization, out of which 'religious consciousness' is most important. It moulds and directs the behaviour of man in society.

Ghurye made original contribution to the study of Indian religious beliefs and practices. He wrote six books to bring out the role of religion in society. These are: Indian Sadhus (1953), Gods and Men (1962), Religious Consciousness (1965), Indian Accumulation (1977), Vedic India (1979), and The Legacy of Ramayana (1979).

All these works reflect Ghurye's interest related to the sociology of religion. For example, in Gods and Men, Ghurye discusses the nature of the Hindu ideas of Godhead and the relations, if any, between the climate of an age and the type of Godhead favoured.

In Religious Consciousness, Ghurye analyses the three oldest human civilizations, viz., the Mesopotamian, the Egyptian and the Hindu, in their various aspects of mythological beliefs, speculation, cosmology, life after death, view of Godhead, temple architecture, etc. And, in

the Indian Sadhus, Ghurye considers the genesis, development and organization of asceticism in Hindu religion and the role ascetics have played in the maintenance of Hindu society.

Indian Sadhus:

Indian Sadhus (1953 and 1964) is an excellent sociography of the various sects and religious centres established by the great Vedantic philosopher Sankaracharya and other notable religious figures. In this work, Ghurye highlights the paradoxical nature of renunciation in India. A sadhu or sannyasin is supposed to be detached from all castes, norms and social conventions, etc.

He is outside the pale of society. Yet strikingly enough, since the time of Sankaracharya, the Hindu society has more or less been guided by the sadhus. These sadhus were not the lonely hermits. Most of them belonged to monastic orders, which have distinctive traditions.

The monastic organization in India was a product of Hinduism and Buddhism. The rise of Buddhism and Jainism marked the decline of individual ascetics like Viswamitra. Indian sadhus have acted as the arbiters of religious disputes, patronized learning of scriptures and the sacred lore and even defended religion against external attacks.

National Unity and Integration:

Ghurye had interest in contemporary Indian situations. As a sociologist, he had been extremely concerned with the concept of integration, the process of national unity in India, and the contemporary challenges to the situation. This concern became apparent even at the time he wrote Caste and Race in India in 1932 and The Aborigines-so-called-and their Future in 1943.

However, this concern with the present 'disturbing trends' in Indian society has come back in a big way in the later writings of Ghurye (Pramanick, 1994). There are three books of Ghurye, known as his 'triology' in this field, which are relevant in this connection.

These are Social Tensions in India (1968), Whither India (1974) and India Recreates Democracy (1978). In these books he has developed a theoretical framework to explain unity at the social or cultural level. Ghurye holds that though groups play an integrational role in society, this is true only up to a certain extent.

In modern society, there are five sources of danger for national unity coming as they do form a sense of excessive attachment with groups:

(1) The Scheduled Castes
(2) The Scheduled Tribes
(3) The Backward Classes
(4) The Muslims as religious minority groups
(5) The linguistic minorities

As we know, the main focus of Ghurye's writings is on culture. He thinks that it is largely as a result of Brahminical endeavour that cultural unity in India has been built up. All the major institutions of Hindu society originated among the Brahmins and gradually they were accepted by other sections of the community.

Though Ghurye calls it process of acculturation, it was basically a one-way flow, in which the Brahminical ideas and institutions infiltrated among the non-Brahmins. It is the background of such an approach that Ghurye analyses the problems and prospects of Indian unity in contemporary India.

Ghurye's concept of cultural unity is new one and is not secular in orientation. He is concerned with India of 'Hindu culture' and uses the terms 'Indian culture' and 'Hindu culture' synonymously. He is concerned with India, he says provided an excellent normative base for maintaining social and political unity in the country. Hinduism had brought within its fold widely different groups in India.

The various sects of Hinduism constitute vast mosaic holding together millions of people in different parts of India. First, he analysed the normative structure of Hinduism, and the teaching of sacred religious texts such as the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Brahmins etc., to show how they provide the common cultural foundation. Second, the role of such great Hindu thinkers as Panini, Patanjali, Tulsidas etc. has also been discussed by Ghurye.

He blames the political leaders for this, because they followed a course of action, which was more or less exactly the one which should have been avoided but the foundation for this national cultural unity had been built and maintained by the Hindus for one hundred years. According to Ghurye, society is not just an aggregation of isolated individuals but that group life, which provides the bridge between the individual and society.

An individual acquires social attributes and is socializes through groups. This is the integrative function of groups in society. When groups perform the function efficiently, integration is achieved. Tensions in the process of this integration in India arise today because the various groups of people have failed to transient their narrow group loyalties. Religious and linguistic minorities are the most potential source of danger to the unity in modern India. Religion and linguistic groups are the prime areas which came disintegration to India's cohesion.

Ghurye gives great importance to the role of language in the process of nation-building in India. Even, in case of tribes, tribal life and culture can be improved only when the pickup developed language of a neighbouring community. Ghurye holds the view that the regional language has a symbolic integrational value of the region. The regional languages ensure the unity of territory at the local level and all efforts should be made to improve.

Discourse:

During his creative period of writing, Indian sociology was engaged in the debate on tradition and modernity. Ghurye neither entered into this controversy, nor he took up the issue of the role of tradition in Indian society. He further stressed that Indian traditions are actually Hindu traditions. One must know the Hindu traditions to understand Indian society.

In fact, Ghurye created a special kind of Hindu sociology. The traditions of India are only Hindu traditions. He did not define traditions. He also did not discuss the impact of modernity. His main concern was the core of Hindu society. In this sense, the traditions of Indian society have its roots in scriptures, which is a very narrow vision about Indian society.

It has been argued that the most of Ghurye's works are based on textual and scriptural data. The choice of scripture and the way of writing may have bias towards one section of society to another. Ghurye further fails to recognize that qualitative change has occurred in modern India. Past is important for present.

The question is that how much of the past is useful. Some argue that Ghurye did not have this realization as his knowledge of the India's past, instead of helping him, stood in his way of analysis. However, Ghurye was not only concerned with the past evolution of Indian society but also with its present tensions and problems.

The task of sociologists, according to him, is to explore the social history of past. He says, one cannot understand the present without the reference of the past. Ghurye introduced a down-to-earth empiricism in Indian sociology and social anthropology. He was an ethnographer, who studied tribes and castes of India, using historical and Indological data. His knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to study the religious scriptures in the context of Indian society.

Conclusion:

The sweep of Ghurye's works and the wide range of his intellectual interests have had a profound influence on the development of the twin disciplines (sociology and social anthropology) in India. Like a discreet butterfly, Ghurye moved from one theme to another with equal interest, erudition and ability.

He showed India to an inexhaustible mind where sociologists and social anthropologists could conduct endless explorations. He indicated innumerable but unexplored dimensions of Indian society, culture and social institutions, which would occupy social analysis for decades if they had both the desire and the ability to know.

Ghurye's basic discipline may be regarded as social anthropology, since his PhD was under W.H.R. Rivers at Cambridge (UK). The range of Ghurye's scholarly interests and research is astounding. Exploration of diverse aspects of Indian culture and society through the use of Indological sources permeated Ghurye's otherwise shifting intellectual concerns and

empirical research pursuits. His erudition and versatility, therefore, are substantiated by the wide range of his research from Sanskrit text, through interpretation of Indian culture and society.

This rare spirit of inquiry and commitment to advancing the frontiers of knowledge was one of Ghurye's precious gifts to Indian sociology and social anthropology. His diversified interests are also reflected in the great variety of works of his research students produced on themes ranging from family, kinship structures, marriage, religious sects, ethnic groups, castes and aboriginals, their customs and institutions, to social differentiation and stratification, caste and class, education and society, the Indian nationalist movement, social structure and social change in specific villages or religions of India, and also urbanization, industrialization and related social problems in India.

The range of Ghurye's interests is encyclopaedic. His abiding interest is in the course of world civilization in general and in Hindu civilization in particular. He has analysed various aspects like the origin and evolution of caste, the evolution of Indo-Aryan family structures and its connections with the Indo-European family structure, and specific institutions like gotra etc. Analysis of the diverse aspects of the evolution of Indian social history and culture thus constitutes the major preoccupation of Ghurye.

Louis dumont Biography and contributions

Louis Dumont was a French anthropologist, sociologist, and Indologist who was an outstanding person in the field of sociology and anthropology. He was determined and debated on India and the West. He studied different societies and did an inter-civilizational comparison. His father was an engineer and his grandfather was a painter. He acquired traits from both his father and grandfather. He had the creative imagination and had zeal in tactile.

Somewhere in the 1930's under the surveillance of Marcel Mauss, Dumont began his academic career. Marcel was a great Sociologist and Sanskritist. Dumont's studies were disturbed due to World War II. Later he was imprisoned and transferred to the factory somewhere on the outskirts in Hamburgh. There he continued his studies and studied German. Dumont also studied Sanskrit and spent one year in Tamil Nadu learning about PramalaiKallar. He spent a few years in India roaming and gathering knowledge from different parts of India. He visited Tamil Nadu and Gorakhpur. His main focus studies where on Hinduism, kinship, caste in ancient India and Sociopolitical movements of modern India. He also succeeded M.N Srinivas as a Lecturer at Oxford University in the field if Indian Sociology.

The contribution of Louis Dumont:

1. Methodological perspective
2. Caste system and Implication
3. Pure and impure
4. Varana system
5. History, Politics, and religion in India
6. Homo aequalis
7. Criticism of Dumont

Methodology:

Dumont's Homo Hierarcbicus here Homo Hierarcbicus means analyzing the caste hierarchy and hegemony nature of lower castes to which they follow the habits of higher castes. The Same concept was termed as Sanskritization by M.N Srinivas. Homo Hierarcbicus gives new ideas and visions of social structure in the caste system.

He thinks Indian civilization is the set of ideas and values used to unify. Indian civilization was seen to create unity. It was said that it was good against evil. It encouraged equality among one another.

Hierarchy played an important role in Dumont's study of a caste system. Hierarchy meant to him conflict between pure and impure. In the caste system purity holds on the impure. The study of the caste system done by Dumont gave birth to many debates.

In the 1970's somewhere Dumont's study of caste system provoked interest in other scholars. He wanted to know the reason and ideology behind the caste system prevailing in India.

Caste system and its Implications:

In 1966 he produced a work named The Caste System and its Implications. It had a unique concept, pattern, and projection. It gives us a lot of information regarding caste. His work is different from others in the sense that it uses a cardinal explanatory way to the hierarchy to which it gives a whole new model.

In modern Indian society, the main concept is Equality, unlike earlier Indian society. Hierarchy helps to differentiate Indian society from earlier society. If an equalitarian system exists there also exists the group of people who are against it, mostly those people are against it in which they are on the disadvantageous side. If they are enjoying advantages they would support it and if it is not then they will oppose it. Individuals or groups of people who are placed low in the hierarchy are said to be disadvantageous and exploited by those who are placed on a higher level.

Caste System:

Louis was attracted and gave importance to the ideology behind the caste system. He analyzed caste by understanding all the characteristics of caste. This is why he was said to use the attributional approach. According to him, caste has a relationship with each other in terms of economy, political and kinship surviving by following certain values that are said to be religious.

He says that caste is a special type of inequality therefore sociologist have to understand its essence and solve it.

Louis Dumont on Three main characteristics of the caste system:

1. There should be separation among different castes in terms of marriage and contact (not even sharing of food)
2. Division of labor, people can only depart certain professions and limitations were set.
3. A range of status which arranges different groups differently some are superior and some are inferior

Louis Dumont on Concept of Pure and Impure:

While analyzing the pure and impure concept. Two questions arose in his mind why only Hierarchy groups face this distinction and if we talk in the perspective of Brahmin and untouchables then does this equally apply for division of society into a larger number of groups and then extremely subdividing it?

Brahmins were placed on the higher level and untouchables were placed lower in the hierarchy. Brahmins were considered pure and untouchables were considered impure. They were restricted to many works and to many places. They were not allowed to share food, enter temples and many more.

Dumont saw changes due to Gandhi and after the independence of India. Untouchability was then considered illegal.

Louis Dumont on Varna system:

When we talk about caste there also takes place Varna system. Dumont believed caste and Varna go hand in hand. Hindu follow Varna system in which four classes are listed 1) Brahmins places highest 2) Ksatriyas (wariors) second highest 3) Vaishyas (merchants) and lastly 4) Shudras (servants)

There comes one more category "untouchables" which is expelled out from these four classes and said to be impure.

According to Dumont castes that are placed on higher strata enjoy political, economical, social powers and the one which is placed at the bottom of the strata suffer the most and are exploited.

Louis Dumont History, Politics and Religion:

In some of his work, he tried to explain that there is unity in the thought and practice of Hindus in regard to a few structural principles. He tried to make a single framework all about Hindu norms and thoughts in their diversities.

Points he gave importance were throughout his book were:

1. India is a whole
2. Here unity is much important than any ideas and values.
3. In Hinduism caste is a basic institution.
4. The concept of impure and pure is center to caste system.
5. The notion of purity and impurity takes place because of Hierarchy and separation.
6. Caste is seen as an embracing idea and power is given according to the status.
7. In modern society, equality is a big notion, unlike Indian society which have Hierarchy.
8. No revolutionary sociology exists.
9. In today's time India is more "organized" rather "structured"

Secondly being Individualistic Societies here main ideas are equality among individuals but this society is less to be seen.

Criticism Dumont faced:

1. Gupta says that Dumont's understanding of the hierarchy of caste is not right.
2. In some of his work, it shows that Dumont thinks the caste system in Indian society has not changed but in reality, it has changed over time.
3. Bailey and Yogendra Singh that Dumont has left many key ideas in the sociology approach to provide into Sociology of Development.
4. Dumont's contradicting ideas of purity and impurity are not universal.
5. Dumont left out many protest movements that took place in Indian history as he questioned the ideology behind the caste division.
6. McKim Marriott opposed Homo Hierarchicus as he thinks it is all noted down from a textual perspective of social science.

After the criticism, he faced he still has given a lot to Indian Sociology. Dumont's idea of Homo Hierarchicus is proved to be a marvelous contribution to Sociology.

MARXIST PERSPECTIVES

Contribution of Ramkrishna Mukherjee to Indian Sociology

Ramkrishna Mukherjee has been a distinguished scientist of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, and an adjunct Professor of Sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton. Born in 1919, he was educated at Calcutta University (M.Sc., 1941) and at Cambridge (PhD, 1948).

He then moved to London to become the Chief Research Officer to his Majesty's Social Survey, London (1948-49) after which he went to Ankara as Consultant, Government of Turkey (1949), and also as Consultant to London School of Economics (1952). He began his career as guest Professor of Indian Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin (1953-57). From 1957 through 1979, he functioned as Research Professor at the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

Mukherjee has also been a member of the Indian Council of Social Science Research (1974) and advisor to many institutions and the journals in the social sciences in India and abroad. He was the President of the Indian Sociological Society (1972-74) and the member of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association (1974-78). His research experience includes work in India as well as Bangladesh, U.K., France, Germany, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Uganda.

Methodology:

Mukherjee's main concerns are systematic and inductive sociology, diagnostic research and related methodology. He recommends the use of the diagnostic mode to get the best possible explanation of social reality. Among the Indian sociologists, like D.P. Mukerji, Ramkrishna Mukherjee also emphasized the significance of dialectical model for the study of Indian society.

In his later works, Ramkrishna has changed from dialectical-historical to a probabilistic nomological approach for the study of social reality (Singh, 2004). He calls his approach 'inductive inferential' which is neutral to the type of propositions, Marxist or non-Marxist, that one chooses to test and verify.

The role of history and dialectics in the sociological thinking and research, according to Mukherjee, stops at the level of formulation of proposition; these may help in even a taxonomic formulation of categories (see Mukherjee, 1970, 1975) or social indicators, but beyond this the logical principles of test and verification would have to operate

independently. In his rigorous study, Mukherjee (1972, 1977) used systematic quantitative methodology to measure kinship distance and extent of change in family structures in West Bengal.

Works:

Mukherjee's research interests include historical sociology, studies in the classification of families and rural society, problem of acculturation and social indicators. He wrote more than a dozen books and over hundred research papers for internationally reputed journals.

His major publications include: The Problem of Uganda (1956), The Dynamics of a Rural Society (1957), The Sociologist and Social Change in India Today (1965), Six Villages of Bengal (1971), The Rise and Fall of the East India Company (1958), Social Indicators (1975), Family and Planning in India (1976), West Bengal Family Structure: 1946-66 (1977), what will it be? Explorations in Inductive Sociology (1978), Sociology of Indian Sociology (1979) etc.

We discuss the following major aspects, which have been highlighted in the writings of Ramkrishna Mukherjee:

1. Agrarian social structure
2. The sociologist and social change in India today
3. Trends in Indian sociology
4. Studies in Indian sociology

1. Agrarian Social Structure:

Mukherjee's (1949, 1957, 1958) initial works on rural Bengal – its economic structure and dynamics – could be partly attributed to K.P. Chattopadhyay's initiative in portraying that side of Indian social reality of which sociologists and social anthropologists coming from urban middle class background were likely to lose sight.

At the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, agrarian class structure, class relations and agrarian social change were given priority in large scale sample surveys. Mukherjee conducted a series of studies on agrarian structure in Bengal in the 1940s. The theme of agrarian social structure and change was to re-appear in Indian sociology only after a gap of nearly two decades in the late 1960s and in the 1970s.

Ramkrishna made systematic historical as well as empirical studies using dialectical model. His book on The Rise and fall of the East Indian Company (1958) is a contribution to economic and social history of the institutionalization of colonialism in India through stabilization of economic policies, disintegration of feudalism and aristocratic despotism, and the rise of new middle classes.

In his The Dynamics of Rural Society (1957), Mukherjee studies social and economic changes in a set of villages through changes in the structure of classes. He emphasizes the necessity to grasp the systematic and organic character of Indian society for understanding of its social processes.

In this study of rural society, Mukherjee makes use of statistical data from various sources to generate conceptual categories of the class structure in villages and analytically posits them to unravel the problem of rural social structure and development from a quasi-Marxist perspective. The use of statistical data makes this study comparable to those in other regions and states of India, although Mukherjee confines his attention to West Bengal.

2. The Sociologist and Social Change in India Today:

The book entitled, The Sociologist and Social Change in India Today (1965) contains six main chapters. These are revised or enlarged versions of six papers which Mukherjee had written between 1961 and 1964. In the equal numbers, they can be classified under the category of "fallacies and facts" and of "focus and orientation", as has been done in the following with the chapter 4 and the chapter 8 summarizing the discussions contained in the two respective parts of the book.

Facts are many; fallacies are countless. The focus of attention also need not be the only one that has been demonstrated here; and orientation towards further research must cover further grounds than those indicated in this book.

Social Change:

'Change' to a sociologist is a matter of inference. What we deduce actually is 'difference' within a 'society' from the analysis of a set of observations. And, we may interpret those 'differences' as change in reference of an assumed point of departure. Also, we may not do so, and interpret the 'differences' as causal fluctuations. So, the task we should undertake centres round the questions:

(i) what is the point of departure?

(ii) what are the 'differences'?;

(iii) how are these differences effected, and what pattern emerges thereby?; and

(iv) why does such a pattern emerge?

These questions follow in a chronological order, while to answer them unequivocally is virtually an impossible proposition. But, we may approximate reality with successive precision provided we steer our activities in right times. Therefore, a discussion on fallacies and facts may logically precede that on "focus and orientation". This is how the contents of the book have been arranged.

Two Fallacies: Concept of Rural-Urban Dichotomy or Rural-Urban Continuum:

According to Mukherjee, two major fallacies commonly found in India today, namely, urban and/or industrial development bring in 'new values' in society commensurate with the social transformation we desire in our country.

Cities and towns are growing or emerging. Also that increasingly improved means of transport and communication are bringing the villages nearer the urban centres is an accepted phenomenon. Therefore, at whatever pace it may be, urban development and urbanization are gathering momentum in India. But, what is their effect on the social transformation of the people involved?

On Urbanization and Social Transformation:

This is a moot question. Because, in whichever way the process and the degree of urbanization may be interpreted, the underlying assumption is that: "The differences between rural and urban populations represent contrasts between the old and the new, and in a sense they provide us with insights into the character of man's social and cultural life prior to urbanization" (Gibbs, 1961).

How far, and in what manner, then, the rural-urban differences and interrelations can be so explained in India? The question implies an examination of two aspects of the problem, which may appear to have no conception between them but are in fact closely associated:

(1) as a consequent to the process and degree of urbanization, whether changes in the social organization and/or in the ideological orientation of the people are evident, incipient, or absent;

(2) in the first two of the three enumerations, whether the course of changes conforms to the concept of rural-urban dichotomy or of rural-urban continuum.

If a particular course of urbanization is to be nurtured or destroyed, how is it taking place in society has to be ascertained beforehand, namely, as between two conceptually exclusive entities of urban and rural? or, in terms of a spectrum, which registers the influence of the urban sector on the rest of the country in a gradient of physical distance, transportation time and cost, etc., as "city-large towns-small towns-neighbouring village-remote villages"?

The first process would subscribe to the concept of rural-urban dichotomy, whereas the second to that of rural-urban continuum. And, the respective process would have an important bearing on the strategy and tactics of implementing any planned programme for India's social development.

Mukherjee has done his study in the state of West Bengal and Giridih sub-division of the district Hazaribagh in the adjoining of Bihar. He has examined the pattern of migration to urban areas so as to ascertain whether it would facilitate the operation of the concept of rural-

urban dichotomy or rural-urban continuum or none. Therefore, an examination of exact process at work with respect to rural-urban differences and relationships has been looked in.

Focus on Social Organism: Diagnosis of Soft Spots:

Mukherjee found that the social development of the people cannot be answered in terms of rural-urban differentials, or for that matter, from a formal examination of various forms of social stratification. It requires looking into the soft spots in the social organism, irrespective of its rural-urban or other forms of formal stratification.

Such as, if the educated persons are to be the torchbearers of progress in this respect, the content of the education offered to them and their consequent reactions would require examination so as to determine the soft spots through which the desired course of change may be implemented in the society under reference.

Or, if the Hindu high caste people are to be the precursors of a new way of life, to take another hypothetical case for purpose of illustration, the potentiality of germination of such a life among them would require careful investigation with the same aim in view. Either way, or in more ways than the above two, the soft spots in the social organism require careful and sustained exploration.

After that, their relative occurrence in, and/or their relative importance to, city-town-village stratification of society may decide whether rural-urban dichotomy or rural-urban continuum would be the suitable concept to formulate and execute relevant policies for social development and whether the small towns would have a role to play in that context.

The examination of formal associations between patterns of migration, administrative and political divisions, cross-cultural factors, and occupational and industrial profiles of settlement of social groups and individuals, etc., does not lead us to a fruitful inference; although this is undoubtedly the primary stage in the course of our researches into the problem under reference.

Mukherjee concludes that:

(1) there is not yet any evidence of social development, and

(2) a causal or concomitant relation between cultural changes sue to urban living or urban-ization and 'social' development cannot be legitimately deduced, and so

(3) the concept of rural-urban dichotomy or rural-urban continuum need not be meaningful in the context of urbanization and social transformation in India at the moment.

3. Trends in Indian Sociology:

According to Mukherjee, an assessment of the development of sociology and social anthropology in India cannot be attempted without examining the overlapping of the various theoretical, methodological and ideological influences on the growth of these twin disciplines, sociology and social anthropology. In a comprehensive review of "Trends in Indian Sociology", Mukherjee (1979) discusses diagnostic perspective about Indian sociology.

The main questions are:

(1) What is it (enumeration of the phenomenon)?

(2) How is it (classification)?

(3) Why is it (causality)?

(4) What will it be (possibility)?

(5) Why should it be (desirability)?

These five questions should interact in sequential manner with a dialectical appreciation having both positive and negative points in regard to reality of phenomena. Mukherjee sharply focused on the links between theory, ideology and praxis or between the questions: what is it? How is it? Why is it? And, what will it be and why should it be? (Mukherjee, 1977b: 2-4).

The perspective related to these questions has been discussed by Mukherjee in what will it be: Explorations in Inductive Sociology (1978). Since that perspective is applied here to the phenomenon of Indian sociology which has been entitled, Sociology of Indian Sociology.

Mukherjee employed in a paradigm these fundamental questions in order to distinguish three modes of social research, viz., descriptive, explanatory and diagnostic. He has shown that the three mode are sequentially related, and that the crucial demand of contemporary social research is to adopt the diagnostic mode. This will lead to evaluation of the best possible explanation of social reality at the existing state of knowledge and thus, social research will proceed from description, and beyond explanation, towards prediction.

He also discusses the principles of the three modes of social research and drawn a systematic relation among them. Basically, he has distinguished diagnostic research as inductive-inferential from the descriptive and explanatory research as deductive-positivistic. Because of this fundamentally different perspective, diagnostic research calls for concept formation in a different manner, and requires an appropriate methodology.

Therefore, Mukherjee has discussed how mutually distinguished but homologous phenomena of social change, social development and nation-building should be conceived, giving indication to their appropriate methodology.

He has also discussed the most crucial aspect of contemporary social research, viz., the treatment of the objective 'information' and the subjective 'value' as confounded variables to denote facts, and how this can be efficiently done by diagnostic research in contradistinction to the descriptive and explanatory research.

4. Studies in Indian Sociology:

In a 1979 publication, Sociology of Indian Sociology, Mukherjee identified growth points in terms of its practitioners who he classified as pioneers, modernizers, insiders, and pace makers and non-conformists. He has made by scholars belonging to these categories, and identifying the 'insiders' emerging in the late sixties and seventies as those who were the product of the system rather than entrants from other disciplines.

Studies in Indian sociology, as it is for similar place- and people-bound studies, are usually oriented towards recording the topic-wise proliferation of the subject and its specialization and diversification, with some relative comments on the nature and direction of changes in the thematic field.

While these essentially descriptive studies are necessary to take stock of the current stage of development of the discipline in one place and in the world perspective, they cannot fully explain the reasons behind the changing course of the discipline in the given societal context.

A search for this explanation would not only diagnose the soft and hard spots in the discipline towards further changes but also provide the base to predict its course in the immediate future. Mukherjee has tried to examine the development of Indian sociology systematically. He also suggests "what should it be" of Indian sociology in the contemporary Indian and world perspectives.

According to Mukherjee, from the very beginning, sociology as a body of knowledge has been founded upon a deductive and positivistic basis; inductive sociology has made little headway too far on both the ideological grounds and due to practical considerations.

And, while lately mathematical reasoning and statistical principles are employed more and more as the building bricks of sociology, its foundation is not affected thereby; eventually, social causation is explained in terms of one or another 'theory' whether or not this theoretical orientation – be it Weberian, Durkheimian, Marxists or any other – its distinctly spelt out.

The concern for a meta-theory is of course noticeable in present times but since its methodological requirements are not usually given adequate attention, it is still thought to consist of another theory rather than of a transmission engineered through the consolidation of all available and possible theories which is its objective.

It may not be fortuitous, therefore, that 'research methodology' is thought of as a distinct aspect of sociology in particular, and of the social sciences in general, but is not regarded as

being an independent element for, say, physics in particular, and the natural sciences in general.

It may also be of significance that while value is regarded to be an inextricable component of sociology and, at the same time, that an objective appreciation of the 'social facts' is seen to be of the supreme objective of sociology, the two are seldom treated as confounded variables – conceptually and methodologically.

Hence, it is readily accepted for sociology as a 'social' or 'humanistic' science that "there appears to be an inherent gap between the language of theory and research which can never be bridged in a completely satisfactory way" (Blalock, Jr., 1961).

The above statement, of course, acquires a substantive meaning in relation to conceptualization for, ultimately, knowledge forms an asymptotic relation with reality, so that, we may continually advance our understanding of social reality but can never comprehend it fully and finally.

Nevertheless, the scope and the course of comprehension of reality are spread out in an infinite but enumerable space. Therefore, a cautionary note is in order: "there are no limits on the non-scientific use of mathematics in sociology, unless it is the reluctance of it's scientifically minded to tolerate pseudo mathematics as well as the metaphysics which would reject mathematics in principle" (Martindale, 1963).

Also, in the course of continual advance in sociological knowledge, it is not less relevant to bear in mind that none of methodological difficulties often alleged to confront the search for systematic explanations of social phenomena is unique to the social sciences or is inherently insuperable (Nagel, 1961).

Akshay Ramanlal Desai : Biography and Contribution to Indian Sociology

Akshay Ramanlal Desai (1915-1994) was born on April 16, 1915 at Nadiad in Gujarat and died on November 12, 1994 at Baroda in Gujarat. In his early years, he was influenced by his father Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, a well known litterateur who inspired the youth in Gujarat in the thirties. A.R. Desai took part in student movements in Baroda, Surat and Bombay.

He graduated from the University of Bombay, and also obtained a law degree and a PhD in sociology under G.S. Ghurye from the same university in 1946. Later on, he taught at the Bombay University and also became head of the department. In 1947, he got married to Neera Desai, who has done pioneering work in the field of women's studies. In 1953, he took the membership of the Trotskyites Revolutionary Socialist Party and resigned from its membership in 1981.

Methodology:

Among Indian sociologists one who has consistently advocated and applied dialectical-historical model in his sociological studies is A.R. Desai. Desai closely studied the works of Marx and Engels and the writings of Leon Trotsky by whom he was very much influenced. He may be regarded as one of the pioneers in introducing the modern Marxist approach to empirical investigations involving bibliographical and field research.

In the above context, Desai alone among Indian sociologists has consistently applied Marxist methods in his treatment of Indian social structure and its processes. He is a doctrinaire Marxist. He rejects any interpretations of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities. It is essentially a secular phenomenon.

Its nature is economic and it originates and develops in economics. He finds it in family, village and other social institutions. He also does not find the origin of tradition in western culture. His studies mainly of nationalism and its social configuration (1966), his examination of community development programmes for economic development in villages (1959), his diagnosis of the interface between state and society in India or the relationship between polity and social structure (1975), his treatment of urban slums and their demographic problems

(1972), and finally his study of peasant movements (1979) are all based on a Marxist method of historical-dialectical materialism.

He considers that the emerging contradictions in the Indian process of social transformation arise mainly from the growing nexus among the capitalist bourgeoisie, the rural petty-bourgeoisie and a state apparatus, all drawn from similar social roots. This thwarts the aspirations of the rural and industrial working classes by sheer of its power and of its skilful stratagems.

The contradiction, however, is not resolved. It only takes new cumulative forms and re-emerges in the form of protests and social movements. The social unrest is rooted in the capitalist path of development followed by India, bequeathed to it as a legacy of the national movement.

Writings of Desai:

A refreshingly new perspective to evaluate changes in Indian society was brought about by a few Marxist sociologists. A.R. Desai, a student of Ghurye, stands out in this respect with his devoted and sustained endeavours to understand the diverse aspects of Indian social reality: The Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948); currently operating (1973); and immanent features of Indian nationalism (1975); the issue and problems of Rural Sociology in India (1969); Slums and Urbanization of India (1970, 1972); and the implications of the modernization of Indian society in the world context (1971), State and Society in India (1975), Peasant Struggle in India (1979), Rural India in Transition (1979), and India's Path of Development (1984).

Desai also developed the field of political sociology in 1960s. In an anthology, Desai (1979) included the studies on peasant struggles, which have also been carried out by historians and social scientists of diverse orientations.

Like D.P. Mukerji (1958), A.R. Desai (1976) studied Indian society from Marxian perspective and also used history fruitfully. Desai and Pilllai (1972) conducted a study of slums, which constitutes a separate category within the area of city studies. In 1969 Desai published an edited volume on Rural Sociology in India, which was a major turning point and pacesetter in the field of agrarian studies.

Closely related to the new trend in agrarian sociology has been the trend of studying social movements, particularly among the peasantry. Sociology and social movements remained for a long time a neglected area. Desai's (1948) study of the Indian National Movement – its class character and inherent contradictions – was of course a noteworthy and pioneering contribution of the pre-1950 era

Here, we would discuss the important contributions of Desai on major themes as follows:

1. Village structure
2. Transformation of Indian society
3. Social background of Indian nationalism
4. Peasant struggles
5. State and society

Village Structure:

It is viewed that Indian village was a self-sufficient unit in pre-British period. The village population was mainly composed of peasants. The peasant families enjoyed traditional hereditary right to possess and cultivate his holding from generation to generation.

Therefore, village was based on agriculture carried on with the primitive plough and bullock-power and handicraft by means of the primitive equipment. The village council was the de facto owner of the village land, which represented the village community. All exchange of products produced by the village workers was limited to the village community. The village did not have any appreciable exchange relations with the outside world.

Further, the pre-British Indian society almost completely subordinated the individual to the caste, family and the village panchayat. The culture of pre-British India was feudal in nature, which was predominantly mystical in character. This was due to the fact that the society was

economically on a low level, stationary and socially rigid. Whatever changes occurred was quantitative and not qualitative in character.

Transformation of Indian Society:

The transformation of the pre-British India from feudal economy to capitalist economy was a result of the British conquest of India. The British government adopted the capitalist path of development in their political and economic policies at three levels, viz., trade, industry and finance.

The introduction of new economic reforms of the British government disrupted the old economic system. Consequently, it decayed the old land relations and artisans with the emergence of new land relations and modern industries. In place of village commune appeared modern peasant proprietors or zamindars, as private owner of land.

The class of artisans disappeared with modern industry. New classes like the capitalist, industrial workers, agricultural labourers, tenants, merchants etc. emerged. Thus, the British impact not only led to the transformation of the economic anatomy of Indian society, but also its social physiognomy. Further, the new land revenue system, commercialization of agriculture, fragmentation of land etc. also led to the transformation of Indian village.

At higher level, this resulted in growing polarization of classes in agrarian areas, poverty in rural areas and exploitation by the owners of land. It gives rise to new class structure in agrarian society with categories like zamindars, absentee landlords, tenants, peasant proprietors, agricultural labourers, moneylenders and merchant class. Similarly, in urban society, there were capitalist industrial working class, petty traders, professional class like doctors, lawyers, engineers etc.

The British government also introduced railways, postal services, centralized uniform law, English education, modern industry and many more, which brought qualitative change in Indian society. It is said that although the British government had various exploitative mechanisms in India, but unintentionally these efforts led to unification of Indian society.

The role of railways and press is significant in this direction. It has brought the scattered and disintegrated Indians into the mainstream. The implication was social movements, collective representations, national sentiments, and consciousness among Indian people and formation of unionism at various levels. Such a social infrastructural set-up gave rise to nationalist freedom movement and awakening of Indian nationalism.

Social Background of Indian Nationalism:

Desai applies the Marxist approach to the study of 'nationalism' in India during the British rule. He spells out historical-dialectical materialism and applies it to the study of various types of movements – rural and urban, caste and class structure, social mobility, education and other aspects of Indian society. Though Desai's book was published in 1948, it became more popular in the late sixties and the seventies perhaps due to the increased consciousness of Indian social scientists towards social self-consciousness.

Desai's first full-length work The Social Background of Indian Nationalism was a trendsetter not only for its Marxist academic orientation, but also for the way in which it cross-fertilized sociology with history. Quite like other Marxists, he employs production relations for the explanation of traditional social background of Indian nationalism in his classical work.

The book is an excellent effort to trace the emergence of Indian nationalism from dialectical perspective. According to Desai, India's nationalism is the result of the material conditions created by the British colonialism. The Britishers developed new economic relations by introducing industrialization and modernization.

This economic relationship is predominantly a stabilizing factor in the continuity of traditional institutions in India, which would undergo changes as these relations would change. Desai thinks that when traditions are linked with economic relations, the change in the latter would eventually change the traditions. It is in this context that he thinks that caste will disintegrate with the creation of new social and material conditions, such as industries, economic growth, education, etc.

Desai's definition of tradition is a watershed. He does not trace it from caste, religion or ritual. The dialectical history of India that he presents very clearly shows that traditions have their roots in India's economy and production relations. Despite merits of the dialectical approach applied by Desai in the definition of tradition, Yogendra Singh argues that the merits are not without weaknesses.

What is wrong with Desai is that he was very profound when he applies principles of Marxism in analyzing Indian situation but fails at the level of empirical support. In other words, his theoretical framework can be challenged by the strength of substantial data. The critique of Yogendra Singh runs as under:

The important limitation of the dialectical approach for studies of social change in India is the lack of substantial empirical data in support of his major assertions, which are often historiographic and can easily be challenged.

In theoretical terms, however, this approach can be more visible for analysis of the processes of change and conflict in India provided it is founded upon a sound tradition of scientific research. Despite this limitation, some studies conducted on this model offer useful hypotheses, which can be further tested in course of the studies on social change.

The large amount of work produced by Desai is testimony to the missionary zeal with which he carried on his endeavour. He authored, edited and compiled a large number of books. His pioneering studies were Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948) and Recent 'Trends in Indian Nationalism (1960).

In these works, he developed the Marxian framework to outline the growth of capitalism in India. He provided an analysis of the emergence of the various social forces, which radically altered the economy and society in India within the context of colonialism. The state which emerged in India after independence, he postulated, was a capitalist state.

The theme of the relation between the state and the capitalist class was explored in his writings. To him, the administrative level apparatus of the state performed the twin functions of protecting the propertied classes and suppressing the struggles of the exploited classes.

In India's Path of Development (1984) he took on the traditional communist parties and the Marx scholars who spoke of the alliance with the progressive bourgeoisie, of semi-feudalism, of foreign imperialist control over Indian economy, and who postulated a 'two-stages theory of revolution' or accepted a 'peaceful parliamentary road to socialism' in India.

Desai's works include a number of edited volumes on rural sociology, urbanization, labour movements, peasant struggles, modernization, religion, and democratic rights. They are a rich source of reference material for students, researchers and activists.

Peasant Struggles

In his two volumes entitled Peasant Struggles in India (1979) and Agrarian Struggles in India after Independence (1986), Desai has complied excellent material on peasant struggles in India during colonial rule and after independence.

The difference in the character of struggles then and now is highlighted. Agrarian struggles, at present, Desai suggests, are waged by the newly-emerged propertied classes as well as the agrarian poor, especially the agrarian proletariat, whereas the former fight for a greater share in the fruits of development.

The poor comprising pauperized peasants and labourers belonging to low castes and tribal communities struggle for survival and for a better life for themselves. Thus, Desai maintained, progress could be achieved only by radically transforming the exploitative capitalist system in India. The theme of the state was explored in several of his studies.

State and Society:

In State and Society in India (1975), Desai provided a critique of the theories of modernization accepted by a large number of academic establishments. He clearly stated that in reality the concept assumed "modernization on capitalist path a desirable value premise". It, however, served as a valuable ideological vehicle to the ruling class pursuing the capitalist path.

Desai remarked on the absence of a comprehensive analysis of the class character, class role and the economic, repressive, ideological functions of the post-independence Indian state by Marxist scholars. In many of his later works he pursued the theme of the repressive role of the state and the growing resistance to it.

In Violation of Democratic Rights in India (1986), Repression and Resistance in India (1990), Expanding Governmental Lawlessness and Organized Struggles (1991) and State and Repressive Culture (1994), jointly with Wilfred D'Costa, he highlights the violation of the democratic rights of minorities, women, slum dwellers in urban India, press and other media by the state (Munshi and Saldanha, 1994).

In his studies of nationalism, analysis of rural social structure, the nature of economic and social policies of change in India and the structure of state and society, he has consistently tried to expose the contradictions and anomalies in policies and process of change resulting from the capitalist-bourgeoisie interlocking of interest in the Indian society (Desai, 1959, 1966, 1975).

According to Desai, the polarization of class interest, especially of the bourgeoisie, is the foundation of modern society in India. It has thus inherent in it the class contradictions and the logic of its dialectics. This has been thoroughly exposed by Desai in his several writings.

Relevance of Marxist Approach:

In the fifties and early sixties, American structural-functionalism and British functionalism dominated social sciences in general and sociological researches in particular. However, Desai undeterred by these imperialistic influences continued to write on Indian society and state from the perspective of an involved scholarship.

In his presidential address to the XV All India Sociological Conference, Desai narrates about twenty-seven points referring to the assessment of Indian sociology. He finds that the dominant sociological approaches in India are basically non-Marxist, and the Marxist approach has been rejected on the pretext of its being dogmatic, value-loaded and deterministic in nature.

The relevant approach, according to Desai, is the Marxist approach as it could help to study of government policies, the classes entrenched into state apparatus and India's political economy. Desai writes: "I wish the social science practitioners in India break through the atmosphere of allergy towards this profound and influential approach and create climate to study the growing body of literature articulating various aspects of Indian society, the class character of the state and the path of development."

Thus, in his presidential address, Desai focused on the relevance of the Marxist approach to the study of Indian society. According to him, the Marxist approach helps one to raise relevant questions, conduct researches in the right direction, formulate adequate hypotheses, evolve proper concepts, adopt and combine appropriate research techniques and locate the central tendencies of transformation with its major implications

Desai highlights certain crucial aspects of Marxist approach to the study of Indian society. The Marxist approach helps to understand the social reality through the means of production, the techno-economic division of labour involved in operating the instruments of production, and social relations of production or what are more precisely characterized as property relations.

Thus, the Marxist approach focuses on understanding the type of property relations which existed on the eve of independence in India. These are being elaborated by the state as the active agent of transformation of post-independent India. Hence, the Marxist approach will help the Indian scholars to designate the type of society and its class character, the role of the state and the specificity of the path of development with all the implications.

Desai argues that property relations are crucial because they shape the purpose, nature, control, direction and objectives underlying the production. Further, property relations determine the norms about who shall get how much and on what grounds.

For understanding the post-independence Indian society, the Marxist approach will focus on the specific type of property relations, which existed on the eve of independence and which are being elaborated by the state as the active agent of transformation both in terms of elaborating legal-normative notions as well as working out actual policies pursued for development and transformation of Indian society into a prosperous developed one.

In brief, the Marxist approach gives central importance to property structure in analyzing any society. It provides "historical location or specification of all social phenomena". Moreover, "this approach recognizes the dialectics of evolutionary as well as revolutionary changes of the breaks in historical continuity in the transition from one socio-economic formation to another".

In this context, Desai tried to understand the Indian society which also reflects in his works. Desai not only did give notice to the mainstream that Marx has a place in sociology, but also, he provided a forum for radical-minded scholars to broaden their horizon of research.

Analysis of Indian Society through Marxist Approach:

Marx pointed out that different sub-formations within a society could not be understood adequately if seen in the context of the historical level. Thus, the Marxist approach endeavours to locate, within a specific society, the forces which preserve and forces which prompt it to change, i.e., the forces driving to take a leap into a new or a higher form of social organization, which would unleash the productive power of mankind to a next higher level.

Further, Desai argues that the methodology adopted by social scientists is apt to understand social reality from the ideology of capitalism. But that is a false finding. He further argues that changes need to be interpreted from the perspective of production relations. And it is precisely the method he has applied.

The Marxist approach further considers that focusing on the type of property relations prevailing in the Indian society as crucial-axial element for properly understanding the nature of transformation that has been taking place in the country. This approach does not demand crude reducing of every phenomenon to economic factor; it also does not deny the autonomy, or prevalence of distinct institutional and normative features peculiar to a particular society.

For instance, according to Desai, it does not deny the necessity of understanding the institution like caste system, religions, linguistic or tribal groups or even specific cultural traditions which are characteristics of the Indian society.

The Marxist approach, in fact, endeavors to understand their role and the nature of their transformation in the larger context of the type of society, which is being evolved, and understand them in the matrix of underlying overall property relations and norms implicit therein, which pervasively influence the entire social economic formation.

Desai feels that adoption of the Marxist approach will be helpful in studying the industrial relations, not merely as management-labour relations, but as capital-labour relations, and also in the context of the state wedded to capitalist path of development, shaping these relations. Similarly, it will help understand the dynamics of rural, urban, educational and other developments, better as it will assist the exploration of these phenomena in the larger context of the social framework, which is being created by the state shaping the development on capitalist path of development.

The Marxist approach will also assist in understanding why institutions generating higher knowledge-products, sponsored, financed and basically shaped by the state, pursuing a path of capitalist development, will not basically allow the paradigms and approaches to study, which may expose the myth spread about state as welfare neutral state and reveal it as basically a capitalist state.

The constitution evolved its bourgeois constitution and the leadership is representing capitalist class and is reshaping the economy and society on capitalist path. The slogan of

socialistic pattern is a hoax to create illusion and confuse the masses. The real intentions and practices are geared to the development on capitalist lines.

According to Desai, the bourgeoisie is the dominant class in India. The Indian society is based on the capitalist economy. The dominant culture in our country is therefore the culture of the dominant capitalist class. Indian capitalism was a by-product of imperialist capitalism. Indian capitalism was born during the declining phase of world capitalism when, due to the general crisis of capitalism, even in advanced capitalist countries, the ruling bourgeoisie, not cognizant of the cause of the crisis, have been increasingly abandoning rationalism and materialist philosophies and retrograding to religio-mystical world outlooks.

Desai argues that Indian bourgeoisie built up a fundamentally secular bourgeois democratic state, which has been imparting modern scientific, technological and liberal democratic education. This class and its intelligentsia have been, in the cultural field revivalist and more and more popularizing supporting and spreading old religious and idealistic philosophic concepts among the people. The idealistic and religio-mystical philosophies of the ruling bourgeois class, further reinforced by crude mythological culture rampant among the masses, constitute the dominant culture of the Indian people today.

The social role played by this culture is reactionary since it gives myopic picture of the physical universe and the social world, a misexplanation of the fundamental causes of the economic and social crises, opiates the consciousness of the masses and tries to divert the latter from advancing on the road of specific solutions of their problems.

Conclusion:

We have tried to focus upon the works of A.R. Desai, which show that how Marxist approach can be applied in understanding Indian social reality. The Social Background of Indian Nationalism reflects on the economic interpretation of Indian society. Desai applies historical materialism for understanding the transformation of Indian society.

He explains that how the national consciousness emerged through qualitative changes in Indian society. It must be observed by the concluding words that in all his writings Desai has examined the usefulness of Marxian framework to understand Indian's reality. Desai's all other writings also reflect the Marxist approach to understand the Indian society.
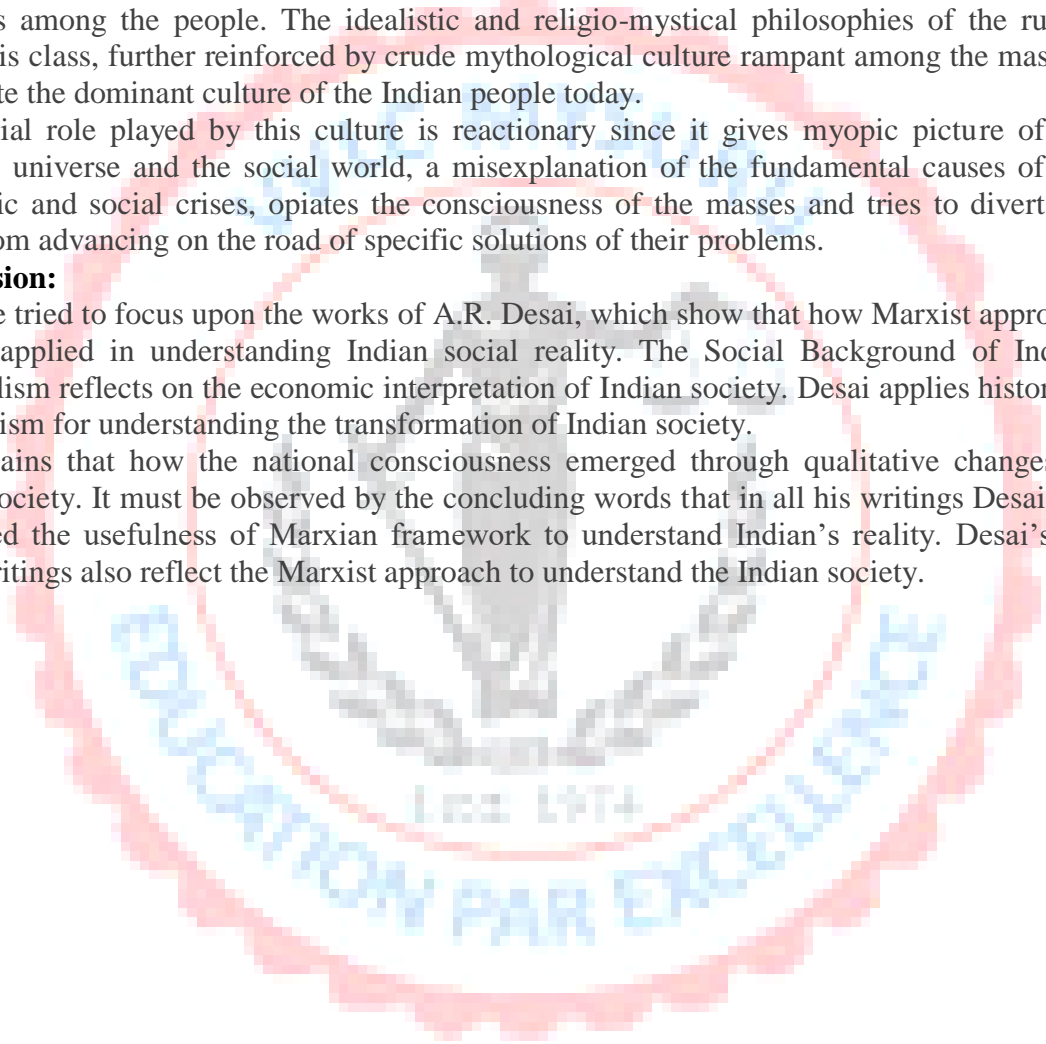
<u>Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji : Biography and Contribution to Sociology</u>

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji (1894-1961), popularly called as DP, was one of the founding fathers of sociology in India. He was born on 5 October 1894 in West Bengal in a middle class Bengali family that had a fairly long tradition of intellectual pursuits.

According to Satyen Bose, the famous physicist, when DP passed the entrance examination of Calcutta University, he, like Bose, wanted to study the sciences, but finally settled for economics, history and political science. He got MAs in economics and history, and was to have proceeded to England for further studies, but the outbreak of the First World War precluded this.

DP began his career at Bangabasi College, Calcutta. In 1922 he joined the newly founded Lucknow University as a lecturer in economics and sociology. He stayed there for a fairly long period of thirty-two years. Radhakamal Mukerjee, the first professor in the department, had been responsible for bringing DP to Lucknow.

He retired as Professor and Head of the Department in 1954. For one year (1953) he served as a Visiting Professor of Sociology at the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. After his retirement from the University of Lucknow, he was invited to the Chair of Economics at the University of Aligarh, which he occupied with great distinction during his last five years of active academic life. He was the first President of the Indian Sociological Conference. He also remained the Vice-President of the International Sociological Association.

DP was an outstanding Indian whose versatile interests have made landmarks not only in the field of sociology but also in economics, literature, music and art. Yet, sociology has been benefited most from his erudite contributions. DP, besides being a scholar, was an extremely cultured and sensitive person.

His personality was remarkable for its power in influencing and moulding the young people who came in touch with him. He was a Marxist but preferred to call him a Marxiologist, i.e., a social scientist of Marxism. He analysed Indian society from Marxian perspective of dialectical materialism.

As a Scholar:

Perhaps of much greater importance than his writings were his lectures, discussions and conversations. It was through these that he shaped the minds of youth and trained them to think for themselves. "Shaping men is enough for me", he often told his students.

His command over diverse fields of knowledge was incomparable; he talked with equal facility on the subtleties of systems of philosophy, history of economic thought, sociological theories, and theories of art, literature and music.

He combined in a unique manner a profound scholarship with an extremely well-developed critical faculty, which enabled him to relate all scholarly details to the problems facing men and culture today. In acuteness of thought and brilliance of expression, he had no peer. These qualities of DP have inspired innumerable students and in whatever they do they carry his deep impress.

DP was a pioneer in the field of sociology of culture. This work is an endeavour to focus upon an area, which was dear to his heart. It is only a modest attempt and it may have many deficiencies but we feel that there is a convergence of ideas that make a unified theme. It is hoped that this work will elicit interest among sociologists and scholars in the related fields.

In his work on Indian History:

A Study in Method, DP discusses the relevance of Marxist method to understand history. He also emphasizes the need for philosophy and historical matrix as essential for understanding any society. He fails to examine the major philosophical dialectical materialist premises about human beings, which distinguished Marxist approach from the idealist, biological or mechanistic postulates about what man is.

As a Teacher:

DP's career as an intellectual included, most prominently, his contributions as a teacher. He had a much greater and abiding influence on others through the spoken, rather than the written, words. The freedom that the class room, the coffee house, or the drawing room gave him to explore ideas and elicit immediate response was naturally not available via the printed page.

Moreover, the quality of his writing was uneven, and not all that he wrote could be expected to survive long. Therefore, he loved to be a teacher and was very popular amongst his students. He encouraged dialogue and interchange of ideas with his students. Thus, he was a co-student, a co-enquirer, who never stopped learning. He had such an influence on his students that he lives in the minds of his students even today.

Methodology:

D.P. Mukerji was perhaps the most popular of the pioneers in Indian sociology. Like all of them, he resisted any attempt at the compartmentalization of knowledge in social science. He came to sociology more as a social philosopher. However, he ended up more as an advocate of empiricism, involving spiritual feelings.

He was deeply interested in understanding the nature and meaning of Indian social reality rooted in the Indian tradition. He was equally interested in finding out the ways of how to change it for promoting welfare of the common people by adapting the forces of modernity to the specificity of Indian tradition. He was acknowledged to be a Marxist.

Nevertheless, he introduced himself as from the doctrinaires or dogmatic Marxist. It implied that he followed Marxism as a method of analysis, rather than a political ideology. His dialectical analysis of Indian history suggested that tradition and modernity, colonialism and nationalism, individualism and collectivism could be seen as dialectically interacting with each other in contemporary India.

DP contributed the perspective of Marxian sociology in India. He was tolerant of western ideas, concepts and analytical categories. He viewed that there is a need for an indigenous sociology and social anthropology, but he certainly did not want to insulate these disciplines in India from the western social traditions.

As we have mentioned above, DP preferred to call himself 'Marxologist' rather than 'Marxist' and attempted a dialectical interpretation of the encounter between the Indian tradition and modernity which unleashed many forces of cultural contradictions during the colonial era (Singh, 1973: 18-20).

He focused more on the historical specificity of India's cultural and social transformation, which was characterized less by 'class struggle' and more by value assimilation and cultural synthesis that resulted from the encounter between tradition and modernity (see Madan, 1977: 167-68).

Apart from the broad perspective, Radhakamal Mukerjee and DP had little in common as intellectual. DP's contribution to sociology and social anthropology in India differs significantly from those of Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.N. Majumdar who were his contemporaries in Lucknow. DP was never involved in any empirical exercises of data collection of surveys.

Not that, he did not believe in the inherent value of empiricism. It was just that temperamentally he preferred to be an armchair social critic, social philosopher and culturologist. His academic interests were diverse: they ranged from 'music and fine arts as peculiar creations of Indian culture' to the 'Indian tradition in relation to modernity' (Mukerji, 1948, 1958). He was not a prolific writer like his contemporaries in Lucknow. Yet, as an intellectual and an inspiring teacher, he left behind a powerful legacy that influenced the later generation of Indian sociologists in no small measures.

Concerning DP's approach to the understanding of Indian society, culture and change, two points need to be stressed. First, like Radhakamal, he was very much against maintaining rigid barriers between one social science discipline and another, and both shared historical perspective in their studies. However, although both, like Ghurye, had an abiding interest in

the study of structure and change in Indian society, in their works, we do not find a new conceptual framework as such (Unnithan et al., 1965: 15-16).

Writings:

DP was a versatile scholar. He wrote nineteen books, including Diversities (1958); ten in Bengali and nine in English. His early publications include: Basic Concepts in Sociology (1932) and Personality and the Social Sciences (1924). Some of the other publications are: Modern Indian Culture (1942, revised enlarged edition in 1948), Problems of Indian Youth (1942), and Views and Counterviews (1946).

Modern Indian Culture (1942) and Diversities (1958) are known as his best works. His versalities can be seen from his other contributions such as Tagore: A Study (1943), On Indian History: A Study in Method (1943), and Introduction to Music (1945). Apart from these, he also enjoys a unique place in Bengali literature as a novelist, essayist and literary critic.

Perspective:

DP was one of the very few social scientists in the academic world who recognized the importance of Marxism to analyse socio-economic forces operating in human society. He considered Marxism as a theory, which was founded on the priority of society and group which are separate and exterior to man, the individual a sort of environment to facilitate and hinder unfoldment of the rapacities of the autonomous individual isolate.

DP's deepest interest was in the Marxian method rather than in any dogmas. In a short paper entitled, 'A Word to Indian Marxists', included in his Views and Counterviews (1946: 166), he had warned that the 'un-historically minded' young Marxist ran the risk of ending up as a 'fascist', and Marxism itself could 'lose its effectiveness in a maze of slogans'.

Nevertheless, it would not be misleading to say that DP did not indeed embrace Marxism in various ways, ranging from a simple emphasis upon the economic factor in the making of culture to an elevation of practice to the status of a test of theory. It was a close but uncomfortable embrace.

In his basic two books on Personality and the Social Sciences (1924) and Basic Concepts in Sociology (1932), DP considered 'personal documents' products of his endeavour to formulate an adequate concept of social sciences. From the very beginning, he organized his ideas around the notion of personality.

He took up the position that the abstract individual should not be the focus of social science theories. He pleaded for a holistic, psycho-sociological approach. It was this synthesis of the double process of individuality and the socialization of the uniqueness of individual life that a personality could be understood (Mukerji, 1924).

Looking back to the work of his lifetime, DP said in his presidential address to the first Indian Sociological Conference in 1955 that he had come to sociology from economics and history because he was interested in developing his personality through knowledge (1958:228).

The office of a comprehensive social science, transcending the prevailing compartmentalization of social sciences, was conceived by him to be the development of an integrated though many faceted personality. This is an idea, as A.K. Saran (1962: 167) has pointed out, in some ways parallel to the ideal suggested by Moore in his Principia Ethica.

DP asserts that knowledge and knower ought to be seen together. Knowledge has to be philosophic, albeit based on empirical data. It has transcendent disciplinary boundaries. The Indian intellectuals had borrowed worldview, based on western liberal outlook. The element of 'purpose' has been stressed as 'progress' is not a stage in automatic self-generating evolution. Progress is a movement of freedom. For DP progress involves balancing of values and he draws from religious scriptures to identify the hierarchy of values

Here, we would like to highlight DP's contribution to the following:

1. Personality
2. Modern Indian Culture
3. Traditions
4. Nature and Method of Sociology

5. Role of New Middle Classes
6. Making of Indian History
7. Modernization
8. Music

1. Personality:

DP once told with a sense of humour that he propounded the thesis of 'purusha'. The 'purusha' is not isolated from society and individual. Nor is he under the hold of group mind. The purusha establishes the relationship with others as an active agent and discharges responsibilities. His argument is that the 'purusha' grows as a result of his relations with others and, thus, occupies a better place among human groups.

DP admits that the Indian social life is like the life of bees and beavers and the Indians are almost a regimented people. But "the beauty of it" is that the majority of us do not feel regimented. DP doubts whether the western individual man dominated by the market system has any freedom at all.

He is exposed to the manipulation of advertisements, press-chains, chain stores and his purse is continuously emptied. All this does not leave much scope for individual's right of choice and consumer's sovereignty. Contrastingly, the low level of aspiration of an average Indian, which is moderated by group norms, results into greater poise in life

This should not be missed in our urge for uplifting the level of wants. The Indian sociologist thus will have to accept the group as his unit and eject the individual. For that is the tradition of India. The Indian sociologists will have to understand the specific nature of this tradition.

2. Modern Indian Culture:

Emphasis in his works has changed through passage of time. DP was very sensitive and was influenced by environment around him. He drew from traditional culture as well as modern. Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study was first published in 1942 and its revised edition in 1947 – the year of partitioned independence. Synthesis has been the dominant organizing principle of Indian culture. The British rule provided a real turning point to the Indian society.

The middle class helped in the consolidation of British rule in India, but later challenged it successfully. DP's vision of India was a peaceful, progressive India born out of 'union' of diverse elements, of distinctive regional cultures. Reorientation to tradition was an essential condition of moving forward. DP denied that he was Marxist; he claimed to be only a 'Marxologist'.

The national movement was anti-intellectual, although it generated idealism and moral fervour. He concluded: "Politics has ruined our culture." DP believed that no genuine modernization is possible through imitation. He feared cultural imperialism. Modernization is a process of expansion, elevation, revitalization of traditional values and cultural patterns. Tradition is a principle of continuity. It gives us freedom to choose from different alternatives. Modernity should be defined in relation to, and not in denial of, tradition.

DP's arguments have been criticized. Saran has pointed out that DP does not subject the socialist order itself to analysis and takes its benign character on trust. He fails to realize that a technology-oriented society cannot easily be non-exploitative and not anti-man; and the traditional and the modern worldviews are rooted in different conceptions of time. DP's concern is seen as that of westernized Hindu intellectual. There is a need to read DP, reprint his works and examine his ideas (Madan, 1993).

3. Tradition:

What is meant by tradition? DP points out that tradition come from the root 'tradere', which means "to transmit". The Sanskrit equivalent of tradition is either parampara, that is, succession or aitihya, which has the same root as itihasa, or history.

Traditions are supposed to have a source. It may be scriptures, or statements of stages (apta vakya), or mythical heroes with or without names. Whatever may be the source, the historicity of traditions is recognized by most people. They are quoted, recalled, esteemed. In fact, their age-long succession ensures social cohesion and social solidarity.

Dynamics of Tradition:

Tradition, thus, performs the act of conserving. But it is not necessarily conservative. DP asserts that traditions do change. Three principles of change are recognized in Indian tradition: Sruti, Smriti, Anubhava. It is anubhava or personal experience, which is the revolutionary principle. Certain Upanishads are entirely based on it.

But it did not end there. Personal experience of the saint-founders of different sects or panths soon blossomed forth into collective experience producing change in the prevailing socio-religious order. The experience of prem or love and sahaj or spontaneity of these saints and their followers was noticeable also in the Sufis among the Muslims.

The traditional system gradually accommodated the dissenting voices. Indian social action has given latitude to align rebel within the limits of the constitution. The result has been the caste society blunting the class-consciousness of disadvantaged.

Dialectics of Tradition and Modernity:

The strength of the Indian tradition lies in its crystallization of values emerging from past happenings in the life-habits and emotions of men and women. In this way, India has certainly conserved many values: some good and others bad. The point, however, is that of utilizing the forces, which are foreign to Indian traditions, e.g., technology, democracy, urbanization, bureaucracy, etc.

DP is convinced that adjustments will certainly occur. It is almost guaranteed that Indians will not vanish, as primitive tribes have done, at the touch of western culture. They have sufficient flexibility for that. Indian culture had assimilated tribal culture and many of its endogenous dissents. It had developed Hindu-Muslim cultures and modern Indian culture is a curious blending, varansankara. "Traditionally, therefore, living in adjustment is in India's blood, so to speak".

DP does not worship tradition. His idea of "complete man" or "well-balanced personality" calls for a blend of (1) moral fervour and aesthetic and intellectual sensibility with (2) the sense of history and rationality. The qualities of the second category are emphasized more by modernity, than by the Indian tradition. Hence, the dialectics between tradition and modernity herein lies in the need for understanding the tradition. DP observes that "the knowledge of traditions shows the way to break them with the least social cost".

DP's most popular and significant writings on 'tradition and modernity' help us in understanding the authentic measuring of these two bipolar concepts. He argued that there is dialectical relation between India's tradition and modernity, British colonialism and nationalism and individualism and collectivity, i.e., Sangha.

His concept of dialectics was anchored in liberal humanism. He argued all through his works that traditions are central to the understanding of Indian society. The relations between modernization which came to India during the British periods and traditions are dialectical. It is from this perspective of dialectics that, DP argued, we shall to define traditions.

The encounter of tradition with modernization created certain cultural contradictions, adaptations and in some cases situations of conflict also. Describing the consequences of the tradition-modernity encounter, Yogendra Singh (1986) writes:

In D.P. Mukerji's writing we find some systematic concern with analysis of Indian social processes from a dialectical frame of reference. He mainly focuses upon the encounter of the tradition with that of the west which, on the one hand, unleashed many factors of cultural contradictions and, on the other, gave rise to a new middle class. The rise of these forces, according to him, generates a dialectical process of conflict and synthesis which must be given a push by bringing into play the conserved energies of the class structure of Indian society.

The encounter between tradition and modernity, therefore, ends up in two consequences: (1) conflict, and (2) synthesis. Indian society, as DP envisages, is the result of the interaction between tradition and modernity. It is this dialectics, which helps us to analyse the Indian society.

DP's concept of tradition appeared for the first time in the year 1942 when his book Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study was published. His characterization of tradition in the context of Indian culture runs as below:

As a social and historical process…. Indian culture represents certain common traditions that have given rise to a number of general attitudes. The major influences in their shaping have been Buddhism, Islam, and western commerce and culture. It was through the assimilation and conflict of such varying forces that Indian culture became what it is today, neither Hindu nor Islamic, neither a replica of the western mode of living and thought nor a purely Asiatic product (1948: 1).

The central thesis of the book was that the key to the history of India was cultural synthesis – creative response to the internal and external political and cultural challenges – and that the history of India was more than its past notwithstanding the views of Hegal and Marx on the subject. DP did not regard the disruptiveness of the British rule as a permanent injury: it was only an interruption.

He recognized that the Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis was the weakest at the level of cognitive categories, but stressed shared economic interests, and applauded achievements in music, architecture and literature. DP did not consider the partition of the sub-continent as more than an event in its geopolitics. The future, he was almost confident, would transcend the present in a true dialectical movement. Let us not politicize culture, he used to say.

The Tagore study restates DP's thesis about the importance of roots. Comparing Tagore with Bankimchandra Chatterji, he writes: "His [Tagore's] saturation with Indian traditions was deeper; hence he could more easily assimilate a bigger dose of western thought." And again: "The influence of the West upon Tagore was great… but it should not be exaggerated…. At each stage in the evolution of his prose, poetry, drama, music and of his personality we find Tagore drawing upon some basic reservoir of the soil, of the people, of the spirit, and emerging with the capacity for larger investment" (Mukerji, 1972: 50).

Composition of Traditions:

Indian tradition is the resultant of certain historical processes. They actually construct the structure of Indian culture. These traditions belong to several ideologies such as Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, tribal life and western modernity. The process of synthesis has, therefore, constructed these traditions. In this respect, it would be mistaken to believe that traditions are Hindu only. In fact, they combine traditions of various ethnic groups of the country.

How the principles of various religious ideologies shaped the Indian traditions has been interpreted by T.N. Madan as under:

In this historical process, synthesis has been the dominant organizing principle of the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Muslim, who had together shaped a worldview in which according to D.P., 'the fact of being was lasting significance'. His favourite quotation from the Upanishads was charaivati, keep moving forward. This meant that there had developed an indifference to the transient and the sensate and a preoccupation with the subordination of the 'little self to the ultimately its dissolution in the 'supreme reality' (1948: 2).

DP tried to provide a classification of Indian traditions under three heads, viz., and primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary traditions have been primordial and authentic to Indian society. The secondary traditions were given second ranking, when the Muslims arrived in the country. And, by the time of the British arrival, Hindus and Muslims had yet not achieved a full synthesis of traditions at all levels of existence.

There was a greater measure of agreement between them regarding the utilization and appropriation of natural resources and to a lesser extent in respect of aesthetic and religious traditions. In the tertiary traditions of conceptual thought, however, differences survived prominently.

Sources of Traditions:

Indian sociologists have talked enough about traditions but little effort has been made to identify the sources and content of traditions. And this goes very well when we talk about

D.P. Mukerji. Admittedly, traditions occupy a central place in any analysis of India's traditions and modernization.

But DP has not given the contents of these traditions. The major sources of traditions are Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and western culture, but what traditions, for instance, of Hinduism or Islam constitute the broader Indian traditions have not been made specific by DP.

His weakness in this respect has been identified by T.N. Madan who says that the general make up of Indian traditions according to DP could be a synthesis of Vedanta, western liberation and Marxism. But, what about the synthesis of Islam and Buddhism? DP fails to provide any such synthesis of other major traditions.

Madan (1993) comments on this failure of DP as under:

An equally important and difficult undertaking would be the elaboration and specification of his conception of the content of tradition. Whereas he establishes, convincingly I think, the relevance of tradition to modernity at the level of principle, he does not spell out its empirical content except in terms of general categories…. One has the uncomfortable feeling that he himself operated more in terms of institution and general knowledge than a deep study of the texts. A confrontation with tradition through field work in the manner of the anthropologist was, of course, ruled out by him, at least for himself.

4. Nature and Method of Sociology:

DP was by training an economist. He was, however, aware of the limitations of the practices of other economists. They were interested in mastering and applying sophisticated techniques and abstract generalizations following the western model. They failed to view the economic development in India in terms of its historical and cultural specificities. He noted with concern that our progressive groups failed in the field of intellect and also in economic and political actions, "chiefly on account of their ignorance of and un-rootedness in Indian social reality".

Social reality has many and different aspects and it has its tradition and future. To understand this social reality, one should have a comprehensive and synoptic view of (i) the nature of interactions of its various aspects, and (ii) the interplay of its tradition and the forces leading to a changed future.

Narrow specializations in particular disciplines cannot help this understanding. Sociology can be great help here. "Sociology has a floor and a ceiling like any other discipline." However, the speciality of sociology "consists in its floor being the ground floor of all types of social disciplines and its ceiling remaining open to the sky".

Neglect of social base often leads to arid abstractions as in recent economics. On the other hand, much of empirical research in anthropology and psychology has been rendered useless because of its narrow scope. Sociology helps us in having an integral view of life and social reality.

It will look into the details but it will also search for the wood behind the trees. DP learnt from his teachers and peers the need for a synoptic view of the vast canvas of social life. He, therefore, consistently harped on the synthesis of social sciences. Sociology might help this attempt at synthesizing.

The first task of sociology is to understand the specific nature of forces that sustain a particular society over the time. For this reason, DP stresses that sociologists of India must understand the nature of tradition, which has conserved Indian society for centuries. But sociology is never defence of the status quo. DP asserts that "sociology should ultimately show the way out of the social system by analyzing the process of transformation".

DP's sociological analysis of the Indian society has the merit of showing that the Indian society is changing, but without much disintegration. He was, therefore, aware that the study of the Indian social system requires a different approach to sociology because of its tradition, its special symbols and its special patterns of economic and technological changes in culture and symbols follows thereafter. DP observes: "In my view, the thing changing is more real and objective than change per se."

DP declares that "it is not enough for the Indian sociologist to be sociologist. He must be an Indian, that is, he is to share in the folkways, mores, customs and traditions for the purpose of understanding this social system and what lies beneath it and beyond it".

The Indian sociologist will try a synthesis of two approaches: He will adopt a comparative approach. A truly comparative approach will highlight the features shared by the Indian society with other societies and also the specificity of its tradition. For this reason, the sociologist will aim at understanding the meaning of the tradition. He will carefully examine its symbols and values. At the same time, he will also take a dialectical approach to understand the conflict and synthesis of the opposing forces of conservation and change.

Marxism and Indian Situations:

DP had a great faith in Marxism. Marxism gives an idea of a desirable higher stage in the development of human society. In that higher stage, personality becomes integrated with the others in society through a planned, socially directed, collective endeavour for historically understood end, which means a socialist order. But, he expressed doubts about the efficacy of the analysis of the Indian social phenomena by the Marxists.

He gave three reasons for it:

(1) The Marxists would analyse everything in terms of class conflict. But, in our society, class conflict has for a long time been covered by the caste traditions and the new class relations have not yet sharply emerged.

(2) Many of them are more or less ignorant of the socio-economic history of India.

(3) The way economic pressures work is not that of mechanical force moving a dead matter.

Traditions have great powers of resistance. Change of modes of production may overcome this resistance. A speed change of this nature may be achieved by violent revolutions only. But, if a society opts for revolution by consent and without bloodshed, it must patiently work out the dialect of economic changes and tradition.

DP's emphasizes that it is the first and immediate duty of the Indian sociologists to study Indian traditions. And, it should precede the socialist interpretations of changes in the Indian traditions in terms of economic forces.

Rejection of the Positivism of Western Social Sciences:

DP was against the positivism of western social sciences. For it reduced individuals into biological or psychological units. The industrial culture of the west had turned individuals into self-seeking agents. The society in the west had become ethnocentric. By emphasizing individuation, i.e., recognition of the roles and rights of the individual, positivism had uprooted man from his social moorings. DP observes, "our conception of man is purusha and not the individual or vyakti".

The word vyakti rarely occurs in our religious texts or in the sayings of the saints. Purusha or person develops through his co-operation with the others around him, through his sharing of values and interests of life with the members of his group. India's social system is basically a normative orientation of group, sect or caste action, but not of voluntaristic individual action. As a result, a common Indian does not experience the fear of frustration. DP makes no difference between the Hindu and the Muslim, the Christian and the Buddhist in this matter.

5. Role of the New Middle Classes:

The urban-industrial order, introduced by the British in India, set aside the older institutional networks. It also discovered many traditional castes and classes. It called for a new kind of social adaptation and adjustment. In the new set-up the educated middle classes of the urban centres of India became the focal point of the society.

They came to command the knowledge of the modern social forces, that is, science, technology, democracy and a sense of historical development, which the west would stand for. The new society of India calls for the utilization of these qualities and the services of the middle classes have been soaked with the western ideas and lifestyles.

And they remained blissfully, and often contemptuously, ignorant of Indian culture and realities. They are oblivious to the Indian traditions. But traditions have "great powers of resistance and absorption". Even "on the surface of human geography and demographic

pattern, traditions have a role to play in the transfiguration of physical adjustments and biological urges".

In India, for example, things like city planning and family planning are so tied up with traditions that the architect and the social reformer can ignore them only at the peril of their schemes. India's middle classes, thus, would not be in a position to lead the masses to build India along modern lines. They were uprooted from their indigenous traditions. They have lost contact with the masses.

India can move on to the road of modernity only by adapting it to her traditions if the middle classes re-establish their link with the masses. They should not be either apologetic for or unnecessarily boastful of their traditions. They should try to harness its vitality for accommodating changes required by modernity. A balance between individuation and association will be achieved thereby. India and the world will be enriched with the new experience.

6. Making of Indian History:

At this point it seems just pertinent enough to point out that, while DP followed Marx closely in his conception of history and in his characterization of British rule as uprooting, he differed significantly not only with Marx's assessment of the positive consequences of British rule, but also with his negative assessment of pre-British traditions.

It is important to note this because some Marxists have claimed on their side, despite his denials that he was a Marxist; he jestingly claimed to be only a 'Marxologist' (Singh, 1973: 216). Some non-Marxists also have, it may be added, described him as Marxist.

It will be recalled that Marx had in his articles on British rule in India asserted that India had a strong past but "no history at all, at least no known history"; that its social condition had "remained unaltered since its remotest antiquity"; that it was 'British steam and science' which "uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry".

Marx had listed England's 'crimes' in India and proceeded to point out that she had become 'the unconscious tool of history' whose action would ultimately result in a 'fundamental revolution' (see Marx, 1853). He had said: "England had to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive and the other regenerating – the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of western society in India (1959: 31).

Thus, for Marx, as for so many others since his time, including intellectuals of various shades of opinion, the modernization of India has to be its westernization.

As has already been stated above, DP was intellectually and emotionally opposed to this view about India's past and future whether it came from Marx or from liberal bourgeois historians. He refused to be ashamed or apologetic about India's past.

The statement of his position was unambiguous:

Our attitude is one of humility towards the given fund. But it is also an awareness of the need, the utter need, of recreating the given and making it flow. The given of India is very much in ourselves. And we want to make something worthwhile out of it (1945: 11). Indian history could not be made by outsiders; it has to be enacted by the Indians themselves. In this endeavour, they not only had to be firm of purpose but also clear headed.

He wrote:

Our sole interest is to write and enact Indian history. Action makes making; it has a starting point – this specificity called India; or if that be too vague, this specificity of contact between India and England or the West. Making involves changing, which in turn requires (a) a scientific study of the tendencies which make up this specificity, and (b) a deep understanding of the crisis (which marks the beginning no less than the end of an epoch). In all these matters, the Marxian method … is likely to be more useful than other methods. If it is not, it can be discarded. After all, the object survives (1945: 46).

'Specificity' and 'crisis' are the key words in this passage: the former points to the importance of the encounter of traditions and the latter to its consequences. When one speaks of tradition, or of 'Marxist's specification', he/she means in DP's words, "the comparative

obduracy of die culture pattern". He expected the Marxist approach to be grounded in the specificity of Indian history (1945: 45; 1946: 162ff), as indeed Marx himself had done by focusing on Indian capitalism, the dominant institutions of western society in his times.

Marx, it will be said, was interested in precipitating the crisis of contradictory class interest in capitalist society (1945: 37). DP, too, was interested in the study of tradition and modernity in India. This could be done by focusing first on tradition and then only on change.

The first task for us, therefore, is to study the social traditions to which we have been born. This task includes the study of the changes in the traditions by external and internal pressures. The latter are most economic…. Unless the economic force is extraordinarily strong – and it is only when the modes of production are altered – traditions survive by adjustments.

The capacity for adjustment is the measure of the vitality of traditions. One can have full vitality of this treasure only by immediate experience. Thus, this is that I give top priority to the understanding (in Dilthey's sense) of traditions even for the study of their changes. In other words, the study of Indian traditions … should proceed the socialist interpretations of changes in Indian traditions in terms of economic forces (1958: 232).

He hovered between Indian traditions and Marxism and his adherence to Marxist solutions to intellectual and practical problems gained salience in his later work, which was also characterized by heightened concern with tradition.

7. Modernization: Genuine or Spurious?

For DP the history of India was not the history of her particular form of class struggle because she had experienced none worth the name. The place of philosophy and religion was dominant in his history, and it was fundamentally a long-drawn exercise in cultural synthesis. For him, "Indian history was Indian culture" (1958: 123). India's recent woes, namely, hatred and partition, had been the result of arrested assimilation of Islamic values (ibid.: 163); he believed that history halts until it is pushed (ibid.: 39).

The national movement had generated much moral fervour but DP complained, it had been anti-intellectual. Not only had there been much unthinking borrowing from the west, there had also emerged a hiatus between theory and practice as a result of which thought had become impoverished and action ineffectual. Given his concern for intellectual and artistic creativity, it is not surprising that he should have concluded: "politics ruined our culture" (1958: 190).

What was worse, there were no signs of this schism being healed in the years immediately after independence. When planning arrived as state policy in the early 1950s, DP expressed his concern, for instance, in an important 1953 paper on 'Man and Plan in India' (1958: 30-76), that a clear concept of the new man to formulate a negative judgment about the endeavours to build a new India, and also diagnosed the cause of the rampant intellectual sloth. He said in 1955: "I have seen how our progressive groups have failed in the field of intellect, and hence also in economic and political action, chiefly on account of their ignorance of and unrootedness in India's social reality" (1958: 240).

The issue at stake was India's modernization. DP's essential stand on this was that there could not be genuine modernization through imitation. A people could not abandon their own cultural heritage and yet succeeded in internalizing the historical experience of other peoples; they could only be ready to be taken over. He feared cultural imperialisms more than any other.

The only valid approach, according to him, was that which characterized the efforts of men like Ram Mohan Roy and Rabindranath Tagore, who tried to make "the main currents of western thought and action … run through the Indian bed to remove its choking weeds in order that the ancient stream might flow" (1958: 33).

DP formulated this view of the dialectics between tradition and modernity several years before independence, in his study of Tagore published in 1943, DP views the nature and dynamics of modernization. It emerges as a historical process which is at once an expansion, an elevation, a deepening and revitalization – in short, a larger investment – of traditional

values and cultural patterns, and not a total departure from them, resulting from the interplay of the traditional and the modern.

From this perspective, tradition is a condition of rather than obstacle to modernization; it gives us the freedom to choose between alternatives and evolve a cultural pattern which cannot but be a synthesis of the old and the new. New values and institutions must have a soil in which to take root and from which to imbibe character. Modernity must, therefore, be defined in relation to and not in denial of tradition. Conflict is only the intermediate stage in the dialectical triad: the movement is toward coincidentia oppositorum.

Needless to emphasize, the foregoing argument is in accordance with the Marxist dialectic which sees relations as determined by one another and therefore bases a 'proper' understanding of them on such a relationship. Synthesis of the opposites is not, however, a historical inevitability; it is not a gift given to a people consciousness (1958: 189); it is a "dynamic social process and not another name for traditionalism" (ibid.: 100-2).

History for DP was a going concern (1945: 19), and the value of the Marxist approach to the fully awakened endeavour. The alternative to self-conscious choice-making is mindless imitation and loss of autonomy and, therefore, dehumanization, though he did not put it quite in these words.

Self-consciousness, then, is the form of modernization. Its content, one gathers from DP's writings in the 1950s, consists of nationalism, democracy, the utilization of science and technology for harnessing nature, planning for social and economic development, and the cultivation of rationality. The typical modern man is the engineer, social and technical (1958: 39-40).

DP believed that these forces were becoming ascendant:

This is a bare historical fact. To transmute that fact into a value, the first requisite is to have active faith in the historicity of the fact…. The second requisite is social action … to push … consciously, deliberately, collectively, into the next historical phase. The value of Indian traditions lies in the ability of their conserving forces to put a brake on hasty passage. Adjustment is the end-product of the dialectical connection between the two.

Meanwhile (there) is tension. And tension is not merely interesting as a subject of research; if it leads up to a higher stage, it is also desirable. The higher stage is where personality is integrated through a planned, socially directed, collective endeavour for historically understood ends, which means … a socialist order. Tensions will not ease there. It is not the peace of the grace. Only alienation from nature, work and man will stop in the arduous course of such high and strenuous endeavours. (1958: 76)

In view of this clear expression of faith (it is what, not a demonstration), it is not surprising that he should have hold Indian sociologists (in 1955) that their 'first task' was the study of 'social traditions' (1958: 232), and should have reminded them that traditions grow through conflict.

It is in the context of this emphasis on tradition that his specific recommendation for the study of Mahatma Gandhi's views on machines and technology, before going ahead with 'a large scale technological development' (1958: 225), was made. It was not small matter that from the Gandhian perspective, which stressed the value of wantlessness, non-exploitation and non-possession, the very notions of economic development and underdevelopment could be questioned (ibid.: 206).

But, this was perhaps only a gesture (a response to a poser), for DP maintained that Gandhi had failed to indicate how to absorb the new social forces which emerged from the West"; moreover, "the type of new society enveloped in the vulgarized notion of Ramarajya was not only non-historical but anti-historical" (ibid.: 38). But he was also convinced that Gandhian insistence on traditional values might help to save Indians from the kind of evils (for example, scientism and consumerism) to which the west had fallen prey (ibid.: 227).

The failure to clearly defined the terms and rigorously examine the process of synthesis, as already noted above, re-appears here again and indeed repeatedly in his work. The resultant 'self-cancellation', as Gupta (1977) puts it, provided certain honesty and certain pathos to

DP's sociology. In fact, he himself recognized this when he described his life to A.K. Saran as a 'series of reluctances' (Saran, 1962: 162). Saran concludes: DP did Vedanta, western liberalism, Marxism – which all beckoned to him 'do not mix'.

8. Music:

DP's Introduction to Music (1945) is a sociological piece which can be compared with The Rational and Social Foundations of Music by Max Weber (tr. and ed. by Don Martindale, London, 1958). DP's work even today remains only of its kind. It shows that "Indian music, being music, is just an arrangement of sounds; being Indian, it is certainly a product of Indian history".

He further shows both the similarities and differences between Indian music and western music. In both regions, religious and folk music had been the inevitable context of classical music. In both, classical music at moments of crisis had drawn from people's music for fresh life, elaborated its leisure, and imposed sophisticated forms upon it in return.

Music was equally intimate with functions of collective living and equally susceptible to the genuine influences that worked upon the culture pattern. So long as the princely courts, the priestly dignitaries and strongly entrenched guilds fixed the rule of living, Indian and I European music alike betrayed the rudiments of melody and harmony.

Since then, the tempo of change has been slower in India than in Europe, according, partly, at least, for the so-called 'spiritually' of her music. In fact, the community and the homogeneity of Indian music are astonishing (1945: 8).

Conclusion:

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji was one of the founding fathers of sociology in India. He had fairly long tradition of intellectual pursuits. Being an intellectual meant two things to DP. First, discovering the sources and potentialities of social reality in the dialect of tradition and modernity, and, second developing an integrated personality through pursuit of knowledge.

Indian sociologists, in his opinion, suffered from a lack of interest in history and philosophy and in the dynamism and meaningfulness of social life. Paying attention to specificities in a general framework of understanding was the first principle derived from Marx. DP developed this methodological point in an important essay on the Marxist method of historical interpretation.

He embraced Marxism in various ways, ranging from a simple emphasis upon the economic factor in the making of culture to an elevation of practice to the status of a test of theory.

We found an explanatory exposition of a selected aspect of D.P. Mukerji's sociological writings, using as far as convenient to his own words. The theme of 'tradition' and 'modernity' occupies an important place in his work and also survives as a major concern of contemporary sociology.

Taking DP's work as a whole, one soon discovers that his concern with tradition and modernity, which became particularly salient during the 1940s and remained so until the end, was in fact a particular expression of a larger, and it would seem perennial concern of westernized Hindu intellectuals. This concern manifested in a variety of ways. There is an urge for a synthesis of Vedanta, western liberalism and Marxism.

The work of D.P. Mukerji is quite significant in building sociology of India. He was deeply influenced by Marxian thought as is evident in his emphasis on economic factors in the process of cultural change. We find that how he looks at the impact of the west on the Indian society as a phase in the social process of cultural assimilation and synthesis. In his view, Indian culture has grown by a series of responses to the successive challenges of so many races and cultures, which has resulted in a synthesis.

Mukerji's basic ideas remain relevant for sociology in India even today. He showed that development of man or person is conditioned by the social milieu. Therefore, national independence, economic development and the resolutions of class contradiction within society are necessary conditions for human development in countries like India.

Nevertheless, they are not sufficient conditions. Appropriate values for integrating autonomy of the self with collective interests, rationality with emotionality and care for tradition will

have to be created. A study of Indian tradition and its dialectical relation with the forces of modernity may suggest how such values are generated.

DP's greatest contribution lies in his theoretical formulations about the role of tradition in order to analyse social change. He reminded us that the Indian social reality could be properly appraised only in terms of "its special traditions, special symbols and its special patterns of culture and social actions".

SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVES

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar : Biography and his Contribution to Indian Sociology

Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14th April, 1891 in a small town at Mhow Cantt near Indore in Mahar caste, which is known as untouchable caste in Maharashtra. He died on 6th December, 1956. His name was Bhim Sakpal, during childhood. His father was Ramji Sakpal, who was the follower of Saint Kabir. Therefore, he never believed in caste. He adopted Buddha religion along with 5 lakh people in a historical congregation on 14th October, 1956 at Nagpur.

After doing High School from Satara (Maharashtra) in 1907, Ambedkar got admission in Elphinstone College, Bombay. He was given 'Gayakwad scholarship' by Maharaja Gayakwad of Baroda for his study in college and with this scholarship itself, he got admission in Columbia University, USA and did his M.A. from there in 1915.

He was the first Indian among untouchables who went abroad for higher education. He got PhD in 1917 from Columbia. In 1916, after submission of his PhD thesis, he went to London for the study of law and also took admission in London School of Economics and Political Science for the study of economics. In 1921, he got the degree of Master of Science and also PhD on his thesis entitled, "The Problem of the Rupee" from London University. Simultaneously, he did Bar at Law.

In 1923, Ambedkar started his law practice and also devoted himself for the upliftment of Dalits (depressed class) and poor. In 1930, he became the president of the All India ^Depressed Class Association. In 1936, he formed an Independent Labour Party, which later on turned into All India Scheduled Castes Federation.

On 7th August, 1942, Ambedkar became the member of the Council for Governor General. In his chairmanship, the Constitution of India was drafted. On 3rd August, 1949, he took the char ge of the Law Minister in the Government of India. In 1955, he formed Bharatiya Buddha Mahasabha. Ambedkar always felt that the depressed class has no honour in the Hindu religion which also reflects in his writings and actions.

Writings of Ambedkar:
1. The Untouchables, Who are they?
2. Who were the Shudra?
3. States and Minorities
4. Emancipation of the Untouchables
5. Annihilation of Caste

Concept of Dalit:
Generally, the word Dalit includes those who are designated in administrative parlance as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). However, in common political discourse, the term Dalit is so far mainly referred to Scheduled Castes.

The term 'Scheduled Caste' was used for the first time by the British in Government of India Act, 1935. Prior to this, the untouchable castes were known as depressed classes in public discourse. Mahatma Gandhi gave them the name Harijan – man of God. Gandhi himself did not coin the name. He borrowed the name from a Bhakti saint of the 17th century – Narsimh Mehta.

Traditionally, according to the Hindu code of conduct, the untouchables were placed at the bottom of hierarchy and had different names in different parts of the country. They were called Shudras, Atishudras, Chandals, Antyajas, Pariahas, Dheds, Panchamas, Avarnas, Namashudras, Asprusthas, etc.

The word dalit is a common usage in Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati and many other Indian languages, meaning the poor and oppressed persons. Shah (2001) views: "Dalit includes all the oppressed and exploited sections of society. It does not confine itself merely to economic exploitation in terms of appropriation of surplus.

It also relates to the suppression of culture – way of life and value system – and more importantly the denial of dignity. It has essentially emerged as a political category. For some, it connotes an ideology for fundamental change in the social structure and relationships." The word dalit indicates struggle for an egalitarian order (Zelliot, 2001: 232).

Dalit is a by-product of the Ambedkar movement and indicates a political and social awareness. Ambedkar adopted a different approach and philosophy for the emancipation of Scheduled Castes. He wanted to liberate the Dalits by building an egalitarian social order which he believed was not possible within the fold of Hinduism whose very structures were hierarchical which relegated the Dalits to the bottom. He asserted that the Dalits should come forward and assert for their own cause. He gave them a mantra – educate, organize and agitate.

Dalit Liberation: Subaltern Approach:

With the advent of Ambedkar into the Indian political arena during 1920s, the issue of social reforms achieved a new dimension. He was of the opinion that until and unless the downtrodden themselves came forward to fight their battle, no one else could alleviate their grievances. No one else could know better than them about their own state of affairs.

Ambedkar impressed upon the people to understand their own affairs themselves. Self-awakening, he believed, could provide them necessary strength to fight against evils in society. "Ambedkar (started) exercising the spirit of despair from the minds of dumb millions who had been forced to live the lives of sub-human beings.

Here was a liberator preaching them the grand universal law that liberty is neither received as a gift; it has to be fought for. Self-elevation is not achieved by the blessing of others but only by one's own struggle and deed. Those inert dormant masses lacked courage and needed a vision and a mission. Ambedkar was aspiring them to do battle for their human rights. He was driving them to action by acting himself…. Ambedkar was displaying energy by his own action; arousing their faith by showing faith" (Keer, 1971).

Ambedkar realized that caste and Brahminic Hinduism reinforce each other and discriminate against the downtrodden sections of the society. He traced the genesis of the oppressive nature of the caste-dominated Indian society to the 'sacred' Shastras of the Hindus who guarded them so closely that if anyone except them read or hear them he would commit any act of sacrilege.

Manusmriti sanctioned severest punishment for such a sacrilegious act. According to Ambedkar, the Vedas, Smritis and Shastras were all instruments of torture used by Hinduism against the untouchables (Lobo, 2001). In fact, it was Ambedkar's subaltern perspective, which pierced through the Shastras to reveal their true face.

He emphasized in his Annihilation of Caste that the Smirits and Shastras were not the embodiment of religion but a system of rules to deprive the untouchables even of their basic needs and deny them equal status in the society. Therefore, he said that there is no hesitation in saying that such a religion must be destroyed and there is nothing irreligious in working for

the destruction of such a religion that discriminate against its own people whom it bracketed as untouchables.

An another aspect of Ambedkar's subaltern approach for the emancipation of Dalits and their empowerment was his distinct formulation of Indian nationalism in opposition to the dominant discourse of Hindu nationalism as represented by Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

His conception of nationalism articulated and synthesized the national perceptions and aspirations of the downtrodden. Ambedkar's alternative form of nationalism, popularly known as 'Dalit-Bahujan Samaj', also incorporated the subaltern philosophy of Jyotirao Phule and Periyuar E.V. Ramaswami Naicker. It constructed an anti-Hindu and anti-Brahminical discourse of Indian nationalism. It aimed at establishing a casteless and classless society where no one would be discriminated on the basis of birth and occupation.

Within the Dalit-Bahujan framework of Indian nationalism, Ambedkar built up a critique of pre-colonial Brahamanism and its inegalitarian social set-up based on low and high dichotomy of graded caste system. This system of inegalitarianism led to the process of exploitation by the unproductive Brahminical castes of the various productive castes. Thus, Ambedkar provided a subaltern perspective to see clearly the chameleon of Indian castes-ridden social set deceptively appearing in crimson colours and the ways to guard the interests of the Dalits.

Analysis of the Writings of Ambedkar:

Rodrigues (2002) made an attempt to highlight the best of Ambedkar's writings, reflecting the depth and range of his life's work, his intellectual incisiveness, and his realistic assessment of the social and political issues. We find that the analysis given by Rodrigues is very useful for the understanding of Ambedkar's writings. Therefore, we are describing here the abridged version of the Rodrigues' analysis on the following issues as reflected in Ambedkar's writings.

Exploration of Concepts:

Ambedkar found the need to reflect upon a wide range of concepts either to substantially explore them, decipher their different determinations, or to chisel and fine tune them by removing the dross. He adopted different approaches to present them, sometimes in the light of historical developments and at other times, in view of contentions.

There are times when he attempted to extrapolate them from a mass of data. Occasionally, he appropriated a concept from a scholar and suggested certain innovations, or drew on his or her authority to reinforce certain dimensions of a concept at hand. There are certain concepts that he radically overhauls and as, for instance, the concept of 'Kamma'.

Sometimes, the determination of a concept is brought out by contrasting it with kindered concepts such as between religion, dbamma and sadhamma. Dealing with different types of concepts, he is much more at home with concepts that are less abstruse and closer to experience, lending themselves to actual practice and illustration by example. With his focus on concepts and arguments, Ambedkar contributed to building not merely a framework for social sciences in India but also the basis of healthy public debate.

Methodology:

Ambedkar undertook different types of studies, some involving the collection of sizeable data and the other processing such as the election studies of 1937 and 1945, focusing on the constituencies reserved for Scheduled Castes. He undertook several case studies, often to drive home a point better.

There are studies where he attempted to locate the major changes in policy or issues over a period by dividing the period into appropriate stages. These projects required resort to documents and archives for necessary data, such as doctoral studies of Ambedkar, which drew not merely from official documents but also from archival data. In them, there are the standard references to the manuscripts and texts.

There are studies such as Who were the Shudras?, exegetical in nature, which delve into texts but propose an alternative thesis because the existing explanations of these texts do not

account for certain known details or passages. Studies, such as The Untouchables, resort to the method of constructing a distinctive thesis centred on a characteristic feature in a determinate group, existing solely in that group and universally shared by it.

Ambedkar also dwelt a great deal on interpretation and on the criteria appropriate for it.[7] He argued that Gandhi's interpretation of Hinduism did not stand up to the criteria of interpretation, Further, he felt that interpretations which do not take popularly held beliefs and strong evaluations into account, do not materially affect the situation studied.

Ideological:

The ideas and ideals of John Dewey, Edwin R.A. Seligman, the Fabians and the British Idealists had a deep impact on Ambedkar. He described himself as a 'progressive radical' and occasionally as a 'progressive conservative, the qualification, 'progressive', being generally present, distinguishing himself from the liberals and the communists depending on the case.

He saw the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution as upholding economic democracy. His notion of liberty was avowedly that of the T.H. Green kind. Although he talked of equality before law and considered it as a major contribution of the British rule in India, he was not satisfied with this notion and advanced stronger notions such as equality of consideration, equality of respect, and equality of dignity.

He was sensitive to the notion of respect, and the notion of community was central in his consideration. The demand for 'fraternity' in the French Revolution was seen by him as a call for 'community'. The Buddha, he argued, strove for building communities while Brahminism attempted to fragment them.

At the same time, Ambedkar recognized the critical role of the state, the legacies of Columbia University, London School of Economics and the colonial state in India being in consonance with such recognition. He strongly defended a developmental and ameliorative, and consequently an interventionist approach, as against the Gandhians and the Liberals.

The state was invested with a pivotal role in the economy. But, whenever such pivotal role for the state is alluded to, it is based on the premise of a regime of rights that suggested the reasons and limits of interventions. He was deeply suspicious of embedded identities asserting themselves in the name of ethnic, linguistic and cultural claims, relating such assertions to the problem of majorities and minorities.

When identity assertions took place, he felt, the minorities are likely to be the victims. He qualified majoritarianism with strong grids of the rule of law, special privileges to minorities, and the existence of a civil society which could nurture democracy as a civic virtue.

His opinion that politics and institutions deeply affect the question of representation, found expression in his suggestion before the Simon Commission, that if adult franchise was introduced, he would favour a joint electorate with reservation for depressed classes and if limited franchise was continued he would demand a separate electorate.

One of the Ambedkar's most important arguments against Hinduism was that caste and untouchability did not let Hindus act as a community. There is an emphasis on moral order. He rarely gave a deductive picture of religions but went into the sociological moorings that threw up a diversity of beliefs and practices.

At the same time, he admitted that a commonly held religious belief has an impact on socially differentiated constituencies. He found a lot of doctrinal cleavages within Hinduism. He had no great fascination for bhakti with which he was nourished in his childhood, castigating the bhakti saints for failing to attract the Shastras, which provided the normative and sacred grids for sustaining and justifying unjust social institutions.

Ambedkar showed an extraordinary interest in Marxism, particularly in the 1950s. All his major writings during this period, viz., Buddha and the Future of his Religion, The Buddha and his Dhamma and Buddha and Karl Marx, refer to Marx as the central figure. He identified certain crucial areas on which he agreed with Karl Marx: the task of philosophy is to transform the world; there is conflict between class and class; private ownership of property begets sorrow and exploitation; and good society requires that private property be collectivized.

He found that on all these four issues Buddha is in agreement with Marx. He, however, rejected the inevitability of socialism, the economic interpretation of history, the thesis on the pauperization of the proletariat, dictatorship of the proletariat, withering away of the state and the strategy of violence as a means of seize power.

He felt that the Buddhism, which called for self-control and a moral foundation for society, could provide the missing dimensions for a socialist project and for the purpose, called for a dialogue between Marxism and Buddhism. Therefore, while liberal and modernist alliances of Buddhism were taking place elsewhere, Ambedkar wanted to relocate Buddhism in the trajectory of Marxism and vice versa.

Religion

A large part of Ambedkar's writings had a direct bearing on Hinduism, most of which remained unpublished and in the initial draft form during his lifetime. In these studies, which he undertook mainly from the second half of the 1940s, Ambedkar argued that Buddhism, which attempted to found society on the basis of reason and morality, was a major revolution, both social and ideological, against the degeneration of the Aryan society.

It condemned the varna system and gave hope to the poor, the exploited and the women. It rallied against sacrifices, priestcraft and superstition. The Buddhist Sangha became the platform for the movement towards empowering and ennobling the common man.

However, Brahminism struck back against the revolution through the counter-revolution launched by Pushyamitra. Here, Ambedkar deployed a specific terminology employed to explain mainstream European transitions of nineteenth and twentieth centuries and he felt that the corresponding explanation was appropriate for India too, although the periods in question were wide apart.

For Ambedkar, literature, which legitimized and instituted the counter-revolution, was Smriti literature in general and Manusmriti in particular. It gave birth to the principle of assigning human beings to social roles, reduced the Shudra to servitude and condemned women to ignominy.

On the contrary, the governing principle during the Vedic period for assigning social roles was varna, the principle of worth, which allowed wide mobility although it ordered society hierarchically. The trajectory of social transformation that Ambedkar traced was divided into the following phases: the Vedic society and its degeneration into Aryan society; the rise of Buddhism and the social and moral transformation it set into motion; and finally, the counter-revolution and the rise of Brahminism.

Ambedkar found that the Hindu scriptures do not lend themselves to a unified and coherent understanding. There are strong contentions built into them within and across trends and traditions. There are cleavages within the Vedas; the Upanishadic thought is in contentions with the Vedic thought; Smriti literature argues against Sruti literature; sometimes the Vedas are considered lower than the Shastras; gods are pitted against one another; and tantra is tallied against Smriti literature.

The icons of Hinduism such as Rama and Krishna have little to recommend them, in that there is nothing morally elevating about them. Further, Ambedkar generally tended to suggest a later date to the central texts of Hinduism as compared to other Indian scholars.

He did not comment much on the Upanishads, and compared to the rest of the Hindu literature, is relatively favourably disposed towards them. As late as 1936, Ambedkar felt that Hinduism could be redrafted on the basis of Upanishadic thought. For Ambedkar, the Gita is a post-Buddhist text.

It is primarily a defence of karma-kanda, i.e., religious acts and observance, by removing the excrescence which was grown over it. The Gita advances a set of philosophical arguments to save Brahminism in the context of the rise of Buddhism and the inability of the former to defend itself by a mere appeal to the rituals and practices of the Vedas. He finds that the Gita defends the position of Jaimini's Minamsa against Badarayan's Brahmasutras.

Ambedkar developed a new interpretation of Buddhism which made commentators label it "Ambedkar's Buddhism". His magnum opus, The Buddha and His Dhamma highlights the

central issues that concerned him throughout his life and demarcates his view sharply from that of his adversaries.

The work contains the central teachings of the Buddha along with a commentary built into it. The commentary transposes the Buddha's teachings to the present and suggests its contemporary relevance with respect to the problems that confront humanity. He saw Buddhism as an ideology that engages with the world, privileging the poor and exploited.

Ambedkar repeatedly asserted that Buddha has a social message. Further, he constructed Buddhism in opposition to Hinduism arguing that if there are some traces of Hinduism in Buddhism, they could be attributed to Brahminical interpolations. Ambedkar also upheld the superiority of Buddhism over other religions, particularly Islam and Christianity.

Caste:

Ambedkar's understanding of caste and the caste system underwent certain significant changes over the period of his writings. Initially, he had argued that the characteristic of caste was endogamy, superimposed by exogamy in a shared cultural ambience. He suggested that evils such as sati, child marriage and prohibition on widow remarriage were the outcome of caste.

Further, if a caste closed its boundaries, other castes were also forced to follow the suit. The Brahmins closing themselves socially first gave rise to the system of castes. Ambedkar continued to emphasize the endogamous characteristic of caste but roped in other features such as the division of labour, absence of inter-dinning and the principle of birth, which he had earlier largely absorbed within endogamy.

He also found that the caste name is an important feature, which keeps inequality in the normative anchor of the caste system. Graded inequality restricts the reach of equality to members of the caste at the most. Ambedkar thought that caste is an essential feature of the Hindu religion.

Although a few reformers may have denounced it, for the vast majority of Hindus breaking the codes of caste in a clear violation of deeply held religious beliefs. He found Gandhi subscribing to caste initially and later opposing it but upholding varna instead. Gandhi's conception of varna is the same as that of caste, that is, assigning social agents on the basis of birth, rather than worth.

It led to upholding graded inequality and the denial of freedom and equality, social relations that cannot beget community bonds. The solution that Ambedkar proposed was the annihilation of caste. He suggested inter-caste marriage and inter-dinning for the purpose although the latter by itself is too weak to forge any enduring bonds.

Further, he felt that hereditary priesthood should go and it should remain open to all the co-religionists endowed with appropriate qualifications as certified by the state. Ambedkar, however, felt that these suggestions would not be acceptable to Hindus. After the early 1930s he gave up any hope of reforming Hinduism except for a belief while with the Hindu Code Bill which was, in a way, the continuation of the agenda he had set for himself in the 1920s.

Untouchability:

Ambedkar's engagement with untouchability, as a researcher, intellectual and activist, is much more nuanced, hesitant but intimate as compared to his viewpoint on caste, where he is prepared to offer stronger judgements and proffer solutions. However, with untouchability, there is often a failure of words. Grief is merged with anger.

He often exclaims how an institution of this kind has been tolerated and even defended. He evinces deep suspicions about the bona fides of others in terms of their engagement with it. He distinguished the institution of untouchability from that of caste, though the former is reinforced by the latter, and Brahminism constituted the enemy of both.

He felt that it was difficult for outsiders to understand the phenomena. He thought human sympathy would be forthcoming towards alleviating the plight of the untouchables, but at the same time anticipated hurdles to be crossed – hurdles made of age-old prejudices, interests, religious retribution, the burden of the social pyramid above and the feeble resources that the untouchables could muster.

He found that the colonial administration did little to ameliorate the lot of the untouchables. He argued that the track-record of Islam and Christianity, in this regard, is not praiseworthy either, although they may not subscribe to untouchability as integral to their religious beliefs. Ambedkar felt that untouchables have to fight their own battle and if others are concerned about them, then, such a concern has to be expressed in helping them to fight rather than prescribing solutions to them. He discussed attempts to deny the existence of untouchables and to reduce the proportion of their population in order to deny them adequate political presence.

He resorted to comparison with what he called the parallel cases, such as the treatment meted out to slaves and Jews but found the lot of the untouchables worse than theirs. He argued that in spite of differences and cleavages, all untouchables share common disadvantages and treatment from caste Hindus: they live in ghettos; they were universally despised and kept outside the fold.

He maintained a graphic account of the course of the movement of the untouchables, although this was much more specific about the movement in the Bombay Presidency. He threw scorn at the Gandhian attempt to remove untouchability and termed it as a mere facade aimed at buying over the untouchables with kindness.

He presented voluminous empirical data to defend such a thesis, and suggested his own strategies to confront untouchability, warning untouchables not to fall into the trap of Gandhism. He exhorted them to fight for political power. Although he did not find the lot of untouchables better among Christians and Muslims, he felt that they had a better option as they did not subscribe to untouchability as a religious tenet. Ambedkar was also deeply sensitive to insinuations offered by others to co-opt untouchables within their political ambit.

Ambedkar rarely went into the question of the origin of untouchability in history. He rebutted the suggestion that race has anything to do with it, and did not subscribe to the position that caste has its basis in race either. However, in one instance, he proposed a very imaginative thesis that untouchables were broken men living on the outskirts of village communities who, due to their refusal to give up Buddhism and beef-eating, came to be condemned as untouchables.

He did not repeat this thesis in any central way later to the fold either. It has to be noted that the thesis was proposed when Ambedkar was fighting for the recognition that untouchables were a separate element in India and, therefore, should be constitutionally evolved with appropriate safeguards, while the colonial administration and Gandhian leadership were prepared to recognize only the Muslims and Sikhs as distinct communities.

Identity:

As in the case of the untouchables, Ambedkar attempted to construct a separate identity of Shudras as well and this too during the second half of the 1940s. He identified himself with the non-Brahmins and attempted to build a non-Aryan Naga identity ascribing to it the signal achievements of Indian civilization. He also proposed to write on the clash of the Aryans and the Nagas much more elaborately than he was to do. However, his exploration of the Naga identity remained quite thin.

We find in Ambedkar's works a great deal of discussions about primitive tribes and what were called 'criminal' tribes. He saw them basically as outside the pale of civilization and blamed Hinduism for confining them to such sub-human levels. He ridiculed the Hindus for applauding their attitude to such degradation in the name of toleration.

Ambedkar, however, did not explore the tribal cultures and also not attempted to build a political bridgehead with them, although in terms of deprivation, he felt, the untouchables and these communities formed a common constituency. Ambedkar did recognize a myriad of other identities in India such as sub-castes, castes, groupings of castes such as touchables and untouchables, twice-born or 'regenerated' castes and the Shudras religious groups, regional identities and sometimes identities resulting from the mutual reinforcement of all these groups.

Ambedkar acknowledged the presence of linguistic and cultural identities but he was deeply suspicious of them. It is not so much their productivity to cast themselves as a nationality that makes him apprehensive but their tendency to exclude minorities that do not share the dominant identity.

He, however, considered the fact of identity seriously, going to the length of suggesting that he was a conservative but arguing that identity should be within the bounds of rule of law, the demands of development, justice and participation. For the same reasons the ideal solution for the problem of linguistic states is not "one language, one state" but "one state, one language".

Social reforms in India were increasingly fragmented into regional ambits by the first decade of the twentieth century becoming part of the emerging regional identities. Ambedkar refocused the reform question at the all-India level once again and, in a way, made Gandhi to accord priority to it in spite of the discomfiture of Jawaharlal Nehru and others.

Ambedkar also took an active interest in the working class movement and sometimes occupied formal positions in the trade unions. He understood their concerns as had lived in a working class locality for over two decades. However, he felt that the Indian working class had not come to address the caste question.

On the contrary, the division of labour in industrial establishments was based on caste relations and he pointed out that as long as the working class was fragmented into castes, their common bond would prove too fragile to wage determined struggles.

Economy:

Unlike in the domain of politics and religion, Ambedkar's intervention in relation to economic thought and issues was intermittent though persistent over a long period. For his Master's at Columbia University, Ambedkar wrote a lengthy dissertation, which he did not eventually submit. It was entitled as Ancient Indian Commerce and included three fascinating chapters, viz., "Commercial Relations of India with the Middle East',

'Commercial Relations of India in the Middle Ages', and 'India on the Eve of the Crown Government'. It projected India as a land, which has deep and varied ties with other countries based on the nature of its economy. He portrayed very vividly the exploitative nature of the Company's rule in India. In The Administration and Finance of East India Company, Ambedkar provided a lucid account of the organization of the East India Company, its sources of revenue and items of expenditure upto 1857.

The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India builds on Ranade's work on provinces and the centre in British India from 1833 to 1919. The arguments for centralization and decentralization almost echo our arguments in the present: with Ambedkar himself discretely subscribing to financial decentralization on the principle that power and responsibility should belong to that level which can make optimum use of it.

Such an allocation, while making the states strong and viable, would contribute towards strong and effective central government as well, by taking away from it power and responsibility which it cannot exercise effectively.

In his doctoral thesis at the London School of Economics entitled The Problem of Rupee: Its Origin and its Solution, Ambedkar favoured the gold standard rather than the silver standard that was introduced in India in 1835 or the gold exchange standard as proposed by scholars such as Professor Keynes.

After these major forays into the domain of the economy, Ambedkar made only certain selective interventions in this area. His policy interventions in agriculture were basically four-fold: he demanded the abolition of intermediaries between the direct producer and the state as was manifest for instance in the 'Khoti' system, prevailing in the Konkan.

He demanded an end to traditional obligations imposed on inferior public servants belonging to lowly castes and that they be replaced with contractual obligations. He suggested the nationalization of agriculture and distribution of all surplus land to the Scheduled Castes.

In 1917, Ambedkar brought out a long article on 'Small Holdings in India and their Remedies', arguing for consolidation of holdings though he did not extend unqualified

support to the then prevailing position for the enlargement of holdings. His position was: "To a farmer a holding is too small or too large for the other factors of production at his disposal necessary for carrying on the cultivation of his holding as an economic enterprise."

Colonialism and Nationalism:

Ambedkar's critique of colonialism ranges across a whole spectrum from the economy to the nature of the colonial discourse. In terms of the later, Ambedkar demanded that the terms of the discourse be altered. He had no defence to offer in favour of colonialism but he did not want power to go to those who would not promote partisan ends in the name of the people.

Ambedkar's considered judgment was that colonialism benefited the untouchables least, except for the rule of law which it inaugurated, allowing some space for them. He insisted on a responsible and accountable government based upon adult franchise, and was one of the first top rung leaders in India to demand universal adult franchise early on in his submission before the Simon Commission, in the strongest possible terms.

However, Ambedkar remained wary of nationalism, particularly given the experience of the Second World War. He was primarily concerned with a regime of rights, based on justice and upholding democracy. In a way, he was forced to engage with nationalism seriously when the Muslim League made the demand for a separate Pakistan in 1940.

With respect to nationalism Ambedkar placed a great deal of emphasis on the volitional factor. He felt that once large masses of people begin to believe that they are a nationality, then, their identity as a separate nation had to be faced. He blamed both the Congress and the Muslim League for precipitating this tendency.

He, however, felt that different nationalities had often remained within a single state and have negotiated terms of associated living. National self-determination is not something inevitable, but the pros and cons of whether nationalities decide to live together in a single state or wish to go their own ways, have to be assessed. He felt that under certain conditions it might be better to be separated than to live in a united state.

Ambedkar did not take an active interest in international relations except in its broader ideological implications. But, where there were some issues that he felt were significant for the future of India. He located India's place firmly in Asia and in the cultural traditions infused with Buddhism. He saw a threat to India from the Communist bloc, particularly given the age-old strategic interests.

He was deeply concerned with the occupation of Tibet by Communist China and the response of the Nehru government to this issue. His view regarding Jammu and Kashmir was that it comprised three regions: Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. He considered it appropriate to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan and to integrate the other two regions with India.

Constitutional Democracy:

The major area of Ambedkar's work was on constitutional democracy. He was adept at interpreting different constitutions of the world, particularly those that mattered insofar as they were committed to democracy, along with their constitutional developments. This becomes obvious if we note the references that he adduces to the different constitutions, in the debates of the Constituent Assembly.

He was a key player in the constitutional developments of India from the mid-1920s and on certain issues such as Uniform Civil Code he was to anticipate some of the major issues that have been the topics of debate in India. Ambedkar evolved certain basic principles of constitutionalism for a complex polity like India but argued that ultimately their resilience would depend on constitutional ethics.

Ambedkar also dwelt on several substantive issues of law. In fact, we can understand the significance that law had in his scheme of things by recourse to his larger social and ideological understanding. He was deeply sensitive to the interface between the law on one hand, and customs and popular beliefs, on the other.

He felt that law was definitely influenced by customs and popular beliefs but stressed that customs may defend parochial interests, but may not uphold fairness, and may be based on

their usefulness for the dominant classes. They may not be in tune with the demands of time or in consonance with morality and reason.

Ambedkar also admitted the possibility of customs having the upper hand over law when they begin to defend vested interests, but that with its emphasis on freedom and democracy, law could be placed in the service of the common good. On the other hand, customs, while promoting healthy pluralism, may give rise to a highly inegalitarian order. At the same time, he defers to pluralism, if it can uphold rights.

In all these qualifications, Ambedkar's contention is that the legal domain is an autonomous sphere. He also deployed a complex understanding of rights to situate the domain of law. He distinguished the realm of constitutional law from the acts of legislature, but acknowledged that popular aspirations and the democratic mandate was the common ground for both.

At the same time, it is law which determines what are popular and democratic aspirations and what constitute the relevant categories, given the existence of domain of rights. The constructionist role of the state, confronted with long-drawn and irreconcilable disputes, is so prominent in Ambedkar's writing that quite often he avoids substantive definitions and resorts to the legal fiction that "so and so is that was specified by law".

He did not reconcile the tension between democracy and law and in his exposition, the domain of reason and morals are often in contention with that of law. Ideally, of course, he envisaged a democracy informed by law and a law characterized by sensitivity to democracy.

At the same time, he looked to a system of law which upheld reason and morality, though he saw reason and morality as far too feeble to ensure social bonds without the authoritative dictates expressed in law. Religion, according to him, could play a major role in lightening the task of law. Ambedkar's views on constitutional democracy were reflected in his relations with Gandhi and Nehru on the issues of untouchability and the Hindu Code Bill respectively.

Governance:

One of the issues that Ambedkar paid close attention to was power and governance. He thought that governance must reflect sociological reality as closely as possible lest those wielding power to their advantage suppress the excluded groups.

Ambedkar spent a great deal of his time and energy in advancing proposals for the purpose stressing the need to respect justice and equity. While he was opposed to overrepresentation to Muslims as expressed in the constitutional reforms of 1909, he did not accept that minority representation should be exactly in proportion to its population.

His commitment to democracy as the mode of governance was unwavering but he argued that democracy needed to become a way of life. He developed some interesting arguments on why parliamentary democracy was the most suitable form of government for India and advocated feasible modes of representation and franchise.

His writings dwell extensively on such monumental issues as the presidential versus parliamentary form of government, the relationship between the executive and legislature, the role of the judiciary and judicial review, constitutional bodies such as the Election Commission, the federal division of powers, states in a federation, the role of the Governor, the Constitution and the legislature, constitutional amendments, political parties, and public opinion.

One of the domains that Ambedkar was engaged in very closely was civil society in terms of its operative dimension. He basically saw it as the conscience-keeper of the political sphere, determining the course of governance in the long run. Civil society is the domain in which one has to struggle for human values.

He viewed religion as an important institution of civil society, which included other institutions such as political parties, the press, educational institutions and unions and associations. It is a contentious terrain of agreement and disputations resulting in relatively stable zones of agreement.

Religion can play a major role in deciding the nature and stability of such agreement. Ambedkar's loathing for violence as a mode of constituting governmental authority or to

settle issues in civil society was to have far-reaching implications for constitutional democracy in India.

However, he emphasized the value of transformative interventions, and it is in his own organization of associations and movements and educational institutions, his writings on the need for social transformations, and eventually his conversion to Buddhism, that Ambedkar's role can be seen.

Ambedkar was deeply alive to the fact that ideologies undergo mutation in their interaction with social cleavages. He felt that Islam in India had not succeeded in eliminating caste cleavages but argued that since Islam does not subscribe to the caste ideology, the convert has access to larger spaces of the community which he would not otherwise have had.

He engaged in more rigorous study of Christianity in India than of Islam. He rejected Gandhi's opposition to conversion but felt that, given its resources, Christianity should have attracted more converts but it had not due to its own inadequacies.

Ambedkar was ambivalent towards conversion as a strategy till he opted for Buddhism. This ambivalence was particularly true with respect to conversion to Islam and Christianity, though he dismissed the argument that most of the conversions were done for material gains.

Even if it was so, it did not matter in the longer run and he cited many illustrations for the purpose. He did not agree that all religions are different paths to the divine and they are all equal. There are gradations in religions in terms of the basic values they uphold and conversions were attempts to reach out to these values.

Disadvantaged and Supportive Polity:

Ambedkar made two major contributions in terms of evolving a polity, which would extend special considerations to the disadvantaged. He was the first major theoretician in India who argued that consideration for the disadvantaged should be the constitutive basis of the state. He developed a complex set of criteria to determine disadvantaged and attempted to specify its various gradations.

Untouchability was only one of the disadvantages, although one of the most degrading and poignant. Further, he concentrated on the socially engendered disadvantaged, but because he felt that most disadvantaged are engendered by dominant social relations that attempted to convert them into natural disadvantaged. He distinguished disadvantaged from difference – cultural, religious, ethnic, or linguistic – and approached these issues separately for the adoption of appropriate policy measures.

His second contribution was to develop a system of safeguards for the disadvantaged in general and the untouchables in particular, which could be enforceable, quantifiable and accountable – a system that he evolved from early on but found its shape at the time of his deputation before the Simon Commission.

This system further evolved through the participation of the disadvantaged, particularly the depressed classes themselves. These safeguards were negotiated with the broader polity with the inevitable confrontations, such as Gandhi's fast unto death in 1932. A standardized system of safeguards at the all-India level came to be introduced during Ambedkar's tenure as labour member in the Viceroy's Council.

The Indian polity has not contested the necessity or range of these policies, for SCs and STs, and segments of society which consider themselves as disadvantaged have resorted to this model to make their claims negotiable, proving the enduring appeal of the scheme that Ambedkar advanced.

Disadvantaged and Preferential Treatment:

There are diverse types of disadvantages that men and women suffer and a common yardstick cannot be applied for their amelioration. However, there are common principles on the basis of which ameliorative measures to handle disadvantages can be pursued. It is not enough that equal resources and opportunities are assigned to people. Therefore, the disadvantaged need to be extended certain preferences that result in giving a fair opportunity to them.

Concept of Exploitation:

For Ambedkar, economic exploitation was a major issue to contend against. It explains his life-long critical engagement with Marxism. However, he felt that there are other sources of exploitation and marginalization besides economic exploitation, which deprive people of those basic goods indispensable for the constitution of a confident self, a life of a mutual recognition and participation in collective affairs.

Reason, Rights and Identity:
Ambedkar argued that it was in modern era that human reason came into its own and extricated itself from bonding with myths, customs and religious ideologies. There has been a reversal of the relation between myths and traditions on one hand, and reason, on the other. He saw freedom, equality and fraternity as essential conditions for a good life and argued that they should be understood and pursued as one entity. It was only on their foundation that a comprehensive regime of rights could be built.

Privileging Buddhism:
While Ambedkar acknowledged the possibility of diverse religious and moral standpoints that were reasonable he did not see them as equally predisposed towards freedom, equality and fraternity. Buddhism alone cherished such goals comprehensively and offered a complementarity to freedom, equality and fraternity.

Pluralism and its Limits:
Ambedkar felt that a liberal democracy has a natural tilt towards the culture and way of life of the majority. It posits itself as the normal and the expected. If the political society is relatively homogeneous, such a tendency may not provoke deep resentment, but in societies which are culturally plural, it may spell doom for the identity of minorities. Therefore, it is necessary that proper safeguards be provided for the expression of these identities.

Constitutionalism and Rule of Law:
Ambedkar felt that to sustain rights, to let identities thrive as well as make them respect rights, to maintain an order favouring the disadvantaged and to facilitate a vibrant civil society, constitutional order expressed in the rule of law becomes imperative.

To conclude, it can be stated that both in his training and in his vision of life, Ambedkar was deeply aware of the larger dynamics of the world, its complexity and differential bearing on social groups, localities and nations.

He was pragmatic in his approach although not in his concerns. The backward classes in India, while avowing the political legacy of Ambedkar, are yet to engage with the under-standing that marked his political involvement while their counterparts will probably rest content in retaining him merely as a symbol.

Besides, given the size of dalits, low castes and disadvantaged in general, no political party can afford to ignore the electoral dividends that Ambedkar as an ally can bestow. For the state to sustain a modicum of hegemony Ambedkar has become an indispensable necessity today.

Biography of David Hardiman and his Contribution to Indian Sociology

David Hardiman was born in Rawalpindi (Pakistan) in October 1947. He has taught at the University of Leicester, the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the University of Oxford. Presently he is attached to the University of Warwick, UK. In 1980, he was a fellow of the Centre for Social Studies in Surat.

In 1981, he was also visiting fellow of the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. Hardiman is one of the many prolific writers who participated in the creation of the subaltern perspective. He is a founding member of the Subaltern Studies group. Noteworthy is the fact that since 1982 at least all his articles and books were illustrative of the practice of subaltern studies.

Writings of Hardiman:

1. The Quit India Movement in Gujarat (1980)
2. Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District, 1917-1934 (1981)
3. The Coming of Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India (1987)
4. Peasant Resistance in India: 1858-1914 (1992)
5. Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha (1994)
6. Feeding the Baniya: Peasants and Usurers in Western India (1996)
7. Gandhi in his Time and Ours (2003)
8. Histories for the Subordinated (2006)
9. Missionaries and their Medicine: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India (2008)

Hardiman is a sociologically-sensitive historian, who participated in the creation of the subaltern perspective. As a historian, he specialises in the history of Modern India. Since the late 1960s, he has studied and written on South Asian History and during this period he has spent over a decade in all actually working in India.

The main focus of his work has been on the colonial period in South Asian history, concentrating in particular on the effects of colonial rule on rural society, relationships of power at various levels, the Indian independence movement with a specific focus on the popular bases to Indian nationalism, and environmental and medical history.

In the late 1970s he became involved with a group of historians studying the social history of subordinate groups in South Asia. The Gramscian term 'subaltern' – meaning 'subordinate group' – was chosen to emphasise the centrality of relationships of domination and subordination in a society in which class divides had not developed as in the industrialized world.

He has carried out a detailed examination of the Indian nationalist movement at the local level in Gujarat – Gandhi's home region – bringing out the disjuncture between the aims and agendas of the Gandhian leadership and local peasant activists. He has examined the power-structures of rural society, carrying out for example a detailed study of the hegemonic controls exercised by usurers and the limits to that hegemony, as seen in particular in revolts

He has also studied a movement of assertion by adivasis (tribal people) against liquor dealers who had been granted a monopoly right of supply by the British and who had enriched themselves at the expense of the adivasis.

David Hardiman has also written a book on Gandhi and his legacy in India and the world. In this, he brings to the topic a deep knowledge of Gandhi's particular social milieu. His engagement with contemporary social issues while living in India has also been of crucial importance in assessing Gandhi's legacy in India.

From 1983 to 1989 he worked as a Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Studies, Surat in Gujarat, India. There was a strong emphasis there on the evaluation of government and NGO development projects, and, besides carrying on his historical research and writing, he became involved in a wide range of development-linked research projects.

We would discuss his following works:

1. Hardiman's Sociological Perspective of Subaltern
2. The Devi Movement in South Gujarat
3. Feeding the Baniya

Hardiman's Sociological Perspective of Subaltern:

In the course of this essay we shall have a glimpse into the subaltern perspective, varying and inchoate such as it is, with special emphasis on the writings of one of their more sociologically sensitive contributors, a historian called David Hardiman. Hardiman's interest in such a topic was stimulated by his participation in the subaltern studies project, which, under the inspiration of Ranajit Guha, has had as one of its chief objectives the study of relationships of domination and subordination in India.

He was inspired also by the work of western Marxist historians, notably E.P Thompson on systems of moral economy, and Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese on the blend of ruthless exploitation with paternalism in the slave system of the American south.

These influences, coupled with insights gained from the writings of Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and, in the context of western India D.D. Kosambi, Jairus Banaji and Frank Perlin, have provided some of the main foundations for his work.

Framework of the Subaltern Perspective:

The study of Indian society has been done by sociologists through various perspectives. Subaltern perspective is one of these perspectives. One of the exponents of this perspective is David Hardiman who has used it in his study The Coming of Devi. This is basically a movement among adivasis of western India to change their established way of life. Such movements, although, have been reported from almost all adivasi tracts of India over the past century, they have until now been relegated to the margin of modern Indian history.

One of the enduring secrets of the subaltern perspective is that it existed only as a broad framework. A detailed enquiry, such as undertaken by some of its critics, usually pointed out serious continuities with other kinds of coeval research and that the discontinuities, such as could be noticed, were rather minor and sometimes merely idiosyncratic as when Ranajit Guha insisted in his seminal book on peasant insurgency that one of the ways into the minds of the subaltern was to read the inverse meaning into the routine reports coming from the elite.

Three kinds of problems were pointed out: One is that the term 'subaltern' was not adequately defined/ identified. Two, the subaltern perspective had already been in use for a very long time. Three, the idea of subaltern was a relative concept; subaltern was always relative to something, or someone else. It referred to something that was 'below'. "Below what?" "Below that which was above?" Such distinctions, even though they were not very strict, acquired meaning through the practice of subaltern studies. In this regard, one could take the studies done by Hardiman to be illustrative.

There was also a problem that the distinction between the subaltern and the elite was considerably a context dependent distinction. A little change, as Hardiman noticed in his study of the Devi movement in Gujarat, could place a tribal leader in the role of an exploiter rather than the one who is being exploited.

The Devi Movement in South Gujarat:

Hardiman tried to look at subaltern perspective from his study of the Devi movement in south Gujarat (Western Maharashtra region). He observes the mass movement in south Gujarat in early 20th century by the native masses and it was termed as 'Devi movement'. It was peaceful, led by tribals themselves, spread over a large region, involved a considerable number of people and focused on bringing social reform among the tribals.

He noticed that this movement among the adivasis was virtually ignored by the contemporary government, the newspapers, the nationalists and subsequently the historians. There is no full-length monograph on such movements, he remarked, nor were they documented adequately.

Insofar as the activities of the tribals were noticed by the nationalists, it was to remark that they were done under the auspices and influence of outsiders, e.g., Gandhi, in the case of Devi movement, or some social worker of tribal origins who would be presumed to have worked for the so-called uplift of the tribals.

Even, the socialists, who claimed to be more at one with the common people completely denied any role for the tribals other than as mere followers who could take any decision by themselves and had to be completely directed by the socialists who had come from outside.

Hardiman notices that in this way the existing observers of the tribal life had completely denied the tribals any initiative, any decision-making capacity or any ability to decide what is good for them. Such denial of existence to the tribals (or, as a general case, to other subaltern groups) is what Hardiman and others following the subaltern perspective criticized.

Genesis of Resistance:

There were many individual and group efforts to warm the adivasis to take liquor. It included rural elite and Bhajan – Mandal groups of the village, but the remarkable change in the consciousness of the adivasis came with Devi movement.

The Coming of Devi by Hardiman is a work on the assertion of the adivasis in western India against the Shaukars (moneylenders). The Devi movement started as a small propitiation ceremony among the fisher-folk of Palghar taluk in late 1921. Later, it spread in other parts of Gujarat.

In the case of Devi movement, Hardiman noticed that the tribals had involved themselves in a social reform movement not merely as an effort of reforming themselves, by getting rid of the drinking habit, but also as a rebellion against the domination of Parsi liquor vendors who had brought them into debt bondage and also against the domination by large landlords.

This 'Devi' was supposed to have come from the mountains to the east, and she expressed her demands through the mouth of spirit mediums. The medium sat before the crowd, holding red clothes in their hands, they began to shake their heads.

Then, they pronounced the commands of Devi:

i. Stop drinking liquor and toddy.
ii. Stop eating meat and fish.
iii. Live a clean and simple life.
iv. Man should take bath twice a day.
v. Women should take bath thrice a day.
vi. Have nothing to do with Parsis.

When they finished, the girl who was dressed as Devi was offered coins or gifts. Later, they sat for a common dinner (Bhandara). The collective and 'Devi' words have brought remarkable change in the consciousness among the adivasis. This led to their political mobilization and ultimately to raise their standard of living by going away from the clinches of Shahukars and Parsis.

But, what was the result of this kind of quite rebellion, Hardiman asked. It did not result in the total emancipation of the adivasis, he conceded. For, the domination of the Parsis was replaced by the more hegemonic domination of the elite among the adivasis over all others. But it did result in other kinds of benefits.

In the region where the Devi movement spread the far more exploitative capitalist farmer could not find roots. The adivasis managed to retain a modicum of dignity and self-control in the face of ever increasing incursions of capitalist relations protected by the colonial government and even after the movement dissolved it still left a lingering impression on the tribals of this region by making them more assertive and giving them memories, which involves self-help and action for the collective good.

So, if the uniqueness and self-dignity in the current existence of the tribals of the forested regions of south Gujarat had to be understood, it could be done so only by first understanding the special way in which the tribals created and responded to the Devi movement. If the social scientists were to ignore the perspective, they would lose out on the special understanding that David Hardiman and others of his ilk provided.

Feeding the Baniya:

The book entitled, feeding the Baniya represents an attempt to understand something of the quality of power which usurers have exercised over subaltern classes in rural India over several centuries. As well as the obvious economic element, this power had strong political and cultural dimensions to it.

It was very tenacious, not only surviving the transition to colonial rule, but thriving in the new environment. Even when resisted in popular revolt, usurers – personified in popular imagination by the figure of the Baniya merchant – seemed to have a remarkable ability to bounce back, redefining the terms of their relationship with the subaltern to their perpetual advantage.

Hardiman attempts to see how such a domain of power was forged; how, over the centuries, usurers managed to adapt their practice so effectively within succeeding state formations; and how the classes whom they exploited related to them, and also resisted them.

A peasant proverb in western India gives expression to the hegemony of Baniya usurers over the peasants: "I love the Sheth-Baniya so much that I have given him a fat belly." The indebted peasantry feeds the Baniya merchants' never ending demands for agrarian produce, enriching the usurers while being itself trapped in a cycle of poverty.

Hardiman's second major book, feeding the Baniya reflects the integration of a small-scale agrarian society with a larger capitalist economy. Hardiman investigated the deep meanings involved in the relationship between the villager and the moneylender. Anyone who has had any experience of the borrowing practices in villages knows how usurious the village moneylender is.

Yet it has often puzzled observers that the villagers prefer going to him for help in times of need rather than visit the local branch of the State Bank of India or other banks even though they provide loans at much cheaper rates and without much difficulty. A crucial part of the answer to this puzzle was provided by Hardiman's study.

Rich in historical and sociological details, the study pointed out that the moneylender was located in a complex web of domination exercised by the local dominant classes. The moneylender himself might not always be the dominating person, but he definitely was the front for the other dominant sections of local society.

In so far that here was a society not sufficiently suffused with capitalist relations and institutions, the moneylender provided the small-scale agrarian producer with adequate means to relate to the wider capitalist world.

In this detailed and comprehensive study of the relationship between peasants and Baniya usurers in western India, Hardiman examines how and why usurers have, over the centuries, managed to exert their power over the peasantry. An explanation purely in terms of economics of the relationship is, he argues, not adequate.

Crucial also has been the support extended to the Baniyas by successive states from pre-colonial to colonial times. But, over and above, this is the ideological or hegemonic power that Baniyas have been able to exert over their clients.

Applying insights derived from the works of Gramsci, Foucault and Bourdieu, Hardiman explores the nature of this hegemony, seeing how a shared set of beliefs could help the Baniyas consolidate their power. Despite this, the relationship was by no means a harmonious one. There was a whole range of tensions which at times gave rise to protest and resistance.

His book feeding the Baniya was conceived initially as a study of usury in Gujarat, which has been his chief area for historical research. However, in the course of the investigations, the project expanded to include other parts of western India. Rajasthan is also included in part because it was the heartland of the Marwari Baniya – a critical group for any study of usury.

Feeding the Baniya spans the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods of Indian history. The role of merchant and usurer capital in the appropriation of the peasants' surplus is examined, revealing crucial changes over time and it is argued that the institution of usury has undergone a metamorphosis in the period since Indian independence.

Once again, as in the case of his study of the Devi movement, Hardiman had provided an additional perspective into the changing world of the villagers as they tried to cope with the changes in the wider society around them. And it was creating special knowledge that the subaltern perspective has been used to any student of society.

Biography of Ranajit Guha and his Contribution to

Indian Sociology

Ranajit Guha, perhaps the most influential figure in postcolonial and subaltern studies, is also the founding editor of Subaltern Studies. He taught history for many years at the University of Sussex, England and also served as Professor of History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, and Canberra. Guha's works have deeply influenced not only the writing of sub-continental history but also historical investigations elsewhere, as well as cultural studies, literary theories, and social analyses across the world.

Methodology:

Guha used subaltern historiography as a method for his study of peasant insurgency.

Writings:

Guha's important writings are as follows:

1. A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Idea of the Permanent Settlement (1963)
2. Elementary Aspects of Insurgency in Colonial India (1983)
3. Subaltern Studies (edited volumes 1 to 10).

Guha focuses on the following aspects of the subaltern perspective:

1. Defining the subaltern perspective through subaltern studies.
2. How did subaltern studies get to be recognized so?
3. The idea of subaltern perspective.
4. The emerging subaltern perspective.
5. The inchoate quality associated with the subaltern perspective.
6. Peasant insurgency.

Guha tried to write the history of subaltern from the subaltern's perspective. Then and then alone would it be possible to notice the kind of role that the majority of the population, the silent majority if you wish, played in directing the courts of history. Inevitably, the issue is who was dominating whom and who revolted against the domination and in what kind of manner came to be central importance in these studies.

Defining the Subaltern Perspective through Subaltern Studies:

The word 'subaltern' usually meant a junior army officer in the vocabulary of Indians till the 1980s. At the best the meaning was extended to connote the alternate or subordinates. Then, Guha and a team of scholars linked with him presented their series of academic essays. These essays came out in book-length volumes, virtually each year between 1982 and 1984 and then with a reduced frequency were eagerly awaited by the younger scholars in the social sciences. The volumes were entitled as Subaltern Studies. Reading through the volumes one can make some sense of what the subaltern perspective stands for, what kind of research falls within the ambit of subaltern studies and what is out of it, yet, to provide a hard definition for it is impossible even after two decades of this perspective coming into existence it retains an inchoate quality.

The best can be said, even though such defining is unfair to the fair amount of insightful research that exists under the rubric, is that the subaltern perspective is that which is perceived through the various papers presented in the volumes entitled Subaltern Studies. Of these it can be said that there are two versions. The first, which exists from volume 1 to 5, when the focus was on the study of politics and rebellion.

The other exists from volume 5 onwards where the interest in politics and rebellion seems to have waned and the focus has been shifted to constructing the articulation of subaltern culture and its varied relationship with colonial power, the hegemonic nature of dominant culture and resistance to it in various forms is the focus in the second version of the subaltern perspective.

Between volume 1 and 10 there were 76 published papers in Subaltern Studies. The most prolific contributors included Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee (16 papers each); David Arnold, David Hardiman, Gyanendra Pandey (five papers each); and Dipesh Chakrabarty, Gautam Bhadra, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Sahid Amin (more than one paper each). It was the writings of these people which seemed to set the tone for the subaltern paradigm though the fifth volume onwards there was a distinct shift of focus towards cultural studies and away from the discipline of history.

How did subaltern studies get to be recognized so?

Subaltern studies got recognition because of two things. Very briefly, first and foremost, because they insisted upon it, and secondly, because others accepted it to be so. The sheer persistence with which the volumes of subaltern studies kept appearing, the impatience with which they dismissed the then ruling perspectives in history and the enthusiasm with which a whole lot of scholars waited for them, talked about them and rubbished them, resulted in the creation of what many believed was an entirely new perspective in the social sciences in India – the subaltern perspective.

This was much in keeping with the kind of schema that Thomas Kuhn, the celebrated historian of science, in his book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, had suggested in his discussion of how revolutions, major paradigm shifts, happen in science. This implied that there would be times when the normal paradigms for research would be broken, either because they had exhausted their explanatory potential or had simply lost the interest of the majority of researchers in them.

The idea of subaltern perspective:

The statement made by Guha in the first chapter of the Subaltern Studies (Volume 1) made some accusations. One, that the existing ways of investigating Indian history had ceased to be insightful, had become meaningless and left out of their ambit such large segments of Indian society that it was better that old way of doing history be given up altogether. At the same time, he suggested an alternative, which repeatedly insisted would keep in focus the role of the subaltern, the underdog, those who were the canon folder in the canons being fired in the history.

Moreover, to follow the schema offered by Robert Merton, those pursuing the new paradigm created for themselves the role of gatekeepers. In most interesting twist of intellectual fates this was done not by ousting the old gatekeepers from the discipline of history but by the

device of demarcating new gates for the discipline and insisting that these gates led not merely to the study of history but to the society as a whole.

The fact that the volumes of Subaltern Studies came out with a certain degree of regularity and constantly published high quality academic essays made for greater intellectual legitimacy of the entire intellectual enterprise.

At least in the early years those professing the subaltern perspective did not control access to academic institutions. But their sheer prolificacy was impressive. Six books and 27 articles were written in two decades, many of which were translated into Indian languages, was a very high rate of intellectual productivity.

Till 1989 between them the subaltern collective had published 15 volumes on diverse themes of their interest with only one commonality between them: that all of them were illustrative of the subaltern perspective and were also rated highly as competent works of research. Little wonder that a significant number of unrelated scholars too began to insist that a new 'perspective' of doing research had emerged. If everyone said so that it had, then it had.

In its details, in the case of the subaltern perspective, the sheer popularity of the idea among a large number of scholars, even while the initial volumes of Subaltern Studies were published, was enough to allow observers to notice that an entirely new perspective had emerged.

The chief indicator of the subaltern perspective having arrived, as it were, insofar as the discipline of history was concerned, was when one of its most virulent critics like Mirdula Mukherjee, in 1988, spent considerable effort in explaining that the subaltern perspective was merely so much old wine in a new bottle.

It if were merely so, then there would have been little need for a senior historian to rubbish it thus and claim that she and others of her ilk had been sensitive to it even before the term had come into existence. By this time a large number of scholars, even those who were only marginally allied with the new perspective, began to pay homage to it by claiming some kind of kinship. It also helped that the new perspective, some believed, actually had some fresh explanatory potential.

Emerging subaltern perspective:

The initial statement about this perspective was laid down in Subaltern Studies (Volume 1). Authored by Guha, it was in the form of points, all of them addressed to historians, all of which simply said that the existing way of writing history had fully concentrated on the elite while being dismissive of the subalterns, the poor, the downtrodden etc.

Guha insisted that mostly the writings of historians had focused on the Indian National Movement, and that too seen only from the perspective of the leaders of the movement. All else, he went on to impute, in the history of our society, was left either untouched or not examined enough or examined only as an adjunct of the mainstream of the national movement. What was needed, Guha argued, was a subaltern perspective wherein society could be studied from the point of view of the downtrodden, those who were the fodder in the cannon of history, as it were.

This is not to deny the analysis of some social scientists who have revealed sensitive concern for specific dimensions of problematic of Indian social reality. Scholarly traditions in history and in the ethnography of India have provided significant insights into the peasant and tribal movements.

Subaltern historiography seeks to restore a balance by highlighting the role of the politics of the people as against elite politics played in Indian history (Dhanagare, 1993). The contributions made by masses in making society have gone unrecognized and unwritten due to their social placement and ignorance regarding means and mechanisms of speaking recognition (ibid.).

Subaltern historiography treats 'people' (subalternity) as autonomous who are not dependent upon elite. The ideological element in the subaltern domain is not uniform in quality and density and at times sectional and sectorial interests have been pursued (Singhi, 1996). Guha has used ideology in subaltern studies as a schema of interpretation of the past in order to

change the present world and that such a change involves a radical transformation of consciousness (Dhanagare, 1993: 132).

Tribal or peasants insurgents have not to be seen as a merely 'objects' of inquiry but makers of their own history (Guha, 1983). The influence is obviously Marxist. Acceptance of Marxism, as an ideology, has been much easier for Indian sociologists for several reasons.

Marxism provided a profound theoretical as well as ideological framework with its rigorous logical and neat framework for alternative society. It had both cognitive and emotive appeals for concerned intellectuals. The existence of abundant literature in the area helped the critique of western imperialism to find solace and shelter in the paradigm of Marxism.

The subaltern studies have immense possibility of projecting, constructing and analyzing the people's lives, institutions, problems, movements, values and the processes of their formation, structuration and restructuration at local and regional levels. The meanings thus need not be viewed from Marxist perspective but from Indian historiographical and culturological perspectives.

In fact, at theoretical and ideological levels, it can provide the basis for explanation of social existence of Indian people and the way people managed their lives. The Indian culturological perspective can be constructed at ideological, theoretical and empirical levels in terms of continuity and change through analysis of classical texts and folk-rural commonality of existence.

The relationship between the two provides significant framework to understand the Indian social, cultural and personality systems, at local micro level and trans-regional macro level. It further provides a scheme to relate past with present, empirical with ideological, segmental with pluralism and mundane with transcendental.

The focus on peasants and workers movements by the subaltern studies reveals only one-dimensionality of cognitive framework, which could be constructed from sociology of people. Movement is a form of protest and assumes significance in the context of relationship of subordination, exploitation, suppression and organized efforts to protest against such a situation ideologically. However, people's lives are influenced by several ideologies, which operate through religion, social institutions, polity and cultural practices.

The role of ideologues in the form of local heroes, community leaders, revered individuals, and aesthetic and literary figures needs to be understood in the context of role of ideology, not in terms of its contents and ideas but also in terms of their influence on the lives of people in everyday life, in their existence itself.

The inchoate quality associated with the subaltern perspective:

The subaltern perspective will remain quite inchoate. Yet it became fashionable to have a 'subaltern perspective', even though it was not very clear as to what this particular perspective is, and how it differed in substance from the already existing practices of research and analysis in the social sciences.

Just as earlier scholars who kept up with the times were almost invariably 'Marxist' or 'behaviourists' or what-have-you, so now were many 'subalternists', whatever that might mean. There were also a nagging doubt among some observers that belonging to this perspective, or opposing it, was often a matter of personal perspectives.

Sumit Sarkar, for example, once part of this perspective, veered away and became a critic when literature and culture-based studies began to dominate. His discomfort was with the shift away from politics that the later essays in subaltern studies demonstrated. His charge that merely listing the contours of the culture of domination and subordination was not enough of a critique of existing hegemonic politics has never been met adequately by those professing to pursue the subaltern perspective.

At the same time, the subalternists have not addressed themselves to the charge that their constant focus on cultural aspects and their effort to legitimize the culture of the subaltern allows a valorization of indigenous cultures under the presumption that whatever is indigenous is the best for the merely represent local forms of domination. But, such dilemmas have ceased to bother those publishing in subaltern studies for a long time now.

This new perspective seemed to get body as more and more research was done under its rubric. At the same time, within the social sciences the 'subaltern perspective' attracted a lot of criticism from the discipline of history, and also a considerable amount of admiration. Even its vocal critics like Mridula Mukherjee, a leading historian writing in the Economic and Political Weekly, were pressed to say that they themselves were sensitive to this perspective even though they did not use the word 'subaltern' to describe their concerns.

Sociologists and anthropologists, watching from the sidelines the battles fought among historians, seemed to be somewhat bemused. The journal Contributions to Indian Sociology did carry reviews and review articles on subaltern studies but these articles did not go beyond identifying the insensitivity of the subaltern perspective to the formal institutional set-up of society.

The bemusement of the sociologists and social anthropologists was substantially based in the recognition that many of the concerns being expressed in the subaltern perspective were already a standard part of the field studies done on the caste system and various village studies.

By the 1990s, however, even the sociologists in India, usually not very vocal about their kinship with historians, began to incorporate the 'subaltern perspective' in their theoretical understandings. Some of them, like Amitav Ghosh, even published in Subaltern Studies thereby adding, some would say, a new kind of glamour. Could this be taken to be the point at which it might be said that the 'subaltern perspective' had 'arrived'?

Peasant insurgency:

The historiography of peasant insurgency in India has frequently been a record of the efforts of the colonial administration to deal with mass uprisings in the countryside. The colonialists tended to see insurgency as a crime or pathology, seldom regarding it as a struggle for social justice.

In his study of Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India, Guha (1983) seeks to correct this failure to understand the aims and motives of the insurgent. He adopts the peasant's viewpoint and examines "the peasant rebel's awareness of his own world and his will to change it". The study- covers the period 1783-1900 and identifies some of the elementary- aspects that characterized peasant rebel consciousness in this period.

The object of this work is to try and depict the struggle not as a series of specific encounters but in its general form. The elements of this form derive from the very long history of the peasant's subalternity and his striving to end it. If one looks carefully at the popular mobilizations accredited to nationalist and communist leaderships – at Rowlett Satyagraha and Quit India or at Tebhaga and Telengana, to take only a couple of instances respectively of each kind – one cannot help noticing the structural similarities between their articulation.

The book consists of eight chapters including introduction and epilogue. The main chapters are: Negation, Ambiguity, Modality, Solidarity, Transmission and Territoriality.

The study reflects a set of historical relations of power, namely, the relations of dominance and subordination, as these prevailed in village India under the British Raj until 1900. It has been said: "The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonism that assumed different forms of different epochs. But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of on part of society by the other" (Guha, 1983: 12).

The antagonism is rooted deeply enough in the material and spiritual conditions of their existence to reduce the difference between elite and subaltern perceptions of a radical peasant movement to a difference between the terms of a binary pair. A rural uprising turns into a site for two rival cognitions to meet and define each other negativity.

It is clear in the light of the findings that Indian nationalism of the colonial period was not what elite historiography had made it be. On the contrary, it derived much of its striking power from a subaltern tradition going a long way back before the Mahatma's intervention in Indian politics towards the end of the First World War or Nehru's discovery of the peasantry of his home province soon afterwards.

<u>**UNIT-III Marriage, Family and Kinship.**</u>

<u>Hindu Marriage System</u>

The Aims of Hindu Marriage:

The aims of Hindu marriage according to K.M. Kapadia are:

(i) Dharma

(ii) Praja

(iii) Rati

(i) Fulfillment of Dharma:

According to Hindu scriptures marriage is the basis of religious duties. This religious duty can be performed only when a man is accompanied by his wife. So marriage is necessary for fulfillment of Dharma.

Praja Progeny:

The second aim of Hindu marriage is the continuity of the race. Hence getting a son is necessary and important in Hindu family. Manu says that the chief aim of marriage is procreation.

Rati (Satisfaction of sex instinct):

The last aim of the Hindu marriage is the satisfaction of sex instinct with the realization of divine bliss. It is the chief aim of Hindu marriage.

Ideals of Hindu Marriage:

(i) Marriage among the Hindus is a religious sacrament. It is not a social contract. It is mainly intended for the fulfillment of Dharma.

(ii) Pre-marital chastity and marital fidelity of both husband and wife are the most valued ideals of Hindu marriage.

(iii) Hindus believe that marriage is a bond that binds a man and his wife not only in this life but also in their future lives.

(iv) Hindu marriage is indissoluble. Hindu couple wants to live together till their death.

(v) Hindus like to adopt monogamy form of marriage although polygyny is permitted under certain circumstances like sterility' of the wife, absence of a male issue etc.

(vi) Marriage for the Hindus is a sacred institution because it is the source of not only. Dhanna, Artha and Kama but also of mokha (liberation)

(vii) Marriage it-self is an ideal for the Hindus to attain because a man is considered in-complete unless he is married.

(viii) Finally though Dharma, procreation and sexual pleasure are the main aim of Hindu marriage, observance of Dharma is primary and sexual pleasure is secondary.

Types of Marriage among the Hindus:

Basically there can only be two types of marriage namely Monogamy and polygamy, in Hindu society both the type of marriage were found to exist.

(1) Monogamy

One husband and one wife Monogamy is the ideal form of marriage among the Hindus. Under monogamy one man marries one woman at a time. This is the leading form of marriage of Hindus. Its advantages are at present well recognized. It produces the highest type of affection between parents, between parents and children and between children themselves as well as creates sincere devotion of wife towards husband.

Under monogamy the elders receive favouring care by their children. Whereas under polygyny their days end in bitterness. According to Malinowski, "Monogamy is, has been and will remain as the only true type or form of marriage"

Polygamy:

Polygamy is a type of marriage in which a man or a woman is allowed to marry more than one wife or husband at the same time.

Polygamy is of two types:

(i) Polygyny

(ii) Polyandry

(i) Polygyny:

It is a type of marriage in which a man is allowed to marry more than one wife at a time. This pattern of marriage persisted in Hindu society since Vedic times. In fact it was mainly practiced by kings and other well – to – do members of the society. Though it was socially approved form of marriage, Hindu law discouraged its practice and did not accept it as an ideal form of marriage.

In some areas it is practiced to obtain more children as well as to get cheap and reliable labourers in the form of wives. In some tribes the leaders accept this form of marriage only to prove their superiority and to obtain social prestige. It is a fact that it checks prostitution problem of society as man can satisfy his sex desire in a better way by keeping more wives within the confines of marriage but it increases economic burden for the bread winner because he has to support many women along with their children.

Besides, it creates jealousy among the wives and their children and also children cannot be looked after properly. More over it destroys family happiness and lower the position of women in the society on account of its greater harmful effects on family life. It has been declared illegal in the civilized societies. The Indian Government has declared polygyny an offence under Hindu marriage Act – 1955.

(ii) Polyandry:

It is a form of marriage where in one woman marries more than one man at a given time. It is widely spread in low socio – economic society to get more economic support. It may take two forms – fraternal polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry.

(a) Fraternal Polyandry:

In this form of polyandry one wife is regarded the wife of all brothers establishing sexual relation with her and the children are treated as the offspring of elder brother.

(b) Non-Fraternal Polyandry:

In this form of marriage, one woman has many husbands with whom she cohabits in term but it is not necessary that these husbands be brothers and any one husband is chosen as parents of a child by a special ritual. This form of marriage is generally existed in backward areas, situated far away from the centres of culture and progress. It also develops due to high bride price on account of lesser number of women in the society and also poverty condition of society. (From these two forms of marriage monogamy form of marriage is well accepted in civilized society)

It is a means to control the growth of population and strengthens the economic position of the family. However it adversely affects the health of woman because the same woman has to satisfy the sexual desire of several husbands. Polyandry is generally considered an obstacle in the way of social progress. It causes harm to married life and creates several other psychological problems. It is on this account that polyandry has gradually come to end in those societies where in it once prevailed

Christian Marriage in India

:The Christian church have always held that universal institution of marriage has a special place in God's purpose for all human life. According to the constitution of the united church of Northern India, Marriage is a sacred institution and it has been blessed by God and it is a natural thing. It is a religious sacrament in which man and woman are bound for ill or well.

They share each other's destiny and ride the course of life together through several ups and downs. Many Christian fathers are vociferous about the virtue of sex control through marriage and hold that marriage is an institution sanctioned and blessed by God. The Christian marriages are solemnized in churches and required the blessing of the Bishop in order to be complete.

Aims of Christian Marriage

Sexual satisfaction establishment of family and companionship are the various objects of Christian marriage.

1. Sexual Satisfaction:

Marriage is a means to regulate sex urge by leading a pious life. Christian marriage aims at establishment of stable sex relation between a man and woman. It is for this reason that the Christians regard marriage as a life-long union of a man and woman.

2. Establishment of family:

Procreation of children through the establishment of family is another aim of Christian marriage.

3. Companionship:

Another important purpose of Christian marriage is to establish a life-long companionship between a man and woman with such qualities like love, sacrifice and co-operation.

Procedure of Mate selection:

In the choice of life partners, Christians provide ample freedom to their boys and girls in the selection of their own life – partners. However the selection of mates can be either by the parties to the marriage themselves or by their parent. A Christian marriage is preceded usually by a long period of courtship in which the prospective spouse have enough opportunity of understanding each other and knowing the good and bad of each partner. However in Christian marriage sufficient care is taken to ensure that the parties to the marriage have to no close blood relation like brother, sister, niece nephew.

Except the blood relation, the Christians are permitted to marry any one they like Besides, the parties have the same or equal social status and they possess good health. Along with education and character of bride and bridegroom are also considered. Marriage is regarded as a bond of love by Christian for which they attach almost importance to love in marriage. For marriage the bride and the bridegroom must be member of some church and solemnization of marriage requires a church certificate.

Marriage Ceremony:

After the selection is over, the parents of the bride and bride groom convey their consent to the priest, who in his turn conveys it to the council of Bishops for its consent. When the consent of the council is obtained, a day is fixed for the betrothal. On that appointed day both the parties meet together in the church and exchange sweets, coconut, clothes, finger rings, money etc. as an expression of the acceptance of the proposal.

Once the betrothal is over, the boy and the girl are free to meet each other. But at the same time it is expected that they should not have sexual relationship prior to marriage. Three weeks prior to marriage a notice regarding a particular marriage is posted in front of the church on every Sunday inviting objection if any to the marriage. Anyone can file objection with the church, after submitting the fee for this purpose.

If the objection is upheld by the church, marriage can't be solemnized otherwise with the completion of all the formalities the clergy performs the marriage in the church on the fixed day in the presence of witness. Even if a marriage is performed in a civil court, the husband and the wife are required to come to the church and take the blessing of the clergy man.

The Indian Christian Marriage Act 1872:

In 1872 Indian Christian Marriage Act was passed which determined the category of Christians who are eligible for marriage. The Act authorized the Central and State Government to appoint a Register for the purpose. The Act also made provision for a magistrate who could perform the same function. As regards the solemnization of marriage Act provided that.

1. Marriage can be solemnized anytime between 7 A.M. to 7 P.M
2. Marriage be solemnized in the church alone.
3. Either of the spouses shall inform the priest and fill up the form given in schedule-1
4. The marriage proposal should be given the publicity and it should be notified on the notice board of the church every Sunday at least three weeks before marriage.
5. If a marriage is solemnized at some private place, the Register shall be informed thereof and he shall publicize the marriage.
6. If either of the spouses is a minor the fact should be brought to the notice of the Register.
7. In the case of a minor, the consent of the parents is essential.

Dissolution of Marriage among the Christians:

The Indian Divorce Act 1896 applies to all those marriages in which at least either of the spouses is a Christian.

Dissolution of marriage has been dealt with in section 10 to 17 of this Act Section 10 of the Act provides that the marriage can be dissolved by the wife on the following grounds:

1. Forsaking of Christianity by the husband and his entry into another religion.
2. Desertion of wife by husband or to marry another wife.
3. Sexual immorality by the husband.
4. Raping of wife by the husband and compelling the wife of sodomy and bestiality.
5. Sadistic behaviour or immorality.
6. Desertion of the wife for two years without reason and sexual indulgence out of marriage.

Similarly a husband can seek dissolution of the marriage if the wife is sexually corrupt. Section 17 of the Act provides that after a thorough examination of the charges levelled either by the husband or wife and satisfying itself about their veracity the District Court can grant divorce. However this is subject to an endorsement by the High court failing which the dissolution of marriage will not be valid.

Void Marriage:

Section 19 of the Act declares a marriage void on the following grounds:

1. Impotency – Sterility and barrenness i.e. if at the time of marriage or at the time of litigation, the husband is impotent or the woman is sterile or unable to bear child.
2. Blood Relation – If either of the spouse is a blood relation.
3. Insanity – If either of the spouses is mad or is an idiot.

4. If either party has previously married or the husband or wife of the previous marriage is alive.

5. Some property has been acquired by coercion or fraud by either of the party to a marriage.

Provision of judicial separation:

Section 12 of the Act provides for Judicial separation on grounds of social corruption, desertion or brutality. The judicial separation is considered a temporary dissolution of marriage.

Provision for Restitution of Conjugal Rights:

Section 32 of the Act provides for restitution of conjugal rights.

Remarriage after Dissolution:

According to section 34 of the Act, the spouse can remarry. Six months after the dissolution of marriage. Though Christianity considers marriage a sacrament and is indissoluble, the practice of divorce is quite common among Christian all over the world. As remarriages is allowed by Indian Divorce Act 1896, the widows and widowers are encouraged to marry but there is system of child marriage among Christians. The divorce or marriage dissolution Act 1896 has created a glaring problem for Christian regarding instability of marriage disregarding the sanctity of marriage.

Muslim Marriage

No Muslim marriage can be solemnized without consent. The consent of the bride is mandatory for the Muslim marriage. Secondly, in the contract, provision is laid down for the breach in marriage, witness, etc. Thirdly, the terms of marriage contract are also concerned with the legal framework.

The Indian Muslims constitute a unique group among themselves on account of their religious orientation. Even their day to day secular life is concerned with religious principles. The minutest details of a staunch follower of Islam are extensively laid down in the religious text. The Islam regulates both the sacred as well as the secular practices of the Muslims. Thus the social system of the Muslims has a strong base of religion, for its functioning. The Muslims believe that the religious principles are divinely ordained and vehemently oppose any innovation in them.

Thus the Islamic laws remain almost unalterable even at present, the man-woman relationship as well as the authority pattern at the family level continues to be guided by the traditional sanctions, derived from the holy religious text. Even the Mohammedan law in India is referred to as that portion of Islamic law, such as "Shariat and Fiqh", which is construed as a personal law under the constitutional provision. 'Shariat', the Islamic personal law, is based on Kitab (Quran), Sunna (Practice of the Prophet), Ijmal (unanimity of opinion among the learned) and Qiyas (analogical deduction by eminent jurists). Since the Muslims in India comprise a minority group, they zealously strive to safeguard their personal laws, and marriage, like the significant events of the family, is performed in the light of textual injunctions.

In the Muslim social system, marriage, as an institution, is governed basically by 'Shariat', the personal law. Out of the 6000 verses in the holy Quran, nearly 70 verses deal with personal law. Rules regarding marriage are contained in ten verses. Twenty-five verses deal with divorce, five with fornication and adultery, ten with inheritance, three with legacies, and six with orphans and minors. Rules regarding the maintenance of divorced wives and widows are mentioned in seven verses and the rest three verses deal with the maintenance of woman in general.

The norms and injunctions of 'Shariat' are widely followed, despite regional differences in subsidiary customs in respect of Muslim marriage. In general, the Muslim marriage is considered as a very happy occasion of pomp and joy and it is performed in accordance with the socio-economic status of the family.

From the conceptual point of view, marriage in Islam is recognized as the basis of society,. Known as 'Nikah' in Muslim law, marriage is purely a civil contract. As an institution, it

protects the society, legalizes sexual intercourse and helps in the continuation of the human race through procreation. Marriage in Islam is viewed from three points of view: legal, social and religious.

The legal position of marriage in Islam is quite significant. It is a contract and not a sacrament. It is a contract for procreation and the legitimization of children. Mulla writes, "Marriage, according to Mohammedan law is not a sacrament but a civil contract. All the rights and obligations arise immediately and are dependent on any condition precedent such as payment of dowry by the husband to the wife.

This legal contract has three aspects:

(i) consent for marriage,

(ii) provision for witness and

(iii) terms of marriage contract.

No Muslim marriage can be solemnized without consent. The consent of the bride is mandatory for the Muslim marriage. Secondly, in the contract, provision is laid down for the breach in marriage, witness, etc. Thirdly, the terms of marriage contract are also concerned with the legal framework.

Considered from the social point of view, the Muslim marriage appears to be significant from three angles. First, it accords a high social status to the Muslim woman in the post-marital period, Secondly, it allows polygamy within a limited range and thirdly, the status of marriage in Islam has been encouraged by the Prophet both by example and precept.

From the religious point of view, marriage in Islam is also recognized as a sacred convent, despite its contractual character. The wife and husband are enjoined to love and honour each other and temporary marriages are discouraged. Marriage has been construed as a meritorious act or an obligation. It is also considered as a means for the continuance of the human race.

Validity of Marriage:

The validity of marriage in Islam involves (i) offer (ijab) and (ii) acceptance (qabul). Besides these, the other essentialities involved are the presence of witnesses, fixation of dowry, consent of the bride and physical capacity of the parties.

Marriage is legally contracted through initiation or proposal from either party and followed by corresponding acceptance from the other at the same meeting. It is performed in the presence of and the hearing of two Mohammedan witnesses who must be sane.

In case two male witnesses are not available, one male witness and two female witnesses serve the purpose. In the case of minors, the guardians of the parties may validly contract the marriage on behalf of their children. However, witnesses for the offer (ijab) and the acceptance (qabul) of the proposal are essentially required. The Shiaite law does not hold the presence of witness as essential.

Age of Marriage:

The Muslim law does not specify any particular age at marriage. In the past the girl as got married at an early age soon after attainment of puberty. As in Muslim marriage, puberty was emphasized, the younger ones were permitted on the basis of the regulation to the extent that the Quazi would agree that the boy or the girl had attained puberty. If a minor girl was married, she had the option of puberty (Khiya-a-bulugh) which implies that she may repudiate the marriage after attainment of puberty. Previously a minor girl given in marriage by her father or grandfather had no option of puberty.

But at present she may repudiate her marriage on the following grounds:

(a) That she was given in marriage by her guardian or father:

(b) That her marriage was contracted before the age of 15,

(c) That she repudiates the marriage before attainment of 18 years of age. In the present Indian scenario, there is a significant rise in the age of marriage in Islam in the second generation. It has been reported by some studies that the age group 18-21 appears to be the most popular for marriage among the Muslims.

Choice Mate:

The bride-groom in a Muslim society does not choose his own mate because he is not supposed to see the face of the would be wife before marriage. According to the 'Shariat', the groom may have a glimpse of the would-be wife under some pretext or other, but he is not allowed to meet her at any cost.

The parents always attempt to check the development of emotional attachment between the would be spouses at the premarital stage. This is because the elders always want to exercise their own control in the decision-making process. It also aims at maintaining the prestige of the family. But in real terms, rather than ideal, wide variations are marked with the social class and region and has undergone change over time.

It has been held by some scholars that in the past there was the provision for a constitutionalized intermediary (mushata) who usually brought the parties together to a marriage. The 'mushata', was an elderly woman and enjoyed the goodwill of the families of both the would be spouses.

However, the employment of the Mushata in marriage remained the family affair of the rich class. As regards the cases of the middle and lower classes, the bridegroom's relatives acted as intermediaries. In some cases they were requested to act in such a manner, and in other cases they acted as intermediaries voluntarily.

The intermediaries were not given any fee for their services rendered towards the settlement of marriage. But as a token of their service, they were honored with some gifts during the marriage ceremony. The service of the intermediary was useful in matters of bringing consent from the bride's party, leading the woman from the groom's family to the bride's family, making enquiries by way of preliminary negotiation, finalizing the negotiation after discussion with the bride's party and fixing the amount of mehr.

Above all, the intermediary played a vital role in fixing suitable and desirable match for the sons and daughters of the Muslim families. In the changing scenario the modern educated Muslim youths no longer follow the system of 'marry and then love' but they rather prefer the system, 'love and then marry'. Nevertheless, the Muslims are loyal to family traditions and respect for parent's wishes usually dominate in the selection of mates. In most of the cases even the educated young Muslims do not drastically deviate from the custom and they marry in accordance with the wishes of parents.

Marriage Alliances:

Among the Muslims, marriage alliances are made usually on the basis of sufficient acquaintance, socio-economic parity, socio-cultural affinity and similarity of cultural background of the parties.

Marriage Prohibitions:

Among the Muslims prohibition in marriage, is imposed on the grounds of:

(1) Number

(2) Religion

(3) Relationship (consanguinity of affinity)

(4) Fosterage

ADVERTISEMENTS:

(5) Unlawful conjunction and

(6) Iddat or miscellaneous prohibitions.

The 'Quran' prohibits marriage with one's mother and grandmother, sister, daughter and grand-daughter, maternal and paternal aunt and brother's or sister's daughter or granddaughter. The Muslims are also prohibited from marrying the foster mother, foster brother, foster-sister, foster-nephew and foster-paternal aunt. If in case the ego or any of his sibs is served food by the wife of the father's brother or the wife of the mother's brother or father's sister or mother's sister or brother's wife, the entire sib group of the ego is prohibited from marrying the offspring's of the woman who served food. In other words, in such cases parallel and cross-cousin marriages are prohibited.

As regards the cultural conjunction, a Muslim is not permitted to marry at a time two persons, who are related to each other by consanguinity, affinity or fosterage in such a manner that

marriage would not have been possible among them, had they belonged to two different sexes. As for example, one cannot marry two sisters simultaneously.

As to the restriction on the number of wives and husbands, a Muslim husband is permitted to marry four wives at a time, but a Muslim woman is not allowed to marry two husbands at a time. In other words, polyandry is prohibited but polygamy is allowed with certain restrictions.

In Muslim marriage, prohibition also persists with regard to the members of other religious groups. The Muslims do not allow marriage with the idol worshippers and the fire worshippers, but marriage with a woman of the kitabia i.e., Christian or Jews, is allowed.

Marriage among the Muslims is not allowed during the period of 'Iddat'. This happens in the case of a widow or divorcee. The period of 'Iddat' lasts for three months in order to ascertain whether or not the woman is pregnant. In case, she is pregnant, the period of 'Iddat' is extended till the delivery of the child. A Muslim pilgrim is not allowed to marry during the period of pilgrimage.

Endogamy and Exogamy:

The Indian Muslims are divided into ethnic groups like Sayyed, Mughal, Pathan and Saikh who are differentiated basically by the prefix or suffix to their names, such as Shaikh, Sayyed, Beg and Khan. This classification does not matter much in marital alliances, among the lower class people, but it is observed by the upper class Muslims.

The Muslim community consists of different occupational groups like momin (weaver), nadaf (cotton ginner), Moniyar (bangle setter), saudagar (merchant) Kasai (butcher), Kazi (Judge), Mulla (Priest) and so on, the families engaged in such occupations are identified with those occupational statuses in the social hierarchy. In course of time, these occupational groups have possessed certain distinctive cultural entities, analogous to the features of the Hindu caste system.

In marital alliances, these occupational groups operate as endogamous units and do not allow inter-marriage between them. In the Muslim occupational hierarchy the 'kazi' and the 'mulla' are certainly at the apex and the butcher (kasai) is at the bottom. Generally inter-marriages are solemnized among Muslims belonging to different social strata.

The practice of exogamy exists with respect to close blood relations. The rules relating to exogamy and the incest taboos, in the Muslim society, are analogous to the civilized societies. But consanguineous marriages still remain a prominent feature in the Muslim society. In some cases, the closest relatives are preferred in marriage alliances. The Indian Muslims practise cross-cousin marriage as well as parallel cousin marriage. However, lineage exogamy exists among the Muslim Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir. Matrilineage is the exogamous unit for the Maplah Muslims of North Malabar in Kerala.

Institution of 'Mehr or 'Dower':

A significant aspect of the Muslim marriage contract is the institution of Mehr. It constitutes some amount of money, gold coins, and share in the household immovable property which are promised to be given by the bridegroom to his wife upon his death or at the time of divorce. Paras Diwan maintains that in consideration of the wife leaving her parental home, the husband used to pay some amount to her parents. This amount is known as 'mehr' and therefore it is linked to bride price (14) Abdul Rahim holds that 'Mehr' is either a sum of money or other form of property to which the wife becomes entitled by marriage.

Rahim does not consider it a contract, but an obligation imposed by law on the husband as a mark of respect for the wife. Justifying this view point, Rahim argues that non- specification of dower at the time of marriage does not affect the validity of marriage. Had it been a contract, it would have invalidated the marriage.

After the 'Mehr' is fixed and agreed upon it is entered and duly signed by the parties in the marriage contract in the presence of the 'Kazi'. The amount of 'Mehr' depends upon the social status of the bride and the bridegroom. The Muslim marriage was formally registered with the Registrar of Muslim marriages, the amount of dowry was recorded. A portion of the mehr was paid in kind at the time of marriage in the form of jewellery and clothing and the

payment was made y the bridegroom's family to the bride. Settlement of the items along with their cost was also made at the time of the meeting of the two families during wedding arrangements.

The Prophet commanded that the amount of 'mehr' should not usually be high, because he apprehended that if the amount was very high, the bridegroom might avoid payment of the amount. He also disapproved of the non-payment of 'Mehr' and treated it as equivalent to adultery. Thus 'mehr' broadly speaking, "is something in the nature of a nuptial gift which a Muslim husband undertakes to make to his wife conceptually, is inherent in the concept of marriage, and thus, it is an integral part of marriage. 'Mehr' is neither a consideration for marriage, nor dowry. It is not a bride price either. 'Mehr' is a unique concept of Muslim matrimonial law'

Types of dower (Mehr):

Fyzee has mentioned that there are two types of dower of Mehr. It is either fixed by the mutual consent of the parties or by the operation of law. If the 'mehr' is fixed by the mutual consent of the parties, it is known as specified dower (Mahr-i-tafweez). The second type of dower which is fixed by the operation of law 'Proper dower' (Mehr-in takkin).

(1) Specified Dower:

(mehr-i-tafweez)—This type of dower is fixed by the mutual consent of the parties. It could be payable immediately on marriage, or may be defetred, payable on the dissolution of marriage or on the occurrence of a specified even

(a) Prompt Dower:

As the name indicates, prompt dower is paid promptly or immediately on marriage by the mutual consent of the parties, if demanded by the wife.

(b) Deferred Dower:

It is not paid promptly or immediately, but postponed or delayed till much time when the dissolution of marriage occurs or some specified event occurs. If some time period is specified, the deferred dower is payable on the expiry of that specified period mentioned in the contract.

(2) Proper Dower (mehr-i-takkin):

It is also known as the unspecified dower. The proper dower is not fixed at the time of marriage, but it is fixed by the operation of law. While fixing up the dower, the court takes into consideration the social status of the bride and earning of the boy etc. Fyzee holds that among the Sunnies, the dower fixed by the father of the bridegroom is binding on the son and the father is not personally liable for it. But among the Shias, the father is liable to pay the dower if the son is unable to pay it due to lack of means.

Types of Muslim Marriage:

According to Muslim marriage rules, the marriages are classified into three types, such as (i) Valid (sahih) (ii) Void (Batil) and (iii) Irregular (Fasid)

(i) Valid Marriage:

When the marriage has been contracted by following all the religious and legal requirements it is called valid marriage. The birth of offspring's from such marriage is considered legitimate. The wife has also the right to dower, maintenance and inheritance of property in a valid marriage.

(ii) Void Marriage:

A marriage whose basis is not legal is called a void marriage. If a marriage is performed by not taking into consideration prohibitions such as affinity, fosterage, consanguinity etc., it is considered invalid. It does not involve any legitimate, responsibilities in the marital contract. The children born out of this marriage are treated as legitimate.

(iii) Irregular Marriage:

An irregular marriage violates some temporary prohibitions. In such a marriage the basis is sound but some formality has been left unfulfilled. As per Sunni law, there are some marriages which are not valid but at the same time these are not completely void. Such marriages can be regularized after fulfillment of the wanting formalities.

Some examples of irregular marriage are given below:

(i) Marriage without the required number of witnesses.

(ii) Marriage with a woman during 'iddat'.

(iii) Marriage prohibited by reason of difference of religion.

(iv) Marriage with two sisters simultaneously.

(v) Marriage with a fifth wife.

Muta Marriage:

The Sunis among the Muslims admit only a permanent marriage called 'Nikah'. But along with 'Nikah', the Shia law provides for a temporary marriage, called 'Muta'. This type of marriage is contracted only for the sake of pleasure and it is also for a specified period only. Muta marriage is contracted on two conditions: first, the settlement of the period of marriage which may range from one day to several years and secondly, the fixation of the amount of mehr of the two conditions, the settlement of the period of marriage appears to be more important because a muta marriage remains valid if its period has been settled despite the fixation of the amount of 'Mehr'.

On the contrary, only fixation of dower but the non-settlement of time period invalidates the Muta marriage K.M. Kapadia holds that Muta marriage is sufficiently old practice among the Muslims. He says: 'according to one tradition, muta marriage was not altogether abolished until the time of Omar. Though it was not looked upon favorably by the Prophet, muta marriage was practiced during his time and even afterwards. Nowadays the Ithana Ashari School of the Shias recognize this type of marriage.

The following are the essential features of a muta marriage:

(1) Muta is a temporary form of marital contract which continues for a limited period of time.

(2) Muta marriage is dissolved at the expiry of the time limit.

(3) The principle of offer of the proposal and its acceptance in the same sitting also holds good in the muta type of marriage.

(4) The amount of 'Mehr' (dower) is settled and specified in the contract of muta. On expiry of the specified time the wife gets the same. She may also receive the same just after the marriage.

(5) The woman cannot marry any non-Muslim, while the Muslim male may marry a Christian, a Jew or a Parsee woman.

(6) The muta marriage is prevalent among the Shias only. The ladies of higher class do not contract muta marriage. It is quite unpopular and has been called as anachronism in marriage.

Divorce:

There are three ways of dissolving a marriage, either by death or by apostasy or divorce. Renunciation of religious faith, vows or principles is termed as apostasy. Islam provides the dissolution of marriage under the conditions of lack of love, faith, harmony and understanding among the spouses. Though the sanctity of life has always been considered as the essential condition of family life, the incompatibility of individuals and the unhealthy relations, quarrels and doubts require certain outlets, so that sanctity is not made into a fetish at the expanse of human life.

As divorce disintegrates the family unity, it is a social evil, nevertheless, it is necessary to safeguard the rights and privileges of a woman (Durr-ul- mukhtar). Fyzee states that withholding divorce engenders more suffering on a woman than the irresponsible exercise of this right by the husband. While permitting a divorce, the Prophet considered it the most hateful in the sight of God and never encouraged it. He, therefore, commanded stringent measures to guard against the misuse of this provision.

Most often the word 'talaq' is used a synonym of divorce. But 'talaq' refers to one of the ways of dissolution of Muslim marriage. A 'talaq' is a dissolution of marriage effected by the husband making a pronouncement so as to dissolve the marriage.

Family: The Meaning, Features, Types and Functions

Family is one of the most important social institutions. Most of the world's population lives in family units; it is an important primary group in the society. Family is the most pervasive and universal social institution. It plays a vital role in the socialisation of individuals. Family is regarded as the first society of human beings.

It is known as the first school of citizenship. One is born in family, grows in it, works for it and dies in it. One develops emotional attachment to it. The parental care imparts to the child the first lesson in social responsibility and acceptance of self-discipline. Family is the backbone of social structure. It occupies a nuclear position in society.

Meaning of Family:

Broadly speaking, family refers to the group comprising parents and children. It may also refer, in some cases, to a group of relatives and their dependants forming one household. All these refer to the compositional aspect of this institution. Another aspect is that of residence of its members.

They usually share common residence, at least for some part of their lives. Thirdly, there is the relational aspect of the family. Members have reciprocal rights and duties towards each other. Finally, the family is also an agent of socialisation. All these aspects make this institution different from all other units of social structure.

As Mack and Young say, "The family is the basic primary group and the natural matrix of personality". According to the Bureau of Census (U.S.A.). "Family is a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and residing together". Some of other important definitions of family are as follows.

According to MacIver and Page, "Family is a group defined by a sex relationship, sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children".

According to Burgess and Locke, "Family is a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood or adoption; consisting a single household, interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister creating a common culture".

As a K. Davis defines, "Family is a group of persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are, therefore, kin to one another".

According to Elliot and Meril, "Family is the biological social unit composed of husband, wife and children.

Biesanz writes "The family may be described as a woman with a child and a man to look after them".

Strictly defined, family consists of parents and children. Its members are more closely related to one another through the process of reproduction. It is a universal institution found in every age and in every society.

Characteristics of family:
1. A Mating Relationship:
A family comes into existence when a man and woman establish mating relation between them.

2. A Form of Marriage:
Mating relationship is established through the institution of marriage. The society regulates sexual behaviour between opposite sexes through the institution of marriage. Through the institution of marriage, mating relationship is established. Without marriage family is not possible. Hence, family is a form of marriage.

3. A Common Habitation:
A family requires a home or household for its living. Without a dwelling place the task of child-bearing and child rearing cannot be adequately performed. The members of a family have a common habitation or household.

4. A System of Nomenclature:
ADVERTISEMENTS:

Every family is known by a particular name. It has own system of reckoning descent. Descent may be recognized through male line or through the mother's line. In patrilineal families descent is recognized through male line. Similarly, in matrilineal families descent is recogned through mother's line.

5. An Economic Provision:
Every family needs an economic provision to satisfy the economic needs. The head of the family carries on certain profession and earns to maintain the family.

6. System of Interaction and Communication:
The family is composed of persons who interact and communicate with each other in their social roles such as husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter etc.

It is important to mention that the family is composed of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption. The family maintains a common but a distinctive culture.

Distinctive Features of the Family:
Family is the smallest and the most intimate group of society. It is a universal institution found in every society. Family as the most important social institution possesses certain distinctive features which may be discussed below.

1. Universality:
The Family is a universal institutions. It was found in many simpler societies. In advance societies, the whole social structure is built of family units. According to Maclver, "It is found in all societies, at all stages of social development and exists far below the human level among myriad species of animals". Every human being is a member of some family.

2. Emotional Basis:
Every family is based on human impulses of mating, procreation, motherly devotion and parental love and care. The members of a family have emotional attachment with each other. Love between husband and wife, parents and children makes the family an institution of self-sacrifice. Hence, emotion is the foundation on which every family is built.

3. Limited Size:
The family is very small in size. It is known as the smallest primary group. It is a small social institution. It includes husband and wife and the persons who are born in it or are adopted. The relations among the members of family are direct, intimate, close, personal and permanent. This is possible only due to small size of the family. Further, smallness of the family brings stability in the family.

4. 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 these secondary groups, for their demands and situations. It serves as the nucleus for the growth of other types of groupings which never deal with the cultureless creatures that a newly born child is.

5. Formative Influence:
Family exerts most profound influence on its members. The personality of the individual is moulded in the family. The family customs, traditions, mores and norms have great influence in shaping the personality of its members during childhood. Family is the most effective agency of the process of socialisation and social control.

6. Responsibility of the Members:
The members of the family have a deep sense of -d. responsibility and obligation for the family. Due to this sense of responsibility, all the member discharge their duties. All the members of the family have joint responsibility. In family, the children learn about responsibility and cooperation.

7. Social Regulation:
Society, that is the collectivity, keep the collective and wider view in mind, has to ensure, by evolving mores and folkways, that the individual member in a family do perform all those functions towards each other on the basis of which the wider network of social relationships in dependent for its success. Thus, for example, there are social restrictions on divorce, in almost every society.

8. Persistance and Change

The family may be permanent and temporary by nature. As an institution it is permanent. When a couple after marriage settle in an independent residence, the family continues to exist with other member. Hence, family is permanent as an institution. Family on the other hand is temporary and transitional. Because structure of the family changes over a time in terms of size, composition and status of persons.

Types of Family:
Though family is a universal institution, its structure or form vary from one society to another. Sociologists and anthropologists have mentioned about different types of families found in different cultures.

Classification of families is generally done on the basis of organisation (nuclear and joint), forms of marriage (monogamous or polygamous), authority (matriarchal or patriarchal) and residence etc. Classification of families on different basis is given below.

1. On the Basis of Organisation:
In terms of organisation families may be of two broad types; the nuclear family and the extended/joint family.

(i) Nuclear Family:
The nuclear family is a unit composed of husband, wife and their unmarried children. This is the predominant form in modern industrial societies. This type of family is based on companionship between parents and children

While discussing the nature of nuclear family in India, Pauline Kolenda has discussed additions / modifications in nuclear family structure. She has given the following compositional categories.

(a) Nuclear family refers to a couple with or without children.

(b) Supplemented nuclear family indicated a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated or widowed relatives of the parents, other than their unmarried children.

(c) Sub-nuclear family is defined as a fragment of a former nuclear family, for instance a widow/ widower with her/his unmarried children or siblings (unmarried or widowed or separated or divorced) living together.

(d) Single person household.

(e) Supplemented sub-nuclear family refer to a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family along with some other unmarried, divorced or widowed relative who was not a member of the nuclear family.

The size of the nuclear family is very small. It is free from the control of elders. It is regarded as the most dominant and ideal form of family in modern society. The nuclear family is based on conjugal bonds. The children get maximum care, love and affection of the parents in nuclear family. The nuclear family is independent and economically self-sufficient. The members of nuclear family also enjoy more freedom than the members of joint family.

(ii) Extended / Joint Family:
The term extended family is used to indicate the combination of two or more nuclear families based on an extension of the parent-child relationships. According to Murdck, an extended

family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship … i.e. by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents.

In an extended family, a man and his wife live with the families of their married sons and with their unmarried sons and daughters, grand children or great grant children in the paternal or maternal line. Different types of extended family are still common in Asia, says Bottomore.

The patrilineally extended family is based on an extension of the father-son relationship, while the matrilineally extended family is based on the mother-daughter relationship. The extended family may also be extended horizontally to include a group consisting of two or more brothers, their wives and children. This horizontally extended family is called the fraternal or collateral family.

In India, the family weather extended vertically and/or horizontally is called the joint family. Strictly speaking it is a property-sharing unit. The joint family consists of a man and his wife and their adult sons, their wives and children and younger children of the paternal couple, says M.S. Gore.:

The size of joint family is very large. Generally, the eldest male is the head of the family. The rights and duties of the members in this type of family are laid down by the hierarchy order of power and authority. Children of the joint family are children of all the male members in the parental generation.

Emphasis on conjugal ties (between husband and wife) is supposed to weaken the stability of joint family.

The father-son relationship (filial relationship) and the relationship between brothers (fraternal relationship) are more crucial for the joint family system than the conjugal relationship (husband-wife relationship).

2. On the Basis of Authority:
The family may be either patriarchal or matriarchal on the basis of authority.

(i) Patriarchal Family:
Patriarchal family is a type of family in which all authority belongs to the paternal side. In this family, the eldest male or the father is the head of the family. He exercises his authority over the members of the family. He presides over the religious rites of the household; he is the guardian of the family goods. In the developed patriarchal system of the past, the patriarch had unlimited and undisputed authority over his wife, sons and daughters.

There has been various forms of the patriarchal family. Sometimes it is part of a joint family, as in India. Sometimes it is part of a 'stem-family', with only one of the sons bringing his family within the paternal household.

(ii) Matriarchal Family:
It is a form of family in which authority is centred in the wife or mother. The matriarchal family system implies rule of the family by the mother, not by the father. In this type of family women are entitled to perform religious rites and husband lives in the house of wife.

Matriarchal family is also called mother-right family or maternal family under which the status, name and sometimes inheritance is transmitted through the female line. This type of

family is now found among the Khasi and Garo tribes of Assam and Meghalaya, among Nayars of Malabar in Kerala.

3. On the Basis of Residence:
In terms of residence, we find following types of families.

(i) Patrilocal Family:
When the wife goes to live with the husband's family, it is called the patrilocal family.

(ii) Matrilocal Family:
When the couple after marriage moves to live with the wife's family, such residence is called matrilocal. The husband has a secondary position in the wife's family where his children live.

(iii) Neolocal Residence:
When the couple after marriage moves to settle in an independent residence which is neither attached to the bride's family of origin nor bridegroom's family of origin it is called neolocal residence.

(iv) Avunculocal Family:
In this type of family the married couple moves to the house of the maternal uncle and live with his son after marriage. Avonculocal family is found among the Nayars of Kerala.

(v) Matri-Patri Local Family:
In matri-patrilocal family, immediately after marriage the bridegroom moves to the house of the bride and temporarily settles there till the birth of the first child and then comes back to his family of orientation, along with wife and child for permanent settlement. The Chenchuas of Andhra Pradesh live in this type of family.

4. The Basis of Descent:
On the basis of descent, families may be divided into two types such as patrilineal and matrilineal.

(i) Patrilineal Family:
When descent is traced through the father, it is called patrilineal family. In this type of family inheritance of property takes place along the male line of descent. The ancestry of such family is determined on the basis of male line or the father. A patrilineal family is also patriarchal and patrilocal. This is the common type of family prevalent today.

(ii) Matrilineal Family:
In this type of family descent is traced along the female line and inheritance of property also takes place along the female line of descent. The Veddas, the North American Indians, some people of Malabar and the Khasi tribe are matrilineal. Generally, the matrilineal families are matriarchal and matrilocal.

Besides the above types, there are other two types of family based on descent namely Bilateral and Ambilineal family. When the ancestiy or descent is traced through both father and mother, it is called bilateral family. Ambilineal family is one in which one's ancestry may be traced through father's line in one generation, but in the next generation one's son may trace his descent or ancestry through his mother's line.

5. On the Basis of Marriage:
On the basis of marriage, family has been classified into two types such as monogamous and polygamous.

(i) Monogamous Family:
A monogamous family is one which is consisted of one husband and one wife. In this type of family one man has one wife or one woman has one husband at a given time. Hence a husband and a wife living together, constitute a monogamous family. It is an ideal form of family prevalent widely.

(ii) Polygamous Family:
When one man marries several woman or one woman marries several men and constitute the family, it is polygamous family. Again polygamous family is divided into two types such as polygynous family and polyandrous family.

(a) Polygynous Family:
It is a type of family in which one man has more than one wife at a given time and lives with them and their children together. This kind of family is found among Eskimos, African Negroes and the Muslims, Naga and other tribes of central India.

(b) Polyandrous Family:
In this types of family one wife has more than one husband at given time and she lives with all of them together or each of them in turn. Polyandrous families are found among some Australians, the Sinhalese (Srilankans), the Tibetans, some Eskimos and the Todas of Nilgiri Hills in India.

6. On the basis of In-group and Out-group Affiliation:
On the basis of in-group and out-group affiliation families may be either endogamous or exogamous.

(i) Endogamous Family:
Endogamy is the practice of marrying someone within a group to which one belongs. An endogamous family is one which consists of husband and wife who belong to same group such as caste or tribe.

For example, in a caste-ridden society like India a member of a particular caste has to marry within his own caste. When a person marries within his caste group, it is called endogamous family.

(ii) Exogamous Family:
Endogamy means marriage within a group, while exogamy means marriage with someone outside his group. For example a Hindu must marry outside his Kinship group or gotra. When a family is consisted of husband and wife of different groups such as gotra is called exogamous family.

In India marriage between same gotra has been prohibited. Hence, one must marry outside his own gotra. Similarly some tribes follow the practice of clan exogamy. Accordingly, they marry outside their group (clan). The practice of clan exogamy is widely followed among the Indian tribes like the Gond, the Ho, the Khasi etc.

7. On the basis of Blood-relationship:
Ralph Linton has classified family into two main types namely, consanguine and conjugal.

(i) Consanguine Family:
The consanguine family is built upon the parent-child relationship (on blood-descent). The family is a descent group through the male line which is firmly vested with authority. The consanguine family comprises a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a fringe of wives

and others who are incidental to the maintenance of the family unit. Such families can become very large. The Nayar family is a typical example.

(ii) Conjugal Family:
The conjugal family is a nucleus of the husband, the wife and their offspring, who are surrounded by a fringe of relatives only incidental to the functioning of the family as a unit. In this type family, the authority and solidarity of the family group reside solely in the conjugal (husband and wife) pair. In contrast to consanguine type of family, the conjugal family is much more isolated from wider kinship relationships.

The consanguine family, which is typical of an agricultural society, is large, stable, secure, self-sufficient and authoritarian. On the other hand the conjugal family, typical of a modern society, is small, transient, isolated and relatively insecure but democratic.

Functions of Family:
As a social institution the family has certain functions to perform for the society and the individual. It plays important role for survival, protection and support, socialisation and societal identification of the individual. The Family serves the society as an instrument of sexual control and cultural transmission.

Different sociologists have classified the functions of the family differently. K. Davis has mentioned four main functions of family. These are (i) reproduction (ii) maintenance, (iii) placement and (iv) socialisation of the young.

Ogbum and Nimkoff have divided the functions of family into six categories These include (1) affectional functions, (ii) economic functions, (iii) recreational functions (iv) protective functions, (v) religious and (vi) educational functions.

According to Lundberg, the following are the basic functions of family:
(1) Regulation of sexual behaviour.

(2) Care and training of the children.

(3) Cooperation and division of labour.

(4) Primary group satisfaction.

Groves has classified the functions family in the following way.

1. Protection and care of the young.

2. Regulation and control of sex impulses.

3. Conservation and transmission of social heritage and

4. Provision of opportunity for the most intimate contacts.

MacIver divides the functions of the family into two categories: Essential and Nonessential functions.

Essential Functions:
The essential functions of the family are as follows:
1. Satisfaction of Sex Needs:

This is the essential function which the family performs. The sex instinct is the natural and biological urge of human beings. The satisfaction of sex desire requires that male and female should live together as husband and wife.

Hence, family is the only place where husband and wife can satisfy their sex instinct. Family satisfies sexual desires of male and female through the institution of marriage. Without family the satisfaction of sex needs is impossible. The modern family satisfies sex instinct in a greater degree than the traditional family.

2. Reproduction:
The task of race perpetuation has always been an important function of the family. A ongoing society must replace its members. It primarily relies on the biological reproduction of its own members.

The family is an institution par excellence of the reproduction and the rearing of children. It secures a legitimate and responsible basis for procreation by regulating sexual behaviour. It provides care and personal protection to the newly born human beings and children.

3. Sustenance Function:
The family provides the daily care and personal protection to its dependant members namely aged, children etc. The family is an insurance for the individual in times of crisis. Family provides protection and shelter to orphans, widow and her children.

4. Provision of a Home:
Establishment of household life or provision of a home is another essential function of the family. The desire for a home is a powerful instinct for men as well as women. Family provides a opportunity for husband and wife to live together happily. Man after the hard work of the day returns home where in the presence of his wife and children he sheds off his fatigue.

Although there are hotels and club which provide recreation, the home is still the heaven where its members find comfort and affection. Home is the foundation of family, the meeting place of husband and wife, the birth place and play ground of children. The family is a psychological relief station in which one can safely relax.

5. Socialisation:
Man is a social animal. But he is not born human or social. He is made social through the process of socialisation. Socialisation refers to the process through which the growing individual learns the habits, attitudes, values and beliefs of the social group into which he has been born and becomes a person.

From the point of view of society, it is the process through which society transmits its culture from generation to generation and maintains itself. If a society is to endure and function successfully through time, it is to socialise the new recruits.

The family presents itself to the child as an educative group of most fundamental kind. It presents itself as a concrete manifestation of the cultural process. It is the first social environment which trains and educates the newborn child.

As Mack and Young say, "The basic socialisation of the child takes place in the family. It carries out the socialisation of the individual. It hands over the social heritage to the generations to come. The family is described as the "transfer point of civilisation". The

content of socialisation is the cultural traditions of the society, by passing them to the next generation, says Parsons. The family acts as the cultural mediator.

Non-Essential Functions:
The nonessential functions of a family can be the following ones:

1. Economic Functions:
Family serves as an economic unit. The earlier agricultural family was a self-supporting 'business enterprise'. It was producing whatever the family needed. Today the importance of family as an economic unit has been lessened as most of the goods for consumption are purchased readymade from the market.

The family still remains as an important economic unit from the point of view of 'consumer's outlay'. In other words, the modern family is a consuming unit and not a self-sufficient 'producing unit'.

2. Property Transformation:
The family acts as an agency for holding and transmission of property. Most families accumulate much property such as land, goods, money and other forms of wealth. The family transmits these property.

3. Religious Function:
Family is a centre for religious training of the children. The children learn various religious virtues from their parents. The religious and moral training of children has always been bound up with the home. Though formal religious education has reached into the earliest years the family still furnishes the matrix of religious ideas, attitudes and practice.

4. Educative Function:
The family provides the bases of all the child's latter formal education learning. Family is the first school of children. The child learns the first letters under the guidance of parents. In the words Mazzin, the first lesson of child begins between mother's kiss and father's care. The child learns language, behaviour and manners from the parents. The virtues of love, cooperation, obedience, sacrifice and discipline are learnt by the child in the family.

5. Recreational Function:
The family provides recreation to its members. The members of the family visit their relations. They enjoy various occasions in the family jointly and derive pleasure. Now recreation is available in clubs and hotels rather than at home.

6. Wish Fulfillment:
The family gives moral and emotional support for the individual member, providing his defence against social isolation and loneliness and satisfying his need for personal happiness and love. The wife finds in the husband love, security, protection and strength, while the husband expects from her affection, tenderness, help and devotion.

To conclude, there are certain core functions with which the family is always and everywhere concerned. As Kingsley Davis says, there is no other social group which can perform this peculiar combination of great functions as its main societal task.

The family has given up some of the functions that it performed in the past. But by and large, the family remains the most important primary group in society for accomplishing certain essential functions.

Changing Functions of Family:

Historically, the family has been transformed from a more or less self-sufficient group into a definite and small group of minimum size. The small independent nuclear family has replaced the big consanguine family in Western advanced societies. In India too, the joint family is gradually disappearing and independent families are increasing, particularly in urban areas.

There has been a great change in the functions of the family. Modern industrialism and urbanism have created new cultural conditions. All these have profoundly affected the structure and functions of the family. The authoritarian mores of feudalism and religious control of the family and marriage have declined.

The specific characteristics of modern Western family are generally attributed to the development of industrial society, according to Ogburn and Nimkoff. In India, the changes in the joint family are also closely connected with the rise and growth of an industrial economy.

The emergence of a capitalist economy, particularly after independence, and the spread of liberalism have challenged the sentiments maintaining the joint family. With the growth of industries, life undergoes changes. Many of the traditional functions of the family have been taken away by special agencies in modern times. The changing functions of the family are discussed below.

1. Change with regard to Satisfaction of Sex Needs:

The family satisfies the sex need of male and female through the institution of marriage. But change is visible in the function of the family with regard to satisfaction of sex need. This change can be seen more in Western societies where premarital and extramarital sex relations are on the increase. A declining trend is noticeable in the regulation of sexual behaviour by the family.

2. Change in the Reproduction Function:

There is also change in the reproduction function of the family. On the one hand, Western couple do not prefer to have children. On the other hand, in some case women in Western societies become mother before they are married. Hence, reproduction is possible without marriage and family.

3. Change in Sustenance Function:

The sustenance function of the family has been taken by other agencies. Hospitals and nursing homes are now offer medical care. Government and other non-Government organizations provide protection and care to aged persons. Patients are admitted to hospitals or nursing homes and they are taken care of by doctors, nurses and midwives.

4. Change in Socialisation Function:

The industrial system has made necessary for women to go to the office, the school or the factory to work for a wage. As a result they do not get much time to socialise the children. Thus, there is the decline of the family as an agent of socialisation. The socialisation function of the family has been taken over by the outside agencies.

5. Changes in Economic Functions:

The earlier agricultural family with its numerous economic functions was a self-supporting 'business enterprise'. The home was the centre of production, distribution and consumption. Today the importance of family as an economic unit has been lessened as most of the goods for consumption are purchased from the market.

The modern family is a consuming unit. But it is not a self-sufficient producing unit. Some of the functions have been transferred to outside agencies, for example cooking of launches to restaurants and canteens, some laundering to outside laundries.

6. Changes in Educational Functions:
The modern family has transferred the educational function to outside agencies such as nursery schools, Kindergarten and Montessori schools. The responsibility of the family in imparting education to children has declined considerably. The modern family has delegated the task of vocational education to technical institutions and colleges.

7. Changes in Religious Function:
Family is a centre for religious training of the children and various religious activities. Now it is found that the family is losing the religious functions performed in the past. The religious activities of the family has been materially reduced.

8. Changes in the Recreational Function:
Earlier, the family provided all kinds of recreation and entertainment to its members. Recreation is now available in clubs or hotels rather than homes. The recreational function of the family have been declined to a large extent. Various outside recreational centres such as clubs, cinema halls, park etc. provide recreational facilities to people. The family is no longer a home for recreation of its members.

From the above discussion it is clear that there has been a great change in the functions of the family. Many family duties which were discharged formerly by the parents have now been transferred to external agencies. The educational, religious, recreational and protective functions have been more or less taken over by schools, churches, Government and commercial recreational agencies.

In short, the family has lost some of its functions or losing many functions, performed in the past. However, the process is gradual and not everywhere the same. Despite its structural and functional changes, the family still holds a unique position among the innumerable institutions.

THE FAMILY IN ISLAM:
STRUCTURE, PRINCIPLES AND RULES

We have discussed the salient features of the Islamic outlook on life, the foundations of the family in Islam and its objectives and functions. In this final section an effort shall be made to explain briefly the actual working of the institution of the family in Islam, its structure, principles and rules.

Marriage and Divorce

Marriage, as a social institution, is essentially a civil contract. And as a civil contract it rests on the same footing as other contracts. Its validity depends on the capacity of the contracting

parties, which according to Islamic law, consists in having majority (bulugh) and discretion. Mutual consent and public declaration of the marriage contract are its essentials. The law does not insist on any particular form in which this contract is entered into or on any specific religious ceremony, although there are different traditional forms prevalent amongst the Muslims in different parts of the world and it is regarded advisable to conform to them. As far as the Shariah is concerned, the validity of the marriage depends on proposition on one side (ijab) and acceptance (QubuI) on the other. This offer and the acceptance can take place directly between the parties, or through an agent (Wakil). In a traditional Muslim marriage the bride's consent is procured through her representative. Normally there are at least two witnesses to this matrimonial contract, entered into at a family ceremony. There is also a dower (mahr) which husband pays to the wife and which is for her sole and exclusive use and benefit. This last (i.e. dower) is an important part of the scheme, but it is not essential for the legality of the marriage that its amount must be pre-fixed. As such its absence would not render the marriage invalid, although husband is expected to pay it according to custom.

Being a civil contract, the parties retain their personal rights as against each other as well as against others. The power to dissolve the marriage-tie rests with both parties and specified forms have been laid down for that.

Marriage in Islam is not a temporary union and is meant for the entire span of life. Dissolution of marriage is, however, permitted if it fails to serve its objectives and has irretrievably broken down.[52]

Family arbitration is resorted to before final dissolution. This has been laid down in the Quran and the Sunnah. If this fails, then steps are taken for dissolution of the marriage. There are three forms of dissolution: divorce by the husband (talaq), separation sought by the wife (KhuIa) and dissolution of the marriage by a court of an arbiter. Detailed laws and by-laws have been laid down by the Quran and the Sunnah in respect of these and have been codified in the fiqh literature to regulate different aspects of marriage and family life.

Muslim marriage is usually a contracted marriage. Although marriage is primarily a relationship between the spouses, it, in fact, builds relationships between two families, and even more. That is why other members of the family, particularly the parents of the spouses, play a much more positive role in it. Consent of the bride and the bridegroom is essential, in fact, indispensable.[53] Despite the fact that free mixing of the sexes is forbidden, it is permitted for the intending partners in marriage to see each other before the marriage, what however stands out prominently is that marriage in Muslim society is not merely a private arrangement between the husband and the wife. That is why the whole family contributes effectively towards its arrangement, materialisation and fulfillment.[54]

The Way Marriage is Contracted

No specific ceremony is prescribed for marriage. In principle it has been stressed that marriage should take place publicly. Other members of society should know of this development, preferably in a way that has been adopted by the society as its usage ('urf) Normally the Nikah (contract of marriage) takes place in a social gathering where members of both the families and other friends and relatives gather. Nikah can be performed by any person. Usually in Muslim society there are persons known as Qadi who discharge this responsibility. In the Nikah-sermon they recite from the Quran and the Sunnah and invite the spouses to a life of God-consciousness, purity, mutual love and loyalty and social responsibility. Then the marriage is contracted wherein ijab (proposal) and QubuI (acceptance) are made before the witnesses. After the Nikah the bride moves to the bridegroom's house and both begin this new chapter of their life. After the consummation of

the marriage, the bridegroom holds a feast for the relatives and friends. The real purpose of these gatherings and feasts is to make the event a social function and to let the society know of it and participate in it. The Prophet has recommended the people to hold these celebrations with simplicity and to share each others joy. He said:

"The best wedding is that upon which the least trouble and expense is bestowed."[55] And that: "The worst of feasts are those marriage-feasts to which the rich are invited and the poor left out. And he who refuses to accept an invitation to a marriage feast verily disobeys God and His Prophet."[55]

The Structure of a Muslim Family

The structure of the family is three fold. The first and the closest consists of the husband, the wife, their children, their parents who live with them, and servants, if any.[56] The next group, the central fold of the family, consists of a number of close relatives, whether they live together or not, who have special claims upon each other, who move freely inside the family, with whom marriage is forbidden and between whom there is no hijab (veil). These are the people who also have prior claim on the wealth and resources of a person, in life as well as in death (as beneficiaries, known as in matter of inheritance 'sharers', the first line of inheritors). The crucial thing in this respect is that they are regarded as Mahram, those with whom marriage is prohibited. This constitutes the real core of the family, sharing each other's joys, sorrow, hopes and fears. This relationship emerges from consanguinity, affinity and foster-nursing.[57] Relations based on con sanguinity include (a) father, mother, grandfather, grandmother and other direct ascendants; (b) direct descendants that is, sons, daughters, grandsons, grand-daughters etc; (c) relations of the second degree (such as brothers, sisters and their descendants). (d) father's or mother's sisters (not their daughter or other descendants).

Those based on affinity include (i) mother-in-law, father-in-law, grandmother-in-law, grand-father-in-law; (ii) wife's daughters, husband's sons or their grand or great grand daughters or sons respectively; (iii) son's wife, son's son's wife, daughter's husband, and (iv) step-mothers (step-father). With some exceptions the same relations are forbidden through fosternursing. (al-ridaah).

This is the real extended family and the nucleus of relationships.[58] All those relations who are outside this fold constitute the outer periphery of the family. They, too, have their own rights and obligations, as is borne out by the fact that a number of them have been included in the second and third lines of inheritors. The general structure of the family is presented in a diagram on the next page.

The Position of Man and Woman

In the internal organisation of the family, a man is in the position of the head and the over-all supervisor. In fact it is the eldest member of the extended family who occupies the position of the head. A man's major responsibilities lie outside the family. He is to support the family economically and materially, he has to look after the relations of the family with the rest of the society, economy and policy and he has to take care of the demands of internal discipline within the family. A woman's major responsibilities lie within the family. Here too, the eldest woman is regarded as the centre of the family organisation but within each circle and fold the relative central position is enjoyed by that woman who constitutes its core. A spectrum of mutual rights and responsibilities has been evolved in such a way that balanced relationships are developed between all. The Quran says.

"Men are in charge of woman, because Allah has made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their wealth (for supporting them and the family)".[59]

"And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over them according to what is equitable, and men have a degree (of advantage) over them, Allah is Mighty, Wise."[60]
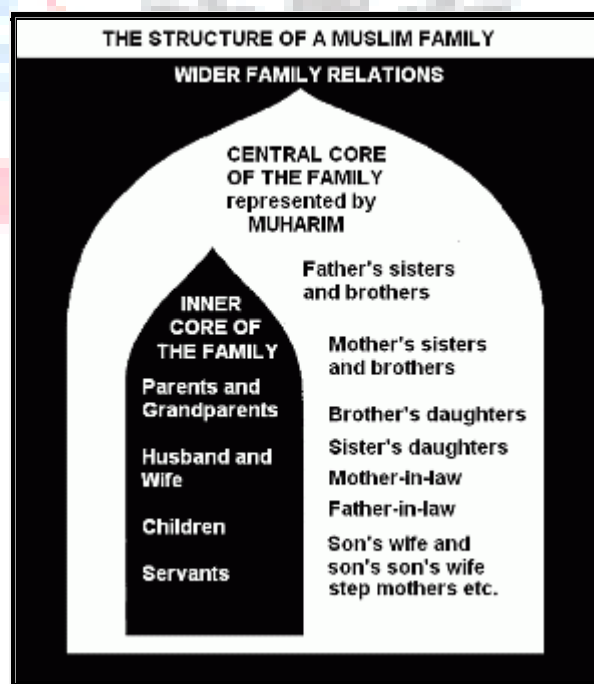
This is in the interests of proper organisation and management within the family. There is equality in rights. There is demarcation of responsibilities.

Man has been made head of the family so that order and discipline are maintained. Both are enjoined to discharge their respective functions with justice and equity.

The question of equality or inequality of the sexes has often been raised. This issue is, however, the product of a certain cultural and legal context, and is realty not relevant to the Islamic context where the equality of men and women as human beings has been divinely affirmed and legally safeguarded. There is differentiation of roles and responsibilities and certain arrangements have been made to meet the demands of organisations and institutions not on the basis of superiority or inferiority of the sexes but in the lights of the basic facts of life and the needs of the society.[61] Every role is important in its own right and each person is to be judged according to the responsibilities assigned to him or her. Their roles are not competitive but complementary.

The Family and Society

The Family is a part of the Islamic social order. The society that Islam wants to establish is not a sensate, sex-ridden society. It establishes an ideological society, with a high level of moral awareness, strong commitment to the ideal of Khilafah and purposive orientation of all human behaviour. Its discipline is not an imposed discipline, but one that flows out of every individual's commitment to the values and ideals of Islam. In this society a high degree of social responsibility prevails. The entire system operates in a way that strengthens and fortifies the family and not otherwise.

THE STRUCTURE OF A MUSLIM FAMILY

WIDER FAMILY RELATIONS

CENTRAL CORE OF THE FAMILY represented by MUHARIM

INNER CORE OF THE FAMILY

Parents and Grandparents

Husband and Wife

Children

Servants

Father's sisters and brothers

Mother's sisters and brothers

Brother's daughters

Sister's daughters

Mother-in-law

Father-in-law

Son's wife and son's son's wife step mothers etc.

The Family is protected by prohibiting sex outside marriage. Fornication (Zina) as such has been forbidden and made a punishable offence. All roads that lead to this evil are blocked and

whatever paves the way towards it is checked and eliminated. That is why promiscuity in any form is forbidden. The Islamic system of Hijab is a wide-ranging system which protects the family and closes those avenues that lead towards illicit sex or even indiscriminate contact between the sexes in society. It prescribes essential rules and regulations about dress, modes of behaviour, rules of contract between the sexes and a number of other questions that are central or ancillary to it.[62]

The finer qualities of life have been given every encouragement, but they have, been torn from their carnal or sensate context and oriented towards what is noble and good in human life. A number of preventive measures have been taken to protect the family from influences that may corrupt or weaken it a moral and social climate. Some of these measures are in the nature of moral persuasions, others take the farm of social rules and sanctions; and same take the form of law whose violation entails exemplary punishments. All these protect the institution of the family and enable it to play its positive role in the making of Islamic society.

Marriage and the family in Islam should be studied and understood in the context of the scheme of life Islam wants to establish. They cannot be understood in isolation. The concept of man and the family which Islam gives is in conflict with the concept of man and the family that is prevalent in the West today. We do not want to be apologetic at all. We refuse to accept the allegedly value-neutral approach that willy-nilly fashions the life and perspective of man in the secular culture of the West today. We think the disintegration of the family in the West is, in parts, a result of confusion about the place and the role of the family in society and about the purpose of life itself. If the objectives and values of life are not set right, further disintegration of this and other institutions cannot be prevented. The tragedy of our times is that changes are being imposed upon man under the stress of technological and other external developments and the entire process of change is becoming somewhat non-discretionary and involuntary. In an age in which freedom is worshipped like god, man is being deprived of the most important freedom - the freedom to choose his ideals, values, institutions and patterns of life. One of the greatest tasks that lie ahead is restoration and rehabilitation of this freedom of choice and its judicious and informed use to set the house of humanity in order. Non-human and amoral forces be they of history or technology must not be allowed to decide for man. Man should decide for himself as vicegerent of God on the earth. Otherwise, whatever be our achievements in the fields of science and technology, we shall drift towards a new form of slavery, and man's forced abdication of his real role in the world. This we all must resist at least all those people who believe in God and as the existence of a moral order in the Universe.

Christian perspectives on marriage and family life

1. INTRODUCTION

The last four decades witnessed a tremendous and wide-ranging change in family patterns in Western societies. Among these changes are phenomena such as growing rates of divorce, out-of-wedlock births and father absence due to globalisation as well as same-sex marriages or civil unions and cohabitation of people without a marriage contract (Browning 2001:243). Western societies are typified as "high-divorce societies". Furthermore, the number of couples cohabiting has increased eightfold since 1970 in the United States and it is fair to conclude that the situation is similar in other Western societies. Gill (1997:81) expresses the concern of many Christians with his observation that we are "faced with a rapid decline in

two-parent families, a rise in both teenage pregnancies and abortions, the spread of HIV/Aids, vociferous gay activism and widespread confusion about the legal and social limits of pornography and obscenity."

In a well documented article Browning (2001:4) finds that the phenomena of modernization and globalization are at the root of these disrupting forces in patterns of family-life. Should these developments be regarded as immoral or as normal cultural patterns in a changing society? Are they merely an indication of changes in family life or can they be regarded as part of a crisis?[1]

In another equally well researched article, Browning (2001:247) refers to recent publications dealing with these questions and concludes that there has been a worldwide transformation in the attitudes within the social sciences towards these family changes since the late 1980s. He says that sociologists, psychologists and economists are much more willing to acknowledge nowadays that these developments have been damaging to large numbers of people. Changes in family patterns have contributed to the declining wellbeing of children and they have been concomitant with the "feminisation of poverty" (the shift of poverty from the elderly to single mothers and their children) as well as the "feminisation of kinship" (the trend towards women sustaining families alone, without the help of fathers and husbands). Although most social scientists now concur that these changes have been costly to individuals and society, they disagree about whether they can be reversed or whether they must simply be accepted in the hope of mitigating their negative consequences. Furthermore, Browning (2001:247) identifies three kinds of responses to this phenomenon in Christian ethical circles. These are liberal theological views that perceive these patterns as normal and in line with modern human rights sensitivities, the conservative theological view which regards them as immoral and contrary to biblical commandments and the Catholic view which is also conservative.[2]

The purpose of the article is to deal with these patterns from a Reformed perspective especially a revelation-historical hermeneutical approach. With regard to Christian ethical research and assuming a Christian point of view this approach entails the following line of reasoning:

• The recognition of the divine inspiration of Scripture and its authority for Christian faith and life.

• The unity of the biblical message and the presence of continuous theological themes such as for example the covenant, kingdom of God, people of God, redemption and sanctification.

• The unfolding consistent revelation in the various genres of the biblical material against the background of the historical and cultural context of this material.

• The reading and understanding of a passage or text verse in Scripture within the framework of the whole revelation.

• The distinction between descriptive parts which narrates a certain historical happening or custom and the prescriptive parts that establish ethical principles and norms for modern-day conduct.

• The possibility to formulate clear principles from the prescriptive parts but also derived ethical principles from the underlying theological themes and unfolding revelation.

Taking this position I agree with the thesis of Browning (2001:14) that these modern developments in the field of family ethics are destructive and would argue that the Christian

view of marriage and family can change marriage and family in the contemporary Western societies for the better. The central theoretical argument of this article is that the biblical perspectives on marriage and family-life perceive these developments as a crisis in society which should be dealt with by Christians and churches. The biblical perspectives not only offer a clear indication of healthy marriage and family life, but also entail that Christian attitude in marriage and family life can be a remedy to the damage caused by the new patterns.

The article will firstly present the most important biblical perspectives on marriage and family and secondly it will expound the implications of Christian attitude for these relationships.[3] It will indicate that marriage and family together form a unique societal sphere of close relations. This unique sphere can be explained as a sphere of love, stewardship, self-denial and obedience and restoring this sphere will enrich family life at large and could provide a positive solution to the emerging crisis of our time.

2. MARRIAGE

The biblical idea of marriage and family along the revelation-historical way of reasoning has the creational order as its foundation (Köstenberger 2004:31). Several principles arising from the creation of humankind have a determining meaning for the construction of family life in a biblical sense. The narrative in Gn 1-3 can be seen as the prototype of marriage and although other forms of marriages are described in the Bible, a revelation-historical survey of the biblical data regarding marriage reveals that the creational order should remain the ultimate test for this relationship. Both Jesus and the apostles refer to this order in their teachings about the essence of marriage and the responsibilities of husband and wife. Köstenberger (2004:31 & 61) provides an extensive explanation of the relevant biblical material in his recent publication and I consider it unnecessary to deal with all the material in this article again. For the purposes of this article a short summary of the main principles regarding marriage and the important ethical norms will be provided. These are:

• God establishes marriage as a heterosexual monogamous marriage - an exclusive relationship between one man and one woman (Douma 1993:113). Although polygamy was a custom in Old Testament times as it is evident in the lives of Lamech (Gn 4:19), Ezau (Gn 26:34), Abraham, David and Solomon, monogamy was the creational order. The historical accounts about polygamy must be seen as descriptive material but the creational order as prescriptive. This principle also forms the foundation of marital relations in the New Testament (1 Chr 7:2; Eph 5:28-33; Col 3:19 & Tt 2:4). Polygamy is introduced in a descriptive way as a result of the fall while monogamy is introduced as prescriptive, in other words as the will of God. This creational order also excludes any notion of same-sex marriages.

• The purpose of marriage is primarily mutual help and guidance (Eph 5:23-25), physical and spiritual fulfilment and the prevention of immorality (1 Chr 7:1-7). According to Köstenberger (2004:98) procreation was also considered as an integral part of God's plan for marriage. He refers among other things to Genesis 1:28, 9:1 and 35:11. However, this point of view poses some ethical problems, because the childless marriage was not perceived as inferior. It seems that procreation is of secondary importance because a childless marriage can also be a blessing (Douma 1993:123).[4] A couple can even choose not to have children in circumstances where the forming of a family may be detrimental to the well-being of the marriage or the society. The view of Hauerwas (2002:512) that Christians are called to marriage in order to build up the church is also problematic, even in the context of the remainder of his article. The same can be said of the opinion of Douma (1996:253) that voluntary childlessness conflicts with God's intention for marriage. He maintains that those

who marry must be willing to have children. In my opinion, the view that the primary purpose of marriage is procreation, even for the sake of the church, reduces marriage to the sphere of the biological and inhibits the Christian to fulfil a responsible calling in society. When planning a family the well-being of the future children, the marital relation, the church and the society should be taken into account. For example, there will be no sense in having children and to subject them to a life of poverty and perennial despair. If it is ethically sound for a marital couple to plan the number of children, as Douma argues, they may also plan to have no children under certain circumstances. However, this planning should be done with responsibility in the light of the broad biblical perspective on marriage and family and the divine vocation of a family.

• The marital relation should be an intense relation on the spiritual and physical terrain. Husband and wife become one flesh and this means that two people share in each other's lives in a complete and dedicated manner. But marriage is more than sexuality. Marriage implies a deep spiritual relation because it is a triangular relation between man, wife and Christ (Eph 5:21-33). It is also more than a mere legal contract. It is a covenant between man and wife before God which is a harbinger of the covenant between God and his people (Douma 1993:114). This covenantal character of marriage entails that it is a sacred bond that is characterised by permanence, sacredness, intimacy, mutuality and exclusiveness Köstenberger, (2004:91). Douma (1996:266) is correct in his assessment that according to Scripture living together as man and wife always affects the broader community. Taking a woman as wife and a man as husband involved promises and duties toward God and man which were sanctioned before sexual union occurred.

• Marriage grows out of love between husband and wife and is maintained by love and faithfulness. Only love will make it possible for a couple to be compassionate, caring, committed, self-denying, self-sacrificing and forgiving. It is therefore difficult to found the practice of arranged marriages for whatever cause on the biblical message. Arranged marriages occurred in biblical history but never as prescriptive material for marriage ethics. For an ethical evaluation of arranged marriages the hermeneutical distinction of descriptive and prescriptive material is important to keep in mind.

• Man and woman were created in the image of God. This image of God founds the human dignity of human beings (Vorster 2004:93). However, this is not human dignity in the sense of inherent goodness, but a dignity, an esteem that God gives to humans (Ps 8). Montgomery (1999:7) indicates that God gives this dignity and esteem precisely because of sin. From the likeness flow the responsibilities of people in this sinful dispensation. In spite of total depravity, God dignifies humans so that the sinful person in a broken world can act with dignity (Velema 1980:33; König 1993:61). This dignity comes to the fore in that God gives people duties (Heyns 1982:388).

• Children bear the same image and have the same human dignity. The human dignity of children is also founded on their creation in the image of God. This idea is central to anthropology in biblical faith. Fedler (2006:83) summarises the meaning of this concept with his conclusion that being created in the image of God means that God holds human beings in a very high regard. No human life is disposable. No human life can be used merely as a means to achieve some other end. Moreover, to be created in the image of God means that we are created to live in fellowship with God and human beings. Children share fully in this profoundly high view of human life as found in Scripture.

• The creation in the image of God founds the basic equality between man and woman. Brueggeman (1997:452) says that the fact that human beings are created in the image of God means that they have male and female characteristics, so that the communal, intersexual

character of humankind is affirmed. The consequence of this point of view is that the equality brought about by the *imago dei* and the human's dominion over creation, is most important in the relation husband and wife.

• However, equality does not do away with the functional differentiation between men and women. God created male and female equally with only a functional differentiation in the sense that they have different obligations.[5] The male person is the head of the household and should care for the family. The word used for "head" in Ephesians 5:23 is the same as the word used for Christ as the "head" of the Church. The word must be understood in view of the metaphor "Christ as the head and the Church as the body". Just as the head invigorates the body in an organic sense, Christ energizes the Church by way of the bestowment of the gifts of the Spirit. He is not the head in the sense of someone being the head of a corporation or the principal of a school. The husband is thus the head in a spiritual, "organic" sense. He does not rule with androgenic authority but should inspire, guide and being an example of obedience to God. His wife should assist him with the human family - not on the basis of subordination but of co-operation, as a help and a partner, because she bears the same image of God. But as Yahweh's partners, both have the same function in creation. Both are bestowed with the gifts of the Spirit and should use their gifts to fulfil their obligations regarding marriage and family. Any notion of the subordination of women in marriage cannot find support from a revelation-historical understanding of marriage in the context of Biblical theology.

• The divine foundation of marriage means that divorce mostly runs against the will of God. Furthermore, divorce violates the promise to commitment and the covenantal character of marriage which was witnessed by God and other people (Brueggemann 1997:452). It constitutes the breaking of a vow. Therefore, God forbids adultery in the seventh commandment. This prohibition includes divorce. But the seventh commandment and parallel passages should not be interpreted in a literalist way because God also made provision for divorce in certain circumstances. One reason for divorce can be when the man finds something indecent in his wife (Dt 24:1). Due to the fundamental equality between husband and wife this provision will also apply to the wife finding something indecent in her husband. This "indecency" probably refers to sexual immorality and it concurs with the teaching of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount which reads: "It has been said, 'anyone who divorces his wife must give her a certificate of divorce.' But I tell you that anyone who divorces his wife, except for marital unfaithfulness, causes her to become an adulteress, and anyone who marries the divorced woman commits adultery" (Mt 5:31-32). Adultery signifies the breaking of an obedient relation with God and another human being (Bosman 2004:274). It has both religious and ethical consequences and serves therefore as a ground for annulment of a marriage. But other reasons for divorce can also be gathered from other biblical themes read within the context of revelation history. Wilful desertion can also be regarded as a valid reason for divorce (1 Cor 7:15-16), because desertion is *de facto* a breaking of a promise and of the covenant. Another reason for divorce will emerge when the actions of one partner inhibits the other partner to be obedient to God (Ac 4:19-20). These passages need further ethical reflection. Firstly, it does not mean that adultery must always lead to divorce. Forgiveness and reconciliation are also possible and must be pursued. Secondly, remarriage should be possible after repentance and forgiveness. If not, other teachings of the Scripture regarding forgiveness and reconciliation will be violated. Thirdly, when the conduct of one partner - for example addiction to alcohol and drugs, psychopathy, violence, sexual abuse and constant humiliation - inhibits the other partner's relation with God, divorce may be permissible when all other remedies have failed. However, Douma (1996:275) warns correctly that divorce is always regrettable and surely remains an extreme measure.

3. FAMILY

With a literalist historical approach to the biblical material regarding family and family life a scholar will be able to describe the Christian family as a patriarchal family in the strict ancient sense. This idea determines the description of the family in some circles of conservative Christian communities indeed. However, when bringing the whole message of the Bible and revelation-history into play the picture changes. Then it becomes clear that the concept of a family is used in the biblical material in both an immanent concrete sense as well as in a spiritualist and transcendent sense (Moynagh 1995:373). Each of these usages influences the other deeply. On the one hand, the family concept is used to describe the relation husband, wife and child. But the family is also used as a metaphor to describe the spiritual covenantal relation between God and his people. The people of God are a family, with God acting as Father and the believers as his children. The reason for this usage is that the relation between God and a believer is as close and loving as the relation between father and child in a family relationship. On the other hand the relation God-believer provides moral principles for family life. Moynagh researches the relevant biblical material from this revelation-historical hermeneutical point of departure and then concludes that this material actually emphasises several principles. His opinion as well as other conclusions that can be drawn from this metaphor can be summarised as follows:

• The family is deeply embedded in the idea of the covenant. The formula of the covenant expressed in Genesis 17:7 describes the essence of this relationship (Rendtorff 1998:11). God is the God of Israel and their descendants and they will be his people. This covenantal relationship contains promises and instructions. The covenant develops along familial lines. God promises his people that He will be their God but also the God of their children. The children are included in the covenant and this inclusion is signified by circumcision. The promise of the covenant, sealed by the initiating rite of circumcision, addresses itself to the solidarity of the family unit (Palmer Robertson 1980:152). The children thus have a special status which requires special treatment. This idea is equally important in the New Testament dispensation, as can be seen in Jesus' special concern for the children and the fact that baptism replaces circumcision as the sign of the covenant. The doctrine of salvation and especially the biblical view that children share fully in the salvation in Christ complement this idea. Children are also justified by faith and receive the gift of faith just as much as adult believers. These gifts of grace are signified by the sacrament of baptism. In the theology of Paul baptism is seen as the baptism in the death and resurrection of Christ (2 Cor 5:14-15) (Ridderbos 1971:225).

• In the family of God relationships are characterised by equality. This observation corresponds with the implication of people being created in the image of God. Husband, wife and children are essentially equal and have the same rights and responsibilities before God. Therefore, this equality must be expressed and nurtured in a family relationship.

• In the family of God people are equal before God but that does not entail uniformity. Just as the people of God are blessed with different gifts, members of a family are blessed with diversity in nature, talents, spiritual gifts and customs. The diversity does not inhibit the equality but should enrich it. In the functioning of this unique community the individuals should honour each other's sameness and otherness on the foundation of their inherent equality before God. This principle implies mutual submission (Moynagh 1995:373).

• In the family of God people share their spiritual and material gifts. Therefore, a family ought to be a sharing community in a spiritual, emotional and material sense.

• In the family of God believers reflect unity and thus models family solidarity. Solidarity implies mutual compassion, responsibilities, obedience within the culture of functional

differentiation between husband, wife and child. The *"household codes"* reflect this functional differentiation in the broader framework of solidarity (Eph 5:21-6:9).

4. AN AUTOGENOUSLY INSTITUTION

Contrary to the idea of Plato and Aristotle that the family is a component of the state, the biblical revelation-history teaches that God established different spheres of authority due to the fall and the maintenance of order in society. While the Graeco-Roman culture defines the family within the framework of the state, the New Testament defines the family within the framework of the covenant and kingdom of God. In the Graeco-Roman concept the family exists for the benefit of the state and derived its moral principles from this prerequisite. In the New Testament the family is seen as part of the kingdom of God and derives its moral basis from God's commands. The smallest circle of authority that God grants is thus the authority in the circle of the family. God creates man and woman and the family and he provides clear principles for the function, purpose and management of the family. These principles are reinforced in the New Testament, especially with regard to Christ's reconciliatory work that forms the basis of a good marriage and good family relationships.

On the foundation of this principle, the Reformed philosophy developed a pluralistic societal philosophy in which societal contexts each exercise its own authority alongside each other (Stackhouse 1995:26). Within this philosophy two kinds of societal contexts are identified namely institutional contexts and free associations. Institutional contexts comprise those that God Himself instated, including marriage, family, the church and the state. Free associations are societal contexts that developed historically such as the school, political parties, unions, societies and clubs, etcetera (Van der Walt 1999:104). In this respect the family is characterised as a societal relation in its own right with moral instructions to the husband, wife and children (Whang 1998:91). The fulfilment of these obligations serves not only God but also the well-being of this societal relation which then functions as a sphere of authority in its own right.

Therefore, the family must be viewed in Christian ethics as an autogenously institution. The family does not belong to the state or any other institution. Marriage and family relations should not be controlled by other societal spheres such as the civil authority, the church, the extended family or the tribe.

On the other hand, while the family is a sphere of authority in its own right, it functions within the boundaries of the laws of the civil authority. For the well-being of society and for the protection of the rights of men, women and children before the law, a civil authority has to define and recognise a family. Spheres of authority in the reformed idea of societal relations function independently, each with an own moral basis and destiny, but they are also dependent on each other. Although the family is independent it can never be above the law.

Therefore the family should also be regarded as a public institution. Although no instructions can be found in biblical times that marriage could only be regarded as a marriage when it was officiated by an organ of the civil authorities, marriage was also not viewed as a private matter. This truth is proved by the fact that the extended family as well as fellow believers were deeply involved (Douma 1993:133). As a result of the development of societal spheres of authority in history, the mutual dependence and interaction between the various spheres of authority shaped the idea that marriage must also be a public institution.

In this instance I would argue as follows: in the case of Christians the marriage should be a marriage "in the Lord" and the local congregation should act as witnesses that this is indeed he case. The promises of the future husband and wife to a life-long commitment are made to

God with the fellow believers as witnesses. The family also acts as witnesses. While the parties in a marriage and the future family that develops out of this marriage have certain fundamental human rights, which should be protected by the civil authorities and other spheres of authority, the official recognition of a marriage by these societal structures is very important. Therefore marriage should be a legal union in terms of the law of the civil authority.

The modern custom of cohabitation can therefore be questioned from a Christian ethical perspective. When a couple disregards the involvement of the fellow Christians as witnesses of the vow, the civil authorities and the extended family, a very important part of the Christian concept of a marital relation is neglected. Cohabitation also neglects the importance of a vow. It is very interesting to note that this deficiency becomes apparent when the social implications of cohabitation are evaluated. Some trends in modern societies seem to prove the value of the Christian message. Browning (2001:10) refers to research that established that in the United States a significant portion of children born from cohabiting relationships are on the average much more fragile than children from legal marriages. He also points out that studies conducted in Sweden about cohabiting couples with one child indicate that the dissolution rate is three times as high for them as it is for legally married couples with one child. A couple's legal commitment to the formal institution of marriage based on the vow of a life-long dedication appears to be an integral part to the stability of the union.

Taking these principles into account, the implications of a Christian attitude for marriage and family-life can be investigated. A Christian attitude entails that marriage and family should be spheres of love, stewardship, self-denial and obedience to God.

5. A SPHERE OF LOVE

Love manifests itself in terms of family life as a responsible partnership between husband and wife as well as in parenthood and childhood. Responsible partnership is rooted in the principle that "a man will leave his father and mother and will be united with his wife, and they will become one flesh" (Gn 2:24). The other biblical principles guiding the relationship in marriage determine that this phrase "united with his wife" cannot be limited to a sexual relationship but rather that it points to a loving partnership that should materialize fully in all spheres of life. Another facet of this partnership is that husband and wife are equal but with a functional differentiation. This differentiation also pertains to their respective obligations in marriage.

The *household codes* comprise the leading principles in this partnership (Eph 5:22-33). Due to the fact that marriage is a depiction of the relationship between Christ and his church, husbands should love their wives and should be willing to make sacrifices to the benefit of the marital relationship. Furthermore, they should not exasperate their children and should bring them up in the training and instruction of the Lord. Wives must love and honour their husbands and should be examples of purity and reverence (1 Pt 3:1-7).

This partnership is the only sphere of human sexuality. Sexual relations cannot be viewed as a private matter between two individuals for the purpose of the fulfilment of intrinsic sexual desires. Hauerwas (2002:484) comments correctly that the claim that sex is a matter of private morality is a political claim dependent upon a liberal political ethos. In a recent thorough study of sexuality conducted within the framework of human dignity, Vorster (2004:893) concludes that sexuality is essentially a component of marriage because of the fact that it is rooted in multidimensional relations - the relation between husband and wife and the relation of both of them with Christ. It is also deeply embedded in the human dignity of human beings due to their creation in the image of God. Therefore sexuality runs deeper

than the physical features that allow the reproductive function (McCormick & Connors 2002:170).

Sexuality is more than *eros*. It pertains to the deepest levels of our personality, entails a psychological spiritual and biological dimension, influences a human being's every act and determines our total response to life. Sexuality is therefore *eros* and *agape*. Where *eros* and *agape* merge, the highest form of love emerges. Therefore, sexuality without love and the security of the marital relation can be a violation of human dignity. This biblical perspective on sexuality reaffirms the notion that sexuality can only function in its true meaning within the confines of a marital relation which is a covenantal relation characterised by faithfulness and permanence. In their sexual relations husband and wife express their mutual love, but also their mutual partnership in the body of Christ (1 Cor 6:12-20). Their bodies are part of the body of Christ and loveless sex violates this spiritual relationship.

Responsible parenthood entails the loving, nurturing and teaching of children by both father and mother. Scripture provides many principles and norms with regard to the purpose of Christian instruction within the confinements of the covenant. In this respect also the book of Köstenberger (2004:104) provides valuable information. In broad terms the task of parents has to do with the great commandment. Parents should teach their children to love God and to love their fellow human beings. This major teaching further comprises certain specific purposes and these are adequately summarised by Köstenberger in his discussion of the relevant passages as found in the book Proverbs. The purpose of Christian instruction to children within the Christian family should be to teach them the attributes of:

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The fifth commandment is the foundation of responsible childhood. Children should honour their parents and be obedient. According to Douma (1996:105) this honour has several components. Children should take to heart the instruction of their parents, they should love them and they should be faithful. This obligation to honour parents never falls away - not even when the children reach adulthood.

6. A SPHERE OF STEWARDSHIP

Life is religion. This basic Reformed dictum unfolds the conviction that Christians are always and everywhere in the active service of God. They serve God in politics, culture and economics, on the field of sport and recreation and in business and their daily occupation. Every action is an action in the service and to the honour of God. The reign of God and the present reality of the Kingdom implies that there is no neutral ground or area under own control. This truth determines marriage and family. Christians are first and foremost stewards of each other in their marital and familial relations.

This stewardship in the household transforms the human inclination to be egoistic and selfish into a spirit of giving. When people start to share their emotions, feelings, hopes, gifts and talents, experiences and fears, they engage in positive, building of relationships.

Stewardship is a unique Christian ethical principle. It reminds the individual to be there, to build, to share, to provide and to be *co passio* (compassionate). This principle brought a fresh breeze into the family structure of the Graeco-Roman world of biblical times. Browning (2001:14) is correct with his assessment that Early Christianity fractured and qualified the honour-shame codes of Graeco-Roman life by celebrating male servanthood rather than male dominance, by applying the golden rule of neighbourly love to relationships between husband

and wife, by requiring males to renounce their sexual privileges with female slaves and young boys, and by elevating the status of women. This is still true in the modern world. The stewardship quality in Christian marriage and family life can break the many negative trends of our time that have been mentioned earlier in this article.

7. A SPHERE OF SELF-DENIAL

Stewardship can be effective only when it is accompanied by the attitude of self-denial. Ephesians 5:21 expresses the calling to self-denial in the Christian marriage and family. This passage reads: "Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ". Some texts regard this passage as part of the pericope Ephesians 5:6-21 which deals with the general relation between believers as part of their Christian conduct (Aland 1965:676). Others regard it as part of the pericope Ephesians 5:22-33 which will then mean that the call to mutual submission comes specifically to husband and wife. Conservative scholars usually tend to hold on to the first meaning because the second opinion contradicts in their view the direct call upon wives that they have to submit to their husbands. More progressive scholars are of the opinion that the second interpretation is more to the point and indicates that this passage clearly runs against any justification of a patriarchal family structure.

However, the question can rightly be asked whether one's interpretation makes any difference. Foulkes (1968:154) holds on to the first opinion but says that Paul knew from experience that the secret of maintaining joyful fellowship in the community was the order and discipline that came from the willing submission of one person to another. Pride of position and the authoritarian spirit are destructive for fellowship. The importance to Paul of the whole concept of submission is evident from the use of the word more than twenty times in his Epistles. Surely even when one perceives this instruction as pertaining to all the social relations between Christians it will address husband and wife and also parents and children. What does this instruction mean? In my opinion it teaches Christians:

• to be constantly aware of the fact that they are living in particular relations with other people,
• that people are differently gifted by God for the purpose of fulfilling a calling in the Kingdom,
• that other people's gifts can enrich my life and could change my life for the better,
• that Christians should submit themselves to each other in order to be enriched by the gifts and talents of others,
• that there must be a willingness in the Christian fellowship to serve any, to learn from any, to be corrected by any, regardless of age, sex, class or any other division (Foulkes 1968:154).

For a husband and wife this instruction entails that they have to be submissive to each other in the spheres of marriage where they are differently gifted by the Holy Spirit. For example, if the wife has the gift of teaching, the husband should leave the basic instruction of the children to his wife. In this way the basic functional differentiation in the marital relationship can be employed to enrich the marriage. Although the basic function of the husband to be the head of the household and the wife to assist are fixed, the execution of these functions can differ from household to household. The basic functions are fixed for husband and wife but the execution thereof depends on the variety of gifts bestowed on each of them. Therefore, functions can also differ from household to household within the broader framework of the creational order of functional differentiation. The function of the mother in one household may differ from the function of a mother in another household because they are gifted in different ways.

The willingness to learn form each other is the essence of self-denial in Christian relations and especially in family relations. But self-denial also has other important implications. It means that family members should be willing to sacrifice. The father may sometimes sacrifice promotion at work for the sake of his wife and children. The mother may sacrifice the ideal to have another child or to follow a professional career for the sake of the well-being rest of the family. Children should sometimes be willing to sacrifice opportunities for the sake of family interests. Family members have to be willing to sacrifice material gains if these prospects infringe upon the happiness of the family. Self-denial is the key to a compassionate family.

8. A SPHERE OF OBEDIENCE

Marriage and family are indispensable components of God's intention for fallen humanity. He carries redemption and renewal by way of his coming Kingdom and the covenant with people and their children. Obedience to God encompasses the totality of the life of a believer. Therefore, the family should be seen as a sphere where the reign and authority of God should prevail. The reign of Christ stretches to the deepest corners of this intimate social relation. Marriage and family life in Christian circles cannot be determined by nature or culture but only by the moral teachings of Scripture.

Post-modern culture challenges this idea. There is a tendency in Christian circles to condone modern customs regarding marriage and family and to relativise the distinctiveness of Christian morality. Gill (1997:86) detects and laments this tendency in the well-known 1995 report of the Church of England's Board for Social Responsibility (1995). He warns against the "baptising of a purely secular agenda". Still he regards certain modern trends as not inherently sinful in terms of Christian virtues but "less than ideal". According to him these are childlessness through spontaneous sterility, faithful cohabitation and faithful homosexual relationships.

However, in my opinion this "less than ideal approach" with respect to faithful cohabitation and homosexual relationships must eventually also lead to a "baptism of the secular" because it compromises the authority of God and the reign of Christ over marriage and family. It will introduce a pragmatic, situation-oriented ethics that will in the end abolish Christian moral distinctiveness and pave the way for complete secularity. To my mind Christian churches today have the responsibility to proclaim the core values of marriage and family life and to protect this societal sphere even if it runs directly against the ethos of the new post-modernist worldview. To live according to the attitude of Christ means to be obedient to God in all spheres of life - also in marriage and family life in modern circumstances.

9. CONCLUSION

When marriage and family are seen together as the sphere in which the core characteristics of a Christian attitude prevail, modern negative trends in family life can be addressed. The sphere of love is the answer to so many broken homes with their hopelessness, loneliness and despair. Stewardship in family life reminds parents and their children that serving their family is part of their service in God's Kingdom. Self-denial opposes all forms of selfishness and transforms the receiving hand into a giving hand and the spirit of selfishness into compassion. In this way it provides the bonding material for good interpersonal relations in the household. Obedience to God is not only the remedy for unhealthy families, but also the characteristic of a sound marriage and family that reflect the holiness of God and the beauty of his constant renewal of this broken and incomplete world.

Kinship: System in India

The system of kinship, that is, the way in which relations between individuals and groups are organised, occupies a central place in all human societies. Radcliffe-Brown (1964) insisted on the study of a kinship system as a field of rights and obligations and saw it as part of the social structure. Evans-Pritchard's study of the Nuer of the southern Sudan (1951) focused on kinship groups, particularly groups based on descent in the male line from known ancestor.

Morgan called them gens (clans). However, Morgan's view, along with that of McLennan and Sir Henry Maine, that the kinship systems should be equated with evolutionary law, is not favoured today. Kinship systems are not subject to cumulative evolution as the evolution of technology is Kinship systems cannot be ranked as better or worse, higher or lower. They simply represent alternative ways of doing things, namely, in terms of acknowledged rules and regulations regarding succession, inheritance and marriage.

Evans-Pritchard showed how gens functioned as political groups in Nuer society. He emphasised on the recruitment, perpetuation and functioning of such groups in Africa. Emphasis on interpersonal relations between individuals and groups is found in the study of kinship by Meyer Fortes. Thus, we can look at the total society and ask how it forms its kinship groups, and how they function.

We can look at the network of the relationships that bind individuals to each other in the 'web' of kinship. Kinship systems are also seen as methods of organising marriage relations between groups. Through marriage, Levi-Strauss (1969) observes, members are recruited to kinship groups.

A female is recruited as a wife, as a daughter-in-law and so on through her marriage to another group; and a male through his marriage is recruited as husband, son-in-law of his wife's parents. Thus, kinship group alliances are transacted through marriage.

Robin Fox (1967) writes:

"The study of kinship is the study of what he (man) does and why he does it, and the consequences of the adoption of one alternative rather than another". Fox further says: "The study of kinship is the study of what man does with these basic facts of life such as mating, gestation, parenthood, socialization, sibling ship, etc."

Four basic principles outlined by Fox regarding kinship are as follows:

1. The women have children.
2. The men impregnate the women.
3. The men usually exercise control.
4. Primary kins do not mate with each other.

In its commonest definition, kinship is simply the relations between 'kin', i.e., persons related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity as stated by Fox. However, it is difficult to define and find the 'real' consanguinity.

Generally, we remember people up to two to three generations. Thus, a consanguine is one who is defined by the society as a person related by real or supposed blood ties. However, blood relationship' in a genetic sense has not necessarily anything to do with it

We draw a distinction between 'pater' or legal father from the 'genitor' or actual biological father. In case of adoption also a child is treated as consanguine. A female becomes a consanguine after her marriage as soon as she bears a child. Consanguinity is thus a socially defined quality. Affines are married to consanguines, for example, in the case of levirate.

John Beattie [1974) provides an adequate explanation of kinship. According to him, the basic categories of biological relationship are available as a means of identifying and ordering social relations. Kinship provides categories for distinguishing between the people.

Hence, kinship categories are more social than jural or economic. The categories of kinship are used to define social relationships – distinct types of social behaviour and particular patterns of expectations, beliefs and values.

These social relations may be of authority and subordination, of economic exchange, of domestic cooperation, of ritual or ceremonial nature, and they may be enacted in many

different ways. In this way, kinship refers to the ways and means by which social ordering takes place.

But kinship is also a principle of succession, inheritance of property, bifurcation and divisions. A couple of studies have revealed that 'factions' in Indian villages are found corresponding to castes, sub-castes, clans and even lineages. Kinship encompasses, therefore, a whole way of life.

It is necessary to know language, values and behaviour of people in a given society to understand its kinship system. Kinship provides a guide to a very great many of the social relationships in which a person is involved in his life.

It provides a way of transmitting status and property from one generation to the next. This is true about all societies irrespective of the levels of their technological and industrial advancement. Based on kinship we also find effective social groups even in modern democratic societies. Thus, realising kinship as a complex and elaborate system, Malinowski (1954) referred it as 'kinship algebra'.

Kinship Terminology:

Murdock (1949), while analysing the interrelation between kinship terminology and kinship behaviour, mentions two categories of kinship terms:

(1) Terms of address, and

(2) Terms of reference.

Terms of address form an integral part of the culturally patterned relationships between kinsmen. Terms of reference are linguistic symbols denoting one of the two statuses involved in each such relationship. Since any status is defined in terms of the culturally expected behaviour, there are a priori reasons for assuming a close functional congruity between the terms of reference and the relationship in which the denoted kinsmen interact. A close correlation has been found between the terminological classification of kindred or relatives and the social classification. But, the congruity between kinship terms and behaviour patterns is not absolute.

The gap between the two is due to the application of a single classificatory term to a variety of different relatives – for example, 'mother' to all the wives of the father. The kinship terms like 'uncle' and 'aunt' are unable to explain the proper relations unless they are specified in contextual terms.

'Uncle' can be referred to denote father's brother, mother's brother, father's sister's husband and so on. Kinship terminology is determined by several factors such as historical influences, differences in language, psychological processes, rules of marriage, etc.

Some of the important kinship terms defined by Lucy Mair (1984) are as follows:

Kindred:

Kindred are a body of persons, who are genea-logically linked to the ego. They may have common obligations to the ego.

Cognates:

All the people who are related by blood' in any way to an individual are known as cognates.

Affines:

Those who are related to a person by marriage are affines.

Corporate groups:

These are continuing property holding groups. Corporate groups are recruited by descent – patrilineal or agnatic and matrilineal or uterine kin.

Lineage:

A corporate group recruited by descent is called a lineage. There may be several lineages in a given clan.

Lateral:

It indicates the 'side' of the kinship group.

Lineal:

It refers to the 'line' of the kinship group.

Kinship in India:

Kinship in India can be analysed within family and beyond family separately as well as in terms of the nexus between the two. Kinship within family would include 'primary relatives' with the focus on intra-family relationships, which include husband and wife, father and son, mother and daughter, mother and son, father and daughter, elder and younger brother, elder and younger sister and brother and sister. These relationships are part of the same nuclear family, which is also referred as 'family of procreation'.

Kinship beyond family comprises of 'secondary' and 'tertiary' relatives. Murdock (1949) refers to eight 'primary' and 33 'secondary' relatives. Each secondary relative has primary relatives. The tertiary relatives number 151 possible kins, and there are also 'distant' relatives who are beyond the tertiary relatives.

In India, we have, generally speaking, 'clan exogamy' and 'caste endogamy'. A given caste has several clans, and a given clan has several lineages. The common ancestor of lineage members is usually an actual, remembered person, but the common ancestor of a clan is typically a legendary, supernatural entity. The members of a clan are spread over a given area, and hence they find themselves unable to have common interests or joint action.

A clan, however, provides generally a basis for corporate activity, common worship- On the basis of clan, eligibility for marriage within a given caste is determined. In many ways, more than clan-based primordiality, there is caste-ethnocentrism in regard to observance of rituals, performance of economic activities, mutual aid, etc. 'Feminal kin' and 'fictive kin' too provide basis for commonality of interests and allegiance.

It is noted that kinship is certainly a major basis for social organisation, but at the same time it is also a basis for division and dissension in regard to succession and inheritance of property. Hostility at times supersedes lineage unity. Fights between sons and grandsons, brothers and cousins have been experienced quite often. Sibling rivalry has also been observed.

Karve's Study of Kinship Organisation in India:

Iravati Karve (1953) undertakes a comparative analysis of four cultural zones with a view to trace out something like a regional pattern of social behaviour. A region may show various local patterns. There are variations between castes because of hierarchy and caste-based isolation and separation. Karve analyses the process of acculturation and accommodation in the context of kinship. She has adopted a historical perspective covering a span of 3,000 years based on ethno-sources, observations and folk-literature along with Sanskritic texts.

Karve's comparative study takes the following points into consideration:

1. Lists of kinship terms in Indian languages,
2. Their linguistic contexts and corresponding behaviour and attitudes,
3. Rules of descent and inheritance,
4. Patterns of marriage and family, and
5. Difference between the Sanskritic north and the Dravidian south.

Karve spells out the configuration of the linguistic regions, the institution of caste and family organisation as the most vital bases for understanding of the patterns of kinship in India. She divides the whole country into northern, central, southern and eastern zones keeping in view the linguistic, caste and family organisation.

The kinship organisation follows roughly the linguistic pattern, but in some respects language and kinship do not go hand in hand. For example, Maharashtra has Dravidian impact, and the impact of northern neighbours speaking Sanskritic languages could be seen on the Dravidian kinship system.

Despite variations based on these factors, there are two common points:

(1) Marriage is always within a caste or tribe, and
(2) Marriage between parents and children and between siblings is forbidden.

Kinship in North India:

In north India, there are (1) terms for blood relations, and (2) terms for affinal relations. There are primary terms for three generations of immediate relations and the terms for one

generation are not exchangeable for those of another generation. All the other terms are derived from the primary terms.

The northern zone consists the areas of the Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi (and Pahari), Bihari, Bengali, Asami and Nepali. In these areas, caste endogamy, clan exogamy and incest taboos regarding sexual relations between primary kins are strictly observed.

The rule of sasan is key to all marriage alliances, that is, a person must not marry in his patri-family and must avoid marriage with sapindra kin. Gotras in the old Brahmanic sense of the word are exogamous units. Sometimes a caste is also divided into endogamous gotras or exogamous gotras as also gotras which do not seem to have any function in marriage regulations.

There is village exogamy. Thus, there are at least four basic features of kinship in north India:

(1) Territoriality,

(2) Genealogy,

(3) Incest taboos, and

(4) Local exogamy.

Considerations of caste status tend to restrict the area of endogamy. Marriage prohibitions tend to bar marriage over a wide area in terms of kinship as well as space. Cognatic prohibitions and local exogamy are strictly adhered to in marriage alliances.

Four-gotra (sasan) rule, that is, avoidance of the gotras of father, mother, grandmother and maternal grandmother is generally practised among Brahmanas and other upper castes in north India. However, some intermediate and most of the lower castes avoid two gotras, namely, that of father and mother.

Kinship in Central India:

The central zone comprises the linguistic regions of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh (now Chhattisgarh also), Gujarat and Kathiawad, Maharashtra and Orissa with their respective languages, namely, Rajasthani, Hindi, Gujarati and Kathiawadi, Marathi and Oriya. All these languages are of Sanskritic origin, and therefore, they have affinity to the northern zone. But there are pockets of Dravidian languages in this zone. There is also some impact of the eastern zone. Tribal people have their unique and somewhat different situation compared to other people in the region.

In regard to the central zone the following points may be noted:

1. Cross-cousin marriages are prevalent which are not witnessed in the north zone. Cross-cousins are children of siblings of opposite sex, parallel cousins are children of the siblings of the same sex.

2. Many castes are divided into exogamous clans like the north zone.

3. In some castes exogamous clans are arranged in a hypergamous hierarchy.

However, none of these features are found all over the zone. In Rajasthan, for example, Jats follow two-gotra exogamy along with village exogamy; Banias practise four-gotra rule; and Rajputs have hypergamous clans, and feudal status is an important consideration in marriage alliances.

Rajputs are not a homogeneous caste. They put a lot of emphasis on purity and nobility of descent. The fact of being a hero and a ruler has been a major consideration. Symbolic marriages (marriage with sword) were quite a practice. Status of mother on either side is also a factor in marriage alliances.

In Kathiawad and Gujarat one finds a mix of peculiar local customs and northern practices. Some castes allow cross-cousin marriages, others allowed marriages once a year, and some others permitted once every four, five, nine or twelve years. When the marriage year arrives, it is announced from village to village and there is a rush to perform marriages. The practice of 'Nantra' (levirate) exists even today. Brahmanas, Banias, Kunbis and higher artisan castes follow the northern pattern of kinship organisation, but some practices of southern region are also observed.

Cross-cousin marriage among the Kathi, Ahir, Ghadava Charan and Garasia castes is quite common. Kolis and Dheds and Bhils (tribe), allow both types of cross-cousin marriages. Thus, Rajasthan and Gujarat largely follow northern pattern. The terminology is Sanskritic in origin and some kinship terms have central Asiatic derivation.

Karve observes that Maharashtra is an area where Sanskritic northern traits and the Dravidian southern traits almost hold a balance with perhaps a slight dominance of the former. Northern languages spoken are like Gujarati, Rajasthani, Himachali and Hindi. The tribals in the area speak Mundari. The Dravidian languages are mixed up with the Sanskritic languages. Maharashtra kinship structure is a little different from both southern and northern zones.

The Marathas and Kunbis together form about 40 per cent of the population; Marathas are supposed to be higher in status but a rich Kunbi can reach the status of a Maratha. The two groups call themselves Kshatriyas. Maratha-Kunbi complex has been a ruling clan. Even today headman or patil is a Maratha in a village.

Kunbis are divided into exogamous clans. Some practise levirate; other consider cross-cousin marriages as a taboo; but some others do not prohibit such marriages. In central Maharashtra hypergamy and clan exogamy exists. In southern Maharashtra there are instances of both types of marriages, namely, cross-cousin and uncle-niece. The clan organisation of the Marathas has some similarity with that of the Rajputs.

For example, mythological origin comparable with Rajputs is also claimed by the Marathas. Their names are also similar to that of Rajputs. The rule of exogamy is, however, not dependent on the clan name but on the symbol connected with the clan. The symbol is called devaka. No two people having the same devaka can marry. The clans and the devaka both play a significant role in marriage. Status of a clan is important in hypergamous marriage alliances.

Marathas have as many as 96 clans. Among these, there are concentric circles of mobility and status. Ethnically, there is no homogeneity. There are panchkula, a cluster of five clans, then there are 'seven clans', and all are hypergamous divisions. No taboo is attached to bilateral kinship like north zone. No parallel-cousin marriages are allowed. There is also taboo on paternal-cousin marriages. Generally, preference for a man's marriage is with his maternal cross-cousin. Sisters can and do marry the same man. Brothers generally avoid marrying two sisters. Levirate is practised among the northern Kunbis. However, exchange marriages are avoided.

The tribal people in Orissa like Gonds, Oraons and Konds speak Dravidian languages, and their kinship system can be equated with that of the Dravidian-speaking people. The Munda, the Hondo and some of the Saora speak Mundari languages. The Oriya-speaking people have the same type of caste divisions as are found in northern regions with slightly different names.

Brahmanas in Orissa seem to be immigrants from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Aranyaka Brahmanas and Karans (Kayasthas) do not allow cross-cousin marriages. Some agricultural castes allow cousin-marriages, but others prohibit. Junior levirate is found among the poorer classes.

Kinship in South India:

There are five regions in the southern zone consisting of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and the regions of mixed languages and people. The southern zone presents a very complicated pattern of kinship system and family organisation. Here, patrilineal and patrilocal systems dominate. However, some sections have matrilineal and matrilocal systems, and they possess features of both types of kinship organisation. Some castes allow polygamy, whereas some have both polygyny and polyandry. In Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and among some castes of Malabar, patrilineal and patrilocal joint family dominates as in the northern zone.

The Nayars, the Tiyans, some Moplas in Malabar region and the Bants in Kanara district have matrilineal and matrilocal family, and it is called tharawad. It consists of a woman, her brothers and sisters, her own and her sister's sons and daughters. No affinal relation lives in

the tharawad. Some consanguines are excluded (children of the males). There is no husband-wife, father-children relationship in a tharawad.

In the southern zone there is the system of caste endogamy and clan exogamy similar to the northern system. It is called as 'Bedagu' or 'Bedaga' or 'Bali' in Karnataka. The Kotas of Nilgiris call it 'Keri', the Kottai Vellals call it 'Kilai', the Koyas name it 'Gotta' and the Kurubas call it 'Gunpu'. Some Telugu people call it 'Inti-peru', and the Malayalis mention it 'Illom'. In Travancore, it is referred to as 'Veli'. The word 'Gotra' is also widely used. The main symbols used for clans are of silver, gold, axe, elephant, snake, jasmine, stone, etc.

In northern zone village exogamy is a widely accepted norm. But, in southern zone, there are inter-marrying clans in the same village. Gonds do not observe village exogamy. The only principle is that of exogamy or illom or veli. A given caste is divided like northern castes into exogamous clans. Inter-clan marriages do not cover all clans. Within an endogamous caste, there are smaller circles of endogamous units made up of a few families giving and receiving daughters in marriage.

The southern zone has its peculiar features which are quite different from that of the northern part of India. Preferential marriages with elder sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter, and with mother's brother's daughter are particularly prevalent in the southern zone. The main thrust of such a system of preferential marriages lies in maintaining unity and solidarity of the 'clan' and upholding of the principle of return (exchange) of daughters in the same generation.

However, there are taboos on marrying of younger sister's daughter, levirate, and mother's sister's daughter. Maternal uncle and niece marriages and cross-cousin marriages result in double relationships. A cousin is also a wife, and after marriage a cousin is more of a wife than a cousin.

Comparing the southern kinship system with the northern one we can mention that there is no distinction between the family of birth and the family of marriage in the south whereas such a distinction is clear in the northern India. In the north, terms for blood relatives and affinal ones are clear, whereas in the south many terms do not indicate this distinction clearly.

For example, Phupha-Phuphi for father's sister's husband and father's sister and Mama-Mami for mother's brother and his wife are used in the north, whereas in the south Attai is used for both Phuphi and Mami. Mama is used for both Phupha and Mama. In the north, there are the 'extended family of birth' and the 'extended family of marriage'. There is no such distinction in the south. No special terms are used for affinal relatives in the south. Same relatives appear in two successive generations in the south.

Thus, southern and northern kinship systems differ in the context of relations by marriage and relations by birth and more particularly in regard to the arrangement of kin in different generations. There does not seem to be any clear-cut classification of kin on the principle of generation at all in the southern terminology. In south zone all the relatives are arranged according to whether they are older or younger than ego (self) without any reference to generation.

There are no words for brothers and sisters in the Dravidian languages. However, there are words for 'younger' and 'older' brothers and sisters. A number of terms are used in common for (1) father and elder brother (Anna, Ayya), (2) mother and elder sister, (3) younger brother and son (Pirkal), and (4) younger sister and daughter (Pinnawal). These terms denote respectability to the elders and not to the actual blood relationships. The point of reference is the ego – and the persons older and younger than the ego are ranked based on their age.

Age, and not generation, is the main consideration in the southern kinship system. Marriage is outside the exogamous kin group called Balli or Begadu or Kilai. Exchange of daughters is favoured and marriage among the close kin is also preferred. The rules of marriage are: one must marry a member of one's own clan, and a girl must marry a person who belongs to the group older than self, and also to the younger than the parents.

Older cross-cousins and also younger brother of girl's mother are preferred. A person can marry any of his younger female cross-cousins and also a daughter of any of his elder sisters. Consequently, we find reciprocal relations and kinship terms referred to this reciprocity.

Louis Dumont highlights the following points about the southern kinship system:

1. Principle of immediate exchange,
2. A policy of social consolidation,
3. A clustering of kin group in a narrow area,
4. No sharp distinction between kin by blood and kin by marriage, and
5. Greater freedom for women in society.

Kinship in Eastern India:

The eastern zone is not compact and geographically it is not contiguous like other zones. Besides northern languages, Mundari and Monkhmer languages are also spoken. The main communities are Korku, Annamese, Saka, Semang and Khasi. The other languages are Mon, Khmer and Chain. The area consists of a number of Austro-Asiatic tribes.

All the people speaking Mundari languages have patrilineal and patrilocal families. The Ho and Santhal have the practice of cross-cousin marriage. But till the father's sister or the mother's brother are alive, they cannot marry their daughters. This condition makes cross-cousin marriage a rare phenomenon. The Bondo people, for example, do not have taboo on cross-cousin marriage, but one does not find an example of cross-cousin marriage among them, as reported by Elwin.

The Ho and Munda have separate dormitories for bachelors and maidens and they indulge in pre-marital sexual relationships. Sometimes these relationships result into marriages but quite often the marriage mate is different from the mate of the dormitory days. All these people are divided into exogamous totemistic clans. A person must marry outside of the clan and also outside of the circle of near relations like first cousins.

Money is given for procuring a bride. Service by the would-be-husband in girl's father's house is also considered as bride price. After marriage one establishes his separate household, but may keep his younger brother and widowed mother, etc., along with him in his newly established house. The Mundari people thus differ from the rest of India in not having joint family. People maintain patrician relations by common worship of ancestors and residence. They extend help to each other but live independent life.

The Khasi of Assam speaks Monkhmer language, and they are a matrilineal people like Nayars, but are quite different from them. The Nayars have a matrilineal joint family and husbands are only occasional visitors. The Khasis have joint family with common worship and common graveyard, but the husband and wife live together in a small house of their own. After death the property goes to mother or youngest daughter.

If there are no female relatives, widow gets half of the property if she opts not to remarry. A man's position is like that of a Hindu bride in the patri-family. But there is difference because the Hindu bride is incorporated as a member of her husband's family whereas a Khasi husband is considered as a stranger. A woman enjoys a great amount of freedom. After divorce children are handed over to her. The Khasis have clan exogamy. Marriages of parallel cousins are not allowed. Cross-cousin marriage is also quite rare.

Though we have drawn a sketchy view of the kinship organisation in India, we come to know that both rigidity and flexibility exist side by side in regard to values and norms related to the kinship systems. These are reflected in regard to divorce, widow remarriage, incest taboos, caste endogamy, clan exogamy, rule of avoidance, family structure, systems of lineage and residence, authority system, succession and inheritance of property etc.

However, kinship continues to be a basic principle of social organisation and mobilisation on the one hand and division and dissension on the other. It is a complex phenomenon, and its role can be sensed even in modern organisations. Migration, mobility and education have weakened the kinship systems and rules of clan organisation because members of a caste/sub-caste or of a clan do not live at the same place. Matriliny in Kerala has almost withered away. In north-east also it has become weak.

Changes in the Marriage System of Hindus in Modern India

Hindu marriage is an important institution and it is based on religion, religious rites and for the pursuit of religion. The practice of monogamy, absence of widow remarriage lack of facility for easy divorce and chastity are regarded as important ideals now we see that changes have occurred in the institution of Hindu marriage, because of several factors such as urbanization, industrialization, secularization, modern education impact of Western culture, and marriage legislations; changes are taking place in Hindu ideals, forms and values of marriage.

1. Changes in the Aims of Marriage:
The main objective of Hindu marriage was Dharma Although Kama or sex was one of the aims of Hindu marriage, it was the least desirable aim. In recent years, the order of aims of marriage has undergone change Sex has become primary and Dharma has become least important aim to marriage. In this manner the aims and the basis of marriage are undergoing changes.

2. Change in the process of Mate Selection:
As far as the selection of the bride and bridegroom was concerned it was the prerogative of the parents or the guardians This tradition of selecting the marriage partner for sons and daughters continued till the end of 19th century when the ideas of liberalism and industrialism were incorporated into Indian society as a result of the impact of Western culture.

As a result of this some cases of individual choice of mate was found. In the post independent India, the tendency of selecting one's own partner has remarkably increased. Now-a-days the younger generation is not very much in favor of parental choice in matter of selection of marriage partners.

A new trend is emerging in the process of mate selection among the middle and upper class educated youth in urban areas. In some cases marriage partners are chosen by children. In most of the cases the parents allow their children to have a say in selection of partners.

3. Changes in the Rules of Endogamy and Exogamy:
There have been some visible changes in the matter of rules of endogamy and exogamy. The rules of Varna, caste and sub-caste endogamy, Gotra and Pravara exogamy have been banned by legislations.

Now we do not find restriction in cross-cousin marriages. Cross-cousin marriages were taking place but these were not very common. It appears that the attitude of people towards cross-cousin marriage is changing. The numbers of cross-cousin marriages are gradually increasing. Under certain circumstances these types of marriages are found to be accepted by people.

As regards the rules of endogamy, remarkable changes have taken place. The Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Act of 1946 allowed marriage between different subdivisions of the

same caste. The Special Marriage Act of 1954 and Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 have enabled marriages between persons of different castes and religions.

Arya Samaj Movement has promoted inter-caste marriages. Inter-caste marriages, hitherto considered unthinkable, are now not only permitted but also encouraged. Besides the legislations, the freedom in mate selection has promoted inter-caste marriages.

4. The Age at Marriage:

In course of time child marriage became the prevalent mode of marriage in India. Hence, child marriage was the practice to safeguard chastity and purity of females. The practice of child marriage was strong even in the 20th century. In the 20th century, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as Sharada Act prescribed the minimum age of marriage at 14 years for girls and 18 years for boys.

Then, the Indian Parliament raised the age of marriage. For girls, the minimum age is 18 years and for boys 21 years. Marriage of boys and girls below the prescribed age has been made a cognisable offence.

Various sociological studies conducted in the last few decades have revealed that the trend in age at marriage from 1930 onwards has shown a continuous change. Due to certain changed social conditions, people prefer marriage at a higher age now-a-days.

5. Changes in the Rites of Marriage:

Traditionally, Hindu marriage is a religious sacrament and the Hindu marriage can take place only through the performance of certain rights and rituals. Some of the most important rites and rituals connected with Hindu marriage are Kanya Dana, Vivaha Home, Panigrahana, Agni Parinayana and Saptapadi etc. But today the situation is that some changes have taken place regarding the rites and rituals of marriage.

On the one hand, we find that due to shortage of time the rites and rituals connected with Hindu marriage have been cut down. Generally, it is observed that people sometimes ask the priest to hasten the ceremonies of the marriage.

On the other hand, some marriages are performed in civil courts. As a result of this, the sacred nature of rites and rituals has been diminished to a considerable extent. Apart from this, the Arya Samaj movement has also simplified the rites and rituals of marriage. Another factor responsible for the decline in the religionsity of marriage is that Indian society as a whole is moving from sacred to secular nature and as a result of this; the traditional values are undergoing vast changes.

6. Change in the Stability of Marriage:

Traditionally, divorce was not easily granted and permitted in Hindu society. The hindrance on divorce made the institution of family and marriage stable and enduring. Due to the enactment of marriage and family legislations and many other factors the divorce rate in India has been steadily increasing.

The incidence of divorce is a clear indication of the fact that the institution of marriage is undergoing changes. The stability of married life is gradually being affected. Marital instability is gradually increasing. There was a time when a wife could not think of divorce. But now women have started taking resort to dissolution of marital bond.

7. The Problem of Remarriage:

The old tradition of Kanya Dana prohibited the marriage of widows. The remarriage of widows was generally not favoured in Smritis. Although widow remarriage was in rare cases permitted, it was not regarded as sacramental as the first marriage was. The remarriage is not marriage once a maiden is given in marriage.

The Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 allowed widows to remarry if they liked. Apart from this law, the Arya Samaj Movement also favoured widow remarriage. During early period of the 20th century, we come across sporadic cases of widow remarriage.

In the post- independence era the number of widow remarriages has considerably increased. Hence, we can say that our old values are changing. The attitude of hatred and abhorrence which was associated with the idea of widow remarriage is being replaced by more liberal ideas of accepting the widow remarriage.

8. Dowry Systems:
The traditional form of marriage impl.es Kanya Dana in which the father of the bride provides jewels and ornaments to daughter at the time of marriage. It was only a token of love and affection.

Actually this was not a dowry which was being practiced in ancient India. In course of time, child marriage emerged and with this also emerged the necessity of providing a huge dowry because the selection of bridegroom became difficult in recent years; the problem of dowry has led to many problems namely suicide by the girls, malpractices by the father and humiliation of the father who cannot provide dowry.

Although the Government has taken steps to eradicate the evil practice of dowry, it persists and gradually the problem of dowry is becoming acute Bride-burning cases have been increasing every year in different parts of our country due to failure to meet the expected demand by the family of the bridegroom. In many cases conjugal rights have been denied to the newly married girl on the plea that her father has not given all agreed amount of dowry.

9. Marriage and Morality:
One of the most important values connected with Hindu marriage for boys and girls was chastity. The Hindu Sastrakaras have emphasised on pre- nuptial chastity of both boys and girls. They were not one-sided in their valuation of chastity but they placed equal value on the pre-nuptial chastity on the part of the male as well U is evident that elaborate rules were laid down for the sexual conduct of both boys and girls till his or her marriage.

Pre-marital and extra-marital relations were not allowed .Love was the consequence of marriage between boys and girls, and marriage was not the consequence of love.

In this regard, Kapadia has remarked. "The development of new mores in sex is generally presented in a society which has its roots in tradition and religious belief. Conventional sex morality cannot however stem for long the tide of a new awakening the need for a new concept of sex relationships is now as much as recognized by the older as by the younger generation only .this recognitions has not percolated to all layers of Indian society. Changes is hence slow and therefore less dramatic."

However, remarkable changes are taking place in sex mores and values. Pre-marital sex relationship which was totally unknown in traditional Indian society is gradually becoming visible.

Youths have started establishing sex relationship much before marriage; Brahmacharya Vrata has become irrelevant because of new values. The idea of exchange of wives for enjoyment has come to picture. Due to the impact of Western culture and weakening of regulation of sexual conduct married persons are keeping sexual relationships beyond their partners. The Vedic ideal embodied in the Saptapadi formula', I take thee to be my companion in life, is not acceptable to people in some cases.

To conclude Hindu marriage has undergone several changes. These changes have taken place in the institution of Hindu Marriage because of many factors, new norms and values In spite of all these changes, Hindu marriage is not considered as a social contract and it continues to be sacrament for Hindus. Mutual fidelity and devotion to partner are still considered to be an essence of marriage.

Challenges in Marriage System

Married couples often develop bad habits that can produce resentment and divorce.

People marry young, share good and bad times, have a family, begin to fight, and have sex less often as they age. Suddenly they feel alone when they are with their partner. What happened? Generally, if you recognize a problem in your relationship and are willing to take steps to change your bad habits, you can fix the marriage. However, it takes two to make a marriage work so if one spouse has his or her foot out the door, it can be difficult to fix a marriage.

1. Communication Issues

The most common complaint among married couples is lack of communication. Many couples put up with problems rather than try to fix them. In the beginning they agreed he would earn money and she would take care of the house and kids. When they face new challenges later on, they have to negotiate a new compact. The issue is whether spouses can listen to each other's complaints without interrupting or getting defensive and reach anew consensus.

2. Ignoring Boundaries

It's not uncommon for one spouse to try to change his or her partner. Whether it's how he or she dresses or about fundamental beliefs, trying to change your spouse will feel like a personal invasion and may trigger defensiveness oranger. Overstepping boundaries can destroy mutual trust. The result is likely to be retaliation or withdrawal from the relationship.

3. Lack of Sexual Intimacy

There are lots of reasons couples lose interest in sex–ranging from medical problems to emotional issues. Generally, sexual problems trigger a vicious cycle where it's difficult to want sex when you feel emotionally distant from your partner and it's difficult to feel emotionally attached without experiencing sexual intimacy. To get past sexual indifference, couples need to discuss and resolve their emotional issues.

4. Emotional or Sexual Infidelity

A common problem in many marriages is for the couple to become emotionally distant. When this happens, it's likely he or she may start looking around. Emotional

infidelity can lead to adultery and cheating is destructive of a marriage. It's important for every couples to discuss and agree on what constitutes infidelity.

5. Fighting About Money

Disagreements about money are inevitable in a marriage. One spouse may want to save while the other wants to spend. Disagreement about money usually reflect different core values. To avoid these problems, it's important to discuss and agree how to handle finances.

6. Selfishness

If one spouse constantly places his or her needs above the goals and interests of the marriage, it's only a matter of time before the neglected spouse begins to feel rejected and unloved. Getting married involves give and take rather than getting your own needs met all the time. If one spouse dictates the terms of the marriage and won't compromise, that's a recipe for disaster.

7. Value Differences

When a couple has core value differences, such as religious preferences, that can cause serious problems. They may have major disagreements about what religion to teach their children. Other differences include how to discipline, definitions of right and wrong, or other ethical conflicts. Everyone doesn't grow up with the same values, morals, or goals and there is lots of room for debate about right and wrong. If a couple can't learn to adjust to different values, they may have serious problems in their marriage.

8. Different Life Stages

Most couples don't think about differences in life stages when they marry, but this can be a significant problem with couples are different ages. Personalities change and a couple may not remain compatible as they transition to different life stages. An older husband may not be interested in beginning a new family while the young bride is anxious to have a baby, or he may be nearing retirement and want to slow down while she needs to stay active.

9. Boredom

Doing the same old thing can get tiresome and it's hard to make changes in a comfortable relationship until it's too late. Doing something new from time to time can add spark and spice to a relationship.

10. Jealousy

Being jealous can turn a marriage sour, especially if the jealous feelings are unrealistic. Jealous persons can become overbearing and controlling or angry and rejecting. If you are feeling jealous, see a counselor to decide wither your feelings are reasonable. You may have an attachment problem that needs to be discussed with a competent counselor.

It does take two to make a marriage work. If the marriage cannot be fixed because one or both spouses no longer want to be married, call an experienced San Antonio Divorce Attorney.

UNIT-IV   Caste and Class in India.

Caste system in India from smriti to modern period

.Castes are rigid social groups characterized by hereditary transmission of life style, occupation and social status. The **caste system in India** has its origins in ancient India, and was transformed by various ruling elites in medieval, early-modern, and modern India, especially the Mughal Empire and the British Raj.[1][2][3][4] The caste system consists of two different concepts, *varna* and *jati*, which may be regarded as different levels of analysis.

The caste system as it exists today is thought to be the result of developments during the collapse of the Mughal era and the rise of the British colonial government in India.[1][5] The collapse of the Mughal era saw the rise of powerful men who associated themselves with kings, priests and ascetics, affirming the regal and martial form of the caste ideal, and it also reshaped many apparently casteless social groups into differentiated caste communities.[6] The British Raj furthered this development, making rigid caste organisation a central mechanism of administration.[5] Between 1860 and 1920, the British formulated the caste system into their system of governance, granting administrative jobs and senior appointments only to Christians and people belonging to certain castes.[7] Social unrest during the 1920s led to a change in this policy.[8] From then on, the colonial administration began a policy of positive discrimination by reserving a certain percentage of government jobs for the lower castes. In 1948, negative discrimination on the basis of caste was banned by law and further enshrined in the Indian constitution; however, the system continues to be practiced in parts of India.[9]

Caste-based differences have also been practised in other regions and religions in the Indian subcontinent, like Nepalese Buddhism,[10] Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism.[11] It has been challenged by many reformist Hindu movements,[12] Sikhism, Christianity,[11] by present-day Indian Buddhism.[13] With Indian influence in Southeast Asia, the caste system is also practiced in places such as Thailand,[14][15] Cambodia[16] and Bali.[17]

India after achieving independence in 1947 enacted many affirmative action policies for the upliftment of historically marginalized groups. These policies included reserving a quota of places for these groups in higher education and government employment.

Definitions and concepts

Varna, *jāti* and caste

Varna literally means *type, order, colour or class*[18][19] and was a framework for grouping people into classes, first used in Vedic Indian society. It is referred to frequently in the ancient Indian texts.[20] The four classes were the Brahmins (priestly people), the Kshatriyas (also called Rajanyas, who were rulers, administrators and warriors), the Vaishyas (artisans, merchants, tradesmen and farmers), and Shudras (labouring classes).[21] The *varna* categorisation implicitly had a fifth element, being those people deemed to be entirely outside its scope, such as tribal people and the untouchables.[22]

Jati, meaning *birth*,[23] is mentioned much less often in ancient texts, where it is clearly distinguished from *varna*. There are four *varnas* but thousands of *jatis*.[20] The *jatis* are complex social groups that lack universally applicable definition or characteristic, and have been more flexible and diverse than was previously often assumed.[22]

Certain scholars[which?] of caste have considered *jati* to have its basis in religion, assuming that in India the sacred elements of life envelop the secular aspects; for example, the anthropologist Louis Dumont described the ritual rankings that exist within the *jati* system as being based on the concepts of religious purity and pollution. This view has been disputed by other scholars, who believe it to be a secular social phenomenon driven by the necessities of economics, politics, and sometimes also geography.[23][24][25][26] Jeaneane Fowler says that

although some people consider *jati* to be occupational segregation, in reality the *jati* framework does not preclude or prevent a member of one caste from working in another occupation.[23] A feature of *jatis* has been endogamy, in Susan Bayly's words, that "both in the past and for many though not all Indians in more modern times, those born into a given caste would normally expect to find marriage partner" within his or her *jati*.[27][28]

Jatis have existed in India among Hindus, Muslims, Christians and tribal people, and there is no clear linear order among them.[29]

The term *caste* is not originally an Indian word, though it is now widely used, both in English and in Indian languages. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it is derived from the Portuguese *casta*, meaning "race, lineage, breed" and, originally, "'pure or unmixed (stock or breed)".[30] There is no exact translation in Indian languages, but *varna* and *jati* are the two most approximate terms.[31]

Ghurye's 1932 description

The sociologist G. S. Ghurye wrote in 1932 that, despite much study by many people,

we do not possess a real general definition of caste. It appears to me that any attempt at definition is bound to fail because of the complexity of the phenomenon. On the other hand, much literature on the subject is marred by lack of precision about the use of the term.[32]

Ghurye offered what he thought was a definition that could be applied across India, although he acknowledged that there were regional variations on the general theme. His model definition for caste included the following six characteristics:[33]

- Segmentation of society into groups whose membership was determined by birth.[34]
- A hierarchical system wherein generally the Brahmins were at the head of the hierarchy, but this hierarchy was disputed in some cases. In various linguistic areas, hundreds of castes had a gradation generally acknowledged by everyone.[35]
- Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, with minute rules on the kind of food and drink that upper castes could accept from lower castes. There was a great diversity in these rules, and lower castes generally accepted food from upper castes.[36]
- Segregation, where individual castes lived together, the dominant caste living in the center and other castes living on the periphery.[37] There were restrictions on the use of water wells or streets by one caste on another: an upper-caste Brahmin might not be permitted to use the street of a lower-caste group, while a caste considered impure might not be permitted to draw water from a well used by members of other castes.[38]
- Occupation, generally inherited.[39] Lack of unrestricted choice of profession, caste members restricted their own members from taking up certain professions they considered degrading. This characteristic of caste was missing from large parts of India, stated Ghurye, and in these regions all four castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras) did agriculture labour or became warriors in large numbers.[40]
- Endogamy, restrictions on marrying a person outside caste, but in some situations hypergamy allowed.[41] Far less rigidity on inter-marriage between different sub-castes than between members of different castes in some regions, while in some endogamy within a sub-caste was the principal feature of caste-society.[42]

The above Ghurye's model of caste thereafter attracted scholarly criticism[43][44] for relying on the census reports produced by the colonial government,[32][45] the "superior, inferior" racist theories of H. H. Risley,[46] and for fitting his definition to then prevalent orientalist perspectives on caste.[47][48][49]

Ghurye added, in 1932, that the colonial construction of caste led to the livening up, divisions and lobbying to the British officials for favourable caste classification in India for economic opportunities, and this had added new complexities to the concept of caste.[50][51] Graham

Chapman and others have reiterated the complexity, and they note that there are differences between theoretical constructs and the practical reality.[52]

Modern perspective on definition

Ronald Inden, the Indologist, agrees that there has been no universally accepted definition. For example, for some early European documenters it was thought to correspond with the endogamous *varnas* referred to in ancient Indian scripts, and its meaning corresponds in the sense of *estates*. To later Europeans of the Raj era it was endogamous *jatis*, rather than *varnas*, that represented *caste*, such as the 2378 *jatis* that colonial administrators classified by occupation in the early 20th century.[53]

Arvind Sharma, a professor of comparative religion, notes that *caste* has been used synonymously to refer to both *varna* and *jati* but that "serious Indologists now observe considerable caution in this respect" because, while related, the concepts are considered to be distinct.[54] In this he agrees with the Indologist Arthur Basham, who noted that the Portuguese colonists of India used *casta* to describe

... tribes, clans or families. The name stuck and became the usual word for the Hindu social group. In attempting to account for the remarkable proliferation of castes in 18th- and 19th-century India, authorities credulously accepted the traditional view that by a process of intermarriage and subdivision the 3,000 or more castes of modern India had evolved from the four primitive classes, and the term 'caste' was applied indiscriminately to both *varna* or class, and *jati* or caste proper. This is a false terminology; castes rise and fall in the social scale, and old castes die out and new ones are formed, but the four great classes are stable. There are never more or less than four and for over 2,000 years their order of precedence has not altered."[20]

The sociologist Andre Beteille notes that, while *varna* mainly played the role of caste in classical Hindu literature, it is *jati* that plays that role in present times. *Varna* represents a closed collection of social orders whereas *jati* is entirely open-ended, thought of as a "natural kind whose members share a common substance." Any number of new *jatis* can be added depending on need, such as tribes, sects, denominations, religious or linguistic minorities and nationalities. Thus, "Caste" is not an accurate representation of *jati* in English. Better terms would be ethnicity, ethnic identity and ethnic group.[55]

Flexibility

Sociologist Anne Waldrop observes that while outsiders view the term caste as a static phenomenon of stereotypical tradition-bound India, empirical facts suggest caste has been a radically changing feature. The term means different things to different Indians. In the context of politically active modern India, where job and school quotas are reserved for affirmative action based on castes, the term has become a sensitive and controversial subject.[56]

Sociologists such as M. N. Srinivas and Damle have debated the question of rigidity in caste and believe that there is considerable flexibility and mobility in the caste hierarchies.[57][58]

Perspectives

There are at least two perspectives for the origins of the caste system in ancient and medieval India, which focus on either ideological factors or on socio-economic factors.

- The first school focuses on the ideological factors which are claimed to drive the caste system and holds that caste is rooted in the four *varnas*. This perspective was particularly common among scholars during the British colonial era and was articulated by Dumont, who concluded that the system was ideologically perfected several thousand years ago and has remained the primary social reality ever since. This school justifies its theory

primarily by citing the ancient law book *Manusmriti* and disregards economic, political or historical evidence.[59][60]

- The second school of thought focuses on socioeconomic factors and claims that those factors drive the caste system. It believes caste to be rooted in the economic, political and material history of India.[61] This school, which is common among scholars of the post-colonial era such as Berreman, Marriott, and Dirks, describes the caste system as an ever-evolving social reality that can only be properly understood by the study of historical evidence of actual practice and the examination of verifiable circumstances in the economic, political and material history of India.[62][63] This school has focused on the historical evidence from ancient and medieval society in India, during the Muslim rule between the 12th and 18th centuries, and the policies of the British colonial government from 18th century to the mid-20th century.[64][65]

The first school has focused on religious anthropology and disregarded other historical evidence as secondary to or derivative of this tradition.[66] The second school has focused on sociological evidence and sought to understand the historical circumstances.[67] The latter has criticised the former for its caste origin theory, claiming that it has dehistoricised and decontextualised Indian society.[68][69]

Ritual kingship model

According to Samuel, referencing George L. Hart, central aspects of the later Indian caste system may originate from the ritual kingship system prior to the arrival of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism in India. The system is seen in the South Indian Tamil literature from the Sangam period, dated to the third to sixth centuries CE. This theory discards the Indo-Aryan *varna* model as the basis of caste, and is centred on the ritual power of the king, who was "supported by a group of ritual and magical specialists of low social status," with their ritual occupations being considered 'polluted'. According to Hart, it may be this model that provided the concerns with "pollution" of the members of low status groups. The Hart model for caste origin, writes Samuel, envisions "the ancient Indian society consisting of a majority without internal caste divisions and a minority consisting of a number of small occupationally polluted groups".[70]

Vedic *varnas*

The *varnas* originated in Vedic society (c. 1500–500 BCE). The first three groups, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishya, have parallels with other Indo-European societies, while the addition of the Shudras is probably a Brahmanical invention from northern India.[71]

The *varna* system is propounded in revered Hindu religious texts, and understood as idealised human callings.[72][73] The *Purusha Sukta* of the *Rigveda* and *Manusmriti*'s comment on it, being the oft-cited texts.[74] Counter to these textual classifications, many revered Hindu texts and doctrines question and disagree with this system of social classification.[22]

Scholars have questioned the *varna* verse in the *Rigveda*, noting that the *varna* therein is mentioned only once. The *Purusha Sukta* verse is now generally considered to have been inserted at a later date into the *Rigveda*, probably as a charter myth. Stephanie Jamison and Joel Brereton, professors of Sanskrit and Religious studies, state, "there is no evidence in the *Rigveda* for an elaborate, much-subdivided and overarching caste system", and "the *varna* system seems to be embryonic in the *Rigveda* and, both then and later, a social ideal rather than a social reality".[75] In contrast to the lack of details about *varna* system in the *Rigveda*, the *Manusmriti* includes an extensive and highly schematic commentary on the *varna* system, but it too provides "models rather than descriptions".[76] Susan Bayly summarises that *Manusmriti* and other scriptures helped elevate Brahmins in the social hierarchy and these were a factor in the making of the *varna* system, but the ancient texts did not in some way "create the phenomenon of caste" in India.[77]

Jatis

Jeaneane Fowler, a professor of philosophy and religious studies, states that it is impossible to determine how and why the *jatis* came in existence.[78] Susan Bayly, on the other hand, states that *jati* system emerged because it offered a source of advantage in an era of pre-Independence poverty, lack of institutional human rights, volatile political environment, and economic insecurity.[79][*clarification needed*]

According to social anthropologist Dipankar Gupta, guilds developed during the Mauryan period and crystallised into *jatis* in post-Mauryan times with the emergence of feudalism in India,[80] which finally crystallised during the 7th–12th centuries.[81] However, other scholars dispute when and how *jatis* developed in Indian history. Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf, both professors of History, write, "One of the surprising arguments of fresh scholarship, based on inscriptional and other contemporaneous evidence, is that until relatively recent centuries, social organisation in much of the subcontinent was little touched by the four *varnas*. Nor were *jati* the building blocks of society."[82]

According to Basham, ancient Indian literature refers often to *varnas*, but hardly if ever to *jatis* as a system of groups within the *varnas*. He concludes that "If caste is defined as a system of group within the class, which are normally endogamous, commensal and craft-exclusive, we have no real evidence of its existence until comparatively late times."[20]

Untouchable outcastes and the varna system

The Vedic texts neither mention the concept of untouchable people nor any practice of untouchability. The rituals in the Vedas ask the noble or king to eat with the commoner from the same vessel. Later Vedic texts ridicule some professions, but the concept of untouchability is not found in them.[83][84]

The post-Vedic texts, particularly *Manusmriti* mentions outcastes and suggests that they be ostracised. Recent scholarship states that the discussion of outcastes in post-Vedic texts is different from the system widely discussed in colonial era Indian literature, and in Dumont's structural theory on caste system in India. Patrick Olivelle, a professor of Sanskrit and Indian Religions and credited with modern translations of Vedic literature, Dharma-sutras and Dharma-sastras, states that ancient and medieval Indian texts do not support the ritual pollution, purity-impurity premise implicit in the Dumont theory. According to Olivelle, purity-impurity is discussed in the Dharma-sastra texts, but only in the context of the individual's moral, ritual and biological pollution (eating certain kinds of food such as meat, going to bathroom). Olivelle writes in his review of post-Vedic *Sutra* and *Shastra* texts, "we see no instance when a term of pure/impure is used with reference to a group of individuals or a *varna* or caste". The only mention of impurity in the *Shastra* texts from the 1st millennium is about people who commit grievous sins and thereby fall out of their *varna*. These, writes Olivelle, are called "fallen people" and considered impure in the medieval Indian texts. The texts declare that these sinful, fallen people be ostracised.[85] Olivelle adds that the overwhelming focus in matters relating to purity/impurity in the Dharma-sastra texts concerns "individuals irrespective of their *varna* affiliation" and all four *varnas* could attain purity or impurity by the content of their character, ethical intent, actions, innocence or ignorance (acts by children), stipulations, and ritualistic behaviours.[86]

Dumont, in his later publications, acknowledged that ancient varna hierarchy was not based on purity-impurity ranking principle, and that the Vedic literature is devoid of the untouchability concept.[87]

History

Early Vedic period (1500–1000 BCE)

During the time of the Rigveda, there were two *varnas*: *arya* varna and *dasa* varna. The distinction originally arose from tribal divisions. The Vedic tribes regarded themselves as *arya* (the noble ones) and the rival tribes were called *dasa*, *dasyu* and *pani*.

The *dasas* were frequent allies of the Aryan tribes, and they were probably assimilated into the Aryan society, giving rise to a class distinction.[88] Many *dasas* were however in a servile position, giving rise to the eventual meaning of *dasa* as servant or slave.[89]

The *Rigvedic* society was not distinguished by occupations. Many husbandmen and artisans practised a number of crafts. The chariot-maker (*rathakara*) and metal worker (*karmara*) enjoyed positions of importance and no stigma was attached to them. Similar observations hold for carpenters, tanners, weavers and others.[90]

Towards the end of the Atharvaveda period, new class distinctions emerged. The erstwhile *dasas* are renamed Shudras, probably to distinguish them from the new meaning of *dasa* as slave. The *aryas* are renamed *vis* or Vaishya (meaning the members of the tribe) and the new elite classes of *Brahmins* (priests) and *Kshatriyas* (warriors) are designated as new *varnas*. The Shudras were not only the erstwhile *dasas* but also included the aboriginal tribes that were assimilated into the Aryan society as it expanded into Gangetic settlements.[91] There is no evidence of restrictions regarding food and marriage during the Vedic period.[92]

Later Vedic period (1000–600 BCE)

In an early Upanishad, Shudra is referred to as *Pūşan* or nourisher, suggesting that Shudras were the tillers of the soil.[93] But soon afterwards, Shudras are not counted among the tax-payers and they are said to be given away along with the lands when it is gifted.[94] The majority of the artisans were also reduced to the position of Shudras, but there is no contempt indicated for their work.[95] The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas are given a special position in the rituals, distinguishing them from both the Vaishyas and the Shudras.[96] The Vaishya is said to be "oppressed at will" and the Shudra "beaten at will."[97]

Jain sources indicate that the varna system was an integral part of Jain community during the times of Parshvanatha in 8th century BCE.[*citation needed*] The Jain text *Arhat vacana* states:

It is by karma that one is brāhmaṇa, it is by karma that one is kṣatriya, it is by karma that one is vaiśya, it is by karma that one is śudra.[98]

Second urbanisation (500–200 BCE)

Knowledge of this period is supplemented by Pali Buddhist texts. Whereas the Brahmanical texts speak of the four-fold *varna* system, the Buddhist texts present an alternative picture of the society, stratified along the lines of *jati*, *kula* and occupation. It is likely that the *varna* system, while being a part of the Brahmanical ideology, was not practically operative in the society.[99] In the Buddhist texts, Brahmin and Kshatriya are described as *jatis* rather than *varnas*. They were in fact the *jatis* of high rank. The *jatis* of low rank were mentioned as *chandala* and occupational classes like bamboo weavers, hunters, chariot-makers and sweepers. The concept of *kulas* was broadly similar. Along with Brahmins and Kshatriyas, a class called *gahapatis* (literally householders, but effectively propertied classes) was also included among high *kulas*.[100] The people of high *kulas* were engaged in occupations of high rank, *viz.*, agriculture, trade, cattle-keeping, computing, accounting and writing, and those of low *kulas* were engaged in low-ranked occupations such as basket-weaving and sweeping. The *gahapatis* were an economic class of land-holding agriculturists, who employed *dasa-kammakaras* (slaves and hired labourers) to work on the land. The *gahapatis* were the primary taxpayers of the state. This class was apparently not defined by birth, but by individual economic growth.[101]

While there was an alignment between *kulas* and occupations at least at the high and low ends, there was no strict linkage between class/caste and occupation, especially among those in the middle range. Many occupations listed such as accounting and writing were not linked to *jatis*.[102] Peter Masefield, in his review of caste in India, states that anyone could in principle perform any profession. The texts state that the Brahmin took food from anyone,

suggesting that strictures of commensality were as yet unknown.[103] The *Nikaya* texts also imply that endogamy was not mandated.[104]

Mahavira, the 24th *tirthankara* introduced radical reforms in the social structure. He proclaimed complete dissolution of all the four varnas and called it obsolete. He stressed on equal treatment for all human beings. He discouraged classification of people on basis of birth, race and nationality.[105][106] *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, one of the most important Jain texts state:[107]

Warriors, ugra, gana, princes, brāhmaṇas, bhogikas-chieftains and artisans of all sorts, he who does not utter a word in praise of all these and abstains from all of them, he is a true follower of the Jina.

The contestations of the period are also evident from the texts describing dialogues of Buddha with the Brahmins. The Brahmins maintain their divinely ordained superiority and assert their right to draw service from the lower orders. Buddha responds by pointing out the basic facts of biological birth common to all men and asserts that the ability to draw service is obtained economically, not by divine right. Using the example of the northwest of the subcontinent, Buddha points out that *aryas* could become *dasas* and vice versa. This form of social mobility was endorsed by Buddha.[108]

Classical period (320–650 CE)

The Mahabharata, whose final version is estimated to have been completed by the end of the fourth century, discusses the *varna* system in section 12.181, presenting two models. The first model describes *varna* as a colour-based system, through a character named Bhrigu, "Brahmins *varna* was white, Kshatriyas was red, Vaishyas was yellow, and the Shudras' black". This description is questioned by Bharadvaja who says that colors are seen among all the *varnas*, that desire, anger, fear, greed, grief, anxiety, hunger and toil prevails over all human beings, that bile and blood flow from all human bodies, so what distinguishes the *varnas*, he asks. The Mahabharata then declares, "There is no distinction of *varnas*. This whole universe is Brahman. It was created formerly by Brahma, came to be classified by acts."[109] The epic then recites a behavioural model for *varna*, that those who were inclined to anger, pleasures and boldness attained the Kshatriya *varna*; those who were inclined to cattle rearing and living off the plough attained the Vaishya *varna*; those who were fond of violence, covetousness and impurity attained the Shudra *varna*. The Brahmin class is modeled in the epic as the archetype default state of man dedicated to truth, austerity and pure conduct.[110] In the Mahabharata and pre-medieval era Hindu texts, according to Hiltebeitel, "it is important to recognise, in theory, *varna* is nongenealogical. The four *varnas* are not lineages, but categories".[111]

Late classical and early medieval period (650 to 1400 CE)

Scholars have tried to locate historical evidence for the existence and nature of *varna* and *jati* in documents and inscriptions of medieval India. Supporting evidence has been elusive, and contradictory evidence has emerged.[112][113]

Varna is rarely mentioned in the extensive medieval era records of Andhra Pradesh, for example. This has led Cynthia Talbot, a professor of History and Asian Studies, to question whether *varna* was socially significant in the daily lives of this region. Most mentions of *varna* in the Andhra inscriptions come from Brahmins. Two rare temple donor records from warrior families of the 14th century claim to be Shudras. One states that Shudras are the bravest, the other states that Shudras are the purest.[112] Richard Eaton, a professor of History, writes, "anyone could become warrior regardless of social origins, nor do the *jati*—another pillar of alleged traditional Indian society—appear as features of people's identity. Occupations were fluid." Evidence shows, according to Eaton, that Shudras were part of the nobility, and many "father and sons had different professions, suggesting that social status

was earned, not inherited" in the Hindu [Kakatiya](#) population in the [Deccan](#) region between the 11th and 14th centuries.[114]

In [Tamil Nadu](#) region of India, studied by Leslie Orr, a professor of Religion, "Chola period inscriptions challenge our ideas about the structuring of (south Indian) society in general. In contrast to what Brahmanical legal texts may lead us to expect, we do not find that caste is the organising principle of society or that boundaries between different social groups is sharply demarcated."[115] In Tamil Nadu the [Vellalar](#) were during ancient and medieval period the elite caste who were major patrons of literature.[116][117][118]

For northern Indian region, Susan Bayly writes, "until well into the colonial period, much of the subcontinent was still populated by people for whom the formal distinctions of caste were of only limited importance; Even in parts of the so-called Hindu heartland of Gangetic upper India, the institutions and beliefs which are now often described as the elements of traditional caste were only just taking shape as recently as the early eighteenth century—that is the period of collapse of Mughal period and the expansion of western power in the subcontinent."[119]

For western India, [Dirk H. A. Kolff](#) suggests open status social groups dominated Rajput history during the medieval period. He states, "The omnipresence of cognatic kinship and caste in North India is a relatively new phenomenon that only became dominant in the early Mughal and British periods respectively. Historically speaking, the alliance and the open status group, whether war band or religious sect, dominated medieval and early modern Indian history in a way descent and caste did not."[120]

[Adi Purana](#), an 8th-century text of Jainism by [Jinasena](#), is the first mention of *varna* and *jati* in [Jain literature](#).[121] Jinasena does not trace the origin of *varna* system to Rigveda or to Purusha, but to the [Bharata](#) legend. According to this legend, Bharata performed an "[ahimsa](#)-test" (test of non-violence), and during that test all those who refused to harm any living beings were called as the priestly *varna* in ancient India, and Bharata called them *[dvija](#)*, twice born.[122] Jinasena states that those who are committed to the principle of non-harming and non-violence to all living beings are *deva-Brahmaṇas*, divine Brahmins.[123] The [Ādi purāna](#) (9th c.) also discusses the relationship between varna and jati. According to [Padmanabh Jaini](#), a professor of Indic studies, in Jainism and Buddhism, the Adi Purana text states "there is only one *jati* called *manusyajati* or the human caste, but [divisions](#) arise on account of their different professions".[124] The caste of Kshatriya arose, according to Jainism texts, when [Rishabha](#) procured weapons to serve the society and assumed the powers of a king, while Vaishya and Shudra castes arose from different means of livelihood they specialised in.[125]

Medieval era, Islamic Sultanates and Mughal empire period (1000 to 1750)

Early and mid 20th century Muslim historians, such as Hashimi in 1927 and Qureshi in 1962, proposed that "caste system was established before the arrival of Islam", and it and "a nomadic savage lifestyle" in the northwest Indian subcontinent were the primary cause why [Sindhi](#) non-Muslims "embraced Islam in flocks" when Arab Muslim armies invaded the region.[126] According to this hypothesis, the mass conversions occurred from the lower caste Hindus and Mahayana Buddhists who had become "corroded from within by the infiltration of Hindu beliefs and practices". This theory is now widely believed to be baseless and false.[127][128]

Derryl MacLein, a professor of social history and Islamic studies, states that historical evidence does not support this theory; that whatever evidence is available suggests that Muslim institutions in north-west India legitimised and continued any inequalities that existed; and that neither Buddhists nor "lower caste" Hindus converted to Islam because they viewed Islam to lack a caste system.[129] Conversions to Islam were rare, states MacLein, and conversions attested by historical evidence confirms that the few who did convert were

Brahmin Hindus (theoretically, the upper caste).[130] MacLein asserts that the caste and conversion theories about Indian society during the Islamic era are not based on historical evidence or verifiable sources, but rather on the personal assumptions of Muslim historians about the nature of Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism in the northwest Indian subcontinent.[131]

Richard Eaton, a professor of history at Berkley, asserts that the presumption of a rigid Hindu caste system and the oppression of lower castes in pre-Islamic era in India is the cause of "mass conversion to Islam" during the medieval era. This claim suffers from the problem that "no evidence can be found in support of the theory, and it is profoundly illogical".[127]

Peter Jackson, a professor of Medieval History and Muslim India, writes that the speculative hypotheses about the caste system in Hindu states during the medieval Delhi Sultanate period (~1200 to 1500), and the existence of a caste system, as being responsible for Hindu weakness in resisting the plunder by Islamic armies, is appealing at first sight, but "they do not withstand closer scrutiny and historical evidence".[132] Jackson states that, contrary to the theoretical model of caste where only Kshatriyas could be warriors and soldiers, historical evidence confirms that Hindu warriors and soldiers during the medieval era included members other castes such as Vaishyas and Shudras.[132] "Further," writes Jackson, "there is no evidence that there ever was a widespread conversion to Islam at the turn of twelfth century" by Hindus of lower caste.[132] Jamal Malik, a professor of Islamic studies, extends this observation further, and states that "at no time in history did Hindus of low caste convert *en masse* to Islam".[133]

Jamal Malik states that caste as a social stratification is a well-studied Indian system, yet evidence also suggests that hierarchical concepts, class consciousness and social stratification had already occurred in Islam before Islam arrived in India.[133] The concept of caste, or 'qaum' in Islamic literature, is mentioned by a few Islamic historians of medieval India, states Malik, but these mentions relate to the fragmentation of the Muslim society in India.[134] Zia al-Din al-Barani of Delhi Sultanate in his *Fatawa-ye Jahandari* and Abu al-Fadl from Akbar's court of Mughal Empire are the few Islamic court historians who mention caste. Zia al-Din al-Barani's discussion, however, is not about non-Muslim castes, rather a declaration of the supremacy of *Ashraf* caste over *Ardhal* caste among the Muslims, justifying it in Quranic text, with "aristocratic birth and superior genealogy being the most important traits of a human".[135][136]

Irfan Habib, an Indian historian, states that Abu al-Fazl's *Ain-i Akbari* provides a historical record and census of the Jat peasant caste of Hindus in northern India, where the tax-collecting noble classes (Zamindars), the armed cavalry and infantry (warrior class) doubling up as the farming peasants (working class), were all of the same Jat caste in the 16th century. These occupationally diverse members from one caste served each other, writes Habib, either because of their reaction to taxation pressure of Muslim rulers or because they belonged to the same caste.[137] Peasant social stratification and caste lineages were, states Habib, tools for tax revenue collection in areas under the Islamic rule.[138]

The origin of caste system of modern form, in the Bengal region of India, may be traceable to this period, states Richard Eaton.[139] The medieval era Islamic Sultanates in India utilised social stratification to rule and collect tax revenue from non-Muslims.[140] Eaton states that, "Looking at Bengal's Hindu society as a whole, it seems likely that the caste system—far from being the ancient and unchanging essence of Indian civilisation as supposed by generations of Orientalists—emerged into something resembling its modern form only in the period 1200–1500".[139]

Later-Mughal period (1700 to 1850)

Susan Bayly, an anthropologist, notes that "caste is not and never has been a fixed fact of Indian life" and the caste system as we know it today, as a "ritualised scheme of social stratification," developed in two stages during the post-Mughal period, in 18th and early 19th

century. Three sets of value played an important role in this development: priestly hierarchy, kingship, and armed ascetics.[141]

With the Islamic Mughal empire falling apart in the 18th century, regional post-Mughal ruling elites and new dynasties from diverse religious, geographical and linguistic background attempted to assert their power in different parts of India.[142] Bayly states that these obscure post-Mughal elites associated themselves with kings, priests and ascetics, deploying the symbols of caste and kinship to divide their populace and consolidate their power. In addition, in this fluid stateless environment, some of the previously casteless segments of society grouped themselves into caste groups.[6] However, in 18th century writes Bayly, India-wide networks of merchants, armed ascetics and armed tribal people often ignored these ideologies of caste.[143] Most people did not treat caste norms as given absolutes writes Bayly, but challenged, negotiated and adapted these norms to their circumstances. Communities teamed in different regions of India, into "collective classing" to mold the social stratification in order to maximise assets and protect themselves from loss.[144] The "caste, class, community" structure that formed became valuable in a time when state apparatus was fragmenting, was unreliable and fluid, when rights and life were unpredictable.[145]

In this environment, states Rosalind O'Hanlon, a professor of Indian history, the newly arrived East India Company colonial officials, attempted to gain commercial interests in India by balancing Hindu and Muslim conflicting interests, and by aligning with regional rulers and large assemblies of military monks. The East India Company officials adopted constitutional laws segregated by religion and caste.[146] The legal code and colonial administrative practice was largely divided into Muslim law and Hindu law, the latter including laws for Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs. In this transitory phase, Brahmins together with scribes, ascetics and merchants who accepted Hindu social and spiritual codes, became the deferred-to-authority on Hindu texts, law and administration of Hindu matters.[147][a]

While legal codes and state administration were emerging in India, with the rising power of the European powers, Dirks states that the late 18th-century British writings on India say little about caste system in India, and predominantly discuss territorial conquest, alliances, warfare and diplomacy in India.[149] Colin Mackenzie, a British social historian of this time, collected vast numbers of texts on Indian religions, culture, traditions and local histories from south India and Deccan region, but his collection and writings have very little on caste system in 18th-century India.[150]

During British rule (1857 to 1947)

Although the *varnas* and *jatis* have pre-modern origins, the caste system as it exists today is the result of developments during the post-Mughal period and the British colonial period, which made caste organisation a central mechanism of administration.[2][151][4]

Basis

Jati were the basis of caste ethnology during the British colonial era. In the 1881 census and thereafter, colonial ethnographers used caste (*jati*) headings, to count and classify people in what was then British India (now India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma).[152] The 1891 census included 60 sub-groups each subdivided into six occupational and racial categories, and the number increased in subsequent censuses.[153] The colonial era census caste tables, states Susan Bayly, "ranked, standardised and cross-referenced jati listings for Indians on principles similar to zoology and botanical classifications, aiming to establish who was superior to whom by virtue of their supposed purity, occupational origins and collective moral worth". While bureaucratic colonial officials completed reports on their zoological classification of Indian people, some British officials criticised these exercises as being little more than a caricature of the reality of caste system in India. The colonial officials used the census-determined jatis to decide which group of people were qualified for which jobs in the

colonial government, and people of which jatis were to be excluded as unreliable.[154] These census caste classifications, states Gloria Raheja, a professor of Anthropology, were also used by colonial officials over the late 19th century and early 20th century, to formulate land tax rates, as well as to frequently target some social groups as "criminal" castes and castes prone to "rebellion".[155]

The population then comprised about 200 million people, across five major religions, and over 500,000 agrarian villages, each with a population between 100 and 1,000 people of various age groups, which were variously divided into numerous castes. This ideological scheme was theoretically composed of around 3,000 castes, which in turn was claimed to be composed of 90,000 local endogamous sub-groups.[1][156][157][158]

The strict British class system may have influenced the British preoccupation with the Indian caste system as well as the British perception of pre-colonial Indian castes. British society's own similarly rigid class system provided the British with a template for understanding Indian society and castes.[159] The British, coming from a society rigidly divided by class, attempted to equate India's castes with British social classes.[160][161] According to David Cannadine, Indian castes merged with the traditional British class system during the British Raj.[162][163]

Race science

Colonial administrator Herbert Hope Risley, an exponent of race science, used the ratio of the width of a nose to its height to divide Indians into Aryan and Dravidian races, as well as seven castes[164]

Jobs for forward castes

The role of the British Raj on the caste system in India is controversial.[166] The caste system became legally rigid during the Raj, when the British started to enumerate castes during their ten-year census and meticulously codified the system.[167][156] Between 1860 and 1920, the British formulated the caste system into their system of governance, granting administrative jobs and senior appointments only to the upper castes.[8]

Targeting criminal castes and their isolation

Starting with the 19th century, the British colonial government passed a series of laws that applied to Indians based on their religion and caste identification.[168][169][170] These colonial era laws and their provisions used the term "Tribes", which included castes within their scope. This terminology was preferred for various reasons, including Muslim sensitivities that considered castes by definition Hindu, and preferred *Tribes*, a more generic term that included Muslims.[171]

The British colonial government, for instance, enacted the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. This law declared that all those who belonged to certain castes were born with criminal tendencies.[172] Ramnarayan Rawat, a professor of History and specialising in social exclusion in the Indian subcontinent, states that the criminal-by-birth castes under this Act included initially Ahirs, Gurjars and Jats, but its enforcement expanded by the late 19th century to include most Shudras and untouchables, such as Chamars,[173] as well as Sannyasis and hill tribes.[172] Castes suspected of rebelling against colonial laws and seeking self-rule for India, such as the previously ruling families Kallars and the Maravars in south India and non-loyal castes in north India such as Ahirs, Gurjars and Jats, were called "predatory and barbarian" and added to the criminal castes list.[174][175] Some caste groups were targeted using the Criminal Tribes Act even when there were no reports of any violence or criminal activity, but where their forefathers were known to have rebelled against Mughal or British authorities,[176][177] or these castes were demanding labour rights and disrupting colonial tax collecting authorities.[178]

The colonial government prepared a list of criminal castes, and all members registered in these castes by caste-census were restricted in terms of regions they could visit, move about in or people with whom they could socialise.[172] In certain regions of colonial India, entire caste groups were presumed guilty by birth, arrested, children separated from their parents, and held in penal colonies or quarantined without conviction or due process.[179][180][181] This practice became controversial, did not enjoy the support of all British colonial officials, and in a few cases this decades-long practice was reversed at the start of the 20th century with the proclamation that people "could not be incarcerated indefinitely on the presumption of [inherited] bad character".[179] The criminal-by-birth laws against targeted castes was enforced until the mid-20th century, with an expansion of criminal castes list in west and south India through the 1900s to 1930s.[180][182] Hundreds of Hindu communities were brought under the Criminal Tribes Act. By 1931, the colonial government included 237 criminal castes and tribes under the act in the Madras Presidency alone.[182]

While the notion of hereditary criminals conformed to orientalist stereotypes and the prevailing racial theories during the colonial era, the social impact of its enforcement was profiling, division and isolation of many communities of Hindus as criminals-by-birth.[173][181][183][b]

Religion and caste segregated human rights

Eleanor Nesbitt, a professor of History and Religions in India, states that the colonial government hardened the caste-driven divisions in India not only through its caste census, but with a series of laws in the early 20th century.[184][185] Colonial officials, for instance, enacted laws such as the Land Alienation Act in 1900 and Punjab Pre-Emption Act in 1913, listing castes that could legally own land and denying equivalent property rights to other census-determined castes. These acts prohibited the inter-generational and intra-generational transfer of land from land-owning castes to any non-agricultural castes, thereby preventing economic mobility of property and creating consequent caste barriers in India.[184][186]

Khushwant Singh a Sikh historian, and Tony Ballantyne a professor of History, state that these colonial-era laws helped create and erect barriers within land-owning and landless castes in northwest India.[186][187] Caste-based discrimination and denial of human rights by the colonial state had similar impact elsewhere in India.[188][189][190]

Social identity

Nicholas Dirks has argued that Indian caste as we know it today is a "modern phenomenon,"[c] as caste was "fundamentally transformed by British colonial rule."[d] According to Dirks, before colonial rule caste affiliation was quite loose and fluid, but colonial rule enforced caste affiliation rigorously, and constructed a much more strict hierarchy than existed previously, with some castes being criminalised and others being given preferential treatment.[191][192]

De Zwart notes that the caste system used to be thought of as an ancient fact of Hindu life and that contemporary scholars argue instead that the system was constructed by the colonial authorities. He says that "jobs and education opportunities were allotted based on caste, and people rallied and adopted a caste system that maximized their opportunity". De Zwart also notes that post-colonial affirmative action only reinforced the "British colonial project that ex hypothesi constructed the caste system".[193]

Sweetman notes that the European conception of caste dismissed former political configurations and insisted upon an "essentially religious character" of India. During the colonial period, caste was defined as a religious system and was divorced from political powers. This made it possible for the colonial rulers to portray India as a society characterised by spiritual harmony in contrast to the former Indian states which they criticised as "despotic and epiphenomenal",[194][e] with the colonial powers providing the necessary "benevolent, paternalistic rule by a more 'advanced' nation".[195]

ntific opinion"[

[Caste among Hindus is not the same as "caste" among non-Hindus]

[1:] I have dealt with those, those who are outside your group [=the Mandal] and whose hostility to your id
you nor with you. I was hesitating whether I should deal with their point of view. But on further considera
the problem of caste is not merely an attitude of neutrality, but is an attitude of armed neutrality. Secondly
nothing peculiar nor odious in the Caste System of the Hindus. Such Hindus cite the case of Muslim, Sikh

[2:] In considering this question, you must at the outset bear in mind that nowhere is human society one sir
other. Between them lie all sorts of associative arrangements of lesser and larger scope—families, friendsh
robbers. These small groups are usually firmly welded together, and are often as exclusive as castes. They
Europe as well as in Asia. The question to be asked in determining whether a given society is an ideal soci

[3:] The questions to be asked in determining what is an ideal society are: How numerous and varied are th
other forms of associations? Are the forces that separate groups and classes more numerous than the forces
matter of custom and convenience, or is it a matter of religion? It is in the light of these questions that one

[4:] If we apply these considerations to castes among Mohammedans, Sikhs, and Christians on the one har
fundamentally different from caste among Hindus. First, the ties which consciously make the Hindu hold
The strength of a society depends upon the presence of points of contact, possibilities of interaction, betwe
elastic threads which help to bring the disintegrating elements together and to reunite them. There is no int
the Non-Hindus there are plenty of these organic filaments which bind them together.

[5:] Again it must be borne in mind that although there are castes among Non-Hindus, as there are among
a Mohammedan or a Sikh who he is. He tells you that he is a Mohammedan or a Sikh, as the case may be.
When he tells you that he is a Muslim, you do not proceed to ask him whether he is a Shiya or a Suni; She
is Jat or Roda, Mazbi or Ramdasi. But you are not satisfied, if a person tells you that he is a Hindu. You fe
that without knowing it you do not feel sure what sort of a being he is.

[6:] That caste has not the same social significance among Non-Hindus as it has among Hindus is clear, if
castes among Sikhs and Mohammedans, but the Sikhs and the Mohammedans will not outcast a Sikh or a
Sikhs and the Mohammedans. But with the Hindus the case is entirely different. A Hindu is sure to be outc
and Non-Hindus. This is the second point of difference.

[7:] But there is also a third and a more important one. Caste among the non-Hindus has no religious conse
practice, not a sacred institution. They did not originate it. With them it is only a survival. They do not reg
of castes as a virtue. Religion does not compel the Non-Hindus to take the same attitude towards caste. If l
of Non-Hindus. It is, therefore, a dangerous delusion to take comfort in the mere existence of caste among
are other "organic filaments" which subordinate the feeling of caste to the feeling of community. The soon

[8:] The other set [of "neutral" Hindus] denies that caste presents any problem at all for the Hindus to cons
proof of their fitness to survive. This point of view is well expressed by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan in his Hind

"The civilization itself has not been a short-lived one. Its historic records date back for over four thousand
though at times slow and static, course until the present day. It has stood the stress and strain of more than
and cultures have been pouring into India from the dawn of History, Hinduism has been able to maintain i
coerce the large majority of Hindus to their views. The Hindu culture possesses some vitality which seems
than to open a tree to see whether the sap still runs."

The name of Prof. Radhakrishnan is big enough to invest with profundity whatever he says, and impress th
statement may become the basis of a vicious argument that the fact of survival is proof of fitness to survive

[9:] It seems to me that the question is not whether a community lives or dies; the question is on what plan[e] individual as well as for a society, there is a gulf between merely living, and living worthily. To figh[t] in a [?] captive is also a mode of survival. It is useless for a <u>Hindu</u> to take comfort in the fact that he and his peopl[e] am sure he will cease to take pride in the mere fact of survival. A Hindu's life has been a life of conti[n]uous life which is perishing everlastingly. It is a mode of survival of which every right-minded Hindu wh[o] is no[t]

Are Castes the Opposite of Classes?

Caste and class are polar opposites, as understood by the western scholars, and in particular by the British administrators and ethnographers. They observe that caste and class are different forms of social stratification.

The units ranked in the class system are individuals, and those ranked in the caste system are groups. According to this view, change is taking place from caste to class, hierarchy to stratification, closed to open, and from an organic to segmentary system. Such a distinction between caste and class is more of a heuristic nature.

A narrow view of class is taken by considering it a result of objective rating of positions based on certain attributes. To think of class as a case of fluidity and of caste as a case of rigidity is too simplistic and unrealistic – a depiction of these two systems of social stratification. Acceptance of such a distinction would obviously mean defining caste through the concepts of status – rigidity, organic solidarity, functional interdependence, homo hierarchicus and pollution-purity.

Obviously, class is described by the ideology of individualism, competition and equality. Such constructs of caste and class are grossly erroneous. Caste-class nexus has always been a historical fact. Continuity and change of this nexus needs to be seen both as a historical reality and a contextual phenomenon.

Caste, as a system of social stratification, represents a semblance of both rigidity and fluidity, cooperation and competition, holism and individualism, organic and segmentary divisions, interdependence and autonomy, and inequality and equality.

The genesis of these polar characteristics of caste and class lies in the notion of the imagined superiority of the non-caste western society. These distinctions between caste and class are analytic and not historic and experiential. Ascription and patronage are as much part of the western society as they are found in Indian society.

The distinction that caste is a real phenomenon and class is a category, an attributional construction, is untenable. Both caste and class are real and empiric. Both are interactional and hierarchical and caste inheres elements of class, and class inheres elements of caste.

Another fallacy is that class has only the Marxian meaning for the Indian society. What about unity and harmony among the patrons and clients, landlords and tenants, the upper caste 'haves' and the lower caste 'have not's? At the same time, these polarities refer to contradictions and resultant conflicts between the powerful and the weaker sections. Power is not a zero-sum reality in the Indian context.

There are people who are not just at the top and at the bottom. It is a multi-layered and intricate social formation. Thus, caste does not have an air of finality and completeness. It has been dynamic and full of contradictions. Violation of caste norms does not lead to removal of caste as a principle of social stratification.

The lower castes demanded for fair wages and gifts from their patrons whenever justice was not done to them. Sometimes, they even decided not to render services to the patrons. In most cases, their demands were acceded to by the jajmans.

Since caste incorporates class and class incorporates caste, neither the 'caste view' alone nor the 'class view' alone can explain the entire gamut of India's social reality. The fact is that a perfect congruence between caste class and power never existed in pre-British India.

Mobility and migration were normal activities, particularly resulting from warfare for acquiring power. There were also revolts against the excesses and atrocities committed against the lower castes. In recent years, land reforms, adult franchise and certain

constitutional provisions have brought about some incongruities in the 'summation of statuses'.

Material and cultural traditions existed in a congruent form, and class transformation was a vital fact in the form of new kingdoms, settled agriculture, trade, cities and banking and guild organisations. A.R. Desai (1975) observes that caste inheres an underdeveloped but potentially explosive class character. He considers the Indian state 'capitalistic' in its essence and reality, as the state holds economic power, and uses political power for granting or denying economic power to the people.

Thus, both caste and class are real dimensions of India's social formation, and seem to be inseparable from each other. Class is not simply a conceptual abstraction, a construct based on certain attributes or operational indices; it is a concrete reality. Classes of landowners, landless labourers, traders and moneylenders are structural components of Indian society. Interactional ties between them refer to their life-situations.

The caste and class nexus is highlighted by Kathleen Gough (1980) in her analysis of the mode of production as a social formation in which she finds interconnections between caste, kinship, family and marriage on the one hand and forces of production and production relations, on the other. Class relationships are taken as the main assumption in the treatment of caste and kinship in India. Even, the vaara and jajmani systems have been explained by some scholars in terms of class relations and the mode of production.

Caste and class represent, to a large extent, the same structural reality. Yogendra Singh's comments on the caste and class nexus are quite pertinent: "The situation corresponds to a 'prismatic' model of change where traditional sentiments of caste and kinship undergo adaptive transformation without completely being 'diffracted' into classes or corporate groups. Classes operate within the framework of caste" (1968).

Caste conflicts are also class conflicts as the upper and the lower castes correspond to the high and the low classes, respectively, in terms of their social placement. Castes also function as classes because they function as interest groups.

Caste associations undertake several economic and political activities for their members. Joan Mencher (1974) finds that caste is used as a very effective system of economic exploitation of the lower castes. The upper castes have not allowed the emergence of a class consciousness among the lower castes (classes), as the former feared a threat to their entrenched status.

Changes in Caste and Class Relations in India

The orthodox Marxists, for example, observe only two classes in Indian agriculture:
(1) the class of big landlords; and

(2) the class of agricultural labourers.

The other view is that today class differentiation in terms of agricultural labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants, rich peasants, landlords, etc., exists and has also existed in the past. The Marxist scholars consider relations between these classes as 'capitalistic', hence the 'haves' and the 'have nots'.

A.R. Desai's view is that the state in India has assumed the property norms of a capitalist society as the axis of developmental strategy. Economic determinism, implicit in the orthodox Marxism, is countered by those who emphasise the use of indigenous concepts for understanding of the specific social reality of Indian society.

While examining the nature of class and class conflict in Indian society, five major classes are listed by V.M. Dandekar (1978).

These are:

(1) Pre-capitalist workforce (cultivators, agricultural labourers and household industry),

(2) Independent workers in capitalist society,

(3) Employees

(4) White-collar employees, and

(5) blue-collar workers.

The main classes can also be referred as:
(1) The agrarian classes,

(2) The industrial classes,

(3) The professional classes, and

(4) The business and mercantile classes.

Dandekar expresses his doubts about the application of the Marxian approach to India's class structure. Large-scale industry and monopoly capitalism have different implications in India compared to western countries. The role of trade unions and collective bargaining of workers have been undermined. Along with class antagonism, class harmony is also a fact of life. The multiplicity of classes in between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' cannot escape our attention.

The emergence of the new middle classes in India during the British period and more so after India's independence does not support a simple two-class theory in regard to the Indian situation. The proletariat is propertyless but he does have a chance for embourgeoisiement.

The categorisation as 'wage earners' is a loose one, as it comprises those earning Rs. 200 to Rs. 2,000 per month. Thus, like the 'haves', the 'have nots' are also a heterogeneous lot. A large number of workers are not 'organised'. Today, salaries and wages have gone up enormously, and particularly as a result of 'globalisation'.

Further, the Indian state, being a 'welfare state', is the largest employer today. Can a democratic welfare state be as oppressive or exploitative as the monopoly capitalists could be? In India, only one-ninth of the total workers are organised through trade unions. Thus, like caste, class is also a complex phenomenon in Indian society. It overlaps with caste, occupation, factions and pressure groups.

Instead of the classes at the top and at the bottom of the class pyramid, the middle classes and the mixed classes have emerged as crucial phenomena in contemporary India. The emergence of an upper-middle class during the past decade and half has also set in a new trend of social mobility, particularly among the highly qualified people in the fields of science and technology.

The resurgence of caste, with its multiple facets, is a new phenomenon in the post-independence period. Those who have analysed class relations as a dominant causality, they explain caste and other cultural aspects in Indian society as a part of class analysis. Class alone is not a result of the new forces of change. Changes are in the traditional caste and class relations and not in caste alone paving the way to the emergence of class relations.

Thus, classes are found as a part of a system of social stratification in the same way as castes are rooted in Indian society. Class, class relations and class conflicts are not monolithic. There are objective criteria of class identification, and class is- also a concrete unit of interaction vis-a-vis other units.

Caste inheres numerous problems related to economic domination and subjugation, privileges and deprivations, and conspicuous waste and bare survival. Class relationships are treated as background assumptions in the treatment of caste and kinship in India. The jajmani system can be explained in terms of class relations and the mode of production. Division of labour and patron client relationships refer to the economic dimensions of the jajmani system.

Caste riots are frequent in areas where economic deprivations have been reported. The upper castes have waged a class war against Harijans. Dalits/Harijans have been attacked and murdered, their womenfolk raped and put to indignities by the upper caste landlord families

The intermediate castes have ascended in the class hierarchy, but they are struggling against the upper castes socially and culturally. These castes have been benefited by land reforms and adult franchise more than other caste groups. The Brahmanas have lost their traditional dominance mainly because of the emergence of the numerically preponderant middle castes.

The caste system is used as an effective method of economic exploitation. The dominant class (caste) also acquires political power and social prestige with which it further perpetuates and consolidates caste hierarchy. Thus, caste hierarchy reflects ownership of land, and economic hierarchy is closely linked with social hierarchy. Caste determines a definite relation to the means of production and subsistence, specially in rural areas. Caste riots reflect conflict of class interests. Ambedkar rightly observed that the caste system was not merely a division of labour, but also "a division of labourers".

However, caste prevents labourers from becoming a class-by-itself, hence caste is an ideology. Caste has persisted as a religious and feudal ideology. However, today, the caste system is not strong because of disappearance of inter-caste relations. Castes are discrete groups, and hence segmentary entities. Depending upon a given situation, members of caste behave or do not behave like a caste group. Caste is no more an everyday life phenomenon.

Incongruities between caste, class and power are indicative of social mobility in the caste system. The corporate character of caste is under attack; the dominant castes do not enjoy hegemony of power. Sanskritisation, as a process of change, affects dominance of the upper castes, and creates an awareness among the lower castes about their rights. However, it has been noted that castes are not dominant; only families and individuals enjoy dominance and power. Corporate mobility (sanskritisation) is generally not feasible in economic and political spheres.

Mobility in the caste system, therefore, takes place at three levels:
(1) Individual,

(2) Family, and

(3) Group.

Individual is present in both family and caste, and family is considered significant in caste, and both family and caste become sources of identity and support for individual. Intra-caste differentiation can be explained in terms of the status and honour of the members and the families of a given caste.

Castes function as interest groups because they strive for new patterns of distributive justice and equality. Caste associations, caste panchayats and caste-run magazines have strengthened caste ideology. Caste lobbies in parliament, state assemblies and in zila parishads, panchayat samitis and village panchayats have become a fact of today's political life.

Elections have been fought very much on caste lines. Caste and politics have come to stay together. Caste is very much a source of power for its members. Corporateness has acquired new dimension. From ritual activities it has shifted to elections, jobs and employment opportunities.

. Theories of Caste System in India

Many western and non-Indian scholars have described the origin of castes in their own ways. Whereas Herbert Risley has attributed the racial differences to have been the cause, Nesfield and Ibbeston explained its origin through occupational factors. Abbe Dubois stressed on the role of the Brahmins in the creation of caste system. J.H. Hutton referred to the belief in 'Mana' as the origin of caste. In addition, various theories of the origin of caste system have been formulated.

Some important theories are given below:
(a) Traditional Theory:
This theory owes its origin to the ancient literature. It believes that caste has a divine origin. There are some references in the Vedic literature, wherein it is said that castes were created by Brahma, the supreme creator. He created different castes for the harmonious performance of various social functions for the maintenance of society. According to the 'Purushasukta' hymn of the Rig Veda, the Brahman is supposed to have been born from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet of the creator.

The emergence of four castes from different parts of Brahma's body is only a symbolic description and is indicative of the work performed by each of them. It considers caste as a natural determined organisation of social functions and explains one's birth in a particular caste in terms of the doctrine of Karma as well as dharma. Since the Brahmin has come out of the mouth, the seat of speech, his duty is to serve society as a teacher and also to preserve his cultural heritage.

Arms symbolize strength. Hence, the duty of the Kshatriya is to defend the society from internal and external aggressions and rule the land. The duty of the Vaishya who comes out of the thighs is to provide food for the members of society and look after its economic well being. The feet serve the body.

So, the prime duty of the Sudra who is born out of the feet of 'Brahma' is to serve the members of other castes without grumbling or grudging. Thus the purpose of creation of each caste is to perform specific functions according to the creation of God Brahma and as such castes cannot be changed due to human will.

The supporters of the traditional theory of caste cite instances from the Manusmriti, Puranas, Ramayana and Mahabharata in support of their argument of four-fold division of society. As regards the origin of a number of castes, it is believed that those have been formed as a result of the hypergamous or hypogamous marriages between the four original 'varnas'.

The 'Karma' and 'Dharma' doctrines also explain the origin of caste system. Whereas the Karma doctrine holds the view that a man is born in a particular caste because of the result of his action in the previous incarnation, the doctrine of Dharma explains that a man who

accepts the caste system and the principles of the caste to which he belongs, is living according to Dharma. It is believed that the person living according to his Dharma is rewarded. On the contrary, the violation of one's own dharma yields punishment. Confirmation to one's own dharma also remits on one's birth in the rich high caste and violation gives a birth in a lower and poor caste.

Attempts have been made to explain the caste on the basis of qualities or 'gunas' which are interpreted in terms of two sets 'gotrika' and 'namika'. The 'gotrika' quality is concerned with heredity. The individual, on the basis of his birth, inherits from his lineage, which is commonly found among all other consanguineous kins. The 'namika' qualities are the individual's own specific qualities. Thus the 'gortika' relates an individual with a particular group and determine his ascriptive status. This ascriptive status accords him membership in a particular 'jati' or caste.

This traditional theory has been criticized on three counts

First it attributes the origin of human beings of four varnas to a divine being and thus considers it as a supernatural phenomenon which is biologically wrong.

Secondly, it treats four 'varnas' as four castes, which implies that caste system and varna system are all the same. This conception is wrong. In this regard M.N. Srinivas holds that the idea of caste as the four fold division of society represents a gross oversimplification of facts. The real unit of caste system is 'Jati' denoting an endogamous community with more or less defined ritual status and occupations traditionally linked to it.

Thirdly, the tracing of the origin of caste to miscegenating or 'Varna Shankar' is also misleading. It is possible that some castes have been formed as miscegenation, but it is not correct to say that all the castes have been formed due to miscegenation.

Theory of Cultural Integration:
This theory has been propounded by Sarat Chandra Roy. Roy is of the opinion that caste is an outcome of the interaction between the Indo-Aryans' varna system on the one hand and the tribal system of the Dravidian on the other. Thus S.C. Roy holds that caste system evolved as a result of integration and assimilation of different cultures like the Aryan's. 'Karma' based varna system and the tribal system of the Dravidian occupational division of society etc. As the number of ethnic groups increased the caste system began to grow more complex.

(b) Occupational Theory:
Nesfield regarded Caste system as the natural product of the occupational division of Hindu Society. In his own words "Function and function alone is responsible for the origin of caste system". He holds the view that in the beginning when there was no rigidity, each individual was free to have occupation of his choice. But gradually with the rigidity in the system, occupational changes came to a halt.

Castes were identified on the basis of fixed occupation. Persons in noble occupations, such as educating the people, fighting in the battle field, trade etc. was considered as members of superior castes. The others were treated as persons belonging to inferior castes, such as the Sudras. In support of his theory, Nesfield cited the example that the occupation of artisans working in metals is ranked higher than basket makers or some other primitive occupations which do not involve the use of metals.

However, this theory is not free from criticism. The line of attack is that occupation is not the sole basis of causing caste differences. Wide variations are also marked in respect of the

position of agricultural castes in different parts of India. Whereas in the South these agricultural castes are rated lower, they are regarded as relatively higher and respectable in North India.

(c) Political Theory:
Some thinkers are of the opinion that not race but political convenience and manipulation by those wanting to retain authority resulted in the origin of caste system. The Brahmins were solely responsible for creating and maintaining this system so as to retain authority. In the words of Dr. Ghurye "Caste is the Brahminic child of Indo-Aryans culture cradled in the land of Ganges and hence transferred to other parts of India by Brahminic prospectors."

Abbe Dubois thought that the caste system is an ingenious device made by the Brahmins for Brahmins. Brahmins imposed restriction on food and social intercourse to preserve their purity necessary for the sacerdotal functions. They also accorded high status to themselves and declared all others inferior to them. The Brahmins also held that "Whatever a Brahimin says is a social norm and the entire property of the society belongs to the Brahmins." The salvation of individuals or society lied in the performance of religious rites by the Brahmin only. The Brahmins even added the concept of spiritual merit of the king, through the priest or purohit in order to get the support of the ruler of the land.

However Hutton has made scratching attack on the Brahmanical theory of the origin of caste on two counts. First, it is not possible to accept this theory unless it is confirmed that Brahmins must have got the political power to implement such a scheme. Secondly, such a deep rooted social institution like caste could hardly be imposed by an administrative measure. Of course both the arguments of Hutton appear to be illogical because Kshatriyas have ruled over the land through the entire period of history and furthermore imposition of superiority over others by the Brahmins may not be possible through administrative measure. The best explanation may be the appeal to the religious sentiments of the people.

(d) The theory of Mana:
J.H. Hutton has propounded the theory of 'Mana' in the formation of castes. This has been supported by Roy, Rice and Swart also. 'Mana' is a supernatural power which possesses the capacity to do good or bad to people. The tribals believe that 'Mana' is attached to objects, places and even to individuals. The tribal also believed that this myterious impersonal power can be transmitted through contact and social intercourse.

Tribal belief in 'Mana" is always accompanied by the belief in value of taboo. Each 'Mana' has its corresponding taboos. Taboos are required to provide protective measures. Taboos are imposed on commensality, inter-marriage, interaction, etc. to save the members of one tribe from the 'Mana' of the other tribe. Tribals consider the food of the other tribe perilous due to the belief that food and contacts may be infected with the dangerous soul matter of others. Hutton's argument is that caste elements were existent in India before the Aryan invasion.

In his study of certain tribes east of the Naga Hills, Hutton found that in this area each village was an independent political unit and occupations were distributed by villages. Some villagers were adepts in pot-making. People belonging to other villages were weaving cloth. Some villages were having blacksmiths. The villages had interdependence on each other through barter system of their products. Hutton suggested that this has probably been the state of affairs throughout pre-Aryan India.

The exogamous clans started migrating from one village to another due to political, social and natural disturbances. The villages also welcomed such migration because it was beneficial for them in respect of the non-availability of particular trade. The migrants were

not allowed to practise the profession of the village, where they got settled, because the professions were tabooed.

The tribals believed that if the strangers were allowed to practise the ancestral occupation of the villagers, that would displease the ancestors. Since the ancestors were believed to have possessed the 'Mana', they would destroy the crops and fruits of the earth. Hutton has also cited the 'Mana' principles in other religions like Buddhism, where it appears as 'iddhi'. In Islam such beliefs are known as 'Kudrat'. In Hinduism it is analogous to 'Shakti.'

Thus, Hutton has come to the conclusion that the fear of 'Mana' led to the restrictions on occupation, food, drink and marriage, because it is believed that 'Mana' would be transmitted through such contracts. As a result caste system originated.

Criticism:
The theory of 'Mana' has been criticized on two counts. First, India is not the only country where the belief in 'Mana' existed. But in no other parts of the world it created the caste system. Hence the belief that the theory that 'Mana' produced caste system appears to be misleading. Secondly, there is no evidence supporting the existence of caste system in India alone.

Racial Theory of Caste:
Herbert Risley is the most ardent exponent of racial theory of the origin of caste system. Other supporters of this theory are the scholars like Ghurye, Mazumdar, Westermarck and others. According to this theory caste system came into existence due to clash of cultures and the contact of races. The Aryans came to India as conquerers, because of their better complexion, physical appearance and built up of the body, in comparison with the non-Aryans, the Aryans placed themselves as a superior race over the non-Aryans.

Thus the Aryans considered the natives as inferior to them and maintained their own ideas and ceremonial purity. The Aryans got married to the non-Aryan women, but refused to give their own daughters in marriage to the non-Aryans. The offspring's born out of such marriages were called the Chandal. The Chandals had the lowest position in society. Thus the irregular unions between races and racial superiority were held responsible for the origin of caste system in India. Risley has mentioned six processes of development of caste system.

(i) Change in traditional occupation:
When a caste or a sub-caste changes its traditional occupation and adopts a different one, it ultimately develops into a distinct caste.

(ii) Migration:
In the past the transport and communication system was not developed. Therefore whenever a section of caste migrated from one region to the other, it faced difficulties in maintaining contacts with the earlier place. In course of time it was delinked with the parental caste.

(iii) Customary changes:
From the earliest times, the formation of new castes was based on the rejection of old custom and usages and acceptance of the new practices and habits.

(iv) Preservation of old practices:
Some caste groups are interested in maintaining their old traditions and on those bases they separate themselves from the rest of society who follow relatively new customs and traditions. The caste groups preserving old patterns may take up new names. This results in the formation of new castes.

(v) Getting into the folds of Hinduism:
Certain tribes or the section of the tribes enter into the rank on Hinduism by

(a) Changing their lineage,

(b) By accepting the tenets of any school of Hindu religion,

(c) By joining Hindu religion and by establishing relations with the Hindus without changing its name.

Thus the tribes transform themselves into castes. The examples of the Rajbanshies of Bengal and Muria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh may be taken in this regard.

(vi) Role of religious enthusiasts:
Separate sects are created by the religious enthusiasts. They preach their doctrines and attract people towards them. Gradually their followers develop into a new group. Kabir may be taken as an example in this regard.

Ghurye's view:
G.S. Ghurye also traces the Origin of caste system to race. He has associated caste system with Brahmanic system. The system originated in the Gangetic plains due to the conquest of the Aryans. According to him the conquered race began to be considered as Sudra. The Sudras were excluded from all religious and social activities of the Aryans. The Aryans did not "allow them to participate in Indo-Aryans social activities.

According to him "the Brahminic variety of this Indo-Aryan civilization was developed in the Gangetic plain. I, therefore conclude that some of the important aspects of caste originate in this region." He writes, "Multiplicity of groups and the thoroughness of the system was due to the habit of the Hindu mind to create categories to carry things to their logical end, a characteristic manifest in the literature, philosophy and religious creeds."

Ghurye believed that it is this multiplicity which has resulted in the formation of castes and sub-castes. In this regard he adds, "the various factors that characterise caste society were the result in the first instance of the attempts on the part of the upholders of Brahminic civilisation to exclude the aboriginals and the Surdras from religious and social communication with themselves.

Risley's View:
Herbert Risley held the view that the caste system originated due to the emigration of Indo-Aryans from Persia. In Persia the Indo-Aryans were divided into four classes and the migrants in India wanted to retain the same class structure. At the same time they wanted to maintain distance from the non-Aryans because they considered the non-Aryans inferior to them, both in cultural and racial features.

They practised hypergamy with the non-Aryans, but did not allow hypogamy with them. Even then more stray cases occurred. Thus three distinct classes emerged in society:

(a) Endogamous marriage of the Aryans

(b) Hypergamy and

(c) Stray cases of exogamy.

Such marriage practices resulted in the origin of castes.

Majumdar's View:
According to D.N. Majumdar the origin of caste system may be traced to the 'varna' or complexion. Initially there were only three classes on the basis of complexion. These three classes were formed out of the inter-mixing of Pro- Dravidian and Proto-Mediterranean races. The intermixing of different races arose out of the acquisition of Dravidian wives and the desire for a settled life, D.N. Majumdar writes in his book, "Races and Culture in India."

The actual mention of caste system in Avestan literature as comprising of the priest, the charioteer, agriculturists and the artisans and an identical division of society in ancient India may point to common origin of the caste system, specially, because the Indo- Aryans are only branch of the same race which moved towards Persia." In course of time the higher castes took to certain professions and the lower caste abstained from practising those professions of the higher castes. Restrictions were imposed on marriage. Gradually the superior castes maintained social distance from inferior castes. The inferior castes got themselves organised to stake their claim in the caste hierarchy. The formation of hierarchy became the basis of origin of caste system.

Critcism:
Racial theory cannot be accepted as the exclusive theory of the origin of caste system in India. Caste system should not be confined to India. It should be found in all such societies which have experienced the conquest by other racial groups.

Secondly, it is quite natural that whenever two or more distinct races come into contact, some sort of segregation results. But this may not always lead to untouchability.

Thirdly, the practice of hypergamy may be a reasonable factor contributing to the formation of the caste system. But this is not the sole reason. If we relate the origin of caste exclusively to the race, it will neglect many other possible factors.

(e) Evolutionary theory:
Denzil Ibbeston has presented this evolutionary theory of origin of caste system. The theory implies that the caste system did not come into existence all of a sudden. It is the consequence of a long process of social evolution. The caste system emerged slowly and gradually. The factors which contributed to it, included desire for purity of blood, devotion to a particular profession, theory of Karma, conquests of one army by the other, geographical location and isolation.

However, this theory has failed to provide a correct explanation for the origin of the caste system, for, though the same condition existed in other parts of the World, caste system did not evolve there. Thus a multiplicity of theories have been advanced from time to time, explaining the origin of caste system. But no theory has been completely convincing. This is due to the complexity and fluidity in the caste system. Hence, it is safe to conclude that the Indian caste system cannot be explained through mono causal theories. It is the natural result of the interaction of geographical, social, political, economic and religious factors.

Views of the Scientists:
Led by Dr. Michael Bamshad of Utah University, scientists have discovered a pattern of genetic differences that underpins the caste system in India. On the basis of their study of the genetic material from 250 people from 12 castes in Andhra Pradesh, it is revealed that each caste has developed a distinctive genetic profile because of little inter-caste marriage and the variation in the social pecking order are also mirrored in the DNA.

The conclusions of their study are particularly true for men; women's genes suggest that have some social mobility. The Hindu society is stratified into around 2000 castes and sub-castes that dictate a person's access to education, occupation and status. To study how deeply these divisions had affected them, the scientists examined their mitochondrial DNA, which is inherited only from mothers, and Y chromosomes, inherited only from fathers.

The findings of these scientists were:
(i) Man's DNA is highly specific to his caste, but with women this phenomenon was less pounced. With them, DNA typical of one caste was sometimes found in other adjoining castes.

(ii) Women occasionally marry men from higher castes, producing children who inherit the husband's caste,

(iii) The stratification of the Hindu caste system is driven by women

UNIT-V Contemporary Discourses of Indian Sociology

Contemporary sociological thought has a kit of concepts, which is used – by modern and postmodern thinkers alike. To understand and analyse our thinkers, it is essential to make a conceptual clarity of these terms. The present section discusses some of these key conceptual terms. These will provide us a meaningful understanding of Indian thought. Our argument is that these contemporary terms are embedded in both the western and Indian sociology.

Meaning of Discourse:

Discourse is written and spoken conversation and the thinking that underlies it. According to Michel Foucault, discourse is sociologically important because how we talk and think about the world shapes how we behave and the kind of world we create consequently.

It is through discourse that we construct what we experience as reality, and as soon as we learn to think and talk about reality in a particular way, we cannot help but shut off our ability to think of it in countless other ways.

Discourse Formation:

Foucault was particularly interested in discourse formation – how ways of thinking and conversation come into being in a society and how they affect social life. For him two major areas of interest were madness and sexuality, both of which he regarded as socially constructed.

There is, Foucault argued, no such thing as sexuality or madness except as human beings create ideas about them through conversation, and other forms of discourse. Whether we regard madness as divinely inspired, or evil, or a biologically caused pathology, for example, depends on what the discourse on madness looks like in our society.

Similarly, if we equate capitalism with democracy or sexuality with male-dominated heterosexuality, we cannot help but shape economic and sexual life in ways that make it difficult to consider the possibility of democratic alternatives to capitalism or sexual lives that are egalitarian. To explain such things, there are two bases of discourse formation: (1) knowledge, and (2) culture.

Knowledge:

Knowledge is what we perceive to be real and true. It can be as simple and commonplace as how to tie a shoe or as rarified and complex as particle physics. Knowledge is sociologically significant because it is socially created and because we depend on it for our sense of reality

In everyday life we carry with us knowledge of how the social world works, what sociologist Alfred Schutz called 'stock knowledge' (also known as common sense knowledge). We know what to say when answering a ringing telephone, for example, how to tell time, how to behave in restaurant, how to dress in a way appropriate for various occasions, or how to divert attention from someone who is deeply embarrassed.

Social life is based on a shared sense of what is real, and this, in turn, is based on knowledge, especially that contained in cultures. Without the existence of knowledge, we would not know how to participate in the countless situations that make up social life. But, it is equally true that without such knowledge, social life itself would not exist.

There would be no such thing as 'conversation', for example, without shared knowledge of what a conversation is and how people must behave in order for one to take place. The most long-standing sociological interest in knowledge has to do with the question of where it

comes from in the first place. In general, sociologists regard all forms of knowledge as socially produced and shaped by the culture and structure of social systems.

Karl Marx argued that ruling economic classes shape knowledge in ways that promote their interest over those of subordinate classes. From a Marxist perspective, for example, the idea that wealth results from hard work rather than from inheritance, luck, or various forms of market manipulation, serves the interests of dominant classes in capitalist societies. It does so by making the true basis of wealth and by keeping the lower classes hard at work (which will rarely make any of them wealthy) and distracted from paying critical attention to the reality of the class system and how it works.

Following Marx, Karl Mannheim argued that the social basis for knowledge is much broader than the economic forces that form the core of Marx's approach. In more recent times, various approaches to knowledge have developed, including postmodernism.

Culture:
Culture is an accumulated store of symbols, ideas and material products associated with a social system, whether it is an entire society or a family. It is important to note that culture does not refer to what people actually do, but to the ideas they share about what they do.

What makes an idea cultural rather than personal is not simply that it is shared by two or more people; rather, it must be perceived and experienced as having an authority that transcends the thought of individuals. We do not perceive a symbol or idea as cultural because most people share in it, for in fact we have no way of knowing what most people in a society think. Instead, we assume that most people share in a cultural idea because we identify it as cultural.

Culture is the shared symbols of communication and conceptions of reality that is peculiar to a group or society. Words, phrases and ideas have special meanings within a group that make interaction more efficient and give the members a sense of identity and belonging

Outsiders or new members must learn the language and assumptions of the culture or sub-culture before they can understand the subtleties of communication or feel secure as members. Therefore, language and communication are the two important channels of discourse.

Language:
This is universal form of human behaviour involving symbolic communication through a culturally accepted system of sound patterns having standardized meanings. Language is a part of culture and expresses its heritage. In language arbitrary sounds are formed into cultural symbols capable of communicating ideas, desires, meanings, experiences and traditions from one generation to another.

Language is a social product. Each individual in the culture develops language through prolonged interaction with members who are already socialized, and language represents the accumulated and current experiences, feelings and meanings that can be communicated and stabilized within the culture. Language is essential to human perception, thinking, awareness of self, awareness of others, and to the existence of the social community itself.

Communication:
The transmission of information, ideas, attitudes or emotions from one person or group to another, primarily through symbols, is called communication. In effective communication, the meaning conveyed to the recipient corresponds closely to that intended by the sender.

Communication forms the basis for all social interaction; it enables the transmission of cumulative knowledge and makes possible the existence of empathic understanding among individuals.

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Issues of Discourses:
Contemporary discourses on sociology for India centre around the following four issues:
1. Contextualization

2. Indigenization

3. Use of native categories in the analysis of Indian society

4. Sociology for India

Indigenization of Sociology: Need, Attempts and the Case of Indian Sociology

Need for Indigenization:
On the intellectual front, the key crisis in social sciences in Asia is related to indigenization. The native scholarship has begun raising questions regarding the applicability and appropriateness of theories and methodology imported from abroad, and has started almost a campaign for their replacement by 'native categories of thought' and indigenous techniques of research.

The call for indigenization, however, takes different forms, and lays emphasis on different aspects in different countries. In countries which have recently introduced social sciences, indigenization is merely a plea for the introduction and recognition of social sciences so that native scholarships grow and finally make a contribution to the nation-building process.

There, the substantive issues are not discussed. In some others, indigenization is expressed in terms of switch over to the national language as medium of instruction and report writing. Curriculum development, with a bias towards national needs, is also an indicator of indigenization.

While considerable reaction against the 'external' theories and methodology is in evidence, there is, however, very little by way of construction of an indigenous social science. Much of the thinking on this issue is guided by the national perspectives, and one is not sure whether any Asian perspective is likely to emerge. One will have to watch carefully whether indigenization will lead to a retreat to national shells or to an emergence of parochial regional social science in place of a universal-global social science.

It must also be stated that in the past few years more channels have been opened for the social scientists to act regionally and even internationally. These apertures should guard against any insular tendencies that might develop as part of the process of indigenization. Development

strategists are sloganizing the need for endogenous development, whereas social scientists are agonizing about indigenization.

In the above context, the question of indigenization has been discussed in several national and international meetings organized under different auspices. The movement began to gain momentum in the early 1970s when indigenous scholars from the Third World raised their voice against the implantation of social sciences perpetuating 'captivity' of mind; they were later joined by a number of social scientists from western countries sharing this concern.

In Asia, the concern was most eloquently expressed at the first Asian Conference on Teaching and Research in Social Sciences, organized under the auspices of UNESCO in 1973 at Shimla, India. Again, in meeting on International Cooperation in the Field of Social Sciences, organized by UNESCO in Paris in 1976, the participants underlined the fact that 90 per cent of the social scientists of the world came from the developed countries.

The question of indigenization was also taken up by the Conference of National Social Science Councils (CNSSC) and analogous bodies, at its 1977 meeting. In 1978, the Wenner-Gren Foundation organized a conference on indigenous anthropology. The Korean Social Science Research Council convened a seminar to discuss "Organization of Western Approaches to Social Sciences" in early 1979.

In September, 1979, the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) organized in collaboration with CNSSC – now renamed International Federation of Social Science Organizations (IFSSO) – a special panel discussion during its Third Conference held in Manila.

There is, thus, a worldwide concern with this problem. This lesson attempts to synthesize the major trends of thinking and articulates key concerns related to the call for indigenization. Here, we are heavily dependent on the writings of Yogesh Atal (2003), Surendra Sharma (1985), and Yogendra Singh (1986).

The call for indigenization of social sciences in Asia has not yet gone beyond the reactive phase. Since these reactions come from different sources, albeit all from the professional social scientists, they emphasize different aspects of indigenization. Even, the definitional crisis has not yet been resolved: indigenization means different things to different people.

The social sciences in Asia and the Pacific are at different stages of development. Their introduction to individual countries was determined by their respective colonial masters. The period of their entry, the relative emphasis given to different disciplines, the 'external' orientation of the first generation of native social scientists, and the literature on the society and culture of these countries are all influenced by the colonial heritage.

At the political level, the decolonization process was spelt out as the process of localization or nativization. It is in this sense that Jawaharlal Nehru, and his compatriots, for example, raised the slogan for Indianization during the freedom struggle.

Proponents of indigenization are aware of the dangers of a mere rhetoric of counter-attack. They do not wish to appear as "courageous natives talking back to the alien masters", or as chauvinists.

According to Atal (2003: 103-4), some of the positive aspects of indigenization being emphasized by its exponents are:

1. Indigenization is a plea for self-awareness and rejection of a borrowed consciousness. It emphasizes the need for an inside view. Its proponents wish to stimulate such scholarly endeavour so as to promote thoughtful analysis of their own societies to replace the existing trend of knowing these via the West.

2. Indigenization advocates the desirability for alternative perspectives on human societies with a view to making the social sciences less parochial and enriching them. This would, it is believed, emancipate the mind and improve the quality of professional praxis, so that society can be examined through new lenses.

3. Indigenization draws attention to historical and cultural specificities and argues for the redefinition of focus, with a view to developing dynamic perspectives on national problems.

4. Indigenization should not lead to narrow parochialism or to the fragmentation of a single discipline into several insulated systems of thought based on geographical boundaries. It is opposed not only to false universalism but to false nationalism as well. Reduced to the level of national narcissism, indigenization would be rendered futile.

In his article, "Indigenization and Transnational Co-operation in the Social Sciences", Krishna Kumar (1979: 104-5) differentiates between three types of indigenization: structural, substantive and theoretical.

To quote his definitions:
(a) "Structural indigenization can be defined with reference to the institutional and organizational capabilities of a nation for the production and diffusion of social science knowledge."

(b) "substantive indigenization can be conceptualized within the content focus of the social sciences. The essential premise is that the main thrust of these disciplines in a country should be on its own society, people, and economic and political institutions."

(c) "Theoretic indigenization indicates a condition in which the social scientists of a nation are involved in constructing distinctive, conceptual frameworks and meta-theories which reflect their worldviews, social and cultural experiences, and perceived goals."

Krishna Kumar does not regard structural and content indigenization as problematic, and dwells at length on the problem of theoretic indigenization and comes to the right conclusion that it is not indigenization but 'transnational co-operation' that ought to be encouraged. In doing so, he touches only one aspect of dilemma.

Although relayed in high accent, indigenization invites thinking about a strategy to match the twin concerns of diffusion of a universal social science culture and the need for roots in different cultural settings. It is not without significance that in this debate the word 'indigenization' is generally preferred to 'endogenous development'.:

Taken literally, endogenous development signifies development generated from within and orthogenetically, which would, thus, have no place for any exogenous influence. In fact, it was coined in strong reaction to an externally produced and directed strategy of development; it is a different matter that so much outside interest continues to pervade endogenous development, making the newer slogan somewhat redundant.

Indigenization, by contrast, at least honestly alludes to outside contact by emphasizing the need for indigenization the exogenous elements to suit local requirements; whether this is done by the 'indigenous' or by 'outsiders' is a mere detail.

It is clear from current academic trends that the concern for indigenization is spreading globally. It is not only the countries of the Third World that are talking about indigenization; one can even find articles on "Canadization".

The concern for indigenization among researchers from the developed world is received with a certain pinch of salt. This is how John Samy of Fiji reporting on the discussion on "Theory and Methods" at the recent Young Nations Conference describes a familiar situation:

The Conference received and entertained a barrage of attractive and emotionally persuasive develop mentalist jargon. Some of these words were local products while others were carefully indigenized to suit the Pacific taste. But even more importantly, much of the talking at the Conference was at cross-purposes, arising from a very sharp dichotomy between foreigners (that is, Australians, New Zealanders and other metropolitan researchers) and the locals (that is, Pacific Islanders, or the researched) ….

Most of the so-called foreign or expatriate researchers … wanted to know their research could be of benefit to Pacific people. On the other hand, most Pacific Islanders, once they settled down, seemed to enjoy the privilege of being brought to Sydney to advise and guide the foreigners on relevant research.

Attempts for Indigenization:
According to Atal (2003), in the Asian context, indigenization has been pursued along with four fronts which we would discuss in this section
1. Teaching in the national language and use of local materials,

2. Research by insiders,

3. Determination of research priorities, and

4. Theoretical and methodological reorientation.

Teaching in the National Language and Use of Local Materials:
Several countries of the region are taking steps to introduce the national language as the medium of instructions at higher levels of learning. In the case of India, the problem is further compounded by the fact that the Constitution of India recognizes fourteen regional languages, and the various states are moving towards the adoption of regional languages for the purpose of instructions. The implication of this policy on the growth of social sciences may be noted.

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Acceptance of a national language as the medium of instructions requires the production of literature in that language. Most of the books available in non-Asian languages are beyond the comprehension of the majority of students now entering postgraduate departments. As they received their education in vernacular, they are at disadvantage when asked to consult material or listen to lectures in a foreign language.

They, therefore, demand books in the national language. But, the demand for books in the vernacular cannot be fulfilled by the seniors who, though experts in the field, lack communication skills in the vernacular or they fear to loose their scholarship as they have to come down from their standard or they do not have time to write the textbook at the cost of their research work.

The new generation of social scientists, because of their lack of competence in an international language, is likely to remain unexposed to the recent developments in their respective disciplines in other countries. Likewise, their own work will not reach foreign researchers and colleagues.

Such insulation will isolate them from the world community. The same thing may happen within the country if regional (provincial) languages are made the medium of instructions. On the contrary, due to the globalization, the interest is now developing to learn not only English but also French, German, Japanese, Russian, Korean, Chinese, Spanish etc.

Research by Insiders:

One significant step towards indigenization taken by most countries is the promotion of research by the 'locals', and curbing of 'expatriate' research. Several methodological problems concerning research by insiders versus outsiders have come to the fore. It may, however, be maintained that restricting outsiders' research has not always been guided by academic considerations; political considerations have also prevented insiders from doing research on certain themes.

Cases can be cited where governments allowed expatriates to carry out research on the most 'relevant' areas while insiders were not permitted to do so. Curbs on the publication of research findings are yet another problem: while the foreign researchers enjoy relative freedom to collect material and publish the findings, the locals may never be allowed to do so.

Determination of Priorities:

Another dimension of indigenization is the promotion of research on themes regarded as nationally important and relevant. In the developing countries of Asia, this revolution of relevance has pervaded all sectors. In planning activities, and in the allocation of resources, relevance is used as the key criterion. Priorities are attempted in terms of relevance. Both the introduction of social science teaching and the promotion of research are determined in accordance with this criterion.

Theoretical and Methodological Reorientation:

This is happening at a much slower pace. While there is too much iconoclastic talk about the 'domination' of alien models and theories and their inappropriateness, there is very little to commend by way of an acceptable alternative. Along with criticism of so-called 'capitalist', 'status quoist' or 'western' social science, one may come across those who press the claims of Marxists alternatives.

But, such alternatives in the name of indigenization are hardly justifiable. By being a 'more desirable' perspective, Marxism does not shed its 'alien' character and become indigenous. Efforts are still needed to test the alleged universality of established theories and models in a variety of settings.

It is not so much an alternative, which is really needed if one is to pursue the goal of a universal science – and not the setting up of "schools of thought", like sects, creating priesthood and a blind following. Genuine efforts, which go beyond reactive rhapsodize, are rare. But some effort is being made. One can cite, as an example, the work of the well-known Pakistani economist, Mahhub Ul Haq, whose collection of essays entitled Poverty Curtain gives clear evidence of reconsideration of basic premises of a development paradigm learnt at Harvard and Yale, and an attempt at reformulation of the strategy in the light of new facts.

Though written in a somewhat belligerent style to attract attention and overcome resistance, Haq is constructive in his approach. He finds that the academic community in the western world which "reacted in shocked disbelief" because "one of its own products had suddenly gone berserk" has now accepted his formulations and premises. More work of this nature is perhaps needed.

Indigenization: The Case of Indian Sociology:
There was almost a worldwide clamour for the indigenization of social sciences in the 1970s. Of course, the call for indigenization came from the social scientists of the developing countries who raised their voice against "implantation of social sciences". But it is interesting to note that even the Conference of National Social Science Councils (CNSSC) and analogous bodies – which later became International Federation of Social Sciences Organizations (IFSSO) – took up this issue for discussion in 1977.

It is important to mention here that while IFSSO is international, it is largely an organization of the developed world. Around the same time, the East-West Centre of the University of Hawaii got interested in this issue. America's Wenner-Gren Foundation also organized, in 1978, a conference on indigenous anthropology. Even Canadian social scientists organized a symposium on the Canadization of Social Sciences, not to talk of Korean initiative on Koreanization of Social Sciences.

American interest in indigenization had, however, a different orientation. Since much of the American social science was 'American', it was already 'indigenous' for them. The crisis for them was not to indigenize social sciences but to ensure their universalization through their spread in other intellectual traditions.

The call for indigenization appeared to them as a threat to the western social science – that it will restrict its spread, and that this may mean difficulties for the western social scientists in getting clearance from the host governments to carry out field research.

From this angle, the demand for indigenization by the social scientists of the developing countries was seen almost as an affront to the American social science. It is interesting that the advocates of indigenization somehow spared the Marxist approach from their criticisms; the campaign for indigenization appeared as a campaign against capitalistic social sciences.

The etiology of indigenization is quite complicated, so is its definition. Advocates of indigenization had different emphases: localization (replacement of foreign faculty with the local), language shift from the foreign language to the mother-tongue paradigm replacement, return to the native categories of thought, non-applicability of western research techniques and methods, and overall condemnation of the foreign academic colonialism. For some, indigenization meant glorification of tradition, and return to the corridors of the past, reducing the demand to some sort of national narcissism.

Indigenization in the 1980s, it must be said, was still largely in its reactive phase in the sense that much of the debate was couched as a reaction to the introduction, or implantation, of western social sciences. There was very little to demonstrate either an indigenized product theory or methodology, or an indigenous social science.

Let it be said that the difference between the two is important. The word 'indigenization' connotes the process of indigenizing something that is exogenous from within. Replacement of exogenous categories of thought by the indigenous ones was also regarded as a part of the process of indigenization.

Once the twin disciplines took roots in India – sociology more rapidly than social anthropology, particularly in terms of the number of departments – the professionals addressed themselves to the identity crisis.

At once, the practitioners of the two disciplines had to work on several fronts:
i. To evaluate the writings of the foreign scholars on India.

ii. To distinguish sociology from ideology and from social anthropology.

iii. To formally define the scope of Indian sociology and to set out the priorities for research.

Questions surrounding these three key concerns have provided the impetus to the call for indigenization. Almost as part of a nationalist agenda, the Indian scholarship of the 1940s and 1950s critically reviewed the alien writings on India to detect 'colonial designs' and 'Western conspiracy' to downgrade Indian culture and civilization as if to prove the superiority of the West.

The theories of uni-linear evolution, Marxism and structural-functionalism were all seen as part of the western agenda to maintain an unequal, vertical relationship. In methodological terms, questions were raised regarding the applicability of the western techniques of research, and also the limitations of an 'outsider' to understand the internal structures of relationships.

The insider-outsider controversy became a real methodological issue. A special twist to this problem came in anthropology, which is defined as the study of 'other cultures'. The entire discipline's strength is its ability to investigate the cultures to which the anthropologists do not belong. And, with the technique of 'participant observation', he is able to provide a dependable and scientific ethnographic account of a primitive tribe.

If one accepts the criticism that the outsider cannot understand an alien culture, then, all the anthropological researchers will have to be discarded. Moreover, there is also a counter-view that by simply being an 'insider', one cannot claim to have a fuller, better and accurate understanding of the social phenomena.

A further complication is created in the case of Indian anthropologists, who have, unlike their western counterparts, mostly studied Indian society and its sub-cultures: "how are these 'other' societies for them?" is the question asked. Even, when Indians went to study anthropology in England, they were sent back to India for fieldwork.

Thus, while the Indian society remained the 'other society' for the foreign mentors of Indian anthropologists, it was not so for the latter. They thus studied them as insiders, violating the defining principle of their discipline. Defending the practice, leading Indian anthropologists regarded the distinction between sociology and social anthropology as rather superfluous.

Of course, there were, and perhaps are even now, some in the anthropology profession who advocate a separate calling, and maintain closer links between social anthropology, prehistory and archaeology, and physical anthropology and paleontology, with insistence on the study of tribal cultures only.

Sociologists also engaged in an exercise to dissociate their subject from Indology on the one hand, and social anthropology, on the other. On both fronts, the key distinction was located in the methodology. Indology was regarded as the study of the past and anthropology as the study of the 'primitive' by those sociologists who wanted to emphasize the study of the contemporary society with the use of survey research and quantitative techniques.

Indology was held responsible for the 'book view' and the 'upper caste view' of Indian society that was very different from what the present-day Indian society is. And, since anthropology focused on the tribal societies, it was considered ill-equipped to study and analyse contemporary Indian society.

But, in the 1950s, with heavy emphasis in Indian planning on agriculture and rural development, and with the inauguration of the Community Development Programme (CDP) on a massive scale, both sociologists and anthropologists began studying rural India. The village in India became the meeting ground for the twin disciplines.

But, here again, anthropologists continued the use of the ethnographic method while sociologists followed the survey method to distinguish themselves, giving rise to a continued debate in the 1950s and 1960s regarding the status of these disciplines, and questioning the credentials of scholars in terms of whether they are sociologists or anthropologists (Atal, 2003: 115-135).

The new directions that Indian sociology is talking are beautifully summarized by Yogendra Singh:

Despite the continuity reflected in the quest for social relevance and an indigenous paradigm for sociology, the 1970s and 1980s in India mark several directions in which new explorations have been made. First, sociological studies show a new sensitivity in the choice of concepts and their uses as they move away from a continuum framework of analysis of social process to that of a notion of levels.

The use of conceptual typologies, historical data and linguistic or symbolic structural techniques adds new depth and dimension to the studies of social structure. The Marxist historical method of analysis gains momentum as a series of studies on the peasantry, agrarian structure, and working classes gains ground.

Instead of preoccupation with the ritual aspects of caste and its cultural and social functions, or with simplistic dichotomization between caste and class, new series of studies sensitive to theoretical orientations such as structuralism, ethnosociology, systems analysis and historical materialist methods of Marxism and neo-Marxism have been conducted to analyse social structure both in specific regional and macroscopic national settings. Such studies tend to be more analytic and to main at explanation rather than mere description, so common in the sociological tradition of the 1950s (Singh, 1986).

Indigenization of Sociology in India:
Surendra Sharma (1983: 43-45) analysed the objectives and discussions of the seminar held at Mount Abu related to the issue of indigenization of sociology in India.

The objectives are mentioned as follows:
1. What is the disciplinary status of sociology in India?

2. How far sociological concepts require further re-adaptation and re-conceptualization for a scientific study of the Indian society?

3. What possibilities of interdisciplinary approach and co-operation are available and can be further envisaged?

4. What are the problems of teaching and research in sociology in India?

5. What further improvements can be brought about?

6. What is the role of sociology and sociologists in a developing society?

7. What theoretical and practical problems must be taken up for research by sociologists in India?

Some of the relevant conclusions are:
1. No prescriptive formulae of sociological enterprise could be laid down and the practice of sociology should be left to the academic sensibility of individual sociologists themselves.

2. There was not antinomy between the use of historical fact and the structural-functional approach.

3. The discussions also revealed the faith of sociologists in the universalitistic character of sociology for India.

4. The possibility of a typical and particularistic sociology was rejected (Singh, 1967).

In Delhi University, the Department of Sociology was established in 1959 with M.N. Srinivas as its senior member of the faculty. Under his stewardship studies on caste, kinship, and family and village community were carried out with theoretical and methodological orientations of the British social anthropology, particularly the one represented by Radcliffe-Brown.

This group led by Srinivas was not represented in either Agra or Mount Abu seminars on sociology for/in India. The Marxists sociologists also were not represented in the two seminars. Saran, who wrote a paper on Indian sociology around the same time, writes: "Marxists sociology has not developed in India in a systematic manner (Saran, 1958)."

He further mentions B.N. Dutta's studies in Indian social polity as a Marxist interpretation of the caste system in which its origin is traced from the formulation of economic classes. S.A. Dange's India from Primitive Communism to Slavery and D.D. Kosambi's Understanding of the Ancient Indian History are other examples noted by Saran.

Saran also classified the thinking in Indian sociology into: (1) those who totally reject the modern western civilization and advocate the return to the traditional principles; (2) those who want a synthesis of the two; and (3) those who debate the basis of synthesis: (a) traditional concepts and institutions in terms of modern rationalistic-positivistic ideas, and (b) a value-neutral scientific attitude (Saran, 1958).

Saran considers Anand K. Coomaraswamy and Radhakamal Mukerjee as the representatives of two traditions, namely, the traditional theory of man and society, and a multidimensional and holistic analysis and outlook, respectively. Saran clubs D.P. Mukerji with Radhakamal Mukerjee. The former was a critic of latter.

The other points discussed by Saran are Indian social thought as sociology, community studies and sociology and social engineering. Saran's essay on Indian sociology is an exercise in 'negation' of the existing theories and approaches. He does not point out his own view in this essay.

However, Saran seems to be in somewhat conformity with Coomaraswamy's view of a traditional theory of society and man. Saran, as we know, does not accept western theories to

be relevant for studying Indian society. He rejects both American and British sociological theories and Marxism.

It is evident that a great deal of awareness exists among the Indian sociologists about the growth of sociology as a discipline. They have taken up self-introspection by analyzing the origin of the discipline and level of its growth. The influences of the western sociology (both American and British) and Marxism have been taken up with a view to understand the constraints and challenges shown by the discipline.

It is denied that the founding fathers of sociology, namely, Comte, Marx, Weber and Durkheim, did not influence teaching and research in sociology in India. It has also been conclusively proved that sociology in India, particularly in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, was not simply an imitation of the western theories, concepts and methods of research. It was contemporaneous to sociology in the West.

The debate in the fifties and sixties was whether sociology in India should have a universal character or it should be unique in nature due to the uniqueness of Indian society. This question was taken up in two seminars and in several papers appeared in books and journals.

We find that India's sociologists were divided on this issue. However, a majority of them felt that it should be a part of general sociological theory, and there should be a synthesis and reinforcement of the 'general' with the 'specific'. However, when this debate was going on, Louis Dumont gave a boosting to the 'culturological' view about study of Indian society.

Theory, method and data are the most important elements of a discipline in addition to epistemology and philosophy. Extreme positions are found in Indian sociology, for example, one taken up by Radhakamal Mukerjee and the other by A.K. Saran. Again, Y.B. Damle find Parsons' structural-functionalism as the most appropriate framework for analyzing Indian social system.

A.R. Desai advocates the orthodox Marxists approach as most suitable for understanding Indian society and state. G.S. Ghurye, R.N. Saxena and A.K. Saran hold views different from each other, but conforming to what is known as a traditionalist perspective. M.N. Srinivas and his associates have found British functionalism as the most suitable approach. Yogendra Singh, Indra Deva and some others adhere to a sort of positivistic-empirical orientation and suggest for a 'synthesis' of general and specific dimensions in regard to sociology in India (Sharma, 1985).

Conclusion:
The concern shown for indigenization has made it necessary to examine coolly and carefully all its implications. The demand for indigenization is an invitation to re-examine the very structure of social sciences and to evolve suitable strategies for their promotion in the differing and challenging situations of modern times. Although the term 'indigenization' has gained considerable currency, there appears to be a lack of consensus on its meeting and desirability.

As we see the status of the concept of Indigenization, there are only a few takers of this concept. The flames of eighties have been cooled down. India has witnessed globalization. There has been an increase of inter-disciplinary research. In such a situation we have the perspectives of modernization and post-modernization.

Post-modernization stands for differentiation. It also calls for decentralization and diversity. Now we tend to think globally. In such a fast track of change, it appears Indigenization has no ground to stand. We tend to disqualify great narratives. We plead for Meta or literal narratives. The time has come now to encourage Indianization.

Use of Native Categories in the Analysis of Indian Society

The categories of knowledge, their meaning, content and the methodology of their construction bear the deep imprint of the social and historical forces of the time. We see its evidence in the writings of the pioneers of sociology like Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. We find similar social conditioning in the writings of the Indian pioneers of sociology (see Mukherjee, 1979; Singh, 1984).

This social conditioning, however, is historically constituted. To the western pioneers of sociology, major challenges came from the merging industrial society and it's accompanying cultural and epistemological tensions. In the Indian context, the colonial experience, the memory of the past glory and the project for future political and cultural emancipation constituted the major cognitive and moral concerns.

These concerns were, as sociology gained its status in India, reflected in problems of concepts, theory and method. A close relationship can be established between the social and historical forces working in Indian society and the evolution of the concepts and methods of Indian sociology. In this context, Yogendra Singh (1986: 1-31) discusses the social conditioning of Indian sociology. We have adapted Singh's ideas in the following pages.

During the colonial period, many British and European writings on Indian society and culture used conceptual categories, which were Eurocentric in cognitive and value terms; some of these also tended to distort history and imputed meanings to Indian reality in the abstract (a historically) as it to perpetuate colonialism. Concepts such as 'caste' 'tribe', 'village', 'community', 'family' and 'kinship' were defined as segmentary entities, often analogous to their socio-historical equivalents in European society.

The emphasis was on showing how each of these social entities affirmed the principles of segmentation and autonomy rather than being parts of an organic whole. The element of discreteness was overemphasized and the linkages, both social and cultural, which bound these entities into an organic system of social structure and civilization, were neglected.

This bias, which had its roots probably in the colonial ideology of the British social anthropologists and administrators, is obvious in their treatment of 'caste' and 'tribe' as discrete structural and cultural formations. G.S. Ghurye drew attention to this way back in 1943 in his The Aborigines-so-called and their Future in response to Verrier Elvin's The Aboriginals (1943).

He attempted to demonstrate continuities and linkages between the tribal and caste structure and tradition in Indian society. Apart from such biases, the basic social categories of Indian society appeared to be devoid of a dynamic historical viewpoint. The colonial ethnographers, for instance, "took a placid, even a synchronic view of the tribal society.

The conceptual framework developed by the British administrators-turned-ethnographers and by anthropologists was inspired by the then prevailing model in anthropology. Tribal communities were treated as isolates, tribals as Noble Savages, and the primitive condition was described as a state of American simplicity" (Singh, 1985: 104).

Similar a historicity and segmental treatment of concepts can be seen in the colonial administrators-turned-sociologists' view of village communities in India. As Louis Dumont (1957) rightly observes, Sir Henry S. Maine "hardly ever looked at the Indian village in itself, but only as a counterpart to Teutonic, Slavonic or other institutions". India was to him little more than "the historical repository of veritable phenomena of ancient usage and ancient judicial thought" (ibid.: 830).

They treated the village community as an autonomous sociological isolate. This is particularly reflected in the writings of Charles Metcalffe and other British administrators in India. The concept of 'community' was formulated by them injural administrative terms patterned after Teutonic-Slavonic experiences where the notion of community was postulated as communal expression of individuals' rights and obligations and not as sangha – the Indian notion of community.

D.P. Mukerji (1958) interprets sangha as being devoid of the notion of individual. The absence of the notion of 'individual' in the Indian tradition was later reiterated by Louis Dumont in his concept of the Homo hierarchicus. The collective principle not only operated at the normative level but also at the level of market and economy.

It demonstrated the macro-structural linkages between caste, tribe, village community and family systems and the integrative role these institutions played in the unity of the Indian society (see Joshi, 1970). The roots of these integrative principles go far back into the historical past of Indian society. Irfan Habib illustrates it for Mughal India when he says: "the village was deeply affected by the requirements of commodity production (i.e., production for the market) … the towns had not only to be fed by the countryside but to be supplied also with raw materials for their manufacturers" (1963: 37).

During the 1950s and 1960s much literature generated by social anthropologists, economists and historians did away with the myth of the autonomy of the basic components of Indian social structure, i.e., the caste, tribe, village, family and kinship. On family and kinship systems, while Dumont (1957) demonstrated the structural similarity between the inter-regional kinship systems, Gough (1979) demonstrated the linkages between these institutions and the modes of production.

The ideology in the interpretation of Indian society and its institutions by the colonial scholars can be seen in the way they defined these institutions and in the methods they employed to study them. Each institution was treated as an a historical isolate devoid of linkages, and methodologically, emphasis was more on synchronic descriptions largely with the help of informants, mostly laymen.

The contribution it made was not entirely free from conscious or unconscious partiality in the portrayal of social reality. In this context, several orientations in the interpretation of social reality of India emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centurie

Bernard S. Cohn has analysed three such important orientations: the 'orientalist', 'missionary, and 'administrative'. The orientalists took a textual view of India offering a picture of its society as being static, timeless and spaceless. "In this view of the Indian society, there was no regional variation and no questioning of the relationship between prescriptive, normative statements derived from the texts and the actual behaviour of individuals or groups. Indian society was seen as a set of rules which every Hindu followed (Cohn and Singer, 1968: 8).

The missionary view developed a little later. It saw all the roots of degeneration and evil in Indian society in its religion (Hinduism), and offered avenues for its redemption in

conversion to Christianity. Unlike the orientalists, who often took a positive or even laudatory view of the Indian tradition, the missionaries treated Indian, particularly Hindu institutions as 'degenerate and base'.

According to Cohn, the differences in the perspectives on India between the missionaries and the orientalists rested on differences in their social origin. The administrative perspective on the Indian social reality was grounded in the British utilitarian tradition (see Stocks, 1978) which also viewed traditional institutions in Indian as impediments to development of a rational modern society; hence, the need for social and institutional reforms.

These perceptions of Indian social reality were conditioned by the social origin of the scholars and by their specific ideological positions: classicism for orientalists, evangelicism for missionaries and rational utilitarianism for administrators-turned-social scientists. In addition, they all held a static, non-historical and fragmentationist view of Indian institutions.

Even their economic anthropology of the village tended to circumscribe all relationships within the confines of a village territory, as we see in William Wiser's The Hindu Jajmani System (1936). The general theory of the Indian village organization in the writings of Sir Henry Maine and Charles Metcalffe was a near-transplantation of the European model of village organization on the Indian scene, and of course, these generalizations were without an 'intensive ethnographic base'.

Thus, the sociology of India from roughly 1775 to 1940 to which Bernard S. Cohn refers was conditioned by the social background, ideology and preferred methods of collection of data by each category of sociologist or ethnographer concerned.

Yogendra Singh discusses four types of theoretical orientations related to the Indian sociology.

They are:
(1) Philosophic – theoretic orientation;

(2) Culturological orientation;

(3) Structural theoretic orientation; and

(4) Dialectical historical theoretic orientation.

On the formalization criteria of theory none of these existed in a systematic form. Most of them have operated at styles of analysis or have been evolved into quasi-formal systems of conceptual schemes. We, however, observe the changes in the theoretic structure of Indian society in terms of innovation, universalization of concepts and categories.

The first two decades of the twentieth century mark caste, social customs, folklore, land systems and the village communities; and their comparison with similar institutions in the West. Most important meta-theoretic contribution was engendering and also ethno-sociological awareness about Indian sociology. It needs the quest for the universalization of the use of native categories in the analysis of Indian society.

Singh (ibid.) discusses the following conceptual categories, which have been broadly used by different scholars for the study of Indian society:
1. Sanskritization and westernization – M.N. Srinivas

2. Little and great traditions – McKim Marriott

3. Multi-dimensional tradition – S.C. Dube:

4. Theory of structuralism – Richard Lembert, D.P. Mukerji, A.R. Desai

5. Historicity of emotions – Louis Dumont

Besides, we have come across some other major categories also, which have been constructed or used by some other scholars.

They are, for example:
1. Modernization – Yogendra Singh

2. Dominant caste and caste hierarchy – M.N. Srinivas

3. Reference group model for the caste – Y.B. Damle

4. Universalization and parochialization – McKim Marriott

5. Concept of rural cosmopolitanism – Oscar Lewis

6. Resource group – K.N. Sharma

All the above conceptual categories are constructed or used by the two types of the scholars: one, the Indian scholars, e.g., Srinivas' concept of sanskritization; and second, western scholars, who did fieldwork in India and constructed them for their analysis. Here, we may say that though scholars are western but constructed native categories while doing studies in India, e.g., Marriott's category of little and great traditions. Keeping in view all these conceptual and theoretical categories, Yogendra Singh presents an integral approach for doing the study in Indian society.

Village Studies:
Sociologists in India have broadly concentrated their studies on the villages of India. Here, excerpts from Atal's (2003: 174-81) analysis of the village studies have been presented to understand the use of native categories in the analysis of Indian society.

Village studies movement in India has gone through a series of phases. As we have noted, it began in the pre-independence period largely as a concern of the administrator, and was led by the practitioners of the discipline of economics; sociologists and social anthropologists arrived on the rural scene much later, and mostly after independence.

They began their work in the style of an ethnographer, concentrating on a single village and following a holistic approach. It may be noted that the so-called microcosmic approach of the anthropologists, developed and practised by them in the tribal settings, treated tribe as a unit of study, which consisted of several villages; the villages were parts of the wider whole of the tribe.

Application of the same approach in the rural areas was, however, different; in the latter case, the village was treated as a unit of study, a community social system, and 'whole' of a sort. Thus, in a sense, anthropology in the rural setting adopted a still smaller unit for observation and reporting than in the case of tribal studies.

It is in this context that Robert Redfield's seminal concepts of indigenous civilization, little community, peasant society, and great and little traditions were examined, and their validity tested empirically. Taking clues from Redfield, and also from Srinivas' concepts of spread (local, regional, and all-India) and sanskritization (1952), McKim Marriott (1955) came up with two complementary concepts explicating the twin processes of universalization and parochialization.

Oscar Lewis (1958) added to this inventory the concept of rural cosmopolitanism. A critical examination of these concepts led by S.C. Dube (1955) to propose a five-fold classification of Indian tradition; he tentatively listed them as classical, regional, local, western, and emergent national.

While researchers continued their village studies in the model of ethnography, these concepts offered them with useful talking points. In the process, the style of description changed, analytical categories began to be used and methodological innovations were made.

Debate on concepts and methodology led to the diversification of village studies. Questions of representatives promoted interest in comparative studies: more than one village, in the same or in a different culture area, was chosen for purposes of comparison.

Rather than studying all aspects of life in a village, attention was focused on specific aspects such as caste, family, group dynamics and factionalism, economic life and jajmani system, village pantheon and the like. Efforts have also been made to study the same institutions in a number of villages.

Introduction of the comparative approach necessitated proper and usable definition of the key concepts, viz., village, caste, and joint family. Of these three concepts, very little has been written on the concept of village; the definition given by the census has generally been accepted. There are instances where administrative definition was found unacceptable.

Two illustrations will suffice:
(1) In Rajasthan, one of the places was, on popular demand, classified as town but later, upon the introduction of Panchayati Raj, political leadership of the community managed to reclaim its village status; and

(2) The satellite villages, called Nagla in Uttar Pradesh, are generally included in part of the core village though they possess, in many cases, all the sociological attributes of separate village community. Based on these considerations, the present author ignored the revenue definition and treated a Nagla as a village in his study in Local Communities and National Politics (1971).

Attempts have also been made to classify the villages. Thus, some have taken the degree of nucleation as the key classificatory variable and talked about nucleated and dispersed villages. The concept of nucleated village includes the core village and the surrounding satellites. Similarly, coastal villages have been identified as a separate type. Studies have also been made of the fringe villages.

In terms of social demography, classification based on the size of settlement, and the number of ethnic groups (single caste versus multi-caste villages) is also in vogue. In terms of economic pursuit, while there is recognition of the presence of fishing and pastoral villages, studies have mostly concentrated on agricultural villages.

A unique village from the Kullu valley has also been reported, which has managed to keep itself from more or less completely insulated from the rest of the village of the region by physically shutting its doors off to the outside world, but speaking its own language, and by practicing its own culture (Rosser, 1955).

The most talked about concept in Indian rural sociology is that of caste. Whether the title of the study emphasizes village or caste, it is the latter which invariably holds the floor. Village studies came in for heavy criticism because of this 'obsession' with caste.

The fact, however, remains that caste is a vital element of Indian society, and its neglect in a study would have made the entire exercise worthless. It is only the students of village who started empirical investigation of this most complex phenomenon of Indian social structure.

The great gap between the ideological percepts and the living reality – between the text and the present-day context – that they discovered was an eye-opener. While the urban-based armchair theoretician was content with what has been written about caste in the old scriptures and transmitted it to others with his seal of approval, the village sociologist found it difficult to digest.

Controversy was raised as regards the status of this concept – is it to be treated as a cultural concept associated with pan-Indian civilization or is it to be regarded as a social structural category of universal application? Culturologists, following the line of Indology, opted for the former and sociologists for the latter.

A seminal essay by Irawati Karve (1958) raising the question unambiguously, what is caste? deserves special mention. Distinction between varna, jati, gotra, vansha and the like assumed significance. The concept of sub-caste came under heavy fire, whereas Karve's concept of caste cluster found many followers.

Mayer's (1960) distinction of kindered of cooperation and kindered of recognition as two facets of caste was quite attractive but was challenged by Atal (1968). Atal strongly emphasized the need for distinguishing between caste as a unit (jati) and the caste system; using the notion of subset he provided a specific definition on the concept of sub-caste. For the caste as a unit, Atal regards endogamy as the pivotal attribute; by the same token caste system is characterized by a plurality of interacting endogamous groups.

Other related concepts are those of dominant caste and caste hierarchy. The concept of dominant was proposed by M.N. Srinivas (1959) in his essay published in the American Anthropologist. Soon it caught the fancy of many and became a catchword in rural sociology, as did his earlier concept of sanskritization.

The concept of dominant case was challenged by B.R. Chauhan (1967), Yogesh Atal (1968), S.C. Dube (1968), and T.K. Oommen (1970). In this connection, the concept of faction may be mentioned. In village studies in India, this was introduced by Oscar Lewis (1958) in his studies on group dynamics in a north Indian village.

While Lewis talked of permanent factions, which were kin-linked, and were cooperative in orientation. Yogesh Atal (1963, 1968) identified short-lived alliances as aspect of village factionalism, which he designated as ephemeral factions.

A number of scholars have written on the concept of faction, important among them being Ralph Nicholas (1963), Paul Brass (1965), Richard Sisson (1972), B.K. Nagla (1984) etc. K.N. Sharma (1963, 1969) introduced the concept of resource group.

A major motivating factor for village studies in the 1960s was the Community Development Programme (CDP). Several scholars went to the village to study the process of externally induced, directed, culture change. As a result, a number of case studies on innovation and innovators, and on the leadership, were prepared.

These changed the focus of village studies from the description of social structure to social change. Some re-studies have also been attempted: Wiser's Behind Mudwalls (1961) and Ghurye's After a Century and Quarter – Lonikand: Then and New (1960) may be mentioned. Srinivas has revisited his legendary village of Rampura several times in past 20 years and has written a book entitled The Remembered Village.

Beyond the Village:

In more recent years, attention has shifted to a more general process of modernization. This has taken the scholars beyond the village. Employing more sophisticated tools, either of survey research or of psychological testing, a group of villages have been taken up for investigation.

There have been studies of communication links, flows of information, voting behaviour, attitudes and aspirations, health practices and family planning, and of economic transactions in the village communities. Some have attempted to analyse class and power relations in a caste society, following largely the Weberian model (cf. Beteille, 1966).

There is, thus, a much more differentiated pattern of village studies in India. Of late, rural research in India has received a certain setback. The interest seems to be on the wane. Indian social science is increasingly getting oriented towards the urban. This shift in focus is understandable, although the neglect of the village cannot be commended.

It must be admitted that considerable data have been generated regarding the villages. There is a need to look at this data with a view to stocktaking. Most of this material is discrete, descriptive and discipline-specific. Very little has been done to consolidate and codify it. While methodological questions have been raised and debated, and concepts have been evolved and conceptual frameworks have been formulated, no rigorous writing on theory has appeared so far.

Social Structure: Social Stratification:

The Indian social structure, in a broader way, is stratified into two divisions: (1) the folks or the unlettered peasantry, and (2) the elites. The folks and peasantry follow the little tradition, i.e., the village tradition. The second division of elites follows the great tradition. The great tradition consists of the traditions contained in epics, Puranas, Brahmins and other classical Sanskritic works.

The roles and statuses of Sita and Draupadi constitute the parts of great tradition. The little tradition, on the other hand, is local tradition tailored according to the regional and village conditions. The great tradition is found clearly in twice-born castes, specially priests, ritual leaders of one kind or other. Some of these corporate groups follow the traits of civilization and the great tradition. The carriers of little tradition include folk artists, medicine men, tellers of riddles, proverbs and stories, poets and dancers, etc.

Little and great traditions help to analyse social change in rural India. The nature of this change is basically cultural. There is a constant interaction between the two traditions which brings about change in rural society. Yogendra Singh explains this interaction as follows: "Changes in the cultural system follow through the interaction between the two traditions in the orthogenetic or heterogenetic process of individual growth. The pattern of change,

however, is generally from orthogenetic to heterogenetic forms of differentiation or change in the cultural structure of traditions."

Both Singer and Marriott (1955) argue on the strength of data generated from the villages of their study that the cultural content of social structure at the level of little tradition in a village witnesses changes. First, there is change in the village culture due to the internal growth of village. In other words, the little tradition witnesses changes due to its own internal growth.

Second, the little tradition also undergoes change due to its contact with great tradition and other parts of the wider civilization. "The direction of this change presumably is from folk or peasant to urban cultural structure and social organization." The great tradition, i.e., the epic tradition also witnesses universalized pattern of culture resulting from its interaction with the village or little tradition.

Singer has made certain statements about cultural change in rural India.

His observations are as under:
1. The Indian civilization has evolved out of pre-existing folk and regional cultures. This aspect of civilization constructed the great tradition – Ramayana, Mahabharata and other religious scriptures. This great tradition maintained its continuity in India's diverse regions, village, castes and tribes.

2. The cultural continuity of great tradition is based on the idea that people share common cultural consciousness throughout the country.

3. The common cultural consciousness is formed through the consensus held in common about sacred books and sacred objects.

4. In India, cultural continuity with the past is so great that even the acceptance of modernizing and progress ideologies does not result in linear form of social and cultural change but may result in the traditionalizing of apparently modern innovations.

To conclude, it could be safely said that there is one cultural approach out of several to explain rural social change in India. In simple words, one could say that a villager borrows norms and values from the great tradition of country's civilization. In this borrowing, he makes changes according to his village's local conditions and history.

The villages vary from region to region and, therefore, the little tradition also continues to remain diverse. On the other hand, the great tradition, i.e., the sacred books, also receives a uniform pattern. The concepts, therefore, explain the cultural change both at regional and national levels.

Parochialization and Universalization:
Parochialization and universalization are complementary to the concepts of little and great traditions. These are processes of cultural change. When the great tradition, i.e., the tradition of epics and sacred books, undergoes change at the local or village level, it is parochialization or localization of great tradition or civilization. Parochialization, therefore, is the cultural change made at the village level.

Universalization, on the other hand, is a cultural change from little tradition to great tradition. Both these processes are related to the interaction between little tradition and great tradition. Interpreting the process of universalization, Yogendra Singh observes that when the little tradition moves upward to the great tradition, it is the process of universalization.

And, when the great tradition moves downward to the local or village level, it is parocialization. His interpretation runs as follows: "Elements of the little tradition, indigenous customs, duties and rites circulate upward to the level of the great tradition and are identified with its legitimate forms.

This process, Marriott calls 'universalization'. Likewise, some elements of the great tradition also circulate downward to become organic of the great tradition, and lose much of their original form in the process. He (Marriott) used the term 'parochialization' to denote this kind of transaction between the two traditions."

In the process of parocialization, obviously, there is some loss of the elements of great tradition. Whatever is laid down as elements of great tradition is reduced at village level or interpreted differently by local leaders of priestly castes. This process is called de-sanskritization.

Sociology in India: An Issue for Indian Sociology

The discussion on sociology in, of and for India came for debate in the year 1950.

We, therefore, discuss the following issues relating to the status of sociology in India:
1. Sociology in India

2. Sociology of India

3. Sociology for India

Sociology in India deals with the professional activities of sociologists, which are related to the teaching of sociology in India. The discussion on sociology of India concerns itself with approaches to the study of Indian society. This is related to the researches, which are done on Indian society, e.g., caste, kinship, village studies etc.

But, the western theories are applied in the researches done in India, e.g., Srinivas and Dube applied structural-functional approach in their studies. In the cast of sociology for India, the effort seems to be one of postulating a set of concepts and theories suitable to study Indian social reality (Oommen, 1986).

Therefore, what should be the sociology for India? Young sociologists want emancipation from colonial sociology. Even Dumont was a French sociologist, who did studies on India but he did not agree to the idea of inequality in caste. He talks of hierarchy in the structure of Indian society. There is a need of decolonization of thoughts or deconstruction of western approaches.

In this context, there emerge the following issues for ponder the debate:
(i) Emancipation

(ii) Indological sociology (book view)

(iii) Contextualization: Indigenization (Indianization: field view)

All these issues have been discussed in our discourse analysis. Here, our main focus is on the debate of sociology for India.

Ideology, Theory and Methods in Indian Sociology:
India had colonial cognitive traditions in the past and it has become an independent nation since 1947. This provides a new context and milieu. Sociology of knowledge perspective would demand examination of the continuity/discontinuity in the colonial approaches, concepts and methods of study.

Yogendra Singh (1986) observes that even the debate – whether sociology has universal concepts and techniques or it refers to culturally cognitive styles and structures – could be seen in the context of the hangover of colonialism in independent India today.

Today, the tension in Indian sociology is between:
1. The 'Master Theory' or 'General Theory' and conceptual schemes.

2. Universalism of concepts and proposition and their 'particularism' or 'contextuality'.

3. The role ideology in theory construction

Singh has analysed the debate on sociology for India. Here, we are giving excerpts of his analysis. Therefore, the details about the references mentioned in the present text may be seen from the writing of Singh (1986). An issue in Indian sociology, which has been carried over from the 1950s to the 1970s and 1980s is that of the quest for 'Sociology for India'.

During the late 1950s and the 1960s a debate began on this theme and grew in two directions: the first was initiated by Dumont and Pocock. It was grounded in a structuralist methodology for the treatment of social reality in general and the Indian social reality in particular in the context of ideology.

Ideology, to Dumont, "commonly designates a more or less social set of ideas and values", which in the case of social facts, taking care not to mix up facts of 'representation' with facts of 'behaviour' (Dumont and Pocock, 1957: 11) are constituted in the principle of 'hierarchy'.

Indian sociology should, therefore, according to Dumont and Pocock, be a sociology of Indian civilization. Its constituents are Indology on one hand and on the other social 'structures' which as 'representations' articulate the specific principle of 'hierarchy' with its own governing components of ideology, dialectic, transformational relationship and comparison (Singh, 1985; Jain, 1985), i.e., the basic elements of a structuralist perspective.

In contrast to Dumont and Pocock, F.G. Bailey (1959) postulated that Indian sociology was the study not of 'representations' but of actual behaviour patterns, social roles, and structures from an empirical perspective. This controversy, which was essentially between two theoretical perspectives on social structure in the traditions of European social anthropology, was mistakenly constructed in India as debate about the choice between a particularistic versus universalistic paradigm for Indian sociology.

Although both Dumont and Pocock and Bailey did not visualize a particularistic Indian sociology, in the social context of India, their contributions, especially that of Dumont, did trigger a debate on this issue.

Debate on Sociology for India:
The main function of this debate was to help Indian sociologists to reach a level of self-awareness. This debate was carried on in Contributions to Indian Sociology edited by Dumont and Pocock, but with the end of its publication and the appearance of Contributions to Indian Sociology (New Series) edited by T.N. Madan, a column was assigned to the theme of a 'Sociology for India'.

From 1970 to 1985 papers have been continually published on this theme (e.g., Yogendra Singh, 1970; Dhirendra Narain, 1971; Imtiaz Ahmad, 1972; W.H. McLeod, 1978; T.N. Madan, 1981; Satish Saberwal, 1982; Kantowski, 1984). Besides, Sociological Bulletin, the journal of the Indian Sociological Society, has carried several articles on the paradigmatic issues of Indian sociology, in addition to the addresses by the Presidents of the Society to which we have already referred (e.g., M.N. Srinivas, 1970; S.L. Sharma, 1977; J. Lele, 1981, etc.).

One finds substantial continuity of concerns in these articles, especially on the issue of indigenization of Indian sociology, yet, one also witnesses in these debates the emergence of new perspectives. One finds a fundamental change emerging in the ideological basis on which the issue of a sociology for India could be anchored.

The focus shift from a debate on sociological colonialism or dependency to the constructive formulation and investigation of grounds on which the specific cognitive structure of Indian sociology could be constituted. One set of contributions seeks to explore the various contextual and historical variations from those implicit in the Dumont-Pocock presuppositions in the observation of Indian or South Asian structure.

A few of them challenge the Dumont-Pocock notion of Indian civilization as an exclusively Hindu civilization (Ahmad, 1970). Moreover, within Hindu civilization itself, the role of Hindu and non-Hindu or non-Brahminical elements is emphasized by some sociologists on the basis of intra-cultural variations (Burghart, 1983).

An intensive exploration of selected elements of traditions and social structures in India with a view to analyzing their symbolic content as well as their inter-cultural and intra-cultural comparability has been undertaken by others (see McLeod, 1978; Selwyn, 1973; Saberwal, 1982). These viewpoints mark a departure from the early concern with the problem of sociology's indigenization.

Not that this problem is not debated during the 1970s and 1980s, but in most cases, indigenization is now identified with an emphasis on historicity, conceptual relevance and sensitivity to the distinction of levels (regional, national and cross-national) in attempts to make generalizations through theoretical abstractions in Indian sociology (see Singh, 1970; Narain, 1971).

In the debate on a sociology for India, we thus notice a distinct shift of emphasis in the 1980s. More attention is now paid to the nature of Indian social reality both in its intrinsic and comparative contexts. Burghart, on the basis of his study of the Nepalese social institutions in the setting of a Hindu kingdom, finds Dumont's single system (Hindu) conception of social order theoretically inadequate.

He writes:
I shall argue on theoretical grounds that recourse to single system models commits the anthropologist to understand order in the context of system and this commitment obliges the anthropologist to situate the system in a changeless period of time. Order, however, is quite a different concept from changelessness and until this difference is sorted out I do not see how social change or changelessness can be adequately understood. I suggest instead that an intra-cultural approach to the study of Hindu society permits valid levels of generalization (1983: 276).

Further, the conception of Hindu society as a system and the representation of that system in terms of a scheme of social relations have had the effect of obscuring other schemes which South Asians use to represent their universe of social relations (ibid.: 282). One such other scheme that Burghart identifies in the Nepalese Kingdom is that of tenurial system, by which the king administers his possessions (muluk), its contractual relationships among members enjoying tenurial status, his control over social hierarchy and a serried of other relations and obligations.

Similarly, studies of sects and belief systems within Hinduism and its cognate branches have shown characteristics that deviate from a neat structural fit among the components of social system. A significant feature of the new debate on a sociology for India is its grounding in empirical observations and analysis of social reality and its search for principles of social structural integration in terms of contents, meanings and metaphors.

Most such studies are deeply influenced by the Dumont-Pocock tradition of social analysis, which offered advantages in studying structures symbolically or in terms of values and beliefs. Hence, one common feature of the new debates on a sociology for India is its overarching symbolic, subjectivist and culturological tendency.

Defining structure as representation, this model is more attuned to studying belief systems, ritual practices, the structure and dialectic of textual material, a myth or legend, than the structures of political economy, power structures and social order.

Yogendra Singh (1983: 101) reviewed the main theoretic orientations in Indian sociology. According to him, it may be useful to assess its impact on the process of universalization or particularization of categories and theory. This issue is both ideological and theoretic. Since Dumont and Pocock initiated the debate on "For a Sociology of India" in 1957, this usage has been debated in response to their and Bailey's writings and also independently.

Dumont's emphasis in the study of Indian sociology is on its fundamental ideo-structural categories from an "external point of view". He would formulate his sociology from the language of the sources as it were, from the sentiments and ideas of the people themselves.

Bailey finds fault with this model for its indifference towards study of 'relations', which are the main sociological category.

With this frame of reference, sociology gets reduced to what Bailey calls 'culturology'. In his statement on "For a Sociology of India" in the final issue of Contributions, however, Dumont clarifies that he does not see the possibility of a particularistic sociology even though the substantive reality he would prefer the sociologists to deal with would be ideas and sentiments and not relations. Thus, without taking a structural position as that of Bailey, Dumont sees the possibility of a general sociology as the only way out.

The debate between Dumont and Bailey led Indian sociologists to ponder over this problem from an Indian perspective, where the issue was not of two varieties of general sociology, of which the Indian sociology would be a part, but it was mainly whether Indian sociology could be universal or has to be particularistic.

A seminar was organized on this problem in 1966 and its deliberations have been published (Unnithan et al., 1967). The conclusion of this seminar was that Indian sociology would have to operate at two levels – the particularistic and the universal. Some concepts and categories, as Srinivas' Sanskritization-Westernization, would be of primarily particularistic and ethnosociological relevance, but these could be further abstracted for cross-cultural comparisons (see, Singh in Unnithan et al., 1967).

The debate on this issue has not subsided. It was given a sharper edge by linking the problem both of creativity and categories in Indian sociology to the colonial situation. Jit P. Singh Uberoi, in his Science and Swaraj, concludes: "Every swarajist should recognize what are the essential pre-conditions, under his system (structural asymmetries like rich; poor; international; national; white-black), for the advancement of universal science in our environment

Until we can concentrate on decolonization, learn to nationalize our problems and take our poverty seriously, we shall continue to be both colonial and unoriginal" (Uberoi, 1968: 123). This observation of Uberoi has echoes in many quarters. As we mentioned, Saran (1958) is its strong exponent, who does not see contradictions in methods and categories of the ethnosociology and general sociology. The problem is ideological and as such it pervades through all levels of sociological thinking in India where normative questions and not merely technology of research are involved.

Even, the universality of methods and tools of research is questioned. Most of these involve translation of cultural idioms and symbols from one culture into another. What is more seriously questioned, however, is the choice of problems and research priorities that sociologists undertake for investigation. In a recent debate on this problem, which is contained in Social Sciences and Social Realities: Role of Social Sciences in Contemporary India (1976), edited by S.C. Dube such issues have reopened for a variety of social sciences?

The distortions in sociological thinking and practice are created by alienation of the professional sociologists from the other sections of elites and people of the society. This leads to the distantiation of sociologists from the major issues of national concern or with national identity. His uncritical acceptance of models of theory and research tools imported from abroad has come in for thorough examination (see, Singh, in Dube, 1976).

The question of universalization or particularism of sociological categories in Indian sociology or social sciences as such remains open. A more enduring solution to this issue would probably come from accumulation of empirical knowledge through the findings of

Indian sociologists and social scientists from studies conducted with self-awareness and scientific objectivity within their own ideological setting. Surendra Sharma (1985) analysed this question as universal versus specific related to the sociology for India. Here, we give excerpts from his book for understanding the issue for sociology in India.

Universal vs. Specific Sociology for India:
Now, let us take up proceedings of the two seminars on sociology in India held in the 1960s. R.N. Saxena, Y.B. Damle, Yogendra Singh, B.R. Chauhan and Indra Deva are contributors to both the volumes. However, R.N. Saxena has the same view in several addresses and papers which he holds in "Sociology in India" and "Sociology for India".

The other well-known names are Victor S. D 'Souza, K.M. Kapadia, K.C. Panchanadikar and J.M. Panchanadikar. None of these scholars with the exception of Yogendra Singh have joined the debate on Indian sociology in the pages of Contributions to Indian Sociology.

An Indological or culturological approach has been the hallmark of several sociologists. They have hammered against the acceptance of theoretical and methodological orientations of the western countries. These scholars emphasize the role of traditions, group rather than individual as the basis of social relations, and religion, ethics and philosophy as the basis of social organizations. R.N. Saxena (1965), for example, stresses on the role of the concepts of Dharma, Artha, Kaama and Moksha.

Dumont and Pocock (1957) emphasize utility of the Indological sources for sociological formulations. Saxena observes that sociology in the Indian universities has been shaped on the western pattern. The western sociology is no doubt 'empirical' and 'positivistic', but it fails to provide a proper examination of spiritual values and other super-non- empirical ideas.

After arguing a case for the relevance of the study of categorical values and norms, Saxena (1965) writes: "A correct approach to Indian sociology can only be a synthesis of empiricism and intuition and a proper recognition of the fact that spiritual values have an important role on our social life."

Indra Deva (1965) discerns the following points, which might make a reference to the term 'Indian sociology':
1. A body of concepts and generalizations applicable specifically to Indian society and culture;

2. Sociological principles derived from traditional Indian sources;

3. The study of social structure and social processes in India; and

4. Sociology as it has developed in India.

However, these points are not exclusive when they are used for denoting 'Indian sociology'. After having discussed these points, Indra Deva formulates a view contrary to that of Saxena. He observes that though Indian society has some features of its own, the distinctiveness about it is not so fundamental as to necessitate the development of an 'Indian sociology' in the sense of special conceptual and theoretical framework.

The task is to develop the general sociological theories, concepts and methodology, which can be applicable to a pre-modern, mainly peasant society, like India. Coomaraswamy (1948) talked of the essential unity of all traditional societies. In other words, such societies would represent a social formation different from that of the western industrialized societies.

Deva suggests that western ethnocentrism must go from the existing theoretical and conceptual framework of sociology, and a theoretical system be evolved, which can do justice to the structural and functional and the dynamic aspects of society (Deva, 1965).

Damle (1965) is very particular with regard to sociology in India. He writes: "In order to take cognizance of both stability and change I would suggest the use of the Parsonian frame of reference for the study of Indian sociology." Parsons' view that personality, culture and society are 'atomistic' as well as interdependent systems and constitute the social system is explained by Damle as relevant for studying Indian society.

Damle observes: "Talking in terms of functional prerequisites one finds in India that greatest amount of premium is put on pattern maintenance rather than on adaptation and goal attainment." Later on, Damle adopted Merton's theory of 'reference group' for analyzing social mobility in the caste system in India. Damle gives a paradigm adopted from Parsons for application to the analysis of social system in India. He concludes that no special theory is needed for studying Indian sociology.

Western Social Science and Sociology in India:
Yogendra Singh (1965) counts three points relevant to the disciplinary growth of sociology in India:
(1) the changing historico-political status of the country;

(2) the changing nature of western intellectual contact and its vicissitudes; and finally,

(3) the native intellectual traditions from which the sociologists themselves emerged.

In the first phase, Indian social structure and values and institutions were analysed but not as a response to the western social science. The second phase refers to the combination of empirical and historico-philosophical analysis of Radhakamal Mukerjee, and the application of a Marxologist approach to the study of Indian society, its tradition and culture, and class structure by D.P. Mukerji.

The macro-static studies by B. Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown replaced the macro-dynamic studies in Britain at the time when the two Mukerjees were busy in giving a sound shape to Indian sociology. With the freedom of India started the era of sponsored researches in India. However, the researches funded by the western countries were also carried out in the fifties and sixties in India on a bigger scale.

Thus, the ideology of the government on one hand, and of the western social sciences on the other simultaneously influenced social science research in the first two decades of India's independence. Singh (1965) states that (1) increased quantification and abstracted empiricism, (2) increased experimentalism, and (3) greater arbitrariness in regard to concepts and definitions are the significant trends of sociology as a discipline in India.

Sociology in India in the early sixties is characterized by functionalism and neo-functionalism, historical comparative method and logico-philosophical and symbolic methods of analysis. Thus, anti-positivism and functionalism, positivism and logico-philosophical orientations influenced Indian sociologists simultaneously in the fifties and sixties. The western 'scienticism' could not overtake Indian sociology completely; it remained in India also as a philosophy of society and history. Singh prefers to have a synthesis of sociological empiricism and analytical quality of vision.

In two essays: (1) "Scope and Method of Sociology in India", and (2) "Sociology for India: The Emerging Perspective" in Sociology for India, Yogendra Singh (1967) exemplifies his own view and the resume of the above seminar, respectively. Some of the points mentioned in the Agra seminar have been repeated by Singh in the first paper of the above seminar.

He writes: "Sociology in India or the whole university culture in this country has been an extension of the western, primarily the British tradition. Growing American influence is a post-independence phenomenon" and intellectual parasitism and regression. The pre-independence sociology could be characterized by descriptive, evolutionary, analytical and comparative studies and by particularism of Indian society and culture.

However, Singh notes that both the organic positivism and mechanistic positivism of nineteenth century European sociology were absent in Indian sociology, and even some sociologists strongly reacted and refuted them (Sharma, 1985: 40-41).

Thus, in the above pages, an attempt has been made to formulate sociology for India or Indian sociology. The significance of the development in the changing conditions reflects the various new areas of research and studies. It indicates the shift in theoretical and methodological issues that took place after 1970s. 1980s signifies a remarkable shift in terms of emphasis. More attention is now paid to the nature of Indian social reality. An important feature of the new debate on sociology for India emphasizes on empirical observation and application of theory in context.

Despite the continuity reflected in the quest for social relevance on an indigenous paradigm for Indian sociology, 1980s and 1990s in India mark several directions in which new explorations have been made.

Sociological studies show a new sensitivity in the choice of concepts and their uses as they move away from a continuum framework of analysis of social processes to that of a notion of levels. The use of conceptual typologies, historical data and symbolic structural techniques adds new depth and dimensions to the studies of social structure.

The Marxist historical method of the analysis gains momentum as a series of studies on the peasantry, agrarian structure, and working classes by younger generation sociologists. New series of study became sensitive to theoretical orientations, such as structuralism and post-structuralism, ethno-sociology, functionalism and neo-functionalism Marxism and neo-Marxism, modernity and post-modernity and so on. These perspectives have been used to analyse social structure.

Specific areas of sociological research, such as sociology of development, specifically sustainable development, sociology of education, sociology of health and medicine, sociology of profession, sociology of organization, sociology of management, sociology of communication, sociology of tourism, sociology of environment, sociology of science and technology, and analysis of problems of weaker sections of society, particularly scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes, women etc. are expanded in order to promote social reconstruction and development. The understanding of the nature of these problems further enriched sociological insights into the nature of social structure, culture and its dynamics in Indian society.